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House of Representatives by-elections: 1901–2018

Stephen Barber

Statistics and Mapping Section

Executive summary

This paper provides details of House of Representatives by-elections, from that held for Darling Downs on 14 September 1901 to the most recent held on 20 October 2018 for Wentworth. The following observations can be made about those by-elections:

- there have been 158 by-elections, an average of 3.5 per parliament.
- the nine by-elections held during the current, 45th, Parliament is the second highest number in an individual parliament—seven of these related to dual citizenship; 10 by-elections—nine caused by the deaths of members—were held during the 20th Parliament (1951–1954)
- the average number of nominations has grown over the years from 2.2 per by-election to 11.5 per by-election
- in only four cases was a by-election contested by just a single candidate
- an increasing tendency has been for governments to avoid contesting by-elections in their opponents' safe seats
- in only ten cases have the opposition party failed to contest a by-election
- eighty-three of the by-elections followed the resignation of the member, 68 members died in office, there have been six voided elections, and one MP was expelled from the House
- since 1949 resignations account for over two-thirds of by-elections and over half the resignations have occurred in safe seats
- on 36 occasions the party complexion of a seat has altered at a by-election; five of the losses have been by the opposition of the day
- the average two-party preferred swing against the government of the day has been 3.8 per cent and
- since 1949 the largest two-party swing against a government (16.1 per cent) occurred against Labor in Canberra in 1995. The largest swing to a government (16.2 per cent) occurred to the Coalition in McPherson in 1981.

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Party abbreviations and symbols

AAP	Advance Australia Party
AC	Australian Christians
ACons	Australian Conservatives
ACP	Australian Cyclists Party
ADVP	Australian Defence Veterans Party
AFI	Australians Against Further Immigration
AHP	Affordable Housing Party
AJP	Animal Justice Party
ALA	Australian Liberty Alliance
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMHP	Australian Mental Health Party
ANAG	Australian National Action Group
AntiSoc	Anti-Socialist
AP	Australia Party
APEP	Australian People's Party
APPG	Australian Pensioner Pressure Group
AR	Australian Republican
ARM	Australian Reform Movement
ASP	Australian Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party (Australian Shooters Party prior to 2018)
ASxP	Australian Sex Party
Atok	Atokist
AusConst	Australian Constitutionalist
BTA	Bullet Train for Australia
CntreAll	Centre Alliance (Nick Xenophon Team prior to 2018)
CCC	Climate Change Coalition
CDP	Christian Democratic Party
CCE	Conservatives for Climate and Environment
CEC	Citizens Electoral Council
CM	CountryMinded
Com	Communist Party
Cons	Conservative
Const	Constitutionalist
CP	Country Party
CRep	Constitutional Republican
CTA	Call to Australia
CYA	Australian Country Party
Dem	Australian Democrats
DHJP	Derryn Hinch's Justice Party
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
DOGS	Council for the Defence of Government Schools
DSP	Deadly Serious Party
EcRef	Economic Reform
EFN	Environmentalists for Nuclear Energy
Farmers	Farmers' Party
FFP	Family First Party
FishP	The Fishing Party
FLP	Federal Labor Party
FLR	Family Law Reform Party
FP	Future Party
FPA	Federal Party of Australia
FST	Australia First Party
FT	Free Trade

FUT	Science Party
Grn	Greens
Gry	Grey Power
GWA	The Greens (WA)
HAN	Pauline Hanson's One Nation
HMP	Help End Marijuana Prohibition
HPA	Hope Party Australia
ICP	Independent Country Party
ILab	Independent Labor
ILCL	Independent Liberal Country League
ILib	Independent Liberal
INat	Independent Nationalist
Ind	Independent
KAP	Katter's Australian Party
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LFF	Liberals for Forests
Lib	Liberal Party
LibF	Liberal Forum
LLab	Lang Labor
LNP	Liberal National Party
LP	Liberal Party
LRG	Liberal Reform Group
NA	National Alliance
NAP	New Australian Party
Nat	Nationalist
NCP	Non-Custodial Parents Party
NGST	No GST Party
NHP	National Humanitarian Party
NLP	Natural Law Party
NP	National Party
NSP	National Socialist Party
ON	One Nation
ONNSW	One Nation NSW Division
PCP	Progressive Conservative Party
PIR	Pirate Party Australia
PLP	Progressive Labour Party
PORP	Property Owners' Rights Party
PP	Progress Party
Prog	Australian Progressives
Prot	Protectionist
ProtLab	Protestant Labor
PUP	Palmer United Party
RARI	Reclaim Australia: Reduce Immigration
RPA	Republican Party of Australia
RSNP	Returned Soldiers National Party
RUA	Rise Up Australia Party
SA	Socialist Alliance
SC	Social Credit
SLib	State Liberal
Soc	Socialist
SP	Socialist Party of Australia
SPA	Secular Party of Australia
SPP	Sustainable Australia (Sustainable Population Party prior to 2018)
ST	Single Tax League

SUN	Seniors United Party of Australia
SWP	Socialist Workers' Party
TA	Taxpayers' Association
TAP	The Arts Party
UAP	United Australia Party
UM	Uninflated Movement
Unite	Unite Australia Party
UTG	United Tasmanian Group
UWU	Unemployed Workers Union
VEF	Voluntary Euthanasia Party
VFU	Victorian Farmers' Union
VOTE	Voice of the Elderly
21CA	21 st Century Party

Symbols

..	Not available or not applicable
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Note 1: Some party abbreviations shown above may not be the official abbreviations registered (some parties do not have an abbreviation) with the AEC. These unofficial abbreviations have been used for convenience in the following tables and graphs.

Note 2: All tables and graphs have been compiled by the Parliamentary Library.

Introduction

This Research Paper updates an earlier Parliamentary Library Research paper and details the 158 by-elections for the House of Representatives held to date, including some of the factors involved in their being held.¹

It also discusses relevant factors such as the timing of by-elections, the number of nominations, the voter turnout and party performance over the years, and the swings that have occurred.

The paper concludes with a general discussion of some of the personal and political aspects of the by-elections.

The organisation of Commonwealth by-elections

By-elections are held to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives resulting from the death, resignation, absence without leave, expulsion, disqualification or ineligibility of a member.

The first by-election was held in the Queensland electorate of Darling Downs, on 14 September 1901, barely four months after the opening of the new Commonwealth Parliament. The by-election followed the death of the sitting member, William Groom. The most recent by-election was held in the electorate of Wentworth (NSW) on 20 October 2018 following the resignation of the sitting member and deposed Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull.

The reasons why by-elections have been held

Of the 158 by-elections, 68 (43.0 per cent) have occurred because of the death of the member, 83 (52.5 per cent) as the result of the resignation of the member, six (3.8 per cent) because of voided elections, and one (0.6 per cent) because of the expulsion of the member for Kalgoorlie from the House in 1920.

Over time, the reasons for by-elections have altered quite markedly:

- from 1901 to 1979, 61.5 per cent of all by-elections were brought about by death and
- by contrast, since 1980, 88.9 per cent of all by-elections have been brought about by resignation.

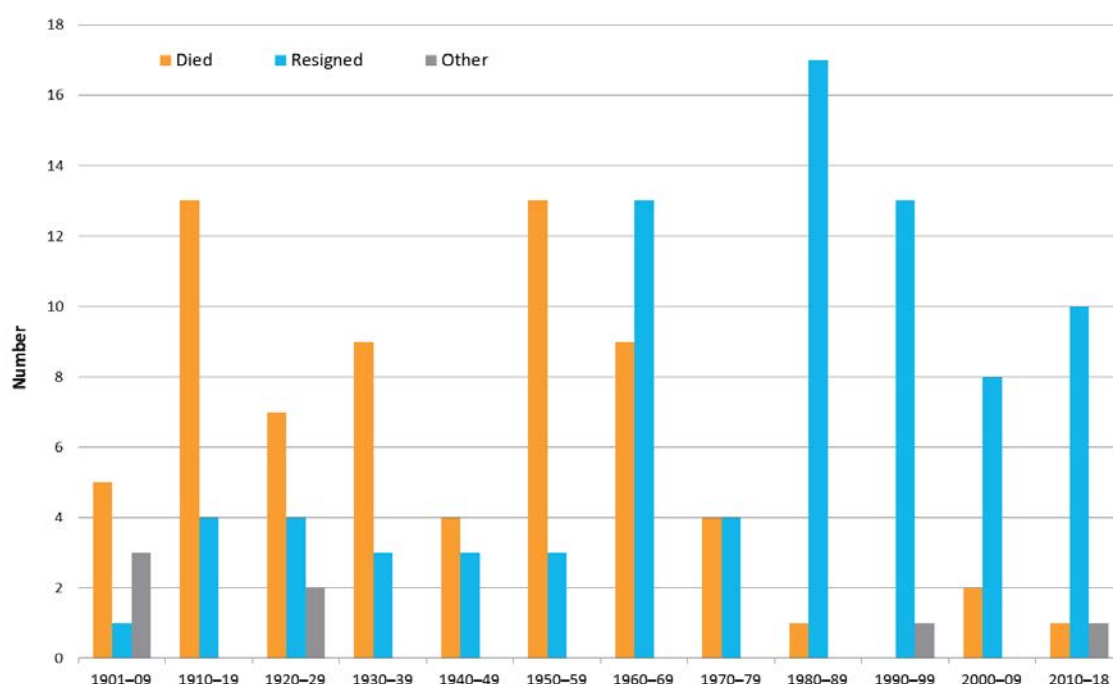
Table 1: vacancies brought about by resignation and death

Years	Vacancy due to death (%)	Vacancy due to resignation (%)	Other (%)
1901–1979	61.5	33.7	4.8
Since 1980	7.4	88.9	3.7

The following graph further illustrates the changing pattern in the reasons causing by-elections.

1. S Barber, [House of Representatives by-elections: 1901–2017](#), Research paper series, 2017–18, Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2018, accessed 15 November 2018.

Figure 1: reason for by-election, by decade



One factor contributing to this changing pattern is that members today enter the House of Representatives at a generally younger age than used to be the case. Of the 41 parliaments to 2005, the second quarter's intake (1929–1951) was the oldest, averaging 48.3 years per new member. By contrast, the fourth quarter's intake (1977–2005) was the youngest at 42.2 years per new member.^{2 3} Another factor is the greater preparedness of members to leave (resign from) Parliament—the cause of 79.6 per cent of by-elections since 1980—often to pursue another career.⁴ This has been aided by a third factor, namely the general increase in longevity of Australians brought about by, among other things, better health care.⁵

The timing of by-elections

Section 33 of the *Australian Constitution* confers on the Speaker of the House of Representatives the power to issue a writ for the election of a new member.⁶ The *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*—Part XIII specifies that the election (polling day) must be held between 33 and 58 days from the date the writ is issued.⁷

There is no prescribed time period within which a by-election writ must be issued and, in fact, there is no accepted view as to the period that should elapse between vacancy and polling day.

Perhaps surprisingly, this has not become a matter of any long-term political debate, allowing governments a great deal of freedom in the setting of by-election dates. The length of time from a vacancy until polling day has, therefore, varied considerably, with the maximum number of days being the 82 days for Moreton in 1983, and the minimum being the 17 days for East Sydney in 1903.⁸ The total elapsed time from vacancy to election has

2. Figures from Chamber Research Office, Department of the House of Representatives.

3. The average age of new members was 45.4 years over the last four Parliaments (42nd to 45th); however, this only increases the average age of new members since 1977 to just over 43 years.

4. This number reflects the 43 by-elections where members resigned and did not recontest their seat. There have been 48 by-elections caused by resignation since 1980 (88.9 per cent) but five of these resignations were the result of members being dual citizens and, therefore, in contravention of section 44(i) of the *Constitution*. These five members all recontested their seats and were successful in returning to Parliament.

5. For example, in the period 1901–1910, a 45 year old male (female) could expect to live another 24.8 (27.6) years while, in 2014–16, the additional life expectancy is 37.1 (40.6) years. Sources: ABS, [Australian historical population statistics, 2014](#), 3105.0.65.001, tables 6.2 and 6.6; and ABS, [Life tables, States, Territories and Australia, 2014–16](#), 3302.0.55.001, table 1.9, accessed 15 November 2018.

6. [Australian Constitution](#), section 33, accessed 15 November 2018.

7. [Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918](#) (Cth), accessed 15 November 2018.

8. Such a short period is no longer possible under the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*.

increased since 1901. Between 1901 and 1949, the average was 40.3 days, whereas during the period 1949 to 2018 the average has been 52.7 days. The average figure for all by-elections has been 48.1 days.

Ideally, by-elections are held as early as possible after a seat becomes vacant, 'so that the electors are not left without representation any longer than is necessary'.⁹ In fact, such a consideration is occasionally pushed aside by short-term political factors. On 22 October 1982 the Member for Flinders, Phillip Lynch, resigned his seat. The Speaker fixed 4 December as the date for a by-election, but also declared that there would be a delay of almost three weeks before the writs for the by-election would be issued. According to Anne Summers, this gave the Fraser Government the option of calling a general election for 4 or 11 December.¹⁰ The by-election could, therefore, have been pushed aside; although a double dissolution election was eventually held on 5 March 1983.

In the cases of the 22 by-elections held during 2000–2018, the delay between the date of the seat becoming vacant¹¹ and the date of the issuing of the writ varied considerably. The 45 days for Griffith and the 40 days for Gippsland contrasted with the issuing of writs in under a week for by-elections in Ryan, Lyne, North Sydney, New England, Bennelong and Batman.

The variation allowed in regard to by-election dates is thus an anomaly in an electoral system that is generally highly regulated.

Table 2: by-elections, 2000–2018

Division	Held by	Date of vacancy	Date of writ	Delay in issuing writ	Elapsed time from vacancy to by-election
Isaacs (Vic)	ALP	14.06.00	30.06.00	16 days	59 days
Ryan (Qld)	LP	05.02.01	09.02.01	4 days	40 days
Aston (Vic)	LP	24.04.01	01.06.01	38 days	81 days
Cunningham (NSW)	ALP	16.08.02	16.09.02	31 days	64 days
Werriwa (NSW)	ALP	21.01.05	14.02.05	24 days	57 days
Gippsland (Vic)	LP	09.04.08	19.05.08	40 days	80 days
Lyne (NSW)	LP	30.07.08	04.08.09	5 days	38 days
Mayo (SA)	LP	14.07.08	04.08.09	21 days	54 days
Bradfield (NSW)	LP	19.10.09	30.10.09	11 days	47 days
Higgins (Vic)	LP	19.10.09	30.10.09	11 days	47 days
Griffith (Qld)	ALP	22.11.13	06.01.14	45 days	78 days
Canning (WA)	LP	21.07.15	17.08.15	27 days	60 days
North Sydney (NSW)	LP	23.10.15	26.10.15	3 days	43 days
New England (NSW)	NP	27.10.17	27.10.17	0 days	36 days
Bennelong (NSW)	LP	11.11.17	13.11.17	2 days	35 days
Batman (Vic)	ALP	01.02.18	07.02.18	6 days	44 days
Braddon (Tas)	ALP	10.05.18	15.06.18	36 days	79 days
Fremantle (WA)	ALP	10.05.18	15.06.18	36 days	79 days
Longman (Qld)	ALP	10.05.18	15.06.18	36 days	79 days
Perth (WA)	ALP	10.05.18	15.06.18	36 days	79 days
Mayo (SA)	CntreAll	11.05.18	15.06.18	35 days	78 days

9. 'Elections and the electoral system', in IE Harris, ed, [House of Representatives practice](#), 6th edn, Department of the House of Representatives, Canberra, 2012, pp. 92-94, accessed 15 November 2018.

10. A Summers, *Gamble for power: how Bob Hawke beat Malcolm Fraser, the 1983 Federal election*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1983, p. 63.

11. 'Members' in IE Harris, ed, [House of Representatives practice](#), op. cit., pp. 154-157, accessed 15 November 2018.

Division	Held by	Date of vacancy	Date of writ	Delay in issuing writ	Elapsed time from vacancy to by-election
Wentworth (NSW)	LP	31.08.18	17.09.18	17 days	50 days

Appendix 4 provides details of the timing of all by-elections held between September 1901 and October 2018. It also shows the number of days elapsed between the seat becoming vacant and the by-election date, the number of days elapsed since the previous general election, and the number of days between the by-election and the next general election.

Vacancies for which no by-election held

There have been 20 occasions when the Speaker has, in fact, declined to issue such a writ for a by-election due to a pending general election. The longest period a seat has been without a member prior to a general election was 128 days in the case of Hindmarsh in 1909–10. The shortest period was the 39 days between 13 August 1940, when three MPs were killed in a plane crash, and the election of 21 September 1940.

The situation regarding the last of these occasions—Wills, 1992–93—was the result of the by-election held in November 1992 subsequently being voided by the Court of Disputed Returns. The successful candidate, Phil Cleary, was found to be in breach of section 44(iv) of the *Constitution* and the Labor and Liberal candidates were found ineligible under section 44(i).

By-elections where members recontested

There have been 13 occasions where the previous member has recontested in a by-election. Of these, nine members have been successful in retaining their seat.

The successful members were in the seats: East Sydney 1903, Echuca 1907, Lindsay 1996, New England 2017, Bennelong 2017, Braddon 2018, Fremantle 2018, Longman 2018 and Mayo 2018.

In all but the first two of these by-elections the previous member was recontesting after either being found or resigning before being found invalidly elected by the Court of Disputed Returns.

The unsuccessful recontests were in: Melbourne 1904, Riverina 1904, Ballaarat 1920 and Kalgoorlie 1920.

Table 3: vacancies for which no by-election was held, 1901–2018

Division	Vacant	Next election	Days
Hunter (NSW)	30.09.03	16.12.03	77
Indi (Vic)	12.10.06	12.12.06	61
Northern Melbourne (Vic)	13.10.06	12.12.06	60
Hindmarsh (SA)	06.12.09	13.04.10	128
East Sydney (NSW)	24.12.09	13.04.10	110
West Sydney (NSW)	06.09.28	17.11.28	72
Wimmera (Vic)	14.10.31	19.12.31	66
Martin (NSW)	05.06.34	15.09.34	102
Ballaarat (Vic)	31.07.34	15.09.34	46
Werriwa (NSW)	02.08.34	15.09.34	44
Henty (Vic)	13.08.40	21.09.40	39
Flinders (Vic)	13.08.40	21.09.40	39
Corangamite (Vic)	13.08.40	21.09.40	39
West Sydney (NSW)	14.08.46	28.09.46	45
Hindmarsh (SA)	14.08.46	28.09.46	45
McMillan (Vic)	14.10.55	10.12.55	57
Leichhardt (Qld)	11.10.58	22.11.58	42
Warringah (NSW)	03.08.66	26.11.66	110
Bonython (SA)	30.09.77	10.12.77	71
Wills (Vic)	25.11.92	13.03.93	108

Number of nominations

The 158 by-elections have been contested by an average of 5.3 candidates. Over the years, however, there has been a steady increase in the number of nominations.

In the 24 first-past-the-post cases between 1901 and October 1918 the average number of nominations was 2.2 per contest.

In the following 134 preferential voting cases there has been an average of 5.9 nominations per by-election:

- from the introduction of preferential voting in December 1918 to the end of the 1960s there was an average of 3.7 nominations per by-election
- the 1970s and 1980s saw the first of two significant increases in candidate numbers, with 6.2 candidates per by-election over these decades
- this was exceeded during the 1990s, with the average climbing to 8.1 candidates per contest and
- since 2000 a further climb to 11.5 candidates per by-election has occurred.

The record number of nominations has occurred twice in by-elections: Wills (Vic) in 1992 and Bradfield (NSW) in 2009. In the 1992 Wills by-election 22 nominations were received to fill the seat vacated by former Prime Minister Hawke. The field of 22 candidates that contested the 2009 Bradfield by-election was inflated due to the presence of nine Christian Democratic Party candidates. The 2017 New England by-election had 17 nominations, the third highest on record.

In only four cases, or 2.6 per cent, was a by-election contested by just a single candidate: Kalgoorlie 1913, Dalley 1915, Wide Bay 1928 and Cunningham 1956.

In recent years there has been a tendency for governments to avoid contesting by-elections, especially in their opponents' safe seats. Since 1990 the incumbent government has failed to contest 18 of the 36 by-elections held. In all cases bar one this has often meant an easy win to the party holding the seat. In the case of Cunningham in 2002, however, the absence of a Liberal candidate helped the Australian Greens candidate win the seat from the ALP.¹²

Table 4: candidates per by-election

Years	By-elections	Average number of candidates	Largest number of candidates
1901–2018	158	5.3	22 (2 cases)
1901–1918 (First-past-the-post)	24	2.2	4 (Tasmania 1902)
1918–2018 (Preferential voting)	134	5.9	22 (2 cases)
Preferential voting			
1918–1929	15	3.1	5 (3 cases)
1930–1939	12	3.7	6 (Wilmot 1939)
1940–1949	7	4.0	7 (Wimmera 1946)
1950–1959	16	3.7	6 (3 cases)
1960–1969	22	3.9	5 (8 cases)
1970–1979	8	6.5	12 (Parramatta 1973)
1980–1989	18	6.1	12 (Lowe 1982)
1990–1999	14	8.1	22 (Wills 1992)
2000–2009	10	11.5	22 (Bradfield 2009)
Since 2010	12	11.6	17 (New England 2017)

By contrast, apart from the 2015 by-election in North Sydney, the official Opposition has contested every by-election from Dalley in 1953. Since 1901 the Opposition has failed to contest ten, or 6.3 per cent, of by-

12. 'Elections and the electoral system', in IE Harris, ed, [House of Representatives practice](#), 6th edn, Department of the House of Representatives, Canberra, 2012, pp. 92-94, accessed 15 November 2018.

elections: Darling Downs 1901, Melbourne 1904, Echuca 1907, Adelaide 1908, Dalley 1915, Echuca 1919, Wide Bay 1928, Balaclava 1929, Bradfield 1952 and North Sydney 2015.

Voter turnout¹³

During the period of voluntary voting (1901–1924) the average turnout for by-elections was just 56.7 per cent. The lowest figure was 15.1 per cent in East Sydney in 1903. Since the introduction of compulsory voting in 1924 the average by-election turnout figure has been 86.8 per cent. This contrasts with a 94.4 per cent turnout in general elections over that period.

During the compulsory voting years there has been a slight fall in the by-election turnout figure. For the 62 contested by-elections prior to 1970 the turnout was 88.5 per cent; the turnout for the 62 by-elections since 1970 has been 85.2 per cent. The lowest turnout figure over the compulsory voting period has been 64.0 per cent in Perth 2018, just below the 66.0 per cent in Fremantle also in 2018. The previous lowest was 69.5 per cent in Wentworth in 1981.

13. Note: The enrolment figure for the first by-election in Darling Downs in 1901 is not available, therefore, turnout cannot be calculated. Also the four by-elections contested by a single candidate are excluded from the calculations in this section.

Party performance

Seats lost at by-elections

In only 36 of the 158 by-elections (22.8 per cent) has a seat altered its party status.

Table 5: seats lost at by-elections, 1901–2018

Division	Government	Sitting party	Winning party
Melbourne (Vic) 1904	Prot	Prot	ALP
Riverina (NSW) 1904	ALP	FT	Prot
Adelaide (SA) 1908	Prot	Prot	ALP
Boothby (SA) 1911	ALP	ALP	Lib
Grampians (Vic) 1915	ALP	ALP	Lib
Wide Bay (Qld) 1915	ALP	ALP	Lib
Swan (WA) 1918	Nat	Nat	ALP
Corangamite (Vic) 1918	Nat	Nat	VFU
Echuca (Vic) 1919	Nat	Nat	VFU
Ballaarat (Vic) 1920	Nat	Nat	ALP
Kalgoorlie (WA) 1920	Nat	ALP	Nat
Maranoa (Qld) 1921	Nat	ALP	CP
Wide Bay (Qld) 1928	Nat	Nat	CP
Franklin (Tas) 1929	ALP	Ind	ALP
Parkes (NSW) 1931	ALP	ALP	Nat
East Sydney (NSW) 1932	UAP	UAP	LLab
Darling Downs (Qld) 1936	UAP	UAP	CP
Gwydir (NSW) 1937	UAP/CP	CP	ALP
Wakefield (SA) 1938	UAP/CP	UAP	ALP
Wilmot (Tas) 1939	UAP/CP	UAP	ALP
Corio (Vic) 1940	UAP	UAP	ALP
Henty (Vic) 1946	ALP	Ind	LP
Flinders (Vic) 1952	LP/CP	LP	ALP
Calare (NSW) 1960	LP/CP	LP	CP
Dawson (Qld) 1966	LP/CP	CP	ALP
Corio (Vic) 1967	LP/CP	LP	ALP
Bass (Tas) 1975	ALP	ALP	LP
Lowe (NSW) 1982	LP/NP	LP	ALP
Adelaide (SA) 1988	ALP	ALP	LP
Groom (Qld) 1988	ALP	NP	LP
Wills (Vic) 1992	ALP	ALP	Ind
Canberra (ACT) 1995	ALP	ALP	LP
Ryan (Qld) 2001	LP/NP	LP	ALP
Cunningham (NSW) 2002	LP/NP	ALP	Grn
Lyne (NSW) 2008	ALP	NP	Ind
Wentworth (NSW) 2018	LP/NP	LP	Ind

Note: By the time of the Grampians by-election of 1917, the Liberal Party had been subsumed by the Nationalist Party. This by-election is, therefore, not included as an occasion when the seat changed party hands

Impact upon party

- twenty-seven (17.1 per cent) by-elections have been lost by a major party to another major party
- four (2.5 per cent) have been lost by a major party to a minor party (Corangamite 1918, Echuca 1919, East Sydney 1932 and Cunningham 2002)

- three (1.9 per cent) have been lost by a major party to an independent (Wills 1992, Lyne 2008 and Wentworth 2018) and
- two (1.3 per cent) previously held by independents were won by a major party (Franklin 1929 and Henty 1946).

