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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE EARLY YEARS OF
THE HOUR-A-DAY STUDY CLUB 1935-1955

by

Jennifer P. Mills

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1995

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club during the period of 1935-1955. This thesis explores the origins and development of the club by focusing on its programs, its organizational structure, its charitable events, its cultural events, its self-improvement efforts and its cooperation with other clubs that formed the context of the club's activities. Central issues addressed are: What were the conditions influencing the development of the club? What were the goals of the club? What role did this club fulfill within the black community and for the members themselves?

These questions reveal that club members were motivated by their own experiences to educate their children, to improve themselves, and to assist their community in combating discriminatory practices in employment, public accommodations, and housing. These women used their common experiences with inequality as an ideological basis for club activities and to explore avenues to ameliorate social injustice. This study argues that the Hour-A-Day Study Club's activities represent a collective response to the circumstances in its members' community in an effort to empower themselves. The Hour-A-Day Study Club becomes therefore a site of survival and a vehicle for social change.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Barry Adam, and my thesis committee Dr. Subhas Ramcharan and Dr. Christina Simmons for the helpful comments and knowledgeable support of this thesis. I am grateful to them for their intellectual stimulation and interest in the subject of black Canadian women's clubs that made it a pleasure to work with them.

My deepest and sincere thanks go to the women of the Hour-A-Day Study Club for their participation in this research. The kindness and trust that these women extended to me was so forthcoming as to make this thesis research rewarding and pleasurable. Without their discussions and understanding, writing this thesis would have been a much longer task.

I owe a great deal of gratitude to Mrs. Elise Harding Davis who must be specially thanked for deeds far above and beyond the expectations of professional courtesy. As curator of the North American Black Historical Museum and Cultural Centre, Mrs. Harding Davis extended time and energy to permit me to accomplish twice as much research in a short amount of time. Through the innumerable discussions we have had on black Canadian history, many of the ideas of this thesis concerning the Hour-A-Day Study Club were first given shape.

Finally, I am indebted and owe particular thanks to my
friend, Mr. William Jackson, Leddy Library University of Windsor. for his kind assistance on the subject. my friend David Sealy, my mother, and my sisters Jacqueline and Valerie for their support.
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INTRODUCTION

Working Together For Community Development
Mrs. Hilda Watkins (1947)

The Hour-A-Day Study Club was formed in February 1935 by Mrs. Adella Jacobs, Mrs. Christian, Mrs. Vivian Nall, Mrs. Lavina Lucas, and Mrs. Elizabeth Washington marking it as one of the oldest women's clubs in Windsor and one of the precursors to the second wave of women's organizations in Southwestern Ontario. For the early pioneers, the club was envisioned to direct the talents of black women towards social, cultural, and charitable endeavors as related to "child psychology, home economics, negro history, parliamentary procedure and current events". Although the early twentieth century black women saw club activities as a means of relieving social ills, they repeatedly called attention to issues of race and legal rights. This is strikingly exemplified by their comment concerning a civic by-law prohibiting public businesses from discriminating against black people which appeared in the editorial page of the Windsor Daily Star on 21 March 1944. The club argued that Windsor needed education about racism in addition to passing a civic by-law prohibiting public businesses from discriminating against blacks.

The club's activities bring a political project out in

---

*Executive Committee Meeting to Club, 11 September 1952, Hour-A-Day Study Club Papers, p.128.*
the open and can be analyzed within a political process model. The political process model provides the theoretical framework for analyzing the struggles of black Canadians that informed the activities of the club. To understand the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club one must be able to emphasize this relationship. As Doug McAdam (1982, p.42) writes:

it is necessary to focus on the broad historical processes and political opportunities that can facilitate the increased political activism on the part of excluded groups either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a single insurgent group.

This way of looking at the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club emphasizes the interdependence of the historical context, the club members' group consciousness and collective action. This relationship allows the club members' to see that collective action is a valuable mechanism for social change.

Towards this end, this study focuses on the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club during the period of 1935-1955. This study explores the origins and development of the club by focusing on its programs, its organizational structure, its charitable events, its cultural events, its self-improvement efforts and its cooperation with other clubs that formed the context of the club's activities. Central issues addressed are: What were the conditions influencing the development of the club? What were the goals of the
club? What role did this club fulfill within the black community and for the members themselves?

This thesis argues that the Hour-A-Day Study Club's activities represent a collective response to the circumstances in their community to empower themselves. The club's concerns to educate their children, to improve themselves, and to assist their community in combating discriminatory practices in employment, public accommodations and housing are located in the changing conditions in Canadian society. The Hour-A-Day Study Club becomes therefore a site of survival and a vehicle for social change.

In chapter one, I set the stage for the application of the political process model to the Hour-A-Day Study Club by offering a survey of different models of social change to present the context out of which the political process model develops. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the relation of these models to the model in which I am particularly interested.

In chapter two, I concentrate on examining the political process model as articulated by Doug McAdam (1982). Here I introduce the concepts of McAdam's model and present in a concise form a thesis that I am drawing on in this study, namely that the development of the club is due to a political process.

McAdam's (1982, p.34) conception of social change
includes the idea that cognitive liberation or "the transformation from hopeless submission to oppressive conditions to an aroused readiness to challenge those conditions" is possible. For this reason, the model serves as an excellent foundation for recognizing that the formation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club is part of a political act of encouraging and supporting the survival of the black community in Windsor. Therefore, the concerns of the club, while shaped by their local and national conditions in Canadian society, are political as well as social because the political system is so vital in setting the framework within which the club's concerns are expressed.

In chapter three, I examine the methodology relevant to this research.

Chapter four examines the activities of the Hour-A-Day Study Club in Windsor in the period of 1935-1955. I focus on the goals, activities and achievements of the club.

Contribution:

The goal of this research is to understand the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club during the period of 1935 to 1955. What is presented is therefore an examination of the central themes and features of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. This research makes visible some of the contributions of Black Canadian women's clubs to Canadian
society and will add to the existing literature on Black Canadian Women. Research of this nature ought to be recognized as an integral component of contemporary social science literature.
CHAPTER 1

This chapter is devoted to two goals. First, this chapter reviews three models of social change: the classical model, resource mobilization model and the new social movement model to present the context out of which the political process model develops. Second, this chapter addresses the question of finding an adequate model to examine the Hour-A-Day Study Club. In particular, if the club is influenced by the political context, then it is interesting to compare the club with other theories to see which theory best explains the development of the club. I conclude that the political process model provides the best framework to examine the activities of the club because it focuses on the alliance between the broader political context and the clubs' ongoing struggles to transform its condition.

CLASSICAL MODEL

Of the range of concepts and ideas that have been used to explore the question of social change in the 1950s and 1960s, the structural functionalist models seem to have been the most prominent and influential (McAdam 1982, Aya 1979). In relation to social change, it has been suggested that there is a need to examine the social system as a stable and open system that offers access to various competing interest groups, or to contemplate the rise of social change, its
fate or decline as the result of the structural conditions of mass society (Kornhauser 1959). Social revolutions were not central features of social life, but the direct result of collective behaviour (Smelser 1962) or relative deprivation (Gurr 1970)—a structural condition occurring outside of the institutional domain of everyday life.

In his analysis of the classical model, McAdam (1982) argues that Kornhauser's (1959) model relates the development of social movements to the structural condition of mass society. According to McAdam, Kornhauser's structural condition of mass society is most likely to occur when there is a lack of group structures that allows individuals access to the political avenues of society. Social movements result from "social atomization [that] engenders strong feelings of alienation and anxiety, and therefore the disposition to engage in extreme behaviour to escape these tensions" (McAdam 1982, p. 7). In other words, for McAdam, Kornhauser's model states that social movements emerge from individual feelings of social isolation which if left unchecked will find an outlet sooner or later in insurgent action. This can best be presented by applying this model to the Hour-A-Day Study Club. For example, the mass society model would argue that individual discontent provides the impetus for the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. Individuals became frustrated with the socio-political conditions in Windsor, for example, unemployment
or discrimination in housing and public accommodations. These factors, among other, gave rise to feelings of alienation and widespread discontent which provided the opportunity for angry individuals to politicize their discontent and develop the club to mobilize for social change.

Kornhauser's model assumes that the causes of the development of the club are psychological rather than political (McAdam 1982). Kornhauser does not provide an explanation for the causes of social isolation and alienation. The mass society model draws attention away from the political context in which the club developed and is managed by rational actors pursuing political goals. Following McAdam's (1982) analysis, the club did not arise ex nihilo, but is the result of an ongoing battle between the club and Windsor society for control of the polity.

