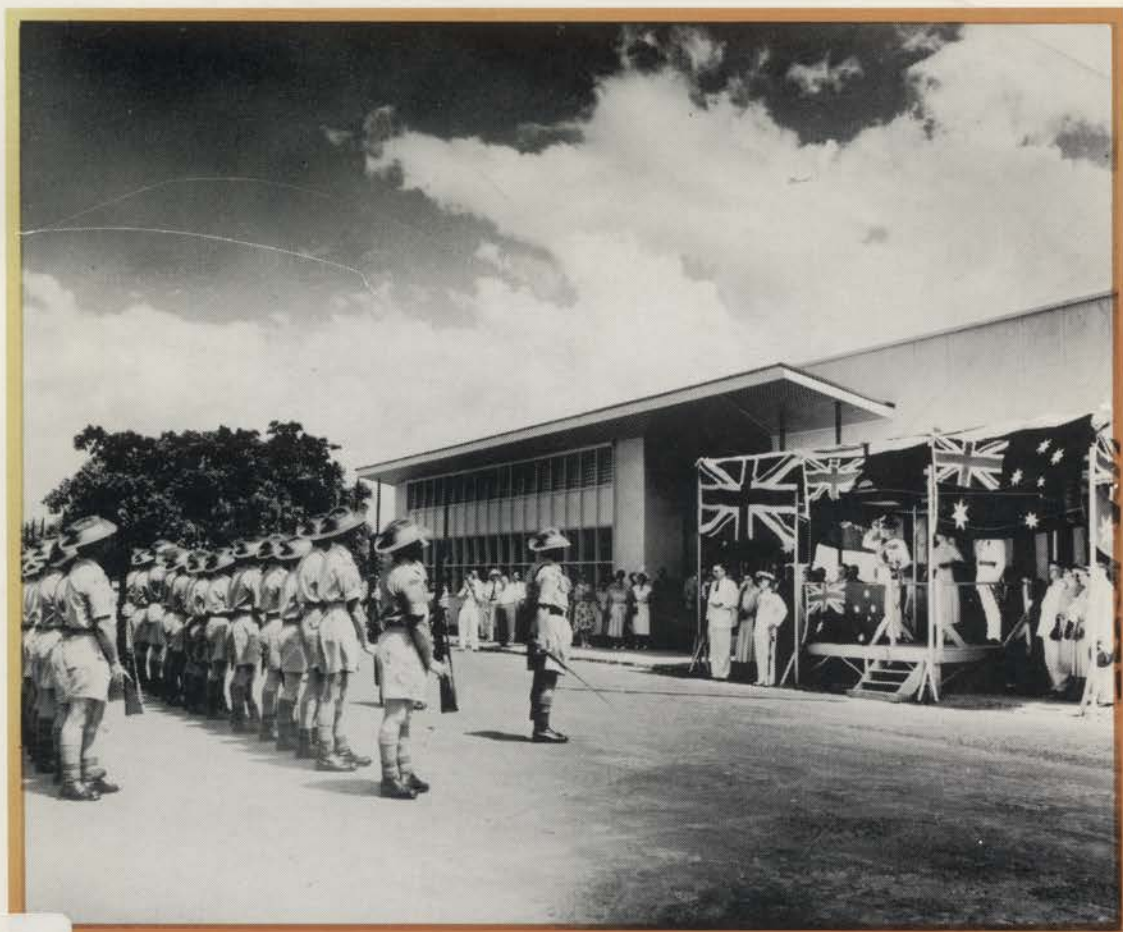


Dean Jaensch

The Legislative Council of the Northern Territory: An Electoral History 1947-1974



Australian National University North Australia Research Unit
Monograph
Darwin 1990

- 6 SEP 1990

**THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
OF THE
NORTHERN TERRITORY**

**AN
ELECTORAL HISTORY
1947-1974**

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Front cover: Opening of the Legislative Council, 1955

Photograph courtesy of the Legislative Assembly of the Northern Territory

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SECTION 1

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Constitutional change to 1947

From 1825 until 1863, the area which later became the Northern Territory was incorporated in the colony of New South Wales. Part of the area was offered to Queensland in 1862, but that colony refused the offer. One year later, South Australia was offered and accepted the area, but did not gain permanent tenure of it.

Development of the Territory as a political unit was slow. It was not until 1890 that the adult males (and after 1894, adults) in the Territory were given representation in the South Australian House of Assembly. From 1890 to 1911, the Territory was a separate South Australian electoral district, returning two members to the Assembly. In 1901, adults in the Territory received a Commonwealth franchise as well, as part of the South Australian electorate of Grey.

From the beginning, the Commonwealth government had shown considerable interest in the Northern Territory. The new national government had no territorial jurisdiction and negotiations were begun with South Australia for a transfer of control. The suggestion met a willing response since the South Australian government had found the development of the vast area an increasing financial burden, and the Commonwealth government took control on 1 January 1911.

The small amount of political representation was immediately wiped out. All parliamentary franchises were revoked. The Territory was under the direct control of the national government with specific authority vested at first in the Minister for External Affairs - a title which did not please the Territorians. Local authority was vested in an Administrator who acted under instructions from the national minister. For eleven years, 1911-1922, Territorians had no parliamentary representation and no form of participation in their own political affairs. As Walker (1984, 1) describes, the displeasure came to a head when Administrator Gilruth,

after 7 years in office, in the face of a revolt by the residents of Darwin was secretly evacuated in a naval vessel. Shortly afterwards Carey and Evans, the 2 most senior public servants, and Bevan, the Judge of the Supreme Court, all boarded a ship to leave Darwin in the face of a large and angry crowd of local people.

In 1919, the Commonwealth government created an Advisory Council to assist the Administrator, but this was strictly limited to advice without any power. The Territorians were far from satisfied, and maintained pressure on the Commonwealth using the famous slogan 'no taxation without representation'.

The first cautious step by the national government to provide the Territory with its own political voice was taken in 1922 when the government allowed it one representative in the House of Representatives. For fourteen years this representative had no voting rights and was all but a non-member of parliament. In 1936 he was granted the right to speak and, in the limited area of motions, to disallow Northern Territory ordinances of the national government, to vote as well. In 1926 the national government experimented further by dividing the Territory into two areas and establishing two separate administrative entities divided by the twentieth parallel. Alice Springs became the administrative 'capital' of the Centre, and Darwin the 'capital' of the Top End. The division was abolished by the Scullin Labor government in 1931 as an economising measure in the depression.

However, the Commonwealth Scullin Labor government did yield to strong pressure from the Territory representative, HG Nelson, and introduced a bill to inaugurate an ordinance-making Legislative Council. This part-elective, part-nominated body was designed to have a range of authority equivalent to that of the hybrid Legislative Councils in the Australian colonies in the mid-nineteenth century. It was hardly a radical step in constitutional development, but the proposal was defeated by the Liberal-Country majority in the Senate. By the end of the second world war, the pressure for self government had become focussed by the formation of the Northern Territory Development League. Its activities eventually resulted in the Commonwealth government's decision to allow the Territory an advisory body. The Northern Territory Legislative Council was established by the Act (assented 12 June 1947) to amend the Northern Territory (Administration) Act 1910-1947.

FROM CROWN COLONY TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Processes in the British Empire

Under the terms of the Northern Territory (Administration) Act 1910-1947, the constitutional situation of the Territory was essentially that of a British Empire Crown Colony in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was ruled by the 'crown' - the national government in Canberra. From 1910 to 1922, its citizens had no formal say in their political affairs, and from 1922, their sole representative in Canberra had only limited rights.

The inauguration of the Legislative Council in 1947 granted to the Territory a level of 'self-government' which had been achieved by many British Empire colonies before 1850. In fact, the level of 'self-government' in the Territory in 1947 was less than that which was granted to New South Wales in 1828. In that year, the NSW Council was 'made superior to the Governor in legislation; his power to override it ... abolished' (Wight 1945, 67). The Council in the Northern Territory in 1947 was 'subordinate' to the Administrator, and, through him, to the Commonwealth government which had created it.

The processes of the transition in British Crown Colonies from autocratic rule to eventual self-government have been set out by Wight (1945, 1952).

Within this transition are two major themes: the development of a representative system, and the development of the rules and conventions of responsible government. The former includes such issues as:

- the establishment and extension of franchise;
- the definition of electorates, and electorate representation, including the choice of single-member or multi-member electorates;
- the principles on which the electoral geography is based;
- the definition of who or what is to be represented - the issue of representation of people, interests, areas, sub-cultures, or other subdivisions of the 'nation'.

The second development which, in British Empire history, often occurred parallel with that of representation, was the process of change leading to responsible government. This process involved an increase, in stages, of the power of the legislature to control the executive, and the final stage, usually after a long period of evolution, is when the executive is drawn from, and supported by, a majority in the legislature. At this stage, modern 'Westminster' responsible government exists, with the executive dependent on the support of a legislative majority for its tenure, for the tenure of the officers of the administration, and for its appropriations. Responsible government in this sense does not depend on a party majority in the legislature; majorities may be, and in the Australian colonies were, at first, constructed from non-party coalitions. Today, however, it is normal for the legislative majority on which responsible government rests to be formed by one or more party groups. Party is the link which connects responsible government in the legislature to the representative system in the electorates.

In the Crown colonies, the first step away from autocratic rule by a Governor, usually conducted through officials appointed by him to head the embryonic departments of administration such as Treasury, Law, Health, and Chief Secretary, was the creation of an Advisory Council. This body was, in fact, the first, if almost imperceptible, step towards representative and responsible government. The advisory council, consisting of members appointed by the Governor, provided an input of ideas, opinions, demands and interests from the community, if from a relatively limited section. Compared to full representative government, where the government is exposed to electoral opinion through the legislature, it was a small step, but it was a step.

It was equally the first step in the process towards responsible government. The governor, as executive head of the colony, was formally instructed by the Crown, that is, by the Imperial Government in Britain. The advisory council provided the governor with a source of advice other than the Imperial minister, a source to which he could appeal for support in the case of a dispute with instructions received from Britain. There was a sense, then, of the first step towards responsible and representative government.

A second stage of development occurred when the Advisory Council was formed into a Legislative Council. In Crown colonial history, these were first constituted as nominated bodies in which the members held their seats on the basis of holding an office under the Crown. This body

differed from the Advisory Council in at least two ways. Where an Advisory Council would have met, and acted, only when called by the Governor to meet and to discuss matters referred to it by him, the Legislative Council had formal and regular meetings as part of the process of government. The members, as heads of departments, could therefore initiate debate on a range of topics, not necessarily only those specifically referred to them by the Governor. A third difference, at a more informal level, was that the existence of the Legislative Council provided more possibility of coordination of administrative and executive functions, as all heads of departments sat in it. An advisory body offered much less opportunity for such coordination.

A further step in the embryonic stage of representative and responsible government in colonial history was the distinction among the nominated membership between official and unofficial members. Official members, with an office under the Crown, held their seats in the Council by virtue of the office. They remained essentially responsible to the Governor as office holders, and the Governor could dispense with the services of an official member by removing him from his office.

The creation of nominated, but non-official members - that is, with no 'office', no formal department or policy responsibility - was an important step in the transition to representative government. It is true to say that while the non-official member was formally separated from the 'government' - the Governor and the official heads - his selection would be on the expectation that he would support the 'government' on major issues. But this was a development, in at least two ways.

The first was the inauguration of an Executive Council. Although this body - Governor and ministers as the formal executive authority - existed from the creation of official members, the distinction between non-official members and the 'executive council' official members was a division within the nominated Legislative Council.

The second aspect was that non-official members strengthened the 'representation' of the Legislative Council. Inclusion of non-official members occurred when governors discovered the need for a wider representation of interests within the Council. Hence, as well as department heads - the official members - able to discuss their own specific responsibilities, the Council included a representation of interests within the community. These interests were usually the 'established' and/or powerful ones in the society, and included major economic interests such as pastoralists, land holders, men of commerce, industrialists, and the clergy, but it did broaden the 'representative' nature of a nominated Council, and provided the potential for wider, and potentially more expressive debates. This development also provided a further potential for wider responsibility, through the non-official members, at least to their 'interests', and possibly to the society as a whole.

The introduction of formal representative government in Legislative Councils in the British Empire usually occurred in three stages. The first was the granting of an elected membership within the Council of official and non-official members. This part-elective Council was therefore partly

representative. The second stage was the real threshold in the development of representative government - the formation of an elective majority within the part-elected Council. When the elected members had the potential to out-vote the official and non-official nominated members, and hence out-vote the governor, then the real break into representative government had been achieved. The third stage, the completion of the process, was the inauguration of fully-elective Councils.

At this point, it is important to note that the existence of non-official members in the early stage of development, and the existence of elected members, whether a minority or a majority, did not necessarily mean that the 'government' domination of debates and votes in the Council was tested, let alone defeated when the elected majority was granted. The non-official members, although 'representatives' of interests, were also nominees of the governor, and were, on occasions, faced with divided loyalties. As well, the elected members, especially before the development of political parties were not expected to, nor did they, vote as an elective bloc against the 'government'.

The introduction of the elective component into the Council was also a stage in the process towards responsible government. It provided an embryonic, but potentially important 'pressure' on Governor and 'government' for policy discussions to at least take account of wider opinions. Once the elective membership constituted a majority in the Council then a real element of responsibility had been introduced. Once an elective membership had the numbers to defeat the government, then a government could be forced to respond to criticism or risk an increase of conflict in the legislature. But since the responsibility secured by this system depended on the threat of confrontation between an irremovable executive and an elective majority, it was inherently unstable and, in practice, it was a transitional stage on the way to full responsible government.

Full responsible government required further developments. Of these, the most important was the transformation of the Legislative Council into a parliament. This was accomplished by the transfer to a fully elective legislature of power to raise and spend revenue and to determine policy. This transfer could occur either by the grant of sovereign authority to a parliament, or by delegation of authority. In Australia, colonial legislatures were empowered by delegation; that is, the British Imperial parliament passed constitutions which granted self-government, but the British government, in the name of the Crown, reserved the power to overrule acts of a self-governing colonial parliament, or reserved specific policy areas such as foreign relations and defence to its own authority.

The Westminster model of responsible government rests on the assumption that the polity is autonomous, and the parliament supreme within it. But in the Australian context responsible government has been adapted to federalism. Here, the autonomy of the polity, both the polity of the Commonwealth and the polities of the separate states, are within a constitutionally limited sphere of power. The state and federal parliaments and governments, in certain respects, are all subject to the federal constitution, and to the High Court. However, they are supreme within their own spheres of power, and in controlling their own budgets.

Responsible government also requires that the executive, a ministry, is chosen from the majority in a fully-elective legislature, and is dependent for its tenure of office on a majority in any vote of no-confidence moved against it in the lower house of parliament. This element of responsible government was developed by convention in the Australian colonies in the late nineteenth century. The Australian states now have full responsible government, subject to the Australian constitution, as does the Commonwealth since the last vestiges of British control were removed in 1987.

The Northern Territory does not. Although the legislature is fully representative, and an executive ministry is chosen from it, holding office with the support of a majority, the legislature and the government are, formally, still subject to some controls from the federal government and parliament. In addition, its authority as a parliament is delegated by an act of the Commonwealth parliament, and can be withdrawn, in part or whole, by a simple amendment of the Commonwealth act. And finally, although there is nothing in the definition of responsible government which would compel the Commonwealth to give the Territory power over national parks, uranium mining, Aboriginal affairs, and industrial relations within its borders, the fact that the Commonwealth has denied the Territory these powers when the six states have them, is seen as a further sign of the subjection of the Territory to the Commonwealth.

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

From Crown Colony to Representative Government

Although the processes of development of representative and responsible government usually occurred concurrently, the developments of each in the Territory is analysed separately.

The inauguration of the Legislative Council in 1947 provided a hybrid legislature at the level of British colonies of more than a century earlier. The federal Labor government introduced the Act to establish the Council and outlined its prime aim:

to confer a measure of self-government on the residents of the Northern Territory. In view of the fact that the Northern Territory is not self-supporting financially, and that the greater part of the expenditure on its development must be provided by the Commonwealth, the bill provides that there shall be a slight majority of Government members (cited in Walker 1984, 2-3).

The Commonwealth had bypassed the nominated stages of constitutional development, and introduced a solid measure of a representative principle from the beginning. The Council was established with seven official members and six elected members. But the 'slight majority' was an understatement, as the Administrator, as presiding officer of the Council, had both a deliberative and a casting vote. The Territory's member of the House of Representatives, Macalister Blain, moved an amendment to

allow for ten elected and seven nominated official members, and when this was rejected, he called the Labor Government's proposal

pseudo-legislation which merely pretends to give some measure of self-government to the Territory. After its passage, the Northern Territory will have as much self-government as the inhabitants of Siberian Russia or the inmates of a jail (cited in Walker 1984, 3).

This was colourful rhetoric which would have appealed to those in the Territory who had fought for years for a representative chamber.

On the other hand, there was an 'official majority', able to overcome any united elective vote by a margin of eight to six, with the added safeguard of a casting vote for the Administrator in the absence of two of the seven official members, that is, a 'floor vote' of 6:5 in favour of the elected members would be 7:6 against them with the intervention of the Administrator.

Blain also described the Council as

composed of a majority of public servants, who will have to be "yes" men, otherwise they will lose their jobs (cited in Walker 1984, 3).

The emotive language aside, Blain was correct. The nominated members held their seats in their own right, and on the basis of office. The men were appointed, and then allocated their offices. But this was firmly within the model of the British Empire Colonial development - the official members in the Northern Territory Legislative Council were part of the government, and were expected to support the government position. Their seats and offices were the gift of the Administrator, who had the power to appoint and to remove.

The six elected members represented a total enrolment at the first elections on 13 December 1947 of only 4 443 adult, European, Territory citizens. The town of Darwin (enrolment 2 080) elected two members and the towns of Alice Springs (735) and Tennant Creek (300) one each. The remainder of the huge area of the Territory was divided at latitude 20 into north and south rural electorates (915, 413). This electoral geography was to become a matter for debate, but the overwhelming issue, at least for the elective members, throughout the life of the Council, was that of constitutional reform. In fact, the mood of the Territory electorate, expressed through its support of candidates, was firmly for reform.

At the forefront of the immediate demands was progress to the next stage of development, to a majority of elected members in the Council. But this was not supported by Canberra's equivalent of the old British 'Colonial Office'. What must have been particularly annoying for the Territory was that members of the Liberal and Country parties, in opposition in the House of Representatives, who had supported Blain's attempt to force an elective majority from the beginning, had become opponents of any such suggestion when they moved to government in 1949.

By 1954, the demands for reform had become single-minded, spearheaded by the newly-elected member for Batchelor, Harold (Tiger) Brennan. In 1956, the elective members wrote the federal minister, Hasluck, demanding reforms, to be told in reply (and, in any objective sense, fairly told), that

If at any time you and your fellow members should develop any proposals for the amendment of that Northern Territory (Administration) 1947 Act, I would undertake to see that they are carefully considered by the Government.

In 1957, the elected members decided to test the sincerity of the federal government, and a committee drew up eleven recommendations and forwarded them to Canberra. Given the mood of the times, the two key recommendations were indeed conciliatory, and very mildly reformist:

- *one extra elected seat in the Council and a further increase considered for the future*
- *before an elected majority is conceded the matter should be approved by referendum*

Hasluck and the Liberal Country government did not provide even a response, and, further, had imposed a rigid discipline on the official members (Walker 1984, 34).

It was not surprising that the elected members took direct action. All six resigned in April 1958; all six were re-elected (five unopposed) in June 1958. This action and electoral response shocked Canberra, and in 1959 the further stage of development was allowed, but still within the majority-nominated model of colonial constitutional development. The official nominated membership was reduced from seven to six. The elective membership was increased from six to eight. But the federal government devised a buffer which actually strengthened its position.

The decision to allow the Administrator to nominate three non-official members was, at first sight, a reform. It required that the three would not be members of the public service, and that they would not be formally members of the government. But the decision actually reversed the development to representative government. It reverted to a process of development which normally occurred as a reform within a fully nominated Council. As well, while the non-official status offered the possibility of a majority of elective/non-official members - a 'non-government' majority, as noted above, non-official members were under informal pressures to follow the 'government line', especially on issues of substance. That is, on issues the 'government' considered to be substantial, on which it could expect to hold the votes of non-official as well as official members, the voting strength of the elected members had decreased from 6:7 to 8:11 (both excluding the Administrator). Given that the Liberal Country government in Canberra, which granted this 'reform', had promised an elective majority when it was in opposition in 1947, it was no surprise that Territorians were not impressed. As one elected Council member put it,

pervading these reforms is a strong and repellent odour of failure by the Government to believe or trust in the ability of the people of the Northern Territory to produce representatives who will perform their duties with sincerity and responsibility (cited in Walker 1984, 37).

The penultimate stage of the development to full representative government was granted in 1968 when the federal government abolished the three non-official nominated members, and created a further three elective members. That decision produced, for the first time in the Territory, a majority of elective members in the Legislative Council. Only when the Legislative Council was abolished and the Legislative Assembly created in 1974 did the Territory achieve full representative government.

Responsible Government

The institution of a Legislative Council in the British colonial tradition turned out to be an institution of transition: from autocratic rule of a Crown Colony to representative and responsible government. The concept of responsible government is a complex one, and it can be interpreted in a number of ways. In terms of this study, some can be dealt with fairly quickly.

In terms of being 'responsible for its own activities', the Legislative Council never achieved autonomy, let alone sovereignty. In fact, as pointed out above, the Legislative Assembly in 1989, had only limited and delegated legislative authority. The Legislative Council, like the colonial legislatures in the British Empire, was limited in its authority. From 1947 to 1958, there was little likelihood that the Council would pass any legislation which was opposed to the wishes of the Administrator. The 7-6 (and with the deliberative vote of the Administrator, 8-6) ratio of nominated official members to elected members could carry, or reject, any legislation.

In the British colonies the Governor/Administrator could refuse assent to any legislation, or could reserve a bill to the Imperial government. This Imperial government could refuse assent, and, in fact, could disallow bills which had received assent by the colonial Governor/Administrator. A similar power resided in the government in Canberra throughout the life of the Northern Territory Legislative Council. That is, even after 1968 when an elective majority could pass legislation against the wishes of the Administrator, the Commonwealth retained the power of veto.

A second sense of 'responsible for its own actions' is whether the Council has control over its own business. Throughout the period of the Council, elected members had the right to attempt to introduce matters of their concern into the Council. Whether they were actually able to do so, and whether such proposals became law, at least until 1968, depended on whether the 'government' would accept them. While there was a majority of official members, control of the Council was in the hands of the government. When the non-official members were added, they effectively had the numbers, in any division on which the 'government' and the elected members were opposed, to decide the issue. In the last two

Councils, 1968-71 and 1971-74, the elective majority was able to control the house - in terms of voting at divisions.

The demands by elective members throughout the life of the Council, certainly to 1968 when it was clear that the next stage could only be a parliament, encompassed both representation and responsible government issues. The two themes were connected by the fact that progress to responsible government could not really occur until the representation question had been resolved, at least to the point of an elective majority. In 1957 and 1958, when the demands for reform were most organised, most strident, and most accepted across the Territory electorate (see Part 3), the elective members sought not only an elective majority, but changes in the nature of 'responsibility' in regard to Territory affairs in general, and the Legislative Council in particular.

In 1958, all six elected members resigned from the Council in protest at the refusal of the Commonwealth government even to consider constitutional reform. All were re-elected at the subsequent by-elections, five unopposed. The Select Committee, which had worked towards a reform package in the previous Council, was re-established, and in 1958 presented Commonwealth Minister Hasluck with eleven recommendations, all but one of which had a bearing on representative and responsible government.

- (i) *the transfer of powers under the Act from the Minister to the Governor-General;*
- (ii) *provision of a senator for the Territory;*
- (iii) *full voting rights for the Territory member of the House of Representatives;*
- (iv) *for an executive council;*
- (v) *disallowance of ordinances to be by the parliament instead of the executive;*
- (vi) *that the Governor-General use the principles that apply to Commonwealth legislation when considering assent to Territory ordinances.*
- (vii) *that the parliament have the power to disallow all ordinances;*
- (viii) *that there be one extra elected seat in the Council and a further increase considered for the future;*
- (ix) *that before an elected majority is conceded the matter should be approved by referendum;*
- (x) *that grants to the Territory be made under the Federal Aid Roads Act; and*
- (xi) *that a limited form of autonomy be granted in financial affairs.*
(Walker 1984, 32).

Recommendations (ii), (iii) and (viii) were requests for extension of representation of the Territory. Recommendation (ix) was clearly a concession by the reformist group to the conservative Commonwealth government, but there was no doubt, in the mood of the electorate in 1958, that any such referendum would be overwhelmingly supported.

Recommendations (i), (v) and (vi) related to the theme of political control of the Territory and the Legislative Council. Under the NT Administration Act, the final decisions were taken by a commonwealth minister and/or

Cabinet, and hence had the potential to be made on party political grounds. The Committee's requests were that the NT Administrator should be instructed by the Governor General, the Queen's representative, rather than by a 'political' minister, and that the commonwealth parliament, rather than a government, should have the final say on Territory ordinances.

Recommendations (iv) and (xi) were an attempt to incorporate a component of responsible government in the Council. While ultimate authority would remain with the Governor General (if (vi) was accepted), the formation of an Executive Council and the grant of some measure of autonomy over financial affairs would have been a step, albeit small, towards responsible government.

The Commonwealth government took over a year to decide what to do, while feelings among the elected members in the Council became more intense. Finally, in May 1959, Hasluck proposed four reform measures. Two were concerned with representation, and have been noted above. But the Commonwealth had all but rejected any progress towards responsible government. The offer included an Administrator's Council of five members, which moved only slightly in the direction of the request for an Executive Council. But the recommendations which sought to dilute 'political' control of the NT were not accepted. In response, Hasluck moved that:

as an alternative to non-assent, bills could be returned to the Council with recommended amendments, and bills denied assent were to be tabled with explanatory memoranda in the Commonwealth Parliament (Walker 1984, 36).

This 'reform' was really no reform at all - it left the final authority, and the power of instruction, firmly in the hands of the Commonwealth Minister and Cabinet.

Constitutional Development and the Role of Political Parties

In the model of British Colonial constitutional development outlined above, further constitutional reform was the major, if not the exclusive focus of the political attention of elected members of the transitional Legislative Councils. Divisions within the elective membership weakened the drive for constitutional development. Pressure for further reform needed strong evidence of a unity of purpose in the population and in the body of representatives which could not be ignored by the controlling authority.

It follows, then, that the development of a party system had the potential to divide the electorate, divide the elected membership of the Council, and allow the executive to benefit from a 'divide and rule' mode of managing the legislature. The potential of party conflict to divide the legislature could be increased if underlying antagonistic and confrontationist social cleavages were expressed in party terms, such as cleavages of race, ethnic group, or religion. In many of the British Empire colonies, especially where the colonial authority had imposed, or accepted the necessity for, communal representation in the Legislative Council, deep cleavages and

confrontationist conflict were endemic. Such communal representation created parallel electorates, and guaranteed representation to the major social divisions - whether racial, cultural, or even geographical. Representation of these social differences was seen as a necessity, but it also made more difficult the emergence of a unity of purpose on any major issue, let alone constitutional reform.

In homogeneous societies it is easier to obtain a united front on constitutional reform in the transition phases. Although the Northern Territory society contained a fundamental social division between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, at the formation of the Legislative Council in 1947, this division was not represented in it. The Aboriginal people were not granted the franchise for the Council until 1962, and none sat in the Council. In the early stages of demands for further reform, then, the electorate and the representatives were essentially homogeneous.

But there was still a potential for division in the electorate through confrontationist political parties, a potential which did not exist when the Australian colonies were fighting for self-government, representation, and responsible government in the nineteenth century. By 1947, Australian politics in both federal and state arenas, had become dominated by political parties, and especially by the confrontation between Labor and anti-Labor. But political parties did not emerge in the Northern Territory until well after they had become dominant in the states and in national politics. The differences of interest, opinion and ideology which were elsewhere being shaped into party differences by the turn of the century had little or no significance in the Territory if only because it was not self-administering and because its economy was rudimentary and its population small and dispersed. Party differences were irrelevant. When the Territory first gained representation - two members in the South Australian Assembly from 1890 to 1911 - it tended to support independents, rather than party men, even though South Australian politics was by then fast being transformed into party politics. The Territory's two members in the House of Assembly in 1890 were VL Solomon (journalist) and JL Parsons (merchant), both residents of Palmerston. New men took their places from time to time - W Griffiths in 1893, CE Herbert in 1899, SJ Mitchell in 1902 - and were given labels, which they wore lightly, derived from the parliamentary politics of South Australia rather than from tendencies in the Territory. It was not until 1910 that party organizations succeeded - JAV Brown succeeded as a Liberal Union candidate and TG Crush as a Labor candidate - and even then they were South Australian, not Territory parties, and these were removed from the Territory in 1911.

For the next decade, under the direct administration of the national government, even this minimal representation was ended and any slow development of party organisation in the Territory was halted. And from 1922 to 1947 there was little incentive in the new representative arrangement for the existence of a competing party system: one sole representative in Canberra with voting rights only after 1936 and then only on motions to disallow Northern Territory ordinances. The member from 1922 to 1934, HG Nelson, was a Labor man but the party had no established organisation in the Territory at the time, and the next member, AM Blain (1934-1949) was an independent.

For the first twenty years of the Legislative Council, the only party involvement came from the labour movement. And even here, the idiosyncrasy of the Territory was evident. Where the Labor party in its early days in the rest of Australia had been the disciplined political wing of the union movement, the party in its early days in the Territory from 1947 to 1968 was divided between various components of the labour movement. There were complicated contests between different sections of Labor, all with their own candidates: official Labor nominees, independent-Labor candidates, and candidates endorsed separately by the North Australia Workers Union.

This party monopoly was tested for the first time in 1951 when the Country party nominated one candidate, and two pressure groups endorsed candidates, but these disappeared after the election. In 1965, at the close of the eighth Council, AL Rose, the elected member for Alice Springs, announced that he had formed the North Australia Party, soon to be known as the 'nappy party'. He was supported in the Council by non-official nominated member BF Kilgariff, who predicted that the NAP would 'weld the Northern Territory, north and south, together' (cited in Walker 1984,73), and, in a very unusual move, by official member and Assistant Administrator AV Atkins. The NAP fought the 1965 elections from its base in Alice Springs with five candidates, but succeeded only with one - AGW Greatorex in Stuart - and by the end of 1965 the NAP had disappeared.

It was, however, the spark for the re-emergence of a Country party in the Northern Territory. In 1965, sitting Labor member in the House of Representatives, JN Jock Nelson, announced that he would not contest the 1966 federal election. The Country Party decided to choose a candidate to contest the seat, confidently expecting that the influence of the pastoralists would be in favour of the party. The deputy leader of the party, Doug Anthony, was Minister for the Interior and his portfolio took him to the Territory where, on one occasion, he contacted Edward Connelly (of the local airline, Connair) for advice. Connelly suggested an ex-pilot, Sam Calder, as a potential candidate. Anthony approached Calder, won his consent and then arranged for the New South Wales branch of the Country Party to provide an organiser for the Territory. The 1966 election saw Calder elected. Labor's candidate, RC Ward, lacked Nelson's personal support, and the party's minimal organisation was no match for its opponent in the first real contest it faced.

In 1966, the Liberal Party entered the field, but not very successfully. It formed a branch in Darwin which was affiliated with the Victorian division of the party. Although the party did not enter a candidate in the contest for the 1966 House of Representatives, it did mount an intense and expensive campaign for the 1968 Legislative Council election. But when it gained only 27 per cent of the votes and no seats, the Liberal Party virtually disappeared from the scene.

From 1966 to 1973, the competition of the Labor and Country parties came to dominate Territory politics. The Country party outpolled Labor in the Council elections of 1968 and 1971, and Calder won the federal seat for the Country party in 1969 and 1972. Immediately after the 1972

election, efforts were made to revitalise the Northern Territory Liberal party, efforts which provoked the anxiety of the Country party whose chairman in 1974, Alf Hooper, spoke of 'the impossibility of having two free enterprise parties in the Territory'. The Liberals' moves resulted in negotiations which, by late in 1973, had led the Territory Country party to propose a joint party to its federal executive. This was accepted in principle, but not until March 1974, and with the Western Australian and Senate elections approaching the local branch was asked to delay the merger. The May 1974 federal campaign in the Territory was conducted as a Country-Liberal coalition effort.

A further spur to amalgamation was the belief that the Territory elections might be conducted by a system of optional preferential voting at least, and possibly by first past the post. The fear of the effects of competition between the Country and Liberal parties under either system meant that any resistance to the merger was easily defeated and the Country-Liberal party (CLP) was formed in July 1974.

The 1966 federal election was the seed bed for the development of a party system in the Territory. At that election, for the first time, Labor and Country party organisations faced each other, and at successive federal and Territory elections party became more important in the electorate and in the legislature. But the development to a party system was slow and halting. To use the term 'party system' there needs to be evidence of an organisational continuity of parties, a high level of party identification among voters, and a monopoly or near-monopoly of representation in the legislature. Labor had an organisational continuity from the early 1950s, and the Country party from 1966. But the level and salience of party identification remained weak in the Territory into the 1980s (see Loveday and Jaensch 1983), and independents won significant levels of support, and seats, until 1983. Parties were important in the later years of the Council, but they did not have a monopoly.

Despite its long history in the Territory, the Labor party for most of the life of the Council did not have more than a shadow of the base of Labor parties elsewhere. For the twenty years after 1947, there was hardly any mass base or organisation at all. JN Jock Nelson, the Territory's member in the House of Representatives 1949 to 1966, was a pastoralist whose electoral appeal was wider than the labour movement. He formed his own *ad hoc* electoral organisation for each election and, as he faced no party opposition, this organisation was minimal. The Country party's success in 1966 forced Labor to organise itself, but it faced major problems. As late as 1974, when its plans for the first Assembly election were beginning to take shape, Labor could boast of no more than 300 members in five sub-branches, in Darwin and Casuarina in the Top End, Tennant Creek and Katherine and in Alice Springs in the Centre. The party lacked many of the foundations of Labor organisations in the South. A small membership, concentrated in Darwin, was a weakness since distributing material, canvassing and doing other work of electoral politics demands a large work-force. As well, the Labor party did not have a solid industrial base.

