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NOTES ON ELECTION WORK

FOR THE USE OF WOMEN
CANDIDATES AND THEIR
WORKERS

WITH FOREWORD BY

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.

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PAMPHLET

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR
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This pamphlet has been issued as the outcome of a course of lectures on "Women in Political Work," given by Miss Berry, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. How Martyn, Miss Macadam, Miss Philippa Strachey, and Mrs. Oliver Strachey, in the autumn of 1919.

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship is greatly indebted to Major Hills for reading and criticising the pamphlet when in proof, and for some valuable new suggestions which have been incorporated.

Warm thanks are also due to Mr. F. C. Rivers, Secretary of the London Liberal Federation, for his generous help and advice, and for permission to print the paragraph on "An Election Budget."

FOREWORD.

The Society which is responsible for this pamphlet has asked me to contribute a foreword, on the ground, I think, that I am so far the only woman in this country who has come successfully through an election contest.

I very much hope that the useful information and the good advice collected here will encourage many other women to come forward as candidates, and will help them to be successful at the polls.

I should like to emphasise as strongly as I can that no amount of organisation or canvassing will get a woman candidate into Parliament. For her, at any rate, there must be endless hard work in her constituency, until she has made friends with her constituents, and until they have grown to respect her work and her personality.

It is not an easy job for a woman to stand for Parliament, and it is not an easy job when one gets there; but the work waiting to be done is almost unlimited, and the need for the help of women is great and urgent.

December, 1920.

NANCY ASTOR.

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SUMMARY OF STATUTORY REGULATIONS.¹

1.—QUALIFICATIONS.

Any person of the full age of twenty-one, a British subject and not barred by any statutory disqualification of physical or mental defect, legal offences or public office is eligible for election to the House of Commons.²

2.—PROCEDURE.

(1.) The nomination takes place on the 8th day after the proclamation declaring the calling of Parliament, and the polling day is the 9th day after the nomination.

(2.) A candidate must be nominated by two electors and assented to by eight other electors. The name of candidate must be stated in full with his or her place of abode—NOT place of business. Also rank, profession, calling or occupation.

After these particulars are filled in, the proposer must first sign, then the seconder, afterwards the eight assentors.

The signatures must agree with the names as printed on the Register. For instance, an elector who is registered as Mary Burman, but whose full name is Mary Ellen Burman must sign as Mary Ellen Burman and add the words, "described on the Register as Mary Burman."

It is usual for the sake of safety and also to demonstrate the extent of public support, to hand in at least twelve nomination papers, often many more, signed by different interests, *e.g.*, business men, leading women, electors well known in political, civic, philanthropic and religious work in the constituency.

(3.) The nomination paper must be handed in punctually at the time allotted for receiving nomination papers by the candidate herself, or proposer or seconder, *not* by

1.—This is by no means an exhaustive summary. For fuller detail see Parliamentary Elections under the Reform Act, 1918, Seager. P. S. King and Son, 5/-

2.—For fuller particulars, see Chapter 1, Seager.

the agent. The sum of £150 must be deposited by the candidate at the same time. The returning officer is not bound to accept a cheque; the money therefore should be ready in notes. Great care should be taken to avoid any risk of late arrival, which amounts to withdrawal of candidature.

(4.) The deposit will be forfeited if the candidate does not poll one-eighth of the total number of votes polled.

3.—ELECTION EXPENSES.

(1.) Election expenses are limited to 7d. for each elector on the county register, or 5d. on the borough register, exclusive of the personal expenses of the candidate and an amount allowed for election agent's fee.

(2.) Candidates may send post free one postal communication containing matter relating to the election, not exceeding two ounces in weight. If envelopes are used they must not exceed 9 by 4½ inches. It is possible in this way to send a copy of the candidate's address together with the polling card informing the voter where to vote, and giving his or her registered number.

(3.) Public elementary schools may be used for meetings free of any charge except expenses incurred in preparation of room, heating, lighting and cleaning.

(4.) The maximum amount of the election agent's fee is not fixed, but a sum of £75 in the case of a county constituency, or £50 in the case of a borough constituency is allowed for the agent's fee, in excess of the amounts fixed of 7d. and 5d. per elector. (See Seager, page 48).