Impact upon Government/Opposition

- in 25 by-elections (15.8 per cent) the seat has been lost by the government of the day
- five seats (3.2 per cent) have been lost by the opposition of the day (Riverina 1904, Kalgoorlie 1920, Maranoa 1921, Cunningham 2002 and Lyne 2008)
- four seats (2.5 per cent) have been lost by one Coalition partner to another (Wide Bay 1928, Darling Downs 1936, Calare 1960 and Groom 1988)¹⁴
- two seats (1.3 per cent) were won from Independents, one by the government of the day (Franklin 1929) and one by the opposition (Henty 1946)
- only one by-election (0.6 per cent) has been won by a government from the opposition (Kalgoorlie 1920) and
- one by-election (0.6 per cent) lost by a government resulted in the government losing its majority in the House (Wentworth 2018).

Party win/loss performance

The table below shows, over the long haul, the major non-Labor parties of the day have not done quite as well as their rivals in terms of winning seats from other parties.

Table 6: party win/loss performance at by-elections, 1901–2018

Party	Seats gained	Seats lost
ALP	14	11
Major non-Labor parties*	11	19
CP/NP	4	4
Other	7	2
Total	36	36

* These figures include Riverina 1904, won by the Protectionists from the Free Traders.

On 11 of the 36 occasions where a seat has changed party hands at a by-election the party that won the seat at the by-election lost the seat at the next general election (Boothby 1911, Swan 1918, Kalgoorlie 1920, Franklin 1929, Wakefield 1938, Wilmot 1939, Flinders 1952, Adelaide 1988, Canberra 1995, Ryan 2001 and Cunningham 2002).¹⁵

By-elections caused by resignation—safeness of seat

The fact that relatively few seats have changed party hands in by-elections is probably due more to the propensity for by-elections to occur in safer seats, rather than any other factor. Political parties and individual members seem to be well aware of the possible political consequences of losing a seat at a by-election, and thus try to ensure that by-elections caused by resignation occur only in relatively safe seats. For example, since 1949, of the 68 by-elections that were caused by the resignation of the sitting member, 15 have been in marginal seats (that is, seats requiring a swing of less than six per cent to change hands). By far the largest number of by-elections, 35, has occurred in safe seats (that is, seats requiring a swing of over ten per cent to change hands).

¹⁴ Note that the losses of Corangamite in 1918 and Echuca in 1919 by the Nationalist Party were both to the Victorian Farmers Union which shortly thereafter formed the Country Party. However, as there was no formal anti-Labor coalition at this time, these are not included here.

¹⁵ The most recently lost seat at a by-election, Wentworth (NSW), is yet to be contested at a general election.

Table 7: by-elections caused by resignation—safeness of seat, 1949–2018

	Number	Percentage
Marginal	15	22.1
Fairly Safe	18	26.5
Safe	35	51.5
Total	68	100.0

Analysing by-election swings since 1949

Apart from a party's success or defeat in a by-election, the most important aspect of a by-election is the swing that takes place. Conventional wisdom holds that there is usually a swing against the government of the day at a by-election. The success or otherwise of a government, opposition, or party leader at the by-election is often measured by the size of the swing in comparison with the average swing recorded in past by-elections. However, by-elections occur in varied and disparate electoral divisions, with different numbers and mixes of candidates and with a variety of local, state and national issues involved. It could, therefore, be argued that, given the variety of factors involved, there is no 'normal' by-election swing. By-elections are held in such varying circumstances that none can be regarded as typical, and it is generally agreed that any swing that occurs is usually explained by the special factors pertaining to each by-election.¹⁶

By-election swings can be calculated by comparing the first preference and two-party preferred votes received by the various parties at the by-election with the votes at the previous general election. The two-party preferred swing is more commonly used as it overcomes some of the difficulties inherent in using first preference swings. First preference swings can be affected by the number and nature of candidates and parties contesting the by-election when compared with the previous general election.

Average first preference and two-party preferred vote swings for by-elections held between 1949 and October 2018 are given below.¹⁷ Swings cannot be calculated where one of the major parties (that is, ALP or LP/NP Coalition) did not stand a candidate at the by-election or the preceding general election, or where the division was uncontested at the by-election or the preceding general election.

The average two-party preferred swing against the government of the day in all by-elections held during the period 1949 to 2018 was 3.8 per cent. The swing against ALP governments (5.5 per cent) was somewhat higher than the swing against LP/NP Coalition governments (3.2 per cent) while the swing against the government of the day in government-held seats was 4.8 per cent. The average two-party preferred swing in by-elections caused by the death of the sitting member was just over half the swing in by-elections caused by the resignation of the member.

Average swings against governments

Two-party preferred swings at by-elections during the period have varied from an anti-government swing of 16.1 per cent in Canberra in 1995 to a swing of 16.2 per cent to the government in McPherson in 1981. The largest swing against an ALP Government was the Canberra figure, while the largest swing against a LP/(CP)NP Coalition Government was achieved when Gough Whitlam won Werriwa in 1952 with a 12.4 per cent swing.

Two-party preferred swings to the government of the day are a rare event in by-elections, with only 14 being recorded during the period. The largest swing to an ALP Government was in Wills in 1992 with a 5.9 per cent swing (although the ALP lost the seat to an independent candidate, Phil Cleary¹⁸) while the largest swing to a LP/NP Coalition Government was in McPherson, referred to above.

As the number of candidates contesting a by-election is generally larger than the number contesting the previous general election, first preference swings against the government tend to be higher than two-party preferred swings.

16. Perhaps, surprisingly, the academic literature on by-elections in Australia is quite sparse, see Appendix 5.

17. No effort is made to look at two-party preferred figures between the introduction of preferential voting in 1918 and 1949, due to the difficulty in establishing such figures for the earlier period. All swing figures used in the paper are calculated on two-party preferred votes unless where otherwise indicated.

18. There were 22 candidates at the Wills by-election and the first preference swing against the ALP candidate was 19.3 per cent.

Table 8: average swings against governments in by-elections, 1949–2018

	First preference per cent	Two-party preferred per cent
All by-elections	5.6	3.8
Government held seats	6.5	4.8
LP/NP Governments	4.7	3.2
ALP Governments	8.2	5.5
By-elections caused by death	3.6	2.6
By-elections caused by resignation	7.1	4.7

Table 9: two-party preferred swings, by-elections, 1949–2018

ALP Government		LP/NP Government <i>continued</i>	
Division	Swing (%)	Division	Swing (%)
Parramatta 1973	-6.6	Calare 1960	+1.0
Bass 1975	-14.6	Higinbotham 1960	-9.2
Wannon 1983	-1.5	Batman 1962	n.a.
Bruce 1983	-3.8	Grey 1963	+4.9
Moreton 1983	-1.2	East Sydney 1963	n.a.
Corangamite 1984	-1.3	Denison 1964	-1.9
Hughes 1984	-5.0	Angas 1964	-2.1
Richmond 1984	+0.5	Parramatta 1964	-3.0
Scullin 1986	-4.4	Robertson 1964	-1.4
Adelaide 1988	-8.4	Riverina 1965	-0.9
Port Adelaide 1988	-11.1	Dawson 1966	-11.9
Groom 1988	-5.2	Kooyong 1966	-3.8
Oxley 1988	-11.8	Corio 1967	-11.1
Gwydir 1989	n.a.	Capricornia 1967	+1.5
Menzies 1991	n.a.	Higgins 1968	-0.3
Wills 1992	+5.9	Curtin 1969	-7.1
Werriwa 1994	-6.3	Bendigo 1969	+2.1
Fremantle 1994	+1.0	Gwydir 1969	-7.7
Bonython 1994	-7.8	Australian Capital Territory 1970	+13.8
Mackellar 1994	n.a.	Chisholm 1970	-2.8
Warringah 1994	n.a.	Murray 1971	-0.4
Kooyong 1994	n.a.	Cunningham 1977	-0.3
Canberra 1995	-16.1	Werriwa 1978	-11.3
Wentworth 1995	n.a.	Grayndler 1979	-6.9
Gippsland 2008	-6.1	Boothby 1981	-1.2
Lyne 2008	n.a.	Curtin 1981	-7.5
Mayo 2008	n.a.	McPherson 1981	+16.2
Bradfield 2009	n.a.	Wentworth 1981	-6.2
Higgins 2009	n.a.	Lowe 1982	-8.5
LP/NP Government		Flinders 1982	-3.3
Division	Swing (%)	Blaxland 1996	n.a.
Balclava 1951	-3.4	Lindsay 1996	+5.0
Macquarie 1951	+0.4	Fraser 1997	n.a.
Lyne 1952	-8.8	Holt 1999	n.a.
Flinders 1952	-11.0	Isaacs 2000	n.a.
Werriwa 1952	-12.4	Ryan 2001	-9.7
Bradfield 1952	n.a.	Aston 2001	-3.7
Dalley 1953	n.a.	Cunningham 2002	n.a.
Corangamite 1953	-6.5	Werriwa 2005	n.a.
Lang 1953	-2.5	Griffith 2014	+1.3
Gwydir 1953	-0.4	Canning 2015	-6.6
Cook 1955	n.a.	North Sydney 2015	n.a.
Cunningham 1956	n.a.	New England 2017	+7.2
Barker 1956	-9.9	Bennelong 2017	-4.8
Wentworth 1956	n.a.	Batman 2018	n.a.
Richmond 1957	n.a.	Braddon 2018	-0.1
Parramatta 1958	-6.4	Fremantle 2018	n.a.
Hunter 1960	n.a.	Longman 2018	-3.7
La Trobe 1960	-7.5	Perth 2018	n.a.
Balclava 1960	-4.6	Mayo 2018	-0.7
Bendigo	+0.1	Wentworth 2018	-7.0
n.a. not applicable			

Personal and political matters

A stark listing of 158 electoral contests can disguise the fact that many of them involved noteworthy personal and political matters that are part of Australia's political history.¹⁹ Some of these are referred to below.

The changing of the old guard

A number of members were senior politicians at state level before they entered the federal Parliament, with this latter service being the swan-song for a number of them:

- the death on 8 August 1901 of William Groom (Darling Downs 1901), the only convict to enter the Parliament, caused the first Commonwealth by-election to be held less than six months after the opening of Parliament and
- three *Constitution*-drafters died in the first decade after Federation, prompting by-elections: Edward Braddon (Wilmot 1904), Charles Cameron Kingston (Adelaide 1908) and Frederick Holder (Wakefield 1909). By contrast, John Forrest (Swan 1918), had enjoyed a much longer Commonwealth career, which included several ministries, with four periods as treasurer.

Future prime ministers

Seven future Prime Ministers entered the House of Representatives via by-elections. For Stanley Melbourne Bruce (Flinders 1918), Harold Holt (Fawkner 1935), Arthur Fadden (Darling Downs 1936), Gough Whitlam (Werriwa 1952) and Tony Abbott (Warringah 1994) this saw their entry into Parliament for the first time. James Scullin (Yarra 1922) had already served a term during 1910–1913, while John Gorton (Higgins 1968) had recently retired from the Senate.

The exiting of prime ministers

The exiting from Parliament of 17 of the 30 MPs who have held the office of Prime Minister has been the trigger for a by-election:

- in two cases (Wilmot 1939 and Fremantle 1945) the by-election followed the death of the Prime Minister while in office—Joe Lyons and John Curtin, respectively
- the by-election in Higgins in 1968 was caused by the disappearance, while swimming off Cheviot Beach in Victoria, of Prime Minister Harold Holt
- although Ben Chifley (Macquarie 1951) and William 'Billy' Hughes (Bradfield 1952) remained in Parliament after losing office, both died while still MPs causing by-elections
- some early Prime Ministers resigned from Parliament to assume other positions. Andrew Fisher (Wide Bay 1915) and Joseph Cook (Parramatta 1921) both became Australian High Commissioner in London. Stanley Melbourne Bruce had lost his seat in 1929, returned to the House in 1931, and left Parliament for good when he was appointed as Resident Minister in London (Flinders 1933) and
- since the departure of Robert Menzies (Kooyong 1966) only three former Prime Ministers have not caused a by-election by their departure from the House of Representatives—John Gorton (who unsuccessfully stood as an independent for the Senate in 1975), John Howard (who lost his seat in 2007) and Julia Gillard (who retired just prior to the 2013 election). The exceptional circumstances surrounding Harold Holt (Higgins 1968) is mentioned above. John McEwen (Murray 1971), William McMahon (Lowe 1982) and Gough Whitlam (Werriwa 1978) all remained in Parliament for a time after ceasing to be Prime Minister before resigning from the House. By contrast, Malcolm Fraser (Wannon 1983), Bob Hawke (Wills 1992), Paul Keating (Blaxland 1996), Kevin Rudd (Griffith 2014) —Kevin Rudd's resignation came after his loss of office for the second time—and, most recently, Malcolm Turnbull (Wentworth 2018) all resigned their seats very soon after their loss of office.

Future leaders of the Opposition

Seven future leaders of the Opposition have been elected to the House of Representatives at by-elections: Stanley Melbourne Bruce (Flinders 1918), James Scullin (Yarra 1922), Arthur Fadden (Darling Downs 1936), Gough Whitlam (Werriwa 1952) and Tony Abbott (Warringah 1994), who all went on to become Prime Minister, and Andrew Peacock (Kooyong 1966) and Mark Latham (Werriwa 1994).

19. For general notes on by-elections, see Appendix 3.

The exiting of leaders of the Opposition

Of the sixteen leaders of the Opposition who have not become Prime Minister, the passing from Parliament of eight has caused a by-election:

- Frank Tudor (Yarra 1922) died in office and
- Herbert Vere Evatt (Hunter 1960), Billy Snedden (Bruce 1983), Bill Hayden (Oxley 1988), Andrew Peacock (Kooyong 1994), John Hewson (Wentworth 1995), Mark Latham (Werriwa 2005) and Brendan Nelson (Bradfield 2009) all left Parliament between general elections.

Family matters

Occasionally retiring MPs have been replaced by family members. In five by-elections such a generational transfer has been from father to son:

- four were caused by death—Littleton Groom replaced William Groom (Darling Downs 1901), Bernard Corser replaced Edward Corser (Wide Bay 1928), David Oliver Watkins replaced David Watkins (Newcastle 1935) and Doug Anthony replaced Larry Anthony (Richmond 1957) and
- the fifth father to son replacement was when Harry Jenkins senior became Ambassador to Spain in 1986. He was replaced by Harry Jenkins junior (Scullin 1986).

In two cases the family transfer has been from uncle to nephew:

- Herbert Pratten to Frederick Pratten (Martin 1928) and David Riordan to William Riordan (Kennedy 1936).

The retirements of both Alexander Downer senior (Angas 1964) and Alexander Downer junior (Mayo 2008) were both the occasion for a by-election to be held. Georgina Downer, the daughter of Alexander Downer junior, contested a by-election in the same seat (Mayo 2018), however, she was unsuccessful.

Famous entries into the House of Representatives

Some MPs have achieved a national prominence prior to their election to the House of Representatives via a by-election:

- William Spence (Darwin 1917) had been a co-founder and long-time President of the Australian Workers' Union
- successive Queensland Labor Premiers, Thomas Joseph Ryan (1915–1919) and Edward Theodore (1919–1925) entered the House of Representatives as MPs for New South Wales seats—Ryan in 1921 for West Sydney, and Theodore for Dalley in 1925
- Archie Grenfell Price (Boothby 1941), Master of St Mark's College, University of Adelaide, was a noted Australian geographer
- Garfield Barwick KC (Parramatta 1958) was a leading Australian barrister
- John Gorton (Higgins 1968), former prominent member of the Senate, entered the House following his replacement of Harold Holt as Prime Minister
- Steele Hall (Boothby 1981) had been Premier of South Australia 1968–1970, as well as a Senator for South Australia
- Carmen Lawrence (Fremantle 1994) had been Premier of Western Australia 1990–1993. Lawrence's success was the first by-election victory by a woman candidate
- Ged Kearney (Batman 2018) had been Federal Secretary of the Australian Nursing Federation 2008–2010 and President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions 2010–2018 and
- Kerryn Phelps (Wentworth 2018) is a Member of the Order of Australia (2011) and has been awarded the Centenary Medal (in 2001 for services to health and medicine). As well as a regular media commentator and author, she had been President of the Australian Medical Association 2000–2003—the first woman to do so—and Deputy Lord Mayor of the Sydney City Council 2016–2017.

Kicked upstairs?

Many MPs have been appointed to prominent positions, thus ending their parliamentary careers. Some have seen this as an ideal way in which to leave the political hurly-burly, while for others there has been a suggestion that this was a means to push a potential leadership contender out of the picture:

- by-elections were caused when Paul Hasluck (Curtin 1969) and Bill Hayden (Oxley 1988) accepted the office of Governor-General
- Charles Abbott (Gwydir 1937) and Roger Dean (Robertson 1964) were both appointed Administrator of the Northern Territory, while Alex Wilson (Wimmera 1946) was appointed Administrator of Norfolk Island
- some sudden departures have been caused by appointment to the judiciary. Edward McTiernan (Parkes 1931) and Garfield Barwick (Parramatta 1964) joined the High Court. Supreme Court appointments have also been made: William Irvine (Flinders 1918) in Victoria, Herbert Vere Evatt (Hunter 1960) in New South Wales, and Percy Joske (Balaclava 1960) in the Australian Capital Territory. Bob Ellicott (Wentworth 1981) was appointed to the Federal Court, while Nigel Bowen (Parramatta 1973) joined the New South Wales Court of Appeal
- by far the most-used diplomatic position for appointments of former MPs has been the High Commissioner position in London, with the appointment of eight former members forcing by-elections. Former Prime Ministers Fisher (Wide Bay 1915) and Cook (Parramatta 1921) began the list, followed by Granville Ryrrie (Warringah 1927), Thomas White (Balaclava 1951), Eli James Harrison (Wentworth 1956), Alexander Downer senior (Angas 1964), Vic Garland (Curtin 1981) and Neal Blewett (Bonython 1994)
- various other members have accepted ambassadorships and other high commissions: Richard Casey (Corio 1940) and Howard Beale (Parramatta 1958) Ambassadors to the USA, Hugh Robertson (Riverina 1965) Ambassador to Ireland, Hubert Opperman (Corio 1967) High Commissioner to Malta, Lance Barnard (Bass 1975) Ambassador to Norway, Finland and Sweden, Les Johnson (Hughes 1984) High Commissioner to New Zealand, Harry Jenkins senior (Scullin 1986) Ambassador to Spain and Brendan Nelson (Bradfield 2009) Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg and the European Union and
- other unusual official appointments include Archibald Ian Allan (Gwydir 1969) to the Secretary-Generalship of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Alexander Downer junior (Mayo 2008) moved to the position of United Nations Special Envoy for Cyprus, and Brendan Nelson (Bradfield 2009) to the positions of Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Special Representative to the World Health Organisation (in conjunction with his ambassadorship).

A matter of treason

On 7 November 1920 Hugh Mahon chaired a public meeting in Melbourne sponsored by the Irish Ireland League and, in a speech attacking the British presence in Ireland, spoke of 'this bloody and accursed Empire'. His expulsion from the House of Representatives four days later for his 'seditious and disloyal utterances' was due to the House finding that he had been 'guilty of conduct unfitting him to remain a member of this House'. Mahon's is the only expulsion to have occurred from the Parliament, and it forced a by-election (Kalgoorlie 1920) which he contested but lost.²⁰ The House of Representatives lost the power to expel members with the passage of the *Parliamentary Privileges Act 1987*.²¹

By-elections that caused ripples

Occasionally by-elections can be seen as having an importance beyond the immediate contest to fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives.

Some were a sign of things to come electorally:

- the by-election (Bass 1975) to replace Deputy Prime Minister Lance Barnard gave a very clear indication of the decline in popularity of the Whitlam Government that was confirmed in the December 1975 election²² and
- the by-election to replace former Hawke and Keating Minister, Ros Kelly (Canberra 1995), presaged the Keating Government's defeat in the March 1996 election.²³

Other by-elections have had a different type of political impact:

- in late 1939, coalition negotiations between the United Australia Party and the Country Party broke down over Prime Minister Menzies' insistence on his right to choose all ministers. The 1940 Corio by-election to fill the place of Richard Casey unexpectedly produced a Labor victory. According to former Country Party leader Earle

20. IE Harris, ed., *House of Representatives practice*, op. cit., p. 157.

21. *Parliamentary Privileges Act 1987*, accessed 16 August 2018.

22. P Kelly, *The unmaking of Gough*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994, pp. 234–5.

23. M Gordon, *A true believer: Paul Keating*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1996, pp. 297–301.

Page this was instrumental in Menzies' weakening his stance and offering five Cabinet positions to the Country Party, with the leader of each party to choose his own party's representatives²⁴

- the Dawson by-election of 26 February 1966 was fought largely for Labor by the candidate, Rex Patterson, and the party's deputy leader, Gough Whitlam. The national leader, Arthur Calwell, was convinced that Labor could not win and took little part. To the surprise of many, Patterson was successful. Whitlam was due to come before the Federal Executive of the ALP on 2 March to face possible disciplinary treatment, possibly even expulsion. According to Graham Freudenberg, the last-minute change of stance of the Queensland delegates, grateful to Whitlam for the Dawson result, saved his position—and possibly his political career²⁵
- Labor's failure to win the seat of Flinders in a by-election of late 1982 was said to have had a double impact. Bill Hayden's position as Labor leader became increasingly insecure, while Prime Minister Fraser apparently became convinced of the need for an early election before there was any chance of Hayden's replacement by Bob Hawke. The consequential replacement of Hayden and the announcement of an early election on the same day were thus intimately connected with the by-election's outcome²⁶
- during 1993–1994 much media discussion focussed on the possibility of Senator Bronwyn Bishop eventually assuming the leadership of the Liberal Party. When the seat of Mackellar fell vacant in 1994 Bishop secured Liberal preselection in an apparent move to clear the way for a push to the leadership. Labor did not contest the by-election and Bishop's main rival was the writer, Bob Ellis, standing as an independent. Although Bishop won the seat comfortably with 52.2 per cent of first preferences, the Liberal first preference vote had fallen by 4.4 per cent. Although this was hardly a major loss of votes, her failure to increase her vote in the absence of a Labor candidate was considered enough to end any chance she may have had for the Liberals' top job. As fellow Liberal, Peter Reith, put it, 'Most people within the parliamentary party were of the opinion that Bronwyn didn't have any votes within the parliamentary party ... if she didn't have many before Saturday [that is, the by-election], she hasn't got any more today and'²⁷
- the deposing of Malcolm Turnbull as Prime Minister by his party in August 2018 saw Turnbull resign from Parliament causing a by-election in the seat of Wentworth. With the Coalition only having a one seat majority in the House of Representatives the outcome was potentially very significant. The resulting defeat of the Liberal Party by high profile independent candidate, Kerryn Phelps, produced a hung parliament for the newly elected Prime Minister, Scott Morrison.

By-elections and section 44 of the *Constitution*:

- the Lindsay by-election in late 1996 was the result of Liberal member, Jackie Kelly, being found ineligible by the Court of Disputed Returns under section 44(iv)—at the time of nomination for the 1996 federal election Ms Kelly was a serving officer in the RAAF. She was also alleged to be a dual citizen (New Zealand) but this was not needed to be tested by the Court as she had already been found ineligible. Jackie Kelly recontested and was returned to Parliament
- the latter half of 2017 appeared predominantly devoted to section 44(i), and the eligibility of many parliamentarians—both senators and members—to sit in their respective chambers because of dual citizenship was brought into question. Two Coalition members failed this eligibility resulting in by-elections which threatened to overturn the Government's one seat majority. Deputy Prime Minister Barnaby Joyce (New England, NP) was found by the Court of Disputed Returns to also be a New Zealand citizen while John Alexander (Bennelong, LP) resigned after having his dual citizenship confirmed by British authorities. A further member, David Feeney (Batman, ALP), was referred by his own party to the High Court for a ruling in early 2018. The Labor party and crossbenchers' attempt to refer a total of nine members—four Labor, four Liberal and one from the Nick Xenophon Team—was defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker of the House, Tony Smith.²⁸ With the citizenship declarations by all Parliamentarians in December 2017 not clarifying the dual citizenship 'crisis', the distinct possibility of further by-elections before the next election was realised
- David Feeney (Batman, ALP) resigned before the High Court could rule on his citizenship status. The ALP held Batman by only a 1.0 per cent margin from the Greens. The Liber

24. E Page, *Truant surgeon: the inside story of forty years of Australian political life*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1963, pp. 284–6.

25. G Freudenberg, *A certain grandeur: Gough Whitlam in politics*, Rev. and updated ed, Penguin, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 35–9.

26. Summers, *Gamble for power*, op. cit., pp. 13, 63.

27. L Taylor, 'Poll result a blow to Bishop Libs', *The Australian*, 29 March 1994.

28. [Citizenship saga: Labor bid to send nine more MPs to High Court fails but ALP backbencher David Feeney referred](#), ABC News, 6 December 2017, accessed 15 November 2018.