Given the small size of the major centres - Darwin and Alice Springs, the lack of industrial development, and the lack of any real industrial conflict,

industrial unions were bound to be small and relatively weak. In addition, the unionised work-force was almost all employed by government agencies; private industry was so embryonic that unions did not waste much time trying to organise workers in it before the 1970s. The strength of the unions was in Darwin and in government offices and the white-collar work-force there.

A labour movement 'umbrella organisation', a Territory-wide Trades and Labour Council, was not formed until 1971, and by 1974 only eight trades unions had affiliated with it; Miscellaneous Workers Union (2 298 membership 1976), Electrical Trades Union (553), Clerks Union (100), Storemen and Packers (250), AMWU (594), Australian Waterside Workers Federation (109) and the Seamen's Guild (50).

The major problem for the Labor party was that the overwhelming numbers of unionists in the Territory were in public service organisations which did not affiliate with the TLC and few had formal close, direct links with the Labor party. Yet another difficulty was that the labour movement and the Labor party had not learnt to come to grips with distances in the Territory. Communication and central planning which were often a simple process in the major cities and urban areas elsewhere were a major task in the Territory. Given the party's tenuous links with the industrial labour movement, this provided problems.

When the Country party emerged in the 1960s, it had natural advantages. In contrast with the Northern Territory Labor party, the Country party was well organised, well funded and professionally managed. The Country party had become the Territory's largest party by 1973, with more than 700 members in five branches - two in the Darwin area and one in each of Alice Springs, Katherine and Tennant Creek. It had a natural advantage in that the pastoral industry provided it with a secure membership base and, following the election of the Whitlam Labor government in Canberra, its members were increasingly ready to supply funds, assistance and support. As well as its larger and more widespread membership, the Country party and the later CLP could count on potential support from a pastoral work force which did not have the political consciousness of pastoral workers in the states who were supported organisationally by the Australian Workers Union.

Overall, for most of the life of the Legislative Council, elections were not a matter of party competition between entrenched parties and stable patterns of party identification elsewhere in Australia. In the minuscule electorate populations, whether in the equally small urban electorates or in the huge rural areas, personality, local contact, personal networks, 'position' in the area, and service to the local community were, more often than not, more important than party. Even after the emergence of the Labor/Country competition in 1966, these factors remained important, evidenced by the continuing high levels of support for independent candidates.

Throughout the life of the Legislative Council, and through these developments within parties and party systems, there was a continuing thread of anti-party rhetoric. As Heatley (1979, 57) put it,

the emergence of party politics should not obscure the fact that on many issues, especially the over-riding constitutional one, the elected members presented a united front.

Given that a 'united front' was virtually unknown elsewhere in Australia, then why was it possible in the Territory? One reason was the over-riding commitment to constitutional reform within the Territory electorate. On almost every occasion when the issue was raised in the Council, party lines were forgotten, and the elected members presented a united front. Further, beyond the local and Territory issues which divided parties and candidates in election campaigns almost all candidates, regardless of party, agreed on the broad principles of constitutional reform. Very few candidates did not include it in their election propaganda, and even fewer were at all negative on the issue.

A second reason was the essential homogeneity of the electorate, and the nature of the political parties. As noted above, the Labor members of the Council were willing to put reform before inter-party conflict, partly as most of the Labor members gave the clear impression of being reformists first, and Labor second, and most were idiosyncratic in their approach to political issues. Further, the small electorate populations, and the relative weakness of the labour movement meant not only that the elected members were there on a personal rather than a party vote, but that any pro-reform mood in the electorates would certainly be reflected by the elected members.

Finally, there was a strong anti-party mood in the Territory, and especially among the non-party elected members, throughout the life of the Council. This had two themes. One, less often stated, was based on a Burkean concept of representation. As DH Byrnes, an independent candidate for Alice Springs put it in the 1949 election,

I am firmly of the belief that Party Politics should play no part in the Northern Territory Legislative Council; and I will not be influenced by any party or Politician. I will work solely in the interests of Alice Springs and the people who live and work here (Centralian Advocate, 2 December).

The more constant view, however, was that the Territory's prime need - constitutional reform - should not be hindered by party conflict. The 1960 campaign, following the extraordinary resignations of all elected members in 1958, and the continuing reluctance of the federal government to consider reform, brought the strongest statement of this position from the independents. To JS Edwards (independent, Fannie Bay),

There is no room for party politics in the Legislative Council until the Territory has won a fully-elected Council . . . Right now it can only spell disunity when the NT needs a solid front above all else (Northern Territory News, 16 February).

NH Cooper (Darwin Mayor, and independent candidate for Arnhem) was also convinced.

There is much to be done, and far too many vital issues to be decided, without worrying about party politics at this stage (Northern Territory News, 16 February).

Party politics, in the sense of the disciplined blocs evident elsewhere in Australia, did not emerge until the foundation of the NT parliament in 1974, and even then, the Territory electorate continued its strong support for independents.

The following tables summarise the party and non-party contests in the Legislative Council. Details have been set out in the electorate data in Section 3, but an introductory comment is needed at this point. Especially in the earlier elections, there was a need for interpretation to establish whether a candidate was standing with a party label. The Labor party officially nominated candidates at all elections, although under the endorsement of the North Australia Workers Union in 1947. Some apparently endorsed Labor candidates, notably Ward in 1947, made clear in their publicity, and in their speeches and votes in the Council, that they were better categorised as Independent Labor. The party labels in this study generally accord with those of Heatley (1979, 56ff) with a small number of differing interpretations in the earlier elections.

Table 1-1
General Elections
A Summary of Party Support

Total Votes

	Labour Movement				CP	Non-Labor		IND
	Labor	NAWU	TLC	IND		LIB	OTHER	
1947	207	816	-	473	-	-	-	1 447
1949	1 475	-	-	1 185	-	-	-	1 336
1951	908	-	219	1 545	194	-	470	600
1954	1 728	-	-	879	-	-	-	2 456
1957	2 216	-	-	798	-	-	-	651
1960	1 686	-	-	1 073	-	-	-	3 020
1962	2 983	-	-	1 309	-	-	-	4 991
1965	3 290	-	-	-	-	-	2 483	5 048
1968	4 068	-	-	-	3 990	2 667	-	4 195
1971	4 496	-	-	-	6 268	-	-	6 038

Seats Held

	Labour Movement		Independent	Anti-labor
	Labor	Labor (IND)		
1947	2	2	2	-
1949	2	2	2	-
1951	2	2	2	-
1954	3	1	2	-
1955 (by)	2	1	3	-
1957	2	1	3	-
1960	2	2	4	-
1961 (by)	3	1	4	-
1962	3	1	4	-
1963 (by)	3	-	5	-
1965	4	-	3	1 (NAP)
1966 (by)	3	-	4	1 (NAP)
1968	3	-	4	4 (CP)
1969 (by)	3	-	4*	4 (CP)
1970 (by)	2	-	5*	4 (CP)
1971	3	-	3*	5 (CP)

(by) = by-election resulting in change of party representation
* = includes one LIB (IND)

Legislative Divisions

There were a number of potential lines of division within the membership of the Legislative Council. The division most likely to emerge, especially on the issue of constitutional reform, was that of nominated official members versus elected members. But there were two developments in the Council which had the potential to complicate this. The first was the inauguration of three nominated but non-official members in the 1959 Act, and these joined the Council after the 1960 election. These members were under two, possibly opposing, pressures. As nominated members they could be expected to show some loyalty to the 'government'. But, as representatives of 'interests', they could also be expected to reflect a wider opinion.

The second development was that of political parties. This was resisted by many of the candidates and members, essentially on the grounds that it had the potential to divide the elective membership internally, when a united front was necessary especially for constitutional reform (see Section 3 for details of such views).

One means of establishing whether these differences occurred is the analysis of voting in divisions of the Council. Roll-call analysis is a standard method of analysing groupings in non-party legislatures (see Loveday, Martin and Parker 1977 for an Australian application), and in legislatures where party cohesion is weak.

There were some problems in applying the method to the Northern Territory Legislative Council. One was that, for some of the early Council meetings, no records were kept. Another was the small number of divisions called in some sittings. Especially because of the latter, the following does not claim statistical validity. Rather, it is a descriptive summary of the divisions, and tentative interpretation.

The first Council, 1948-49, was established with seven official members, nominated by the Administrator, and six elected members. As noted earlier, the official members, as the 'government', were expected to fulfil their official position by voting in divisions in the Council as a bloc, and in favour of the 'government's' bills, proposals and positions. This did not occur, and the events in this first Council were an indication that others besides the elected members were determined that the new body should be a 'legislature', and not merely an 'Administrator's Council'. LC Lucas, the Director of Works, raised a fundamental issue when, on the first division of the Council, on its first day of sitting, he voted with the elected members, against the government. Only the decision by elected member Hopkins to join the official members in the division saved Administrator Driver from being forced to use his casting vote. The issue was relatively minor, a proposed amendment to standing orders, but the division questioned the basis of the official members.

This set a pattern for the remainder of the first three meetings of the Council, 1947-48. Lucas resigned after the third meeting (February 1949), but as no records were kept of the final three meetings of the first Council, it is impossible to test whether his absence brought discipline to the official members. Certainly in the first three meetings, there was a

notable lack of discipline. Of the 24 divisions called, only six found all seven official members voting as a bloc. Of the 18 in which the official members did not agree, 11 saw Lucas the only official member voting with the elected members, often on government legislation, and on eight occasions forcing Administrator Driver to use both his deliberative and casting votes to secure a majority.

Lucas went further than voting against 'his government'. He questioned the whole basis of the official membership, composed as it was of public servants. He moved in the Council for

the cancellation of appointments of public servants as nominated members ... replacement by private citizens (Northern Territory Legislative Council Debates (LCD), 1948: 201)

on the ground that

I have always understood, perhaps mistakenly, that amongst the principles of democracy are freedom of speech, freedom of thought and the right to vote as conscience directs (LCD 1948:202).

He was one of very few official members who broke from 'discipline' over the life of the Council 1947-74. As Walker (1984, 18) puts it:

The ethical difficulty of serving 2 masters, the government and the Council, does not appear to have troubled more than a very small minority of official members in any of the Councils. The impossibility of reconciling the words of the oath to 'render true and faithful service as a member of the Legislative Council' with their duty as public servants to vote as directed by persons outside the Council does not appear to have occurred to them.

Perhaps it is not surprising that Lucas resigned at the end of the third sitting of the Council.

By the Third Council, in 1952-53, matters had apparently settled down, as, apparently, had the issues facing the Council. (There was no record kept of meetings of the Second Council, nor of the first session of the Third). In the five sittings, 1952-53, there were only two divisions, and both saw the official and elected members facing each other in blocs. The Fifth Council continued the 'party line': of the eleven divisions called in the first sitting, 1955-56, all saw the official bloc arrayed against the combined elective membership.

These Councils were relatively quiescent. The Sixth Council, however, was the most turbulent of all. It included constant debates and demands on constitutional reform, and the mass resignation of all six elected members. When all were re-elected to the Council, they took this as a mandate to continue pressure for reform, and the Council became the focus. The history of divisions in the Council in this period reflects these events. In the first session, to the mass resignation on 17 April 1958,

there were sixteen divisions, with the official versus elective line maintained on all but one procedural issue.

After the re-elections, and especially after a Council-federal government Conference, the tone changed. The whole membership of the Legislative Council travelled to Canberra on 24 July 1958 for a conference on constitutional reform. They returned to Darwin, hoping for an early decision from Canberra on reform proposals, but were forced to wait until March 1959 to hear what was being offered. Not surprisingly, the elected members were increasingly frustrated, and they had clearly decided to bring pressure on Canberra by increasing pressure on the 'government' in the Legislative Council. Where relatively minor issues, even minor procedural questions, had, in the past, been resolved without formal divisions, the elected membership, after the Federal conference, decided to make a point at every opportunity.

In the sittings of the Council while waiting for Canberra to decide, 21 divisions were called in the first, and 56 in the five-day sitting 12-16 January 1959. Only on two of these was the official versus elected line modified: one with both sides divided over a proposal to transfer a farm to the CSIRO; the second when one elected member supported the government on a question of Aboriginal welfare. The elected members certainly set out to make their mood absolutely clear, to both levels of government. Following the announcement of proposed reforms in March 1959, the Council reverted to its more usual behaviour: only ten divisions in the five days of sitting 11-16 May, and with some elected members willing to support the government.

The opening of the Seventh Council, in 1960, provided a further test of the model of the membership of a hybrid Legislative Council - three non-official members were appointed for the first time. The Council, then, consisted of eight elected members, six official members, and the three non-official members, the last whose votes would decide divisions in the Council. If the non-official members saw their role essentially to support the 'government', then their votes would guarantee an official majority. If they saw their role as something separate from 'government', then no division was guaranteed passage. The non-official members were BF Kilgariff, later to become an elected member for the Country Party; DN Matheson and JE Tonkin. WJ Fisher, who was elected as an independent Liberal, replaced Tonkin in 1961.

A total of 100 divisions were held in the life of the Sixth Council, 1960-61. Eighteen saw a split of official members as well as non-official and elected members. The topics of the divisions included procedural questions, but fifteen divisions occurred on a proposed licensing law, an issue which was constant in the Council, and on which a 'conscience vote' had been granted. In the remaining 82 divisions, when the official members were a bloc, there was no consistent pattern among the non-official three. On 27 divisions they voted as a bloc with the government, on 31 they voted as a bloc with the elected members against the government, and on 24 the non-official numbers were divided. However, on formal government legislation, the non-official members were more often than not on the side of the government.

The 1968 election saw the election of four Country party members into the Council. Party politicians, for the first time, constituted a majority of the elected membership - four CP, three Labor, and four independents. In a 1969 by-election, one of the independents was replaced by Fisher, who had been an endorsed Liberal candidate in 1968, and who has been classed as an independent Liberal in the Council.

Of the 88 divisions called in the 1969-70 sittings, all but one, a proposal for a lottery in the NT, saw the official members voting as a government bloc. On seven divisions, the elected members went in varying directions; Labor voting with the government on mining, soil conservation and procedural questions, with the Country party as well on a mining bill; and with both parties divided on three divisions. On 37 divisions, the elected members combined against the official members, defeating the government on most occasions. But there was also evidence that on major government proposals, especially those concerned with economic and development issues, the government could depend on the support of all, or most, of the Country party members. On 17 divisions, the CP joined the official members as a bloc; on 26 divisions some CP members joined the official members to produce a majority vote.

The last Council, elected in 1971, contained eleven elected members: three Labor, five Country party, one independent Liberal, and two independents. In the 49 divisions called in the first session, 1972, there were patterns which suggested the existence of three components: the conflict between nominated official members, the government, and the elected membership - the conflict which was assumed from the beginning; the conflict between the two parties, Labor and CLP, which resulted in a majority for the government's position; and a split within the elective membership that crossed party lines.

The official members were a bloc on all divisions - government solidarity, which had been questioned by Lucas in the first Council, had been maintained throughout, with only one or two dissenters (who did not remain long), and was entrenched in 1972. But the differing pressures within the elective membership were evident. On 19 divisions, all elected members combined to defeat the government; on four divisions, the official and Country party members combined; on 14 divisions, the Country party members themselves divided, but with majority usually on the side of the government; on six divisions, CP and Labor members and independents went in different ways, across party lines; and on six divisions only the elected members remained in the Council to vote. The last were at Committee stages of bills introduced by private members.

Over the sets of sittings and divisions analysed, there was evidence of a nominated versus elected cleavage, modified only on issues which were not key 'government' policies, and most evident on the matter of constitutional reform. The marked increase in the number of divisions at times of conflict between elected members and Canberra, an increase which was extended to matters beyond specific constitutional reform measures, is further evidence of the intensity of the mood of the elected representatives.

The non-official members did not emerge as a cohesive and consistent bloc, either for or against the 'government'. By 1968, when political parties had a firm foothold in the Council, the solidarity of Labor members, evident elsewhere in Australia, was equally evident in the Legislative Council. The Country party members were less cohesive. It should be noted, however, that by 1968 the question of constitutional reform had lost much of its intensity. An elective majority had been achieved, and by the 1971 Council further reform had focussed on the inauguration of an Assembly. On the other hand, there is evidence from the 1968-74 Councils which suggests that if parties had been entrenched in the periods of intense efforts for reform, especially in the 1950s, their existence may well have divided the elected members internally, and hence weakened the legislative pressures which could be put on the Commonwealth government.

SECTION 2

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ELECTIONS

The electoral system for the Legislative Council was established within the terms of three main Acts of the Commonwealth Parliament, and associated Regulations:

Northern Territory Representation Act 1922-
Northern Territory (Administration) Act 1910-
Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918- .

Suffrage

The first Legislative Council in 1947 was elected under a suffrage equivalent to that applied in Commonwealth elections. The NT Electoral Regulations provided that

all persons not under 21 years of age, whether male or female, married or unmarried -

- (a) who have lived in Australia for six months continuously, and*
- (b) who are natural-born or naturalized subjects of the King, shall be entitled to enrolment.*

The Regulations disqualified a person:

*of unsound mind;
attainted of treason;
convicted and under sentence of imprisonment for one year or longer;
who was an 'aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa, or the Islands of the Pacific (except New Zealand)'.*

An Aboriginal person could enrol only if

- (a) he is so entitled under S.41 of the Constitution; or*
- (b) he is a native of British India; or*
- (c) he is a person to whom a certificate of naturalization has been issued under a law of the Commonwealth or of a State and that certificate is still in force, or is a person who obtained British nationality by virtue of the issue of any such certificate.*

The reference under (a) effectively removed any eligibility for Aboriginal people. S.41 states:

No adult person who has or acquires a right to vote at elections for the more numerous House of Parliament of a State shall, while the right continues, be prevented by any law of the Commonwealth from voting at elections for either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth (emphasis added).

The problem was that the Northern Territory did not have the status 'of a State' and, as a consequence, Aborigines were effectively excluded from the franchise. An amendment to the Act in 1949 incorporated the statement that an Aborigine would not be entitled to enrol unless

he is, by virtue of a declaration in pursuance of Section 3A of the Aboriginals Ordinance 1918-1947 of the Territory, not deemed to be an aboriginal for the purposes of that Ordinance or of any provision thereof.

It is doubtful whether many Aborigines complied with this.

At the 1962 election, the franchise was extended to the Aboriginal adults of the Territory. As one study pointed out (Jaensch and Loveday 1979, 113), this extension 'was made in what has been called the 'assimilation era', and

resulted less from any agitation or demand on the part of aborigines themselves than from the conscience of Europeans, administrators and politicians who saw the measure as a vital step in the assimilation process. The underlying assumption seems to have been that the more educated or politically aware an Aborigine is, the more assimilated he or she will be to European society and the more likely he or she will be to voluntarily enrol and exercise the franchise - especially if the would-be voters were given help.

Where compulsory enrolment and compulsory attendance at the polling place applied to all non-Aboriginal adults, the Aboriginal adults were granted voluntary enrolment but, if they enrolled, then compulsory attendance applied.

The Northern Territory Welfare Branch recognised the need for some electoral education for Aborigines with the grant of voting rights, and shortly before the 1962 election

officers from the Welfare Branch and the Commonwealth Electoral Office visited settlements, missions and pastoral properties and explained voting procedures and the importance of the vote to Aborigines (cited by Loveday et al 1988, 8).

These efforts flowed from the fact that enrolment for Aborigines was not compulsory, and the program was designed to bring Aborigines

to the point where they will consciously decide whether or not they will participate in government by enrolling as electors ... To help Aborigines exercise their new right with discretion ... (cited by Loveday et al 1988, 8).

The only other change to the franchise during the life of the Legislative Council was the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 in 1973.

Enrolment and Turnout

Enrolment and attendance ('compulsory voting') were compulsory for all elections for the Legislative Council, for all eligible non-Aboriginal people. But maintaining an accurate electoral roll in a society as dispersed and as mobile as the Territory was a difficult task. There were constant complaints at almost every election and the state of the rolls became an election issue in 1968.

The problems included the dispersed population and the difficulties of communication. But administrative arrangements did not help. In the early elections, there was not even a permanent Electoral Officer in the Territory, and administration from distant Canberra hardly resulted in either efficiency or accuracy. Checking enrolments by household survey was extremely difficult outside the towns, and the enfranchisement of Aborigines in 1962 made the task more difficult, not the least in terms of accuracy of names.

Table 2-1 sets out the enrolment for the general elections 1947-1971, showing total enrolment, and enrolment in contested electorates and the main regions.

Table 2-1

Enrolment for the Legislative Council 1947-71

Election	Total	Enrolment Contested	Regional Enrolment		
			Darwin	Alice Springs	Rural
1947	4 443	4 443	2 080	735	1 628
1949	6 586	5 096	3 540	1 142	1 904
1951	6 516	5 342	3 625	1 174	1 717
1954	6 869	6 869	3 733	1 287	1 849
1957	7 244	5 438	4 119	1 319	1 806
1960	9 181	8 597	4 137	1 594	3 450
1962	13 762	13 052	6 802	2 147	4 813
1965	17 259	15 212	8 159	2 613	6 487
1968	20 145	20 145	10 975	2 471	6 699
1971	25 338	25 338	13 497	2 955	8 886

The effect of the enfranchisement of Aborigines is evident in 1962, although the process of enrolment had the greatest immediate effect in Darwin.

Candidature

To be eligible for election, a prospective candidate needed to show the following qualifications:

- a British Subject;
- not less than 21 years of age;

- an elector entitled to vote for the Legislative Council, or a person qualified to become an elector;
- resident within the Commonwealth for at least six months;
- resident within the Territory for at least three months at the date of nomination.

Nominations were accepted 'not less than seven nor more than twenty-one days after the date of the Writ'.

Certain persons were specifically disqualified:

- *employees of the Public Service of the Territory or the Commonwealth;*
- *undischarged bankrupts;*
- *those convicted for an offence punishable by imprisonment for one year or longer.*

Candidates were able to nominate at the office of the Returning Officer up till 12 noon on the day of nomination or could lodge a nomination not less than twenty four hours before the hour of nomination with an Assistant Returning Officer or any Postmaster in the Territory authorized by the Returning Officer to accept nominations. The officer was then required to telegraph the particulars of the nomination and the candidate's deposit to the Returning Officer.

Candidates in 1947 were required to lodge a deposit of ten pounds, and needed to achieve ten per cent of the total first preference votes of the successful candidate, or ten per cent of the average first preference votes of successful candidates in the case of multi-member districts, to receive the deposit back.

Writs for elections were issued by the Administrator. The regulations provided a time-frame for elections of a minimum of 15 days and a maximum of 52 days. Most elections were conducted in approximately 28 days, not much time for candidates to campaign in the outback electorates.

Postal and Absent Voting

Given the dispersed settlement of much of the Northern Territory, the right to a postal vote was a necessary component of the electoral process. In 1947, the right to a postal vote was based on the elector living more than five miles from a polling place, or living in an electorate where no polling places were appointed. In the latter, electors were granted an automatic postal vote on enrolment. Amendments to the Regulations in 1971 granted a postal vote to any person who, at the day of the election, was not in the Territory, more than five miles from a polling booth, travelling, ill, or for maternity reasons, or whose religious beliefs did not allow attendance.

The Electoral Office was required to forward postal voting material as soon as practicable after the close of nominations. But there were often long delays in the receipt of material, due mainly to the limited outback postal services which were often weekly only, or even fortnightly. Another

problem was the insufficient mailing address provided by the elector when lodging a claim for enrolment. It was quite common for persons to enrol for such addresses as:

17 mile Stuart Highway Darwin;
30 mile Stuart Highway Darwin;
PO Alice Springs.

In the case of addresses such as 17 mile, 30 mile, these were the turn-off points from the highway and their residences could be anywhere. There being no mail delivery beyond that point, ballot material would sit in a Post Office. To overcome the outback problem of weekly or fortnightly mail services, a period of 40 days from polling day was provided for electors to return their ballot papers and have them included in the count. In 1962 the period of 40 days was reduced to 28 days as outback mail services improved.

Although these early efforts were made to allow for the unique situations of the Territory, it is surprising that there was no provision for an absent vote. From 1947, until amendments to Regulations in 1969, electors were required to vote only in the district in which they were enrolled. In the elections in the 1960s, some provision was made for electors to cast an absent vote in any electorate contiguous with the one in which they were enrolled and, in 1968, Darwin electors could vote in any Darwin electorate. In 1969, the Regulations were amended to make available full absent voting - any elector could vote at any polling place in the Territory in the 1971 elections.

Electoral Administration

In the early elections, the distances and problems of transport and communication caused difficulties for the administration processes.

The first election in 1947 was conducted by Joseph Nicholls, Returning Officer for the Northern Territory. For some reason, his head office was located in Alice Springs rather than Darwin, and his total staff consisted of Assistant Returning Officers in Darwin and Tennant Creek. Beyond these permanent officers, and a later appointment in Katherine, the recruitment of polling staff was a haphazard affair. Reports in documents suggest that, for the early years, the polling material and forms for appointment of electoral staff were simply forwarded to a person in the community whose name was known to the electoral office. Those persons were requested to obtain the services of suitable people to conduct the elections. It is clear that the Returning Officer only discovered who had conducted the election after the return of the ballot box and official report. Despite this very informal process, the system managed to work, and no cases of malpractice were ever reported.

Until 1964, the Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers were senior public servants whose electoral duties were part of their normal duties. They acted on directions from the Electoral Office in Canberra. In 1964, a permanent full-time Electoral Officer was established in Darwin.

The tasks of the Officers were complicated by the dispersion of the society, and reports were replete with problems faced and overcome. In 1965, for example, the Returning Officer reported on the Subject of 'Transportation of Election Material' and noted:

Carelessness by Connellan's resulted in the ballot box from Hookers Creek being delivered to Alice Springs (in lieu of Darwin), and the return of the Rose River box was considerably delayed by Connellans "forgetting" to land at that centre as scheduled. Through the courtesy and cooperation of the Department of Health I finally had the box returned to Darwin in the aerial ambulance.

He also noted that the 'poll percentage' was 'very disappointing', primarily due to 'an exceptional high enrolment turnover', and 'the great number of electors who proceed on holidays in the south for 3 to 6 months.'

Translating Votes to Seats

During the 38 years of the Legislative Council there was considerable experimentation with the arithmetic of elections. The decision to use both single-member and two-member electorates required different systems at the one election, and the Territory incorporated proportional representation in Darwin for a brief period.

The single-member electorate contests were all based on compulsory preferential voting. Electors were required to show preferences for all candidates on the ballot paper. To be elected, a candidate needed to achieve an absolute majority of the formal votes, either on first preferences, or after the allocation of second and subsequent preferences. This had been used for Commonwealth elections since 1918.

The two-member electorate of Darwin required a different system, and from 1947 to 1957, a system of contingent voting was used. The first member was elected in the 'normal' manner - by winning an absolute majority of votes, either on first preferences or after preference distribution. To elect the second member, the count reverted to first preferences, and the second preferences of the elected candidate were distributed. The 'normal' preference process, if necessary, was carried out until the second member was elected.

At the 1957 election, the last at which Darwin was a two-member electorate, a system of proportional representation was introduced. This was based on the existing Senate system, requiring a quota for election. In a two-member electorate, this quota was one vote more than one-third of the total formal votes. The surplus votes of the first elected member were distributed, and, if necessary, then a 'normal' preference distribution elected the second member. From 1960, all contests were based on single-member districts and the standard preferential system.

Electoral Geography

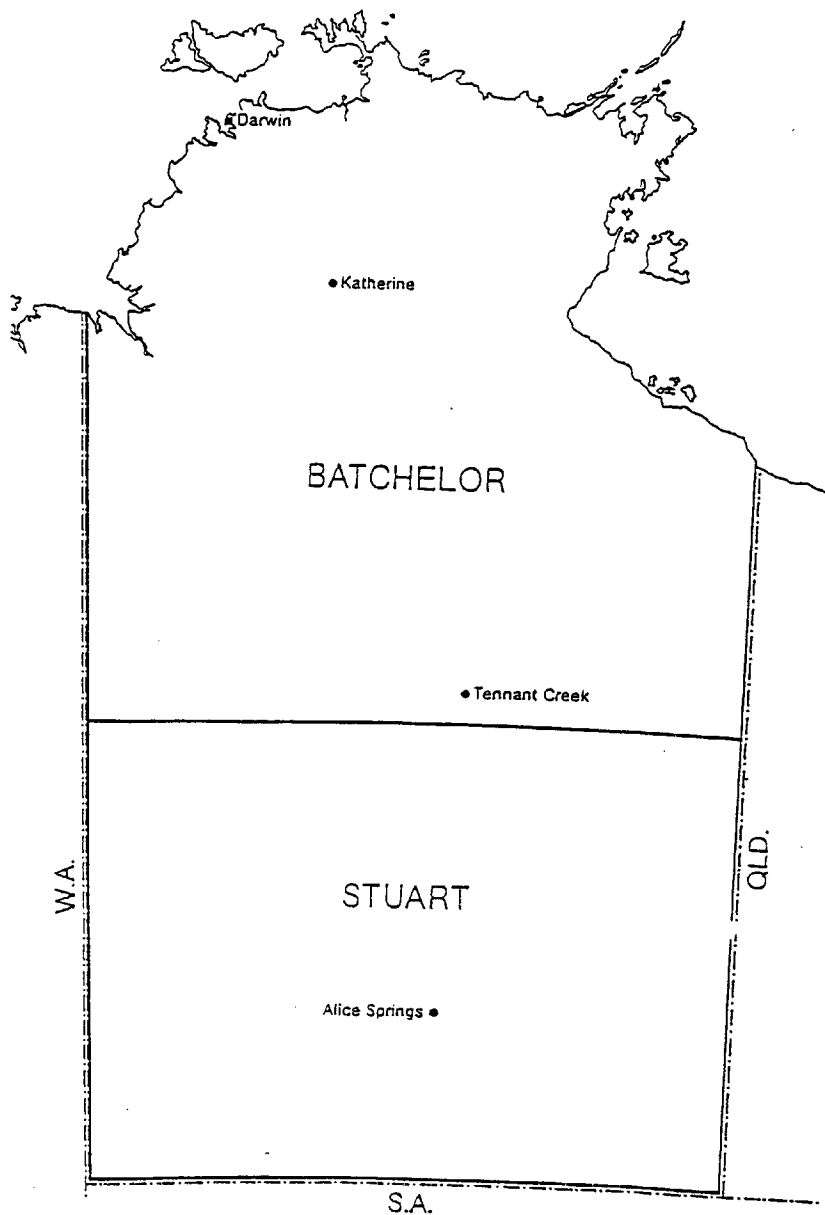
The inaugural distribution of the Northern Territory electorate into districts was set out in a Schedule to the Northern Territory (Administration) Act of 1947.

Darwin	The Town of Darwin and its environs as described in the Schedule to the <i>Darwin Acquisition Act</i> 1945.
Batchelor	The whole of that part of the Territory which is north of the twentieth degree of South Latitude, excepting the Darwin District and the Tennant Creek District, as described in this Schedule.
Tennant Creek	The area contained within a circle having a radius of twenty miles from the Tennant Creek Post Office
Alice Springs	The area contained within a circle having a radius of ten miles from the Alice Springs Post Office
Stuart	The whole of that part of the Territory which is south of the twentieth degree of South Latitude, excepting the Alice Springs District as described in this Schedule

The resultant geography is shown in Map 2-1.