(5.) Candidate's personal expenses up to £100 need not be detailed, but the total must be entered on the official return of expenses.

(6.) The number of paid persons employed in an election is regulated by statute (see Seager, page 115).

(7.) There is no definite decision as to the time over which expenditure must be reckoned as the expenses of an election, therefore candidates must be cautious about incurring expenditure before nomination. (See page 10 for further notes on this point, also Seager, page 54).

(8.) The election agent must send the returning officer an accurate return of all election expenses within 35 days after the day on which the candidates returned at an election are declared.

4.—ELECTION OFFENCES.

(1.) *Unauthorized Expenditure.*—No person may incur any expenses in connection with the election unless authorized by the agent in writing.

(2.) *Printing, Posters, etc.*—No bill, placard or poster may be issued without the name and address of the printer and publisher.

(3.) *Election Committee Rooms.*—The following places are illegal for committee room purposes:—

(a) Licensed premises.

(b) Premises where refreshment of any kind is ordinarily sold.

(c) Public Elementary Schools.

(4.) *Treating.*—No meat, drink, entertainment or provisions to be paid for or provided for voters or workers.

(5.) *Bribery.*—No gift, loan or promise of money, money's worth, or employment to be made to any voter by candidate or workers.

(6.) *Conveyances.*—No hired conveyances may be used for taking voters to the poll. Conveyances that have been lent may be used provided they are not conveyances habitually employed for hire.

(7.) *Advertising.*—No elector may be paid for exhibiting notices, bills, etc.

METHODS.

1.—CHOICE OF A CANDIDATE.

PARTY CANDIDATES.

There can be no doubt that at present women belonging to the three great political parties have a much better chance of election than independent candidates. There

are two quite obvious reasons for this. First, the party woman has highly organised and efficient election machinery at her disposal; secondly, the fact that she has been selected as the official representative of that particular party gives the electorate some definite guarantee of her fitness and ability for public work. It is therefore of the greatest importance that women belonging to the various parties should take an active part in the work of their organisation so that they may find their way on to the selection committee, and there use their influence when opportunity offers to secure the adoption of suitable women candidates.

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES.

At the same time there are women who, though obviously suited by experience and other personal qualifications for Parliamentary work, find it impossible to fit themselves in to any particular party. Such a woman may possibly have the support of a Womens Citizens Association or other body of organized women behind her, or she may be prepared to create an organization for the purpose. It is possible that in exceptional cases the independent woman candidate who is well known and has won the respect and confidence of her fellow-citizens may by virtue of her independent position obtain support from progressive men and women of all schools of political thought.

PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS.

In any case, whether belonging to a political party or independent, the prospective candidate should possess the following qualifications:—

(a) She should be a good "feminist"—*e.g.*, she should thoroughly understand questions relating to the lives of women, whether as wives and mothers or as producers and workers, and should firmly believe in the equality of status, liberty and opportunity between men and women. A woman candidate without this qualification would do more harm than good at a moment when the large majority of male Members of Parliament are pledged to such equality.

(b) She should have had some experience of local government or other form of conspicuous public work, if possible in the constituency in which she is standing. This is necessary for two reasons. First, because it is excellent training for Parliamentary honours, and secondly, because it has made her name known in the community and given her that personal knowledge of its character and needs which will be invaluable to her when she stands as its representative.

(c) She should have a real interest in, and fair general knowledge of political questions, national and international, other than those specially affecting women and children, so that the greater half of the electorate, which is male, shall be able to look to her as their representative no less than that of the women.

(d) Personal qualifications are of great importance. A good memory for names and faces, genial manners, a faculty for humorous repartee, the knack of answering letters promptly and giving a friendly and informal twist even to business communications—these things may, though they should not, carry a candidate farther even than learning and sound political knowledge. Good speaking is probably more essential to a woman candidate than to a man. She has much prejudice to overcome, and can only hope to do it if she makes the force of her personality felt. But in these days of large constituencies her public appearances as a speaker are almost her only opportunities of making her personality known to the rank and file of the electorate.

2.—NURSING A CONSTITUENCY.

PRELIMINARY STEPS.