In a rather similar analysis of social change, Smelser's (1962) collective behaviour model argues that the effects of severe strain in the social system are the necessary structural preconditions for social insurgency (McAdam 1982). That is to say, McAdam asserts that Smelser's model maintains that strain must exist in the social system in order for a social movement to occur. "The more severe the strain, moreover, the more likely is such an episode to appear" (McAdam 1982, p.8). In discussing the formation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club as the direct result of social
strain, this framework treats the social system as though it is an unproblematic, ahistorical, mechanistic, stable system that can easily accommodate the interests of various competing groups. The whole point of McAdam's argument with Smelser's position is that Smelser's model tends to overstate the extent to which society is free of strain, and to which individuals are drawn into clubs as a direct result of this strain. For McAdam, the problem for the collective behaviour model and its analysis of the Hour-A-Day Study Club is its lack of analysis of the broader conditions that shape the club's development. Therefore, this model neglects to examine the rise of the club as rooted in an ongoing interaction among opponents and allies, states and groups within a shifting sociopolitical environment (Aya 1979, McAdam 1982, Tilly 1978).

Aya's (1979) analysis of Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation model follows in a similar direction as the mass society model and the collective behaviour model. The concept of relative deprivation is made explicit at the onset. Relative deprivation is:

defined as actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions of life they think they are capable of getting and keeping (Aya 1979, p.57).

In other words, to Aya, Gurr's relative deprivation model describes the feeling individuals experience about the gap
between what they believe they ought to receive and what
they actually receive. These feelings, if left unresolved,
can potentially lead to social insurgency.²

In order to demonstrate that relative deprivation can
potentially lead to the development of the Hour-A-Day Study
Club, the model must show how the relative deprivation that
individual club members experience becomes transformed into
collective action leading to club formation, and not assume
that this condition will automatically exist. In Aya's
(1979) view, the club does not emerge as a direct result of
relatively deprived individuals. The club is the result of
those segments of the population that are well organized and
possess the resources necessary to sustain protest activity.
In effect, Aya asserts like McAdam that the presence of a
shared set of beliefs and solidarity among the women in the
city of Windsor therefore encourages these women to assign a
common meaning to the specific sociopolitical events in
their lives to collectively mobilize for change.

McAdam's and Aya's analysis clearly demonstrates that
the central shortcomings of the classical models of the

²Nagel (1974), Pettigrew (1978), and Porter and Nagel
(1976) have directed their efforts towards examining the
limitations of Gurr's relative deprivation model. See Jack
Nagel. 1974. "Inequality and Discontent." World Politics
C. Porter, and Jack Nagel. 1976. Declining Inequality and
Rising Expectations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press.
1950s and 1960s is that in failing to state clearly the relationship between the broad environment and the rise of social movements (or in the case, the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club), they ignore important factors that make social change/club development possible in society. Rather than focusing on the effects of mass society, collective behaviour, and relative deprivation, Foran (1993, p.2) argues that the structural models of the 1970s focus on the:

macrostructural level of comparing national cases in which the key determinants included: the political context, the role of the state, relationship between classes, the international economy, the spread of capitalism, and culture

as factors important in explaining the rise of social revolutions. Such a possibility is offered by the resource mobilization model. This is the focus of the next section.

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION MODEL

It is evident that a number of theoretical models have been identified as synonymous with the emergence of the theories of social change in the 1970s. For example, sociologists Jenkins and Perrow (1977), Zald and McCarthy (1980), Oberschall (1973), and Wilson (1973) sought to overcome the limitations of the classical models. Although there are several different conceptualizations in which resource mobilization theorists use the term, all accounts of resource mobilization theory have a common core: social
movements arise at a particular point in time due to the "changing availability of resources, organizations and opportunities for collective action" (Jenkins 1983, p.530) and historical changes which facilitate movement activity.

Resource mobilization theory acknowledges the significance of political changes in facilitating social movement growth, the role of resources as a means of social change, and the existence of institutionalized power and power struggles in mobilizing people for collective action. As such, social movements do not operate outside of the institutional domain of everyday life (as the classical model argues), but are central features of social life. Social movements are characterized by "rational actors oriented towards clearly defined fixed goals with centralized organizational control over resources and clearly demarcated outcomes that can be evaluated in terms of tangible gains" (Jenkins 1983, p.529).

The resource mobilization model argues that the key to understanding the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club lies in comprehending that the women were drawn into the club by virtue of their involvement in organizations. The community organizations served as the network out of which the club emerged and which the club used to gain access to the levers of power. In other words, the more resources the club has at its disposal and the more opportunities for collective action, the better the club can respond to power
struggles with other groups in a closed and coercive political system. Therefore, important to the development or decline of the Hour-A-Day Study Club are both internal factors (groups involved, money, organizations), and external factors (level of state development, finances) that determine the success or failure of the club. The consequence of this is that resources are used as tools of social change.

The resource mobilization model's attention to resources has significant implications for examining the Hour-A-day Study Club as discussed above. By examining the pre-established organizational base of the club (black community, indigenous network, volunteers, information, financial resources, church, community leaders), the resource mobilization model indicates that the success of the Hour-A-Day Study Club in initiating social protest is dependent on the availability of "resources making it possible to support and sustain an organized demand for social change" (Jenkins and Perrow 1977, p.266). The preestablished networks serve two main purposes. First, the preestablished network (the British Methodist Episcopal Church and the Mother's Club) contributes to creating the preconditions for mobilizing labour and provides for the proper setting for the elaboration of specific views (constitution) of the club. Second, the presence of the preestablished networks also provides an informal setting
for group interactions. It facilitates the development of relationships among women of the club. This informal setting allows for the development and transmission of culture and the transformation of group ideas into action required to mobilize for collective action.

An explicit claim of the resource mobilization theory is that groups who lack access to resources despite their mass base are in a weak and politically powerless position to generate social change. This claim is best captured by the following statements of Jenkins and Perrow (1977), Oberschall (1973) and Zald and McCarthy (1987):

potential beneficiaries are too poor or politically powerless to generate a movement of their own. One must realize that a resourceless and politically powerless group is in a weak position to initiate social protest activity through its own efforts (Oberschall 1974, p.214).

[Jenkins and Perrow (1977, p.251) state:] collective action is rarely a viable option because of a lack of resources and the threat of repression...When deprived groups do mobilize, it is due to the interjection of external resources.

Despite the marked disparity in power between the power elites and the ordinary citizens to the extent that citizens are precluded from participating in any meaningful dialogue (Zald and McCarthy 1987, p.40).

However, this model ignores the existence of excluded groups who are politically powerless, but still have been able to mobilize and develop a strong social movement (civil rights movement, women's movement and North American Indian Movement). Similarly, the resource mobilization theory is unable to see that elite support may contribute to the
demise of a social movement rather than to its development (Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition).

A number of critics (Tilly 1988, Aya 1987, Touraine 1985, McAdam 1982) have indicated that the resource mobilization model suffers from a number of weaknesses. The main weakness of this model is its inability to focus on social movements as rooted in an ongoing struggle involving long term social transformation (McAdam 1982) and not just arising at a specific historical juncture due to the availability of resources. Furthermore, the resource mobilization model is unable to identify the role of "elites and the role of the social movements mass base in the generation of insurgency" (McAdam 1982, p.35) or demonstrate how the mass base of politically powerless groups provides the foundation from which social change is possible. The resource mobilization model therefore tends to underestimate the resources of mass-based movements to effect significant social change. Thus, a more critical analysis of the Hour-A-Day Study Club is needed that examines the relationship between resources and the broader socio-political environment these women seek to change.

**NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT MODEL**

The classical and resource mobilization models are two models of social change in sociology that have influenced the direction of scholarship in the American tradition.
Alongside the American models of social change, there have emerged several European social movement theories which have their origins in the writings of Jurgen Habermas, Claus Offe, Henri Lefebvre (Adam 1993). This section examines some of the trends in the 1980s which attempted to address the limitations of the 1970s models of social change by focusing on, among other factors, the impact of ideology and culture in social change (Melucci 1985, Touraine 1985).

Touraine's (1985) model of social movements examines the various patterns of political action and organizations which have emerged in advanced capitalist societies. Touraine claims that the emergence of new social movements is constituted by anti-systemic political forces (examples include the women's movement, youth movements, urban and citizen movements, environmental movements), which are linked to broad sociopolitical changes occurring in advanced capitalist societies. According to Touraine (1983, p.4):

in a society where the largest investments no longer serve to transform the organization of labour, as in industrial society, but serve to create new products, and beyond that, new sources of economic power through the control of complex systems of communication, then the central conflict has shifted. It no longer opposes manager and worker, subject to rationalizing apparatuses which have acquired the power to impose patterns of behaviour on people according to their own interests.