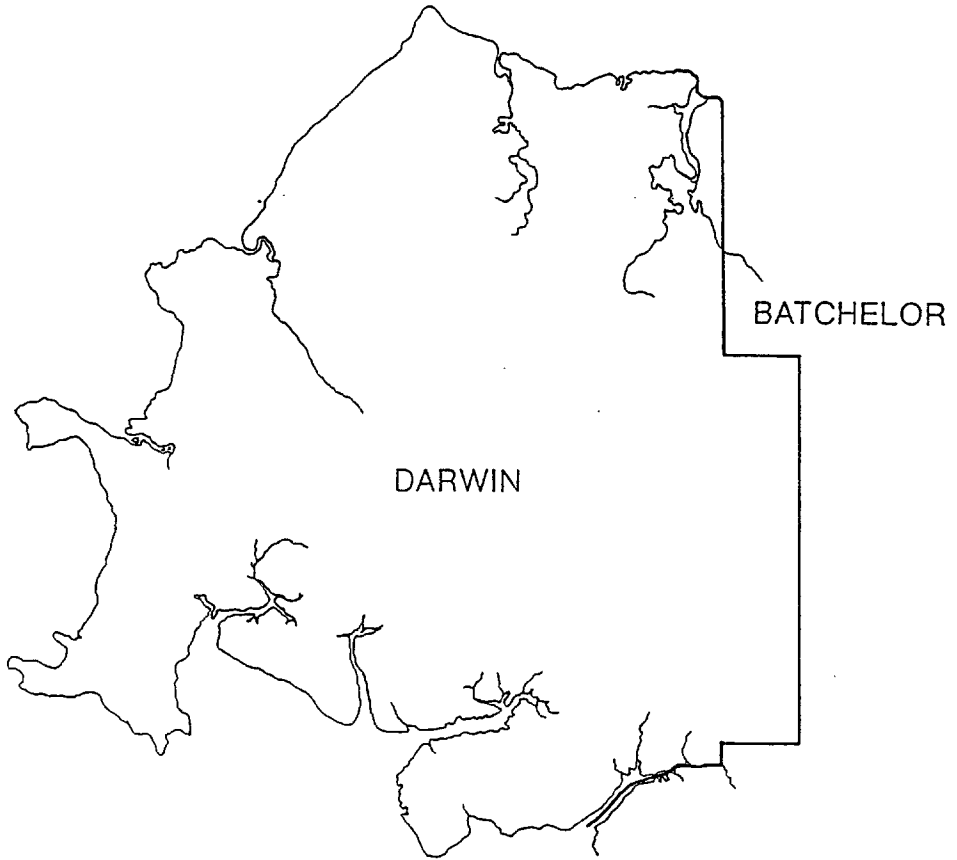
Map 2-1 (a)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Rural Electorates
1947



Map 2-1 (b)

**Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Darwin Electorate
1947**



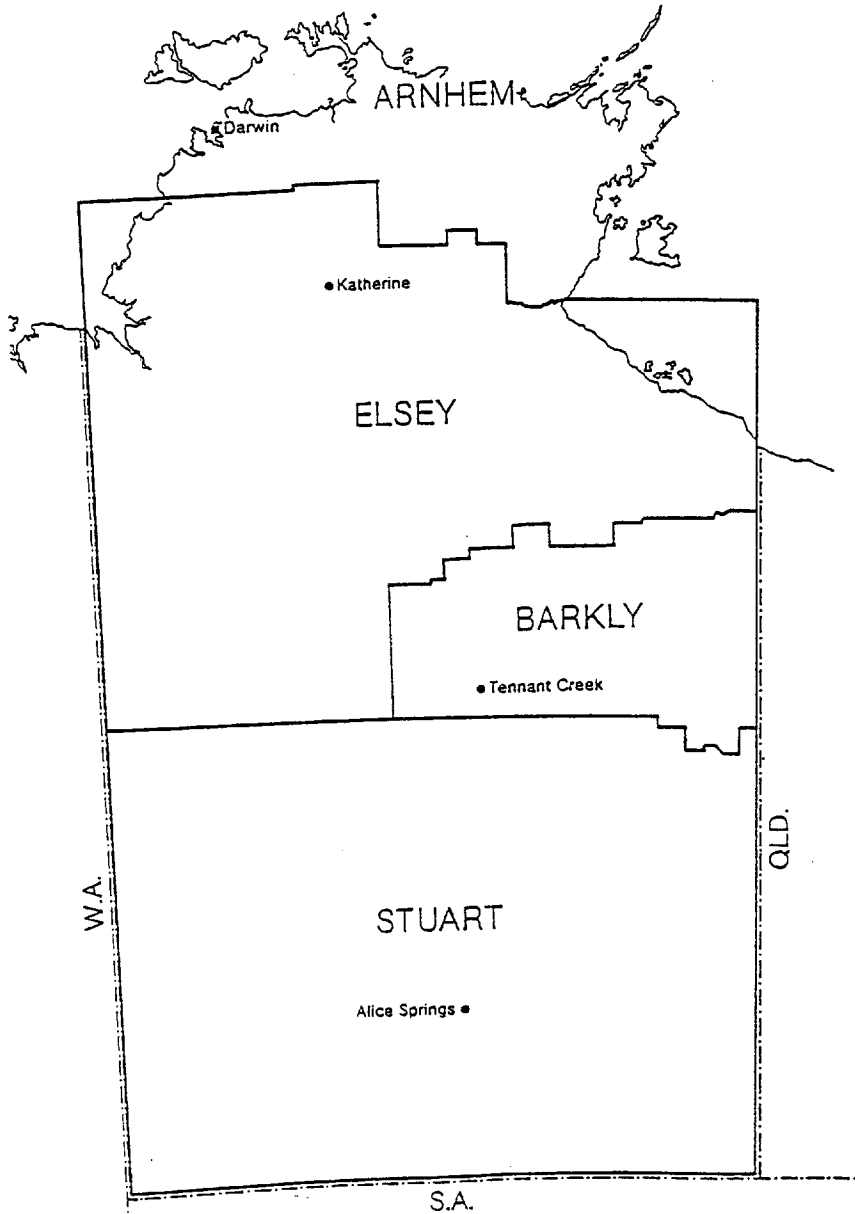
This first distribution gave four of the six seats to urban areas, and two members to the vast outback. The 1947 census estimated the population of the Territory at 7 389 non-Aborigines and 15 147 Aborigines. The latter had no right to vote. The town of Darwin had an estimated population of less than 8 000 non-Aborigines, and the towns of Alice Springs, Tennant Creek and Katherine together accounted for less than 3 000 non-Aborigines. Darwin was granted two members, and Alice Springs and Tennant Creek one each.

The expansion of the elective membership from six to eight in 1959 forced a redistribution in 1960. This brought into force the terms of the Northern Territory (Administration) Act and the formation of a Distribution Committee. This body was required to give 'due consideration' to four aspects:

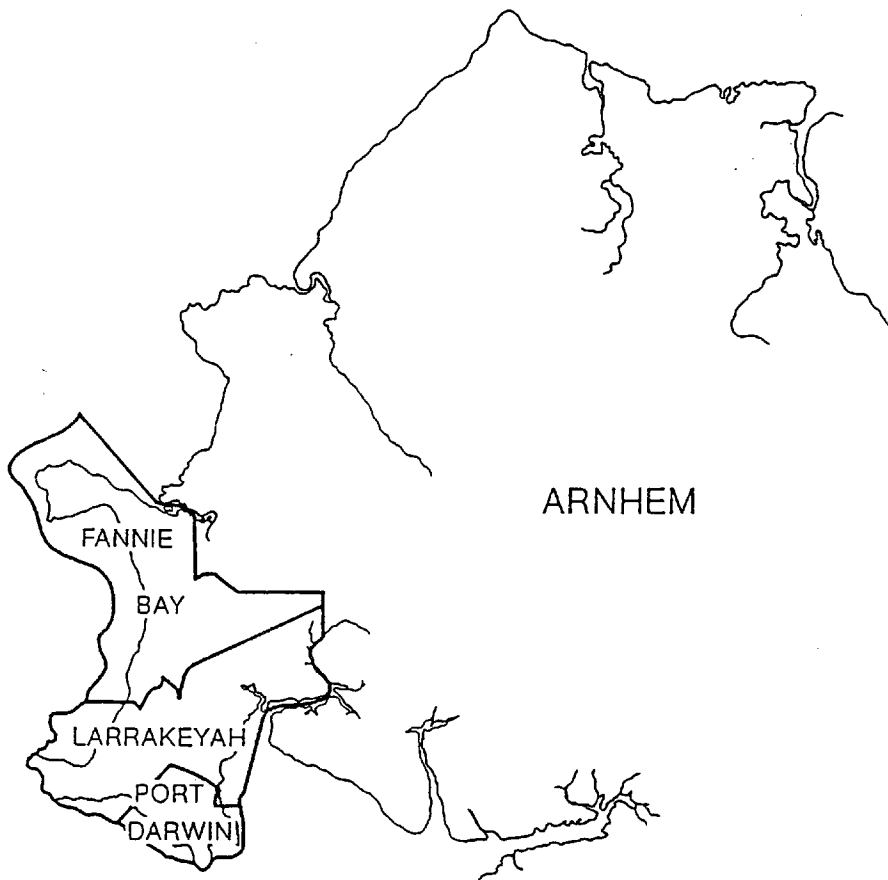
- distribution of population;
- community or divinity
- means of communication; and
- physical features

The result of the deliberations of the Committee reflected these terms of reference and the peculiar demography of the Territory. The two-member Darwin electorate was divided into three single-member urban electorates: Fannie Bay, Port Darwin, and Larrakeyah. Alice Springs also remained as an urban electorate. The remainder of the Territory was divided into four 'mixed' electorates, with urban and rural components: Arnhem, Elsey, Barkly, Stuart (north to south). Arnhem and Stuart included some of the northern urban developments of Darwin and Alice Springs, while Elsey and Barkly contained the towns of Katherine and Tennant Creek respectively.

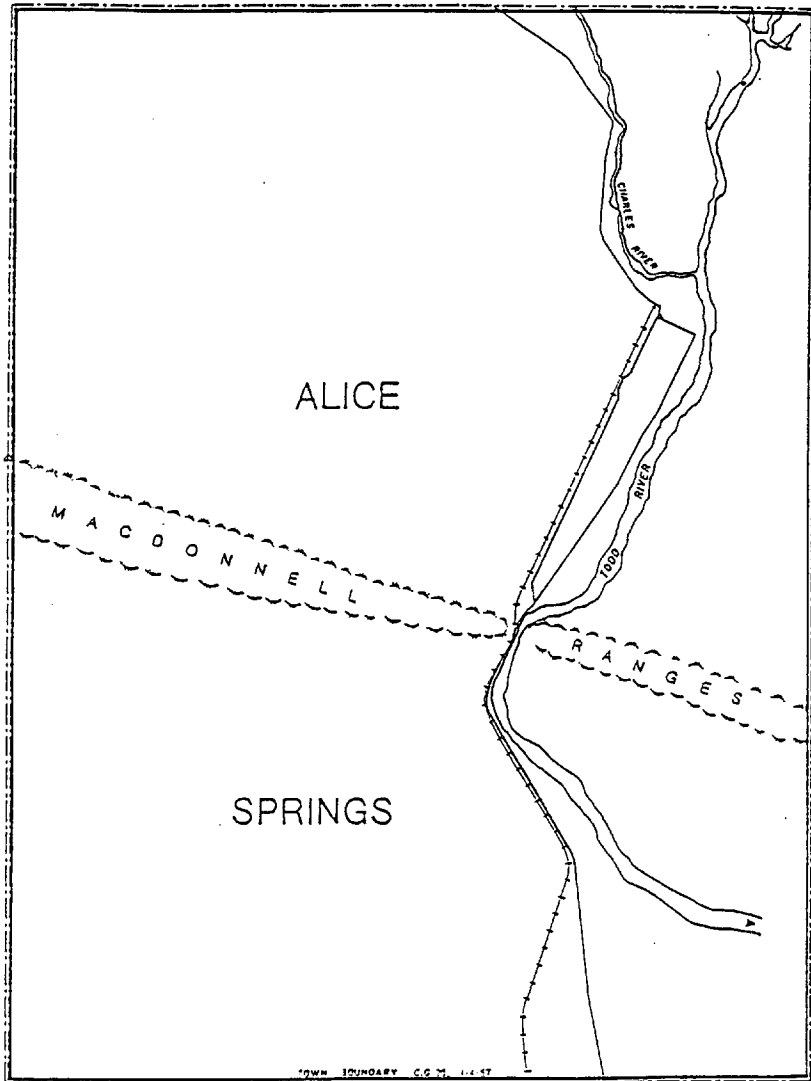
Map 2-2 (a)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Rural Electorates
1959



Map 2-2 (b)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Darwin Electorates
1959



Map 2-2 (c)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Alice Springs Electorate
1959



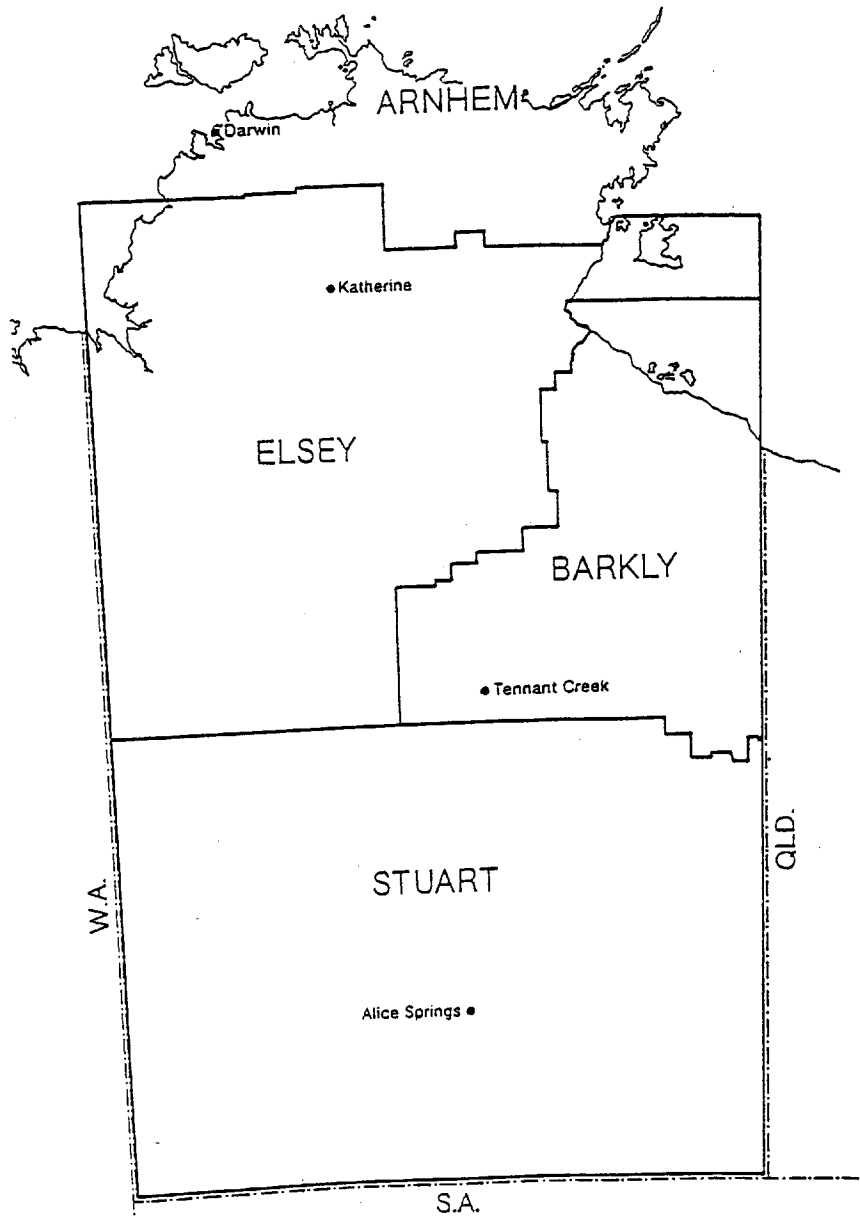
This distribution raised the question of over-representation. The member for Arnhem, FW Drysdale, moved for the Council to demand that the Commonwealth government amend the Act to provide for electorates in which the enrolments had to be within 20 per cent of the mean enrolment. He pleaded with the Council (*Parliamentary Record* 1960, 807):

I should like members to consider the following figures. The smallest electorate in the Territory is that of Stuart, which had 456 voters, and the largest is Arnhem, with 1 777 voters. The electorate of Fannie Bay has 1 773 voters, four fewer than has my electorate. The voters in Barkly number 582. This means that the electors of Stuart have nearly four times the voting power of those of Arnhem, and the electors of Fannie Bay. The 800-odd electors in Elsey have twice as much voting power as the electors of Alice Springs. If democracy means anything at all, it means that there should be an equal voice in the government of the people.

This motion was rejected, and the electoral geography of the Territory continued to show significant differences in enrolments between the electorates.

The Distribution Committee met again in 1962 following the enfranchisement of Aborigines. The Aboriginal settlements in the rural areas were incorporated into the electorates of Arnhem, Barkly, Elsey and Stuart. The Darwin electorates were re-organised with the inner electorate of Larrakeyah replaced by the northern urban electorate of Nightcliff.

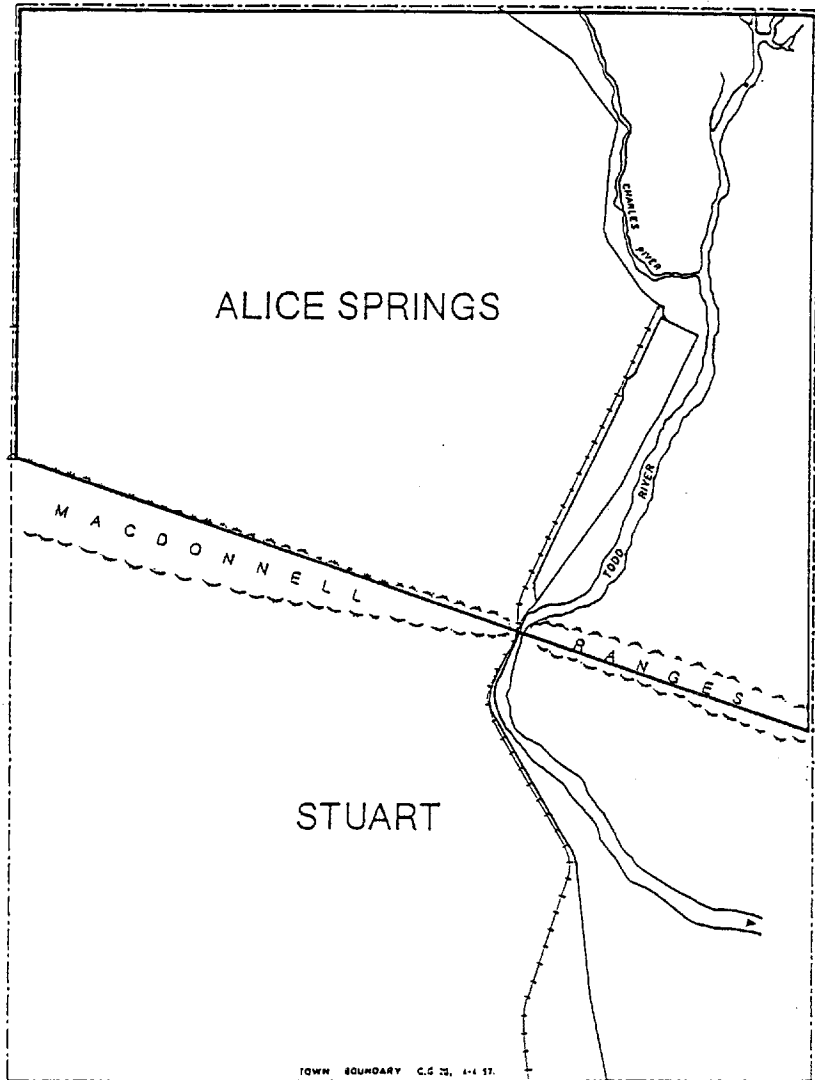
Map 2-3 (a)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Rural Electorates
1962



Map 2-3 (b)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Darwin Electorates
1962



Map 2-3 (c)
Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Alice Springs Electorate
1962



By 1965, the population imbalances had become severe, and a further Distribution Committee was asked to consider the issue. On this occasion, the Committee apparently decided that 'distribution of population' was the prime reference. The rapidly-growing Darwin population was a problem, especially as the number of seats was unchanged. To achieve even an approximately equal enrolment across the electorates, the Committee incorporated parts of urban Darwin in the rural electorates of Arnhem and Barkly. The RAAF base in Darwin was transferred to the Arnhem electorate. These decisions increased the 'mixed', urban-rural nature of the electoral geography. The inclusion from 1947 of Katherine and Tennant Creek in huge rural electorates had provided this 'mix', and the 1965 redistribution continued the trend.

The Labor party, and the member for Florey, Tiger Brennan, objected to the proposals to enlarge Barkly and Elsey respectively. Labor complained that the Barkly electorate was 'too extensive in area to enable the member to do justice to his constituency'. Brennan's argument was that

the electors along the roads to Mainoru and to Roper River Mission centred their activities in Katherine and have no affinity with the rest of the electors in Barkly (Report 16 August 1965).

But the Committee replied that the changes were 'unavoidable to remove the imbalance in the number of electors'. The resultant redistribution did provide the nearest to equi-enrolment districts in the history of the Council. Alice Springs, Port Darwin and Stuart were unchanged.

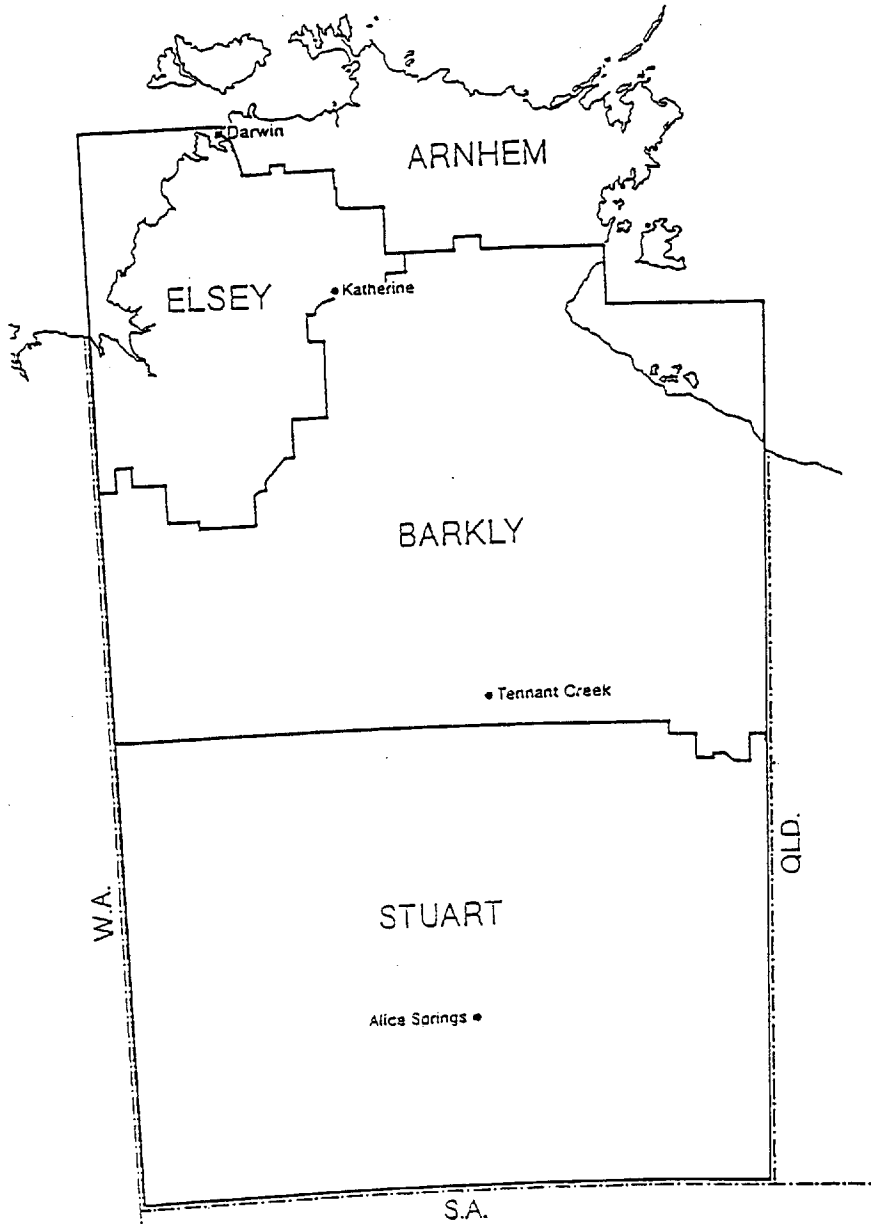
Table 2-2:

Effects of 1965 Redistribution

Electorate	Enrolment	
	Old	New
Alice Springs	2 365	2 365
Arnhem	1 793	1 751
Barkly	843	1 402
Elsey	1 620	1 761
Fannie Bay	2 813	2 711
Nightcliff	2 752	2 196
Port Darwin	2 745	2 745
Stuart	1 229	1 229

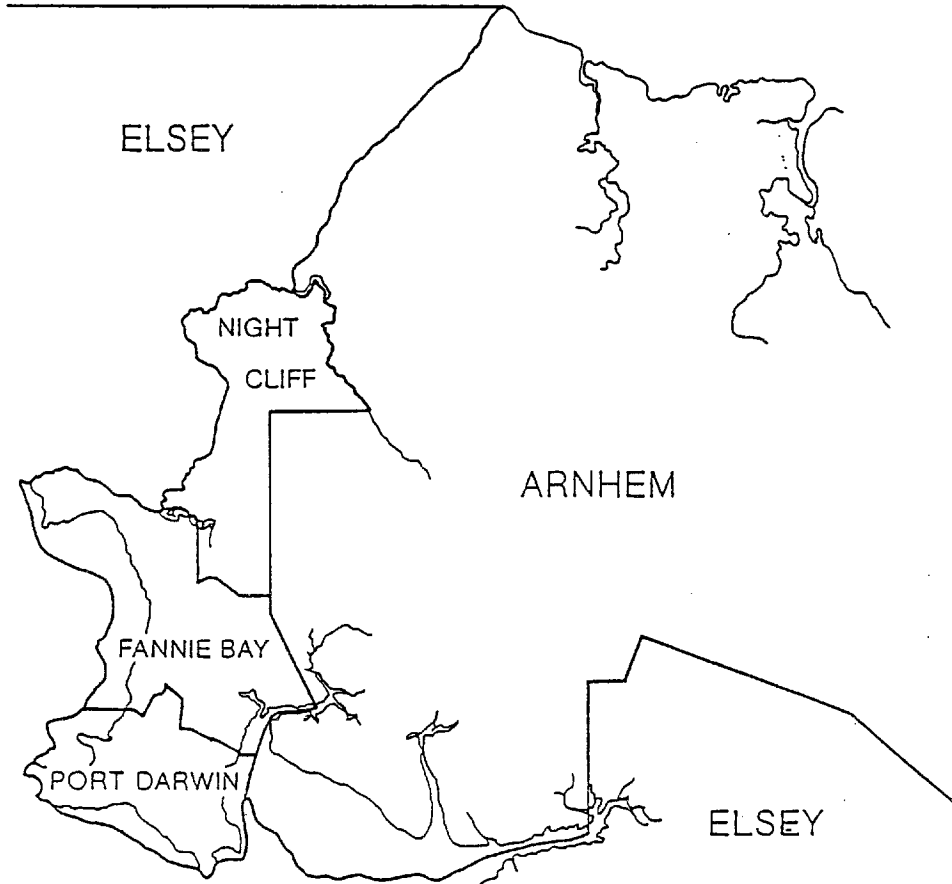
Map 2-4(a)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Rural Electorates
1965



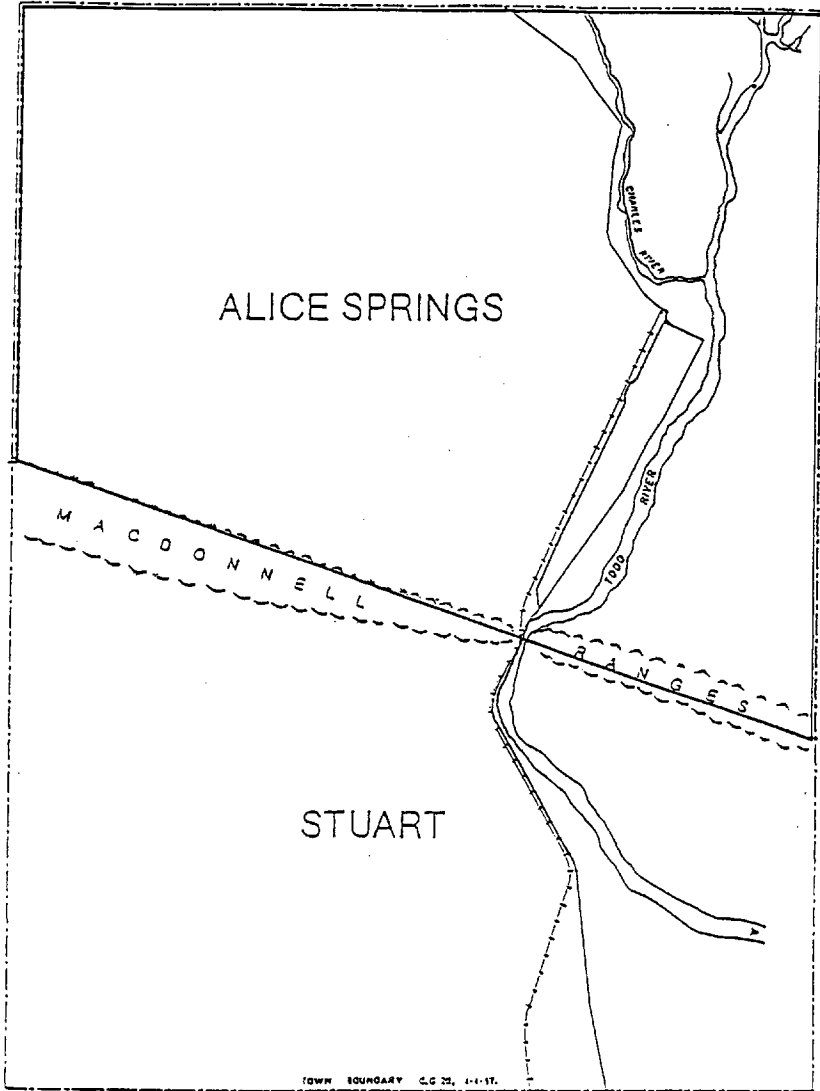
Map 2-4(b)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Darwin Electorates
1965



Map 2-4(c)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Alice Springs Electorates
1965



The 1968 redistribution was a major exercise, forced by the enlargement of the elective component of the Council from eight to eleven. The terms of reference for the Distribution Committee remained the same as in 1947, and the final report returned to the practice of allowing the huge rural and rural-urban electorates to be well below the average.

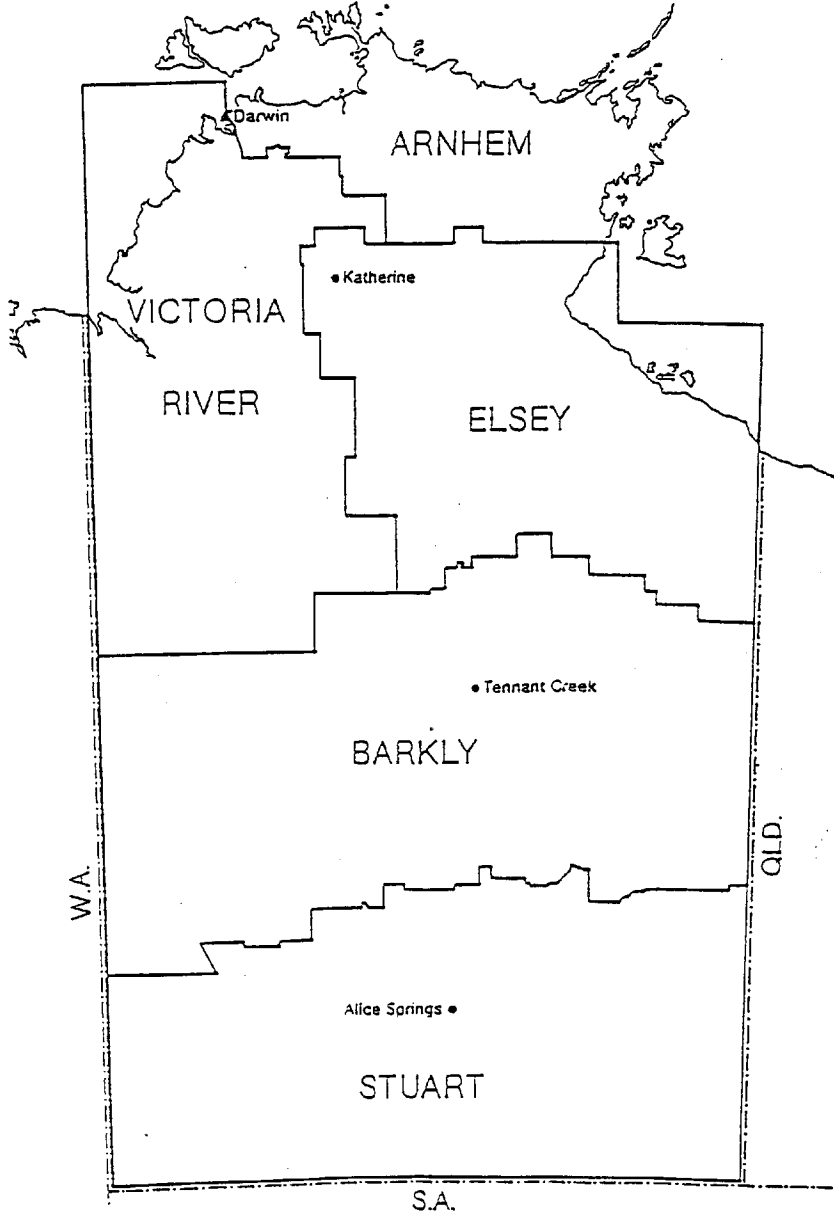
The resultant electoral geography began the modern tri-partite division of the Northern Territory. The redistribution produced five urban electorates: Fannie Bay, Ludmilla, McMillan, Nightcliff and Port Darwin in Darwin, and Alice Springs. Barkly and Elsey remained as mixed, urban-rural, and Stuart, with the addition of the northern suburbs of Alice Springs, became the third in this category. The essentially rural electorates were Arnhem and Victoria River.