When the right woman has been suggested and tentatively approached, the next step in the case of a party candidate is to arrange for interviews with the election sub-committee, and later with the whole election committee. Then follows, as a rule, a meeting to which members of the party generally are invited, and at which the prospective candidate is announced. Such a meeting usually expresses its confidence in its candidate after

hearing a public profession of faith on her part. In the case of the non-party candidate a similar meeting of friends and supporters should be held, and special committees for preliminary propaganda work created. Circumstances must decide in each case at what precise moment it is best to make the decision of candidature public. As a rule the earlier this is done the better in order to prevent opposition which might otherwise have been avoided, and to allow of the maximum of time for spade work in the constituency.

Nursing a constituency usually consists in keeping the prospective candidate before the public eye by appearances at public meetings and gatherings of various sorts, by publicity in the Press, or in any other way possible, but nursing a constituency for a *woman* candidate, whether she belong to a party or be independent, must in most cases mean a great deal more than this. It must mean for many years to come solid educational work on the need for women in Parliament. There is a good deal to be said for beginning this propaganda before any name is announced. Long before an election is expected there should be meetings on the subject, with distribution of appropriate leaflets and any other legitimate means of educating public opinion which do not incur the risk of running up election expenses before the campaign actually begins.

Women proved themselves good organizers in the days of the suffrage campaign. In the organization of an election contest they will find an excellent opportunity of using their hardly won experience. This slow and deliberate nursing should not make too much noise. It should be going on quietly and persistently with no fuss or flourish of trumpets. Too much publicity or excitement would detract from the effect of the greater effort of the actual election campaign, but a steady period of solid spade work for months or even years beforehand will produce astonishing results when the time comes for action, not only in the disappearance of prejudice and ignorance with regard to women in Parliament on the part of the rank and file of the electorate, but in unexpected supplies of enthusiastic workers eager and ready equipped for the fight.

Another important point in nursing a constituency is the gradual accumulation of local information likely to be useful in the rush of the final struggle. Such information should include particulars of local councillors, holders of public offices, polling districts and wards, etc. An election book containing such details may with advantage be prepared beforehand.¹ Compiling such a book for each of the divisions within their area with a view to possible contingencies would be a useful piece of routine work for a local Women Citizens Association or branch of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

In addition to such practical details the candidate should know all the strong and weak points of the local organizations, and the financial and other support likely to be forthcoming. She and her committee should begin by getting in touch with all who are likely to be friendly by visits and interviews. She should know the attitude of the local press, and the best methods of securing publicity. She should know who carry most weight in influencing public opinion, and try to secure their support. Here at least the independent woman candidate has an advantage over the party candidate as she can approach social workers or others who stand for some special social reform on her programme without arousing their fear of being committed to a particular party and so alienating a portion of their supporters.

In many constituencies the candidate will find that she will have to create practically from the beginning, the machine by which the election must be prepared for and won. This is almost certain to be the case when she is running as an Independent candidate, but it will often hold good even when she is the nominee of a Party. She will perhaps be led to believe that the Party machine is a "going concern" only to find that it exists merely in skeleton or is so rusty that it breaks down when tested. There are several forms of election machinery, but the following has been recommended to us by a Member of Parliament of much experience:—

1.—See Appendix I. A leaflet containing suitable headings, to be pasted into books, may be obtained at the N.U.S.E.C. Office, price ½d.

There should be a local or district committee in each polling district, whose duties should be to keep the torch alight in the dull time between elections; to canvass; to bring voters to the poll, etc. The district committees together, or, if this would make too large a body, their officers should constitute a general committee. This is more or less a formal body, which meets perhaps only once a year to elect the executive committee. This should include the most active and influential members of the other committees and should be the body mainly responsible for doing the work.

If time and money permit, the whole constituency should be mapped out on one of the Block systems. By this method a group of workers undertake each to look after a street or a number of houses and to keep in touch with the residents pending the time when actual canvassing for the election begins. Such a system is more effective in large manufacturing towns where the population remains more or less stable than in London, for instance, where it is constantly shifting.*

EXPENSES OF NURSING A CONSTITUENCY.