- al Party chose not to field a candidate seemingly giving the Greens a good chance of winning. However, a swing of 3.4 per cent to the ALP saw it retain Batman and
- in May 2018 the Court of Disputed Returns found that Senator Katy Gallagher had, in effect, not taken reasonable steps to renounce her British citizenship. Therefore, at the time of her nomination for the 2016 election she was a dual citizen and, under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*, ineligible to be elected.²⁹ This finding had direct ramifications for four Members of the House—Justine Keay (Braddon, ALP), Susan Lamb (Longman, ALP), Rebekha Sharkie (Mayo, Centre Alliance) and Josh Wilson (Fremantle, ALP)—who all resigned. When Tim Hammond (Perth, ALP) resigned for personal reasons, five by-elections were held on ‘Super Saturday’ 28 July 2018. Although three of the seats (Braddon, Longman and Fremantle) were marginal Labor seats, the Liberals chose not to contest Fremantle or to contest the other seat in Western Australia (Perth). History was against the Liberal government winning seats from Labor but Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said the results, *inter alia*, would be a test of his and Opposition Leader Bill Shorten’s leaderships.³⁰ In the end, Labor retained all its seats and increased its margins in Braddon and Longman, while Rebekha Sharkie in Mayo increased her margin by 2.6 per cent over the Liberals’ high profile candidate, Georgina Downer. The poor performance of the Liberals in the seats they contested—especially in Longman which had a 9.4 per cent swing against it on first preferences—was reportedly one factor in prompting the move that eventually deposed Malcolm Turnbull as Prime Minister on 24 August 2018.

Voided elections

Some by-elections have been caused by the voiding of particular results after a general election: Melbourne and Riverina in 1904, Echuca 1907, Ballaarat 1920, Lindsay 1996 and New England 2017.

Potentially, six other by-elections could have been brought about by voiding general election results under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*—Bennelong 2017, Batman 2018, Braddon 2018, Fremantle 2018, Longman 2018 and Mayo 2018—but the early resignations of the respective members avoided the need for referral to the High Court.

The Wills by-election of 1992 was itself voided, but another by-election was not held because of the proximity of the next general election.

29. [In the matter of Questions referred to the Court of Disputed Returns pursuant to Section 376 of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 \(Cth\) concerning Senator Katy Gallagher \[2018\] HCA 17](#), accessed 15 November 2018.

30. M Denholm, [‘By-elections a leadership test, says Turnbull, but not Shorten’](#), accessed 15 November 2018.

Appendix 1: House of Representatives by-elections, 1901–2018

No.	Date	Division	Member Elected	Previous Member	Reason for Vacancy
1	14.09.01	Darling Downs (Qld)	Groom LE (Prot)	Groom WH (Prot)	Died
2	26.03.02	Tasmania	Hartnoll W (FT)	Piesse FW (FT)	Died
3	04.09.03	East Sydney (NSW)	Reid GH (FT)	Reid GH (FT)	Resigned in protest against rejection of proposals for redistribution of NSW.
4	26.02.04	Wilmot (Tas)	Cameron DN (FT)	Braddon ENC (FT)	Died
5	30.03.04	Melbourne (Vic)	Maloney WRN (ALP)	McEacharn MD (Prot)	Election voided
6	18.05.04	Riverina (NSW)	Chanter JM (Prot)	Blackwood RO (FT)	Election voided
7	10.07.07	Echuca (Vic)	Palmer AC (Prot)	Palmer AC (Prot)	Election voided
8	13.06.08	Adelaide (SA)	Roberts EA (ALP)	Kingston CC (Prot)	Died
9	28.08.09	Wakefield (SA)	Foster RW (AntiSoc)	Holder FW (AntiSoc)	Died
10	24.08.10	Kooyong (Vic)	Best RW (Lib)	Knox W (Lib)	Resigned
11	08.02.11	Batman (Vic)	Brennan F (ALP)	Beard HE (ALP)	Died
12	11.03.11	North Sydney (NSW)	Ryrie GdeL (Lib)	Edwards GB (Lib)	Died
13	11.11.11	Boothby (SA)	Gordon DJ (Lib)	Batchelor EL (ALP)	Died
14	01.06.12	Werriwa (NSW)	Bennett BH (ALP)	Hall DR (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed MLC (NSW).
15	22.12.13	Kalgoorlie (WA)	Mahon H (ALP)	Frazer CE (ALP)	Died
16	10.01.14	Adelaide (SA)	Yates GE (ALP)	Roberts EA (ALP)	Died
17	06.02.15	Bendigo (Vic)	Hampson AJ (ALP)	Arthur JA (ALP)	Died
18	20.02.15	Grampians (Vic)	Salmon CC (Lib)	Jolly EFG (ALP)	Died
19	06.05.15	Dalley (NSW)	Mahony WG (ALP)	Howe R (ALP)	Died
20	11.12.15	Wide Bay (Qld)	Corser EBC (Lib)	Fisher A (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed Australian High Commissioner to Great Britain.
21	30.06.17	Darwin (Tas)	Spence WG (Nat)	Howroyd CR (Nat)	Died
22	27.10.17	Grampians (Vic)	Jowett E (Nat)	Salmon CC (Lib)	Died
23	11.05.18	Flinders (Vic)	Bruce SM (Nat)	Irvine WH (Nat)	Resigned. Appointed Victorian Supreme Court.
24	26.10.18	Swan (WA)	Corboy EW (ALP)	Forrest J (Nat)	Died
25	14.12.18	Corangamite (Vic)	Gibson WG (VFU)	Manifold JC (Nat)	Died
26	20.09.19	Echuca (Vic)	Hill WC (VFU)	Palmer AC (Nat)	Died
27	10.07.20	Ballaarat (Vic)	McGrath DC (ALP)	Kerby ETJ (Nat)	Election voided
28	18.12.20	Kalgoorlie (WA)	Foley GJ (Nat)	Mahon H (ALP)	Expelled
29	30.07.21	Maranoa (Qld)	Hunter JAJ (CP)	Page J (ALP)	Died
30	03.09.21	West Sydney (NSW)	Lambert WH (ALP)	Ryan TJ (ALP)	Died
31	10.12.21	Parramatta (NSW)	Pratten HE (Nat)	Cook J (Nat)	Resigned. Appointed Australian High Commissioner to Great Britain.
32	18.02.22	Yarra (Vic)	Scullin JH (ALP)	Tudor FG (ALP)	Died
33	06.03.26	Eden-Monaro (NSW)	Perkins JA (Nat)	Chapman A (Nat)	Died
34	26.02.27	Dalley (NSW)	Theodore EG (ALP)	Mahony WG (ALP)	Resigned
35	21.05.27	Warringah (NSW)	Parkhill RA (Nat)	Ryrie GdeL (Nat)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Great Britain.
36	16.06.28	Martin (NSW)	Pratten FG (Nat)	Pratten HE (Nat)	Died
37	03.09.28	Wide Bay (Qld)	Corser BH (CP)	Corser EBC (Nat)	Died
38	03.08.29	Balaclava (Vic)	White TW (Nat)	Watt WA (Nat)	Resigned
39	14.12.29	Franklin (Tas)	Frost CW (ALP)	McWilliams WJ (Ind)	Died
40	31.01.31	Parkes (NSW)	Marr CWC (Nat)	McTiernan EA (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed to High Court.
41	07.03.31	East Sydney (NSW)	Ward EJ (ALP)	West JE (ALP)	Died
42	06.02.32	East Sydney (NSW)	Ward EJ (LLab)	Clasby JJ (UAP)	Died
43	11.11.33	Flinders (Vic)	Fairbairn JV (UAP)	Bruce SM (UAP)	Resigned. Appointed Resident Minister in London.
44	01.06.35	Newcastle (NSW)	Watkins DO (FLP)	Watkins D (FLP)	Died
45	17.08.35	Fawknor (Vic)	Holt HE (UAP)	Maxwell GA (UAP)	Died
46	12.12.36	Kennedy (Qld)	Riordan WJF (FLP)	Riordan D (FLP)	Died
47	19.12.36	Darling Downs (Qld)	Fadden AW (CP)	Groom LE (UAP)	Died

No.	Date	Division	Member Elected	Previous Member	Reason for Vacancy
48	08.05.37	Gwydir (NSW)	Scully WJ (ALP)	Abbott CLA (CP)	Resigned. Appointed Administrator of Northern Territory.
49	10.12.38	Wakefield (SA)	McHugh S (ALP)	Hawker CAS (UAP)	Died
50	20.05.39	Griffith (Qld)	Conelan WP (ALP)	Baker FMJ (FLP)	Died
51	27.05.39	Wilmot (Tas)	Spurr LT (ALP)	Lyons JA (UAP)	Died
52	02.03.40	Corio (Vic)	Dedman JJ (ALP)	Casey RG (UAP)	Resigned. Appointed Australian Ambassador to United States of America.
53	16.11.40	Kalgoorlie (WA)	Johnson HV (ALP)	Green AE (ALP)	Died
54	21.12.40	Swan (WA)	Marwick TW (CP)	Gregory H (CP)	Died
55	24.05.41	Boothby (SA)	Price AG (UAP)	Price JL (UAP)	Died
56	18.08.45	Fremantle (WA)	Beazley KE (ALP)	Curtin J (ALP)	Died
57	09.02.46	Wimmera (Vic)	Turnbull WG (CP)	Wilson A (CP)	Resigned. Appointed Administrator of Norfolk Island.
58	30.03.46	Henty (Vic)	Gullett HBS (Lib)	Coles AW (Ind)	Resigned
59	28.07.51	Balaclava (Vic)	Joske PE (LP)	White TW (LP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Great Britain.
60	28.07.51	Macquarie (NSW)	Luchetti AS (ALP)	Chifley JB (ALP)	Died
61	22.03.52	Lyne (NSW)	Lucock PE (CP)	Eggins EJ (CP)	Died
62	18.10.52	Flinders (Vic)	Ewert KWW (ALP)	Ryan RS (LP)	Died
63	29.11.52	Werriwa (NSW)	Whitlam EG (ALP)	Lazzarini HP (ALP)	Died
64	20.12.52	Bradfield (NSW)	Turner HB (LP)	Hughes WM (LP)	Died
65	09.05.53	Dalley (NSW)	Greenup AE (ALP)	Rosevear JS (ALP)	Died
66	29.08.53	Corangamite (Vic)	Mackinnon ED (LP)	McDonald AM (LP)	Died
67	29.08.53	Lang (NSW)	Stewart FE (ALP)	Mulcahy D (ALP)	Died
68	19.12.53	Gwydir (NSW)	Allan AI (CP)	Treloar TJ (CP)	Died
69	21.05.55	Cook (NSW)	Cope JF (ALP)	Sheehan T (ALP)	Died
70	11.04.56	Cunningham (NSW)	Kearney VD (ALP)	Davies W (ALP)	Died
71	13.10.56	Barker (SA)	Forbes AJ (LP)	Cameron AG (LP)	Died
72	08.12.56	Wentworth (NSW)	Bury LHE (LP)	Harrison EJ (LP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Great Britain.
73	14.09.57	Richmond (NSW)	Anthony JD (CP)	Anthony HL (CP)	Died
74	08.03.58	Parramatta (NSW)	Barwick GEJ (LP)	Beale OH (LP)	Resigned. Appointed Ambassador to USA.
75	09.04.60	Hunter (NSW)	James AW (ALP)	Evatt HV (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed NSW Supreme Court.
76	09.04.60	La Trobe (Vic)	Jess JD (LP)	Casey RG (LP)	Resigned
77	16.07.60	Balaclava (Vic)	Whittorn RH (LP)	Joske PE (LP)	Resigned. Appointed Commonwealth Industrial Court.
78	16.07.60	Bendigo (Vic)	Beaton NL (ALP)	Clarey PJ (ALP)	Died
79	05.11.60	Calare (NSW)	England JA (CP)	Howse JB (LP)	Resigned
80	10.12.60	Higinbotham (Vic)	Chipp DL (LP)	Timson TF (LP)	Died
81	01.09.62	Batman (Vic)	Benson SJ (ALP)	Bird AC (ALP)	Died
82	01.06.63	Grey (SA)	Mortimer J (ALP)	Russell EHD (ALP)	Died
83	28.09.63	East Sydney (NSW)	Devine LT (ALP)	Ward EJ (ALP)	Died
84	15.02.64	Denison (Tas)	Gibson A (LP)	Townley AG (LP)	Died
85	20.06.64	Angas (SA)	Giles GO (LP)	Downer AR (LP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Great Britain.
86	20.06.64	Parramatta (NSW)	Bowen NH (LP)	Barwick GEJ (LP)	Resigned. Appointed to High Court.
87	05.12.64	Robertson (NSW)	Bridges-Maxwell CW (LP)	Dean RL (LP)	Resigned. Appointed Administrator of NT.
88	27.02.65	Riverina (NSW)	Armstrong AA (CP)	Robertson HS (CP)	Resigned. Appointed Ambassador to Ireland.
89	26.02.66	Dawson (Qld)	Patterson RA (ALP)	Shaw GW (CP)	Died
90	02.04.66	Kooyong (Vic)	Peacock AS (LP)	Menzies RG (LP)	Resigned
91	22.07.67	Corio (Vic)	Scholes GGD (ALP)	Opperman HF (LP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Malta.
92	30.09.67	Capricornia (Qld)	Everingham DN (ALP)	Gray GH (ALP)	Died

No.	Date	Division	Member Elected	Previous Member	Reason for Vacancy
93	24.02.68	Higgins (Vic)	Gorton JG (LP)	Holt HE (LP)	Presumed dead
94	19.04.69	Curtin (WA)	Garland RV (LP)	Hasluck PM (LP)	Resigned. Appointed Governor-General.
95	07.06.69	Bendigo (Vic)	Kennedy AD (ALP)	Beaton NL (ALP)	Resigned
96	07.06.69	Gwydir (NSW)	Hunt RJD (CP)	Allan AI (CP)	Resigned. Appointed Secretary-General Commonwealth War Graves Commission.
97	30.05.70	Australian Capital Territory (ACT)	Enderby KE (ALP)	Fraser JR (ALP)	Died
98	19.09.70	Chisholm (Vic)	Staley AA (LP)	Kent Hughes WS (LP)	Died
99	20.03.71	Murray (Vic)	Lloyd EB (CP)	McEwen J (CP)	Resigned
100	22.09.73	Parramatta (NSW)	Ruddock PM (LP)	Bowen NH (LP)	Resigned. Appointed to NSW Court of Appeal.
101	28.06.75	Bass (Tas)	Newman KE (LP)	Barnard LH (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed Ambassador to Norway, Finland and Sweden.
102	15.10.77	Cunningham (NSW)	West SJ (ALP)	Connor RFX (ALP)	Died
103	23.09.78	Werriwa (NSW)	Kerin JC (ALP)	Whitlam EG (ALP)	Resigned
104	23.06.79	Grayndler (NSW)	McLeay LB (ALP)	Stewart FE (ALP)	Died
105	21.02.81	Boothby (SA)	Hall S (LP)	McLeay JE (LP)	Resigned. Appointed Consul-General in Los Angeles.
106	21.02.81	Curtin (WA)	Rocher AC (LP)	Garland RV (LP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to Great Britain.
107	21.02.81	McPherson (Qld)	White PND (LP)	Robinson EL (LP)	Died
108	11.04.81	Wentworth (NSW)	Coleman WP (LP)	Ellicott RJ (LP)	Resigned. Appointed to Federal Court.
109	13.03.82	Lowe (NSW)	Maher MJ (ALP)	McMahon W (LP)	Resigned
110	04.12.82	Flinders (Vic)	Reith PK (LP)	Lynch PR (LP)	Resigned
111	07.05.83	Wannon (Vic)	Hawker DPM (LP)	Fraser JM (LP)	Resigned
112	28.05.83	Bruce (Vic)	Aldred KJ (LP)	Snedden BM (LP)	Resigned
113	05.11.83	Moreton (Qld)	Cameron DM (LP)	Killen DJ (LP)	Resigned
114	18.02.84	Corangamite (Vic)	McArthur FS (LP)	Street AA (LP)	Resigned
115	18.02.84	Hughes (NSW)	Tickner RE (ALP)	Johnson LR (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to NZ.
116	18.02.84	Richmond (NSW)	Blunt CW (NP)	Anthony JD (NP)	Resigned
117	08.02.86	Scullin (Vic)	Jenkins HA (ALP)	Jenkins HA (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed Ambassador to Spain.
118	06.02.88	Adelaide (SA)	Pratt MP (LP)	Hurford CJ (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed Consul-General in New York.
119	26.03.88	Port Adelaide (SA)	Sawford RW (ALP)	Young MJ (ALP)	Resigned
120	09.04.88	Groom (Qld)	Taylor WL (LP)	McVeigh DT (NP)	Resigned
121	08.10.88	Oxley (Qld)	Scott LJ (ALP)	Hayden WG (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed Governor-General.
122	15.04.89	Gwydir (NSW)	Anderson JD (NP)	Hunt RJD (NP)	Resigned
123	11.05.91	Menzies (Vic)	Andrews KJ (LP)	Brown NA (LP)	Resigned
124	11.04.92	Wills (Vic)	Cleary PR (Ind)	Hawke RJA (ALP)	Resigned
125	29.01.94	Werriwa (NSW)	Latham M (ALP)	Kerin JC (ALP)	Resigned
126	12.03.94	Fremantle (WA)	Lawrence C (ALP)	Dawkins J (ALP)	Resigned
127	19.03.94	Bonython (SA)	Evans M (ALP)	Blewett N (ALP)	Resigned. Appointed High Commissioner to the UK.
128	26.03.94	Mackellar (NSW)	Bishop B (LP)	Carlton J (LP)	Resigned
129	26.03.94	Warringah (NSW)	Abbott T (LP)	Mackellar M (LP)	Resigned
130	19.11.94	Kooyong (Vic)	Georgiou P (LP)	Peacock AS (LP)	Resigned
131	25.03.95	Canberra (ACT)	Smyth B (LP)	Kelly R (ALP)	Resigned
132	08.04.95	Wentworth (NSW)	Thomson A (LP)	Hewson J (LP)	Resigned
133	15.06.96	Blaxland (NSW)	Hatton M (ALP)	Keating P (ALP)	Resigned
134	19.10.96	Lindsay (NSW)	Kelly J (LP)	Kelly J (LP)	Election voided
135	01.02.97	Fraser (ACT)	Dargavel S (ALP)	Langmore J (ALP)	Resigned
136	06.11.99	Holt (Vic)	Byrne A (ALP)	Evans G (ALP)	Resigned
137	12.08.00	Isaacs (Vic)	Corcoran A (ALP)	Wilton G (ALP)	Died

No.	Date	Division	Member Elected	Previous Member	Reason for Vacancy
138	17.03.01	Ryan (Qld)	Short L (ALP)	Moore J (LP)	Resigned
139	14.07.01	Aston (Vic)	Pearce C (LP)	Nugent P (LP)	Died
140	19.10.02	Cunningham (NSW)	Organ M (Grn)	Martin S (ALP)	Resigned
141	19.05.05	Werriwa (NSW)	Hayes C (ALP)	Latham M (ALP)	Resigned
142	28.06.08	Gippsland (Vic)	Chester D (NP)	McGauran P (NP)	Resigned
143	06.09.08	Lyne (NSW)	Oakeshott R (Ind)	Vaile M (NP)	Resigned
144	06.09.08	Mayo (SA)	Briggs J (LP)	Downer A (LP)	Resigned
145	05.12.09	Bradfield (NSW)	Fletcher P (LP)	Nelson B (LP)	Resigned
146	05.12.09	Higgins (Vic)	O'Dwyer K (LP)	Costello P (LP)	Resigned
147	08.02.14	Griffith (Qld)	Butler T (ALP)	Rudd K (ALP)	Resigned
148	19.09.15	Canning (WA)	Hastie A (LP)	Randall D (LP)	Died
149	05.12.15	North Sydney (NSW)	Zimmerman T (LP)	Hockey J (LP)	Resigned
150	02.12.17	New England (NSW)	Joyce B (NP)	Joyce B (NP)	Election voided
151	16.12.17	Bennelong (NSW)	Alexander J (LP)	Alexander J (LP)	Resigned
152	17.03.18	Batman (Vic)	Kearney G (ALP)	Feeney D (ALP)	Resigned
153	28.07.18	Braddon (Tas)	Keay J (ALP)	Keay J (ALP)	Resigned
154	28.07.18	Fremantle (WA)	Wilson J (ALP)	Wilson J (ALP)	Resigned
155	28.07.18	Longman (Qld)	Lamb S (ALP)	Lamb S (ALP)	Resigned
156	28.07.18	Perth (WA)	Gorman P (ALP)	Hammond T (ALP)	Resigned
157	28.07.18	Mayo (SA)	Sharkie R (CntreAll)	Sharkie R (CntreAll)	Resigned
158	20.10.18	Wentworth (NSW)	Turnbull M (LP)	Phelps K (Ind)	Resigned

Note: Seats which changed party at a by-election are highlighted. By the time of the Grampians by-election of 1917, the Liberal Party had effectively been subsumed by the Nationalist Party. Hence, this by-election is not regarded as an occasion when the division changed parties.

For votes received in each contest, see Appendix 2.

Appendix 2: By-election results by electoral division, 1901–2018

First past the post electoral system

1. Darling Downs (Qld) 14.09.01 Enrolled n.a.			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Bell JT	Ind	2687	37.2
Groom LE	Prot	4532	62.8
Formal		7219	99.4
Informal		45	0.6
Turnout		7264	..
2. Tasmania 26.03.02 Enrolled 39762			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Hall C	Prot	482	4.0
Hartnoll W	FT	6956	57.9
McCall J	Prot	2051	17.1
Whitelaw JC	ALP	2525	21.0
Formal		12014	99.2
Informal		101	0.8
Turnout		12115	30.5
3. East Sydney (NSW) 04.09.03 Enrolled 13,763			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Blake J	Ind	96	4.7
Maguire WEJ	Prot	259	12.6
Reid GH	FT	1697	82.7
Formal		2052	99.0
Informal		21	1.0
Turnout		2073	15.1
4. Wilmot (Tas) 26.02.04 Enrolled 15718			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Cameron DN	FT	2368	52.0
Cheek JW	Prot	2183	48.0
Formal		4551	96.8
Informal		153	3.3
Turnout		4704	29.9
5. Melbourne (Vic) 30.03.04 Enrolled 26669			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
McEacharn MD	Prot	7808	47.4
Maloney WRN	ALP	8667	52.6
Formal		16475	98.7
Informal		225	1.4
Turnout		16700	62.6
6. Riverina (NSW) 18.05.04 Enrolled 19031			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Blackwood RO	FT	5184	48.3
Chanter JM	Prot	5547	51.7
Formal		10731	97.6
Informal		264	2.4
Turnout		10995	57.8

7. Echuca (Vic) 10.07.07 Enrolled 31183			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Kennedy T	Prot	10481	47.4
Palmer AC	Prot	11618	52.6
Formal		22099	99.0
Informal		230	1.0
Turnout		22329	71.6
8. Adelaide (SA) 13.06.08 Enrolled 29874			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
McLachlan AJ	Ind	4887	48.8
Roberts EA	ALP	5121	51.2
Formal		10008	99.4
Informal		60	0.6
Turnout		10068	33.7
9. Wakefield (SA) 28.08.09 Enrolled 30782			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Foster RW	AntiSoc	8120	54.5
Vaughan JH	ALP	6789	45.5
Formal		14909	99.4
Informal		89	0.6
Turnout		14998	48.7
10. Kooyong (Vic) 24.08.10 Enrolled 38394			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Best RW	Lib	11926	55.5
Erson EGL	ALP	1363	6.3
Lumsden AG	ILib	8214	38.2
Formal		21503	97.8
Informal		477	2.2
Turnout		21980	57.2
11. Batman (Vic) 08.02.11 Enrolled 31729			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Brennan F	ALP	9385	57.5
O'Neill FSM	Lib	6932	42.5
Formal		16317	97.9
Informal		356	2.1
Turnout		16673	52.5
12. North Sydney (NSW) 11.03.11 Enrolled 39550			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
O'Brien SE	ALP	4437	27.5
Ryrie, GdeL	Lib	11687	72.5
Formal		16124	99.5
Informal		86	0.5
Turnout		16210	41.0

13. Boothby (SA)	11.11.11	Enrolled 35460	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Gordon DJ	Lib	10656	57.1
Jelley J	ALP	8008	42.9
Formal		18664	99.8
Informal		38	0.2
Turnout		18702	52.7

14. Werriwa (NSW)	01.06.12	Enrolled 28565	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Bennett BH	ALP	10884	50.8
Conroy AHB	Lib	10546	49.2
Formal		21430	98.7
Informal		279	1.3
Turnout		21709	76.0

15. Kalgoorlie (WA)	22.12.13	Enrolled n.a.	
Candidate	Party		
Mahon H	ALP	Unopposed	

16. Adelaide (SA)	10.01.14	Enrolled 33662	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Craigie EJ	ST	1936	15.7
Yates GE	ALP	10418	84.3
Formal		12354	99.3
Informal		92	0.7
Turnout		12446	37.0

17. Bendigo (Vic)	06.02.15	Enrolled 35495	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Hampson AJ	ALP	12188	50.9
Richards WJT	Lib	11761	49.1
Formal		23949	99.2
Informal		201	0.8
Turnout		24150	68.0

18. Grampians (Vic)	20.02.15	Enrolled 34977	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
McDougall JK	ALP	11522	48.7
Salmon CC	Lib	12116	51.3
Formal		23638	99.5
Informal		120	0.5
Turnout		23758	67.9

19. Dalley (NSW)	06.05.15	Enrolled n.a.	
Candidate	Party		
Mahony WG	ALP	Unopposed	

20. Wide Bay (Qld)	11.12.15	Enrolled 34276	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Corser EBC	Lib	14027	50.2
Thompson A	Soc	13941	49.9
Formal		27968	99.1
Informal		248	0.9
Turnout		28216	82.3