Table 2-3:
Effects of 1968 Redistribution

Electorate	Enrolment	
	Old	New
Alice Springs	2 850	2 351
Arnhem	2 421	1 185
Barkly	1 546	1 293
Elsey	1 819	1 303
Fannie Bay	3 193	2 361
Ludmilla	-	2 115
McMillan	-	1 970
Nightcliff	3 392	1 985
Port Darwin	3 055	2 445
Stuart	1 496	1 575
Victoria River	-	1 189

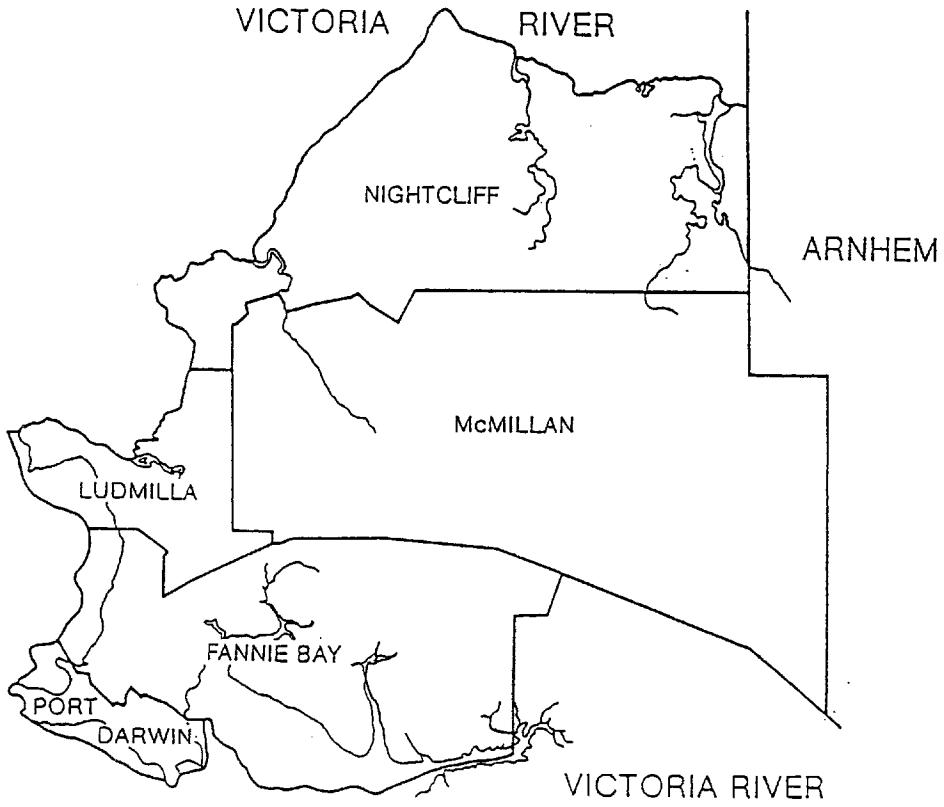
Map 2-5(a)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Rural Electorates
1968



Map 2-5(b)

**Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Darwin Electorates
1968**



Map 2-5(c)

Northern Territory Electoral Boundaries
Alice Springs Electorates
1968

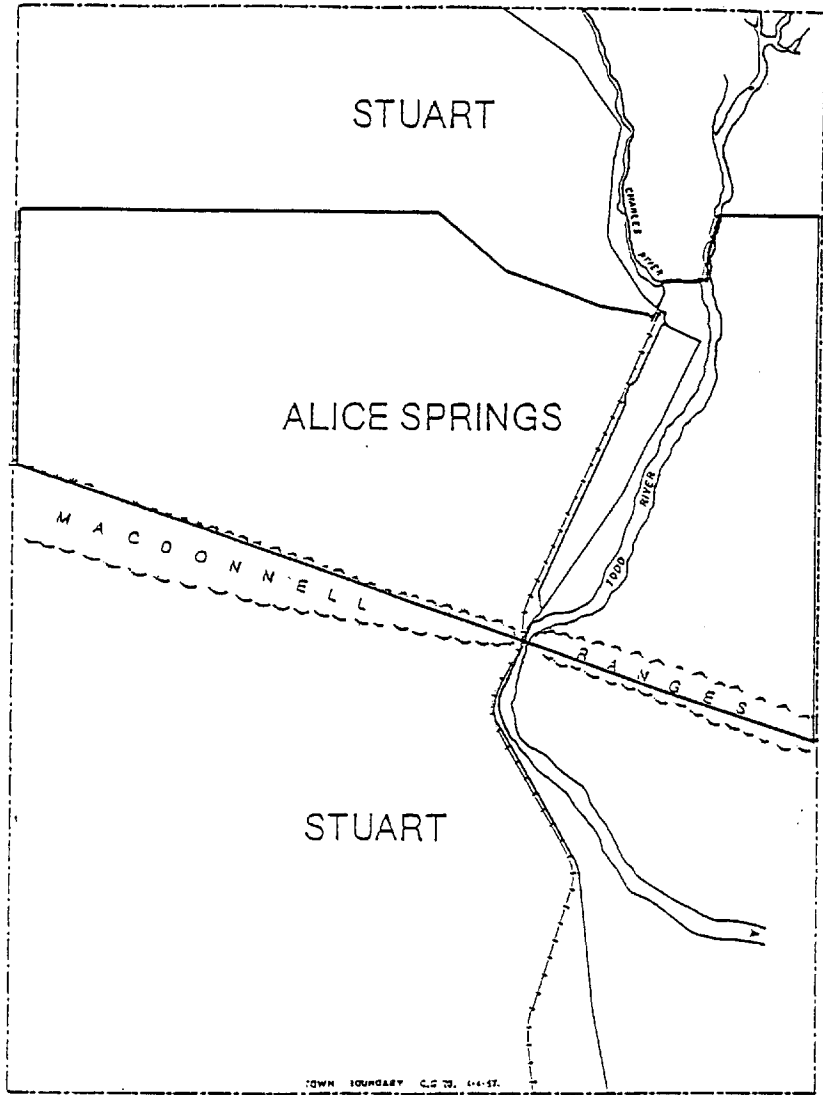


Table 2-4 sets out the enrolments in the various electorates over time, and show the effects of the enfranchisement of Aborigines in 1962, and of the redistributions outlined above.

Elections and By-Elections

In the 27 years of the Legislative Council there were ten general elections, and fifteen by-elections. The original term of the Council was set at three years, or to be dissolved at the next House of Representatives election, whichever is the earlier. Until 1954, the Council elections were held with the early federal elections, hence the first three elections were in December 1947, December 1949, and April 1951. Further, the mass resignation of elected members in 1958 caused a further period of 'short' Councils, elected in February 1957, June 1958, and February 1960.

The first by-election for the Council occurred in 1955. There had been a casual vacancy in June 1949 caused by the resignation of FC Hopkins as one of the two elected members for Darwin. But, rather than call a by-election in the closing months of the Council's term, the Administrator appointed EC Izod for the remainder of the term.

Harold (Tiger) Brennan was involved, and elected, at four of the fifteen by-elections. He won Batchelor in a by-election in 1955, when TM Ronan resigned in protest at restrictions applied by elected members. He resigned, and was re-elected unopposed, in a further by-election on 10 March 1956. This exercise was repeated: elected as member for Eley in the general election on 20 February 1960, Brennan resigned on 9 December 1961, and was re-elected, this time contested, on 17 February 1962. A third similar event came in 1969. Brennan was elected member for Victoria River at the general election on 26 October 1968, resigned on 24 October 1969, and was re-elected at a contested by-election on 20 December 1969.

Five by-elections, involving the total six elected seats in the Council, were required under extraordinary circumstances on 28 June 1958. All elected members walked out of the Council on 17 April as a protest at the refusal of the federal government to support constitutional reforms. At the by-elections, fought on a single issue of reform, all members were returned, with only one member, Purkiss in Tennant Creek, contested. The other six by-elections were un-remarkable: three caused by the death of the incumbent, and three by resignations.

Candidates

Including both general and by-elections, there were potential contests for a total of 92 seats for the Council. Yet, over the 27 years, over ten general elections and fifteen by-elections, there were only 127 individuals - 116 men and 11 women - standing as candidates. As this suggests, there were a number of uncontested elections during the life of the Council: of the 92 potential contests, 15 (ten of which occurred at general elections) were unopposed. Of the 127 individual candidates, 67 made only one attempt. A total of 40 candidates, 38 men and two women, became members of the Council.

There were a number of limitations, both formal and informal, on the potential 'pool' of candidates for the elections. Two important components of the NT society were specifically excluded for a period. The Aboriginal people were denied a vote and eligibility for candidature for the first six elections. Aborigines were given the franchise on a voluntary enrolment basis in 1962, and two Aboriginal candidates unsuccessfully contested the 1968 election. The public service sector, Territory and Commonwealth, was a major component of the workforce. In the 1947-1959 elections, four public servants were elected to the Council. In 1953, however, all public servants were barred from standing for election to the Council, and three years later, all government employees were excluded (Heatley 1979, 51). This not only barred a large proportion of the population of the Territory, but it also severely limited the 'pool' of experienced, professional and educated people from which elected Council members could be drawn.

The informal limitations included relatively low payment for members. Those elected to the Council in 1947 received the salary of £75. This was progressively increased - to £125 (1953), £150 (1957), £400 (1960), £500 (1963), £900 (1964), and to £2 750 (1968) - but it was a constraint for potential candidates without a private source of income. It was true that members were granted electoral, travelling and accommodation allowances, and that the times of sittings of the Council were not time-consuming (an average of only nine days a year 1948-59), but wage earners had a problem.

As a result, both candidates and members were heavily weighted to professional, business and pastoral occupations. In fact, 31 of the total of 40 members were employers/self-employed in these fields. The salary was a real constraint for 'the workers' in the Territory, and the early Labor/trade union candidates were a cross-section of society - including a storekeeper, a solicitor, a mechanic, a supervisor and union officials. In the 1960s, the professional and business sectors became more important in Labor's candidates, including a manager, a miner, a solicitor, a pastoralist, a farmer, a bookmaker and a merchant.

Members

The Council was characterised by relatively long-term membership. This, in a situation, especially in the first 20 years of the Council, where political parties were either absent altogether in many electorates, or were weak in impact, attests to the importance of a 'personal support', in the election contests. The records for 'service' were held by Harold Brennan, who held the seats of Batchelor, then Elsey, then Victoria River between 1955 and 1971 (with the absences noted above), a total period of 17 years, and RC Ward, also a total service of 17 years, but who also had the distinction of representing four electorates (Alice Springs, Darwin, Port Darwin and Ludmilla), and also of being a member of the first (1947-49) and last (1971-74) Councils. The record for attempts was held by Brennan: seven general elections and three by-elections, with success in all but his first attempt for Batchelor in the 1954 general election.

The following tables set out the members, and length of terms of membership for the Legislative Council. A full list of candidates is provided in the Appendix to Section 3.

Table 2.4 sets out the enrolments in the various electorates over time, and show the effects of the enfranchisement of Aborigines in 1962, and of the redistributions outlined above.

Table 2-4: Enrolments by Region and Electorate

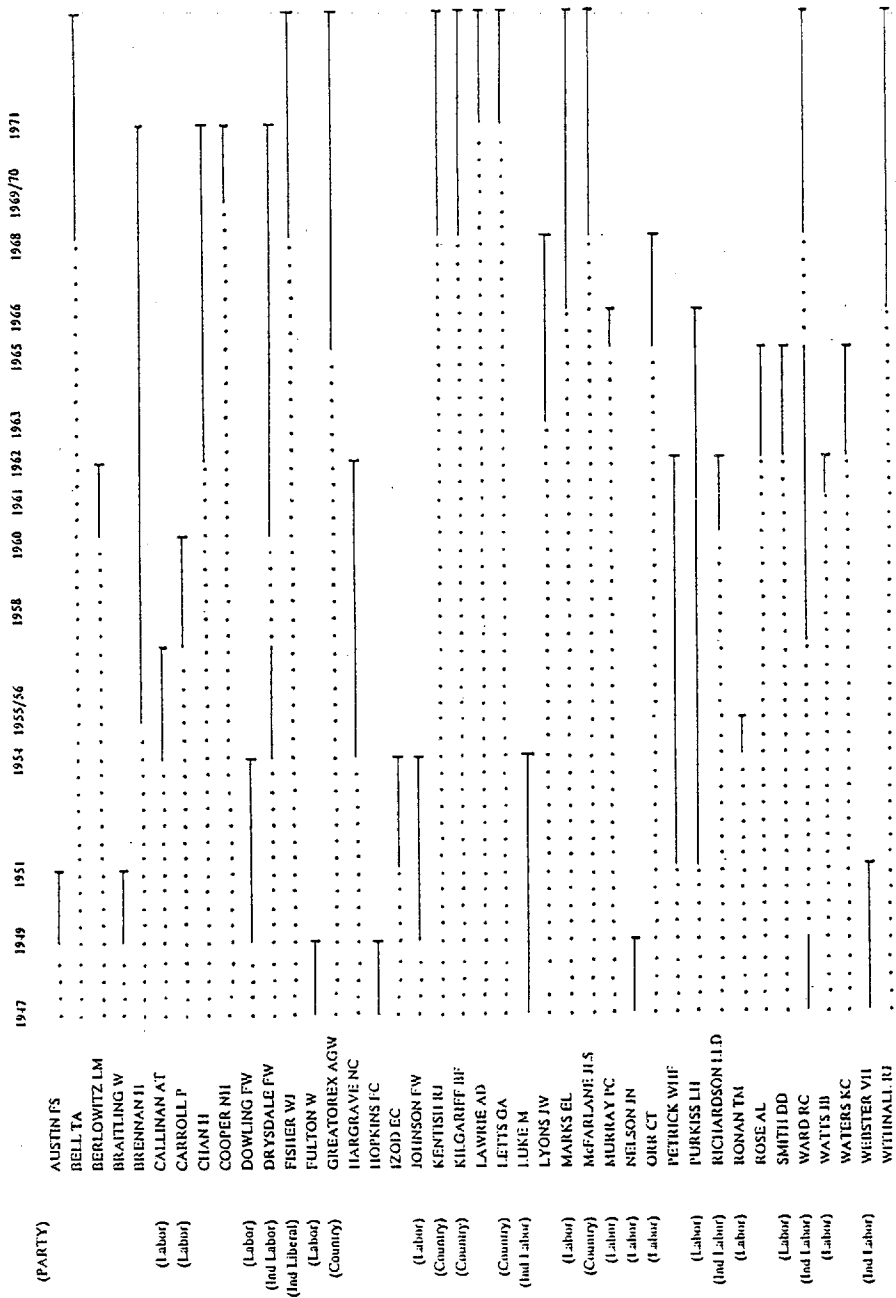
Electorate	Enrolment									
	1947	1949	1951	1954	1957	1960	1962	1965	1968	1971
<u>Darwin Region</u>										
Darwin	2 080	3 540	3 625	3 733	4 119	1 668	2 575	2 796	2 450	2 627
Fannie Bay						1 307				
Larrakeyah						1 162				
Port Darwin							2 572	2 965	2 406	2 463
Hightcliff							1 655	2 398	2 083	2 977
Ludmilla									2 060	2 488
McMillan									1 974	2 942
Total	2 080	3 540	3 625	3 733	4 119	4 137	6 802	8 159	10 975	13 497
<u>Alice Springs Region</u>										
Alice Springs	735	1 142	1 174	1 287	1 319	1 594	2 147	2 613	2 471	2 955
<u>Rural Region</u>										
Stuart	413	457	433	463	420	508	1 158	1 439	1 590	2 087
Victoria River									1 267	1 409
Batchelor	915	1 033	891	1 067	1 016	760	1 281	1 616	1 323	1 652
Eisey						1 598	1 664	2 047	1 201	2 178
Arnhem						584	710	1 385	1 318	1 560
Barkly	300	414	393	319	370					
Tennant Creek										
Total	1 628	1 904	1 717	1 849	1 806	3 450	4 813	6 487	6 699	8 886

Table 2-5

Members of Legislative Council, by Party

	Labor	Labor Movement Labor (IND)	Independent	Anti-Labor
1947-49	Fulton Nelson	Luke Ward	Hopkins Webster	
1949-51	Johnson Dowling	Luke Webster	Austin Braitling	
1951-54	Purkiss Johnson	Luke Dowling	Izod Petrick	
1954-55	Callinan Purkiss Ronan	Drysdale	Hargrave Petrick	
1955-57	Callinan Purkiss	Drysdale	Hargrave Petrick Brennan Berlowitz	
1957-60	Carroll Purkiss	Ward	Hargrave Petrick Brennan	
1960-61	Drysdale Purkiss	Richardson Ward	Hargrave Petrick Brennan Berlowitz	
1961-62	Drysdale Purkiss Watts	Ward	Hargrave Petrick Brennan Berlowitz	
1962-63	Drysdale Purkiss Smith	Ward	Rose Waters Brennan Chan	
1963-65	Drysdale Purkiss Smith		Rose Waters Chan Lyons	
1965 = 66	Drysdale Purkiss Murray Orr		Brennan Chan Lyons	Greatorex (NAP)
1966-68	Drysdale Orr Marks		Brennan Chan Lyons Withnall	Greatorex (NAP)
1968-69	Drysdale Marks Ward		Brennan Chan Withnall Bell	Country Party Kilgariff Kentish McFarlane Greatorex
1970-71	Marks Ward		Brennan Bell Withnall Cooper Fish (IND LIB)	Kilgariff Kentish McFarlane Greatorex
1971-74	Bell Marks Ward		Withnall Lawrie Fisher (IND LIB)	Kilgariff Kentish McFarlane Greatorex Letts

Figure 2-1: Membership Terms



SECTION 3

ELECTIONS: CAMPAIGNS AND RESULTS 1947-1971

This section contains summaries of the campaigns for, and details of the results of, all elections for the Legislative Council.

Unfortunately, for the early elections, some details of the results were not available. These data mainly concern polling place results for which official records were apparently not kept. Newspapers provided some data, but these have not been taken as accurate unless able to be checked. The symbol na denotes data which is not available.

Summaries of campaigns drew mainly on the contemporary newspapers.

GENERAL ELECTION

1947

The inaugural election for the Legislative Council was held on 13 December 1947. It was contested in all five electorates, with Darwin electing two members, and all adults, except Aborigines, given the franchise and required to vote.

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

Name	Address	Occupation	Party*
Chalmers, Walter Robert	Alice Springs	Merchant	-
Coleman, John Robinson	Darwin	Seaman	Labor(NAWU)
Donnellan, Olive May	Alice Springs	Housewife	-
Driver, John Henry	Elkedra Station	Pastoralist	-
FULTON, William	Newcastle Waters	Hotel Keeper	Labor(NAWU)
HOPKINS, Frank Charles	Darwin	Manager	-
Johnson, Frank William	Alice Springs	Plumber	Labor
Kelly, James William	Darwin	Clerk	-
Kent, Frank Henry Camper	Katherine	Farm Manager	-
Lovegrove, John Creed	Barrow Creek	Hotel Manager	-
LUKE, Matthew	Darwin	Foreman	Labor(IND)
McDonald, Patrick Joseph	Darwin	Labourer	-
Meaney, John Henry	Darwin	Plumber	Labor(NAWU)
NELSON, John Norman	Alice Springs	Pastoralist	Labor(NAWU)
Newman, James Malcolm	Anthony's Lagoon	Grazier	-
Rowe, Owen	Tennant Crk	Labourer	Labor(NAWU)
Seery, William	Darwin	Carrier	-
WARD, Richard Charles	Alice Springs	Solicitor	Labor(NAWU) (IND)
WEBSTER, Victor Henry	Tennant Crk	Medico	-

- * Labor (NAWU) = Northern Territory Progressive Labour (sic), endorsed by the North Australia Workers Union.
- Labor (Johnson) = claimed to be the 'officially endorsed Labor Candidate' (*Centralian Advocate* 6 December).
- Labor (IND) (Luke) = was not officially endorsed by the NAWU, but his advertising and publicity justified this label.

The Labor party was the only political party involved in 1947; all other twelve candidates stood as independents. However, FHC Kent (Batchelor) stated 'Politically I support Labor', and William Seery (Darwin) advertised that he asked voters to vote 1 for Seery, then 2 and 3 for Labor candidates Meaney and Coleman, and left the voters to select the order for 4 to 7. FW Johnson claimed he was the 'officially endorsed Labor candidate'.

A number of candidates stated their policies in the columns of the *Northern Standard* (Darwin) or the *Centralian Advocate* (Alice Springs). Labor's candidates stood under a party policy which ranged from constitutional reform to the erection of 'Bus Waiting Sheds' (*Northern Standard* 28 November), and the flavour of the style of life in Darwin in the late 1940s can be seen in the following policies of Labor's Meaney and Coleman.

- *That land suitable for agriculture and/or dairying be made available for these purposes to provide fresh fruit and vegetables, milk and eggs.*
- *The supply of cheap fresh fruit, vegetables, milk and eggs by regular plane service until such time as they are produced locally.*
- *The complete sewerage of the Parap Camp as an urgent task.*
- *The Government to take over the Bus Services in Darwin.*

At the wider political level, the Labor policy included

- *The abolition of the Administrator's power of veto.*
- *To raise the economic and cultural level of the Aborigines, and to assist in advancing their general welfare.*
- *No taxation on incomes under £400 per year.*

The independent candidates ranged across almost every possible policy area in their statements. FHC Kent, a farm manager for the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, promised 'improvement and greater efficiency in the cattle industry', planned land settlement schemes, development of mining, sensible town planning, and increased representation in the Council. Olive Donnellan stated her appeal in simple terms (*Centralian Advocate* 6 December):

*Women of Alice Springs! Support one who has you and your children's interests at heart.
Men of Alice Springs! Remember that your wives and families' best interest are your own and vote Olive M. Donnellan No. 1.*

Results Summary

A total of 4 443 electors were on the role for the five electorates. Of these, 3 028 (68 per cent) turned out to vote. The electorate of Darwin accounted for 2 080 of the total enrolment in the Territory, with only 300 enrolled in the Tennant Creek electorate.

Two of the six seats were decided without the necessity for preferences. JN Nelson won Stuart, and VH Webster won Tennant Creek with solid majorities. Preferences were distributed: in Alice Springs to give RC Ward the narrowest (one vote) majority; and in Batchelor, to elect William Fulton.

The Darwin count used a complicated process. A first distribution of preferences, to a two-person contest, elected FC Hopkins. The count then reverted to first preferences, and Hopkins' 566 votes were distributed, resulting in the election of Matthew Luke.

RESULTS

1947

Issue of Writs	15 November
Polling	13 December
Return of Writs	31 January 1948

Districts	5
Seats	6
Candidates	19

Enrolment	4 443	
Voted	3 028	(68.2%)
Informal	85	(2.8%)
Formal	2 943	(97.2%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	735	592	15	577
Batchelor	915	458	3	455
Darwin	2	413	254	252
Tennant Creek	300	266	5	261
TOTAL:	4 443	3 028	85	2 943

Party Contests

	Labor	Labor (NAWU)	Labor (IND)	Ind	
Alice Springs	207	-	233	137	(2)
Batchelor	-	201	-	254	(2)
Darwin	-	346	240	812	(4)
Stuart	-	157	-	95	(2)
Tennant Creek	-	112	-	149	
TOTAL:	207	816	473	1 447	

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	735	
Voted	592	(80.5%)
Informal	15	(2.5%)
Formal	577	(97.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Chalmers, WR	-	49	8.5
Donnellan, OM	-	88	15.3
Johnson, FW	Labor	207	35.9
WARD, RC	Labor (NAWU)(IND)	233	40.4

Polling Places

Chalmers	Donnellan	Johnson	WARD	Informal
Alice Springs	details not available			
Postal				
Regulation				

Preferences

Chalmers	49
Donnellan	88+29 = 117
Johnson	207+11 = 218+70 = 288 (49.9%)
WARD	233+ 9 = 242+47 = 289 (50.1%)

BATCHELOR

Enrolment	915	
Voted	458	(50.1%)
Informal	3	(0.7%)
Formal	455	(99.3%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
FULTON, W	Labor (NAWU)	201	44.2
Kent, FHC	-	158	34.7
Newman, JM	-	96	21.1

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

Preferences

Newmann 96:	to FULTON	201+40 = 241	53.0%
	to Kent	158+56 = 214	47.0%

DARWIN

Enrolment	2 080	
Voted	1 458	(70.1%)
Informal	60	(4.1%)
Formal	1 398	(95.9%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Coleman, JR	Labor (NAWU)	142	10.2
HOPKINS, FC	-	566	40.5
Kelly, JW	-	40	2.9
LUKE, M	Labor (IND)	240	17.2
McDonald, PJ	-	160	11.4
Meaney, JH	Labor (NAWU)	204	14.6
Seery, W	-	46	3.3

Polling Places

Coleman **HOPKINS** Kelly **LUKE** McDonald Seery Informal

Darwin
 Knightcliff* details not available
 Parap
 Postal

(* Spelling in original)

To fill the first vacancy, preference distribution

Coleman 142+1 = 143+8 = 151
HOPKINS 566+1 = 567+6 = 573+39 = 612+39 = 651+279 = 930
 Kelly 40
LUKE 240+ 8 = 248+9 = 257+30 = 287+59 = 346
 McDonald 160+29 = 189+5 = 194+11 = 205
 Meaney 204+ 1 = 205+18 = 223+71 = 294+107 = 401+67 = 468
 Seery 46+0 = 46

HOPKINS elected

To fill the second vacancy, preference distribution

Coleman	142	+	16	=	158
HOPKINS	566				
Kelly	40	+	8	=	48
LUKE	240	+	524	=	764
McDonald	160	+	6	=	166
Meaney	204	+	8	=	212
Seery	46	+	4	=	50

LUKE elected

STUART

Enrolment	413	
Voted	254	(61.5%)
Informal	2	(0.8%)
Formal	252	(99.2%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Driver, JH	-	72	28.6
Lovegrove, JC	-	23	9.1
NELSON, JN	Labor (NAWU)	157	62.3

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

TENNANT CREEK

Enrolment	300	
Voted	266	(88.7%)
Informal	5	(1.9%)
Formal	261	(98.1%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Rowe, O	Labor (NAWU)	112	42.9
WEBSTER, VH	-	149	57.1

Polling Places

Rowe **WEBSTER** Informal

Tennant Creek
Postal

details not available

GENERAL ELECTION

1949

The campaign for the election on 10 December 1949 was one of the quietest of the general elections for the Council.

Candidates (CAPS = elected; (S) = Sitting Member; U/C = Uncontested)

Name	Address	Occupation	Party
AUSTIN, Frederick Steeple	Darwin	Agent	-(U/C)
BRAITLING, William Walter	Mt Doreen	Pastoralist	-
Byrnes, Desmond Howard	Alice Springs	Garage Owner	-
Callinan, Aubrey Thomas	Darwin	Engineer	Labor
Chambers, John Edward	Darwin	Fitter	Labor(U/C)
DOWLING, Frederick William	Katherine	Supervisor	Labor(S)
Izod, Eric Charles	Darwin	Engineer	-
JOHNSON, Frank William	Alice Springs	Plumber	Labor(S)
LUKE, Matthew	Darwin	Foreman	Labor(IND)
Priest, Charles Ashley V	Tennant Crk	Mining Agent	Labor(S)
WEBSTER, Victor Henry	Tennant Crk	Medico	Labor(IND)

* Independent (Non-Socialist) Labor

Only three of the six sitting members from the first Council nominated for election to the second, and only two of these were re-elected. Further, VH Webster, a medico in the Commonwealth Department of Health, lost his job with the defeat of the Chifley government, and was forced to leave the Territory. He resigned from the Council on 17 May, 1950, before the first meeting. He was replaced by JS Higgins, appointed by the Administrator, who ignored CAV Priest, the Labor candidate who was defeated in the election in Tennant Creek.

Parties

Labor was again the only political party formally to contest the election, while VH Webster (Tennant Creek) nominated as Independent (Non-Socialist) Labor, for both the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives! There was a strong mood against party involvement in any form in some areas of the Territory.

Webster, in Tennant Creek, was the most controversial candidate. He fell out with the *Northern Standard* over an allegedly libellous electoral advertisement (2 December); he maintained a public argument with the ALP, claiming that the federal government was opposing his candidature with 'its full force' (*Centralian Advocate* 9 December), which brought a reaction from Labor's Alice Springs president that

I regard Dr Webster as a political opportunist, whose aim for a long time has been primarily to hear his own bellowings reverberate through an astonished House in Canberra (Centralian Advocate 9 December).

Webster's campaign approach was strongly anti-Labor, and the campaign in Tennant Creek was very bitter indeed.

Webster also had arguments with the public service, of which he was a member as a government medical officer, and his case was a prime cause of the subsequent (1953) barring of any public servants from standing for election. Heatley (1979, 51-2) outlined the case. Webster, in the first Council

was one of the leading spokesmen of the elected members. Although he was a government medical officer, he was active in criticizing the activities (or lack of activities) of departments operating in the Territory. He served on a select committee on medical services and, when presenting its report in 1949, soundly attacked the Department of Health for allegedly attempting to sabotage the Committee's work. As a result, he was dismissed from his position.

Independent candidates were not heavy users of the press. There was less recourse to printed material than in 1947, and the two newspapers, the *Centralian Advocate* and *Northern Standard*, paid less attention to this second election. Those who did publicise their programs canvassed the range of policy areas. Some proposed radical programs. DH Byrnes, independent candidate for Alice Springs, included in his policy program:

- *exemption of all N.T. residents from Income Tax;*
- *an elected Town Council for Alice Springs;*
- *a permanent street water cart to clean the streets and prevent dust menace;*
- *to make Alice Springs the Administrative centre of the Northern Territory (Centralian Advocate 2 December).*

Printed publicity was dominated, in space, by the Labor party and its candidates (see, for example, *Northern Standard* 18 November, *Centralian Advocate* 2 December). Further, the *Centralian Advocate* in an editorial (9 December) came out strongly in support of Jock Nelson's federal campaign, and made no secret of its general support for Labor candidates.

The Territory workers are united...around a candidate they believe will fight for these demands. The candidate is Jock

Nelson...the unanimous choice of all sections of the Labour Movement...His opponents have nothing to commend them. Blain is a political bedfellow of Menzies and Fadden - they are friends of the monopoly interests who, for years, have held back Territory development...The issue is plain.

Labor went to the elections with a party policy for all of its candidates, emphasising that all ALP candidates were pledged to the policy, 'no matter what part of the Territory it affects'. The policy included the following 'promises':

- *The immediate granting of title rights to building allotments.*
- *The immediate establishment of a standing committee to investigate causes of the ridiculously high building costs.*
- *Complete freedom from taxation for every resident of the Territory.*
- *A Town Hall with library facilities provided as in pre-war days.*
- *The speeding up of the town sewerage reticulation and disposal plant.*
- *Bus stop shelters and the fixing of bus stands.*

The style and tone of many individual election advertisements in the early contests is shown by the following, inserted in the *Centralian Advocate* (4 November) by VH Webster, the self-styled Independent (non-Socialist) Labor Candidate.

TERRITORY ELECTORS

Since the war the Labor party has been in sole socialistic control of the Northern Territory, which could now have been

A LABOR PARADISE

But as far as the working area is concerned, any real attempt to develop the Territory has become

A LOST PROGRAMME

Instead, the Labor Government has handed over the beef industry to the Beef Barons in

A LOATHSOME PACT

and cracked the whip to have it legalised in the teeth of ALL elected members of the Legislative Council

A LUDICROUS PERFORMANCE

On its past record any future programme predicted by the ALP for the Territory must be judged to be

ALL LOOSE PROMISES

Don't forget - the Labor Party has transformed your Legislative Council into

A LEGISLATIVE PHONEY

by Studied contempt for its most urgent resolutions

You have seen ALP stand behind

A LYING PERSECUTION

make

A LOUD PROTEST

Webster failed in both his Legislative Council and House of Representative attempts.

The total enrolment was 6 586, an increase of 2 143 (48 per cent) over 1947. The main increases occurred in Alice Springs (increased by 56 per cent) and Darwin (70 per cent). These electorates were contested in both 1947 and 1949, and in these, turnout increased from 74 per cent in 1947 to over 80 per cent in 1949. Preferences were necessary only in the two-member Darwin electorate.

RESULTS

1949

Issue of Writs		31 October
Nominations		14 November
Polling Day		10 December
Return of Writs		4 February 1950
Districts	5	
Seats	6	
Candidates	11	
Enrolment	6 586	(5 096 in contested districts)
Voted	4 198	(82.3% in contested)
Informal	202	(4.8%)
Formal	3 996	(95.2%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 142	975	39	936
Batchelor	1 033	-(not contested)		
Darwin	3 540	2 888	143	2 745
Stuart	457	-(not contested)		
Tennant Creek	414	335	20	315
TOTAL:	6 586			
(Contested)	5 096	4 198	202	3 996

Party Contests

	Labor	Ind	Ind Labor
Alice Springs	507	429	
Batchelor		Not contested	
Darwin	821	907	1 017
Stuart		Not contested	
Tennant Creek	147	-	168
TOTAL:	1 475	1 336	1 185

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	1 142	
Voted	975	(85.4%)
Informal	39	(4.0%)
Formal	936	(96.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Byrnes, DH	-	429	45.8
JOHNSON, FW	Labor	507	54.2

Polling Place

Byrnes **JOHNSON** Informal

Alice Springs
Postal
Regulation details not available

BATCHELOR: **DOWLING, Frederick Wilhelm** elected unopposed

DARWIN

Enrolment	3 540	
Voted	2 888	(81.6%)
Informal	143	(5.0%)
Formal	2 745	(95.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
AUSTIN, FS	-	430	15.7
Callinan, AT	Labor	609	22.2
Chambers, JE	Labor	212	7.7
Izod, EC	-	477	17.4
LUKE, M	Labor (IND)	1 017	37.1

Polling Places

	AUSTIN	Callinan	Chambers	Izod	LUKE
Informal					
Darwin					
Knightcliff					
Parap			details not available		
Postal					
Regulation					

To fill the first vacancy, preference distribution

AUSTIN	$430+19 = 449$
Callinan	$609+131 = 740+130 = 870+214 = 1\ 084$
Chambers	212
Izod	$477+29 = 506+113 = 619$
LUKE	$1\ 017+33 = 1\ 050+206 = 1\ 256+405 = 1\ 661$

LUKE elected

To fill the second vacancy, preference distribution

LUKE votes distributed

AUSTIN	$430+632 = 1\ 062+44 = 1\ 106+509 = 1\ 615$
Callinan	$609+49 = 658+183 = 841+289 = 1\ 130$
Chambers	$212+87 = 299$
Izod	$477+249 = 726+72 = 798$
LUKE	1 017

AUSTIN elected

STUART BRAITLING, Wilhelm Walter elected unopposed

TENNANT CREEK

Enrolment	414	
Voted	335	(80.9%)
Informal	20	(6.0%)
Formal	315	(94.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Priest, CAV	Labor	147	46.7
(S) WEBSTER, VH	Labor (IND)	168	53.3

Polling Place			
	Priest	WEBSTER	Informal

Tennant Creek
Postal
Regulation

details not available

GENERAL ELECTION

1951

The 1951 election was almost not held. One interpretation of the Act establishing the Legislative Council was that elections for the Council would be held on the same day as those for the House of Representatives. But the early federal election, called by Menzies, caused some confusion for the Territory. On the morning of 23 March, the Acting Government Secretary announced that

there is a great deal of doubt whether it is mandatory for an election for the Council to be held in conjunction with elections for the Federal Parliament, and the Administrator has decided under the circumstances that none will be held (Northern Standard 23 March).