The question of what it should cost to nurse a constituency and who should meet the cost, is a very difficult one. Judging from the varying estimates that have been given us, the expenses varies considerably according to the type of constituency, whether mainly rural, spotted with small towns and villages; or mainly suburban; or wholly urban. It also varies according to the Party, less being expected from Labour than from Liberal or Conservative candidates, and possibly also (though this is more doubtful) less from Liberals than Conservatives.

Thus, according to one Unionist Member of Parliament, a cheap constituency requires from £300 to £500 a year to keep it going, without counting election expenses. This should be provided, not by the candidate, but by her supporters in the constituency. It is suggested by this adviser that the candidate should begin by estimating carefully what the organizing of the constituency should

* For further particulars with regard to the Block System, apply Information Bureau, N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, W 1

cost and should then call a meeting of her principal supporters, lay the needs of the work frankly before them and state what she herself can afford to pay. They should then elect a finance committee to raise a guarantee fund to meet the difference.

3.—PUBLICITY.

The candidate should neglect no opportunity of making her views and personality known in the constituency. She should welcome all opportunities of appearing as a speaker at local gatherings, annual meetings, bazaars, meetings of political, literary and church societies, such as Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, Mothers' Meetings, etc. Lantern lectures on travel or literary subjects, as well as on politics, are useful, if she has the necessary qualifications. Letters or articles in the local press on questions on which she is an expert should be tried. When the election is actually in progress, the local picture theatres may sometimes be induced to display a film, without charge, *e.g.*, of the candidate writing a letter, or shaking hands with the oldest elector, or playing with her children. It is a good plan to get the candidate's name introduced into some short jingling rhyme, sung to a popular tune, which can be taught to the school children. Candidates who despise these methods must remember that the enormous size of modern constituencies makes the problem of introducing the candidate personally to her electors a very difficult one, and that it is quite natural and legitimate that constituencies should desire to know the personality of their representative.

4.—THE ELECTION AGENT.

Much obviously depends on the choice of the right agent. In view of the intricacies of election law it is desirable to have an agent who has had previous experience and who thoroughly understands the changes brought about by the Representation of the People Act (1918). If there is already an agent available who has acted in that constituency before, as is possible in the case of a party contest, the woman candidate should interview him in order to find out if he is likely to work loyally with

and for a woman. Some election agents are very conservative in their methods, whatever they may be in their politics, and women accustomed to the bolder methods of the Suffrage campaign may chafe against the too frequent use of that objectionable word "impossible." The strict limitation of expenditure will not as a rule run to a salaried organiser as well as an agent, without the sacrifice of other forms of effort involving outlay. It is sometimes possible to find an experienced honorary organiser acting for the candidate, but she must not fail to co-operate loyally with the agent, and though she may embark on schemes of out-of-door meetings for instance, of which he may not whole-heartedly approve, she must do nothing without his knowledge. Candidates who have good friends, with political experience to guide them, may with safety select women as agents, provided that, failing actual experience of Parliamentary elections, they have experience of Local Government elections, good business capacity, and proved organising ability. The supply of suitable agents is likely at a general election to be considerably less than the demand; it is therefore advisable to make arrangements well in advance. The importance of knowledge of the law and vigilant oversight of expenditure and methods cannot be too strongly impressed on an intending candidate or her workers.

5.—THE ELECTION ADDRESS.

The election address is all-important. It reaches everyone, and it involves no expense to the candidate for postage. It should be clear and as short as possible; it should present a clear constructive programme, which, without going into minute detail, will avoid platitudes which might appear equally in the address of any other candidate.

A woman candidate will naturally dwell on the services she hopes to be able to render those of her own sex, and will emphasise her special claim to the consideration of voters of both sexes in view of the fact that there is only one woman at present in Parliament, but she should not ignore other political issues. She should state her views on Nationalization, Drink Traffic, Free Trade, Ireland,

or any of the larger matters prominently before the country, simply and frankly. The woman candidate, though willing to take advice from her more experienced friends, should be careful not to be persuaded into allowing others to improve away any trace of her own personality that her address may contain. It is *her* message to her would-be constituents, and she must be allowed to write it herself in her own way. Personality always tells, and the majority of electors would rather have a live person than a political figure head to represent them.