In other words, in post-industrial society the struggle is no longer between capital and labour but between a "technology-dominated state and a populace fighting to
exercise a degree of self-management in various spheres of the programmed society" (Touraine 1981, p.55). It is this shift from industrial to post-industrial society that has facilitated the emergence of a "heterogeneous and discontinuous array of social movements with an unfamiliar relationship to the usual parameters of production and distribution" (Adam 1993, p.318).

Touraine's model of social movements starts from these multiple sites and views social movements as a challenge to the capitalist mode of production. Like the classical model, Touraine views social movements as spontaneous, but in a fundamentally different way. The spontaneity of social movements is rooted in the diverse, grassroots, anti-systemic, political groups which can sustain a social movement. Social movements are not only the result of structural shifts in the capitalist system, but also the result of structural contradictions of capitalism which occur because of the shifts.

Habermas states the primary orientation of social movements is "one [of] defending and restoring endangered ways of life and addressing issues of quality of life, equal rights, individuals' self-realization, participation, and human rights" (Habermas 1987, p.392). As such, one of the distinctive characteristics of new social movements, as diverse as they are, rests on their potential for universalizing the issues of emancipation beyond the
interest of any one group. The goals of social movements are therefore to transform these new sites of subordination located outside of production. According to Touraine, the goals of social movements are located in their common struggle for historicity: "the symbolic capacity that enables [society] to construct a system of knowledge together with the technical tools which it can use to intervene on its own functioning" (Touraine 1977, p.134).

Alberto Melucci takes a similar approach to Touraine's model of social movements. A social movement, Melucci (1989, p.29) writes:

[is a] specific class of collective phenomena which contains three dimensions. It is a specific form of collective action which involves solidarity...[it] is engaged in conflict, and thus in opposition to an adversary who lays claims on the same goods or values...[it] breaks the limits of compatibility of the system that it can tolerate without altering its structure.

In other words, new social movements develop strategies across broad based sites of conflict or what Melucci calls movement areas. Again like Touraine, the struggle here is over the systems of meaning which set the parameters for social actors, or historicity. Social movements develop in the networks and the interstices of these "movement areas" among various groups that share a cultural and collective identity and in the "multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented and submerged in everyday life" (Melucci 1989, p.60).

Melucci claims that new social movements are not
primarily oriented towards instrumental objectives (seeking political power or control of the state's machinery), but are directed towards "control of a field of autonomy or independence vis-a-vis the system, and the immediate satisfaction of collective interests" (Melucci 1985). These collective interests provide these social movements with an important source of group identity as they constitute a basis for solidarity.

The new social movement theory of Melucci and Touraine is incapable of accounting for the intricacies of the broad socio-historical factors affecting the Hour-A-Day Study Club. Although the club's organization around race and gender exhibits some of the characteristics of new social movements suggested by Touraine and Melucci, its demands around race and gender are not generated around only cultural conflicts. They are able to utilize the instruments of the political system to address some of their concerns. Thus, their distinctively institutional focus would eliminate them as part of the antisystemic social movements.

The theoretical framework of Touraine and Melucci have been criticized by a number of theorists (Adam 1993, Habermas 1985, Hannigan 1985, White 1988). These criticisms revolve around two main points. First, Touraine and Melucci's characterization of social movements as spontaneous cultural conflicts fails to take into account the role that political economy plays in constituting a
social movement (Adam 1993) and the concrete "gains" that may be achieved through existing institutions.

Second, new social movement theory is unable to indicate what social movements ought to be included in this category (Adam 1993). That is, new social movements are not "new" but shaped by concrete socio-historical factors and internal diversities that frame particular social movements. The new social movement model ought not to "pay lip service" (Adam 1993) to factors of race, class, gender but examine their concrete social construction in specific social movements.

In this section, I examined the tradition of theories of social change and in particular of tying political concerns which originate in conflict between classes to the causes of collective action. The examination of the McAdam's political process model and its application to the Hour-A-Day Study Club is the focus of chapter two. My application of the political process model to the Hour-A-Day Study Club demonstrates that the model provides a broad framework from which the significance of the political process model as it relates to the club and social change might be studied. My analysis serves to highlight the extent to which the political process model has much to contribute to the analysis of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.
CHAPTER 2

In his book *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930–1970*, Doug McAdam seeks to clarify the relationship between black struggles for equal rights and the broad historical changes occurring in the American social structure that made the political structure more susceptible to black protest activity, while providing blacks with the institutional support to mobilize such an attack.

In support of the political process model, McAdam's book begins by examining the interests of both the Southern planters and the Northern industrialists in maintaining cheap black labour and the cotton economy. McAdam asks what the political opportunities were that allowed for the emergence of the black movement of the twentieth century. He emphasizes two main developments: first, the decline of King Cotton in the South, which decreased the Southern planters' demand for cheap labour, and second, the increasing demand for cheap black labour in the North. These two developments provided the impetus for blacks to leave the rural farms for the Northern and Southern cities where they became increasingly important political factors and less subject to racism.

In the North, McAdam argues that through the use of the electoral system and the mobilization of the masses blacks pressured the President and the Supreme Court to act and
render judgments in their favour. McAdam argues that the structural roots of racism had been substantially undermined. Thus, McAdam argues that one must critically examine the conditions in which blacks operated and changed, and their efforts to alter their everyday situation to realize equal rights in American society.

It is here that the present analysis has its origins in the field of social change and Doug McAdam's political process model. In particular, this thesis uses the political process model to examine the conditions informing black Canadian struggles, while providing the context to examine the activities of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.

Given the range of terms brought into play in the debates and discussions over the causes of social change as reviewed in chapter one, this chapter provides a broad overview of the political process model by examining four concepts: (1) the role of the political environment, (2) ties to the broader community, (3) organizational resources, and (4) cognitive liberation.

**Theoretical Framework**

McAdam's conceptualization of social movement formation and the rise of insurgency are well articulated themes in his theoretical framework. What is critical in studying social movement formation is to identify the historical contexts and specify the conditions under which black people
are likely to organize and engage in insurgent action. This claim is introduced and defended in terms of the larger, more central thesis that social insurgency is always tied to conflict between groups and that excluded groups attempt to mobilize and gain access to the established polity. According to McAdam (1982, p.40), "movements develop in response to an ongoing process of interaction between movement groups and the larger environment they seek to change." Embedded in his analysis is the recognition of:

factors external and internal to social movements... the confluence of expanding political opportunities, indigenous organizational strength, and the presence of shared cognitions within the minority community that is held to facilitate emergence. These factors in addition to the shifting control response of other groups to the movement shape insurgency (McAdam 1982, p.123).

The first factor the political process model focuses on is the role of the broader environment in facilitating the development of social movements. This factor is connected to the structure of expanding political opportunities which refers to the "shifts" that occur in society that are shaped by broad social processes (i.e., Depression, World War II, Post-War period) that serve to undermine the political establishment. The political process model demonstrates that without examining the "shifts" occurring, for example, in Canadian society we cannot understand the four factors shaping the formation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.

These broad social processes or shifts also serve a second purpose: they make the political establishment
vulnerable to attacks from challenging groups "by reducing the power discrepancy between insurgent groups and their opponents" (McAdam 1982, p.43). Thus, this second factor indicates that the broad-based social processes facilitate the increased activism on the part of the Hour-A-Day Study Club, and serve to remove formidable barriers that prevent the participation of the club by strengthening its bargaining power. However, this is not a linear relation. This process entails the dynamic and reciprocal relation between movements and the broader socio-political environment it seeks to change.

The third factor, the preestablished organizational base, is the foundation from which insurgent activity develops and is maintained. This foundation includes members, leaders, financial resources, skills, communication network, and the established structure of solidarity incentives (rewards). McAdam states "in the absence of these resources the aggrieved population is likely to lack the capacity to act even when granted the opportunity to do so" (McAdam 1982, p.43). Thus, insurgent groups must be able to take advantage of the "breaks" in the political environment by drawing upon the group's resources and transforming these opportunities into concrete political gains.