If this decision had applied, then the Council would have remained until the following federal election, due in 1954. But this term of five years would be against the Act which specified three years, or until there is an earlier federal election. The confusion was added to by a telegram from the Electoral office in Canberra 'understanding' that an election would be held. On 29 March, the Administrator announced that a Council election would be held, which prompted the *Northern Standard* to comment (30 March) that

Once again the muddle-headedness with which the Territory's affairs are conducted has been vividly illustrated.

The *Centralian Advocate* (30 March) also took up this issue, suggesting that

the Administrator's statement that there would be no election ... pointed to a determination to appoint men who may or may not be to the liking of the public. Following upon the statement of the Acting Minister for the Northern Territory (Mr. Anthony) that he considered the Council to be "merely an advisory body" and not a legislative entity, Territorians felt that the end of any real representations was nigh,

and it welcomed the change of mind.

The 'party' context was complex. In the modern sense of party nomination, only two parties contested the election. The Labor party endorsed its 1949 candidates, Callinan and Chambers, for Darwin, and Johnson was unopposed in Alice Springs. Dowling (Batchelor) was refused endorsement after serving as Labor member in the Council, and he nominated as 'unendorsed Labor'. The Trades and Labor Council endorsed Forscutt as his opponent.

The second party was the Australian Country Party which announced (*Northern Standard* 20 April) that it had, 'for the first time in history', endorsed candidates: RA Edmonds for the House of Representatives, and R.J. Wren for the Council. The party also emphasised that the policies for

the Northern Territory of these candidates 'were backed in their entirety by the Liberal-Country Party of Australia.'

Nominations (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member; (U/C) = uncontested)

	Address	Occupation	Party*
(S)Bratling, William Walter	Mt. Doreen	Pastoralist	
Callinan, Aubrey Thomas	Darwin	Engineer	Labor
Chambers, John Edward	Darwin	Fitter	Labor
(S)(IND) DOWLING , Fredrick William	Katherine	Supervisor	Labor
Forscutt, Alfred Edward	Katherine	Grader Driver	TLC
(S)Higgins, John Stephen	Tennant Crk	Manager	-
IZOD , Eric Charles	Darwin	Mechanic	-
(S)(U/C) JOHNSON , Frank	Alice Springs	Plumber	Labor
Kent, Frank Henry Camper	Darwin	Gardener	MRDPA
Lawrie, Robert Arthur	Darwin	Stores Officer	-
(S) LUKE , Matthew	Darwin	Foreman	Labor
(IND)Miller, Angus Campbell	Darwin		Dentist
PETRICK , Wilhelm Heinrich F	Mt. Swan	Pastoralist	CPLA
PURKISS , Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
Snell, Richard Allen	Darwin	Engineer	MRDPA
Wren, Robert John	Darwin	Agent	CP

*

MRDPA = Maranga and Rural Districts Progress Association
 CPLA = Centralian Pastoral Lessees Association
 Ind.Labor = Unendorsed Labor
 CP = Country Party
 TLC = NT Trades and Labor Council

Two other organisations were involved in the election. Although essentially 'interest/pressure' groups, both suggested in advertisements that they were intervening with their 'own' candidates. The Maranga and Rural Districts Progress Association invited 'your consideration of the

policy of its candidates' (*Northern Standard*, 6 April, emphasis added), while the Centralian Pastoral Lessees Association advertised (*Centralian Advocate* 20 April) that it had 'endorsed' WHF Petrick for the electorate of Stuart.

In comparison with the confusion and excitement leading up to the calling of the election, and with the range of parties and groups involved, the campaign was quiet and restrained. There were no issues which captured the imagination of the media; party and group advertising was less than in 1949; and, possibly as a result, the turnout was lower than in 1949. This is not to say that individual candidates were not active: the *Northern Standard* (6 April) reported that one candidate had chartered a taxi for a 3 000 mile election tour. Unlike 1949, when Labor advertisements dominated the press, in 1951 the space was used by independent candidates, and by the two 'quasi-parties'. The MRDPA's policy was as wide-ranging as any party: it demanded, *inter alia*, a Minister for the Territory, two federal members, the end of the Administrator's veto power, better housing, and an improved water supply (*Northern Standard*, 13th April). Most candidates and parties emphasised 'a better deal for the Territory' in both constitutional and economic terms, but there was no shortage of 'parish pump' politics. Dowling (Batchelor) promised a 'permanent resident doctor for Katherine' as well as 'self government for the NT' (*Northern Standard* 13 April); Forscutt (Batchelor) pledged a 'north-south railway' as well as an 'S.P. Betting Bill' (*Northern Standard* 20 April), and 'supported the claim for equal citizen rights for the coloured population' (*Northern Standard* 27 April); Petrick (Stuart) promised to support 'miners and pastoralists in particular' (*Centralian Advocate* 20 April).

RESULTS

1951 ELECTION

Issue of Writs	28 March
Nominations	6 April
Polling	28 June
Return of Writs	23 June

Districts	5
Seats	6
Candidates	16

Enrolment	6 516	(5 342 in contested districts)
Voted	4 124	(77.2% contested)
Informal	188	(4.6%)
Formal	3 936	(95.4%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 174	(uncontested)		
Batchelor	891	656	18	638
Darwin	3 625	2 885	126	2 759
Stuart	433	325	22	303
Tennant Creek	393	258	22	236
TOTALS:	6 516			
(Contested)	5 342)	4 124	188	3 936

Party Contests

	Labor	TLC	Ind.Labor	MRDPA	CPLA	CP	IND
Alice Springs	(uncontested)						
Batchelor	-	219	419	-	-	-	-
Darwin	751	-	1216	268	-	194	320
Stuart	-	-	-	-	202	-	101
Tennant Creek	157	-	-	-	-	-	79
TOTALS:	908	219	1545	268	202	194	600

DARWIN

Enrolment	3 625	
Voted	2 885	(79.6%)
Informal	126	(4.4%)
Formal	2 759	(95.6%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Callinan, AT	Labor	638	23.1
Chambers, JE	Labor	113	4.1
IZOD, EC	-	159	5.8
Kent, FHC	MRDPA	94	3.4
Lawrie, RA	-	149	5.4
(S)LUKE, M	Labor (IND)	1 126	40.8
Miller, AC	-	112	4.1
Snell, RA	MRDPA	174	6.3
Wren, RJ	CP	194	7.0

Polling Places

	Darwin	Knightscliff (sic)	Parap	Postal
Callinan				
Chambers				
IZOD		details not available		
Kent				
Lawrie				
LUKE				
Miller				
Snell				
Wren				
Informal				

To fill the first vacancy, preference distribution

Callinan	$638+2 = 640+12 = 652+82 = 734+22 = 756+8 = 764+63 = 827$
Chambers	$113+6 = 119+5 = 124$
IZOD	$159+9 = 168+21 = 189+15 = 204+27 = 231+107 = 338+77 = 415$
Kent	94
Lawrie	$149+6 = 155+8 = 163+8 = 171$
LUKE	$1\ 126+14 = 1\ 140+42 = 1\ 182+17 = 1\ 199+88 = 1\ 287 + 39 = 1\ 326+191 = 1\ 517$
Miller	$112+5 = 117$
Snell	$174+48 = 222+21 = 243+2 = 245+26 = 271+60 = 331$
Wren	$194+4 = 198+8 = 206+0 = 206+8 = 214$

LUKE elected

To fill the second vacancy, preference distribution

LUKE votes transferred

Callinan	$638+129 = 767+9 = 776+123 = 899+8 = 907+53 =$
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Chambers 960+76 = 1 036+237 = 1 273
 IZOD 113+72 = 185+14 = 199
 159+290 = 449+31 = 480+31 = 511+129 = 640+99 = 739+
 175 = 914+572 = 1 486
 Kent 94+ 75 = 169
 Lawrie 149+114 = 263+13 = 276+18 = 294+13 = 307
 LUKE 1 126
 Miller 112+231 = 343+20 = 363+10 = 373+38 = 411+89 = 500
 Snell 174+167 = 341+72 = 413+13 = 426+68 = 494+66 =560+249 =
 809
 Wren 194+ 48 = 242+10 = 252+4 = 256

IZOD elected

ALICE SPRINGS: JOHNSON Frank William elected unopposed

BATCHELOR

Enrolment	891	
Voted	656	(73.6%)
Informal	18	(2.7%)
Formal	638	(97.3%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)DOWLING, FW	Ind.Labor	419	65.7
Forscutt, AE	TLC	219	34.3

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

STUART

Enrolment	433	
Voted	325	(75.1%)
Informal	22	(6.8%)
Formal	303	(93.2%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)Braitling, WW	-	101	33.3
PETRICK , WHF	CPLA	202	66.7

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

TENNANT CREEK

Enrolment	393	
Voted	258	(65.7%)
Informal	22	(8.5%)
Formal	236	(91.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Higgins, JS	-	79	33.5
PURKISS , LH	Labor	157	66.5

Polling Place	Higgins	Purkiss	Informal
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Tennant Creek
Postal
Regulation

details not available

GENERAL ELECTION

1954

The 1954 election on 29 May was, like 1951, a relatively quiet affair. The 'double' representation of Darwin again attracted a large field - seven candidates out of a total of 17 for the six seats. All seats were contested, but only three of the six sitting members stood again.

Nominations (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member)

	Address	Occupation	Party
Austin, Frederick Steeple	Darwin	Agent	-
Brennan, Harold	Hayes Creek	Prospector	-
CALLINAN , Aubrey Thomas	Darwin	Engineer	Labor
Carroll, Patrick	Darwin	Waterside Worker	Labor(IND)
Davis, Neill	Darwin	Engineer	Labor
Driver, John Henry	Elkreda St.	Pastoralist	-
DRYSDALE , Frederick William	Darwin	Mechanic	Labor(IND)*
HARGRAVE , Nathaniel Edward	Alice Springs	Engineer	-
Hawker, Alfred Edward	Katherine	Engineer	-
(S)Johnson, Frank William	Alice Springs	Plumber	Labor
Lawrie, Robert Arthur	Darwin	Ledger keeper	-
Merity, John Patrick	Darwin	Solicitor	-
McTainsh, Albert Ernest	Alice Springs	Builder	-
(S) PETRICK , Wilhelm Heinrich F	Mt. Swan St.	Pastoralist	-
Priest, Charles Ashley V	Tennant Crk	Agent	-
(S) PURKISS , Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
RONAN , Thomas Matthew	Katherine	Farmer	Labor

* Labor (IND), endorsed by NAWU (North Australian Workers Union)

The Country party, which had contested 1951, limited its endorsement and campaigning in 1954 to the federal election, and the only pressure

group noted in the press was the Central Australian Pastoralists' Association, but it did not officially endorse candidates. This left the 'party' interest in the contest within the labour movement - between the Labor party and the North Australian Workers Union, for the two seats in Darwin. The Labor party advertised its candidates and policies widely in the press (see *Northern Standard* 27 May), but it was notable that the advertisements for Labor candidate Johnson (Alice Springs) avoided any mention of his party. He called himself, instead of Labor, 'The People's Man' (*Centralian Advocate* 21 May). The NAWU did not utilise press advertisements. In fact, in a surprising emphasis from a 'union-party', the reports of meetings and statements by the two NAWU candidates noted their emphasis on constitutional reform of the Council. Both stated their primary task was to make the Council 'fully representative of the people', and both promised that if they could not achieve this they would resign. They also sought the right for public servants to stand for election. Only minor emphasis was given to other policies, including free hospitals, and an assay office in Darwin (*Northern Territory News* 27 May).

The Labor party policy contained 22 planks, ranging from development of the Northern Territory, to an olympic standard swimming pool for Darwin (*Northern Territory News* 27 May). Independent candidates ranged across all possible issues. Neil Hargrave (Alice Springs) complained about the 'unfair preference' given to Darwin in the expenditure of public money (*Centralian Advocate* 7 May); WHF Petrick (Stuart) stated that he was 'best fitted to be your representative' as he was 'conversant, through practical experience, with the problems and needs of both the Pastoral and Mining Industries', and promised free rent for those willing to settle the land (*Centralian Advocate* 14 May). AE McTainsh (Alice Springs) promised a better water scheme, a reduction in freight charges, more land to be made available for building blocks, and proposed that on the railways, there should be a 'priority for Territory residents against tourists' (*Centralian Advocate* 21 May). Labor's Callinan also raised a key issue:

It seems fantastic that private residents can bring up items such as bedding, furniture, groceries and other stores considerably more cheaply from the south than local storekeepers are selling them in Darwin.

He called for action from the Prices Branch (*Northern Territory News* 25 May).

This election was the first (and only unsuccessful) appearance at the polls by one of the most colourful, and longest serving, members of the Council, Harold (Tiger) Brennan, in the electorate of Batchelor. Brennan gave few public speeches as he felt he was 'widely-known' and 'anything he can say in a public speech will do little to influence the voters.' In a confident mood, he told the press (*Northern Territory News* 25 May),

if people want me as their representative they will vote for me anyhow. I have been here a long time.

Standing as an independent, Brennan's policy statement encapsulated the issues, and the style, of many of the independents (*Northern Territory News* 13 May).

1. *Drastic alteration to LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.*
2. *Fuller representation in Federal Parliament.*
3. *Freedom from TAXATION for first £1000 of income. Larger incomes tax free provided 40% is spent on approved development within the Territory.*
4. *Resumption of Bouvrl freezer at KATHERINE and establishment of meat works similar to Wyndham.*
5. *MOTOR VEHICLES ORDINANCE to be drastically altered to enable lower standard vehicles to be used off the bitumen.*
6. *AGRICULTURAL FARMS to be opened up on Daly and Katherine Rivers. LOANS for clearing, etc., repayable over long period of years.*
7. *RICE GROWING projects to be pushed forward.*
8. *CANBERRA CONTROL of local policy to be wiped out.*
9. *MINING ORDINANCES to be amended and crushing rates to be reduced to a reasonable level.*
10. *Construction and improvement of feeder ROADS, with special emphasis on creek and river crossings.*
11. *NO FAVORITISM to any pressure groups.*

The Northern Territory News made an interesting calculation (27 May) that with fewer than 7 000 voters in the half-million square miles of the Territory 'it works out to about 75 square miles to each voter'. The News also published an interesting breakdown of the rolls:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Darwin	2 337	1 396
Batchelor	717	352
Tennant Creek	212	107
Alice Springs	702	585
Stuart	313	150
Totals	4 281	2 590

The Labor v NAWU contest in Darwin ended up one-all: Callinan (Labor) and Drysdale (NAWU). After the election, the non-Labor forces began to organise. The result had produced three Labor, and one NAWU, members in the elected membership of six, and on 18 June the *Centralian Advocate* reported a meeting designed to be the nucleus of a Northern Territory Liberal and Country League (LCL), modelled on Tom Playford's successful party in South Australia. The convenor, George Smith, stressed that 'it

was time the Liberal supporters got together'. One notable member at the meeting was 'Jock' Nelson, the MHR for the Territory, who stated

he was prepared to resign and fight a by-election on the issue of the NT member being granted a vote in the house. "If that occurs we may not have a great deal of time and should endorse someone at once."

This was a very interesting appearance, for Nelson was the Labor member, albeit a very independent one.

Another interesting sidelight of the election was that as well as being elected to the Council for Batchelor, TM Ronan had his book, *Vision Splendid*, published. According to one reviewer (*Northern Territory News* 1 July),

The book is quite a remarkable piece of work. It is the product of exasperation, and all the better for that. Tom Ronan has been driven to writing about the life he knows so well, so he says, by the inaccuracies of literary fossickers in search of the picturesque outback.

RESULTS

1954

Issue of Writs	23 April
Nominations	6 May
Polling	29 May
Return of Writs	14 July

Districts	5
Seats	6
Candidates	17

Enrolment	6 869	
Voted	5 299	(77.1%)
Informal	236	(4.5%)
Formal	5 063	(95.5%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 287	1 053	24	1 029
Batchelor	1 067	793	36	757
Darwin	3 733	2 880	157	2 723
Stuart	463	330	12	318
Tennant Creek	319	243	7	236
TOTALS:	6 869	5 299	236	5 063

Party Contests

	Labor	Labor (IND)	Ind.
Alice Springs	451	-	578
Batchelor	341	-	416
Darwin	795	879	1 049
Stuart	-	-	318
Tennant Creek	141	-	95
TOTALS	1 728	879	2 456

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	1 287	
Voted	1 053	(81.8%)
Informal	24	(2.3%)
Formal	1 029	(97.7%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
HARGRAVE, N.C	-	487	47.3
Johnson, FW	Labor	451	43.8
McTainsch, AE	-	91	8.8

Polling Place

Hargrave Johnson McTainsch Informal

Alice Springs
Postal

details not available

Preferences

McTainsch 91:	to HARGRAVE	487+47 = 534	(51.9%)
	to Johnson	451+44 = 495	(48.1%)

BATCHELOR

Enrolment	1 067	
Voted	793	(74.3%)
Informal	36	(4.5%)
Formal	757	(95.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Brennan, H	-	334	44.1
Hawker, AE	-	82	10.8
RONAN, TM	Labor	341	45.1

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

References

Hawker 82:	to Brennan	334+43 = 377	(49.8%)
	to RONAN	341+39 = 380	(50.2%)

DARWIN

Enrolment	3 733	
Voted	2 880	(77.2%)
Informal	157	(5.5%)
Formal	2 723	(94.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Austin, FS	-	352	12.9
CALLINAN , AT	Labor	634	23.3
Carroll, P	Labor (IND)	467	17.2
Davis, N	Labor	161	5.9
DRYSDALE , FW	Labor (IND)	412	15.1
Lawrie, RA	-	132	4.9
Merity, JP	-	565	20.8

Polling Places

Austin Callinan Carroll Davis Drysdale Lawrie Merity
Inf

Darwin
 Knightscliff details not available
 Parap
 Postal
 Regulation

To fill first vacancy; preference distribution

Austin 352+52 =404+11 = 415
CALLINAN 634+ 6 =640+82 = 722+111 = 833+91 = 924+359 = 1283
 Carroll 467+ 9 =476+18 = 494+ 29 = 523
 Davis 161+ 7 =168
DRYSDALE 412+18 =430+36 = 466+137 = 603+398 = 1 001+439 = 1 440
 Lawrie 132
 Merity 565+40 =605+21 = 626+138 = 764+ 34 = 798

DRYSDALE elected

To fill the second vacancy: preference distribution

DRYSDALE votes distributed

Austin 352+59 =411+62 = 473+32 = 505
CALLINAN 634+25 =659+ 8 = 667+96 = 763+191 = 954+585 = 1 539
 Carroll 467 +175 =642+19 = 661+43 = 704+116 = 820
 Davis 161+32 =193+23 = 216
DRYSDALE 412
 Lawrie 132+42 =174
 Merity 565+79 =644+62 = 706+45 = 751+198 = 949+235 = 1 184

CALLINAN elected

STUART

Enrolment	463	
Voted	330	(71.3%)
Informal	12	(3.6%)
Formal	318	(96.4%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Driver, JH	-	146	45.9
(S) PETRICK , WHF	-	172	54.1

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

TENNANT CREEK

Enrolment	319	
Voted	243	(76.2%)
Informal	7	(2.9%)
Formal	236	(97.1%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Priest, CAV	-	95	40.3
(S)PURKISS, LH	Labor	141	59.7

Polling Place

	Priest	PURKISS	Informal
Tennant Creek			
Postal		details not available	
Regulation			

BY-ELECTION 1955

BATCHELOR

Three casual vacancies had occurred in the Council prior to 1955. FC Hopkins resigned in June 1949, but the Administrator appointed EC Izod to replace him rather than hold a by-election. W Fulton resigned in August 1949, and his seat (Batchelor) was left vacant for the remainder of the Council (last meeting 30 November 1949). VH Webster resigned from the second Council in May 1950, before the first meeting of the Council, and again the Administrator nominated a replacement, JS Higgins.

The resignation of TM Ronan in April 1955 brought the Territory's first by-election, in Batchelor, on 6 August. Candidates were:

BRENNAN, Harold, prospector, of Hayes Creek;
Forscutt, Alfred Edward, shift engineer, of Katherine.

Forscutt was the endorsed Labor candidate; Brennan stood as an independent. Brennan won the seat with a resounding majority.

RESULT

Enrolment	1 067	
Voted	584	(54.7%)
Formal	548	(93.8%)
Informal	36	(6.2%)

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BRENNAN, H.	-	377	68.8
Forscutt, AE	Labor	171	31.2

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

BY-ELECTION 1956

BATCHELOR

One issue which had occupied the attention of some elected members since 1947 was the perceived need for legal off-course betting. In 1955, NC Hargrave introduced the fourth Bill to inaugurate this, but for the fourth time the federal government instructed the official members to reject it.

'Tiger' Brennan decided on a public protest. He resigned from the Council and prompted a by-election. On nomination day, 13 February 1956, Brennan was the only candidate, and he returned to the Council.

GENERAL ELECTION

1957

The 1957 election produced the smallest field of candidates, with only two electorates requiring an election, and a high success rate for incumbents. It also produced a Council which was the beginning of the long battles for constitutional reform. As Walker (1984,32) put it,

If any Council is to be nominated as the most important of all, it must be the sixth, for any achievements of those that followed were built on the ground attained by the efforts of this Council.

But the nominations, the campaigns, and the results hardly contained any prediction of momentous events to come.

Nominations (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member; (U/C) = uncontested)

	Address	Occupation	Party
(U/C)(S) BRENNAN , Harold	Hayes Creek	Prospector	-
CARROLL , Patrick	Darwin	Waterside Worker	Labor
(S)Drysdale, Frederick William	Darwin	Mechanic	Labor
(S) HARGRAVE , Nathaniel Charles	Alice Springs	Solicitor	
(U/C)(S) PETRICK , Wilhelm Heinrich F Heinrich F	Mt Swan St	Pastoralist	-
(U/C)(S) PURKISS , Leonard Hunter Reus,	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
Olga Elizabeth WARD ,	Alice Springs	Housewife	Labor
Richard Charles	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor(IND)

The only party to contest was Labor, and it had patched up its problems with the North Australia Workers Union which had led to separate endorsements in 1954. In 1957, Labor endorsed Patrick Carroll who had stood for the NAWU against Labor at the previous election. The election also saw the second woman ever to nominate in the Territory (the first was Olive Donnellan in 1947). Despite the small field of candidates, all emphasised, some more than others, the necessity for constitutional reform. The demand was not new, as it had been part of political debate since the inauguration of the Council in 1947. But Harold Brennan began the campaign in 1957 with a radical proposal. To achieve 'a more democratic and effective NT Legislative Council' the government should nominate as 'official' members people who were not members of the public service (*Northern Territory News* 3 January).

In the 1956 meetings of the Council, and in the public arena, Brennan and NC Hargrave (Alice Springs) had been the leaders of the elected members, and Brennan opened the campaign hoping that 1957 would 'be the year of real enlightenment'. The call was taken up by RC Ward in his campaign for a Darwin seat. (He had been the elected member for Alice Springs in the 1947-9 Council.) He demanded 'an immediate change giving a majority of elected members' (*Northern Territory News* 7 February), and this was a call common to all candidates.

Local issues also played a role. Ward sought 'anything to overcome the WATER problem at Alice Springs' (*Northern Territory News* 7 February); Mrs Beth Reus, Labor candidate for Alice Springs, agreed water supply was a 'vital matter', but she also demanded action on freight cost. The official Labor policy (*Northern Territory News* 19 February) demanded 'eradication of flies and mosquitoes' and the 'removal of Navy from town area, and return of old town hall for municipal offices'.

The contest in Darwin contained some confusion for the electors. Richard Charles Ward nominated for Darwin as an independent, and his early advertising acknowledged no party affiliation. But a major advertisement by the Labor party later in the campaign (*Northern Territory News* 19 February) asked voters to support the three Labor candidates: Carroll, Drysdale and Ward. At the end of the campaign, the press continued to refer to Ward as an independent! Labor asked voters to follow the card of Carroll, Drysdale, Ward, giving Ward third preference. In fact, Ward was elected first, in a relative landslide, emphasising that 'personality' was still an important component of Territory politics.

Overall, however, it was a subdued election campaign, with turnout down on polling day, from the 77 per cent in 1954 to only 69 per cent in the two, urban, contested electorates. The *Northern Territory News* (26 February) offered an explanation in verse:

*Election day
Of little note
Many didn't
even vote*

*Perhaps electors
Want more shares
In managing
their own affairs;*

and summarised the election:

The people of the Territory have clearly demonstrated a disinterest in the council as at present constituted. But Darwin people who did go to the polling booths demonstrated strongly that they were all in favour of a policy devoted firstly to changing the balance of power from Government nominated to elected members.

The subsequent meetings of the Council took the latter point to a crisis in 1958, when all elected members resigned as a protest at the refusal of the federal government to institute reforms.

RESULTS

1957

Issue of Writs	15 January
Nominations	29 January
Polling	23 January
Return of Writs	23 April

Enrolment	7 244	(5 438 in contested districts)
Voted	3 763	(69.2% in contested)
Informal	98	(2.6%)
Formal	3 665	(97.4%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 319	968	24	944
Batchelor	1 016	-	-	-
Darwin	4 119	2 795	74	2 721
Stuart	420	-	-	-
Tennant Creek	370	-	-	-
TOTALS:	7 244			
(Contested)	5 438)	3 763	98	3 665

Party Contests

	Labor	Labor (IND)	Ind.
Alice Springs	293	-	651
Batchelor		Not contested	
Darwin	1 923	(2)	798
Stuart		Not contested	
Tennant Creek		Not contested	
TOTAL:	2 216	798	651

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	1 319	
Voted	968	(73.4%)
Informal	24	(2.5%)
Formal	944	(97.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S) HARGRAVE, NC	-	651	69.0
Reus, OE	Labor	293	31.0

Polling Place **HARGRAVE** Reus Informal

Alice Springs
Postal details not available
Regulation

(Note: A total of 75 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

BATCHELOR

Enrolment 1 016

BRENNAN, Harold elected unopposed

DARWIN

Enrolment	4 119	
Voted	2 795	(67.9%)
Informal	74	(2.7%)
Formal	2 721	(97.3%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
WARD , RC	Labor (IND)	1 498	55.1
(S)Drysdale, FW	Labor	425	15.6
CARROLL , P	Labor	798	29.3

Polling Places

	WARD	Drysdale	CARROLL	Informal
Darwin				
New Fannie Bay				
Nightcliff		details not available		
Stuart Park				
Postal				
Regulation				

Note: A total of 117 postal and 12 regulation votes were admitted)

Formal ballot papers 2 721; Quota = $2\ 721 - 3 = 907+1 = 908$

	Ward	Drysdale	Carroll
First preference	1 498	425	798
WARD elected	908		
	<hr/>		
WARD surplus	590		
Surplus distributed		429	161
CARROLL elected		854	959

STUART

PETRICK, Wilhelm Heinrick Frederick
elected unopposed

TENNANT CREEK

PURKISS, Leonard Hunter elected unopposed

BY-ELECTIONS

1958

The general elections of February 1957 had stressed the necessity for reform of the Council, with a virtually unanimous demand for a majority of elected members. The new Council met on 2 April 1957. One year later, frustrated by the refusal of the federal government even to announce any proposals for reform, every elected member resigned forcing by-elections for the whole Council. In effect, then, the by-elections of 28 June 1958 constituted a full election.

The mood of the Territorians was expressed by the nominations and results. Five of the six who resigned were re-elected unopposed, and Purkiss (Tennant Creek) was returned with a clear majority.

Nominations (CAPS - elected; (S) = sitting member; U/C = uncontested)

	Address	Occupation	Party
(U/C)(S) BRENNAN , Harold	Hayes Creek	Prospector	-
(U/C)(S) CARROLL , Patrick	Darwin	Union Sec.	Labor
(U/C)(S) HARGRAVE , Nathaniel Charles McDonald,	Alice Springs	Solicitor	-
Alexander McIntyre,	Tennant Crk	Miner	-
Kenneth Malcolm	Tennant Crk	Contractor	-
(U/C)(S) PETRICK , Wilhelm Heinrich F	Mt. Swan St.	Pastoralist	-
(S) PURKISS , Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
(U/C)(S) WARD , Richard Charles	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor(IND)

The campaigns were virtually single-issue for all candidates. From the close of nominations on 30 May, attention focussed on the only contested electorate of Tennant Creek, and reform was debated in depth. It was an unusual situation: a total of 339 electors on the roll in Tennant Creek became the focus of an intense constitutional debate.

The campaign in Tennant Creek did not start on this key issue. When Alexander McDonald announced his candidature (*Northern Territory News* 29 May), he stated he would emphasise domestic issues as he had not 'gone into the constitutional reform issue properly yet'. Hence he promised an adequate water supply, more housing, a better deal for miners, and completion of the Government battery. The second candidate against incumbent Purkiss also ranked constitutional reform below local affairs. He stated his campaign would be based chiefly on such issues as a 'badly needed swimming pool at Tennant Creek' (*Northern Territory News* 5 June). As to reform of the Council, McIntyre emphasised that

as he was not a constitutional lawyer, he would be guided by those in a better position to understand its implications.

Both had underestimated the intensity of the mood of the other elected members, the public in general, and the press. The NT Development League, in fact, demanded that the 'rebels support a revolutionary drive for what amounts to full state rights' (*Northern Territory News* 12 June). By 10 June, however, McDonald had apparently listened to the debate, and he announced that he would stand 'four-square with other members in their demands for constitutional reform' (*Northern Territory News* 10 June). One week later, he had been fully convinced, and announced that he would stand out of the election, that

he would sink his personal doubts on former member Len Purkiss in the interests of a united "rebel" front on constitutional reform (*Northern Territory News* 17 June).

McDonald returned to the contest, but in a passive mode, when the Electoral Officer pointed out that McDonald's name could not be removed from the ballot paper (*Northern Territory News* 19 June).

KM ('Handlebars') McIntyre, however, refused to weaken his campaign, and he made his own, unusual, proposal for reform. He announced (*Northern Territory News* 19 June) that, following discussions with Tom Playford, the Premier had supported it. In relation to the 'rebels' reform demands, McIntyre was emphatic that 'Territorians were not compelled to stay here...they must be getting some reward'. His case was straightforward:

Do not let the people of the Territory be represented as pampered children. By this I mean asking our fellow Australians for undeserved favours and a greater share of Australia's wealth and privileges than they themselves receive. It would be better if we made a sacrifice as a sign of thanks to the rest of Australia.

The *Northern Territory News* (19 June) was not impressed.

Mr. McIntyre's view that we are pampered might appeal to a few public servants living in fine homes and privileged with concessions no-one outside can get. But it should hardly appeal to anyone else.

In the event, of the 175 electors of Tennant Creek who turned out to vote, and who voted formally, 129 apparently agreed with the need for a united front by voting for Purkiss.

RESULTS

1958 ELECTION

Issue of Writs	9 May
Nominations	30 May
Polling	28 June
Return of Writs	25 August

Districts	5
Seats	6
Candidates	8

Enrolment	7 085	(339 in only contested district)
Voted	181	(53.4%)
Informal	6	(3.3%)
Formal	175	(96.7%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 413)
Batchelor	1 077)
Darwin	3 796		not contested)
Stuart	460)
Tennant Creek	339	181	6	175
TOTAL:	7 085			
(Contested	339)	181	6	175

ALICE SPRINGS : **HARGRAVE**, Nathaniel Charles elected unopposed

BATCHELOR : **BRENNAN**, Harold elected unopposed

DARWIN : **CARROLL**, Patrick elected unopposed
WARD, Richard Charles elected unopposed

STUART : **PETRICK**, Wilhelm Heinrick Frederick elected unopposed

TENNANT CREEK

Enrolment	339	
Voted	181	(53.4%)
Informal	6	(3.3%)
Formal	175	(96.7%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
McDonald, A	-	11	6.3
McIntyre, KM	-	35	20.0
(S)PURKISS, LH	-	129	73.7

Polling Place

	McDonald	McIntyre	PURKISS	Informal
Tennant Creek				
Postal				
Regulation		other details not available		6

GENERAL ELECTION

1960

Candidates (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member; (U/C) = uncontested)

Name	Address	Occupation	Party
Antony, Robert Francis	Darwin	Retired	Labor
BERLOWITZ, Linda Marion	Nightcliff	Company Dir	-
(S) BRENNAN, Harold	Katherine	Prospector	-
(S)Carroll, Patrick	Fannie Bay	Union Sec.	Labor
Connick, Sylvia Elizabeth	Nightcliff	Housewife	-
Cooper, Norman Harold	Nightcliff	Manager	-
D'Ambrosio, Edward Francis S	Darwin	Company Director	-
DRYSDALE, Frederick William	Nightcliff	Carrier	Labor
Edwardes, John Samuel	Fannie Bay	Shop Owner	-
(S) HARGRAVE, Nathaniel Charles	Alice Springs	Solicitor	-
Martin, James Norman	Katherine	Motor Dealer	-
Mason, Walter George	Alice Springs	Agent	Labor
(S) PETRICK, Wilhelm F Heinrich	Mt Swan	Pastoralist	-
(S)(U/C) PURKISS, Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
RICHARDSON, Luclus Lawrence	Darwin	Company Director	Labor(IND)
Simpson, William Kidd	Katherine	Baker	Labor
Smith, David Douglas	Alice Springs	Pastoralist	Labor
Smith, George Alexander	Alice Springs	Dry Cleaner	-
(S) WARD, Richard Charles	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor(IND)
Watts, James Brunton	Berrimah	Timekeeper	Labor

The 1960 election was fought on new boundaries caused by the expansion of the elected membership from six to eight. All districts were single-member.

The campaigns of many candidates remained focussed on the issue which had been the cause of the divisions in the Sixth Council - constitutional reform. The *Centralian Advocate* was firm (15 January):

The conditions surrounding the elections...reveal the Ministry of Territories and the Administration in its drab mediocrity. Since the electors it deals with are second-class citizens by virtue of their limited franchise, they give them the sort of second-class deal that might be expected...Procrastination has been the keynote...in general the official attitude has been one of contempt - we are giving you a better system, but we will decide when you get it.