The actual form of the address is a matter of taste; headings and short paragraphs make for clearness. A photograph of the candidate is important in order that the electorate should as soon as possible know her by sight.

As a rule the address should be out early in the contest, though sometimes there is a tortoise race between the candidates, each hoping to take the advantage of a weak spot or omission in that produced by the opponent. In no case should there be any kind of derogatory allusion to the opposite side.

The address, owing to the limitation of expenses allowed, cannot appear in the local papers, but it is always good business to secure articles, letters or reports of interviews. Editors should be seen personally, as even a hostile paper may give a candidate a good hearing if struck by her ability and personality.

6.—MEETINGS.

The value of meetings in an election contest may easily be over-estimated. They are apt to be attended mainly by those already interested. There is no way of reaching the unconvinced, the uninformed or the apathetic but steady conscientious canvassing. At the same time well advertised, well organised and well reported meetings stimulate enthusiasm, produce a good effect and attract public attention. The selection of a hall and the chairman are matters of great importance. A woman candidate should, if possible, have a man as chairman, and certainly men on the platform, which should always be as representative as possible. The halls selected should

be as accessible as possible to different parts of the constituency. If school rooms must be used, for reasons of economy, every effort should be made to select the least comfortless. Meetings should be well advertised, especially in the cheaper papers read by the largest number of voters. The door-to-door distribution of bills by canvassers is a very helpful piece of election work and gives point to canvassing. Every effort should be made to secure good reports in order that a far wider audience than that actually present at the meeting may be reached. Judging from the experience of Local Government elections, a witty or original candidate may often secure excellent press reports even in papers which do not stand for her particular views. It is a good plan to have the gist of the speech or any points of special importance, as well as any resolutions to be passed at the meeting, typed beforehand, ready to give to the reporters.

Questions should be freely encouraged. Many women who are really interested are still afraid to lift up their voices in public and if provided with slips of paper by the stewards will send up excellent and helpful questions. Women candidates should organise their meetings as skilfully as in the old suffrage days. The hall should be made as attractive as possible with banners and flowers.* Stewards should be organised, adorned with the election colours, with leaflets for distribution, ready to find seats, to provide writing blocks and pencils for questions, and to take messages to the platform.

The choice of speakers is most important. If the candidate is a good speaker she will naturally occupy the greater part of the time herself. If not she should speak very briefly and be supplemented by the most experienced speaker she can induce to help her. She must study the art of answering questions. The question should always be repeated in a clear distinct voice, and the answer should be short and to the point. She should not pretend to be omniscient; if a question is beyond her powers she

* The rigid limitation of expenditure will not admit of the purchase of flowers, ribbons, etc.

It must also be remembered that it is illegal to give even a scrap of ribbon to a voter.

should frankly say so and promise to look into the matter. The British public appreciates candour, and will like its future member all the better if it sees she is not bluffing. At the same time she must be prepared to give clear and definite answers to questions relating to her own programme of reform. If on certain matters not prominently before the country at that special election she has not yet made up her mind, she should not be afraid to say so, and should state that should she be elected she will welcome any help that her constituents may give her in forming her opinion.

From the point of view of its effect in converting the audience, there should not be more than two speeches, excluding votes of thanks, which should be rigidly limited in length. But a meeting is often intended to demonstrate the extent of the support secured by the candidate, and from this point of view it may be necessary to secure several speakers, especially those who are influential locally or of political importance.

The candidate and her advisers must decide according to local conditions the proportion of the limited amount of time and money at her disposal which shall be allotted to meetings, but she must see that the meetings which are decided on are as enthusiastic and as successful as active preparation and good organisation can make them.

7.—ORGANISATION OF COMMITTEE ROOM AND CANVASSING.