The last factor refers to the changes in black people that enable them to take advantage of their new situation through what McAdam calls "cognitive liberation", which he
defines as the "transformation from hopeless submission to oppressive conditions to an aroused readiness to challenge those conditions" (McAdam 1982, p.34). What social conditions will bring about a change in attitudes? McAdam emphasized a combination of the changing circumstances themselves and the organizational strength within the black community. He argues that blacks were quite able to perceive the changes around them and that these perceptions rendered "the process of cognitive liberation more likely." It is through this framing process that the presence and orientation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club becomes evident. This the focus of chapter five.
CHAPTER 3

This thesis is based on a qualitative methodology (Bogdan and Biklen 1992, Kirby and McKenna 1989, Lofland and Lofland 1984) and reflects my interest in the relationship between the political process model and the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. I became interested in studying black Canadian women's clubs after taking Dr. Adam's social change course and through the suggestion by Dr. Drakich that I visit the North American Black Historical Museum in Amherstburg, Ontario to "see what I could find." Mrs. Elise Harding-Davis, the curator of the North American Black Historical Museum and Cultural Centre was contacted. She gave me permission to examine all available materials which included minute books, ledgers, announcements of activities sponsored by the club and numerous miscellaneous items. Much of the information on the period under investigation was in excellent condition. However, a few of the minute books were misplaced over the years. My preliminary search by the fall of 1992 focused on an application of the political process model to the Hour-A-Day Study Club.

Phase one and phase two of my research involved examining both primary and secondary sources. There is considerable overlapping in both phases and these categories ought not to be regarded as mutually exclusive. Rather, the phases are used to assist me in structuring my analysis and to develop discisions of activities and themes to augment
the beginning interpretation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.

The first phase of my qualitative research examined the political and economic context of the club and relied on the following primary sources: (1) newspaper (Windsor Daily Star) and (2) documentary analysis of archival materials (Mahlon 1992). In addition, I used the following secondary sources: (1) historical articles from books or journals (Yee 1994, Hine 1993, White 1993) and (2) available empirical research (Helling 1965, Faludi 1959) and more traditional sociological and historical studies (Bristow 1994, Brand 1991, Ramcharan 1989, 1982, Hill 1981, Walker 1980, Winks 1977, Cleverdon 1974).

The goal of using primary and secondary sources is straight-forward. Using McAdam's political process model, I am interested in examining the relationship between the four factors mentioned in the last section and their impact on the development of the club. Following the political process model, I am concerned with the extent to which the club was shaped by the broad forces occurring in Canadian society. Documentary analysis allows me to cross-reference information collected through the minute books. More importantly, documentary analysis provides a historical context, a record of the history of the Hour-A-Day Study Club, members, and events important to this research.

The first theme focuses on the political context. The development of the club is located in this context to reveal
the historical origins of their activities that can be traced back to black political struggles. The larger environment informs the activities of the club and the struggles that have sustained Canada's black population and their white counterparts. This first theme deals with the political climate, the lack of legal/constitutional guarantees, discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations and the passage of various anti-discrimination acts. The club is presented as part of this context, rather than just an amorphous ahistorical entity.

The second theme focuses on the "presence of group consciousness." It addresses the importance of how the club's members reflect on their concrete experiences with racism to develop their own self-defined voice concerning those experiences and to organize against their oppression.

The third theme concentrates on the indigenous organizational structure of the club. It amounts to an analysis of the resources available to the club to support its activities. In the early years, the British Methodist Episcopal Church and the Mother's Club were the two influences. The resources of the club were a vital part of sustaining the club's activities.

The fourth theme concentrates on the importance of the relationships between groups. Many of the changes that were occurring in Canadian society were not the result of isolated groups, but of groups working against and at times
with one another to bring about constructive changes. This relationship is explored and reveals the relationship between the club and groups in Windsor.

The second phase of this study examines the internal operations of the club itself and consists of the collection and analyses of written materials (minute books, letters) by the Hour-A-Day Study Club (primary sources) to reveal relevant information about the club’s purpose, goals, membership, scholarship program, cultural programs and ties to the broader community. The specific research procedure also utilized participant observation.² The minute books of the club will be used to discuss: (1) preorganizational activities prior to 1935 (the British Methodist Episcopal Church and the Mother’s Club), and (2) club themes: structure and format of the club, membership, scholarship aid, activities (self-improvement, guest speakers, black history/culture, church activities, charitable donations/fund raising, and cooperative efforts between clubs). These themes assisted me in keeping my analysis more structured and focused on the particular topics and the activities of the club as related to McAdam’s (1982) model. Thus, the primary and secondary sources provided the answer to the question: What did the club do?

²I made contact with the current president of the Hour-A-Day Study Club (Miss Cleata Morris). I attended two club meetings, and I attended the Hour-A-Day Study Club’s 59th annual luncheon.
During the exploratory stages of this study, the president of the Hour-A-Day Study Club was contacted in order to determine whether the historical materials had been maintained over the years, and if so, what materials were available. While the records indicated that the club did have a historian who was responsible for maintaining and collecting materials, the more recent materials were not available for this study. In addition, I was unable to interview the oldest members of the club. However, the club women that I spoke with were important in giving me a sense of the club's tradition, structure, and activities.

This chapter has been concerned with the methodology relevant to this study. It discussed the processes by which the research problem was formulated and access to the Hour-A-Day Study Club's minute books were obtained. It is argued that the political process model was important to the study of the Hour-A-Day Study Club because it provides a nonreductivist analysis of the conditions which have shaped the club.
CHAPTER 4

One of the most interesting aspects of research on Canada is that increasing attention is being given to the historical experiences of black Canadians. Within sociological and historical discourse, there is a growing awareness that we need to examine the role of black Canadians in shaping debates about key aspects of Canadian society.\(^4\) It is as a result of this that there is a need to examine the role of the black community in Windsor from the period 1935 to 1955.

It has to be noted from the onset that there are few research based studies on the historical experiences of black Canadians in Windsor during this period. It is very difficult therefore to draw firm conclusions about the black population in Windsor without such detailed accounts. However, this section attempts to outline some of the general characteristics of the black population over the twenty years of the study.

In the 1930s the bulk of the black population lived in the city of Windsor, although some blacks lived in the villages and other towns of Metropolitan Windsor. An examination of the available materials leaves one with the impression blacks were not doing well in Windsor compared to

\(^4\)See Shirley Y. Lee. 1994 "Gender Ideology and Black Women as Community Builders in Ontario 1850-70" in the Canadian Historical Review. p.53-73.
other native-born French-Canadian and English-Canadian groups (Hellings 1965).

While blacks could vote and there was no legal segregation of public schools, blacks were unofficially segregated in the poorest schools (Hill 1981, Walker 1980 Helling 1965). Black men and women were dissatisfied with the education that their children received and decided to organize clubs to address their children's educational needs. Windsor blacks employed the resources of the community and formed the Mother's Club in 1934 to address the illiteracy in their community by stressing the important role of education in improving black lives.⁵

The Mother's Club focused on women's traditional roles as nurturers and viewed women as important in disseminating the values that would make their children into educated, moral and successful citizens. Their programs focused on nutrition, child psychology, current literature and organizing a graduates' party for technical, junior and senior high school students. Black women used the club as a vehicle to educate their children. Thus, the club provided opportunities for black women with similar interests to meet socially and discuss issues of common concern.

Another indication of the conditions affecting Windsor blacks was the lack of social class mobility among this

group. For example, a small number of blacks owned their own businesses. Some black men worked as labourers in the Ford Motor Company or as labourers in the Public Works Department and the C.I.L Salt Company. Black men were employed as ministers, radio broadcaster, masons, marine fireman, life insurance salesman, and teachers. Black women worked as stenographers and were employed in the Department of Social Services for the city of Windsor. Although this group is small, the picture presented of black employment no doubt describes the small percentage of the population which


Ibid, p.37, Re: Mr. Ray Watkins worked at the Ford Motor Company.

Ibid, p.52, Re: Mr. Henry Lorenzo worked as a pastor in Amherstburg Association (pastored in Windsor).

Ibid, p.52, Re: Mr. Louis Milburn was employed as a mason.

Ibid, p.71, Re: Dr. Henry Taylor was a teacher in the Windsor Board of Education. He became chairman of the board in 1935.

Ibid, p.73, Re: Lawrence Millben was employed as a life insurance salesman with the Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1932.

Ibid, p.124, Re: Reverend C. L. Wells was a minister of the First Baptist Church (p.124)

Ibid, p. 132, Bishop C.L. Morton was employed as a radio broadcaster with CKWL 1936.

Ibid, p.171, Re: Mr. Elmer Kennedy worked for the C.I.L Salt Company.


Ibid, p.176, Re: Ernest Browning worked for the public works Department in the city of Windsor.

Ibid, p. 173, Re: Mrs. Ella Bell was an investigator for the Department of Social Services in the city of Windsor.

Ibid, p.173, Re: Mrs. Agnes Sopher was a stenographer for the Department of Social Services in the City of Windsor.
managed to survive more comfortably.