The extension of the elective membership from six out of 15 members to eight out of 17 far from satisfied those who had campaigned for real reform. Harold Brennan spoke, not only for the 1958 rebels, but for the majority, when he led his campaign policy with a demand for

further constitutional reform - a fully-elective Legislative Council... the Government has the right of veto to amply protect its interests (Northern Territory News 15 January).

There were complaints about the sudden announcement of the poll, the short campaign period allowed, and of the timing. The beginning of the wet was hardly the time to organise polling in the bush, and allowing only three weeks from the close of nominations to polling day on 20 February may have caused problems. As Brennan (*Northern Territory News* 15 January) pointed out, places like Daly River had only one plane a fortnight, and in the wet many outlying places could be completely out of touch for a month or more. A further administrative complaint was that a week after the announcement of the election some of the electoral boundaries had still not been made public. As well, there were loud complaints from Alice Springs about the redistribution. While both Darwin and Alice Springs had seen a rapid increase in population, the former was granted three members for an enrolment of 2855, while Alice Springs had one member for 1594 enrolled voters. Given that the adjoining electorate of Stuart had only 508 enrolled, Alice Springs residents, according to the *Centralian Advocate* (22 January) had been treated shamefully.

The nomination list produced the largest field - 20 candidates - in the history of the Council. The Labor party nominated a full team of eight, there were two women candidates, and all six sitting members (for the old electorates) nominated. Perhaps one reason for the expanded field, apart from the increase in the number of seats, was the announcement of the inauguration of higher 'payment of members' to apply to the new councillors. The members were granted an annual fee of £400, an electoral allowance (£100 for Darwin members, £200 for others), and £5.5.0 as a daily allowance for members outside Darwin.

As in most previous elections the Labor party was the only political party seriously to enter the campaign. Some independents, while opposing Labor, took a pragmatic rather than Burkean position. NC Hargrave (Alice Springs) argued that a non-party system of representation under present conditions was preferable (*Centralian Advocate* 19 February). This was not merely independents seeking to weaken the electoral campaign and appeal by the Labor party, but the general 'anti-party' theme across the independents, developed as a general theme in this election, and based essentially on the need for a united front of reformers in the Council. As Hargrave's electoral committee put it on his behalf, there is no

room in the Council for party politics. Development along these lines could easily lead to a split among the elected members - whereas it is of paramount importance that they must always present a solid and united front to the disciplined caucus of the Government side (Centralian Advocate 19 February).

Labor did not face a party contest in the elections, but it did face a relatively united front arguing against party involvement 'in existing conditions'.

The campaign, generally, was quiet, even subdued, possibly, as RC Ward (Port Darwin) suggested, 'because of the general unanimity of all candidates on the principles and objects to be achieved' (*Northern Territory News* 19 February). This is not to say that issues were not raised, parish pumps primed, and a full range of promises canvassed. The speeches and written statements of independent candidates covered the need for industrial development, a trade/technical school for Darwin, a demand for freehold land for home owners, the perennial question of water supply, better maintenance of roads, more sports grounds, more public buses, a subsidy on freights, increased welfare benefits, concessions for air-fares during the holiday season for NT residents to have the relief of a cooler climate (*Northern Territory News* 16 February), more public telephones, and better hostel accommodation in Darwin. Sylvia Connick (Larrakeyah) stressed the role of women, and sought the women's vote:

The Legislative Council will have at least 15 men to attend to broad Territory issues. So would you please give your vote to one woman, myself, Sylvia E. Connick, to present the woman's angle.

Her policy statement (*Northern Territory News* 16 February) promised an Emergency Home Help Service, a home nursing service, the removal of sales tax on electric fans and air conditioning units, more public telephones, and lower prices.

This was the first election when the Labour movement - the Labor party and the NAWU - produced a united front, and a full team of candidates. The following summarises the party's official policy.

- * *Fully-elected Legislative Council and full voting rights for the Federal Member.*

- * *More liberal taxation concessions and freight subsidies to encourage development of the Northern Territory.*
- * *Health facilities to be brought up to the standard of southern capitals. A full inquiry to be made into hospital facilities.*
- * *Not less than £750 000 to be allocated to the Housing Commission this financial year to cater for the immediate needs of population in the Northern Territory.*
- * *Re-introduction of price control.*
- * *Substantial increases in pension rates for both aged and social service pensioners.*
- * *Provision of homes for aged and social service pensioners.*
- * *Re-organisation of the Northern Territory Public Service and abolition of remote control from Canberra.*
- * *Review of the Workers' Compensation Ordinance to provide for increased payments for lost time, loss of limbs, crippling etc. and to cover employees while working for uninsured employers.*
- * *Full inquiry into the Welfare Ordinance and Wards' Employment Ordinance. All education to be under the control of the SA Education Department. A Welfare Advisory Board be formed to advise the Minister.*
- * *Full encouragement to prospectors in their search for minerals. The immediate establishment of Government batteries in proven mining areas. Assistance in opening mining areas by building roads.*
- * *Agriculture plant pool to be established to enable farmers to cultivate and harvest crops at a reasonable hire charge. Sinking of bores on agricultural land where there is no permanent surface water. Development of roads in pastoral and farming areas. Subsidies on fertilisers. Establishment of markets. Exploitation of peanut oil potential.*

Results Summary

The total enrolment for the Territory had grown to 9 181, compared to 7 244 in 1957. Turnout cannot be directly compared, because of the redistribution and differing electorates uncontested. But, in the seats which were contested, the turnout was 69 per cent in both 1957 and 1960. It was almost a 'no change' election, with five of the six sitting members returned. A notable event was the election of the first woman member, Linda Berlowitz.

The results of the election were a shock to the Labor party. Until 1960, endorsed Labor candidates had won at least two, and in 1951 and 1954, three of the six seats, and Independent Labor and/or NAWU candidates had also succeeded in one or two seats. In 1960, in eight electorates, Labor succeeded with only three of its endorsed candidates: Ward in Darwin, Drysdale in Nightcliff and Purkiss, uncontested, in Tennant Creek. That is, Labor lost five of the eight contested seats.

The acting Secretary of the Darwin branch, Frank Brennan, was angry.

Complete lack of organisation and lackadaisical attitudes to the campaign caused the Labor party to flop...Did any of our candidates do a door to door job like Mrs Berlowitz [the first ever woman member of the Council] and Mr Richardson? . . . No! The attitude spelt disaster for the party...We need to take the message to the people, go and see the people (Northern Territory News 23 February).

Given the small populations in the urban electorates, what Brennan demanded was increasingly to become necessary.

RESULTS

1960

Issue of Writs		11 January
Nominations		26 January
Polling		20 February
Return of Writs		1 April
Districts	8	
Seats	8	
Candidates	20	
Enrolment	9 181	(8 597 in contested districts)
Voted	5 933	(69.0% of contested enrolment)
Informal	154	(2.6%)
Formal	5 779	(97.4%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	1 594	1 237	26	1 211
Arnhem	1 598	1 018	25	993
Barkly	584	(not contested)		
Elsey	760	505	6	499
Fannie Bay	1 668	1 205	42	1 163
Larrakeyah	1 307	898	30	868
Port Darwin	1 162	752	19	733
Stuart	508	318	6	312
TOTALS:	9 181	5 933	154	5 779
(Contested)	8 597)			

Party Contests

	Labor N	Labor (IND) N	Independent %	
Alice Springs	303	-	908	(2)
Arnhem	396	-	597	(2)
Barkly		Uncontested		
Elsley	62	-	437	(2)
Fannie Bay	512	-	651	(2)
Larrakeyah	165	497	206	(2)
Port Darwin	157	576		
Stuart	91		221	
TOTALS:	1 686	1 073	3 020	
ALICE SPRINGS				

Enrolment	1 594	
Voted	1 237	(77.6%)
Informal	26	(2.1%)
Formal	1 211	(97.9%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S) HARGRAVE , NC	-	757	62.5
Mason, WG	Labor	303	25.0
Smith, GA	-	151	12.5

Polling Place **HARGRAVE** **Mason** **Smith** **Informal**

Alice Springs
Postal Regulation details not available

ARNHEM

Enrolment	1 598	
Voted	1 018	(63.7%)
Informal	25	(2.5%)
Formal	993	(97.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Connick, SE	-	287	28.9
Cooper, NH	-	310	31.2
DRYSDALE , FW	Labor	396	39.9

Polling Places*

Connick Cooper **DRYSDALE** Informal

Nightcliff
Port Darwin
Postal
Regulation

details not available

Preferences

Connick 287:	to Cooper	310+176 = 486	48.9%
	to DRYSDALE	396+111 = 507	51.1%

(* 43 regulation votes and 551 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

BARKLY

Enrolment 584

PURKISS, Leonard Hunter elected unopposed

ELSEY

Enrolment	760	
Voted	505	(66.5%)
Informal	6	(1.2%)
Formal	499	(98.8%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S) BRENNAN , H	-	380	76.2
Martin, JN	-	57	11.4
Simpson, WK	Labor	62	12.4

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	1 668	
Voted	1 205	(72.2%)
Informal	42	(3.5%)
Formal	1 163	(96.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BERLOWITZ, LM	-	469	40.3
Carroll, P	Labor	512	44.0
Edwardes, JS	-	182	15.7

Polling Places*

BERLOWITZ Carroll Edwardes Informal

Parap
Port Darwin
Postal
Regulation

details not available

Preferences

Edwardes 182:	to BERLOWITZ	469+141 = 610	52.5%
	to Carroll	512+ 41 = 553	47.5%

(* 53 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

LARRAKEYAH

Enrolment	1 307	
Voted	898	(68.7%)
Informal	30	(3.3%)
Formal	868	(96.7%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
D'Ambrosio, EFS	-	206	23.7
RICHARDSON, LLD	Labor (IND)	497	57.3
Watts, JB	Labor	165	19.0

Polling Places* D'Ambrosio **RICHARDSON** Watts Informal

Myilly Point
Port Darwin
Stuart Park

other details not available

Postal	10
Regulation	0

(* 5 regulation votes and 44 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment	1 162	
Voted	752	(64.7%)
Informal	19	(2.5%)
Formal	733	(97.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Antony, RF	Labor	157	21.4
(S)WARD, RC	Labor (IND)	576	78.6

Polling Places* Antony **WARD** Informal

Darwin
Postal
Regulation

details not available

(* 45 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

STUART

Enrolment	508	
Voted	318	(62.6%)
Informal	6	(1.9%)
Formal	312	(98.1%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)PETRICK, WHF	-	221	70.8
Smith, DD	Labor	91	29.2

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

BY-ELECTION 1961

LARRAKEYAH

The by-election in Larrakeyah on 28 January was caused by the resignation of LLD Richardson, of whom Walker (1984,44) noted: 'He experienced some difficulty in adapting from local government to state-type legislating'.

The Labor party endorsed JW Watts, who had been defeated in Berrimah in the 1960 election. No less than six other candidates nominated, of whom three were women.

Nominations (CAPS = elected)

	Address	Occupation	Party
Connick, Sylvia Elizabeth	Nightcliff	Housewife	-
D'Ambrosio, Edward Francis S	Darwin	Merchant	-
Dean, Lillian Maud	Darwin	Photographer	-
de Fraine, Dorothy	Darwin	Agent	-
Dudson, Keith Huett	Darwin	Medico	-
WATTS, James Brenton	Berrimah	Manager	Labor
Wilkshire, John	Darwin	Contractor	-

All candidates produced a wide range of policies, all expounded why they should be chosen to represent Larrakeyah, and all promised to serve the interests of the electorate and the Territory if successful (see *Northern Territory News* 24 January).

The result was a victory for Watts and the Labor party, but only after the exclusion and preference distribution of five candidates. Watts had pleaded a party case (*Northern Territory News* 24 January):

It is abundantly clear that the Territory will never prosper until a Labor government is returned to Canberra with a Northern Territory Labor representative with full voting rights and with Labor men in our Legislative Council having a liaison with that government.

The appeal brought a plurality of votes - but almost 60 per cent of the voters chose an independent candidate first.

RESULTS 1961

LARRAKEYAH

Issue of Writs	22 December 1960
Nominations	10 January 1961
Polling	28 January 1961
Return of Writs	10 March 1961

Enrolment	na	
Voted	1 045	
Informal	38	(3.6%)
Formal	1 007	(96.4%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Connick, SE	-	96	9.5
D'Ambrosio, EFS	-	97	9.6
Dean, LM	-	21	2.1
De Fraine, D	-	21	2.1
Dudson, KH	-	102	10.1
WATTS, JB	Labor	410	40.7
Wilkshire, J	-	260	25.8

Polling Places*

Connick D'Ambrosio Dean De Fraine Dudson **WATTS** Wilkshire

Myilly Point
Port Darwin
Stuart Park
Postal
Regulation

details not available

(* 14 regulation votes and 7 postal votes admitted to the Count)

Preferences

Connick	96+1 = 97+4 = 101
D'Ambrosio	97+3 = 100+7 = 107+28 = 135+49 = 184
Dean	21+6 = 27
De Fraine	21
Dudson	102+4 = 106+6 = 112+19 = 131
WATTS	410+2 = 412+5 = 417+22 = 439+43 = 482+115 = 597
Wilkshire	260+5 = 265+5 = 270+32 = 302+39 = 341+ 69 = 410

BY-ELECTION 1962

ELSEY

On 9 December 1961, Harold Brennan resigned from the Council to contest, unsuccessfully, the by-election for the federal seat of the Northern Territory. This forced a by-election at which he later nominated for re-election. But unlike 1956 when he was returned unopposed, he faced two other candidates on 17 February 1962.

Nominations (CAPS = elected, (S) = Sitting member)

	Address	Occupation	Party
(S) BRENNAN , Harold	Katherine	Prospector	-
Kells, James Patrick	Katherine	Chainman	-
Martin, James Norman	Katherine	Garage Owner	-

Administrative problems occurred: the ballot papers, printed in Canberra, did not reach Darwin until 5 February, and with fortnightly mail services to most outback settlements and stations, many could not reach potential electors before the polling day. Further, the ABC refused free time to any of the candidates, as this facility was granted only for general elections (*Northern Territory News* 6 February). As the wet had set in, this effectively barred candidates from any contact with, let alone canvassing of, the majority of the electors. And there was a further problem in Elsey. Despite the growth of the populations of towns such as Katherine and Pine Creek, all votes were automatic postal votes, and no polling booths were established. Polling places were provided for the general election in December. But candidates in the by-election were virtually pre-empted by voters receiving their postal voting papers (and probably voting) two weeks before polling day, and possibly before any canvassing or publicity. As there was no means whereby newspapers could reach many voters in time, there was virtually no media campaign. Given these factors the turnout of 618 from an enrolment of 947 was a good result. Brennan won with a landslide.

RESULT 1962**ELSEY**

Issue of Writs	18 January
Nominations	1 February
Polling Day	17 February
Return of Writ	19 March

Enrolment	na	
Voted	618	
Informal	5	(0.8%)
Formal	613	(99.2%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BRENNAN, H	-	476	77.7
Kells, JP	-	84	13.7
Martin, JN	-	53	8.6

ALL VOTES POSTAL VOTES

GENERAL ELECTION

1962

The 1962 election, held on 8 December, attracted an equal record of twenty candidates, with LH Purkiss (Barkly) being returned unopposed for the third successive general election.

Nominations (CAPS = elected; (S) = Sitting member; (U/C) = uncontested

	Address	Occupation	Party
(S)Berlowitz, Linda Marion	Fannie Bay	Director	-
(S)BRENNAN, Harold	Katherine	Prospector	-
Carroll, Patrick	Fannie Bay	Union Sec.	Labor
CHAN, Harry	Darwin	Merchant	-
(S)DRYSDALE, Frederick William	Nightcliff	Carrier	Labor
Edwardes, John Samuel	Fannie Bay	Radio Announcer	-
Feeley, Michael John	Darwin	Cleaner	-
Ford, Allan Edward	Darwin	Contractor	-
Mason, Walter George	Alice Springs	Agent	Labor
Nixon, John William	Darwin	Wharf Labourer	Labor
Peterson, Herbert George	Katherine	Cafe Owner	Labor
(S)Petrick, William Heinrich F	Mt Swan St.	Pastoralist	-
(S)(U/C)PURKISS, Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
Rattley, Reginald Stanley	Nightcliff	Technician	-
ROSE, Alfred Lionel	Alice Springs	Veterinarian	-
SMITH, David Douglas	Alice Springs	Pastoralist	Labor
(S)WARD, Richard Charles	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor(IND)
WATERS, Kenneth Colin	Darwin	Director	-
Watts, James Brenton	Berrimah	Secretary	Labor
Waudby, William Johnson	Mt Wedge St.	Pastoralist	-

Six of the eight sitting members re-nominated in 1962; only four were re-elected. Berlowitz (Fannie Bay) and Petrick (Stuart) were defeated; the former after one term, the latter after being a member of the Council since 1951.

Amendments to the Commonwealth Electoral Act in 1962 and the consequent amendments to Northern Territory Electoral Regulations provided, for the first time, the right to vote to all Aborigines. The amendments granted Aboriginal people voluntary enrolment, but if enrolled, they were compelled to vote.

This decision prompted a redistribution which attempted to estimate enrolments of Aborigines in the drawing of new boundaries. After the redistribution, the Commonwealth Electoral Office faced the problem of where to site polling places. Until 1962, the electors of Elsey and Stuart had no polling places, they were granted an automatic postal vote. In 1962, polling places were established in all electorates, and in September an officer of the CEO visited government settlements, mission stations and pastoral holdings in the South of the Territory, and the NT returning officer planned the top end.

The following table sets out the estimated enrolments of Aborigines and non-Aborigines at the proposed polling places in the outback areas, and in the Bagot settlement in Darwin. The second table sets out the actual enrolments at the election *Northern Territory News* 23 October).

ELECTORATE		Estimated Enrolment		ELECTORATE		Estimated Enrolment	
Polling Place	Abor	Non-Abor	Polling Place	Abor	Non-Abor	Abor	Non-Abor
ARNHEM	670	207	ELSEY	655	638		
Delissaville	50	9	Rose River	45	12		
Oenpelli	60	9	Roper River	75	20		
Croker Is	35	15	Auvergne	?	12		
Goulburn Is	50	8	Timber Creek	?	4		
Maningrida	80	20	VRD	40	25		
Milingimbi	30	15	Wave Hill	50	29		
Elcho Is.	50	16	Haster Creek	80	20		
Yirrkala	50	15	Katherine	30	300		
Groote Eylandt	60	16	Pine Creek	10	40		
Umba Kumba	45	12	Daly River	35	20		
Bathurst Is	100	18	Port Keats	100	15		
Snake Bay	50	12	Beswick	60	20		
Adelaide River	10	40	Brunette Downs	40	30		
BARKLY	80	22	Daly Waters	2	36		
Borroloola	80	22	Newcastle Waters	60	25		
NIGHTCLIFF	50	20	Elliott	28	30		
Bagot	50	20	STUART	1820	165		
			Santa Teresa	150	8		
			Jay Creek	80	15		
			Hermannsburg	270	16		
			Areyonga	200	14		
			Papunya	320	24		
			Yuendumu	230	20		
			Lake Nash	70	22		
			Warrabri	280	24		
			Amoonguna	220	22		

Electorate	Actual Enrolment		Total
	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	
Alice Springs	-	2 147	2 147
Arnhem	488	1 176	1 664
Barkly	27	683	710
Elsey	281	1 000	1 281
Fannie Bay	-	2 575	2 575
Nightcliff	22	1 633	1 655
Port Darwin	-	2 572	2 572
Stuart	520	638	1 158
Totals	1 338	12 424	13 762

There were critics of the extension of the franchise to Aborigines. NC Hargrave, the retiring member for Alice Springs, attacked the decision, claimed that many had enrolled through 'undue influence', stated that Aborigines 'didn't know what they'd done or what they are doing', and claimed they were 'too unpredictable to be in a position to carry Territory

electorates' (*Northern Territory News* 30 October). This view was attacked by the Director of Welfare, Harry Giese, who admitted

You can't win in this business. If few natives had enrolled there would have been a clamour about their slow rate of progress. If many enrol there are claims that undue pressure has been used (*Northern Territory News* 1 November).

WHF Petrick (Stuart) and Tiger Brennan (Elsley) also strongly criticised the decision to allow Aborigines to vote, and both represented electorates with considerable Aboriginal enrolments.

Two letters to the *Northern Territory News* (3 November) put the opposing views.

I completely agree with Mr Neil Hargrave about natives getting votes. They are just not ready for this... There would be only three or four among the hundreds I have known who would be capable of even beginning to know what political rights mean.

Why all this objection to natives getting a vote? If votes were handed out to whites on the basis of intelligence and understanding of politics or basic freedoms, there wouldn't be too many people getting a vote.

Two editorials, however, put the inauguration of Aboriginal franchise into a specific context. To the *Centralian Advocate* (7 December),

Australian political history is being made in the Northern Territory. . . The eyes of the entire world will be focused on the Territory. . . Let us not think lightly of the implications of the aboriginal vote. . . What we must not forget is that in the eyes of nations riding a tide of fanatical nationalism, our aborigines are subjected people held down by the whites. . . because they are watching, it behoves every elector tomorrow to cast an intelligent and formal vote.

To the *Northern Territory News* (4 December),

. . . several hundred new native voters. Powerless in themselves, they are the advance guard of thousands who, in the not-too-distant future, may become a bloc Aboriginal Vote, capable of swinging elections. . . Perhaps as it grows in size and sophistication the native vote will change the entire direction of Territory politics, sweeping away the Independent candidates who have dominated the scene for so long. It may be time for those Independents to start thinking about organising a Northern Territory Party with some slogans of their own.

Ducker and Milliken (1963) examined the impact of the extension of the franchise. They reported that the new right to vote was paralleled by an intensification of political education programs on settlements and missions. Central training schools were held in Darwin, Katherine and Alice Springs over a full week, and the sixty Aborigines who attended them returned to explain the election processes to their communities.

The authors noted that at these central schools, and in the audio-visual education programs in communities,

Care was exercised to ensure that enrolment was voluntary and that the talks imparted an elementary knowledge of the obligations of enrolment without inducing aborigines to enrol (1963,35).

The electoral Act prohibited any inducement to enrol. The program could claim considerable success. Ducker and Milliken reported that 'of the 1 338 aborigines known to be enrolled', only 157 did not vote, and that only four informal votes were cast in the total of 412 cast on missions and settlements in Arnhem.

Two other important themes emerged at this first opportunity for Aborigines to vote. First, as Ducker and Milliken (1963,36) point out,

There was no evidence of an aboriginal bloc vote, or of indiscriminate aboriginal voting. At one booth where 73 of the 78 voters were aboriginal, the three candidates polled 39, 35 and 4 respectively; another booth with 99 aborigines in a total of 103 voters returned figures of 64 and 39 for the two candidates.

Detailed results (see Section 3) revealed the latter result was at Hooker Creek in the Elsey electorate, with independent Tiger Brennan receiving the 39, and Labor candidate HG Peterson the 64 votes. As the official reports of results amalgamated smaller booths, the former polling place cannot be identified. Further:

In one electorate none of the three candidates would have been known to the majority of the aboriginal voters. Two of them visited centres of aboriginal population, the third did not. Of 518 votes cast in these centres, one of the visiting candidates obtained 224 and the other 237 whilst the candidate who sent out printed matter but did not visit obtained only 57 votes. The percentages of votes cast in favour of the three candidates were 43, 46 and 11 (Ducker and Millicken 1963,36).

These education efforts were the forerunner of the electoral education programs carried out by the Australian Electoral Office and, later, through the Australian Electoral Information Service by the Australian Electoral Commission. The success of the first real program in 1962 was identified by Ducker and Millicken (1963,37).

The December, 1962, elections appear to have demonstrated conclusively that those aborigines who enrolled understood the mechanics and purpose of voting and voted thoughtfully and independently. They may not have understood the significance of party platforms or have been able to evaluate one set of election promises as against another, but it appears certain that they did evaluate the man and they were not prepared to vote for a person whom they did not know.

In 1962, the Labor party was, again, the only political party on the hustings. It received qualified support from the *Centralian Advocate* (2 November):

If Labor's endorsed candidates . . . can bring a fresh approach and some determined drive towards development of the Territory, they will warrant careful consideration... New energy and ideas are always welcome. . . but. . . they will need to show that they really want Labor, think Labor - and will act Labor. Then they can expect support from a wide range of electors.

The endorsed Labor candidates obviously stood under the Labor platform and policy. But there were idiosyncratic elements: Wal Mason (Alice Springs), for example, emphasised that he was

MODERN Labor, strongly anti-communist, equally strong anti-Menzies' policy to the North (Centralian Advocate 7 December).

As would be expected, the independent candidates covered a wide range of policies, from local to Territory, from parish pump to economic development. Each directed appeals to local potential supporters, while emphasising an individual approach to what the Territory, the Council, and the electorate needed and wanted.

Despite the intensity of the efforts of the candidates, and a record area of newspaper pages devoted to policies and personal statements, the interpretation of the *Northern Territory News* (4 December) was that the campaign had

jogged along pretty tamely . . . a few speeches on the radio; a few door-to-door calls on potential voters; and not much else. No tub-thumping. No dramatics. In fact nothing at all to remind Territorians that this poll - which they are saddling up to with such massive disinterest - may prove to be the most significant ever held in the North.

In the event, two of the incumbent members who stood for re-election were rejected (Berlowitz and Petrick), and voter turnout was not significantly changed from previous patterns.

Some excitement did emerge after election day. The *Northern Territory News* (14 December) published telegrams which had been exchanged between two candidates with differing views about campaigning in Aboriginal communities. The Labor candidate for Stuart, DD Smith, had broadcast on the ABC in the Aranda language. In response, Tiger Brennan had prefaced his address on the ABC with the words

I will not speak to you in a foreign lingo like DD Smith. I shall speak to you in English, which I understand.

The telegrams read:

(Smith) *Last section my address was in rich Australian language, not foreign, as you suggest. What dialect your speech?*

(Brennan) *Received your message stick today. Do not agree fourth notch. My dialect my own. Was yours? See you next walkabout.*

The matter continued with WHS Petrick (Stuart) considering an official protest against Smith using an unannounced interpreter, Milton Liddle, to speak in Aranda on the ABC. His argument was that the ABC time was for candidates, and 'no-one else should have been allowed to use any part of that time'.

RESULTS

1962

Issue of Writs 19 October
Nominations 9 November
Polling 8 December
Return of Writs 15 January 1963

Enrolment 13 762 (13 052 in contested districts)
Voted 9 742 (74.6% contested enrolment)
Informal 459 (4.7%)
Formal 9 283 (95.3%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	2 147	1 659	75	1 584
Arnhem	1 664	1 210	36	1 174
Barkly	710	Not contested		
Elsley	1 281	968	19	949
Fannie Bay	2 575	1 956	153	1 803
Nightcliff	1 655	1 224	59	1 165
Port Darwin	2 572	1 785	92	1 693
Stuart	1 158	949	25	915
TOTALS:	13 762	9 742	459	9 283
(Contested)	13 052			

Party Contests

	Labor	Labor (IND)	Ind
Alice Springs	692	-	892
Arnhem	-	-	1 174
Barkly		not contested	
Elsley	309	-	640
Fannie Bay	551	-	1 252
Nightcliff	695	-	470
Port Darwin	384	1309	-
Stuart	352	-	563
TOTALS:	2 983	1 309	4 991

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	2 147	
Voted	1 659	(77.3%)
Informal	75	(4.5%)
Formal	1 584	(95.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Mason, WG	Labor	692	43.7
ROSE, AL	-	892	56.3

Polling Places

	Mason	ROSE	Informal
Alice Springs	493	560	52
East Side	153	234	17
Postals	46	98	6

BARKLY

Enrolment 710

PURKISS, Leonard Hunter, elected unopposed

ARNHEM

Enrolment	1 664
Voted	1 210 (72.7%)
Informal	36 (3.0%)
Formal	1 174 (97.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Ford, AE	-	459	39.1
WATERS, KC	-	498	42.4
Watts, JB	-	217	18.5

Polling Places

	Ford	WATERS	Watts	Informal
Adelaide River)				
Batchelor)	76	97	44	8
Darwin)				
Berrimah)	79	115	92	23
Croker Is.)				
Oenpelli)	36	89	23	-
Delissaville)				
Maningrida)				
Goulburn Is.)				
Elcho Is.)	55	61	8	2
Milingimbi)				
Yirrkala)				
Snake Bay)				
Bathurst Is.)	53	67	15	2
East Arm)	80	20	11	-
Postal)	80	49	24	1

Preferences

Watts 217:	to Ford	459+80 = 539	45.9%
	to WATERS	498+137 = 635	54.1%

ELSEY

Enrolment	1 281	
Voted	968	(75.6%)
Informal	19	(2.0%)
Formal	949	(98.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)BRENNAN, H	-	640	67.4
Peterson, HG	Labor	309	32.6

Polling Places

	BRENNAN	Peterson	Informal
Beswick Creek			
Daly River	81	37	4
Pine Creek			
Moline			
Katherine	154	86	5
Elliott			
Newcastle Waters			
Roper River	92	66	1
Rose River			
Umbakumba			
Angurugu			
Hooker Creek	39	64	1
Postal	274	56	8

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	2 575
Voted	1 956
Informal	153
Formal	1 803

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)Berlowitz, LM	-	444	24.6
Carroll, P	Labor	551	30.6
CHAN , H	-	490	27.2
Edwardes, JS	-	182	10.1
Feeley, MJ	-	136	7.5

Polling Places

	Berlowitz	Carroll	CHAN	Edwardes	Feeley	Informal
Darwin	16	27	15	7	10	12
Parap	315	335	377	140	86	106
Stuart Park	32	136	56	21	12	26
Postals	81	53	42	14	28	9

Preferences

Feeley 136:						
to Berlowitz	444+48 =	492+ 46 =	538			
Carroll	551+23 =	574+ 29 =	603+135 =	738	40.9%	
CHAN	490+41 =	531+131 =	662+403 =	1 065	59.1%	
Edwardes	182+24 =	206				

NIGHTCLIFF

Enrolment	1 655	
Voted	1 224	(74.0%)
Informal	59	(4.8%)
Formal	1 165	(95.2%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)DRYSDALE, FW	Labor	695	59.7
Rattley, RS	-	470	40.3

Polling Places

	DRYSDALE	Rattley	Informal
Bagot)			
Darwin)	58	39	8
Nightcliff	438	215	27
RAAF Darwin	136	192	21
Postals	63	24	3

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment	2 572	
Voted	1 785	(69.4%)
Informal	92	(5.2%)
Formal	1 693	(94.8%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Nixon, JW	Labor	384	22.7
(S)WARD, RC	Labor (IND)	1 309	77.3

Polling Places

	Nixon	WARD	Informal
Darwin	269	873	65
Larrakeyah	27	192	13
Stuart Park	49	110	11
Postals	39	134	3

STUART

Enrolment	1 158	
Voted	940	(81.2%)
Informal	25	(2.7%)
Formal	915	(97.3%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
(S)Petrick, WHF	-	258	28.2
SMITH, DD	Labor	352	38.5
Waudby, WJ	-	305	33.3

Polling Places

	Petrick	SMITH	Waudby	Informal
Alice Springs				
Amoonguna	26	88	50	-
Areyonga				
Santa Teresa				
Papunya	8	108	44	3
Hermannsburg	55	30	21	11
Warrabri				
Yeundumu	7	43	57	5
Postal	162	83	133	6

Preferences

Petrick 258:	to SMITH	352+127 = 479	52.4%
	to Waudby	305+131 = 436	47.6%

BY-ELECTION 1963

PORT DARWIN

The by-election of 13 July 1963 was caused by the resignation of RC Ward, and the contest attracted five candidates.

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

	Address	Occupation	Party
Bauer, Harold William H	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor
Hansen, Thomas John	Darwin	Medico	-
Keller, Richard	Nightcliff	Solicitor	-
LYONS , John William	Darwin	Solicitor	-
Rattley, Reginald Stanley	Nightcliff	Technician	-

The contest emphasised the slow development of a 'professional' involvement in elections, with four of the five candidates from law or medical professions. In fact, Bauer and Kelly were partners in the same legal firm. The by-election campaign was held in the centre of an intense debate in the Legislative Council on the subject of constitutional reform. A Select Committee reported on 11 July, two days before the election, recommending major reforms, including:

- *a Legislative Council of 18 elected members or, as a compromise reform, 15 elected and three nominated members, the latter not public servants;*
- *the Council to elect its own Speaker;*
- *an Executive Council formed from Council members;*
- *an unfettered executive power;*
- *a separate NT public service.*

Labor committed itself fully to the proposed reforms.

Despite this, the campaign was subdued, and most campaign policies ignored the constitutional question in favour of relatively parochial issues.

RESULT 1963

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment	na
Voted	1 621
Formal	1 555
Informal	66

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Bauer, HWH	Labor	519	33.4
Hansen, TJ	-	197	12.7
Keller, R.	-	156	10.0
LYONS, JW	-	640	41.2
Rattley, RS	-	43	2.8

Polling Places*

	Bauer	Hansen	Keller	LYONS	Rattley	Informal
Darwin						
Larrakeyah						
Stuart Park						
Postal						

details not available

(* 38 postal votes were admitted to the Count)

Preferences

Bauer	$519+9 = 528+81 = 609+111 = 720$	(46.3%)
Hansen	$197+4 = 201+32 = 233$	
Keller	$156+3 = 159$	
LYONS	$640+27 = 667+46 = 713+122+835$	(53.7%)
Rattley	43	

GENERAL ELECTION

1965

The Council elected in 1962 ran its full term, and the 1965 election was called for 30 October. It attracted a record number of 23 candidates, with Arnhem returning PC Murray unopposed.