The committee room is the headquarters of the whole election campaign and obviously its organisation requires experience and knowledge which can only be found in a well-trained and practised agent or political worker. There is scope, however, for initiative and originality on the part of the candidate or her voluntary workers. Much of the preliminary work is mechanical. The card system is now almost universal and a great deal of clerical work is necessary, dealing with the register, preparing cards for canvassers, and following up removals. When the active work of the campaign has begun there is still

much clerical work from day to day which must be done regularly and accurately. The returns from the canvassers must be carefully recorded and any necessary "following up" conscientiously attended to. In an election each individual counts and suggestions from canvassers as to further interviews, replies to questions, or objections on the part of this voter or that must be promptly and thoroughly dealt with. The importance of efficient organisation at headquarters cannot be over-estimated. Genius is said to be the capacity for taking pains; it is certainly true that attention to detail and well thought out methods of work go a long way to win an election. A thorough knowledge of the district, a systematic arrangement of the cards, both before and after canvassing; time and labour-saving organisation which will immediately produce work equally suitable for the novice, the experienced and skilful helper or the casual worker who drops in with an hour to spare, are all essential to success.

Committee rooms run by women are as a rule not unnaturally neater and tidier than those run by men. There must be no confusion and no fuss, no waste of time, loitering about and talking. A very simple equipment is necessary. A large scale map of the constituency must hang on the wall, and if possible a map which may be prepared by hand of the area covered by the sub-committee rooms. Lists, address books, etc., likely to be necessary for reference, as well as necessary supplies of leaflets, notices of meetings, should be arranged in such a way that they can be produced without any delay. An adequate supply of such auxiliaries to efficient office work as blotting-paper, pens, drawing pins, pencils, scribbling pads, paper clips, office pins, etc., is an elementary detail often neglected.

Workers should as far as possible have definite duties allotted to them. Someone should be told off to interview and instruct canvassers before they go out, and to hear their reports when they return to the committee room. Nothing encourages an amateur canvasser so much as a sympathetic hearing of her adventures. Another worker, preferably one with a good knowledge of the district and

of the register, should be available to attend to enquiries, important or unimportant. It ought to be needless to say that questions and enquiries however stupid, must be attended to with the same infinite pains, patience and politeness which should characterise the whole campaign.

The organisation of the carriages is important. It should be put in charge of one responsible worker, with whom no one should interfere. The enthusiast who diverts a car from its allotted area may throw a whole district out of gear.

Many otherwise valuable and highly experienced agents and political organisers have comparatively little knowledge of office management, and probably less experience than women, with their experience of household organisation, in making the best of things. The woman candidate and her friends should see that the committee room organisation is as perfect and complete as possible. Order and calm, instead of confusion and flurry, has the psychological effect of producing a sense of confidence and security which is a not unimportant essential to success.

The importance of accurate filling in of cards and of reporting any useful piece of information to the committee room must be impressed on the inexperienced canvasser. The failure to report a change of address, the need of a conveyance to take an infirm voter to the polling booth, a criticism or question intended for the candidate, an uncertain voter who should have another call, may mean the loss of a vote and possibly more than one vote, as inattention in this respect will be discussed among neighbours and gives a bad impression.

Many shy people dread canvassing, and some, no doubt, are quite unfitted for it. On the other hand, given some degree of courage and enterprise combined with a love of humanity and a lively imagination, canvassing will be found to possess a fascination of its own. The candidate cannot obviously do much systematic canvassing herself, but it is well worth her while to do what she can. She should, as a rule, confine herself to special cases of interested and doubtful voters who ask for an interview, but unexpected visits to localities where there has been marked opposition on the score of her sex or of some

other ignorant prejudice may excite a good deal of interest and possibly turn the tide of ill-feeling.

The future woman candidate should see in this much-abused practice an opportunity of gaining personal contact which success at the polls will not break, but which will characterise her relationship with her constituents as long as they do her the honour of choosing her as their representative.

A separate leaflet* on canvassing has been issued so that this important feature of election work need not be fully dealt with here. The justification of canvassing is to be found in the intelligence and fair-mindedness of the worker. If canvassing means pestering people against their will to vote for some particular party candidate without consideration of his or her personal qualifications, experience, policy or programme, nothing can be said in its favour. If, however, the canvasser regards herself as a medium of communication between the candidate and the elector, the situation is entirely changed. Personal experience has convinced the writer that canvassing undertaken on the assumption that the voter while entitled to come unaided to his own decision, may wish to clear up some uncertain points or to discuss both sides of some question of political interest, is rarely resented and often genuinely appreciated.