While some blacks found employment opportunities in the city, most struggled to make ends meet. Those blacks who are at the other extreme may indicate the opportunities available to the vast majority of blacks in Windsor. A great majority of blacks did not own property and those who worked were concentrated in low paying unskilled jobs. Windsor blacks were therefore disproportionately represented at the lowest rung of Windsor's social structure and this accounts for their low socio-economic status (Brand 1991, Helling 1965).

The 1940s brought a series of changes to the city that had a great impact on the lives of Windsor blacks. Throughout Essex County, black men served in the army and worked as pilot officers. They were employed in the Royal Canadian Air Force and in the navy. Blacks responded to the war by working in the factories of Windsor and produced trucks, ambulances and gun carriers. Black men were also employed as detectives, band leaders, and corporate vice-presidents. They worked in the post office, Ford Motor

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Ibid, Re: James E. Watson was a pilot officer in Canadian armed forces

Ibid, Re: Jimmy Deshield, Roy Deshield and Winston Deshield and Dr. Kenneth Rock served in the army during world war II.

Ibid, p.39, Re: Mr. Terrance Freeman served in the Royal Canadian Air Force.
Company and Public Works Department of the City of Windsor. Blacks were employed as marine fireman, lawyers, teacher, junior clerks and janitors.⁹

Canada's war efforts also allowed for the increased participation of black women in the labour force. Ruth Pierson argues (Brand 1991, p.20):

The recruitment of women was part of the large scale intervention by government into the labour market to control allocation of labour for effective prosecution of war.

This was true of black female labour. There were "labour shortages in service jobs in the hospitals, restaurants, dry cleaners, restaurants and hotels" (Brand 1991, p.20). It is possible to assume that some of these jobs were filled by black women.

Similarly some black women in the Windsor community were employed as nurses, teachers and music teachers. Some

⁹Ibid, p.35, Re: Mr.Homer Watkins was employed as a Windsor Detective and was a member of the Windsor police Force and an executive of the Windsor Police Force.
Ibid, p.39, Re: Mr. Rusell Small worked as band leader of the Blue Rhythm Boys.
Ibid, Re: Mr. Terrance Freeman was employed as a junior clerk in the Main post office in Windsor.
Ibid, p.56-57, Re: Mr. Lyle Browning was employed in 1949 as vice president of the Coronet Television Corporation.
Ibid, p.84, Re: Mr. William Perry Sr. worked at the Ford Motor Company.
Ibid, p.173, Re: Mr. Walter Jackson was a janitor with the Department of Social Services.
Ibid, p.189, Re: Daniel Warren, Louis Hall, John Day, Earl Fields, Fred Kirby, Gordon Walls, Melvin Brown, Clayton Kirby, Leroy Shreve, Llyod Jones, Garbutt Jackson, Edwin Powell, Ernest Boyd and Freeman Dungy were employed with the department of public works.
worked as secretaries and some worked in the Windsor Post Office. It appears that there was a small number of blacks who took advantage of the opportunities available to them during this period. However, in 1947 blacks were still disproportionately concentrated at the bottom of the skill pyramid. According to Helling's study of Windsor (1965), in 1947 over 97 percent of all employed blacks were employed as common labourers. Employment for blacks was concentrated in the automotive industries and in small service type companies. The occupational structure of Windsor blacks reflected a high number of blacks in low skilled occupations and very few blacks in white collar and professional organizations.

From the 1940s onwards, however, a number of black groups and organizations started to challenge this exclusion. Racism continued to play a major role in the

10 Ibid, p.35, Re: Liverda Murray worked as a nurse.
   Ibid, p.35, Re: Charlotte Watkins was employed as a music teacher.
   Ibid, p. 37, Re: Mrs. Nancy Watkins was a member of the Women's Auxiliary of 264, of local 200 UAW-CLO and past recording secretary.
   Ibid, Re: Valerie Talbot worked as a secretary to the Administrator of Grace Hospital in Windsor.
   Ibid, p.146, Re: Shirley Harrison worked as a teacher at Gordon McGregor School and Western Public School.
   Ibid, p.107, Re: Hazel Solomon worked as a letter carrier.
   Ibid, p.153, Re: Colleen L Campbell and Marian V. Overton first black nurses to graduate from Windsor hospitals (members of the Class of 1948 from Hotel Dieu).
lives of Windsor blacks as they encountered discrimination in their city. Windsor practiced racial discrimination as blacks were not always accepted in theaters, restaurants and barber shops (Helling 1965). It also appears that black women may have been excluded from joining white organizations. Black women participated in a number of organizations in the community, but no black woman appears to have been president of one until 1947, when Mrs. Nancy Watkins became president of the organization.\footnote{Ibid, p. 37, Re: In 1947 Mrs. Nancy Watkins was the first black female president of the Windsor Council of Home and Schools Clubs, first black female member of the Ladies' Choir of the Home and School Association, Active member of the Windsor Council of Group Relations and president of the Western Home and School Association.}

In this period, blacks continued to press the federal and provincial government for more action on issues concerning racial inequality and equal rights. In 1944 the Province of Ontario established the Racial Discrimination Act as a way of addressing discrimination and to increase the awareness within the Canadian public that discrimination would not be tolerated. In Windsor individuals formed a joint Labour Committee to Combat Racial Intolerance. Black credit unions formed to assist blacks who were denied bank loans to develop businesses or purchase real estate.

It was in this context that Windsor blacks began to demand that greater attention be paid to racial issues. Such
demands for increased black representation were seen as a way of (1) helping to place black issues in the political agenda and (2) giving a voice to the demands of those who were excluded from equal participation in Windsor and Canadian society.

It is clear that Windsor blacks made serious attempts to tackle the discrimination they encountered in their daily lives. Increasingly, the focus became demands for black participation in a number of religious, cultural, educational and professional associations. For example, blacks participated in the following organizations: the Art and Literary Clubs, Missionary Societies of the First Baptist Church, Family Service Bureaus, and the Western Public School's Home and School Associations. Blacks were members of the Young Liberal Party, the Windsor Council of Home and School Associations, the Windsor Council on Group Relations, Windsor Police Force, and the Essex County Youth Committees. Within the context of these organizations, blacks believed that the recognition of black participation and contribution in the clubs would allow for black representation and provide black members with a vehicle for mobilizing for changes in their city at the local level.

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Ibid, p.21, Re: Art And Literary Society and the Missionary Society of the First Baptist Church.
In the 1950s, blacks were starting to participate more fully in the growing Windsor economy. Many businesses showed some interest in attempting to employ black labour. For example, blacks were employed on farms as general laborers planting tobacco and picking fruit and vegetables. While some black men were employed as electricians, stationary engineers, accountants and police detectives. Black men also worked as carpenters, dentists, letter carriers and police constables.\textsuperscript{12}

Similarly some black women worked on farms as general laborers. Black women were employed as clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, x-ray technician, school teachers and architects. Black women worked as marketing clerks, library clerks, nurses, and beauticians,\textsuperscript{14} while some black women

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, p.41, Re: Mr. Charles Reaume Lawson worked as an electrician.
Ibid, p.41, Re: Mr. Henry H. Lawson worked as a stationary engineer at the Windsor Post Office and son Harold Lawson was an accountant.
Ibid, Re: Detective Alton Parker made Detective in 1951, member of Windsor Police Force.
Ibid, p.43, Re: Emmanuel C. Parker owned a confectionary store on 840 Merer Street.
Ibid, p.46, Re: Donald Talbot worked as a carpenter.
Ibid, p.78, Re: Mr. Roy Perry worked as a dentist.
Ibid, p.176, Re: Police constable Kenneth Johnson worked for the traffic division of the Windsor Police Department.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid, p. 197, Re: Miss Helen Caldwell worked as a beautician.
Ibid, p. 18, Re: Miss Margaret Faulkner worked as an
may have worked in occupations related to domestic and personal service. The increased employment of black men and black women in Windsor shows strong evidence they were making economic gains.

One positive feature found during this period was the increase in government assistance to address racism in Canadian society. In 1951, Ontario passed a Fair Employment Practices Act. With the passage of the Act, the position of blacks improved a little bit. According to the Windsor Council on Group Relations (1947, p.3), qualified blacks had been employed and given positions of responsibility and authority in some of the largest factories in Windsor.

Despite these gains for blacks, they still occupied the bottom rung of the social structure. Blacks still experienced discrimination in housing, employment and public accommodations. Recognition of the ongoing racism and the

clerk for Ward's Foods Incorporated.

Ibid, p. 39, Re: Miss Betty-Lou Small worked as an x-ray technician at Parkside Hospital in Detroit.

Ibid, p.43, Re: Miss Madeline Parker was a secretary of the Bethel Church.