21. Darwin (Tas)	30.06.17	Enrolled 19300	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Hurst JA	ALP	5225	43.9
Spence WG	Nat	6665	56.1
Formal		11890	99.6
Informal		48	0.4
Turnout		11938	61.9

22. Grampians (Vic)	27.10.17	Enrolled 31346	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Jowett E	Nat	11232	54.8
Russell DP	ALP	9265	45.2
Formal		20497	99.5
Informal		109	0.5
Turnout		20606	65.7

23. Flinders (Vic)	11.05.18	Enrolled 40257	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Bruce SM	Nat	14445	64.0
Hall JJ	VFU	382	1.7
Holmes, GJ	ALP	7740	34.3
Formal		22567	99.1
Informal		203	0.9
Turnout		22770	56.6

24. Swan (WA)	26.10.18	Enrolled 29892	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Corboy EW	ALP	6540	34.7
Hedges WN	Nat	5635	29.9
Murray, BL	CP	5795	30.7
Formal		18854	99.1
Informal		179	0.9
Turnout		19033	63.7

Preferential voting electoral system

25. Corangamite (Vic) 14.12.18 Enrolled 34895

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First preference votes</i>			
Coldham FR	INat	1174	4.7
Gibson WG	VFU	6604	26.4
Knox GH	Nat	5737	22.9
Leaper, TD	RSNP	892	3.6
Scullin JH	ALP	10633	42.5

Two-candidate preferred votes

Gibson WG	VFU	14096	56.3
Scullin JH	ALP	10944	43.7
Formal		25040	98.0
Informal		516	2.0
Turnout		25556	73.2

26. Echuca (Vic) 20.09.19 Enrolled 34704

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Hill WC	VFU	13800	68.8
Purbrick EL	INat	1418	7.1
Purcell FG	Nat	4848	24.2
Formal		20066	97.2
Informal		572	2.8
Turnout		20638	59.5

27. Ballaarat (Vic) 10.07.20 Enrolled 34091

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Callow AE	Ind	186	0.6
Kerby ETJ	Nat	11443	39.3
McGrath DC	ALP	15058	51.8
Troup J	Farmers	2413	8.3
Formal		29100	99.3
Informal		214	0.7
Turnout		29314	86.0

28. Kalgoorlie (WA) 18.12.20 Enrolled 20789

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Foley GJ	Nat	8382	51.4
Mahon H	ALP	7939	48.6
Formal		16321	99.3
Informal		113	0.7
Turnout		16434	79.1

29. Maranoa (Qld) 30.07.21 Enrolled 30047

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Dunstan WJ	ALP	10329	46.8
Hunter JAJ	CP	11751	53.2
Formal		22080	99.6
Informal		89	0.6
Turnout		22169	73.8

30. West Sydney (NSW) 03.09.21 Enrolled 31620

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Henry AS	Nat	5237	38.2
Lambert WH	ALP	7857	57.3
McCristal TW	ILab	430	3.1
Powell JK	TA	186	1.4
Formal		13710	95.8
Informal		606	4.2
Turnout		14316	45.3

31. Parramatta (NSW) 10.12.21 Enrolled 63114

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Addison B	CP	2268	7.2
Hutchison WH	ALP	5625	17.9
Piddington AB	Ind	2787	8.9
Pratten HE	Nat	20768	66.0
Formal		31448	97.3
Informal		859	2.7
Turnout		32307	51.2

32. Yarra (Vic) 18.02.22 Enrolled 39098

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Davidson AM	Nat	3473	21.5
Scullin JH	ALP	12553	77.7
Smyth FA	Ind	129	0.8
Formal		16155	96.5
Informal		590	3.5
Turnout		16745	42.8

33. Eden-Monaro (NSW) 06.03.26 Enrolled 40760

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Morgan CAA	ALP	13729	40.0
Perkins JA	Nat	20573	60.0
Formal		34302	97.5
Informal		887	2.5
Turnout		35189	86.3

34. Dalley (NSW) 26.02.27 Enrolled 40729

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Gee WS	Nat	12667	37.4
Theodore EG	ALP	21186	62.6
Formal		33853	93.1
Informal		2517	6.9
Turnout		36370	89.3

35. Warringah (NSW)		21.05.27	Enrolled 46870	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Conway TP	ALP	3159	7.8	
Fell WS	INat	7477	18.5	
O'Gorman AAL	ALP	4285	10.6	
Parkhill RA	Nat	22583	55.8	
Roberts TV	Const	2990	7.4	
Formal		40494	97.8	
Informal		928	2.2	
Turnout		41422	88.4	

36. Martin (NSW)		16.06.28	Enrolled 59535	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Hannett PG	ALP	18922	39.1	
Pratten FG	Nat	29482	60.9	
Formal		48404	93.0	
Informal		3635	7.0	
Turnout		52039	87.4	

37. Wide Bay (Qld)		03.09.28	Enrolled n.a.
Candidate	Party		
Corser BH	CP	Unopposed	

38. Balaclava (Vic)		03.08.29	Enrolled 55121	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Francis FH	INat	16048	35.9	
White TW	Nat	28655	64.1	
Formal		44703	94.9	
Informal		2404	5.1	
Turnout		47107	85.5	

39. Franklin (Tas)	14.12.29	Enrolled 24473	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First preference votes</i>			
Blacklow AC	Nat	5003	23.2
Foster FO	INat	820	3.8
Frost CW	ALP	9615	44.5
Murdoch P	Ind	1476	6.8
Seabrook AC	Nat	4675	21.7
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>			
Blacklow AC	Nat	10385	48.1
Frost CW	ALP	11204	51.9
Formal		21589	95.9
Informal		931	4.1
Turnout		22520	92.0

40. Parkes (NSW)		31.01.31	Enrolled 63552	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Blake RC	EcRef	986	1.8	
Marr CWC	Nat	31227	56.8	
Martin JM	ALP	22394	40.7	
Tripp EC	Com	382	0.7	
Formal		54989	97.5	
Informal		1431	2.5	
Turnout		56420	88.8	

41. East Sydney (NSW)		07.03.31	Enrolled 46700	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Courtenay LT	Nat	16333	44.2	
Mountjoy WA	Com	611	1.7	
Ward EJ	ALP	19975	54.1	
Formal		36919	97.2	
Informal		1068	2.8	
Turnout		37987	81.3	

42. East Sydney (NSW)		06.02.32	Enrolled 44630	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Cunningham LL	FLP	2817	7.6	
McCall WV	UAP	16304	43.9	
Miles JB	Com	597	1.6	
Ward EJ	LLab	17461	47.0	

<i>Two-candidate preferred votes</i>				
McCall WV	UAP	18503	49.8	
Ward EJ	LLab	18676	50.2	
Formal		37179	97.3	
Informal		1018	2.7	
Turnout		38197	85.6	

43. Flinders (Vic)		11.11.33	Enrolled 71825	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Fairbairn JV	UAP	36773	59.0	
Gibson RS	Com	3124	5.0	
Haywood AR	ALP	22454	36.0	
Formal		62351	97.3	
Informal		1747	2.7	
Turnout		64098	89.2	

44. Newcastle (NSW)	01.06.35	Enrolled 56282	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Smith JE	LLab	22135	42.7
Sykes HS	SC	4302	8.3
Watkins DO	FLP	25374	49.0

Two-candidate preferred votes

Smith JE	LLab	23944	46.2
Watkins DO	FLP	27867	53.8

Formal		51811	98.3
Informal		908	1.7
Turnout		52719	93.7

45. Fawkner (Vic)	17.08.35	Enrolled 48030	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

Cameron D	ALP	16433	40.1
Holt HE	UAP	24594	60.0

Formal		41027	97.8
Informal		946	2.3
Turnout		41973	87.4

46. Kennedy (Qld)	12.12.36	Enrolled 51351	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Boyd JT	ILab	13223	32.8
Killoran J	SC	3565	8.8
Riordan WJF	ALP	19111	47.4
Slater J	Com	4459	11.1

Two-candidate preferred votes

Boyd JT	ILab	17170	42.5
Riordan WJF	ALP	23188	57.5

Formal		40358	96.2
Informal		1581	3.8
Turnout		41939	81.7

47. Darling Downs (Qld)	19.12.36	Enrolled 51519	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Annand JD	UAP	8725	19.0
Boyce LAG	Cons	5809	12.6
Buchanan JT	ALP	13321	29.0
Fadden AW	CP	15235	33.1
Hannay DV	SC	2929	6.4

Two-party preferred votes

Buchanan JT	ALP	19639	42.7
Fadden AW	CP	26380	57.3

Formal		46019	96.9
Informal		1472	3.1
Turnout		47491	92.2

48. Gwydir (NSW)	08.05.37	Enrolled 54791	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

Batchelor EG	CP	13168	27.0
Milling OL	CP	8155	16.7
Moore GS	CP	1963	4.0
Scully WJ	ALP	25551	52.3

Formal		48837	98.7
Informal		639	1.3
Turnout		49476	90.3

49. Wakefield (SA)	10.12.38	Enrolled 54388	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Butler RL	UAP	19591	39.3
McHugh S	ALP	18870	37.9
Quirke PH	Ind	11343	22.8

Two-party preferred votes

Butler RL	UAP	21549	43.3
McHugh S	ALP	28255	56.7

Formal		49804	97.8
Informal		1114	2.2
Turnout		50918	93.6

50. Griffith (Qld)	20.05.39	Enrolled 61804	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Conelan WP	ALP	22967	41.3
Graham EH	ProtLab	15437	27.8
McCowan P	UAP	17168	30.9

Two-party preferred votes

Conelan WP	ALP	27790	50.0
McCowan P	UAP	27782	50.0

Formal		55572	98.2
Informal		1025	1.8
Turnout		56597	91.6

51. Wilmot (Tas)	27.05.39	Enrolled 25275	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%

First preference votes

Cameron DK	UAP	2657	11.8
Guy JA	UAP	6673	29.7
Parsons CF	UAP	1823	8.1
Spurr LT	ALP	6568	29.3
Watson, JH	Ind	799	3.6
Weston MD	ALP	3925	17.5

Two-party preferred votes

Guy JA	UAP	11188	49.9
Spurr LT	ALP	11257	50.2

Formal		22445	96.1
Informal		915	3.9
Turnout		23360	92.4

52. Corio (Vic)		02.03.40	Enrolled 54942	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Dedman JJ	ALP	26122	51.8	
O'Day GP	Com	1466	2.9	
Smith JTV	UAP	22878	45.3	
Formal		50466	98.5	
Informal		786	1.5	
Turnout		51252	93.3	

53. Kalgoorlie (WA)		16.11.40	Enrolled 43962	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Ferguson C	UAP	1140	3.2	
Finlay B	Ind	1721	4.9	
Johnson HV	ALP	18228	51.4	
Lee FR	UAP	14385	40.6	
Formal		35474	98.4	
Informal		567	1.6	
Turnout		36041	82.0	

54. Swan (WA)	21.12.40	Enrolled 53685	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First preference votes</i>			
Barker CO	Ind	4980	11.1
Dinan J	ALP	16729	37.4
Ferguson PD	CP	10628	23.8
Marwick TW	CP	12354	27.6
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>			
Dinan J	ALP	21154	47.3
Marwick TW	CP	23537	52.7
Formal		44691	98.5
Informal		701	1.5
Turnout		45392	84.6

55. Boothby (SA)		24.05.41	Enrolled 72882	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Lawton TE	ALP	28041	43.4	
Price AG	UAP	36624	56.6	
Formal		64665	97.9	
Informal		1378	2.1	
Turnout		66043	90.6	

56. Fremantle (WA)		18.08.45	Enrolled 72421	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Beazley KE	ALP	34009	57.3	
Cleland DM	UAP	19880	33.5	
Ferguson C	SLib	1273	2.2	
Hughes TJ	Ind	2210	3.7	
Phillips L	Atok	143	0.2	
Troy PL	Com	1807	3.1	
Formal		59322	97.1	
Informal		1769	2.9	
Turnout		61091	84.4	

57. Wimmera (Vic)		09.02.46	Enrolled 44831	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
First preference votes				
Arlington-Burke F	ILab	1824	5.1	
Eberle AW	Ind	2042	5.8	
Everett AC	CP	6724	19.0	
Phillips L	Ind	312	0.9	
Smith, JS	ILab	2923	8.2	
Stoddart JH	ICP	6361	17.9	
Turnbull WG	CP	15284	43.1	

<i>Two-candidate preferred votes</i>				
Everett AC	CP	14546	41.0	
Turnbull WG	CP	20924	59.0	
Formal		35470	95.5	
Informal		1692	4.6	
Turnout		37162	82.9	

58. Henty (Vic)		30.03.46	Enrolled 80883	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	
Doube VJ	ALP	32556	45.7	
Gullett HB	Lib	38718	54.3	
Formal		71274	98.5	
Informal		1086	1.5	
Turnout		72360	89.5	

59. Balaclava (Vic)		28.07.51	Enrolled 42823	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Joske PE	LP	20337	57.0	-6.3
Lewis A	ALP	13279	37.3	+0.6
Stratton GM	Ind	2035	5.7	+5.7
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Joske PE	LP	21355	59.9	-3.4
Lewis A	ALP	14296	40.1	+3.4
Formal		35651	99.2	+0.5
Informal		274	0.8	-0.5
Turnout		35925	83.9	-12.2

60. Macquarie (NSW)		28.07.51	Enrolled 39271	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Blanchard WH	ILab	3853	10.9	+10.9
Hannam WH	LP	12356	35.1	-3.7
Luchetti AS	ALP	18426	52.3	-5.4
Moffitt VB	Com	575	1.6	-1.9

Two-party preferred votes

Hannam WH	LP	13983	39.7	+0.4
Luchetti AS	ALP	21227	60.3	-0.4

Formal		35210	99.1	+0.3
Informal		325	0.9	-0.3
Turnout		35535	90.5	-7.1

61. Lyne (NSW)		22.03.52	Enrolled 40160	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Cordner TN	Ind	421	1.2	-3.4
Hayes EJ	ALP	13588	37.3	+7.4
Lancaster DJAL	CP	10631	29.2	+29.2
Lucock PE	CP	10994	30.2	-35.3
Spensley EH	Ind	775	2.1	+2.1

Two-party preferred votes

Hayes EJ	ALP	14925	41.0	+8.8
Lucock PE	CP	21484	59.0	-8.8

Formal		36409	98.5	+0.1
Informal		565	1.5	-0.1
Turnout		36974	92.1	-4.9

62. Flinders (Vic)		18.10.52	Enrolled 46748	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Ewert KWW	ALP	22674	53.8	+10.8
Hipwell RA	Ind	453	1.1	-1.0
Rossiter JF	LP	18384	43.7	-11.1
Stratton GM	Ind	602	1.4	+1.4

Two-party preferred votes

Ewert KWW	ALP	23202	55.1	+11.0
Rossiter JF	LP	18911	44.9	-11.0

Formal		42113	98.8	+0.4
Informal		493	1.2	-0.4
Turnout		42606	91.1	-5.1

63. Werriwa (NSW)		29.11.52	Enrolled 55486	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Griffith IR	LP	15706	32.5	-12.4
Whitlam EG	ALP	32561	67.5	+12.4

Two-party preferred votes

Griffith IR	LP	15706	32.5	-12.4
Whitlam EG	ALP	32561	67.5	+12.4

Formal		48267	98.3	+0.6
Informal		826	1.7	-0.6
Turnout		49093	88.5	-7.1

64. Bradfield (NSW)		20.12.52	Enrolled 45442	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Hardie MF	Ind	15336	38.2	+38.2
Potts CE	Ind	569	1.4	+1.4
Simons S	Ind	84	0.2	+0.2
Smith JS	ILab	1070	2.7	+2.7
Turner HB	LP	22912	57.0	-21.7
Wright E	Ind	225	0.6	+0.6

Formal		40196	98.1	-0.1
Informal		784	1.9	+0.1
Turnout		40980	90.2	-5.6

65. Dalley (NSW)		09.05.53	Enrolled 37737	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Cole WL	Ind	8285	24.5	+24.5
Greenup AE	ALP	23812	70.5	+3.4
Sheean J	Com	1667	4.9	+4.9

Formal		33764	95.4	-2.3
Informal		1618	4.6	+2.3
Turnout		35382	93.8	-2.2

66. Corangamite (Vic)		29.08.53	Enrolled 40559	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Mackinnon ED	LP	19449	52.2	-6.5
McLean AC	ALP	17782	47.8	+6.5

Two-party preferred votes

Mackinnon ED	LP	19449	52.2	-6.5
McLean AC	ALP	17782	47.8	+6.5

Formal		37231	99.5	+0.4
Informal		196	0.5	-0.4
Turnout		37427	92.3	-4.7

67. Lang (NSW)		29.08.53	Enrolled 44912	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Boyd RD	Com	1082	2.7	-2.0
Brosnan TJ	Ind	276	0.7	+0.7
Stewart FE	ALP	21699	53.9	+3.9
Thorncraft HR	LP	17218	42.8	-2.5

Two-party preferred votes

Stewart FE	ALP	22756	56.5	+2.5
Thorncraft HR	LP	17518	43.5	-2.5

Formal		40274	98.6	+0.3
Informal		584	1.4	-0.3
Turnout		40858	91.0	-6.4

68. Gwydir (NSW)		19.12.53	Enrolled 39618	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Allan AI	CP	9823	28.2	-25.0
Howard AM	LP	3584	10.3	+10.3
Kirkby TF	CP	5649	16.2	+16.2
Quinn MTL	ALP	15784	45.3	-1.5

Two-party preferred votes

Allan AI	CP	18409	52.8	-0.4
Quinn MTL	ALP	16431	47.2	+0.4

Formal		34840	98.6	-0.3
Informal		480	1.4	+0.3
Turnout		35320	89.2	-6.3

69. Cook (NSW)		21.05.55	Enrolled 33521	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Cope JF	ALP	21411	86.8	+3.4
Smith JS	Ind	3248	13.2	+13.2

Formal		24659	96.8	-0.6
Informal		814	3.2	+0.6
Turnout		25473	76.0	-18.9

70. Cunningham (NSW)		11.04.56	Enrolled 44070	
Candidate	Party			

Kearney VD	ALP	Unopposed		
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71. Barker (SA)		13.10.56	Enrolled 41810	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Crowe BR	DLP	2207	5.8	+5.8
Dettman RA	ALP	14454	38.1	+5.8
Forbes AJ	LP	18471	48.7	-19.0
McAnaney WP	ILCL	2819	7.4	+7.4

Two-party preferred votes

Dettman RA	ALP	16016	42.2	+9.9
Forbes AJ	LP	21935	57.8	-9.9

Formal		37951	98.0	+1.1
Informal		771	2.0	-1.1
Turnout		38722	92.6	-3.7

72. Wentworth (NSW)		08.12.56	Enrolled 42909	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bartley RJ	ILib	4109	12.2	+12.2
Bury LHE	LP	13956	41.3	-30.7
Laing AW	ILib	1414	4.2	+4.2
Robson RG	ILib	6414	19.0	+19.0
Sindel CAO	Ind	1470	4.4	+4.4
Starr TJK	ALP	6455	19.1	+19.1

Two-candidate preferred votes

Bury LHE	LP	17460	51.6	..
Robson RG	ILib	16358	48.4	..

Two-party preferred votes

LP	22764	67.3	-4.7
ALP	11054	32.7	+4.7

Formal		33818	96.7	-0.1
Informal		1167	3.3	+0.1
Turnout		34985	81.5	-10.8

73. Richmond (NSW)		14.09.57	Enrolled 41425	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Anthony JD	CP	18819	49.8	..
Gordon RR	CP	4678	12.4	..
Jackson OJ	CP	1696	4.5	..
O'Neill RL	CP	1241	3.3	..
Smith WH	ALP	10276	27.2	..
Wilson C	Ind	1057	2.8	..

Two-party preferred votes

Anthony JD	CP	25820	68.4	..
Smith WH	ALP	11947	31.6	..

Formal		37767	98.7	..
Informal		487	1.3	..
Turnout		38254	92.3	..

74. Parramatta (NSW)		08.03.58	Enrolled 48649	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Barwick GEJ	LP	22826	54.8	-7.5
Fenwick AV	Ind	920	2.2	+2.2
Mahoney DJ	ALP	17931	43.0	+5.3

Two-party preferred votes

Barwick GEJ	LP	23286	55.9	-6.4
Mahoney DJ	ALP	18391	44.1	+6.4

Formal		41677	98.6	+1.3
Informal		610	1.4	-1.3
Turnout		42287	86.9	-8.9

75. Hunter (NSW)		09.04.60	Enrolled 46060	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Brown R	Ind	11876	30.8	+30.8
Dumbrell CO	Com	3895	10.1	+10.1
James AW	ALP	21978	57.0	-17.4
Murnane K	Ind	826	2.1	+2.1

Formal		38575	97.6	-0.2
Informal		965	2.4	+0.2
Turnout		39540	85.8	-10.4

76. La Trobe (Vic)		09.04.60	Enrolled 59644	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Jess JD	LP	22880	42.8	-10.9
Martyr JR	DLP	6834	12.8	+3.5
Murray J	AR	406	0.8	+0.8
Pritchard D	ALP	23387	43.7	+6.8

Two-party preferred votes

Jess JD	LP	28999	54.2	-7.5
Pritchard D	ALP	24508	45.8	+7.5

Formal		53507	98.4	+0.3
Informal		872	1.6	-0.3
Turnout		54379	91.2	-4.7

77. Balaclava (Vic)		16.07.60	Enrolled 42256	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Murray J	AR	865	2.6	+2.6
Ryan JT	DLP	4672	14.2	+2.2
Smith GL	ALP	9519	28.9	+3.6
Whittorn RH	LP	17859	54.3	-6.8

Two-party preferred votes

Smith GL	ALP	10652	32.4	+4.6
Whittorn RH	LP	22263	67.6	-4.6

Formal		32915	97.9	+0.2
Informal		694	2.1	-0.2
Turnout		33609	79.5	-16.3

78. Bendigo (Vic)		16.07.60	Enrolled 45286	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Beaton NL	ALP	20290	48.0	-0.5
Drechsler WF	DLP	6200	14.7	+1.6
Snell HW	LP	15773	37.3	-1.1

Two-party preferred votes

Beaton NL	ALP	21198	50.2	-0.1
Snell HW	LP	21065	49.8	+0.1

Formal		42263	99.2	+0.5
Informal		345	0.8	-0.5
Turnout		42608	94.1	-2.6

79. Calare (NSW)		05.11.60	Enrolled 41434	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

England JA	CP	12039	32.6	+32.6
Meares WA	LP	8039	21.8	-36.3
Phillips J	AR	113	0.3	+0.3
Proust RJ	DLP	2540	6.9	+6.9
Serisier LD	ALP	14175	38.4	-3.5

Two-party preferred votes

England JA	CP	21824	59.1	+1.0
Serisier LD	ALP	15082	40.9	-1.0

Formal		36906	98.8	+0.6
Informal		445	1.2	-0.6
Turnout		37351	90.1	-5.5

80. Higinbotham (Vic)		10.12.60	Enrolled 56541	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Chipp DL	LP	19661	39.1	-10.4
Fowler HG	ALP	23541	46.8	+7.6
McBride E	AP	325	0.6	+0.6
Nugent J	DLP	6756	13.4	+2.1

Two-party preferred votes

Chipp DL	LP	25443	50.6	-9.2
Fowler HG	ALP	24840	49.4	+9.2

Formal		50283	98.1	+0.1
Informal		993	1.9	-0.1
Turnout		51276	90.7	-5.5

81. Batman (Vic)		01.09.62	Enrolled 43683	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Benson SJ	ALP	21776	60.1	+5.2
Davis SE	Ind	302	0.8	+0.8
Little JA	DLP	6811	18.8	+4.4
McLeod DW	LibF	7026	19.4	+19.4
Phillips J	AR	304	0.8	+0.8

Formal		36219	97.5	-0.3
Informal		939	2.5	+0.3
Turnout		37158	85.1	-10.5

82. Grey (SA)		01.06.63	Enrolled 46386	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Clark DM	ILab	705	1.7	+1.7
Dyason VH	LP	17494	41.8	+3.6
Kent LF	Ind	1265	3.0	+3.0
Mills RJ	DLP	935	2.2	-1.4
Mortimer J	ALP	21463	51.3	-6.9
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Dyason VH	LP	19203	45.9	+4.9
Mortimer J	ALP	22659	54.1	-4.9
Formal		41862	98.3	+0.9
Informal		718	1.7	-0.9
Turnout		42580	91.8	-4.2

83. East Sydney (NSW)		28.09.63	Enrolled 35736	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
Bond LSJ	Ind	1224	5.0	+5.0
Cook HK	PORP	699	2.9	+2.9
Devine LT	ALP	19704	80.7	+12.9
Luckman VA	ILib	2233	9.1	+9.1
Phillips J	AR	546	2.2	+2.2
Formal		24406	94.9	-1.4
Informal		1305	5.1	+1.4
Turnout		25711	71.9	-20.0

84. Denison (Tas)		15.02.64	Enrolled 36825	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Finlay DM	ALP	14367	43.3	+4.1
Gibson A	LP	16953	51.1	-0.2
Senior HP	DLP	1563	4.7	-1.7
Symmons BH	Ind	277	0.8	+0.8
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Finlay DM	ALP	14740	44.5	+1.9
Gibson A	LP	18420	55.5	-1.9
Formal		33160	98.5	+0.5
Informal		491	1.5	-0.5
Turnout		33651	91.4	-3.4

85. Angas (SA)		20.06.64	Enrolled 43356	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Giles GO	LP	23468	60.3	-1.6
Nielsen R	ALP	15452	39.7	+4.2
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Giles GO	LP	23468	60.3	-2.1
Nielsen R	ALP	15452	39.7	+2.1
Formal		38920	98.4	0.0
Informal		623	1.6	0.0
Turnout		39543	91.2	-6.2