Candidates (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member; (U/C) = uncontested)

	Address	Occupation	Party*
Berlowitz			
Linda Marion	Fannie Bay	Director	NAP
(S) BRENNAN,			
Harold	Katherine	Prospector	-
(S) CHAN,			
Harry	Darwin	Director	-
Cooper,			
Norman Harold	Nightcliff	Exec Officer	-
D'Ambrosio,			
Edward Francis S	Darwin	Director	-
(S) DRYSDALE,			
Frederick	Nightcliff	Carrier	Labor
Feeley,			
Michael John	Darwin	Retired	-
Fitzgerald,			
Arthur Downs	Rockhampton	Proprietor	NAP
GREATOREX,			
Anthony George W	Alice Springs	Agent	NAP
James,			
Alan George	Nightcliff	Surveyor	Labor
(S) LYONS,			
John William	Darwin	Solicitor	-
McCracken			
Peter Michael	Mataranka	Manager	NAP
McRae,			
John Colin	Parap	Accountant	-
(U/C) MURRAY,			
Peter Chester	Pine Creek	Miner	Labor
Nixon,		Union	
John William	Rapid Creek	organiser	Labor
ORR,			
Charles Thomas	Alice Springs	Merchant	Labor
(S) PURKISS,			
Leonard Hunter	Tennant Crk	Miner	Labor
Rattley,			
Reginald Stanley	Nightcliff	Hotel Owner	-
(S)Rose,			
Alfred Lionel	Alice Springs	Consultant	NAP
Slide,			
George Kenneth	Darwin	Manager	-
(S)Smith,			
David Douglas	Alice Springs	Pastoralist	Labor

Williams,		Tourist
David Lloyd	Darwin	Director -
Waters,		
Kenneth Colin	Fannie Bay	Manager -

* NAP = North Australia Party

This election was the genesis of a Northern Territory party system. Although the North Australia party disappeared almost immediately after the election, 1965 was the first election where a majority of candidates were party nominees, and the first election where Labor faced a party team.

The intervention by the NAP was the most controversial component of the campaign and the results. The new party made the headlines even before the Council was dissolved. DD Smith, Member for Stuart, who was facing an NAP contest, told the Council that the party was a bunch of disaffected and politically frustrated businessmen, and the spark for the attack was revealed to be anger that the NAP leader and member for Alice Springs, Colonel Lionel Rose, had used the Council to announce the formation of the party (*Northern Territory News* 29 September 1965). The Labor member, Smith, was distinctly annoyed at what he called a 'Colonel Blimp' commanding 'some politically fossilized remains from the 19th century'.

The NAP endorsed five candidates, including Rose, former independent member Linda Berlowitz, and AGW Greatorrex. The last gave the party's reason for its formation.

The only chance we have of recognition in our own land is to take positive action, and to vigorously support our own political party (Centralian Advocate 8 October).

The NAP leader, Lionel Rose, set the style for the party in his policy speech (*Northern Territory News* 19 October). He launched a personal attack on the Director of the NT Tourist Bureau, a candidate for Fannie Bay who was opposed by a NAP candidate. He also claimed that the Territory's two newspapers 'were taking instructions from their southern masters, "Mirror Newspapers"'. It was hardly a way to start a campaign, and the *Northern Territory News* (19 October) editorialised:

his conduct must cast grave doubts on his suitability to serve on any responsible NT board, let alone as an elected member of the Legislative Council.

The reactions against the NAP intensified as the campaign progressed. In a very long editorial comment (21 October), the *Northern Territory News* did not mince words. The NAP was

a Liberal Party - front organisation . . . gaudy and costly mud-slinging campaign . . . destroy any vestige of political unity among elected members . . . If the Liberal party wants to move in, then this should be done openly . . . extraordinary personal attacks . . . that would be unequalled for dubious mud-slinging . . . electors might well

consider rejecting this front organisation . . . their interest is anti-ALP rather than pro-Northern Territorian.

The editorial pointed out that, for the first time, the newspaper has taken sides, and it concluded:

We suggest that a party that has shown itself so far to be insincere, of dubious political background and so dedicated to disruption of the elected side of the Council, should be rejected.

The NAP rejected such claims. One member, in a letter to the editor (*Northern Territory News* 25 October), was emphatic that

given a chance, I believe that the NAP can achieve more for the Territory than has ever been achieved. For a start, if we had a team of elected members in the Council speaking with one voice, the Government minority would be deflated to the size it really is.

In response, the *News* called the NAP to contribute 'something worthwhile'

instead of creating and developing the showiest below-belt smiting NT political barney in many years.

The *Northern Territory News* (21 October) had no doubt the NAP was the Liberal party in disguise: its organiser had been provided by the NSW Liberal party, its top official in Alice Springs had attempted to form a Liberal party branch in the town, its campaign cost at least £2 000, and it had concentrated on attacking the ALP. The paper took a firm position:

If the Liberal party wants to move in, then this should be done openly. The party would receive, as such, considerable support from many sections of the Community.

Provoked by the even stronger stance taken by the *Australian Advocate*, the NAP brought a boycott against the only newspaper in the Centre. It is a moot point whether the NAP obtained any benefit from its refusal to supply any material, including candidate biographies and statements, to the newspaper.

The election campaign saw the usual breadth of policies and programs from Labor, NAP and an even greater range of promises from the independent candidates. But the dominant issue throughout the campaign was the impact of the NAP. This, according to the *Northern Territory News* (29 October), produced 'The liveliest - and dirtiest - Legislative Council election campaign on record!'

There was one important innovation in 1965. Aboriginal people were employed as poll clerks in the Stuart electorate. As the Returning Officer put it (*Northern Territory News* 29 October)

This is part of the educational program we have initiated to familiarise Aborigines with voting procedure, and I believe the

presence of Aboriginal clerks will give Aboriginal voters more confidence.

Aboriginal enrolment was estimated at 2 500 out of the total of 17 259.

Results Summary

A direct comparison with 1962 is not possible, as a redistribution was carried out immediately prior to the election. There had been a significant increase in overall enrolment: from 14 946 at the October 1962 election to 17 261 on the roll for the October 1965 election.

Seven retiring members stood for re-election: five were successful, with Rose (Alice Springs) and Smith (Stuart) defeated. Labor had its greatest success to date, with four members, and the NAP was successful with Greatorex (Stuart).

The *Northern Territory News* (29 October) summarized the style of the campaign as

marked by more bitterness than has ever been seen here during an election. Political speeches ... can be tedious. Some of those we've heard have been downright boring and shockingly ungrammatical. Electors could not really be blamed if they strangled some of the orations in mid-cliche.

There were elements of the unique style of the Territory. With ten minutes to go before the opening of the polling booths a report reached the Electoral Office that one presiding officer had apparently left Darwin during the night with the constabulary in hot pursuit. As the officer's residence had been the polling place, obtaining a replacement and opening at 8.05 testified to the innovatory ability of the Electoral Office.

A telling comment on the difficulties of polling in the outback was in the poignant demand of a voter on Coburg Peninsula to be able to vote by radio. As, in the wet, his supplies and mail were dropped from aircraft and his only means of contact was by radio, he had a point. Another was the outback elector who wrote a long letter to the Electoral Office explaining his sickness, floods, and bogged vehicles that caused a failure to vote, ending with the plaintive 'God bless you in accepting my excuse and to hell with you if you don't!'

Aftermath

Before the new Council could take its place, two issues concerning Aborigines remained. One was the implication of the extension of the franchise to Aborigines on missions and settlements. The *Northern Territory News* (5 November) raised two points:

That the Aboriginal vote on missions and settlements is already of great significance and will be even more so in three years' time.

That there is a great and urgent need for current affairs and political education among Aborigines if they are to be in a position to cast an intelligent, well-directed vote.

The paper used, as an example, the Aboriginal support for Tony Greatorex, NAP, in Stuart, although he had been campaigning against award wages for Aborigines in the cattle industry. The editorial described this as

rather akin to the proposition that waterside workers in Sydney would vote for the Liberal party's Mr McMahon.

The second issue was more immediate. Two defeated candidates - Lionel Rose, NAP, Alice Springs and DD Smith, ALP, Stuart - lodged appeals against their results. One of Rose's grounds was that of alleged bribery of Aboriginal voters, while Smith alleged

use of nicknames instead of proper names of candidates when Aborigines were asked who they wished to vote for;

use of photographs of the two candidates at one settlement so that Aborigines could point to one or other when asked to indicate their choice;

that the vast majority of ballot papers were marked by polling officials;

*that on one settlement illiterate Aborigines were asked to point out their choice from written names of candidates.
(Northern Territory News 5 January 1966)*

The NAP's committee (Times, 30 December) decided to support Rose's list of allegations, including:

*practices in contravention of the Commonwealth Electoral Act;
defamation of Rose by newspaper articles;
fraud in respect of certain persons; and
improper supervision of the election.*

The Rose allegations were all dismissed by the Court of Disputed Returns (*Northern Territory News* 30 March 1966). Smith's petition was dismissed on the grounds of irregularity in its form, and costs were awarded against him (Walker 1984,76). So ended the most bitter election in the history of the Northern Territory.

RESULTS

1965

Issue of Writs	10 September
Nominations	1 October
Polling	30 October
Return of Writs	8 December

Enrolment	17 259	(15 212 in contested districts)
Voted	11 274	(74.1% contested enrolment)
Informal	453	(4.0%)
Formal	10 821	(96.0%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	2 613	2 021	70	1 951
Arnhem	2 047			(not contested)
Barkly	1 385	921	30	891
Elsy	1 616	1 084	43	1 041
Fannie Bay	2 796	2 192	105	2 087
Nightcliff	2 398	1 882	60	1 822
Port Darwin	2 965	2 181	116	2 065
Stuart	1 439	993	29	964
TOTAL:	17 259	11 274	453	10 821
(Contested)	15 212)			

Party Contests

	Labor	NAP	Independent
Alice Springs	984	967	-
Arnhem		not contested	
Barkly	509	382	-
Elsy		319	722
Fannie Bay	249	191	1 647 (4)
Nightcliff	926		896 (2)
Port Darwin	282		1 783 (4)
Stuart	340	624	-
TOTAL:	3 290	2 483	5 048
% votes	30.4	23.0	46.7
% votes - contested	33.6	35.8	72.0

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	2 613
Voted	2 021
Informal	70
Formal	1 951

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
ORR, CT	Labor	984	50.4
Rose, AL (S)	NAP	967	49.6

Polling Places

	ORR	Rose	Informal
Alice Springs	705	684	56
East Side	211	226	10
Postal	65	57	4
Regulation	3	-	-

ARNHEM

Enrolment 2 047

MURRAY, Peter Chester - elected unopposed

BARKLY

Enrolment	1 385
Voted	921
Informal	30
Formal	891

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Fitzgerald, A	NAP	382	42.9
PURKISS, LH (S)	Labor	509	57.1

Polling Places

	Fitzgerald	PURKISS	Informal
Tennant Creek)	132	323	16
Peko)			
Hooker Creek)	78	29	4
Borroloola)			
Rose River)			
Roper River)			
Beswick)	66	66	2
Elliott)			
Newcastle)			
Waters)			
Postal	105	90	8
Regulation	1	1	-

ELSEY

Enrolment	1 616
Voted	1 084
Informal	43
Formal	1 041

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BRENNAN, H (S)	-	722	69.4
McCracken, PM	NAP	319	30.6

Polling Places

	BRENNAN	McCracken	Informal
Katherine	245	94	4
Batchelor)	129	21	13
Adelaide River)			
East Arm)	76	55	6
Berrimah)			
Delissaville)	60	62	9
Daly River)			
Moline)			
Pine Creek)			
Postal Regulation	200 12	82 5	11 -

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	2 796
Voted	2 192
Informal	105
Formal	2 087

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Berlowitz, LM	NAP	191	9.2
CHAN, H (S)	-	1 137	54.5
James, AG	Labor	249	11.9
McRae, JC	-	129	6.2
Slide, GK	-	238	11.4
Williams, DL	-	143	6.9

Polling Places

	Berlowitz	CHAN	James	McRae	Slide	Williams	Informal
Parap	135	877	176	103	174	108	77
Stuart	25	109	30	12	30	13	16
Park							
Darwin	18	80	31	8	20	10	11
Postal	12	57	6	5	10	10	-
Regulation	1	14	6	1	4	2	1

NIGHTCLIFF

Enrolment	2 398
Voted	1 882
Informal	60
Formal	1 822

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Cooper, NH	-	781	42.9
DRYSDALE, FWA (S)	Labor	926	50.8
Rattley, RS	-	115	6.3

Polling Places

	Cooper	DRYSDALE	Rattley	Informal	
Darwin)				
Bagot	)	69	64	2	14
Nightcliff		672	828	108	42
Postal		39	27	4	3
Regulation		1	7	1	1

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment 2 965
 Voted 2 181
 Informal 116
 Formal 2 065

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
D'Ambrosio, EFS	-	441	21.4
Feeley, MJ	-	102	4.9
LYONS, JW	-	721	34.9
Nixon, JW	Labor	282	13.7
Waters, KC	-	519	25.1

Polling Places

	D'Ambrosio	Feeley	LYONS	Nixon	Waters	Informal
Darwin	299	56	560	158	386	89
Larrakeyah	82	32	61	79	60	10
Stuart Park	27	10	50	33	25	13
Postals	28	4	47	10	45	3
Regulation	5	-	3	2	3	1

Preferences

Feeley 102:

to D'Ambrosio	$441+27 = 468$	$54 = 522$	
LYONS	$721+39 = 760$	$108 = 868$	$334 = 1 202$ 58.2%
Nixon	$282+18 = 300$		
Waters	$519+18 = 537$	$138 = 675$	$188 = 863$ 41.8%

STUART

Enrolment 1 439
 Voted 993
 Informal 29
 Formal 964

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
GREATOREX, AGW	NAP	624	64.7
Smith, DD (S)	Labor	340	35.3

Polling Places

	GREATOREX	Smith	Informal
Alice Springs) Amoonguna)	57	95	6
Warrabri) Santa Teresa)	66	57	5
Yuendumu	55	51	4
Hermannsburg	91	59	-
Papunya) Areyonga)	115	13	-
Postal Regulation	237 3	59 6	14 -

BY-ELECTIONS 1966

BARKLY

The member elected for Barkly at the October 1965 election, LH Purkis, died as a result of silicosis on 24 November 1965. The by-election was held on 5 February 1966.

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

	Address	Occupation	Party
Chittock, Alfred Ernest	Tennant Crk	Butcher	-
Fitzgerald, Arthur	Frewena	Proprietor	NAP
MARKS , Eric Lyall	Tennant Crk	Agent	Labor

Fitzgerald had been defeated by Purkiss in the general election, and Chittock was a former member of the Labor party, who nominated as an independent as 'elected members should work as a team' (*Northern Territory News* 5 January).

The campaign was essentially on local issues, but the necessity for further reform to the Legislative Council was never far below the surface. Turnout was slightly lower than in the general election - down from 921 to 900, and the three candidates received solid support. Marks won the seat on preferences.

ARNHEM

A further by-election was necessary on 26 November, caused by the resignation of PC Murray (Arnhem).

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

	Address	Occupation	Party*
Bauer, Harold William H	Darwin	Solicitor	Labor
Skewes, Neville Percival	Rapid Crk	Plant operator	CP
WITHNALL , Ronald John	Darwin	Solicitor	-

* CP = Country Party

This by-election saw the re-emergence of the Country party in Territory elections. (It contested one electorate in 1951). The former member Murray, who held the seat as a Labor candidate, offered his full support to RJ Withnall (independent) rather than to the endorsed Labor candidate. This surprise for HWH Bauer, was a result of Murray's conviction that Withnall's

legal and organising ability will infuse a greater strength of purpose into the elected team and assist them to press progressively towards responsible Government and statehood (Northern Territory News 8 November).

The CP candidate, NP Skewes, was emphatic that he, and the 'enlightened Country party policy', was firmly in favour of a fully elected Legislative Council (*Northern Territory News* 24 November). Given the constant arguments between the elected members of the Legislative Council and the L-CP federal government over this issue, this was a surprising statement.

Arnhem was uncontested in the 1965 general election. A surprisingly high turnout occurred at the by-election, 1 754 out of an enrolment of 2 197, with Withnall elected on preferences.

RESULT 1966

BARKLY

Enrolment	1 412
Voted	900
Formal	864
Informal	36

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Chittock, AE	-	260	30.1
Fitzgerald, A.	NAP	243	28.1
MARKS, EL	Labor	361	41.8

Polling Places

	Chittock	Fitzgerald	MARKS	Informal
Tennant Creek Peko	156	62	217	18
Hooker Creek Newcastle Waters	36	14	41	10
Rose River Beswick	14	22	25	-
Borroloola Elliott Roper River	12	17	27	1
Postal Regulation	40 2	127 1	49 2	7 -

Preferences

Fitzgerald 243:	to Chittock	260 + 131 = 391 (45.3%)
	to MARKS	361 + 112 = 473 (54.7%)

RESULT 1966

ARNHEM

Enrolment	2 197
Voted	1 754
Formal	1 634
Informal	120

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Bauer, HWH	Labor	389	23.8
Skewes, NP	CP	507	31.0
WITHNALL, RJ	-	738	45.2

Polling Places

	Bauer	Skewes	WITHNALL	Informal
Angurugu Milingimbi Umbakumba Yirrkala	12	30	54	9
Bathurst Is. Snake Bay	82	76	55	19
Berrimah The Narrows	75	76	123	9
Croker Is. Goulburn Is.	33	20	51	11
Darwin	30	17	55	5
Elcho Is. Oenpelli	20	31	36	24
Maningrida	18	12	112	2
RAAF Base	52	189	157	22
Postal Regulation	67	56	95	19

Preferences	Bauer 389:	to Skewes to WITHNALL	507 + 236 = 743 738 + 153 = 891
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GENERAL ELECTION

1968

If the 1962 election was the inauguration of a party system in the Northern Territory with the short-lived campaign by the North Australia Party, then 1968 was the full development of a party system, with the endorsement of a team of candidates by the Country party, and the involvement for the first time of the Liberal party.

The election date, 26 October, was the latest possible under the terms of the Electoral Act, but it was too early for many candidates. At the announcement of the date, the redistribution which would apply had not been made public. The NT redistribution committee had completed its work in July, but the federal Liberal-Country government had not ratified it. The report, with minor amendments, was ratified on 9 September.

This election set another notable 'first'. Mrs Joyce Clague nominated to contest the Stuart electorate and became the first Aboriginal woman to contest an election in the Northern Territory - probably the first in Australia. Mrs Clague was born on Ulgundahi reserve in New South Wales, and was married to a European senior social worker with the Welfare Branch in Alice Springs. Her policies emphasised Aboriginal issues, including

- * *a realistic solution for the problem of Aboriginal land rights;*
 - * *new concepts in public housing;*
 - * *better educational facilities;*
 - * *expansion of employment opportunities;*
 - * *better health and welfare services; and*
 - * *provision of family planning facilities*
- (Northern Territory News 20 September).*

A second Aborigine, George Winungudj of Goulburn Island also nominated, for the electorate of Arnhem. He was endorsed by the NT Council for Aboriginal Rights, and his policy emphasised land rights. The *Northern Territory News* also welcomed his nomination and suggested that

it could be an act of real recognition of the rights of Aborigines and the need for their counsel on special subjects if no European stood against him.

A total of 38 candidates contested the eleven single-member districts - a new record for the Territory.

The rapid development of a party system is evident from the candidate list. Of the 38 candidates, only 12 nominated as independents. Three parties - Labor, Liberal and Country party - dominated every electorate. But the electors had not so quickly decided to accept the parties as had occurred decades before elsewhere in Australia. Independents received strong support, and four were elected.

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

	Address	Occupation	Party
Barden, Roy Spencer	Fannie Bay	Chemist	CP
BELL, Thomas Andrew	Rapid Creek	Farmer	-
Blake, Maurice Edwin	Berrimah	Contractor	Lib
Bradford, Melvyn Edward	Darwin	Airman	-
(S) BRENNAN, Harold	Hayes Creek	Prospector	-
Brown, Donald Thomas	Alice Springs	Pharmacist	-
(S) CHAN, Harry	Darwin	Director	-
Chisholm, David Anthony	Anningie St.	Pastoralist	CP
Chittock, Alfred Ernest	Tennant Crk	Agent	-
Clague, Joyce Caroline	Alice Springs	Housewife	-
(S) DRYSDALE, Frederick William	Nightcliff	Director	Labor
Feeley, Michael John	Darwin	Retired	-
Fisher, William Joseph	Darwin	Engineer	Lib
Gray, Alan Travers	Alice Springs	Store owner	-
Greenoff, Stanley Albert	Darwin	Businessman	Lib
(S) GREATOREX, Anthony George W	Alice Springs	Agent	CP
KENTISH, Rupert James	Berrimah	Farmer	CP
KILGARIFF, Bernard Francis	Alice Springs	Motel owner	CP
(S) MARKS, Eric Lyall	Tennant Crk	Bookmaker	Labor
Martin, James Norman	Mataranka	Manager	-
MACFARLANE, John Leslie S	Moroak St	Grazier	CP
Mitchell, William Frank	Nightcliff	Contractor	Labor
Nixon, John William	Rapid Creek	Waterside Worker	Labor
(S)Orr, Charles Thomas	Alice Springs	Carpenter	Labor
Palmer, William Lloyd	Fannie Bay	Barrister	CP

Rayner, Arthur Herbert	Nightcliff	Contractor	CP
Richardson, Luctus Lawrence D	Mataranka	Manager	Labor
Skewes, Neville Percival	Rapid Creek	Farmer	CP
Slide, George Kenneth	Fannie Bay	Consultant	Lib
Smith, David Douglas	Alice Springs	Pastoralist	Labor
Smith, Stanley	Fannie Bay	Journalist	Labor
Stack, Ellen Mary	Fannie Bay	Medico	Lib
Veal, David Wynn	Fannie Bay	Engineer	CP
WARD, Richard Charles	Darwin	Barrister	Labor
Waters, Kenneth Colin	Fannie Bay	Director	Lib
Whiteley, Thomas Patrick	Rapid Creek	Grazier	CP
Winunguj, George	Goulburn Isl.	Craft Worker	-
(S)WITHNALL, Ronald John	Darwin	Barrister	-

The start of the campaign was confused by the fact that, at the announcement of the date, the new electoral boundaries had not yet been announced. The decision to enlarge the elected membership to eleven had forced a complete redistribution. The refusal of the Commonwealth Liberal-CP government to confirm the report of the Redistribution Committee caused problems for the early candidates.

The closing of the rolls showed a significant increase since 1965 when 17 259 were eligible to vote. In 1968, the enrolment of 20 145 were estimated to include about 2 500 Aborigines, compared to an estimated Aboriginal population of over 10,000 (*Northern Territory News* 12 September).

The overall campaigns of parties and independents were as the *Northern Territory News* (13 September) predicted:

Most will expound freely on the merits of the Territory being granted more money, more freedom, more recognition, more schools, and more of everything good.

But the key elements of the campaign were, first, the contest between three parties for the first time and, second, how the new majority of elective members in the Council should utilise its new non-authority.

The first controversy emerged in early October when candidates for some electorates in Darwin, especially those in McMillan, were told they could not visit, campaign, or canvass on the RAAF base, or on Coonawarra and other navy establishments. The army had a compromise: delivery of

political public meetings were banned. The RAAF ban was especially difficult for McMillan candidate ME Bradford, an airman who lived on the base. The RAAF admitted he could not be banned from talking politics to colleagues, on and off duty, but formal campaigning was not permitted.

The dispute widened when the *Northern Territory News* in an editorial (3 October) pondered

why the residents of the Territory should be in a position to have . . . Legislative Council representation decided for them by itinerant servicemen who have no choice about when they are to be shifted and, in most cases, no intention at all of staying with the Territory's destiny.

A protest telegram to Prime Minister Gorton failed to change the decision.

Bradford asked for, and was granted, an unconditional discharge at the time of his official nomination. But he then decided 'not to continue his candidature', and asked electors to give their first preferences to the second independent candidate. Despite this, 31 electors voted for Bradford, although 23 of these did follow his request and voted for the second independent with second preferences.

The key to the election was clearly to be the impact of the new party system. The traditional independents were critical of this development, and Tiger Brennan especially so (*Northern Territory News* 8 October).

I can see no reason for the sudden display of party activity in the Legislative Council - this is going to retard, not advance the progress that has slowly been made . . . Party politics at this stage will play into the hands of the government and make the Legislative Council more of a rubber stamp for Canberra.

Brennan had been approached to stand for both Liberal and Country parties, but remained as an independent.

Despite the intensity of party and individual contests, the campaign, according to both party spokesmen and independents, was 'hard, clean, and costly' (*Northern Territory News* 23 October). It was certainly the most intensive campaign the Territory had seen, and the extent of press advertising was an indication that it had more money spent on it than ever before.

The over-riding issue was that of the new majority of elected members in the Council, the role they should play, the potential impact of party political domination, and the development towards further 'democratisation'. The *Northern Territory News* emphasised this in closing editorials.

An elected majority . . . could force the pace for the people. But in practice, depending entirely on how the new elected side of the House is constituted, Canberra's whip-hand could be even stronger than it has been in the past. If elected membership is too heavily divided politically, whatever

advantage the majority of five should bring, could be lost (Northern Territory News 25 October).

Territorians will expect them to act in accordance with the interests of the Territory and its people; not along party lines... and particularly not along Government lines. (Northern Territory News 26 October).

The 'Territory Country Party' policy was published on 19 September, with the overall theme of 'A fair go for all' (*Centralian Advocate* 19 September). It is quoted in full, as an historic record of this first full team from the party.

- *HOUSING - Development of the Territory through increased housing, housing loans and release of home building blocks through more subdivisions.*
- *AGRICULTURAL BLOCKS - Additional release of agricultural blocks commencing at the Top End.*
- *TRANSPORTATION - Port of Darwin development, improvement of North Australia railway up to efficient standard, re-construct Stuart and Barkly Highways, build black top highway Alice Springs to Port Augusta, Central Australian railway; re-route and re-construct to standard gauge, construct pastoral, mining and tourist roads to effective standard, press for continuation and expansion of Federal Government's beef road policy.*
- *EDUCATION - Adequate high schools to matriculation standard and tertiary, advanced education for NT students, increased subsidy for home education in remote areas.*
- *TOURISM - Provision of loans from development bank for Northern Territory operators, additional funds for more Northern Territory Tourist Bureaux interstate.*
- *MEDICAL - Extension of medical services with particular emphasis on dental services for the elimination of long waiting lists.*
- *ABORIGINALS - Practical education in trade and associated skills to ensure self-advancement within the community.*
- *LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL - Further reform, greater responsibility and particularly in NT finance and allocation.*
- *PENSIONERS - Put NT pensioners on equal terms with other states, equal purchasing power, equal privileges and facilities.*
- *LIQUOR LAWS - Bring existing ordinance up to date to fulfill the needs of modern progressive NT communities.*
- *RADIO - Improved radio reception throughout the Territory.*

- **LOCAL GOVERNMENT** - "Our policy is the peoples' policy" - give residents the right to decide by referendum.
- **TV FOR NORTHERN TERRITORY** - Television for the Territory without delay.
- **INDUSTRIAL** - A fair go but a firm attitude toward industrial problems to ensure that essential services are maintained.

The Liberal party policy covered similar topics (Northern Territory News 23 October).

PEOPLE - An acceleration in the rate of population growth by orderly development of our resources backed by increased Government expenditure.

LAND - Rationalisation of all land development. Emphasis will be on provision of an adequate number of residential sites and an automatic change from leasehold to freehold at initial unimproved capital valuation, on completion of covenants.

PENSIONS - Increased benefits for pensioners by suitable allowances and/or increased payments.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL - Increased legislative responsibility in keeping with the growth of population and income, leading to Statehood.

TAXATION - Taxation benefits and concessions to encourage population growth to accelerate establishment of secondary industries and to promote faster growth of primary industries.

PRIMARY INDUSTRIES - An increasing rate of expansion of primary industries in the broad fields of mining, pastoral, agriculture and fisheries.

RURAL LIFE - Increased development of rural facilities such as provision of electricity, water supply, telephone communications, access roads and a short-wave radio station to improve living conditions of our rural population.

CREDIT - Better credit facilities to encourage development of land-backed berths and construction of an industrial berths area.

TRANSPORT - Improvement to all-weather standard of road and rail links to South Australia and Queensland and increased shipping services to and from the east and west states and overseas.

EDUCATION - Introduction of tertiary education by early establishment of a Technological Institute and later of a University College.

ABORIGINES - Economic independence of the Aboriginal population because we believe that the Aborigine can still retain his culture, yet with education and training compete in our economy.

TOURISM - A continued growth of tourism by improving roads, standards of accommodation and development of tourist attractions.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT - A widening of cultural development by the support of museums and art galleries and the encouragement of the live theatre and other arts.

The Labor party did not publish its full platform for the election, but the general 'flavour' of the policies can be seen in the following advertisement for central Australian Labor candidates (*Centralian Advocate* 29 September).

COMMUNICATIONS - Reliable rail services with standard gauge North-South rail link; seal South Road; upgrade Stuart Highway; seal beef roads; air services increase for Alice Springs and Tennant Creek; station service without minimum landing fee.

HEALTH - Hospitals extended facilities; surgery and surgeon for Tennant Creek; resident specialist for Alice Springs; dentist resident for Tennant Creek; dentist increase for Alice Springs; regular visits to stations and settlements.

LAND - Residential available at all times at low cost; specified minimum size residential blocks to eliminate overcrowding.

POLITICAL - Fully elected Legislative Council; Administration controlled within NT, not from Canberra; fully elected TMB's with additional powers and responsible to Legislative Council not Administration.

HOUSING - Commission housing available to all people; private NT loan increase to \$10,000; settlements, Aboriginal housing built on own land.

ABORIGINALS - Advancement of Aboriginal people so they can share equal responsibility for the development of NT; TMB on settlements.

FINANCE - Higher proportion of NT budget spent in southern half of Territory in proportion to population and productivity.

The independent candidates, as always, had a wide range of policy offerings and promises. Some were unusual, and in the existing climate, Jack Feeley's was especially so (*Northern Territory News* 12 September). He campaigned on a theme of 'anti-party, no statehood yet', on a basis of

accepting what we have, and making the best use of it . . . The Government is pouring money into the Territory, but residents do not have to pay any state taxes . . . all political parties were demanding statehood rights without accepting state responsibilities.

It may have been a courageous stand, but it was unlikely to win electoral support.

An editorial in the *Centralian Advocate* (10 October) raised a controversial issue.

The Aboriginal vote can have a big influence on October 26 - particularly in Stuart and Barkly - but the recording of this vital vote leaves a lot to be desired.

We are not suggesting that the men in charge of the various polling booths on missions and settlements are corrupt.

But, we are saying that the system is wide open to corruption and it is not a fair and democratic way of recording votes.

In most places the settlement superintendent or a senior officer is the man in charge of the voting.

As a huge number of the Aboriginal voters cannot write he has to record their votes for them and ask them which candidate they prefer.

The native may have a mind of his own but any man who has control over them for 364 days of a year wields tremendous influence and this influence could be used when a native approaches the table to cast his vote.

Honest men the poll supervisors may be and the scrutineers are always there but surely the system is wrong when Aborigines are forced to lodge what is supposed to be a secret vote under the steady gaze of his superiors.

Some efforts had been made in regard to Aboriginal electoral education. The Returning Officer, Ross McPherson, had toured settlements and missions early in 1968, and 'mock elections' had been held in most settlements. Electoral education was needed for all voters, judging by a very detailed article in the *Centralian Advocate* (3 October) explaining the mechanics of preferential voting.

A party system emerged in 1968, but it was far from dominant. The Territory voters in aggregate divided their support almost equally between the three parties and the independent candidates. And independents were returned to the Council; four independents, four Country Party and three Labor members made up the new elected contingent. The Liberal party failed to win a seat.