Ibid, p.173, Mrs. Luella White was a bookkeeper with the Hi-Neighbour Floor Covering on Wyandotte Street East.

Ibid, 57, Re: Dorles Browning worked as a bookkeeper at Bartlet's Department store in Windsor.

Ibid, p.66, Re: Barbara Wilson was a controller for Carter-Fraser Architects.

Ibid, p.43, Re: Mrs. Glady Parker worked as an assistant marketing clerk for the City of Windsor.

Ibid, p.46, Re: Rose Ann Parker worked as a teacher.

Ibid, p.66, Re: Etta Bruce worked at the Willistead Library.

Ibid, p.154, Re: Frieda Parker worked as a nurse.

Ibid, p.173, Re: Bonnie Morgan was employed as a secretary with the Department of Social Services.
very real social problems which existed had a tremendous impact on black thinking during this period. While some Windsor blacks were not hopeful that the Canadian government would bring about changes in the major problems that concerned them, many Windsor blacks believed that it was their destiny to make the most of their conditions through hard work, the resources available to them and collective action for equal rights. There were a number of blacks participating in professional, voluntary, literary, cultural, religious, and women's organizations.¹⁸

This section provided an outline of the local conditions in Windsor affecting black Canadians. It has demonstrated that far from being consumed with the discrimination they faced, the black community in Windsor

¹⁸Mrs. N. Edmonds to Club, 17 November 1949, HDSC Papers, p.173 Re: The Helping Hands Society.
Ibid, p.46, Re: Missionary Society of the First Baptist Church.
Mrs. Vivian Nall to Club, 17 January 1946, HDSC Papers p.2, Re: City Planning Committee.
Mrs. Watkins to Club, 7 March 1946, HDSC Papers p.9, Re: Detroit Urban League.
Mrs. Van Dyke to Club, 16 May 1946, HDSC Papers p.20, Re: club's participation in the Local Council's clothing drive.
Mrs. Henderson to Club, 17 September 1946, HDSC Papers p.32, Re: Fellowship of Coloured Churches Credit Union at A.M.E. Church.
Mrs. Watkins to Club, 17 October 1946, HDSC Papers p.36, Re: Housewives Consumer League of Greater Windsor.
has been active in improving their lives. Placed in the broader context, it appears that the local conditions in Windsor and the unmet needs of the black community were the impetus for the formation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.
This chapter provides an analysis of the national and local conditions informing the activities of the Hour-A-Day Study Club during three periods, 1930-1940, 1940-1950, 1950-1955, especially as these relate to the conceptual framework and assumptions presented earlier.

The minute books of the club which have been located cover the periods from 17 January 1946 to 29 December 1949, 19 January 1950 to 9 April 1953, 16 April 1953 to 7 November 1957. In addition to these books, loose sheets of written history from 1934 to 1955 by Mrs. Adella Jacobs and Mrs. Hilda Watkins provide insight into the history of the club.

THE HOUR-A-DAY STUDY CLUB

1935-1955

Early Organization and Purpose of the Hour-A-Day Study Club

While the minutes concerning the years 1934-1945 are not available, the club's notes indicate that the Hour-A-Day Study Club was officially organized in February 1935 when members decided to become affiliated with the Local Council of Women of Windsor (L.C.W.W.). The immediate goal of

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1"The L.C.W.W. was part of the Provincial Council organized in 1923 by Lady Aberdeen. The council was conceptualized by Lady Aberdeen as a non-profit organization whose primary purpose was to represent the voice of women and powerless groups in Canadian society at the local and national levels. The L.C.W.W. met once a month, with one club serving as hostess. The Hour-A-Day Study Club sent two members as representatives to these meetings and in turn they reported back to their own clubs the planned activities of the council.
the Hour-A-Day Study Club was self-improvement and community development. The members decided that they would strive to develop their intellectual skills by devoting one hour of their time per day towards independent study. The club believed that through education it could make its members more independent and less tied to the domestic realm. The Hour-A-Day Study Club's constitution defined its purpose this way: "to study child psychology, home economics, negro history, parliamentary procedure and current events." 17

The club's goals therefore reflected a dual purpose to improve performance in the domestic realm as well as an increase in knowledge outside it.

**Structure and Format of the Club**

Based upon the constitution, minute books, and interviews with members of the club, one quickly gains a sense of the importance of formal structures and the rigid adherence to rules and regulations during the early years of

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and the specific contributions the club was to make towards this effort.

Ibid, p.3-4. The membership fee to join the Local Council was three dollars, for clubs with membership of twenty-five members or less. The president and three clubs members were invited to attend local council meetings that were held monthly in the parlors of the Young Women's Christians Association (Y.W.C.A) on Pelissier Street. The club did not have a treasury. They paid a voluntary membership fee.

17 Executive Committee Meeting to Club, 11 September 1952, HDSC Papers, p.128.
the club.¹⁸ The number of officers to be elected, the specific duties of each office, the number of meetings to be held per month, and the activities to be carried out with each meeting were clearly stated and reinforced by Robert Leigh's book on Group Leadership with Modern Rules of Procedure.¹⁹ For example, in a presentation on parliamentary procedure Mrs. Nancy Watkins (club parliamentarian) states:

the president and the secretary should arrive half an hour early. The president should be dignified. The secretary's minutes should be brief and to the point. All motions should be recorded in red ink or underlined. Minutes should end thus "respectfully submitted" full name. Errors should never be removed but scored out.²⁰

The concern for parliamentary procedure structured club meetings. The club year ran from September to June, with meetings twice a month on Thursdays at three p.m. devoted to club business, study, and programs. Convening regular

¹⁸Mrs. Hilda Dungy and Mrs. Nancy Talbot to Club, 6 January 1949, HDSC Papers, p.146. The constitution, by-laws became official on 16 December 1948.

¹⁹Mrs. Gladys Van Dyke to Club, Annual Meeting 1954, HDSC Papers, p.91.

²⁰Mrs. Nancy Watkins to Club, 20 February 1947, HDSC Papers, p.56.

Mrs. Lottie White to Club, 16 March 1948, HDSC Papers, p.174, Re: lectured on Notices of Motions and Considering and on Rescinding Motions.

meetings was the most important activity of the club because it was at these sessions that the organization, administration, and promotion of its affairs were discussed and planned. The meetings were categorized as either executive (president and officers), regular meetings (club members), or open meetings (public could attend). During the first eight years, the meetings were held at the president's home. However, on 16 December 1948, members decided that club meetings would be held in members' homes usually rotating alphabetically. The minutes also indicate that club meetings were held in Windsor, but also at members' homes in Detroit, at the Masonic Hall, and at the First Baptist Church. In 1948, regular meetings were held in the Pilot Room of the Children's Aid Society on Tuscarora Street.

The club's format tended to be similar for all meetings. Meetings were called to order by the president,

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21 Mrs. Hilda Dungy and Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 16 December 1948, HDSC Papers, p.142.

22 Mrs. Louise Rock to Club, 20 March 1947, HDSC Papers, p.57, Re: the open meeting was held at Masonic Hall on McDougall Street.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 18 December 1947, HDSC Papers, p.94, Re: an open meeting was held at the First Baptist Church.
Mrs. Hilda Dungy to Club, 20 October 1949, HDSC Papers, p.166, Re: the regular meeting was held at the home of Mrs. C. Lawson in Detroit, Michigan.
followed by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer or a scripture reading. Roll call, collection of dues, minutes of the last meeting were read for approval, followed by the treasurer's report, announcements, correspondence, and reports from the various committees: programs committee, local council, parent's magazine committee, baby committee, scrap book, historian, librarian, followed by a discussion of old business, and finally the meeting was adjourned. The meeting closed with the mizpah (prayer) and a note of thanks was extended to the hostess or cohostesses and the next meeting date/place was mentioned.

Membership

Membership in the Hour-A-Day Study Club, like the Mother's Club, was open to all women in the community who were concerned with community development and the desire to help others. The minute books suggest one method the

Mrs. Adella Jacobs, the club's first president, served in that capacity until 1945. Interestingly enough, she became one of the first black vice-presidents of the Local Council of Women of Windsor.

The offices of the club included: president, first and second vice-presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer (in addition to the elections and nominations committee and invitations committee).