Canvassing to be effective must be regarded as a form of highly skilled political work for which some definite preparation is necessary. Classes for canvassers have already been successfully tried.† Such classes should deal with the technical and legal aspects of election work explaining unseen pitfalls that may lie before workers ignorant of the law. They should also include, in the case of a woman candidate, suggestions as to the most convincing way of explaining the urgent need for women in Parliament, and last, but not least important, an exposition of the candidate's programme of reform and her views on general, social, economic and industrial issues before the country at the time of the election.

*See "A Vindication of Canvassing." Leaflet No. 4, 1920 Series.

†The N.U.S.E.C. is arranging to have a small panel of speakers of different political parties available to lecture or to organise classes for canvassers and election workers. Application should be made to the N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, W.1.

AN ELECTION BUDGET.

For the guidance of those who may, for the first time, be undertaking the responsible task of conducting a Parliamentary election in the not distant future, we append particulars of the actual amount spent on the various items at a certain borough by-election.

It should be remembered that in a county, sub agents have to be engaged. Item B is optional, or volunteers could be obtained if personation agents are thought necessary.

Printing prices were at the time of this election (and at the time of going to press), very high. It is doubtful whether they will ever be much lower, but estimates should be obtained before ordering.

A careful watch on expenditure as the campaign proceeds, with a sudden pull up when the original sum allocated is exhausted, will save much anxiety afterwards, to say nothing of added expense if counsel has to be employed to seek relief in the High Court for having exceeded the statutory amount.

EXPENDITURE IN A BOROUGH BY-ELECTION, 1920.

Electorate ...	29,959.	Maximum allowed ...	£647	0	0
<hr/>					
A. Actual amount expended	...	...	£627	0	8
B. Polling agents	...	...	£5	5	0
(Only employed in 7 polling stations).					
C. Paid to clerks	...	...	65	10	0
D. Paid to messengers	...	...	36	16	2
E. Paid for printing	...	...	264	2	4
F. Paid for advertising	...	...	15	12	9
G. Paid for stationery	...	...	27	9	1
H. Paid for holding public meetings	...	...	24	13	6
I. Paid for committee rooms	52	7	0
K. Paid for miscellaneous matters	78	16	11
L. Paid for postage	56	7	11
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LIST OF BOOKS AND USEFUL PUBLICATIONS.

1. Parliamentary Elections under the Reform Act, 1918, by Renwick Seager, C.B.E. P. S. King 5/-
(A practical handbook for Political Agents).
2. Registration of Voters under the Reform Act, 1918, by Renwick Seager, C.B.E. P. S. King 5/-
(A practical handbook for Political Agents).
3. The Liberal Year Book, published by the Liberal Publication Department, 42 Parliament Street, S.W. 1 1/6
(Pages dealing with Parliamentary Elections).
4. The Constitutional Year Book, 1920, published by National Unionist Association, 1, Sanctuary Chambers, Great Smith Street, S.W. 1 4/-
5. The Labour Year Book, 1919. Published by the Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1 3/6
6. How Women can help in Political Work, by Constance Williams-Melrose 2/-
7. The Need for Women in Parliament, by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., J.P., etc., published by the National Council of Women, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1 2d.
8. And Shall I have a Parliamentary Vote? by Chrystal Macmillan, published by the N.U.S.E.S., 62, Oxford Street, W.1. 3d.
9. A Vindication of Canvassing. Leaflet No. 4, 1920 Series, published by the N.U.S.E.C., 62, Oxford Street, W.1. 2d.
10. Useful Hints for Country and Town Councils. By Miss Berry. Published by the Women's Local Government Society, 19, Tothill Street, S.W.1. Specially useful for Local Government Elections. 4 p.p., 6d. each, 4/- per dozen.
11. The Woman's Leader, 3d. weekly, 17/4 per annum (post free). The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., 62, Oxford Street, W.1.
12. Jus Suffragii. The International Woman Suffrage News, published monthly by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 11 Adam Street, W.C.2. 6d. or 6/- per annum (post free).

APPENDIX I.

ELECTION NOTEBOOK.*

FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES AND THEIR HELPERS.
WHAT THEY SHOULD KNOW IN EVERY CONSTITUENCY OR WARD.