RESULTS

1968

Issue of Writs 10 September
Nominations 27 September
Polling 26 October
Return of Writs 21 December

Enrolment 20 145
Voted 15 744 (78.3%)
Informal 824 (5.2%)
Formal 14 920 (94.8%)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

TURNOUT

District	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	2 471	1 932	93	1 839
Arnhem	1 201	936	82	854
Barkly	1 318	961	57	904
Elsey	1 323	922	37	885
Fannie Bay	2 450	1 949	88	1 861
Ludmilla	2 062	1 752	90	1 662
McMillan	1 974	1 610	110	1 500
Nightcliff	2 083	1 747	80	1 667
Port Darwin	2 406	1 758	59	1 669
Stuart	1 590	1 298	101	1 197
Victoria River	1 267	879	27	852
TOTAL	20 145	15 744	824	14 920

PARTY CONTESTS

	Labor	CP	LIB	IND
Alice Springs	740	941	-	158
Arnhem	-	320	228	306
Barkly	485	230	-	189
Elsey	204	522	-	159
Fannie Bay	213	234	325	1 089
Ludmilla	718	322	531	91
McMillan	432	155	469	444 (2)
Nightcliff	784	321	562	-
Port Darwin	-	292	552	855
Stuart	332	466	-	399 (2)
Victoria River	160	187	-	505
TOTAL	4 068	3 990	2 667	4 195
% Votes	27.3	26.7	17.9	28.1
% Votes, contested	32.9	26.7	28.9	31.7

DISTRICT RESULTS

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	2471	
Voted	1932	(78.2%)
Informal	93	(4.8%)
Formal	1 839	(95.2%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes (%)
Gray, AT	-	158	8.6
KILGARIFF, BF	CP	941	51.2
Orr, CT	Labor	740	40.2

Polling Places	Gray	KILGARIFF	Orr	Informal
Alice Springs	191	640	527	57
East Side	25	228	156	21
Postal)				
Regulation)	12	73	57	15

ARNHEM

Enrolment 1 201
 Voted 936 (77.9%)
 Informal 82 (8.8%)
 Formal 854 (91.2%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
Blake, M.E.	LIB	228	26.7
KENTISH, R.J.	CP	320	37.5
Winunguij, G.	-	306	35.8

Polling Places

	Blake	KENTISH	Winungui	Informal
Angurugu)				
Miingimbi)	20	69	17	3
Umbakumba)				
Yirrkala)				
Bathurst Is.	67	54	16	12
Croker Is.)				
Elcho Is.)	13	85	84	7
Goulburn Is.)				
Maningrida	6	8	94	8
Oenpelli)				
Snake Bay)	21	18	54	41
Postal Regulation	101 0	86 0	39 2	9 2

Preferences

Blake 228: to **KENTISH** 320+170 = 490 (57.4%)
 Winunguij 306+ 58 = 364 (42.6%)

BARKLY

Enrolment	1 318	
Voted	961	(72.9%)
Informal	57	(5.8%)
Formal	904	(94.1%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
Chisholm, DA	CP	230	25.4
Chittock, AE	-	189	20.9
MARKS, EL	Labor	485	53.7

Polling Places

	Chisholm	Chittock	MARKS	Informal
Peko	22	31	36	4
Tennant Creek	92	72	240	32
Warrabri)	32	19	99	11
Yuendumu)				
Postal Regulation	84 0	66 1	108 2	8 2

ELSEY

Enrolment	1 323	
Voted	922	(69.7%)
Informal	37	(4.0%)
Formal	885	(96.0%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
MACFARLANE, JLS	CP	522	59.0
Martin, JN	-	159	18.0
Richardson, LLD	Labor	204	23.0

Polling Places

	MACFARLANE	Martin	Richardson	Informal
Bamyili)				
Mataranka)	38	8	33	2
Roper River)				
Katherine	250	65	100	16
Numbulwar)				
Borrooloola)	59	22	20	3
Elliott)				
Newcastle)				
Waters)				
RAAF Tindal	91	30	21	6
Postal	82	32	28	10
Regulation	2	2	2	0

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	2 450	
Voted	1 949	(79.5%)
Informal	88	(4.5%)
Formal	1 861	(95.5%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
(S)CHAN, H	-	1 089	58.5
Nixon, JW	Labor	213	11.5
Palmer, WL	CP	234	12.6
Stack, EM	LIB	325	17.5

Polling Places

	CHAN	Nixon	Palmer	Stack	Informal
Darwin	247	53	50	120	28
Fannie Bay	479	61	101	113	30
Stuart Park	293	89	62	71	29
Postal	67	7	19	19	1
Regulation	3	3	2	2	0

LUDMILLA

Enrolment 2 062
 Voted 1 752 (85.0%)
 Informal 90 (5.1%)
 Formal 1 662 (94.9%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
Feeley, MJ	-	91	5.5
Veal, DW	CP	322	19.4
WARD, RC	Labor	718	43.2
Waters, KC	LIB	531	32.0

	Feeley	Veal	WARD	Waters	Informal
Bagot)					
Darwin)	10	21	59	40	7
Ludmilla	22	132	267	214	29
Parap	50	154	354	232	47
Postal	9	14	35	45	4
Regulation	0	1	3	0	3

Preferences

Feeley 91:
 to Veal 322+41 = 363
WARD 718+34 = 752+106 = 858 51.6%
 Waters 531+16 = 547+257 = 804 48.4%

McMILLAN

Enrolment 1 974
 Voted 1 610 (81.6%)
 Informal 110 (6.8%)
 Formal 1 500 (93.2%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
BELL, TA	-	405	27.0
Bradford, ME	-	39	2.6
Greenoff, SA	LIB	469	31.3
Mitchell, WF	Labor	432	28.8
Whiteley, TP	CP	155	10.3

Polling Places

BELL Bradford Greenoff Mitchell Whiteley Informal

Berrimah	}	48	5	41	44	31	14
Darwin							
Millner	246	3	211	283	52	79	
RAAF	92	23	191	81	68	15	
Postal	17	8	23	24	4	2	
Regulation	2	0	3	0	0	0	

Preferences

Bradford 39:

to BELL	405+23 = 428+42 = 470+348 = 818	54.5%
to Greenoff	469+ 6 = 475+96 = 571+111 = 682	45.5%
to Mitchell	432+ 4 = 436+23 = 459	
to Whiteley	155+ 6 = 161	

NIGHTCLIFF

Enrolment	2 083	
Voted	1 747	(83.9%)
Informal	80	(4.6%)
Formal	1 667	(95.4%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
(S)DRYSDALE, FW	Labor	784	47.0
Rayner, AH	CP	321	19.3
Slide, GK	LIB	562	33.7

Polling Places

	DRYSDALE	Rayner	Slide	Informal
Darwin	61	23	31	9
Nightcliff	676	277	507	69
Postal	41	20	20	2
Regulation	6	1	4	0

Preferences

Rayner	321:		
to	DRYSDALE	784+102 = 886	53.2%
	Slide	562+219 = 781	46.8%

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment	2 406	
Voted	1 758	(73.1%)
Informal	59	(3.4%)
Formal	1 699	(96.6%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
Barden, R	CP	292	17.2
Fisher, WJ	LIB	552	32.5
WITHNALL, RJ	-	855	59.3

Polling Places	Barden	Fisher	WITHNALL	Informal
Darwin	229	367	674	44
Larrakeyah	38	147	119	10
Postal	23	33	54	4
Regulation	2	5	8	1

STUART

Enrolment	1 590	
Votes	1 298	(81.6%)
Informal	101	(7.8%)
Formal	1 197	(92.2%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
Brown, DJ	-	239	20.0
Clague, JC	-	160	13.4
(S)GREATOREX, AGW	CP	466	38.9
Smith, DD	Labor	332	27.7

Polling Places

	Brown	Clague	GREATOREX	Smith	Informal
Alice Springs)	145	41	196	129	27
Amoonguna)					
Areyonga)					
Hermannsburg)	36	83	98	158	10
Papunya)					
Santa Teresa)					
Postal)	58	36	172	45	64

Preferences

Clague 160:			
to Brown	239+58 = 297		
to GREATOREX	466+47 = 513+208 = 721	66.2%	
to Smith	332+55 = 387+ 89 = 476	39.8%	

VICTORIA RIVER

Enrolment	1 267	
Voted	879	(69.4%)
Informal	27	(3.1%)
Formal	852	(96.9%)

Candidates	Party	Votes(N)	Votes(%)
(S)BRENNAN, H	-	505	59.3
Skewes, NP	CP	187	22.0
Smith, S.	Labor	160	18.8

Polling Places

	BRENNAN	Skewes	Smith	Informal
Adelaide River)	106	34	27	7
Batchelor)				
Berrimah)	93	35	16	5
Darwin)				
East Arm)				
Daly River)	72	28	20	2
Delissaville)				
Moline)				
Hooker Creek)	50	18	50	8
Pine Creek)				
Postal	176	58	44	5
Regulation	8	4	3	0

BY-ELECTIONS

1969-70

Three by-elections were necessary in the life of the Tenth Council. Harry Chan (Fannie Bay) died on 5 August 1969; FW Drysdale (Nightcliff) died on 15 December 1969; and Harold Brennan, for the third time, resigned and was re-elected, this time for the electorate of Victoria River.

FANNIE BAY 20 September 1969

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

		Party
D'Ambrosio, Edward Francis S	Director	-
FISHER , William Joseph	Mining Consultant	-
Nixon, John William	Waterside Worker	-
Slide, George Kenneth	Insurance Cons.	Lib
Stack, Ellen Mary	Medico	-

The Labor party did not contest this by-election, leaving the field to Liberal, ex-Liberal and independent candidates. Dr Ellen Stack was forced to resign from the Liberal party when GK Slide won party endorsement, but she had the support of the NT Reform League (*Northern Territory News* 23 August). WJ Fisher had been a Liberal party candidate at the 1968 general election (Port Darwin), but he also resigned 'as it was too early for party politics in the Northern Territory' (*Northern Territory News*, 21 August). Slide had the informal support of the Country party as well.

All candidates advertised a general policy statement (*Northern Territory News* 19 September), but all concentrated on door-to-door canvassing. Turnout was high for a by-election - 1 525 compared with 1949 in the 1968 general election - partly due to the intense canvassing. The result was close, with Fisher, Slide and Stack almost equal on first preferences, and distribution of preferences was necessary to give the seat, narrowly, to Fisher.

VICTORIA RIVER 20 December 1969

For his third occasion, Tiger Brennan resigned from the Council, this time to contest the federal election. With his defeat for the House of Representatives, he re-nominated, successfully, for the Council.

Candidates (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member)

		Party
(S)	BRENNAN , Harold	-
	Swinburne, Trevor Rodney	-
	Veal, David Wynn	CP

The Liberal party pre-selected a candidate, who then announced he would not have time to campaign! The party then decided to support Veal for the Country party. Once again, Labor decided to stay out of the contest (*Northern Territory News* 20 November).

The electorate was vast, and the population dispersed, which made campaigning difficult in the short time allowed. Further, there were problems setting up polling places in the usual schools at Moline, Pine Creek, Adelaide River and Batchelor, due to school holidays, and the Electoral Office sent out a plea for other sites, and for people to help! (*Northern Territory News* 27 November).

Although short, the campaign was bitter, especially between Veal and Brennan, with the former, on one occasion, accusing Brennan of breaking his oath and releasing classified material from the Administrator's Council; on another, for re-nominating after his federal defeat; on another on the grounds, as he told the electors,

You could hardly do worse than to continue to be represented by a lone - independent - confused and frustrated member.

Brennan responded in his normal Tiger style.

The Government has hated my guts; the Country Party is flat out to get rid of me . . . They are asking you to elect a towny as Commodore of the Victoria River. . . . If you are interested in beef, vote (1) for Brennan, because veal is not your product
(*Northern Territory News*)

Given the short campaign period, turnout was high - 723 as against 879 in the 1968 general election. Brennan was returned, but only after preferences, and even then in his narrowest victory of his long career. After the declaration, Brennan 'slipped back into harness' with demands for a full elective chamber, and severe criticism of the Government for the 'anti-Tiger bill' which forced him to resign to contest the federal election (*Northern Territory News* 23 January 1970).

NIGHTCLIFF 31 January 1970

Compared with the Victoria River contest, the Nightcliff campaign was quiet and restrained.

Candidates (CAPS = elected)

	Party
Carroll, Patrick	Labor
COOPER , Norman Harold	-
Mohring, Charlotte	Lib
Waters, Kenneth Colin	-

After announcing it would contest, the Country party decided to support the Liberal party candidate instead. Patrick (Paddy) Carroll was secretary of the North Australia Workers Union, and he defined his role, if elected,

as an extension of my job as union secretary. It will give us an opportunity to seek benefits by legislation when these are not available by other means (Northern Territory News, 20 January).

Waters, a teacher, stressed education in his campaign (*Northern Territory News* 30 January); Charlotte Mohring stressed local, Nightcliff, matters (*Northern Territory News* 30 January); Cooper, a local businessman, also concentrated on the development of Nightcliff. It was a classic 'local' election, with all candidates stressing personal contact. On first preferences, Carroll, Cooper and Waters were almost equal; with Cooper remaining the majority of all preferences, he won the seat comfortably.

RESULT 1969

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	2 450
Voted	1 525
Formal	59
Informal	1 466

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
D'Ambrosio, EFS	-	155	10.6
FISHER WJ	-	386	26.3
Nixon, JW	-	161	11.0
Slide, GK	LIB	351	23.9
Stack, EM	-	413	28.2

Polling Places

	D'Ambrosio	FISHER	Nixon	Slide	Stack	Informal
Fannie Bay	55	155	56	157	178	27
Darwin	34	84	36	75	93	15
Stuart Park	55	125	65	101	125	15
Postal	10	16	2	16	15	-
Regulation	1	6	2	2	2	2

Preferences

D'Ambrosio	155
FISHER	386+61 = 447+102 = 549+232 = 781 (53.3%)
Nixon	161+25 = 186
Slide	351+27 = 378+32 = 410
Stack	413+42 = 455+52 = 507+178 = 685 (46.7%)

RESULT 1969

VICTORIA RIVER

Enrolment	1 267
Voted	723
Formal	699
Informal	24

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BRENNAN H	-	346	49.5
Swinbourne, TR	-	84	12.0
Veal, DW	CP	269	38.5

Polling Places

	BRENNAN	Swinbourne	Veal	Informal
Adelaide River Batchelor	80	7	57	6
Berrimah East Arm	67	4	27	3
Daly River	20	3	19	2
Delissaville Hooker Creek Moline Pine Creek	41	24	62	5
Postal	135	45	97	8
Regulation	3	1	7	-

Preferences

Swinbourne 84:	to BRENNAN	346	+	43	=	389 (55.7%)
	to Veal	269	+	41	=	310 (44.3%)

RESULT 1970

NIGHTCLIFF

Enrolment	2 083
Voted	1 718
Formal	59
Informal	1 659

Candidates	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Carroll, P.	Labor	453	27.3
COOPER, NH	-	475	28.6
Mohring, C.	Lib	240	14.5
Waters, KC	-	491	29.6

Polling Places

	Carroll	COOPER	Mohring	Waters	Informal
Nightcliff	441	463	230	480	57
Postal	10	11	9	11	1
Regulation	2	1	1	-	1

Preferences

Carroll	453+30 = 483	
COOPER	475+145 = 620+375 = 995	(60.0%)
Mohring	240	
Waters	491+ 65 = 556+108 = 664	(40.0%)

GENERAL ELECTION

1971

This was the last election for the Legislative Council, although at the opening of the campaign - and, in fact, almost at the end of the term of the Council in 1974 - no-one had any idea this would be the case.

Following its heavy defeat in the 1968 general elections, the Liberal party had virtually disappeared from the scene - at least as an electoral force. The 1971 elections were dominated by the Labor and Country parties, which provided 17 of the 27 candidates and, after the election, eight of the eleven members of the Council, and with two of the independent members with previous party membership. WJ Fisher (Fannie Bay) had been a previous Liberal candidate, and Dawn Lawrie (Nightcliff) had lost her attempt to win Labor pre-selection. After a history of independents and independence, the Council was, in 1971, firmly established as a party house. Further, of the ten sitting members who stood for re-election, only one (Cooper, Nightcliff) was defeated. Stability had also come to the Council's electoral base.

Given the development of the two political parties, the campaigns could have begun to take even more the flavour of elections elsewhere in Australia. But the Territory retained its individual style. Certainly voters were offered a choice between two parties in most electorates, and both parties issued policies, managed campaigns of their individual candidates, and inserted pro - and anti - party rhetoric wherever possible. But the specific contests were local, more personalised than in the states, with a more personal appeal and style - partly due to the small populations in the electorates, partly due to the sociology of the outback, partly due to local issues and local campaigns remaining very important. In their press advertising, the party candidates noted their party membership, almost as a necessity, and then proceeded to make a personal appeal for support.

As well, the individual party candidates did not simply 'rest' on the party policies. In fact, few even noted the official policy statements, and gave their emphases to a wide range of issues. The general 'flavour' of these personal appeals is evident in the following extracts from the published statements in the press.

Candidates (CAPS = elected; (S) = sitting member)		Party	
	Barden, Roy Spencer	Chemist	CP
(S)	BELL , Thomas Andrew	Farmer	Labor
	Clague, Colin	Social Worker	Labor
(S)	COOPER , Norman Harold	Storekeeper	-
	Cullen, Allan Robert	Company Manager	Labor
	Denholm, Peter Allan	Pilot	Labor
	Doyle, Joseph James	Valuer	-
(S)	FISHER , William Joseph	Mining Engineer	LIB (IND)
(S)	GREATOREX , Anthony	Agent	CP
	George W		
	Gray, Alan Travers	Shop owner	-
(S)	KENTISH , Rupert James	Farmer	CP
(S)	KILGARIFF , Bernard	Company Director	CP
	Francis		
	Lawler, Thomas Robert	Farmer	-
	LAWRIE , Aline Dawn	Bookkeeper	-
	LETTS , Godfrey Alan	Pastoral Consultant	CP
(S)	MacFARLANE, John	Pastoralist	CP
	Leslie S		
(S)	MARKS , Ernie Lyall	Bookmaker	Labor
	Pauling, Thomas Ian	Barrister	-
	Prouse, Geoffrey Colin	Company Director	-
	Queen, John Patrick	Union organiser	Labor
	Sinclair, Herbert Patrick	Painting Contractor	CP
	Skewes, Neville Percival	Publican	CP
	Slide, George Kenneth	Manager	-
	Tuxworth, Ian Lindsay	Manufacturer	CP
(S)	WARD , Richard Charles	Barrister	Labor
	Whisson, Joel	Housewife	Labor
(S)	WITHNALL , Ronald John	Barrister	-

Letts, CP, Victoria River

I ask the electors of Victoria River to consider my experience and past record . . . One of my opponents may know the electorate quite well from the air. You can back my knowledge on the ground.

Denholm, Labor, Victoria River

Should you elect me as your representative . . . I will with foresight, precision, equity and vigor do my utmost for the electorate and the Northern Territory.

Kilgariff, CP, Alice Springs

. . . seeks support for a second term . . . to continue his untiring efforts on behalf of the town.

MacFarlane, CP, Eusey

. . . because I have done everything you asked me to do, and because I will do what you require me to do in the future.

Kentish, CP, Arnhem

I have taken every opportunity to keep in touch with the people in the electorate and assist where possible with their problems, development and industry.

Bell, Labor, McMillan

. . . the acceptance - or rejection - of my policies and actions past, present and future - they are all the same . . . I have called at nearly every house in my electorate.

Ward, Labor, Ludmilla

The electorate generally will remember the unions local causes in which, together, we were engaged - the problems over rubbish dumps at Namarluk Drive and Douglas Street, the camping site at Ludmilla North, the overpass at Ludmilla school, our attempts to protect Wells Street, and the like.

The impression gained was that the party was considered little more than a convenient label and assisting organisation. Some party candidates, in fact, did not even bother to mention their party in their advertisements. Tuxworth, CP, Barkly, for example, asked electors to 'Vote Tuxworth', with no mention of Country Party (Centralian Advocate 21 October). Jill Whisson, Labor, Nightcliff, also omitted 'Labor party', in her advertisement, stressing a simple message: 'Willing to work for you' (Northern Territory News 22 October).

Constitutional reform was mentioned by some candidates, but it did not receive pride of place in any statement, unlike previous elections. This was surprising, if the interpretation of an editorial in the Northern Territory News (22 October) was a correct one.

Sweeping political reforms are clearly close now. They will almost certainly come within the life of the Council elected tomorrow. Labor is committed to powerful reforms, and the party's chances of winning the treasury benches next year are obviously strong. And while the Liberal Country party coalition has so far avoided making any real changes, they, too have more-than-hinted at certain reforms in the near future.

Given this, the virtual avoidance of the issues of reform was surprising. Some candidates did mention it. But only Greatorex, CP, Stuart gave the issue prominence in his statements - in fact, his policy outlined to the Centralian Advocate (21 October) mentioned no other issue or policy. But this was a rare occasion indeed among the candidates in 1971. Most rested on local affairs and personal appeals.

Electoral education programmes among Aboriginal communities had continued after their introduction in 1962, but the success of these early efforts is difficult to assess. The NT Welfare Branch, after the 1971 election, commented that

especially prior to elections, officers of the Commonwealth Electoral Office have contacted Aborigines in towns, on pastoral properties, and in Aboriginal communities, to explain to them the rights and obligations conferred upon an Aboriginal choosing to be an elector. These education tours have been supplemented by formal education in schools and by specific adult education classes on this subject.

These efforts elicited little interest from those Aborigines eligible to enrol and many who were entitled to vote in the Northern Territory Legislative Council elections of October 1971 failed to do so. This could have been due to a number of factors among these being lack of understanding of the actual operation of the electoral system and the pattern of government. Probably many who voted did so on a personality rather than a party basis (cited in Loveday et al., 1988, 9)

The election results emphasised the increasing importance of parties in the Northern Territory. Of the total of 16 802 formal votes, the Country party (contesting only nine of the eleven seats) secured 37 per cent, Labor (contesting eight seats) won 27 per cent, while the independent candidates (ten, in seven electorates) won 36 per cent. Representation in the Council was 5 Country party, three Labor, and three independents. It had been a relatively sedate campaign which had produced few surprises.

RESULTS

1971

Issue of Writs	14 September
Nominations	28 September
Polling	23 October
Return of Writs	11 December
Enrolment	25 338
Voted	17 454 (68.9% enrolment)
Informal	652 (3.7% voted)
Formal	16 802 (96.3% voted)

DISTRICT SUMMARY

Turnout

District	Enrolment	Voted	Informal	Formal
Alice Springs	2 955	2 327	64	2 263
Arnhem	2 178	1 253	51	1 202
Barkly	1 560	888	47	841
Elsey	1 652	919	30	889
Fannie Bay	2 627	1 931	96	1 835
Ludmilla	2 488	1 821	77	1 744
McMillan	2 942	2 154	58	2 096
Nightcliff	2 977	2 409	97	2 312
Port Darwin	2 463	1 620	91	1 529
Stuart	2 087	1 345	29	1 316
Victoria River	1 409	787	12	775
TOTAL:	25 338	17 454	652	16 802

Party Contests

District	CP	ALP	IND	Total
Alice Springs	1 686	-	577	2 263
Arnhem	956	246	-	1 202
Barkly	365	476	-	841
Elsey	508	381	-	889
Fannie Bay	-	-	1 835	(2)* 1 835
Ludmilla	686	891	167	1 744
McMillan	479	1 156	461	2 096
Nightcliff	446	497	1 369	(2) 2 312
Port Darwin	-	-	1 529	(2) 1 529
Stuart	687	629	-	1 316
Victoria River	455	220	100	775
TOTAL:	6 268	4 496	6 038	16 802
% Votes	37.3	26.8	35.9	
% Votes - Contested	46.6	40.2	48.1	

* Includes 1 369 LIB (IND)

DISTRICT RESULTS

ALICE SPRINGS

Enrolment	2 955	
Voted	2 327	(78.7%)
Informal	64	(2.8%)
Formal	2 263	(97.2%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Gray, AT	IND	1 686	74.5
KILGARIFF, BF (S)	CP	577	25.5

Polling Places

	Gray	KILGARIFF	Informal
Alice Springs	156	481	18
East Side	107	345	16
Gillen	138	447	14
Traeger Park	143	283	9
Postal	6	47	1
Absent	7	25	3
Regulation	20	58	3

ARNHEM

Enrolment	2 178	
Voted	1 253	(57.5%)
Informal	51	(4.1%)
Formal	1 202	(95.9%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
KENTISH, RJ (S)	CP	956	79.5
Quinn, JP	ALP	246	20.5

Polling Places

	KENTISH	Quinn	Informal
Nhulunbuy)			
Yirrkala)	169	53	8
Alyangula)			
Angurugu)	91	41	4
Umbakumba)			
Snake Bay)			
Oenpelli)	79	11	4
Maningrida	142	14	4
Croker Is)			
Elcho Is)	106	9	1
Goulburn Is)			
Milingimbi)	92	2	6
Bathurst Is	132	22	5
Howard Springs	41	39	14
Postal	67	25	2
Absent	32	23	3
Regulation	5	7	-

BARKLY

Enrolment	1 560	
Voted	888	(56.9%)
Informal	47	(5.3%)
Formal	841	(94.7%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
MARKS, EL (S)	ALP	476	56.6
Tuxworth, IL	CP	365	43.4

Polling Places

	MARKS	Tuxworth	Informal
Tennant Creek	238	143	14
Peko	37	47	10
Warrabri)			
Yuendumu)	85	76	6
Postal	92	86	14
Absent	20	11	2
Regulation	4	2	1

ELSEY

Enrolment	1 652	
Voted	919	(55.6%)
Informal	30	(3.3%)
Formal	889	(96.7%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Cullen, AR	ALP	381	42.9
McFARLANE, JL (S)	CP	508	57.1

Polling Places

	Cullen	McFARLANE	Informal
Katherine)			
RAAF Tindal)	259	316	17
Roper River)			
Numbulwar)			
Bamyili)			
Newcastle Waters)	67	93	2
Borrooloola)			
Elliott)			
Mataranka)			
Postal	24	58	6
Absent	25	33	5
Regulation	6	8	-

FANNIE BAY

Enrolment	2 627	
Voted	1 931	(73.5%)
Informal	96	(5.0%)
Formal	1 835	(95.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
FISHER, WJ	(LIB)IND	1 369	74.6
Pauling, TI	IND	466	25.4

Polling Places

	FISHER	Pauling	Informal
Fannie Bay	548	165	26
Stuart Park	500	179	32
Postal	48	14	4
Absent	247	97	33
Regulation	26	11	1

LUDMILLA

Enrolment	2 488	
Voted	1 821	(73.2%)
Informal	77	(4.2%)
Formal	1 744	(95.8%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Barden, RS	CP	686	39.3
Doyle, JJ	IND	167	9.6
WARD, RC (S)	ALP	891	51.1

Polling Places

	Barden	Doyle	WARD	Informal
Parap	356	88	436	36
Ludmilla Bagot	264	51	362	21
Postal	17	14	29	1
Absent	41	13	58	18
Regulation	8	1	6	1

McMILLAN

Enrolment	2 942	
Voted	2 154	(73.2%)
Informal	58	(2.7%)
Formal	2 096	(97.3%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
BELL, TA (S)	ALP	1 156	55.1
Skewes, NP	CP	479	22.8
Slide, GK	IND	461	22.0

Polling Places

	BELL	Skewes	Slide	Informal
Jingili	449	124	133	20
Millner	458	160	137	15
RAAF Darwin	124	131	150	5
Postal	16	10	13	2
Absent	95	52	28	16
Regulation	14	2	-	-

NIGHTCLIFF

Enrolment	2 977	
Voted	2 409	(80.9%)
Informal	97	(4.0%)
Formal	2 312	(96.0%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Cooper, NH	IND	417	18.0
LAWRIE, AD	IND	952	41.2
Sinclair, HP	CP	446	19.3
Whisson, J	ALP	497	21.5

Polling Places

	Cooper	LAWRIE	Sinclair	Whisson	Informal
Alawa	71	295	117	159	22
Nightcliff	280	555	267	288	56
Postal	8	24	9	7	2
Absent	46	60	48	27	16
Regulation	12	18	5	16	1

Preferences

Cooper 417:	to LAWRIE	952+197 = 1 149	to Sinclair	446+265 = 1 414	(61.2%)
	to Sinclair	446+159 = 605	to Whisson	293 = 898	(38.8%)
	to Whisson	497+61 = 558			

PORT DARWIN

Enrolment	2 463	
Voted	1 620	(65.8%)
Informal	91	(5.6%)
Formal	1 529	(94.4%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Prouse, GC	IND	723	47.3
WITHNALL, R.J. (S)	IND	806	52.7

Polling Places	Prouse	WITHNALL	Informal
Darwin	435	535	50
Darwin Hospital	51	58	6
Larrakeyah	154	105	7
Postal	28	35	2
Absent	42	64	25
Regulation	13	9	1

STUART

Enrolment	2 087	
Voted	1 345	(64.4%)
Informal	29	(2.2%)
Formal	1 316	(97.8%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Clague, C	ALP	629	47.8
GREATOREX, AGW (S)	CP	687	52.2

Polling Places

	Clague	GREATOREX	Informal
Alice Springs	107	320	9
Jay Creek)	152	39	1
Hermannsburg)			
Santa Teresa)	159	21	4
Areyonga)			
Papunya)	101	33	3
Amoonguna)			
Postal	94	239	9
Absent	14	27	2
Regulation	2	8	1

VICTORIA RIVER

Enrolment	1 409	
Voted	787	(55.8%)
Informal	12	(1.5%)
Formal	775	(98.5%)

Candidate	Party	Votes (N)	Votes (%)
Denholm, PA	ALP	220	28.4
Lawler, TR	IND	100	12.9
LETTS, GA	CP	455	58.7

Polling Places

	Denholm	Lawler	LETTS	Informal
Berrimah	32	17	56	-
Moline)				
Frances Creek)				
East Arm)	57	21	68	4
Pine Creek)				
Delissaville)				
Adelaide River)				
Batchelor)	29	19	92	3
Daly River)				
Hooker Creek)				
Postal	77	35	186	3
Absent	22	6	48	2
Regulation	3	2	5	-

APPENDIX

CANDIDATES 1947-1971

This appendix tabulates the list of candidates who nominated for general elections and by-elections for the Legislative Council.

KEYS TO TABLE

(i) Election Dates			(ii) Symbols for Electorates	
1947	(G)	13 December	AS	Alice Springs
1949	(G)	10 December	AR	Arnhem
1951	(G)	28 April	BAR	Barkly
1954	(G)	29 May	BAT	Batchelor
1955	(By)	25 June	D	Darwin
1956	(By)	10 March	EL	Elsey
1957	(G)	23 February	FB	Fannie Bay
1958	(By)	28 June	LAR	Larrakeyah
1960	(G)	20 February	LUD	Ludmilla
1961	(By)	28 January	M	Macmillan
1962	(By)	17 February	N	Nightcliff
1962	(G)	8 December	PD	Port Darwin
1963	(By)	13 July	S	Stuart
1965	(G)	30 October	TC	Tennant Creek
1966	(By)	5 February	VR	Victoria River
1966	(By)	26 November		
1968	(G)	26 October		
1969	(By)	20 September	(iii) E =	elected
1969	(By)	20 December		
1970	(By)	31 January		
1971	(G)	23 October		

1947 1949 1951 1955 1957 1958 1960 1961 1962 1963 1966 1968 1969 1970 1971

CALLINAN	(E)																		
Aubrey Thomas	.	D	D	D															
CARROLL				(E)	(E)														
Patrick	.	.	D	.	D	D	FB	.	FB	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N
CHALMERS																			
Walter Robert	AS																		
CHAMBERS																			
John Edward	.	D	D																
CHAN								(E)	(E)	(E)									
Harry	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	FB	.	FB	.	.	FB	.	.	FB	.	.	FB
CHISHOLM																			
David Anthony	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	BAR
CHITTOCK																			
Alfred Ernest	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	BAR . BAR
CLAGUE																			
Joyce Carolyn	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	S
CLAGUE																			
Collin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	S
COLEMAN																			
John Robinson	D																		
CONNICK																			
Sylvia Elizabeth	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR	AR
COOPER																			(E)
Norman Harold	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	AR	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N
CULLEN																			
Allan Robert	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	EL

	1947	1949	1951	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1960	1961	1962	1963	1966	1968	1969	1970	1971
FISHER															(E)	(E)	(E)
William Joseph																	FB
FITZGERALD																	
Arthur																	BAR BAR
FORD																	
Allan Edward																	AR
FORSCHUTT																	
Alfred Edward																	BAT
de FRAINE																	
Dorothy																	LAR
FULTON	(E)																
William	BAT																
GRAY																	
Alan Travers																	AS
GREATOREX																	
Anthony George Worsley																	(E) S
GREENOFF																	
Stanley Albert																	M
HANSEN																	
Thomas John																	PD
HARGRAVE																	
Nathaniel Charles																	(E) (E) (E) AS AS AS
HA WKER																	
Alfred Edward																	BAT

1947 1949 1951 1955 1956 1958 1960 1961 1962 1963 1966 1968 1969 1970 1971

HIGGINS													
John Stephen	.	.	TC										
HOPKINS													
Frank Charles	(E)		D										
IZOD													
Eric Charles	.	D	D	(E)									
JAMES													
Alan George	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	FB
JOHNSON													
Frank William	AS	AS	AS	(E)	(E)								
KELLER													
Richard	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	PD
KELLS													
James Patrick	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	EL
KELLY													
James William			D										
KENT													
Frank Henry Cowper	BAT	.	D										
KENTISH													
Rupert James	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(E) AR
KILGARIFF													
Bernard Francis	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(E) AS
LAWLER													
Thomas Robert	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	VR

	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955	1956	1957	1958	1960	1961	1962	1963	1966	1968	1969	1970	1971	
McFARLANE																		(E)
John Leslie Stuart																		EL
McINTYRE																		(E)
Kenneth Malcolm																		EL
McRAE																		
John Collin																		
McTAINSH																		
Albert Ernest																		
MEANY																		
John Henry																		
MERITY																		
John Patrick																		
MILLER																		
Angus Campbell																		
MITCHELL																		
William Frank																		
MOHRING																		
Charlotte																		
MURRAY																		
Peter Chester																		
NELSON																		
John Norman																		
NEWMANN																		
James Malcolm																		

1947 1951 1955 1957 1958 1960 1962 1963 1965 1966 1968 1969 1970 1971

NIXON														
John William	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ORR														
Charles Thomas	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PALMER														
William Lloyd	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PAULING														
Thomas Jan	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PETERSEN														
Herbert George	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PETRICK														
Wilhelm Heinrich Frederick	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PRIEST														
Charles Ashley Vincent	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PROUSE														
Geoffrey Colin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
PURKISS														
Leonard Hunter	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
QUINN														
John Patrick	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
RATTLEY														
Reginald Stanley	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
RAYNER														
Arthur Herbert	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

	1947	1949	1951	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1960	1961	1962	1963	1966	1966	1968	1969	1970	1971	
REUS																			
Olge Elizabeth																			
RICHARDSON									(E)										
Lucius Lawrence D'Aray										LAR									EL
RONAN																			
Thomas Mathew					(E)														
					BAT														
ROSE																			
Alfred Lionel											(E)								AS
ROWE																			
Owen																			
SEERY																			
William																			
SIMPSON																			
William Kidd																			EL
SINCLAIR																			
Herbert Patrick																			N
SKEWES																			
Neville Percival																			M
SLIDE																			
George Kenneth																			M
SMITH																			
David Douglas																			(E)
																			S
SMITH																			
George Alexander																			AS

1947 1951 1955 1957 1960 1962 1963 1966 1968 1969 1970 1971

	1947	1951	1955	1957	1960	1962	1963	1966	1968	1969	1970	1971
WHITELY												
Thomas Patrick	M
WILKSHIRE												
John	LAR	.	.	.	.	.	.
WILLIAMS												
David Lloyd	FB	.
WINUNCUJ												
George	AR	.	.
WITHNALL												
Ronald John	E	E	AR	PD
WREN												
Robert John	.	.	D

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