The term community was not defined in the club's minutebooks. The club's mandate was nonexclusionary. Therefore, the club's membership was open to women in general, and black women in particular (not because white women did not join). However, it would seem that club was open to black women concerned with the local conditions affecting both Windsor blacks and the City of Windsor.
club employed to bring new members into the club was to invite potential candidates to club events (club meetings, parents' banquet, cultural events). Mrs. Margaret Brooks, Mrs. Sylvia Robinson, Mrs. Betty Hurst, Mrs. Margaret Hurst, Mrs. Mildred Brown, Mrs. Evelyn Rivers, Mrs. Lawson, Mrs. Groves, Miss Naomi Edwards, Mrs. L. Browning, Mrs. Beatrice Burnette, and Mrs. Lottie Black were among the guests who later became members.\(^{28}\)

While slight variations existed, the minutes indicate that the general procedure consisted of presenting the name of a potential candidate to the club or inviting a potential candidate to a club meeting. None of the available information indicates specifically how membership in the club was determined, but the few names above indicated that only a few applicants were admitted each year. The members admitted serves to suggest that some method was used to

\(^{28}\)Mrs. Vivian Wall to Club, 1 March 1946, HDSC Papers, p.11, Re: Mrs. Margaret Brooks.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 16 March 1947, HDSC Papers, p.46, Re: Mrs. Sylvia Robinson, Mrs. Betty Hurst, Mrs. Margaret Hurst, Mrs. Mildred Brown.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 20 February 1947, HDSC Papers, p.55, Re: Mrs. Evelyn Rivers, Mrs. Lawson.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 20 March 1947, HDSC Papers, p.57, Re: Mrs. Groves.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 20 March 1947, HDSC Papers, p.59, Re: Miss Naomi Edwards.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 3 April 1947, HDSC Papers, p.61, Re: Mrs. Smith.
Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 8 January 1948, HDSC Papers, p.98, Re: Mrs. L. Browning.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 16 September 1948, HDSC Papers, p.130 Re: Mrs. Beatrice Burnette.
Mrs. A. De Shield to Club, 3 Aug 1953, HDSC Papers, p.86, Re: Mrs. Lottie Black.
either approve an application for membership or determine the criteria for rejecting an application for membership.

One indication that the events tended to influence the rate at which new members were brought in is found in the following examples. According to the Hour-A-Day Study Club's papers for the years 1934-1946, the club roster listed ten members. Attempts were made to increase membership in the club by revising membership lists and encouraging delinquents to retain their membership. Similarly, numerous references were made to members to encourage new membership by forming a membership committee to call on new mothers after the birth of their first child, to present the family with a small gift or literature, and to invite them to become members.\(^2\) If the applicant decided to accept the offer of membership, the constitution stated that the requirements of membership included knowing and abiding by the constitution, paying dues, and acting as a hostess for meetings. However, fines to be paid for failure to meet these requirements or types of behaviour that could result in expulsion from the club were not stated.

**Scholarship Aid**

The minute books reveal that the club did not allow its concern for education to be expressed in an incidental

\(^2\)Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs. Watkins, "History Hour-A-Day Study Club" p.6-8.
fashion. It made direct attempts to supplement the education of black children by organizing a system of granting scholarships and making financial gifts or forms of assistance available to black students in the City of Windsor. The reference to the establishment of the scholarship program was first proposed by Mrs. Hilda Watkins on 7 March 1946.\textsuperscript{27} The information concerning the program was clear and concise, the financial award was to be called scholarship aid (to help deserving black students continue with their education), and was open to graduates of technical schools, junior matriculation, and senior matriculation students.\textsuperscript{28} Mrs. Vivian Nall and Mrs. Gladys Van Dyke state:

\begin{quote}
$50.00 each year be given to the outstanding senior matriculation coloured student of Windsor and $50.00 to the outstanding Windsor coloured graduate of the W.D. Lowe vocational school who intends to further his or her education. Provided that there is only one applicant, $100.00 will be given to that applicant. The nomination forms have be sent out and are to be returned by [end of June].\textsuperscript{29}
\end{quote}

Notices of the availability of the scholarship aid were posted in the black churches. The notices were to sent out

\textsuperscript{27}Mrs. Hilda Watkins to Club, 7 March 1946, HDSC Papers, p.10.

\textsuperscript{28}Mrs. Hilda Watkins and Mrs. Washington to Club, 18 April 1946, HDSC Papers, p.17, 21, 23-24.

\textsuperscript{29}Mrs. Nall and Mrs. Van Dyke to Club, 13 June 1946, HDSC Papers, p.33-24.
each Sunday for a month to be read in the morning and night
church services as well as to young black people's clubs
such as the Era Club. The deadline for applications to be
received by the club was at the end of June.\textsuperscript{20}

The first recipient of the scholarship aid was Winslow
Shreve who was presented with the scholarship aid on 15
November 1946.\textsuperscript{21} The minutes of the club meetings indicate
that the following individuals received scholarships: Miss
Cecil Wright, Mr. Ronald McLaughlin, Mr. Arlington Dungy,
Mr. Louis Milburn, Miss Carol Vincent, Miss Lois Smith, and
Miss Eleanor Vincent. The following individuals received
financial gifts: Miss Helen Turner, Miss Teressa Patterson,
Miss Louise Kelly, and Mr. Howard McCurdy.\textsuperscript{22} The club's

\textsuperscript{20}Mrs. Adella Jacobs and Mrs. Vivian Nall to Club, 5
September 1946, HDSC Papers, p.27.
Mrs. Adella Jacobs to Club, 15 May 1947, HDSC Papers,
p.68, 115.
Mrs. Kelly to Club, 16 November 1950, HDSC Papers, p.40.
It is interesting to note that the club did not receive
applications for scholarship Aid for two years (1948-1950)
p.40.

\textsuperscript{21}Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs Nall to Club, 18 November 1946,
HDSC Papers, p.30. Mr. Shreve received $100.00 Scholarship
Aid that was presented to him at the graduate party.

\textsuperscript{22}Mrs. L. Washington and Mrs. Chickee to Club, 16 July
1947, HDSC Papers, p.77, Re: Miss Wright received $50.00 as an
incentive to further her educational endeavours.
Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Henderson to Club, 11 September
1947, HDSC Papers, p.79. Re: Mr. McLaughlin received $50.00
Scholarship Aid and Miss Glynne Milburn and Mr. Waynard Shreve
were acknowledged.
Mrs. Washington to Club, 16 August 1951, HDSC Papers,
records clearly showed their scholarship program fulfilled the obligations of the club as laid down in the constitution.

From the period of 1946 to 1955, the club made three changes to the scholarship aid program. First, the club made the scholarship payable to students in September instead of December. Second, the club asked students to submit an application form. Third, the club argued that the "outstanding" category also include "deserving" students.\footnote{\textsuperscript{22}}

\textbf{Activities}

The minutes of the club provide the most consistent information on the meetings, although very little

\begin{quote}
\footnotesize
p.80, Re: Mr. Arlington Dungy received the Scholarship Aid of $100.00.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 24 June 1948, HDSC Papers, p.126, 128, Re: Mr. Milburn was the only applicant that year and received $100.00 Scholarship Aid.
Mrs. Evelyn Parker to Club, 1 March 1951, HDSC Papers, p.58, Re: Mr. McLaughlin received Scholarship Aid.
Mrs. Vivian Nall and Mrs. Adella Jacobs to Club, 13 September 1953, HDSC Papers, p.23, 151, Re: Miss Helen Turner, Miss Teressa Patterson, and Miss Louise Kelly (5 May 1955), were awarded $25.00 each as a financial gift to assist in their educational needs.
Mrs. V. Nall and Mrs. S. Parker to Club, 3 Aug 1954, HDSC Papers, p.83, Re: Mr. Howard McCurdy received a donation of twenty-five dollars.
Mrs. Vivian Nall and Mrs. E. Henderson to Club, 18 July 1955, HDSC Papers, p.167, Re: Miss Carol Vincent received the Scholarship Aid of one hundred dollars.
\end{quote}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{22}Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 16 April 1947, HDSC Papers, p.63.}
information is indicated concerning the content of the reports. The available club materials were examined for the specific purpose of answering the question: What did the club do? It quickly became apparent that their interests and activities varied to such an extent that it would be difficult to categorize them.

Through their activities, members tried to put into practice the principles in which they believed. The club's activities ranged from those devoted to improving club members' skills in the arts and culture, current events, home economics, in addition to literary and intellectual development, charitable work, assisting the community's attempts to combat racism, working with children to encourage good healthy habits and post-secondary educational pursuits, sponsoring mother's meetings, youth clubs, and always entertainment for the purpose of raising funds and showcasing black culture and history.