86. Parramatta (NSW)		20.06.64	Enrolled 59154	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Beck EJ	DLP	2701	5.3	-0.2
Bowen NH	LP	26506	52.1	-3.9
Fenwick AV	Ind	248	0.5	+0.5
Phillips J	Ind	152	0.3	+0.3
Wilde BC	ALP	21227	41.8	+3.3
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Bowen NH	LP	29002	57.1	-3.0
Wilde BC	ALP	21832	42.9	+3.0
Formal		50834	98.1	-0.8
Informal		975	1.9	+0.8
Turnout		51809	87.6	-8.1

87. Robertson (NSW)		05.12.64	Enrolled 59047	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Bridges-Maxwell CW	LP	27220	50.1	-0.4
Mollett A	ALP	25432	46.8	+2.3
Taylor VA	ILib	648	1.2	+1.2
Woodbury CMR	DLP	1068	2.0	-3.0
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Bridges-Maxwell CW	LP	28517	52.5	-1.4
Mollett A	ALP	25851	47.5	+1.4
Formal		54368	97.0	-2.0
Informal		1701	3.0	+2.0
Turnout		56069	95.0	-0.5

88. Riverina (NSW)		27.02.65	Enrolled 43870	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Armstrong AA	CP	21371	56.3	+4.6
Ward JTA	ALP	16561	43.7	+2.1
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Armstrong AA	CP	21371	56.3	-0.9
Ward JTA	ALP	16561	43.7	+0.9
Formal		37932	98.8	0.0
Informal		455	1.2	0.0
Turnout		38387	87.5	-7.2

89. Dawson (Qld)		26.02.66	Enrolled 41055	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Fordyce J	CP	16572	44.9	-6.9
Patterson RA	ALP	20372	55.1	+13.7

Two-party preferred votes

Fordyce J	CP	16572	44.9	-11.9
Patterson RA	ALP	20372	55.1	+11.9

Formal		36944	98.8	+1.0
Informal		433	1.2	-1.0
Turnout		37377	91.0	-5.2

90. Kooyong (Vic)		02.04.66	Enrolled 49954	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Brereton PA	Ind	781	1.8	+1.8
Cock CB	AR	220	0.5	+0.5
Cooper WD	ALP	12181	27.7	+3.3
Gaynor BW	DLP	5854	13.3	+3.1
Peacock AS	LP	25012	56.8	-7.1

Two-party preferred votes

Cooper WD	ALP	13560	30.8	+3.8
Peacock AS	LP	30488	69.2	-3.8

Formal		44048	98.0	-0.9
Informal		900	2.0	+0.9
Turnout		44948	90.0	-5.9

91. Corio (Vic)		22.07.67	Enrolled 55809	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bourke PJ	DLP	5418	10.6	-0.2
Cardinal MJ	Ind	486	1.0	+1.0
Hay RJB	LP	18583	36.4	-8.9
Jones G	LRG	923	1.8	-0.3
Scholes GGD	ALP	25679	50.3	+11.1

Two-party preferred votes

Hay RJB	LP	23893	46.8	-11.1
Scholes GGD	ALP	27196	53.2	+11.1

Formal		51089	98.0	+1.8
Informal		1038	2.0	-1.8
Turnout		52127	93.4	-2.5

92. Capricornia (Qld)		30.09.67	Enrolled 41078	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Boyle PH	DLP	2628	6.9	-2.4
Everingham DN	ALP	20215	53.0	+0.8
Rudd FB	LP	12048	31.6	-6.9
Sheil WG	CP	3279	8.6	+8.6

Two-party preferred votes

Everingham DN	ALP	20937	54.9	-1.5
Rudd FB	LP	17233	45.1	+1.5

Formal		38170	99.2	+0.4
Informal		316	0.8	-0.4
Turnout		38486	93.7	-2.7

93. Higgins (Vic)		24.02.68	Enrolled 41425	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bennett DM	ALP	9601	27.7	+2.5
Courtis FA	Ind	347	1.0	+1.0
Gorton JG	LP	24067	69.4	+6.1
Weber LC	ARM	662	1.9	+1.9

Two-party preferred votes

Bennett DM	ALP	10105	29.1	+0.3
Gorton JG	LP	24572	70.9	-0.3

Formal		34677	98.6	+1.4
Informal		481	1.4	-1.4
Turnout		35158	84.9	-9.4

94. Curtin (WA)		19.04.69	Enrolled 44829	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Garland RV	LP	17983	50.5	-9.4
Jones HG	ALP	11047	31.0	+0.7
Scoggins RC	Ind	6586	18.5	+18.5

Two-party preferred votes

Garland RV	LP	21276	59.7	-7.1
Jones HG	ALP	14340	40.3	+7.1

Formal		35616	98.3	+2.1
Informal		608	1.7	-2.1
Turnout		36224	80.8	-13.8

95. Bendigo (Vic)		07.06.69	Enrolled 47943	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Brennan PG	DLP	5710	12.9	+0.3
Cambridge RW	LP	15106	34.2	-1.6
Candler C	Ind	595	1.3	+1.3
Hutchinson LJ	Ind	2750	6.2	+6.2
Kennedy AD	ALP	20011	45.3	-6.3

Two-party preferred votes

Cambridge RW	LP	21751	49.2	+2.1
Kennedy AD	ALP	22421	50.8	-2.1

Formal		44172	98.5	0.0
Informal		693	1.5	0.0
Turnout		44865	93.6	-2.6

96. Gwydir (NSW)		07.06.69	Enrolled 45104	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Hunt RJD	CP	21113	53.6	-7.7
Nott RB	ALP	18293	46.4	+7.7

Two-party preferred votes

Hunt RJD	CP	21113	53.6	-7.7
Nott RB	ALP	18293	46.4	+7.7

Formal		39406	99.0	+0.8
Informal		394	1.0	-0.8
Turnout		39800	88.2	-6.5

97. Australian Capital Territory (ACT)		30.05.70	Enrolled 64482	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bellchambers EC	Ind	438	0.8	+0.8
Cawthron RE	NSP	173	0.3	+0.3
Christie TJ	DLP	1857	3.3	+3.3
Enderby KE	ALP	20132	35.6	-32.1
Fitzgerald AJ	AP	9914	17.5	+12.9
Hermes CL	LP	15900	28.1	+1.3
Pead JH	Ind	8151	14.4	+14.4

Two-party preferred votes

Enderby KE	ALP	32690	57.8	-13.8
Hermes CL	LP	23875	42.2	+13.8

Formal		56565	96.9	-1.3
Informal		1813	3.1	+1.3
Turnout		58378	90.5	-2.4

98. Chisholm (Vic)		19.09.70	Enrolled 56737	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Costigan FX	ALP	15335	33.5	-0.6
Morrow AE	AP	1501	3.3	-0.6
Nilsen RN	DOGS	4138	9.0	+9.0
Staley AA	LP	24767	54.2	+1.3

Two-party preferred votes

Costigan FX	ALP	18568	40.6	+2.8
Staley AA	LP	27173	59.4	-2.8

Formal		45741	98.4	+0.5
Informal		756	1.6	-0.5
Turnout		46497	82.0	-12.8

99. Murray (Vic)		20.03.71	Enrolled 49856	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Flynn MT	Ind	535	1.2	+1.2
Hunter WB	LP	9622	21.0	+21.0
Lacey BV	DLP	4316	9.4	-0.2
Lloyd EB	CP	19710	43.0	-10.2
Riordan JA	ALP	11670	25.4	+2.2

Two-party preferred votes

Lloyd EB	CP	32306	70.5	-0.4
Riordan JA	ALP	13547	29.5	+0.4

Formal		45853	97.6	+0.6
Informal		1116	2.4	-0.6
Turnout		46969	94.2	-2.7

100. Parramatta (NSW)		22.09.73	Enrolled 73679	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Aussie-Stone MD	Ind	363	0.6	+0.6
Bellchambers EC	Ind	53	0.1	+0.1
Butterworth JH	AP	3522	5.5	+2.0
Houriham ME	DOGS	528	0.8	-1.0
Kiernan LJ	Ind	30	0.0	+0.0
Lister GD	Ind	65	0.1	+0.1
May R	NSP	37	0.1	+0.1
McGarrity S	Ind	325	0.5	+0.5
Meares KJ	Ind	25	0.0	+0.0
Pye MN	Ind	575	0.9	+0.9
Ruddock PM	LP	33506	52.6	+6.6
Whelan MJ	ALP	24623	38.7	-7.3

Two-party preferred votes

Ruddock PM	LP	36228	56.9	+6.6
Whelan MT	ALP	27424	43.1	-6.6

Formal		63652	97.7	-0.1
Informal		1493	2.3	+0.1
Turnout		65145	88.4	-7.3

101. Bass (Tas)		28.06.75	Enrolled 46744	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Aussie-Stone MD	Ind	243	0.6	+0.6
Kent P	Ind	904	2.1	+2.1
Macrostie JT	ALP	15609	36.5	-17.5
Negus SA	Ind	124	0.3	+0.3
Newman KE	LP	24638	57.6	+11.6
Petrosky VK	UTG	1272	3.0	+3.0

Two-party preferred votes

Macrostie JT	ALP	16880	39.4	-14.6
Newman KE	LP	25910	60.6	+14.6

Formal		42790	98.2	+0.2
Informal		773	1.8	-0.2
Turnout		43563	93.2	-2.9

102. Cunningham (NSW)		15.10.77	Enrolled 76620	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Dezelin R	Ind	1136	1.8	+1.8
Griffin TJ	LP	20748	32.1	-4.3
Nixon MF	Com	1236	1.9	+1.9
Sampson RW	Dem	5011	7.8	+7.8
West SJ	ALP	36425	56.4	-5.3

Two-party preferred votes

Griffin TJ	LP	24007	37.2	-0.3
West SJ	ALP	40549	62.8	+0.3

Formal		64556	97.2	-0.8
Informal		1888	2.8	+0.8
Turnout		66444	86.7	-9.3

103. Werriwa (NSW)		23.09.78	Enrolled 74655	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Garcia JA	SWP	1081	1.8	+1.8
Kerin JC	ALP	40272	67.2	+11.7
Olson KN	Dem	3774	6.3	-2.7
Penninger HR	NAP	214	0.4	+0.4
Sadler WP	LP	14556	24.3	-9.6

Two-party preferred votes

Kerin JC	ALP	43185	72.1	+11.3
Sadler WP	LP	16712	27.9	-11.3

Formal		59897	98.2	+1.4
Informal		1093	1.8	-1.4
Turnout		60990	81.7	-13.4

104. Grayndler (NSW)		23.06.79	Enrolled 67726	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bellchambers EC	Ind	1051	2.1	+2.1
Duncan SJE	VOTE	1845	3.7	+3.7
Keig JE	SWP	591	1.2	+1.2
Kirkman SR	Dem	1848	3.7	-3.5
McLeay LB	ALP	30764	61.8	+4.1
Salter FK	NA	863	1.7	+1.7
Vasseleou V	LP	12161	24.4	-9.0
Vouros F	SP	665	1.3	-0.4

Two-party preferred votes

McLeay LB	ALP	34635	69.6	+6.9
Vasseleou V	LP	15153	30.4	-6.9

Formal		49788	94.7	-2.0
Informal		2806	5.3	+2.0
Turnout		52594	77.7	-14.3

105. Boothby (SA)		21.02.81	Enrolled 80404	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Arkins D	UWU	544	0.8	+0.8
Gard A	Ind	555	0.9	+0.9
Hall RS	LP	36406	56.7	+0.5
Hercus RW	Dem	9188	14.3	+1.2
Herreen JD	PCP	398	0.6	-0.4
Whyatt JB	ALP	17108	26.6	-3.1

Two-party preferred votes

Hall RS	LP	40830	63.6	-1.2
Whyatt JB	ALP	23369	36.4	+1.2

Formal		64199	97.7	-0.4
Informal		1480	2.3	+0.4
Turnout		65679	81.7	-12.7

106. Curtin (WA)		21.02.81	Enrolled 64512	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Busell AD	Ind	1843	3.8	+3.8
Crouch J	ALP	15644	32.1	-0.7
de la Hunty SB	Dem	8356	17.1	+8.8
Rocher AC	LP	22951	47.0	-11.9

Two-party preferred votes

Crouch J	ALP	21732	44.5	+7.5
Rocher AC	LP	27062	55.5	-7.5

Formal		48794	96.7	-1.1
Informal		1664	3.3	+1.1
Turnout		50458	78.2	-14.8

107. McPherson (Qld)		21.02.81	Enrolled 86139	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Aabraham-Steer W	Ind	512	0.7	-1.1
Chaffey KD	PP	537	0.8	+0.8
Courtney P	Ind	290	0.4	+0.4
Giesberts H	Ind	469	0.7	+0.7
McKenna RP	ALP	18278	25.7	-5.1
Sheil G	NP	21189	29.8	+29.8
White PND	LP	29776	41.9	-1.4

Two-candidate preferred votes

Sheil G	NP	24715	34.8	..
White PND	LP	46336	65.2	..

Two-party preferred votes

	ALP	21445	30.2	-16.2
	LP	49606	69.8	+16.2
Formal		71051	97.8	+0.1
Informal		1575	2.2	-0.1
Turnout		72626	84.3	-8.3

108. Wentworth (NSW)		11.04.81	Enrolled 69972	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bussell AD	Ind	534	1.1	+1.1
Coleman WP	LP	22736	48.1	-12.4
Kersey JS	Dem	2186	4.6	-1.6
More WL	Ind	176	0.4	+0.4
Roach WE	Ind	92	0.2	+0.2
Tickner RE	ALP	16637	35.2	+1.9
Wentworth KW	ILib	4923	10.4	+10.4

Two-party preferred votes

Coleman WP	LP	27136	57.4	-6.2
Tickner RE	ALP	20148	42.6	+6.2
Formal		47284	97.2	-0.3
Informal		1349	2.8	+0.3
Turnout		48633	69.5	-19.0

109. Lowe (NSW)		13.03.82	Enrolled 71140	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Bellchambers EC	Ind	460	0.8	+0.8
Cameron RJ	Ind	116	0.2	+0.2
Consandine PW	CRep	405	0.7	+0.7
Gustin M	Ind	729	1.2	+1.2
Kirkham SR	Dem	2495	4.1	+1.1
Lee M	Ind	144	0.2	+0.2
Maher MJ	ALP	32717	53.4	+7.0
Martin FE	Ind	49	0.1	+0.1
Penninger J	Ind	56	0.1	+0.1
Taylor PJ	LP	23637	38.6	-10.2
Webeck RJ	Ind	27	0.0	+0.0
Wentworth KW	Ind	462	0.8	+0.8

Two-party preferred votes

Maher MJ	ALP	35188	57.4	+8.5
Taylor PJ	LP	26109	42.6	-8.5
Formal		61297	97.7	-0.4
Informal		2091	3.3	+0.4
Turnout		63388	89.1	-4.9

110. Flinders (Vic)		04.12.82	Enrolled 84782	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Consandine PW	CRep	607	0.8	+0.8
Crossley PM	DSP	1211	1.6	+1.6
Farrell G	AP	389	0.5	+0.5
Ferwerda PA	DLP	1271	1.7	+1.7
Fraser HA	Dem	6785	8.9	-1.6
Reith PK	LP	34756	45.7	-4.6
Ward RJ	ALP	31052	40.8	+1.6

Two-party preferred votes

Reith PK	LP	39804	52.3	-3.3
Ward RJ	ALP	36276	47.7	+3.3
Formal		76080	97.4	-0.7
Informal		1991	2.6	+0.7
Turnout		78071	92.1	-3.0

111. Wannon (Vic)		07.05.83	Enrolled 69466	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Genardini NM	ALP	23069	36.1	-1.1
Hallam RM	NP	14290	22.3	+22.3
Hawker DPM	LP	26631	41.6	-16.0

Two-party preferred votes

Genardini NM	ALP	25060	39.2	-1.5
Hawker DPM	LP	38930	60.8	+1.5
Formal		63990	99.2	+0.5
Informal		527	0.8	-0.5
Turnout		64517	92.9	-4.1

112. Bruce (Vic)		28.05.83	Enrolled 81668	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Aldred KJ	LP	35849	48.5	+0.6
Fogarty PA	PP	105	0.1	+0.1
Johnson MR	Dem	4769	6.5	-1.3
Kapphan W	Ind	111	0.2	+0.2
Mulholland JV	DLP	1621	2.2	+2.2
O'Connor HW	ALP	31354	42.4	-1.9
Thiele B	AusConst	94	0.1	+0.1

Two-party preferred votes

Aldred KJ	LP	40259	54.5	+3.8
O'Connor WH	ALP	33644	45.5	-3.8

Formal		73903	98.3	0.0
Informal		1266	1.7	0.0
Turnout		75169	92.0	-5.2

113. Moreton (Qld)		05.11.83	Enrolled 67335	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Cameron DM	LP	31440	52.1	+5.4
Eather NL	APPG	508	0.8	+0.8
Platen MJ	NHP	252	0.4	+0.4
Robson BL	ALP	28130	46.6	+1.1

Two-party preferred votes

Cameron DM	LP	31882	52.8	+1.2
Robson BL	ALP	28448	47.2	-1.2

Formal		60330	98.9	+0.4
Informal		655	1.1	-0.4
Turnout		60985	90.6	-2.0

114. Corangamite (Vic)		18.02.84	Enrolled 75571	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Lam JK	DLP	1336	1.9	+1.9
McArthur FS	LP	32083	46.7	-11.3
O'Connor GM	ALP	25517	37.1	-4.9
Seymour DCG	NP	9794	14.3	+14.3

Two-party preferred votes

McArthur FS	LP	40837	59.3	+1.3
O'Connor GM	ALP	27893	40.7	-1.3

Formal		68730	98.4	+0.1
Informal		1096	1.6	-0.1
Turnout		69826	92.4	-4.7

115. Hughes (NSW)		18.02.84	Enrolled 83072	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Hellyer RK	Dem	4065	5.8	-3.3
Johnson L	Ind	1393	2.0	+2.0
Mason CB	LP	22962	32.7	+4.3
Saleam J	ANAG	970	1.4	+1.4
Tickner RE	ALP	40728	58.1	-3.5

Two-party preferred votes

Mason CB	LP	25956	37.0	+5.0
Tickner RE	ALP	44162	63.0	-5.0

Formal		70118	97.9	-0.3
Informal		1486	2.1	+0.3
Turnout		71604	86.2	-9.9

116. Richmond (NSW)		18.02.84	Enrolled 90494	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Blunt CW	NP	26972	33.8	-19.2
Bucks F	Ind	3657	4.6	+4.6
Carmont PW	ALP	28914	36.2	-3.5
Clough SD	Dem	2587	3.2	-4.1
Griffin DA	Ind	469	0.6	+0.6
Pezzutti BPV	LP	16948	21.2	+21.2
Ponnuswamy M	UM	290	0.4	+0.4

Two-party preferred votes

Blunt CW	NP	44528	55.8	-0.5
Carmont PW	ALP	35309	44.2	+0.5

Formal		79837	98.3	-0.4
Informal		1383	1.7	+0.4
Turnout		81220	89.8	-5.6

117. Scullin (Vic)		08.02.86	Enrolled 62448	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Cichello D	LP	11741	22.9	+4.4
Privitelli J	Dem	3727	7.3	+0.6
Mulholland JV	DLP	924	1.8	+1.8
Jenkins HA	ALP	34021	66.3	-5.2
Sibelle M	SWP	930	1.8	+1.8

Two-party preferred votes

Cichello D	LP	13770	26.8	+4.4
Jenkins HA	ALP	37562	73.2	-4.4
Exhausted		11		

Formal		51343	93.9	+0.8
Informal		3318	6.1	-8.0
Turnout		54661	87.5	-7.7

118. Adelaide (SA)		06.02.88	Enrolled 73750	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Mewett BR	Ind	1408	2.3	+2.3
Consandine P	Ind	104	0.2	+0.2
Brander M	Ind	409	0.7	+0.7
Litten JD	Ind	367	0.6	+0.6
McLiesh I	Dem	7097	11.8	+2.7
McGregor-Dey D	Unite	218	0.4	-0.2
Stokes B	NP	1000	1.7	-3.4
Farrell D	ALP	22897	38.0	-10.9
Pratt M	LP	26777	44.4	+8.9

Two-party preferred votes

Farrell D	ALP	28967	48.1	-8.4
Pratt M	LP	31195	51.9	+8.4
Exhausted		115		
Formal		60277	96.1	+3.7
Informal		2431	3.9	-3.7
Turnout		62708	85.0	-7.6

119. Port Adelaide (SA)		26.03.88	Enrolled 72571	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Chaplin T	Ind	2385	3.8	+3.8
Brander M	Ind	438	0.7	+0.7
Fuller J	LP	23818	37.7	+9.1
Sawford R	ALP	29773	47.1	-14.2
Deering B	Ind	412	0.7	+0.7
Lees M	Dem	4506	7.1	+1.0
Hammond R	Ind	1142	1.8	+1.8
Auer J	Ind	743	1.2	+1.2

Two-party preferred votes

Fuller J	LP	28276	44.8	+11.1
Sawford R	ALP	34885	55.2	-11.1
Exhausted		56		
Formal		63217	95.7	+4.9
Informal		2865	4.3	-4.9
Turnout		66082	91.1	-2.6

120. Groom (Qld)		09.04.88	Enrolled 71402	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Carew MJ	Dem	3474	5.6	+0.2
Dwyer LA	ALP	14973	24.2	-8.2
Taylor B	LP	20651	33.3	+20.0
Russell DG	NP	17814	28.8	-20.1
Consandine P	Ind	369	0.6	+0.6
Burke VJ	Ind	4661	7.5	+7.5

Two-candidate preferred votes

Taylor B	LP	38651	62.4	..
Russell DG	NP	23271	37.6	..
Exhausted		20		

Two-party preferred votes

ALP	19797	32.0	-5.2
LP	42129	68.0	+5.2
Exhausted	16		
Formal	61942	98.6	+1.5
Informal	889	1.4	-1.5
Turnout	62831	88.0	-5.4

121. Oxley (Qld)		08.10.88	Enrolled 67125	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Darby M	Ind	3345	5.8	+5.8
Kuhne OE	Ind	353	0.6	+0.6
Hoffenstz B	NP	9876	17.1	-3.1
Cooke D	LP	15853	27.4	+12.6
Scott L	ALP	28427	49.1	-10.8

Two-party preferred votes

Cooke D	LP	27134	46.9	+11.8
Scott L	ALP	30705	53.1	-11.8
Exhausted		15		
Formal		57854	97.4	+0.6
Informal		1563	2.6	-0.6
Turnout		59417	88.5	-3.5

122. Gwydir (NSW)		15.04.89	Enrolled 69709	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

Anderson J	NP	31209	56.0	-1.2
O'Regan B	Ind	9881	17.7	+17.7
Uebergang J	Ind	14660	26.3	+26.3

Two-candidate preferred votes

Anderson J	NP	n.a.
Uebergang J	Ind	n.a.