NOTE.—Election Workers are advised to paste these questions into a note-book. Each question should be answered on a separate page numbered to correspond with questions and headings on list.

Worker's name, address and date on which information is supplied should be entered.

1. Name of Constituency.
2. Name of present Member, his party and his views.
3. Names of prospective candidates. Remarks, public utterances, etc.
4. Names and addresses of Party Agents and their views on women's questions.
5. Names and addresses of Members of Executive Committee and Secretaries of Party Organisations likely to be concerned in the selection of Candidates.
6. Names and addresses of Secretaries of women's organisations in the constituency, such as Primrose League, Women's Liberal Federation, British Women's Temperance Association, Co-operative Guild, and other important women's organisations.
7. Chief towns and villages, population, voters, and party feeling.
8. General character of the division, agricultural, industrial or residential.
9. Industries (if any).
10. What are the local wards in the constituency.
11. Names of the local councillors.
12. What are the local government divisions in the constituency? (*i.e.*, division of County, County Borough, Borough, Urban District, etc.).

*It is suggested that a Card Index might be used for this purpose instead of a note book, as it is more adaptable to frequent alterations.

13. Address where good local maps are obtainable.
14. The headquarters of the constituency, *i.e.*, where Candidates are selected and the result of an election announced.
15. Places suitable for Committee Rooms, in order of importance.
16. Halls in the division; seating capacity, price, to whom application for hiring should be made, character of neighbourhood.
17. Schools, Theatres and Lecture Rooms with similar details.
18. Names of local newspapers, editors and their views.
19. Open Air Meetings: suitable sites, from whom should permission be asked? Notes of any police regulations in regard to these.
20. Factories. Number of men or women employed. Dinner hour. Do workers come out to dinner? Would owner allow meeting inside?
21. Names and addresses of other representative people in the constituency, possible Chairmen, etc.
22. Names and addresses of possible helpers.
23. Names and addresses of possible friends to lend motor cars.
24. Names and addresses of persons willing to give hospitality.
25. Means of communication between different parts of the division.
26. Notes concerning local events useful to Speakers.
27. Stations.
28. Lists of Restaurants, Cafés and Lodgings.
29. Name and address of printer and furniture shop, also charwoman, livery stables and billposter, also gas and water company.
30. What is early closing day?
31. Addresses of usual polling booths.
32. How and where to obtain up-to-date copies of the register?
33. Name, address and telephone number of Returning Officer.

APPENDIX II.

The following list of countries which now (January, 1921) have women Members of Parliament has been supplied by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance:—

- Austria.
- Alberta.
- British Columbia. } Members of State
- Manitoba. } Legislature.
- Crimea (Tartar Parliament).
- Czecho Slovakia.
- Denmark.
- Esthonia.
- Finland.
- Germany.
- Great Britain.
- Hungary.
- Lettonia.
- Lithuania.
- Palestine (Jewish National Assembly).
- Luxembourg.
- Netherlands.
- Poland.
- Rhodesia (Legislative Council).
- United States of America. (One woman has been returned to Congress.)

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Edward Wright & Cavendish Bentinck Lending Libraries.

These two Libraries, containing some THREE THOUSAND VOLUMES on subjects of interest to women as citizens, are now under the same management, and are housed in the Offices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W.1.

The Joint Library contains a most valuable and interesting historical section on feminism as well as sections on current political and social problems. Great care is taken to keep these sections, which include pamphlets and Government publications, up-to-date.

Boxes containing approximately 20 books are available for Study Circles, etc.

SCALE OF CHARGES.

For individuals, 10/6 per annum, or 4d. per volume per week.

For Societies of the N.U.S.E.C., 15/- per annum or 5/- box of books.

For Societies other than those of the N.U.S.E.C., 25/- per annum or 7/6 per box of books.

INFORMATION BUREAU.

Enquiries on subjects of interest to women as citizens will be answered by the Information Bureau of the N.U.S.E.C., which is in co-operation with other expert bodies.

SCALE OF CHARGES.

For individuals, 1/- per enquiry.

For Societies of the N.U.S.E.C., no charge.

For Societies other than those of the N.U.S.E.C., 10/6 per annum or 1/- per enquiry.