Formal	55750	95.3	-1.2
Informal	2768	4.7	+1.2
Turnout	58518	83.9	-10.9

123. Menzies (Vic)		11.05.91	Enrolled 72518	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Andrews KJ	LP	40164	67.7	+9.3
McCormack D	AFI	4055	6.8	+6.8
Barnard J	Ind	2035	3.4	+3.4
Peak K	Dem	13070	20.0	+8.4
<i>Two-candidate preferred votes</i>				
Andrews KJ	LP	42719	72.0	..
Peak K	Dem	16578	28.0	..
	Exhausted	17		
Formal		59314	95.0	-1.9
Informal		3103	5.0	+1.9
Turnout		62417	86.1	-10.5

124. Wills (Vic)		11.04.92	Enrolled 76217	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Savage K	Ind	1660	2.6	+2.6
Kardimitsis B	ALP	18784	29.4	-19.3
Kuhn OE	Ind	35	0.1	+0.1
Phillips R	Ind	136	0.2	+0.2
Kapphan W	Ind	34	0.1	+0.1
Rawson G	Ind	453	0.7	+0.7
Delacretaz J	LP	17582	27.6	-6.9
Poulos P	Ind	61	0.1	+0.1
Droulers JP	Ind	68	0.1	+0.1
French B	Ind	90	0.1	+0.1
Potter FC	Ind	30	0.1	+0.1
Murray J	Ind	54	0.1	+0.1
Vassis C	Ind	43	0.1	+0.1
Cleary P	Ind	21391	33.5	+33.5
Ferraro S	Ind	221	0.3	+0.3
Germaine S	FPA	280	0.4	+0.4
Walker A	AFI	577	0.9	+0.9
Markay D	Dem	1383	2.2	-7.4
Lewis B	Ind	216	0.3	+0.3
Sykes IG	Ind	364	0.6	-0.9
Kyrou K	Ind	81	0.1	+0.1
Murgatroyd	Ind	258	0.4	-0.1
<i>Two-candidate preferred votes</i>				
Kardimitsis B	ALP	21772	34.3	..
Cleary P	Ind	41708	65.7	..
	Exhausted	321		
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
	ALP	40416	63.8	+5.9
	LP	22942	36.2	-5.9
	Exhausted	443		
Formal		63801	93.6	0.0
Informal		4348	6.4	0.0
Turnout		68149	89.4	-4.9

125. Werriwa (NSW)		29.01.94	Enrolled 74512	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
MacAllister GM	Ind	1111	1.8	+1.8
Latham M	ALP	30337	50.1	-11.3
Kammoun A	Ind	378	0.6	+0.6
Lynn C	LP	20466	33.8	+3.3
Spencer RM	AFI	4384	7.2	+7.2
Moon J	Ind	3199	5.3	+5.3
Keegel EL	Ind	188	0.3	+0.3
Corbett MR	Ind	458	0.8	+0.8
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Latham M	ALP	35972	59.5	-6.3
Lynne C	LP	24500	40.5	+6.3
	Exhausted	49		
Formal		60521	94.8	-1.2
Informal		3318	5.2	+1.2
Turnout		63839	85.7	-9.6

126. Fremantle (WA)		12.03.94	Enrolled 74721	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
Conder RN	Ind	1506	2.4	+2.4
Hourn G	LP	23047	36.9	-1.8
Walker S	GWA	5215	8.3	+1.5
Lawrence C	ALP	32707	52.4	+2.2
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Hourn G	LP	25715	41.2	-1.0
Lawrence C	ALP	36745	58.8	+1.0
	Exhausted	15		
Formal		62475	97.4	+0.4
Informal		1669	2.6	-0.4
Turnout		64144	85.8	-10.3

127. Bonython (SA)		19.03.94	Enrolled 77469	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First preference votes</i>				
McCormack D	AFI	4323	6.8	+6.8
Bell G	Gry	4659	7.4	+7.4
Evans M	ALP	29097	45.9	-9.7
Markwell A	LP	20398	32.2	+3.5
Webb J	Ind	923	1.5	+1.5
Newey P	Dem	3960	6.2	-3.2
<i>Two-party preferred votes</i>				
Evans M	ALP	36013	56.9	-7.8
Markwell A	LP	27284	43.1	+7.8
	Exhausted	63		
Formal		63360	94.5	-0.2
Informal		3722	5.5	+0.2
Turnout		67082	86.6	-8.0

128. Mackellar (NSW)		26.03.94	Enrolled 78932	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

McLeod FE	Grn	3940	5.9	+5.9
Consandine P	RPA	586	0.9	+0.9
Wells SR	Ind	2063	3.1	+3.1
Ellis B	Ind	15501	23.1	+23.1
Phillips J	AFI	5464	8.2	+8.2
Bigot G		582	0.9	+0.9
Johnson B	Dem	3851	5.7	-1.4
Bishop B	LP	34999	52.2	-4.4

Two-candidate preferred votes

Ellis B	Ind	26587	39.7	..
Bishop B	LP	40328	60.3	..
	Exhausted	71		
Formal		66986	96.8	-0.2
Informal		2181	3.2	+0.2
Turnout		69167	87.6	-8.2

129. Warringah (NSW)		26.03.94	Enrolled 78174	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Spencer RM	AFI	8446	13.5	+13.5
Abbott T	LP	34440	55.2	-0.9
Halnan J	Ind	9564	15.3	+15.3
Anderson T	Dem	9932	15.9	+11.6

Two-candidate preferred votes

Abbott T	LP	39581	63.5	..
Halnan J	Ind	22788	36.5	..
	Exhausted	13		
Formal		62382	96.4	-1.2
Informal		2339	3.6	+1.2
Turnout		64721	82.8	-12.7

130. Kooyong (Vic)		19.11.94	Enrolled 72441	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Cotton Y	Ind	2004	3.5	+3.5
Tobias PF	Ind	518	0.9	+0.9
Boffa G	Ind	955	1.7	+1.7
Greagg DLJ		686	1.2	-0.2
Georgiou P	LP	32872	56.9	-4.2
Walker A	AFI	4573	7.9	+7.9
Singer P	Grn	16202	28.0	+28.0

Two-candidate preferred votes

Georgiou P	LP	36964	64.0	..
Singer P	Grn	20766	36.0	..
	Exhausted	80		
Formal		57810	96.4	-1.1
Informal		2166	3.6	+1.1
Turnout		59976	82.8	-1.3

131. Canberra (ACT)		25.03.95	Enrolled 99295	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Clarke J	Ind	2274	2.7	+2.7
Robinson S	ALP	25689	30.5	-21.8
Cotta J	RPA	1003	1.2	+1.2
Spencer R	AFI	3515	4.2	+4.2
Warden J	Grn	10835	12.9	+12.9
Smyth B	LP	39021	46.3	+10.1
Gray-Grzeszkiewicz J	Ind	1956	2.3	+2.3

Two-party preferred votes

Robinson S	ALP	36577	43.4	-16.1
Smyth B	LP	47672	56.6	+16.1
	Exhausted	44		
Formal		84293	96.5	-0.7
Informal		3095	3.5	+0.7
Turnout		87388	88.0	-9.0

132. Wentworth (NSW)		08.04.95	Enrolled 78880	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Matson A	Grn	15120	26.0	+26.0
Hooper J		1317	2.3	+2.3
Thomson A	LP	30677	52.8	+0.1
Wentworth WC	Ind	10945	18.9	+18.9

Two-candidate preferred votes

Matson M	Grn	19793	34.1	..
Thomson A	LP	38252	65.9	..
	Exhausted	14		
Formal		58059	96.0	-1.1
Informal		2392	4.0	+1.1
Turnout		60451	76.6	-17.9

133. Blaxland (NSW)		15.06.96	Enrolled 79714	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Hutchinson J	RARI	5771	9.0	+9.0
Baird NDL	Ind	1499	2.3	+2.3
Spencer A		499	0.8	+0.8
Pahme M	CTA	2782	4.3	+3.0
Reid B	Ind	750	1.2	+1.2
Kennedy M		388	0.6	+0.6
Kearney V	Grn	3148	4.9	+4.9
Aussie-Stone M	Ind	298	0.5	+0.1
Cogger L	NLP	224	0.3	+0.1
Sayegh P	Ind	2334	3.6	+2.6
Hatton M	ALP	37804	58.8	+0.1
Krumins PJ	AFI	8759	13.6	+10.9

Two-candidate preferred votes

Hutchinson J	RARI	19800	30.9	..
Hatton M	ALP	44188	69.1	..
	Exhausted	268		

Formal		64256	92.7	-0.7
Informal		5092	7.3	+0.7
Turnout		69348	87.0	-9.1

134. Lindsay (NSW)		19.10.96	Enrolled 81659	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Grigg B	CTA	1254	1.8	-0.4
Kelly J	LP	34840	49.2	+6.7
Franich R	ASP	2042	2.9	+2.9
Free R	ALP	23758	33.6	-6.8
Townsend V	Ind	4224	6.0	+3.2
Grim-Reaper S	Ind	270	0.4	+0.4
Peacey RF	Ind	156	0.2	+0.2
Vella KA	Ind	933	1.3	+1.3
Archibald D	FLR	150	0.2	+0.2
Aird V	Ind	488	0.7	+0.7
Lear S	Dem	1182	1.7	-4.9
Edwards L	Grn	1502	2.1	-1.3

Two-party preferred votes

Kelly J	LP	39941	56.6	+5.0
Free R	ALP	30684	43.4	-5.0
	Exhausted	174		

Formal		70799	96.4	-0.1
Informal		2678	3.6	+0.1
Turnout		73477	90.0	-6.1

135. Fraser (ACT)		01.02.97	Enrolled 65687	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Chu A	Ind	4135	7.8	+7.8
von Behrens D	Grn	5584	10.6	+0.7
Walker A	AFI	1870	3.5	+3.5
Dargavel S	ALP	25867	49.1	-1.4
Hill C	Ind	9642	18.3	+18.3
Bernard JJ	Ind	189	0.4	+0.4
Miller JR	CTA	1766	3.4	+3.4
Hutchinson J	RARI	1228	2.3	+2.3
Connor K	AAP	490	0.9	+0.9
Clarke J	Ind	455	0.9	+0.9
Thompson DS	Ind	1456	2.8	+2.8

Two-candidate preferred votes

Dargavel S	ALP	34279	65.2	..
Hill C	Ind	18261	34.8	..
	Exhausted	142		

Formal		52682	94.1	-2.7
Informal		3313	5.9	+2.7
Turnout		55995	85.2	-11.6

136. Holt (Vic)		06.11.99	Enrolled 84725	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Mulholland J	DLP	5404	7.3	+7.3
Scoullar D	Grn	4701	6.4	+6.4
Dickson L	CTA	4399	6.0	+4.2
Morgan P	Dem	10896	14.7	+8.7
Byrne A	ALP	48499	65.6	+5.8

Two-candidate preferred votes

Morgan	Dem	20650	27.9	..
Byrne A	ALP	53249	72.1	..

Formal		73899	92.8	-2.7
Informal		5727	7.2	+2.7
Turnout		79626	94.0	-1.2

137. Isaacs (Vic)		12.08.00	Enrolled 81329	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Brook P	FST	3270	5.4	+4.9
Fletcher H	Dem	10540	17.3	+11.4
Hutchison M	Grn	5539	9.1	+7.0
King G	DLP	1832	3.0	+3.0
Wesley C	Ind	5329	8.7	+8.7
Corcoran A	ALP	34483	56.5	+8.1

Two-candidate preferred votes

Fletcher H	Dem	20715	34.0	..
Corcoran A	ALP	40278	66.0	..

Formal		60993	91.8	-4.6
Informal		5420	8.2	+4.6
Turnout		66413	81.7	-14.5

138. Ryan (Qld)		17.03.01	Enrolled 87634	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Short L	ALP	29173	38.7	+8.3
Stagg W	Ind	440	0.6	+0.6
Hyland T	Ind	822	1.1	+1.1
Moore J	Ind	1351	1.8	+1.8
Hassall AR	CTA	955	1.3	+1.3
Stasse M	Grn	4608	6.1	+2.3
Tucker B	LP	32571	43.2	-7.2
Freemarijuana ND	HMP	1685	2.2	+2.2
Dengate L	Dem	3808	5.0	-2.9

Two-party preferred votes

Short L	ALP	37834	50.2	+9.7
Tucker B	LP	37579	49.8	-9.7

Formal		75413	97.0	-0.7
Informal		2304	3.0	+0.7
Turnout		77717	88.7	-5.7

139. Aston (Vic)		14.07.01	Enrolled 89159	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

O'Loughlin P	Ind	1160	1.5	+1.5
Pearce C	LP	31640	40.7	-7.8
Ward M	Ind	126	0.2	+0.2
Sloan M	NGST	618	0.8	+0.8
Kir M	Grn	1877	2.4	+2.4
Raskovy S	Ind	227	0.3	+0.3
Mitchell D	CEC	334	0.4	+0.4
Chamberlain LJ	LFF	680	0.9	+0.9
Harcourt P	Dem	6271	8.1	+0.5
Scott J	HAN	1369	1.8	-1.1
Scates G	Ind	3401	4.4	+4.4
Cox J	Ind	328	0.4	+0.4
Petherbridge T	HPA	232	0.3	+0.3
Dunstan G	HMP	711	0.9	+0.9
Boland K	ALP	28716	37.0	-1.5

Two-party preferred votes

Pearce C	LP	39299	50.6	-3.7
Boland K	ALP	38391	49.4	+3.7

Formal		77690	94.2	-3.0
Informal		4819	5.8	+3.0
Turnout		82509	92.5	-4.1

140. Cunningham (NSW)		19.10.02	Enrolled 81521	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Nanelli O	CDP	2566	3.8	+1.3
Wilson P	Ind	7107	10.6	+10.6
Johnson HA	CEC	120	0.2	+0.2
Organ M	Grn	15505	23.0	+16.4
Bird S	ALP	25671	38.1	-6.1
Flanagan J	NCP	556	0.8	+0.8
Crocker G	HAN	2696	4.0	-0.6
Hughes D	AFI	889	1.3	+1.3
Keene J	Ind	483	0.7	+0.7
Sampson M	Ind	671	1.0	+1.0
Moulds D	Ind	9147	13.6	+13.6
Chapman L	Dem	1514	2.2	-4.9
Williams C	SA	399	0.6	+0.6

Two-candidate preferred votes

Organ M	Grn	35160	52.2	..
Bird S	ALP	32164	47.8	..

Formal		67324	92.3	-2.9
Informal		5647	7.7	+2.9
Turnout		72971	89.5	-5.9

141. Werriwa (NSW)		19.03.05	Enrolled 90726	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Woodger J	AFI	3243	4.8	+4.8
Raue B	Grn	3726	5.6	+2.4
Young J	Ind	5237	7.8	+7.8
Lees M	Ind	1393	2.1	+2.1
Hayes C	ALP	37286	55.5	+2.9
Vogler R	Ind	316	0.5	+0.5
Tan G	CDP	2537	3.8	+3.8
Bryant J	Ind	2696	4.0	+4.0
Doggett C	ONNSW	2400	3.6	+1.2
Head M		458	0.7	+0.7
Sykes M	FFP	2890	4.3	+4.3
Bargshoon S	Ind	753	1.1	-3.8
McGookin MP	PLP	629	0.9	+0.9
Locke D		2101	3.1	+3.1
Aussie-Stone M	Ind	388	0.6	+0.6
Mannoun N		1076	1.6	+1.6

Two-candidate preferred votes

Young J	Ind	20106	30.0	..
Hayes C	ALP	47023	70.0	..

Formal		67129	86.9	-5.2
Informal		10162	13.2	+5.2
Turnout		77291	85.2	-8.7

142. Gippsland (Vic)		28.06.08	Enrolled 95580	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

McKelvie M	Grn	5862	7.0	+1.5
Fitzgerald R	LP	17249	20.7	+20.7
Buckley B	LDP	3518	4.2	+4.2
McCubbin D	ALP	23652	28.4	-8.1
Chester D	NP	32971	39.6	-8.8

Two-party preferred votes

McCubbin D	ALP	31641	38.0	-6.1
Chester D	NP	51611	62.0	+6.1

Formal		83252	97.1	+0.1
Informal		2465	2.9	-0.1
Turnout		85717	89.7	-6.0

143. Lyne (NSW)		06.09.08	Enrolled 87854	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Smith B	FishP	2566	3.5	+3.5
Muldoon G	CEC	270	0.4	+0.1
Scott-Irving S	Ind	400	0.5	+0.1
O'Donohue MP	DLP	853	1.2	+1.2
Oakeshott R	Ind	47306	63.8	+63.8
Russell S	Grn	5206	7.0	-0.1
Drew R	NP	16964	22.9	-29.4
Wright B	Ind	582	0.8	-0.5

Two-candidate preferred votes

Oakeshott R	Ind	54770	73.9	..
Drew R	NP	19377	26.1	..

Formal		74147	96.6	+1.6
Informal		2646	3.5	-1.6
Turnout		76793	87.4	-8.5

144. Mayo (SA)		06.09.08	Enrolled 97550	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Vonow L	Grn	15851	21.3	+10.4
Barons R	CCE	725	1.0	-0.3
Spragg B	Ind	1545	2.1	+2.1
Keizer M	ON	503	0.7	+0.7
Brewerton M	Ind	1868	2.5	+2.5
Castrique A	Dem	923	1.3	-0.3
Briggs J	LP	30651	41.3	-9.8
King MR	Ind	219	0.3	+0.3
Day B	FFP	8468	11.4	+7.4
McCabe D	DLP	1426	1.9	+1.9
Bell D	Ind	12081	16.3	+16.3

Two-candidate preferred votes

Vonow L	Grn	34879	47.0	..
Briggs J	LP	39381	53.0	..

Formal		74260	95.0	-2.2
Informal		3900	5.0	+2.2
Turnout		78160	80.1	-15.8

145. Bradfield (NSW)		05.12.09	Enrolled 95083	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Whitehall J	CDP	1054	1.5	-0.3
Luke J	CDP	170	0.2	+0.2
Hanrahan PW	Ind	443	0.6	+0.6
Koutalios B	Ind	1191	1.7	+1.7
Mccaffrey S	DLP	1533	2.2	+2.2
Peebles R	CDP	162	0.2	+0.2
Gemmell S	Grn	17799	25.2	+14.0
Allen D	CDP	147	0.2	+0.2
Thew L	CDP	187	0.3	+0.3
Leishman M	ASxP	2229	3.2	+3.2
Dowling P	Ind	555	0.8	+0.8
Kelly SM	Ind	1359	1.9	+1.9
Waterson V	ON	449	0.6	+0.6
Gabb L	LDP	589	0.8	+0.8
Buckley B	Ind	618	0.9	+0.9
Fletcher PW	LP	39815	56.4	-2.6
Hestelov A	CDP	285	0.4	+0.4
Heng E	CDP	362	0.5	+0.5
Pender JF	CDP	57	0.1	+0.1
Pix D	CDP	100	0.1	+0.1
Burt D	CCC	686	1.0	+1.0
Price G	EFN	758	1.1	+1.1

Two-candidate preferred votes

Gemmell S	Grn	24831	35.2	..
Fletcher PW	LP	45717	64.8	..

Formal		70548	91.0	-5.0
Informal		6976	9.0	+5.0
Turnout		77524	81.5	-12.5

146. Higgins (Vic)		05.12.09	Enrolled 88130	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Murphy S	Ind	1145	1.7	+1.7
Patten F	ASxP	2144	3.2	+3.2
O'Dwyer K	LP	36421	54.6	+1.0
Roberts I	LDP	336	0.5	+0.5
Hamilton C	Grn	21628	32.4	+21.7
Collyer D	Dem	1531	2.3	+1.1
Toscano J	Ind	523	0.8	+0.8
Raskovy S	ON	211	0.3	+0.3
Brohier P	Ind	236	0.4	+0.4
Mulholland J	DLP	2572	3.9	+3.9

Two-candidate preferred votes

O'Dwyer K	LP	40203	60.2	..
Hamilton C	Grn	26544	39.8	..

Formal		66747	95.9	-1.6
Informal		2890	4.2	+1.6
Turnout		69637	79.0	-14.8

147. Griffith (Qld)		08.02.14	Enrolled 97804	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Lawrence T	SPP	666	0.9	+0.7
Ebbs G	Grn	7635	9.8	-0.4
Williams CD	FFP	729	0.9	+0.2
Boele K	Ind	504	0.7	+0.7
Ackroyd A	BTA	602	0.8	+0.8
Reid A	SPA	424	0.6	+0.0
Butler, T	ALP	30023	38.6	-1.7
Thomas MR	PPA	1172	1.5	+1.5
Windsor TJ	Ind	656	0.8	+0.0
Sawyer R	KAP	821	1.1	+0.4
Glasson B	LNP	34491	44.4	+2.2

Two-party preferred votes

Butler T	ALP	40229	51.8	-1.3
Glasson B	LNP	37494	48.2	+1.3

Formal		77723	96.8	+1.6
Informal		2552	3.2	-1.6
Turnout		80275	82.1	-11.1

148. Canning (WA)		19.09.15	Enrolled 112824	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Sharma VK	PUP	2600	3.1	-3.8
Whittle C	LDP	492	0.6	+0.6
Allen M	PIR	775	0.9	+0.9
Smith G	ADVP	690	0.8	+0.8
Love KAJ	1195	1.4	+1.4	
Hastie A	LP	39712	46.9	-4.2
Van Lieshout T	Ind	539	0.6	+0.6
Keogh M	ALP	30096	35.6	+8.9
Rauland V	GWA	4967	5.9	-1.5
McCourt J	FFP	623	0.7	-0.6
Van Burgel J	AC	2433	2.9	-0.2
Smith A	SPP	513	0.6	+0.6

Two-party preferred votes

Hastie A	LP	46772	55.3	-6.6
Keogh M	ALP	37863	44.7	+6.6

Formal		84635	94.3	-0.1
Informal		5082	5.7	+0.1
Turnout		89717	79.5	-12.5

149. North Sydney (NSW)		05.12.15	Enrolled 104294	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Pollard L	TAP	1400	1.8	+1.8
Bourke W	SPP	2189	2.9	+2.9
Kennard S	LDP	1591	2.1	+2.1
Bromson KS	VEP	815	1.1	+1.1
Jansson J	FP	513	0.7	+0.7
Chesterfield-Evans A	Grn	11959	15.7	+0.4
Beregi M	Ind	2613	3.4	+3.4
Nero S	CDP	1917	2.5	+1.5
Marks RJ	PUP	352	0.5	-1.2
Zimmerman T	LP	36690	48.2	-12.8
Ruff S	Ind	14303	18.8	+18.8
Freeman L	ACP	815	1.1	+1.1
Bohm T	BTA	964	1.3	+1.3

Two-candidate preferred votes

Zimmerman T	LP	45848	60.2	..
Ruff S	Ind	30273	39.8	..

Formal		76121	93.1	-1.5
Informal		5658	6.9	+1.5
Turnout		81779	78.4	-13.8

150. New England (NSW)		02.12.17	Enrolled 110685	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Stretton R	CDP	2129	2.4	+1.0
Wagstaff SS	AJP	930	1.1	+1.1
Potts A	AHP	605	0.7	+0.7
Madden J	Ind	1145	1.3	+1.3
Smyth T	LDP	515	0.6	-0.6
Carter D	Ind	590	0.7	+0.7
Joyce B	NP	57016	64.9	+12.6
Bourke W	SPP	628	0.7	+0.7
Stacey W	SUN	342	0.4	+0.4
Taber R	Ind	5959	6.8	+4.0
Mailler P	CM	2112	2.4	+1.0
Ewings D	ALP	9764	11.1	+4.1
Cranney D	RUA	365	0.4	+0.4
Wills P	Grn	3824	4.4	+1.4
McIntyre J	21CA	222	0.3	+0.3
Meow-Meow M-LDG	FUT	1183	1.3	+1.3
Britza I	CYA	494	0.6	+0.6

Two-party preferred votes

Joyce B	NP	64664	73.6	+7.2
Ewings D	ALP	23159	26.4	-7.2

Formal		87823	91.1	-1.9
Informal		8618	8.9	+1.9
Turnout		96441	87.1	-6.2

151. Bennelong (NSW)		16.12.17	Enrolled 106534	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Robinson T	ALA	719	0.9	+0.9
Folitarik W	SPP	995	1.2	+1.2
Jansson J	FUT	1041	1.2	+1.2
Alexander J	LP	37898	45.0	-5.4
Keneally K	ALP	30085	35.8	+7.3
Platter J	APP	186	0.2	+0.2
Alick J	Grn	5688	6.8	-2.4
Ziebell AJ	AHP	741	0.9	+0.9
Fels A	NCPP	132	0.2	+0.2
Richa J	ACons	3609	4.3	+4.3
Cao GD	CDP	2626	3.1	-3.3
Golding C	Prog	425	0.5	+0.5

Two-party preferred votes

Alexander J	LP	46179	54.9	-4.8
Keneally K	ALP	37966	45.1	+4.8

Formal	84145	91.9	-3.0
Informal	7436	8.1	+3.0
Turnout	91581	86.0	-5.7

152. Batman (Vic)		17.03.18	Enrolled 111783	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Gentle Y	RUA	2217	2.6	+2.6
Kearney G	ALP	36840	43.1	+7.9
Bhathal A	Grn	33725	39.5	+3.3
Bailey KC	ACons	5471	6.4	+6.4
Burns T	APEP	496	0.6	+0.6
Robinson D	ALA	1186	1.4	+1.4
Van Lieshout T	Ind	1245	1.5	+1.5
Whitehead A		745	0.9	+0.9
McDonald M	SPP	951	1.1	+1.1
Smith MJ	AJP	2528	3.0	+1.3

Two-candidate preferred votes

Kearney G	ALP	46446	54.4	..
Bhathal A	Grn	38958	45.6	..

Formal	85404	93.8	+1.6
Informal	5650	6.2	-1.6
Turnout	91054	81.5	-8.2

153. Braddon (Tas)		28.07.18	Enrolled 73756	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Edwards J	Grn	2518	4.0	-2.7
Neal B	ASP	2984	4.8	+4.8
Gibbons D	Ind	1533	2.4	+2.4
Boag J LDP		828	1.3	-0.8
Whiteley B	LP	24645	39.3	-2.3
Garland C	Ind	6633	10.6	+10.6
Strangio B	APEP	421	0.7	+0.7
Keay J	ALP	23218	37.0	-3.7

Two-party preferred votes

Whiteley B	LP	29938	47.7	-0.1
Keay J	ALP	32842	52.3	+0.1
Formal		62780	94.3	-0.5
Informal		3804	5.7	+0.5
Turnout		66584	90.3	-3.8

154. Fremantle (WA)		28.07.18	Enrolled 103226	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Staer M	AC	3350	5.3	+5.3
Cox D	Grn	10456	16.5	-1.2
Love K	AJP	3297	5.2	+5.2
Wilson J	ALP	33277	52.6	+11.6
Gray J	LDP	8916	14.1	+14.1
Harfouche JH	APEP	708	1.1	+1.1
Spanbroek J	Ind	3239	5.1	+5.1

Two-candidate preferred votes

Wilson J	ALP	46375	73.3	..
Gray J	LDP	16868	26.7	..

Formal	63243	92.8	-3.2
Informal	4933	7.2	+3.2
Turnout	68176	66.0	-22.8

155. Longman (Qld)		28.07.18	Enrolled 111784	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Russell LTJ	LDP	1762	2.0	+2.0
Saleam J	FST	709	0.8	+0.8
Bell G	DLP	1043	1.2	+1.2
Perkins J	Ind	2379	2.7	+2.7
Noonan J	FUT	970	1.1	+1.1
Stephen M	PHON	14061	15.9	+6.5
Reece J	APEP	420	0.5	+0.5
Lamb S	ALP	35203	39.8	+4.5
Ruthenberg T	LNP	26170	29.6	-9.4
Verrier B	CYA	1387	1.6	+1.6
Behrens G	Grn	4264	4.8	+0.4

Two-party preferred votes

Lamb S	ALP	48116	54.5	+3.7
Ruthenberg T	LNP	40252	45.6	-3.7

Formal		88368	93.9	+2.5
Informal		5707	6.1	-2.5
Turnout		94075	84.2	-7.5

156. Perth (WA)		28.07.18	Enrolled 100737	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Matheson J		3123	5.4	+5.4
Arielli N	AJP	1815	3.1	+3.1
Grayden J	Ind	2565	4.4	+4.4
Du Preez W	LDP	3880	6.7	+5.0
Scott C	SPP	774	1.3	+1.3
Mullings B	AMHP	930	1.6	+1.6
Gorman P	ALP	22812	39.3	+2.0
Harfouche G	APEP	222	0.4	+0.4
Collins P	Ind	5516	9.5	+9.5
Perks C	Grn	10908	18.8	+1.7
Hammond A	FUT	1002	1.7	+1.7
Joubert E	AC	1474	2.5	+2.5
Robinson A	ALA	682	1.2	+1.2
Britza I	Ind	1705	2.9	+2.9
Mason B	CEC	596	1.0	+1.0

Two-candidate preferred votes

Gorman P	ALP	36601	63.1	..
Perks C	Grn	21403	36.9	..

Formal		58004	89.9	-6.3
Informal		6486	10.1	+6.3
Turnout		64490	64.0	-24.0

157. Mayo (SA)		28.07.18	Enrolled 107672	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Cane T-L	CDP	1348	1.5	+1.5
Harfouche K	APEP	716	0.8	+0.8
Sumner MM	Grn	7898	8.9	+0.9
Downer G	LP	33219	37.4	-0.3
Sharkie R	CntreAll	39369	44.4	+9.5
Humble S	LDP	809	0.9	-0.3
Coutts R	ALP	5370	6.1	-7.5

Two-candidate preferred votes

Downer G	LP	37687	42.5	-2.6
Sharkie R	CntreAll	51042	57.5	+2.6

Two-party preferred votes

	LP	49147	55.8	+0.5
	ALP	38918	44.2	-0.5

Formal		88729	96.5	-0.6
Informal		3246	3.5	+0.6
Turnout		91975	85.4	-8.8

158. Wentworth (NSW)		20.10.18	Enrolled 103747	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing

First preference votes

Callanan R	KAP	381	0.5	+0.5
Kanak DW	Grn	6543	8.6	-6.3
Higson S	VEP	493	0.6	+0.7
Georgantis S	APEP	82	0.1	+0.1
Murray T	ALP	8777	11.5	-6.2
Forsyth B	DHJP	133	0.2	+0.2
Robinson T	ALA	154	0.2	+0.2
Gunning SJ	LDP	351	0.5	+0.5
Sharma D	LP	32795	43.1	-19.2
Vithoulkas A	Ind	822	1.1	+1.1
Doyle D	AJP	421	0.6	+0.6
Leong A	FUT	516	0.7	-0.5
Heath L	Ind	1721	2.3	+2.3
Keldoulis B	TAP	305	0.4	-1.4
Phelps K	Ind	22219	29.2	+29.2
Dunne K	SPP	413	0.5	+0.5

Two-candidate preferred votes

Sharma D	LP	37138	48.8	..
Phelps K	Ind	38988	51.2	..

Two-party preferred votes

	ALP	29882	39.3	+7.0
	LP	46244	60.7	-7.0

Formal		76126	93.9	-1.0
Informal		4928	6.1	+1.0
Turnout		81054	78.1	-8.2

Appendix 3: Notes on Commonwealth by-elections, 1901–2018

1. **Darling Downs 1901**—the first by-election, which followed the death of William Henry Groom, was won by his son, Littleton Ernest Groom for the Protectionist Party from one other candidate, an Independent.
2. **Tasmania 1902**—this by-election was caused by the death of Frederick Piesse. This has been the only by-election held at-large, due to the first Tasmanian members being elected from the state as a whole rather than from individual electorates.
3. **East Sydney 1903**—the sitting member, Sir George Reid, resigned in protest against the proposals for the redistribution of New South Wales divisions, forcing the by-election. Reid won the resulting by-election.
4. **Wilmot 1904**—former Tasmanian Premier and *Constitution*-writer, Sir Edward Braddon, remains the oldest person elected to the House of Representatives. He was 71 when first elected and 74 when he died, forcing this by-election.
5. **Melbourne 1904**—by-election caused by the voiding of the general election result on the grounds of irregularities by electoral officials. The opposition Free Trade Party did not stand a candidate.
6. **Riverina 1904**—by-election caused by the voiding of the general election result on the grounds of irregularities by electoral officials.
7. **Echuca 1907**—by-election caused by the voiding of the general election result on the grounds of irregularities by electoral officials. The Opposition did not contest the seat.
8. **Adelaide 1908**—death of former Premier and *Constitution*-writer, Charles Cameron Kingston. Neither the Protectionist government nor the Anti-Socialist opposition contested the seat won by the Labor Party.
9. **Wakefield 1909**—death of former Premier and *Constitution*-writer, Sir Frederick Holder.
10. **Kooyong 1910**—the winner of this by-election, Sir Robert Best, had been a Senator during the first decade until his defeat in 1910.
11. **Batman 1911**—well-known lawyer, Frank Brennan, won this seat for the Labor Party.
12. **North Sydney 1911**—Major-General Sir Granville Ryrie, who had seen military service in South Africa, at Gallipoli and in Egypt, won this seat for the Liberal Party.
13. **Boothby 1911**—the Fisher Labor Government lost this seat to the Liberal Party, but regained it at the 1913 general election.
14. **Werriwa 1912**—David Robert Hall resigned to take up an appointment to the New South Wales Legislative Council.
15. **Kalgoorlie 1913**—the first by-election for which there was just a single nomination. The Liberal government did not contest this seat won by Labor.
16. **Adelaide 1914**—the winner of this by-election, George Yates, soon left Australia to serve in the World War, though he retained his seat while he did so.
17. **Bendigo 1915**—this by-election was caused by the death of the Minister for External Affairs, John Arthur.
18. **Grampians 1915**—Sir Charles Salmon, second Speaker of the House of Representatives (1909–10) returned to the Parliament at this by-election.
19. **Dalley 1915**—the death of Robert Howe, first secretary of the Labor Federation of Australia caused this by-election. Not contested by the Opposition, and only one candidate nominated.

20. **Wide Bay 1915**—former Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, resigned to take up an appointment as Australian High Commissioner to Great Britain. The Labor Party lost the seat, which it did not win back until 1961.
21. **Darwin 1917**—former Tasmanian MHA, Charles Howroyd, died five days after winning the seat at the 1917 general election.
22. **Grampians 1917**—Sir Charles Salmon's death caused this by-election. He was replaced by Edmund Jowett, later elected first deputy leader of the Country Party.
23. **Flinders 1918**—upon the appointment of Sir William Irvine as Chief Justice of the Victorian Supreme Court, the by-election for his seat saw the victory of future Prime Minister Stanley Bruce.
24. **Swan 1918**—by-election caused by the death of former Premier and *Constitution*-writer, Sir John Forrest. The Nationalist Party failed to hold the seat after splitting the conservative vote with the emerging Country Party, allowing the Labor Party to win. The Country Party won this seat at the next general election. This was the last election held using 'first past the post' voting.
25. **Corangamite 1918**—this by-election saw the first use of preferential voting for a House election of any type. The Victorian Farmers' Union won the seat from the Nationalists. The defeated Labor candidate was future Prime Minister, James Scullin.
26. **Echuca 1919**—this seat was also won by the Victorian Farmers' Union from the Nationalists. Not contested by the Opposition.
27. **Ballaarat 1920**—in the 1919 general election, Edwin Kerby had defeated sitting member David McGrath by a single vote. Upon challenge, the Court of Disputed Returns declared void the general election result on the ground of irregularities by electoral officials. McGrath won the resulting by-election.
28. **Kalgoorlie 1920**—Labor's Hugh Mahon remains the only member or senator to be expelled. Although Mahon recontested for the Labor Party, the Nationalist government won—the only time a government has taken a seat from the opposition at a by-election. Labor won Kalgoorlie back at the 1922 general election.
29. **Maranoa 1921**—the Country Party won its first by-election taking the seat from the Labor Party.
30. **West Sydney 1921**—former Queensland Premier, Thomas Ryan, had been invited by the ALP Conference to contest this New South Wales division at the 1919 general election. Less than two years later he died causing this by-election.
31. **Parramatta 1921**—former Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Cook, caused the by-election by accepting appointment as Australian High Commissioner to Great Britain.
32. **Yarra 1922**—by-election caused by the death of the Labor Leader of the Opposition, Frank Tudor. The by-election was won by future Prime Minister, James Scullin.
33. **Eden-Monaro 1926**—this by-election was caused by the death of Sir Austin Chapman, former Minister for Defence, Postmaster-General and Minister for Trade and Customs.
34. **Dalley 1927**—by-election won by former Queensland Premier, Edward Theodore.
35. **Warringah 1927**—by-election caused by the resignation of Sir Granville Ryrie to accept the position of Australian High Commissioner to Great Britain.
36. **Martin 1928**—Frederick Pratten replaced his uncle, the late Herbert Pratten, in this by-election.
37. **Wide Bay 1928**—by-election in which Bernard Corser (CP) replaced his father Edward Corser (Nat). Not contested by the Opposition, and only one candidate nominated.

38. **Balaclava 1929**—by-election to replace William Watt, former Victorian Premier, Commonwealth Treasurer and Speaker. His replacement was (Sir) Thomas White, son-in-law of Alfred Deakin and later a Menzies Government minister. Not contested by the Opposition.
39. **Franklin 1929**—by-election caused by death of the independent William McWilliams, previously the first parliamentary leader of the Country Party. His replacement, Charles Frost, was later a minister under both Prime Ministers Curtin and Chifley.
40. **Parkes 1931**—by-election caused by the appointment of Edward McTiernan to the High Court.
41. **East Sydney 1931**—by-election won by Edward Ward for the ALP. Ward lost the seat to John Clasby (UAP) at the 1932 general election.
42. **East Sydney 1932**—sitting member John Clasby (UAP) died before taking his seat and former member Edward Ward won the by-election, now as a Lang Labor candidate. Ward is the only person to win two by-elections.
43. **Flinders 1933**—former Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce, caused the by-election when he was appointed Resident Minister in England.
44. **Newcastle 1935**—by-election at which David Oliver Watkins replaced his father, David Watkins.
45. **Fawkner 1935**—by-election won by future Prime Minister, Harold Holt, for the UAP.
46. **Kennedy 1936**—by-election at which David Riordan replaced his uncle, William Riordan.
47. **Darling Downs 1936**—by-election won by future Prime Minister and Country Party leader, Arthur Fadden, for the Country Party.
48. **Gwydir 1937**—by-election following the appointment of Charles Abbott to the position of Administrator of the Northern Territory. Three Country Party candidates nominated.
49. **Wakefield 1938**—by-election at which the ALP won the seat from the UAP, following the death of Charles Hawker in a plane crash. The UAP retained the seat at the 1940 general election.
50. **Griffith 1939**—by-election following death of Francis Baker.
51. **Wilmot 1939**—by-election caused by the death of Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons. The field included three UAP and two ALP candidates. The ALP won the seat from the UAP, but lost it in the 1940 general election.
52. **Corio 1940**—John Dedman (ALP) won this seat from the UAP after Richard Casey was appointed Australian Ambassador to the United States of America.
53. **Kalgoorlie 1940**—by-election caused by the death of former Minister for Defence, Albert Green.
54. **Swan 1940**—by-election won by former Senator Thomas Marwick.
55. **Boothby 1941**—by-election won by (Sir) Archie (Grenfell) Price, Master of St Mark's College, University of Adelaide, and noted Australian geographer. He was not related to his predecessor, John Price.
56. **Fremantle 1945**—by-election caused by the death of Prime Minister, John Curtin. The by-election was won by Kim Beazley senior.
57. **Wimmera 1946**—after a battle between seven contenders, including two from the Country Party and one described as 'Independent Country Party', (Sir) Winton Turnbull narrowly won this by-election.

58. **Henty 1946**—by-election to replace Arthur Coles, former managing director of GJ Coles & Co., Lord Mayor of Melbourne and independent, who had shared the balance of power after the 1941 election with Alex Wilson. This was the first by-election won by the re-formed Liberal Party. It was won by Henry Gullett, son of Sir Henry who had held the seat between 1925 and 1940.
59. **Balaclava 1951**—Percy Joske retained this seat for the Liberal Party following the appointment of Thomas White as High Commissioner in London.
60. **Macquarie 1951**—by-election held following the death of the former Prime Minister, Ben Chifley. The ALP retained the seat despite a small (0.4 per cent) swing to the LP/CP Coalition Government.
61. **Lyne 1952**—the Country Party, which stood two candidates in this by-election, retained the seat with Phil Lucock the successful candidate despite a large swing to the ALP (8.8 per cent).
62. **Flinders 1952**—the Liberal Party lost the seat to the ALP as the result of a large (11.0 per cent) swing against the LP/CP Coalition Government. The successful candidate, Keith Ewert, lost the seat at the next general election.
63. **Werriwa 1952**—the ALP achieved its largest by-election swing in the post-war period (12.4 per cent) at this by-election. The successful ALP candidate was future Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam.
64. **Bradfield 1952**—no ALP candidate contested this safe Liberal seat, previously held by former Prime Minister and longest serving member of the House of Representatives, William ‘Billy’ Hughes.
65. **Dalley 1953**—the Liberal Party did not contest this safe ALP seat, retained for the ALP by Arthur Greenup.
66. **Corangamite 1953**—Ewen Mackinnon retained this seat for the Liberal Party despite a 6.5 per cent swing against the Coalition Government.
67. **Lang 1953**—Frederick Stewart retained this seat for the ALP following the death of Daniel Mulcahy.
68. **Gwydir 1953**—two Country Party candidates contested this by-election together with candidates from the ALP and Liberal Party. The seat was won by the Country Party's Archibald Allan.
69. **Cook 1955**—the Liberal Party did not contest this safe ALP seat, retained for Labor by Jim Cope. Typically of inner-city electorates there was a low voter turnout (76.0 per cent) at this by-election.
70. **Cunningham 1956**—Victor Kearney retained this safe seat for the ALP, in the only uncontested by-election since the Second World War.
71. **Barker 1956**—following the death of long-term member and Speaker of the House of Representatives, Archie Cameron, the Liberal Party retained this seat despite a 9.9 per cent swing against the government.
72. **Wentworth 1956**—despite a record (over the period 1949 to the present day) first preference swing against the Liberal Party of 30.7 per cent, Leslie Bury retained this seat for the Liberals following the appointment of Eric Harrison as High Commissioner in London.
73. **Richmond 1957**—four Country Party candidates contested this by-election, including the eventual winner, Doug Anthony, the son of the former member, Hubert Lawrence (Larry) Anthony.
74. **Parramatta 1958**—Garfield Barwick retained this seat for the Liberal Party following the appointment of former member Oliver Beale as Ambassador to the United States of America.
75. **Hunter 1960**—the Liberal Party did not stand a candidate for this safe ALP seat, formerly held by Opposition Leader Herbert Evatt who died in office.
76. **La Trobe 1960**—seat retained for the Liberal Party by John Jess following the resignation of the Minister for External Affairs, Richard Casey.
77. **Balaclava 1960**—Percy Joske resigned to become a judge of the Commonwealth Industrial Court and was also appointed a judge of the ACT Supreme Court. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Raymond Whittorn.

78. **Bendigo 1960**—this marginal seat was retained for the ALP by Noel Beaton following the death of sitting member, Percy Clarey.
79. **Calare 1960**—seat won by John England for the Country Party from the Liberal Party. This has been the only occasion when the Country Party has won a seat from the Liberal Party at a by-election.
80. **Higinbotham 1960**—Don Chipp just retained this seat for the Liberal Party following the death of Thomas (Frank) Timson.
81. **Batman 1962**—Captain Sam Benson retained this safe seat for the Labor Party following the death of sitting member, Alan Bird. Benson subsequently retained Batman as an independent at the 1966 general election.
82. **Grey 1963**—retained for the ALP by Jack Mortimer following the death of Edgar Russell.
83. **East Sydney 1963**—this by-election resulted in the second lowest voter turnout (71.9 per cent) since the introduction of compulsory voting. The ALP retained the seat. The Liberal Party did not stand a candidate.
84. **Denison 1964**—Athol Townley was re-elected at the 1963 general election but died before the opening of the Parliament. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Adrian Gibson.
85. **Angas 1964**—Alexander Downer senior resigned to become High Commissioner in London. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Geoffrey Giles.
86. **Parramatta 1964**—Garfield Barwick resigned to become Chief Justice of the High Court. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Nigel Bowen.
87. **Robertson 1964**—Roger Dean resigned to become Administrator of the Northern Territory. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Crawford Bridges-Maxwell.
88. **Riverina 1965**—Hugh Robertson resigned to become Ambassador to Ireland. The seat was retained for the Country Party by Adam Armstrong.
89. **Dawson 1966**—the ALP candidate, Rex Patterson, achieved a large swing (11.9 per cent) against the LP/CP Coalition Government to win the seat from the Country Party.
90. **Kooyong 1966**—the Liberal Party candidate, Andrew Peacock, retained this safe Liberal seat in the by-election following the resignation of Prime Minister, Robert Menzies.
91. **Corio 1967**—a large swing against the LP/CP Coalition Government (11.1 per cent) resulted in the ALP candidate, Gordon Scholes, winning the seat from the Liberal Party, following the retirement of popular sporting personality, Hubert Opperman.
92. **Capricornia 1967**—following the death of sitting member George Shaw, this seat was retained by the ALP by Doug Everingham.
93. **Higgins 1968**—this by-election was held following the presumed death of Prime Minister Harold Holt. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by new Prime Minister (and ex-Senator) John Gorton.
94. **Curtin 1969**—the sitting member, Minister for External Affairs, Paul Hasluck, resigned to become Governor-General. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Ransley Garland, despite a 7.1 per cent swing against the Coalition Government.
95. **Bendigo 1969**—Noel Beaton resigned because of ill health. The seat was retained for the ALP by David Kennedy.
96. **Gwydir 1969**—Allan Armstrong resigned to become Secretary-General of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The seat was retained for the Country Party by Ralph Hunt, despite a 7.7 per cent swing against the Coalition Government.
97. **Australian Capital Territory 1970**—despite a large swing against it, the ALP retained this seat held for 18 years by popular member, Jim Fraser. The Australia Party candidate, Alan Fitzgerald, received 17.5 per cent of the first preference votes.

98. **Chisholm 1970**—Tony Staley retained this seat for the Liberal Party. The ALP candidate was Francis (Frank) Costigan, later Royal Commissioner investigating the activities of the Federated Ship Painters' and Dockers' Union, and tax evasion matters.
99. **Murray 1971**—Bruce Lloyd retained this seat for the Country Party following the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade and Industry, John McEwen.
100. **Parramatta 1973**—Nigel Bowen resigned to become a judge of the NSW Court of Appeal. Philip Ruddock retained the seat for the Liberal Party. Twelve candidates contested the by-election, a record to that time.
101. **Bass 1975**—the second largest swing recorded against any government to that time (14.6 per cent) occurred at this by-election held following the appointment of former Deputy Prime Minister, Lance Barnard, to be Ambassador to Norway, Finland and Sweden. The Liberal Party candidate, Kevin Newman, won the seat from the ALP.
102. **Cunningham 1977**—following the death of sitting member, Reginald (Rex) Connor, this seat was retained by the ALP by Stewart West.
103. **Werriwa 1978**—the ALP candidate, John Kerin, achieved a large swing (11.3 per cent) against the LP/NP Coalition Government in this by-election, held following the resignation of former Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam.
104. **Grayndler 1979**—retained for the ALP by Leo McLeay following the death of Frank Stewart.
105. **Boothby 1981**—retained for the Liberal Party by Steele Hall, former Premier of South Australia and Senator, following the resignation of John McLeay, who became Consul-General in Los Angeles.
106. **Curtin 1981**—Ransley Garland resigned to become High Commissioner in London. The seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Allan Rocher.
107. **McPherson 1981**—the Liberal Party candidate, Peter White, achieved a two-party preferred swing to the LP/NP Coalition Government of 16.2 per cent, the largest swing to any government since 1949. The National Party candidate (future Senator Glen Sheil) outpolled the ALP candidate.
108. **Wentworth 1981**—the former leader of the New South Wales Liberal Party, Peter Coleman, comfortably retained the seat despite a 6.2 per cent swing to the ALP candidate, Robert Tickner. The voter turnout (69.5 per cent) was the lowest since the introduction of compulsory voting in 1924.
109. **Lowe 1982**—this marginal Liberal Party seat became vacant following the resignation of former Prime Minister, Sir William McMahon. The ALP candidate, Michael Maher, won the seat from the Liberal Party with an 8.5 per cent swing.
110. **Flinders 1982**—the Liberal Party retained this marginal seat despite a 3.3 per cent swing against the LP/NP Coalition Government. However, new member, Peter Reith, was unable to take up his seat in the House of Representatives as the Parliament was dissolved before he could be sworn in and he was defeated at the subsequent general election.
111. **Wannon 1983**—the seat was retained for the Liberal Party by David Hawker, following the resignation of sitting member, former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser.
112. **Bruce 1983**—the seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Kenneth Aldred, following the resignation of sitting member, former Opposition Leader and Speaker Billy Snedden.
113. **Moreton 1983**—the Liberal Party retained this marginal Liberal seat with a small swing in its favour. The successful candidate, Don Cameron, had lost the neighbouring seat of Fadden at the previous general election.
114. **Corangamite 1984**—the seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Fergus Stewart McArthur. Labor candidate Gavan O'Connor subsequently became Member for Corio.
115. **Hughes 1984**—the seat was retained for ALP by Robert Tickner, following the resignation of Leslie Johnson, who became High Commissioner to New Zealand.

116. **Richmond 1984**—the seat was retained for the National Party by Charles Blunt, following the resignation of former Deputy Prime Minister, Doug Anthony.
117. **Scullin 1986**—the seat was retained for ALP by Henry Alfred Jenkins who succeeded his father Dr Henry Alfred Jenkins.
118. **Adelaide 1988**—the ALP lost this seat with a swing of 8.4 per cent against the ALP Government. The successful Liberal Party candidate, Michael Pratt, lost the seat at the next general election.
119. **Port Adelaide 1988**—an 11.1 per cent swing against the ALP Government was insufficient for the Liberal Party to win the seat. The ALP's Rod Sawford was the winning candidate.
120. **Groom 1988**—the Liberal Party candidate, Bill Taylor, won the seat previously held by the National Party.
121. **Oxley 1988**—the prospective appointment of former Opposition Leader, Bill Hayden, as Governor-General caused the vacancy in this safe ALP seat. The ALP candidate, Les Scott, was successful despite an 11.8 per cent swing against the ALP Government.
122. **Gwydir 1989**—John Anderson retained this seat for the National Party following the resignation of sitting member Ralph Hunt. Anderson defeated two independent candidates to win the seat.
123. **Menzies 1991**—Kevin Andrews retained this seat for the Liberal Party following the resignation of sitting member Neil Brown.
124. **Wills 1992**—at that time a record number of 22 candidates (equalled in 2009 in Bradfield) contested this ALP seat vacated by the former Prime Minister, Bob Hawke. Prominent local identity, Phil Cleary, won the seat to become the only independent candidate to win a Commonwealth by-election. The by-election result was voided by the Court of Disputed Returns. Mr Cleary was in contravention of section 44(iv) of the *Constitution* and the Liberal and Labor candidates contravened section 44(i). A subsequent by-election was not held because of the impending general election.
125. **Werriwa 1994**—the ALP retained this safe seat despite a swing against the ALP Government of 6.3 per cent. The successful candidate was Mark Latham.
126. **Fremantle 1994**—former Western Australian Premier, Carmen Lawrence, retained this seat for the ALP with a swing of 1.0 per cent to the government. Lawrence's success was the first by-election win by a woman candidate.
127. **Bonython 1994**—despite a swing of 7.8 per cent against the ALP, Martyn Evans retained this seat for the government.
128. **Mackellar 1994**—Liberal candidate, ex-Senator Bronwyn Bishop, easily retained this safe Liberal Party seat. Prominent writer, Bob Ellis (Ind), received 23.1 per cent of the first preference vote in the absence of a Labor Party candidate.
129. **Warringah 1994**—this seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Tony Abbott. The ALP did not stand a candidate in this safe seat.
130. **Kooyong 1994**—the seat was retained for the Liberal Party by Petro Georgiou, following the resignation of sitting member and former Leader of the Opposition, Andrew Peacock. In the absence of an ALP candidate the Greens candidate, Peter Singer, received 28.0 per cent of the vote.
131. **Canberra 1995**—after initially considering not to contest this fairly safe ALP seat, the Liberal Party ultimately decided to enter the race and won the seat from the government with a record swing of 16.1 per cent. The successful candidate, Brendan Smyth, lost the seat at the following general election.
132. **Wentworth 1995**—despite being classified as a marginal Liberal seat the ALP did not contest this by-election caused by former Leader of the Opposition, John Hewson. The winning Liberal candidate was Andrew Thomson.
133. **Blaxland 1996**—the seat was retained for the ALP by Michael Hatton, following the resignation of former Prime Minister, Paul Keating. The government did not contest this safe seat.

134. **Lindsay 1996**—the 1996 general election result for Lindsay was voided by the Court of Disputed Returns under section 44(iv) of the *Constitution* because Jackie Kelly, the successful Liberal candidate at the 1996 election, was a serving officer in the RAAF at the time of nomination. She was also alleged to be a dual citizen (New Zealand) but this was not required to be tested by the Court. At the by-election Ms Kelly won with a swing of 5.0 per cent to the government.
135. **Fraser 1997**—the seat was retained for the ALP by Steve Dargavel, following the resignation of sitting member, John Langmore. At the subsequent general election, the ACT's representation in the House of Representatives was reduced to two seats. Dargavel did not contest ALP pre-selection so that Bob McMullan, Member for Canberra, could contest Fraser.
136. **Holt 1999**—the seat was retained for the ALP by Anthony Byrne, following the resignation of sitting member, Gareth Evans.
137. **Isaacs 2000**—this was the first by-election since McPherson 1981 which was caused by the suicide of the sitting member, Greg Wilton. The LP did not contest this fairly safe Labor seat. Retained for the ALP by Ann Corcoran.
138. **Ryan 2001**—the ALP candidate, Leonie Short, won this fairly safe Liberal seat following the retirement of John Moore. The swing of 9.7 per cent against the government was just sufficient for Short to succeed. She lost the seat in the following general election.
139. **Aston 2001**—a field of fifteen candidates contested the by-election in this marginal government seat. It was retained for the Liberal Party by Chris Pearce, following the death of sitting member, Peter Nugent.
140. **Cunningham 2002**—Greens candidate, Michael Organ, won this safe Labor seat following the resignation of sitting member, Stephen Martin. For the first time since Maranoa in 1921 an Opposition-held seat was lost in a by-election. The winning candidate received 23.0 per cent of the vote, the lowest winning first preference vote of any Commonwealth by-election. This was the first by-election victory by a minor party candidate since Echuca in 1919. The ALP regained the seat at the 2004 general election.
141. **Werriwa 2005**—Mark Latham had won Werriwa for the ALP in a by-election in 1994. It was his resignation from the seat soon after his resignation as Leader of the Opposition that caused this by-election. Sixteen candidates contested the by-election, the third-highest total since 1901, with the seat being retained by the ALP.
142. **Gippsland 2008**—Peter McGauran (NP) had held Gippsland for 25 years, the longest term of the Federation electorate's eight members to that time. The by-election was contested by National, Liberal, Labor and Green candidates, but Darren Chester continued the Country/National Party hold of the seat that dated back to 1922.
143. **Lyne 2008**—first contested in 1949, Lyne had been held by four Country/National MPs, including Mark Vaile, the party leader between 2005 and 2007. Former National, and later independent MLA, Rob Oakeshott, (1996–2008), was elected as an independent with a first preference vote of 63.8 per cent. The Labor Party did not contest the by-election.
144. **Mayo 2008**—former Liberal Party leader and later Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, had been the first and only Member for Mayo when he retired after serving 23 years. Labor did not contest the by-election which was won for the Liberal Party by Jamie Briggs.
145. **Bradfield 2009**—former Howard government minister and Liberal Party leader, Brendan Nelson, retired to take up Ambassadorships to the European Communities, Belgium and Luxembourg and posts as Representative to NATO and Special Representative to WHO. Labor did not stand a candidate in the by-election which was contested by an equal record number of 22 candidates. The blue ribbon Liberal seat was easily retained by Paul Fletcher.
146. **Higgins 2009**—the resignation of former Howard government Treasurer, Peter Costello, triggered only the second by-election to be held in this fairly safe Liberal Party seat (the first being in 1968 after Prime Minister Harold Holt was presumed dead). Labor did not contest this by-election which was won by Costello's former advisor, Kelly O'Dwyer.

147. **Griffith 2014**—former Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, resigned after leading the ALP government to a loss at the 2013 election in his second stint as Prime Minister. Terri Butler retained the marginal seat for the ALP despite a two-party preferred swing against the ALP of 1.3 per cent.
148. **Canning 2015**—Don Randall, the member for Canning since 2001 and former member for Swan 1993–1998, died suddenly. The subsequent by-election was being seen as a litmus test of the Abbott led Coalition government; however, Malcolm Turnbull became Prime Minister four days before the poll. Andrew Hastie retained the seat for the Liberals and the 6.6 per cent swing against the government was not as high as the double digit swing predicted by the polls.
149. **North Sydney 2015**—this safe seat was vacated by former Abbott government Treasurer, Joe Hockey. A controversial pre-selection process saw former Hockey staffer, Trent Zimmerman, represent the Liberal Party. The ALP chose not to contest the poll. A field of 13 candidates stood and Zimmerman needed preferences to win the seat after a 12.5 per cent first preference swing against the Liberals.
150. **New England 2017**—due to contravention of section 44(i) of the *Constitution*, the Court of Disputed Returns declared invalid the 2016 election of Barnaby Joyce, National Party leader and Deputy Prime Minister. After renouncing his New Zealand citizenship Joyce successfully re-contested for this seat and, despite the third largest field of candidates in a by-election, gained a substantial 12.6 per cent swing on first preferences.
151. **Bennelong 2017**—Liberal John Alexander resigned from this fairly safe seat after declaring himself a dual citizen. After renouncing his British citizenship Alexander re-contested but, although successful, the two-party preferred swing of 4.8 per cent against the Coalition turned this into a marginal seat.
152. **Batman 2018**—Labor member David Feeney resigned before the Court of Disputed Returns could rule on his dual-citizenship status. Ged Kearney, nurse and President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, was preselected by the ALP to run against the Greens' Alex Bhathal, who had unsuccessfully contested Batman in five of the six Federal elections since 2001. With the Government choosing not to contest the by-election, and the ALP only holding the seat by a one per cent margin over the Greens, this was seen as a possible win for the Greens. However, a 3.4 per cent swing to the ALP (two-candidate basis) saw the ALP retain Batman.
153. **Braddon 2018**—one of five by-elections—the most by-elections ever held on a single day—on this date. Labor member, Justine Keay, resigned because her dual citizen situation was similar to Senator Katy Gallagher, who had been found ineligible to be elected at the 2016 election by the High Court under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*. Justine Keay re-contested for the ALP and retained her marginal seat with a slight, 0.1 per cent, swing from the Liberal Party.
154. **Fremantle 2018**—one of five by-elections—the most by-elections ever held on a single day—on this date. Labor member, Josh Wilson, resigned because his dual citizen situation was similar to Senator Katy Gallagher, who had been found ineligible to be elected at the 2016 election by the High Court under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*. Mr Wilson re-contested for the ALP but the Liberal Party chose not to field a candidate in this fairly safe seat. In the final contest Josh Wilson defeated the LDP by a 46.7 per cent margin.
155. **Longman 2018**—one of five by-elections—the most by-elections ever held on a single day—on this date. Labor member, Susan Lamb, resigned because her dual citizen situation was similar to Senator Katy Gallagher, who had been found ineligible to be elected at the 2016 election by the High Court under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*. Susan Lamb re-contested for the ALP and retained this very marginal seat gaining a 3.7 per cent two-party preferred swing. The 9.4 per cent first preference swing against the LNP candidate was cited amongst the reasons for the Liberal Party to depose Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull (see Wentworth 2018, below).
156. **Perth 2018**—one of five by-elections—the most by-elections ever held on a single day—on this date. Tim Hammond, who had only been the Labor member for Perth since 2016, resigned for personal reasons. The Liberal Party chose not to contest this marginal seat and Patrick Gorman—WA Labor's state secretary—retained the seat for Labor with a 26.2 per cent margin over the Greens.

157. **Mayo 2018**—one of five by-elections—the most by-elections ever held on a single day—on this date. Centre Alliance member, Rebekha Sharkie, resigned because her dual citizen situation was similar to Senator Katy Gallagher, who had been found ineligible to be elected at the 2016 election by the High Court under section 44(i) of the *Constitution*. Rebekha Sharkie re-contested this seat she won from the Liberal Party at the 2016 election. The Liberals fielded high profile candidate and daughter of Alexander Downer, Georgina Downer, but a swing of 2.6 per cent to Rebekha Sharkie saw her retain this seat for the Centre Alliance (formerly known as the Nick Xenophon Team).
158. **Wentworth 2018**—Malcolm Turnbull resigned from Parliament after being deposed as prime minister. Wentworth, which Turnbull had returned to a safe seat for the Liberal Party, was contested by 16 candidates including high profile Independent, Kerryn Phelps. The substantial, but not record (see Wentworth 1956), first preference vote swing of 19.2 per cent against the Liberals was too much to recover and Phelps won with a 2.4 per cent margin. The loss for the Liberals meant the loss of the Coalition government's one seat majority in the House of Representatives, producing a hung Parliament.

Appendix 4: By-election timing, 1901–2018

Division	Previous Election	Date Vacated	By-election date	Next Election	Elapsed Time (days)			Reason
					Vacated to by-election	After		
						previous election	Before next election	
Darling Downs (Qld)	30.03.01	08.08.01	14.09.01	16.12.03	37	168	823	Died
Tasmania	29.03.01	06.02.02	26.03.02	16.12.03	48	362	630	Died
East Sydney (NSW)	29.03.01	18.08.03	04.09.03	16.12.03	17	889	103	Resigned
Wilmot (Tas)	16.12.03	02.02.04	26.02.04	12.12.06	24	72	1020	Died
Melbourne (Vic)	16.12.03	10.03.04	30.03.04	12.12.06	20	105	987	Election voided
Riverina (NSW)	16.12.03	13.04.04	18.05.04	12.12.06	35	154	938	Election voided
Echuca (Vic)	12.12.06	10.06.07	10.07.07	13.04.10	30	210	1008	Election voided
Adelaide (SA)	12.12.06	11.05.08	13.06.08	13.04.10	33	549	669	Died
Wakefield (SA)	12.12.06	23.07.09	28.08.09	13.04.10	36	990	228	Died
Kooyong (Vic)	13.04.10	26.07.10	24.08.10	31.05.13	29	133	1011	Resigned
Batman (Vic)	13.04.10	18.12.10	08.02.11	31.05.13	52	301	843	Died
North Sydney (NSW)	13.04.10	04.02.11	11.03.11	31.05.13	35	332	812	Died
Boothby (SA)	13.04.10	08.10.11	11.11.11	31.05.13	34	577	567	Died
Werriwa (NSW)	13.04.10	01.04.12	01.06.12	31.05.13	61	780	364	Resigned
Kalgoorlie (WA)	31.05.13	25.11.13	22.12.13	05.09.14	27	205	257	Died
Adelaide (SA)	31.05.13	02.12.13	10.01.14	05.09.14	39	224	238	Died
Bendigo (Vic)	05.09.14	09.12.14	06.02.15	05.05.17	59	154	819	Died
Grampians (Vic)	05.09.14	01.01.15	20.02.15	05.05.17	50	168	805	Died
Dalley (NSW)	05.09.14	02.04.15	06.05.15	05.05.17	33	243	880	Died
Wide Bay (Qld)	05.09.14	26.10.15	11.12.15	05.05.17	46	462	511	Resigned
Darwin (Tas)	05.05.17	10.05.17	30.06.17	13.12.19	51	56	896	Died
Grampians (Vic)	05.05.17	15.09.17	27.10.17	13.12.19	42	175	777	Died
Flinders (Vic)	05.05.17	05.04.18	11.05.18	13.12.19	36	371	581	Resigned
Swan (WA)	05.05.17	02.09.18	26.10.18	13.12.19	54	539	413	Died
Corangamite (Vic)	05.05.17	23.10.18	14.12.18	13.12.19	52	588	364	Died
Echuca (Vic)	05.05.17	14.08.19	20.09.19	13.12.19	37	868	84	Died
Ballaarat (Vic)	13.12.19	02.06.20	10.07.20	16.12.22	38	210	889	Election voided
Kalgoorlie (WA)	13.12.19	12.11.20	18.12.20	16.12.22	36	371	728	Expelled
Maranoa (Qld)	13.12.19	03.06.21	30.07.21	16.12.22	57	595	504	Died
West Sydney (NSW)	13.12.19	01.08.21	03.09.21	16.12.22	33	630	469	Died
Parramatta (NSW)	13.12.19	11.11.21	10.12.21	16.12.22	29	728	371	Resigned
Yarra (Vic)	13.12.19	10.01.22	18.02.22	16.12.22	39	798	301	Died
Eden-Monaro (NSW)	14.11.25	12.01.26	06.03.26	17.11.28	53	113	987	Died
Dalley (NSW)	14.11.25	18.01.27	26.02.27	17.11.28	39	469	630	Resigned
Warringah (NSW)	14.11.25	13.04.27	21.05.27	17.11.28	38	553	546	Resigned
Martin (NSW)	14.11.25	07.05.28	16.06.28	17.11.28	40	945	154	Died
Wide Bay (Qld)	14.11.25	31.07.28	03.09.28	17.11.28	34	1024	75	Died
Balaclava (Vic)	17.11.28	05.07.29	03.08.29	12.10.29	29	259	70	Resigned
Franklin (Tas)	12.10.29	22.10.29	14.12.29	19.12.31	53	63	735	Died
Parkes (NSW)	12.10.29	19.12.30	31.01.31	19.12.31	43	476	322	Resigned
East Sydney (NSW)	12.10.29	05.02.31	07.03.31	19.12.31	30	511	287	Died
East Sydney (NSW)	19.12.31	15.01.32	06.02.32	15.09.34	22	49	952	Died
Flinders (Vic)	19.12.31	06.10.33	11.11.33	15.09.34	36	693	308	Resigned
Newcastle (NSW)	15.09.34	08.04.35	01.06.35	23.10.37	54	259	875	Died
Fawkner (Vic)	15.09.34	25.06.35	17.08.35	23.10.37	53	336	798	Died
Kennedy (Qld)	15.09.34	15.10.36	12.12.36	23.10.37	58	819	315	Died
Darling Downs (Qld)	15.09.34	06.11.36	19.12.36	23.10.37	43	826	308	Died
Gwydir (NSW)	15.09.34	28.03.37	08.05.37	23.10.37	41	966	168	Resigned
Wakefield (SA)	23.10.37	25.10.38	10.12.38	21.09.40	46	413	651	Died
Griffith (Qld)	23.10.37	28.03.39	20.05.39	21.09.40	53	574	490	Died
Wilmot (Tas)	23.10.37	07.04.39	27.05.39	21.09.40	50	581	483	Died
Corio (Vic)	23.10.37	30.01.40	02.03.40	21.09.40	32	861	203	Resigned
Kalgoorlie (WA)	21.09.40	02.10.40	16.11.40	21.08.43	45	56	1008	Died

Division	Elapsed Time (days)							Reason
	Previous Election	Date Vacated	By-election date	Next Election	Vacated to by-election	After		
						previous election	Before next election	
Swan (WA)	21.09.40	15.11.40	21.12.40	21.08.43	36	91	973	Died
Boothby (SA)	21.09.40	23.04.41	24.05.41	21.08.43	31	245	819	Died
Fremantle (WA)	21.08.43	5.07.45	18.08.45	28.09.46	44	728	406	Died
Wimmera (Vic)	21.08.43	31.12.45	09.02.46	28.09.46	40	903	231	Resigned
Henty (Vic)	21.08.43	11.02.46	30.03.46	28.09.46	47	952	182	Resigned
Balaclava (Vic)	28.04.51	20.06.51	28.07.51	29.05.54	38	53	1036	Resigned
Macquarie (NSW)	28.04.51	13.06.51	28.07.51	29.05.54	45	46	1036	Died
Lyne (NSW)	28.04.51	28.01.52	22.03.52	29.05.54	54	275	798	Died
Flinders (Vic)	28.04.51	26.08.52	18.10.52	29.05.54	53	486	588	Died
Werriwa (NSW)	28.04.51	01.10.52	29.11.52	29.05.54	59	522	546	Died
Bradfield (NSW)	28.04.51	28.10.52	20.12.52	29.05.54	53	549	525	Died
Dalley (NSW)	28.04.51	21.03.53	09.05.53	29.05.54	49	693	385	Died
Corangamite (Vic)	28.04.51	10.06.53	29.08.53	29.05.54	80	774	273	Died
Lang (NSW)	28.04.51	13.07.53	29.08.53	29.05.54	47	807	273	Died
Gwydir (NSW)	28.04.51	15.11.53	19.12.53	29.05.54	34	932	161	Died
Cook (NSW)	29.05.54	26.03.55	21.05.55	10.12.55	56	301	203	Died
Cunningham (NSW)	10.12.55	17.02.56	11.04.56	22.11.58	54	69	955	Died
Barker (SA)	10.12.55	09.08.56	13.10.56	22.11.58	65	243	770	Died
Wentworth (NSW)	10.12.55	17.10.56	08.12.56	22.11.58	52	312	714	Resigned
Richmond (NSW)	10.12.55	12.07.57	14.09.57	22.11.58	64	580	434	Died
Parramatta (NSW)	10.12.55	10.02.58	08.03.58	22.11.58	26	793	259	Resigned
Hunter (NSW)	22.11.58	10.02.60	09.04.60	09.12.61	59	445	609	Resigned
La Trobe (Vic)	22.11.58	10.02.60	09.04.60	09.12.61	59	445	609	Resigned
Balaclava (Vic)	22.11.58	02.06.60	16.07.60	09.12.61	44	558	511	Resigned
Bendigo (Vic)	22.11.58	01.05.60	16.07.60	09.12.61	76	526	511	Died
Calare (NSW)	22.11.58	28.09.60	05.11.60	09.12.61	38	676	399	Resigned
Higinbotham (Vic)	22.11.58	16.10.60	10.12.60	09.12.61	55	694	364	Died
Batman (Vic)	09.12.61	21.07.62	01.09.62	30.11.63	42	224	455	Died
Grey (SA)	09.12.61	31.03.63	01.06.63	30.11.63	62	477	182	Died
East Sydney (NSW)	09.12.61	31.07.63	28.09.63	30.11.63	59	599	63	Died
Denison (Tas)	30.11.63	24.12.63	15.02.64	26.11.66	53	24	1015	Died
Angas (SA)	30.11.63	23.04.64	20.06.64	26.11.66	58	145	889	Resigned
Parramatta (NSW)	30.11.63	24.04.64	20.06.64	26.11.66	57	146	889	Resigned
Robertson (NSW)	30.11.63	30.09.64	05.12.64	26.11.66	66	305	721	Resigned
Riverina (NSW)	30.11.63	21.01.65	27.02.65	26.11.66	37	418	637	Resigned
Dawson (Qld)	30.11.63	09.01.66	26.02.66	26.11.66	48	771	273	Died
Kooyong (Vic)	30.11.63	17.02.66	02.04.66	26.11.66	44	810	238	Resigned
Corio (Vic)	26.11.66	10.06.67	22.07.67	25.10.69	42	196	826	Resigned
Capricornia (Qld)	26.11.66	02.08.67	30.09.67	25.10.69	59	249	756	Died
Higgins (Vic)	26.11.66	19.12.67	24.02.68	25.10.69	67	388	609	Presumed dead
Curtin (WA)	26.11.66	10.02.69	19.04.69	25.10.69	68	807	189	Resigned
Bendigo (Vic)	26.11.66	09.04.69	07.06.69	25.10.69	59	865	140	Resigned
Gwydir (NSW)	26.11.66	30.04.69	07.06.69	25.10.69	38	886	140	Resigned
Aust Cap Territory (ACT)	25.10.69	01.04.70	30.05.70	02.12.72	59	158	917	Died
Chisholm (Vic)	25.10.69	31.07.70	19.09.70	02.12.72	50	279	805	Died
Murray (Vic)	25.10.69	01.02.71	20.03.71	02.12.72	47	464	623	Resigned
Parramatta (NSW)	02.12.72	11.07.73	22.09.73	18.05.74	73	221	238	Resigned
Bass (Tas)	18.05.74	02.06.75	28.06.75	13.12.75	26	380	168	Resigned
Cunningham (NSW)	13.12.75	22.08.77	15.10.77	10.12.77	54	618	56	Died
Werriwa (NSW)	10.12.77	31.07.78	23.09.78	18.10.80	54	233	756	Resigned
Grayndler (NSW)	10.12.77	16.04.79	23.06.79	18.10.80	68	492	483	Died
Boothby (SA)	18.10.80	22.01.81	21.02.81	05.03.83	30	96	742	Resigned
Curtin (WA)	18.10.80	22.01.81	21.02.81	05.03.83	30	96	742	Resigned
McPherson (Qld)	18.10.80	07.01.81	21.02.81	05.03.83	45	81	742	Died
Wentworth (NSW)	18.10.80	17.02.81	11.04.81	05.03.83	53	122	693	Resigned

Division	Elapsed Time (days)							Reason
	Previous Election	Date Vacated	By-election date	Next Election	Vacated to by-election	After		
						previous election	Before next election	
Lowe (NSW)	18.10.80	04.01.82	13.03.82	05.03.83	68	443	357	Resigned
Flinders (Vic)	18.10.80	22.10.82	04.12.82	05.03.83	43	734	91	Resigned
Wannon (Vic)	05.03.83	31.03.83	07.05.83	01.12.84	37	26	574	Resigned
Bruce (Vic)	05.03.83	21.04.83	28.05.83	01.12.84	37	47	553	Resigned
Moreton (Qld)	05.03.83	15.08.83	05.11.83	01.12.84	82	163	392	Resigned
Corangamite (Vic)	05.03.83	18.01.84	18.02.84	01.12.84	31	319	287	Resigned
Hughes (NSW)	05.03.83	19.12.83	18.02.84	01.12.84	61	289	287	Resigned
Richmond (NSW)	05.03.83	18.01.84	18.02.84	01.12.84	31	319	287	Resigned
Scullin (Vic)	01.12.84	20.12.85	08.02.86	11.07.87	50	384	518	Resigned
Adelaide (SA)	11.07.87	31.12.87	06.02.88	24.03.90	37	173	777	Resigned
Port Adelaide (SA)	11.07.87	08.02.88	26.03.88	24.03.90	47	212	728	Resigned
Groom (Qld)	11.07.87	29.02.88	09.04.88	24.03.90	40	233	714	Resigned
Oxley (Qld)	11.07.87	17.08.88	08.10.88	24.03.90	52	403	532	Resigned
Gwydir (NSW)	11.07.87	24.02.89	15.04.89	24.03.90	50	594	343	Resigned
Menzies (Vic)	24.03.90	25.02.91	11.05.91	13.03.93	75	338	672	Resigned
Wills (Vic)	24.03.90	20.02.92	11.04.92	13.03.93	51	698	336	Resigned
Werriwa (NSW)	13.03.93	22.12.93	29.01.94	02.03.96	38	284	763	Resigned
Fremantle (WA)	13.03.93	04.02.94	12.03.94	02.03.96	36	328	721	Resigned
Bonython (SA)	13.03.93	11.02.94	19.03.94	02.03.96	36	335	714	Resigned
Mackellar (NSW)	13.03.93	14.01.94	26.03.94	02.03.96	71	307	707	Resigned
Warringah (NSW)	13.03.93	18.02.94	26.03.94	02.03.96	36	342	707	Resigned
Kooyong (Vic)	13.03.93	17.09.94	19.11.94	02.03.96	63	553	469	Resigned
Canberra (ACT)	13.03.93	30.01.95	25.03.95	02.03.96	54	688	343	Resigned
Wentworth (NSW)	13.03.93	28.02.95	08.04.95	02.03.96	39	717	329	Resigned
Blaxland (NSW)	02.03.96	23.04.96	15.06.96	03.10.98	53	52	840	Resigned
Lindsay (NSW)	02.03.96	11.09.96	19.10.96	03.10.98	38	193	714	Election voided
Fraser (ACT)	02.03.96	06.12.96	01.02.97	03.10.98	57	279	609	Resigned
Holt (Vic)	03.10.98	30.09.99	06.11.99	10.11.01	37	362	735	Resigned
Isaacs (Vic)	03.10.98	14.06.00	12.08.00	10.11.01	59	620	455	Died
Ryan (Qld)	03.10.98	05.02.01	17.03.01	10.11.01	40	856	238	Resigned
Aston (Vic)	03.10.98	24.04.01	14.07.01	10.11.01	81	1015	119	Died
Cunningham (NSW)	10.11.01	16.08.02	19.10.02	09.10.04	64	279	721	Resigned
Werriwa (NSW)	09.10.04	21.01.05	19.03.05	24.11.07	57	161	980	Resigned
Gippsland (Vic)	24.11.07	09.04.08	28.06.08	21.08.10	80	217	784	Resigned
Lyne (NSW)	24.11.07	30.07.08	06.09.08	21.08.10	38	287	714	Resigned
Mayo (SA)	24.11.07	14.07.08	06.09.08	21.08.10	54	287	714	Resigned
Bradfield (NSW)	24.11.07	19.10.09	05.12.09	21.08.10	47	742	259	Resigned
Higgins (Vic)	24.11.07	19.10.09	05.12.09	21.08.10	47	742	259	Resigned
Griffith (Qld)	07.09.13	22.11.13	08.02.14	02.07.16	78	154	875	Resigned
Canning (WA)	07.09.13	21.07.15	19.09.15	02.07.16	60	742	287	Died
North Sydney (NSW)	07.09.13	23.10.15	05.12.15	02.07.16	43	819	210	Resigned
New England (NSW)	02.07.16	27.10.17	02.12.17	..	36	518	..	Election voided
Bennelong (NSW)	02.07.16	11.11.17	16.12.17	..	35	532	..	Resigned
Batman (Vic)	02.07.16	01.02.18	17.03.18	..	44	623	..	Resigned
Braddon (Tas)	02.07.16	10.05.18	28.07.18	..	79	756	..	Resigned
Fremantle (WA)	02.07.16	10.05.18	28.07.18	..	79	756	..	Resigned
Longman (Qld)	02.07.16	10.05.18	28.07.18	..	79	756	..	Resigned
Perth (WA)	02.07.16	10.05.18	28.07.18	..	79	756	..	Resigned
Mayo (SA)	02.07.16	11.05.18	28.07.18	..	78	756	..	Resigned
Wentworth (NSW)	02.07.16	31.08.18	20.10.18	..	50	840	..	Resigned

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