In light of these activities, the activities conducted by the club can be classified under the following headings: self-improvement, culture/black history, church activities, guest speakers, charitable donations, and cooperative efforts between clubs. There was considerable overlapping in the execution of these activities, so this classification ought not to be considered a mutually exclusive classification. Rather it is structured to put some order and shape to the discussion.
1930-1940

The Political Process Model Applied:
Structure of Political Opportunities

In the 1930s, the Depression had a great impact on the city of Windsor. Production in Windsor suffered severely as there was little growth in Windsor's main industry, the transportation equipment industry, despite the development of American branch plants in the Windsor area to counteract tariffs erected against the imported manufactured goods (Faludi 1959, Helling 1965, Lajeunesse 1960). These circumstances in addition to low population growth (between 1931 and 1941 population grew from 159,780 to 174,230 (Faludi 1959)), low marriage rates, and low birth rates had dire consequences for the already struggling city. These conditions forced the four independent yet connected border municipalities Windsor, East Windsor, Sandwich, and Walkerville to amalgamate on 1 July 1935 (Morrison 1954, Fuller 1972).

In this period, there seemed to be a blatant contradiction between the principles of freedom and equality for all citizens and the discrimination that blacks faced. Black were excluded from participating fully in all remunerative occupations (Walker 1980) and racial incidents

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24 Examples include the Ford Motor Company of Canada Limited, Hiram Walker and Sons Limited, Chrysler Corporation of Canada Ltd, General Motors of Canada Ltd., Dominion Forge Limited, and the Canadian Bridge Company Limited.
were:

quite frequent in Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, and Winnipeg... Discrimination remained most persistent (Winks 1977, p.419-420).

The "incidents" indicate that although Canada's parliamentary democracy placed the values of equality and justice at the centre of public life, black people lacked legal protection and were denied access to them. Thus, there were tensions arising from encounters between different groups of people, particularly blacks and whites (Agnew 1993, Hill 1981, Ramcharan 1976), due to: (1) patterns of political exclusion and marginalization of blacks within Canadian society (Bristow 1994, Philip 1992, Walker 1980); and, (2) the government's unwillingness to impose sanctions, confer punishments on discriminatory practices, or to act decisively in the presence of racial tension (Hughes and Kallen 1974, Krauter 1968).

The lack of proper protective legislation to make grievances public meant that blacks had to depend on their communities for support. The B.M.E. church and the Mother's Club formed to insure that the needs of the black community would be addressed. By focusing on educating their children, community support and improving themselves, the clubwomen openly challenged their circumstances by using their club as a vehicle to increase their autonomy. Black women were able to take control of their lives and work together to realize the specific changes they desired. The formation of the club
provided a form of political resistance that was at the center of a black community that took positive steps to narrow the channels of discrimination in Windsor.

**Indigenous Organizational Strength**

The earliest influence on the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club was the British Methodist Episcopal Church (B.M.E. church) and their annual B.M.E. Church conference in particular.\(^25\) A close analysis of the B.M.E. church reveals that it was both symbolically and strategically important to the club. Although black women participated in bible study groups, their involvement in the annual B.M.E. conference was one of the events that encouraged black women to expand their activities beyond weekly attendance at bible meetings and the domestic preparation for church functions, and to exert some influence on the public domain. It was during a B.M.E. conference that a group of black women discussed the idea of a black women’s club.\(^26\)

\(^{25}\) There is only one reference to the club’s origins in the church in Adella Jacobs and Hilda Watkins, "History of the Hour-A-Day Study Club," p.1. Just who were these early participants in the women’s groups of the Sunday school? What was the name of the church group? The answers to these and other questions are absent from the minute books and ledgers of the Hour-A-Day Study Club, and there are no remaining members who joined the club prior to 1955 who might shed some light on these issues.

\(^{26}\) The date of the B.M.E. conference is absent from the club’s records, but records indicate that the conference was prior to 1934.

See Adella Jacobs and Hilda Watkins, "History of the
Although the primary focus of the conference was religious activity, the B.M.E. church conference provided the early foundation from which the club would emerge: the preexisting B.M.E. church network and the introduction to organizational work. The church also served to unite blacks in the community by providing a place of worship, a social network and a forum to voice concerns about issues affecting the conditions of black women. In the process, the church allowed for a focus on gender issues. By encouraging black women to form clubs, the B.M.E. Church tacitly identified with black women's concerns. It was these conditions that existed among black women in the B.M.E. church that encouraged them to organize a women's club. This was realized with the formation of the Mother's Club.

The Mother's Club

The Mother's Club was founded on 20 February 1934 and was the second influential precursor to the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. Among the early pioneers who organized the club for black women were Mrs. Adella Jacobs, Mrs. Christian, Mrs. Vivian Nall, Mrs. Lavina Lucas, and Mrs. Elizabeth Washington.²⁷ The club is typical of

women's clubs which see the role of women as mothers and nurturers and the black family as vital during this period. The programs of the Mother's Club in Windsor were quite similar in the scope and purpose to those for women in North America (Hine 1993, p.231; White 1993, p.248; Cleverdon 1974, p.xii). The programs focused on the family (attending lectures on nutrition), children (child psychology or organizing a graduate's party for entrance students at Mercer Street School), church activities, or guest speakers (Dr. H.D. Taylor).\textsuperscript{2a} The role of motherhood assumed great importance in the club's programs. Women's domestic duties in the home, child raising, and child rearing were neither scorned nor abandoned but elevated to nurture pride in women's domestic skills.

The club existed within the black community and wanted to participate in the activities in the City of Windsor. Therefore, armed with a commitment to women's issues and a firm conviction that black women could improve their lives, the Mother's Club developed into the Hour-A-Day Study Club in 1935.

Much of the strength of the Mother's Club was derived from this sense of community among black women. The programs started by black women improved the quality of their lives by addressing black women's experiences in Canadian society

\textsuperscript{2a}Ibid, p.2. This party was organized annually until 1949 when Mercer School was condemned.
for which the ideas of black/race and women/gender are some of the primary factors. Examining the development of the Mother's Club and its emergence from the B.M.E. church conference necessitated examining black struggles. The Mother's club is offered as an open protest against their local conditions in the city of Windsor. The women were at the center of a social web of managing and organizing against the oppressive conditions in the city. The women allied themselves with other black women who were willing to put themselves in the forefront of the struggle for improving black lives.

Presence of Shared Cognitions

The group consciousness of the club cannot be understood outside of Canada's discriminatory practices. The black women did not suffer from uncertainties as to their racial identity. They always thought of themselves as black women and Canadians and saw the club as their ultimate source of support. But in the 1930s, they were also faced with racial discrimination. The incidents involving discrimination in housing and employment meant that the politics of race came closer to home. In the most immediate and dramatic ways, the racist incidents evoked the horrors of Canadian society: the feelings of hopelessness, feelings of powerlessness and isolation. These incidents made clear the differences between blacks and whites.
The differences at this time meant the lack of legal guarantees for black Canadians, but not the power to challenge the existing power relations in Windsor. The concern for racial issues helped to develop a group identity around black women's shared location in the city of Windsor.

But the perceptions of the club are characterized by black women who were concerned about reconstructing their own identities and had the power to define those aspects of their own lives. The level of consciousness within the Hour-A-Day Study Club members was reflected in their support of activities focusing on black identity. Through their activities the women were willing to support, organize and take positive steps to change their local conditions. There are two references that are mentioned in the minute books concerning a conference on Interracial Problems of Today and a meeting at the B.M.E. church discussing Marcus Garvey's philosophy.20 The club's mention of race issues reveals their awareness of black problems. By attending the meetings they were creating space for black people to discuss issues affecting their lives. These meetings were directly addressing black problems. In attending the lectures and meetings, black women in the Hour-A-Day Study Club were empowering themselves and deriving authority from their capacity to speak about the condition of blacks. In that

process the women in the Hour-A-Day Study Club were no longer silent but developed a perspective to talk about their lives.

**Cooperative Efforts Between Clubs**

The club tried to alleviate racial tensions by working together with other organizations. This strategy underlies much of the club's development in the next decade. In this sense, the unity between different groups is best understood as a method to reestablish black identity around a number of issues related to the Red Cross, the Army Legion, the Young Women's Christian Assembly (Y.W.C.A), and the Local Council of Women of Windsor (L.C.W.W.). In other words, institutional forms of racism had meant that blacks could not fully participate in Canadian society. However, the equal participation of black women in these organizations meant that black women attempted to counteract the discriminatory practices in favour of an inclusive strategy. Reacting to their local conditions, the club organized and grew increasingly more active in response to the broader political environment. Thus, the women's ties to local groups informed the activities of the club by broadening its focus.

The 1930s-1940s revealed difficult conditions for the club. The club was used to improve the general conditions of the homes, schools and communities. Although the women of
the B.M.E. Church, Mother's Club, and the Hour-A-Day Study Club were not willing to be confrontational but more typically tried to change things through collective action. These improvements were made despite racial tensions, limited economic resources and national issues which also required their involvement. Many of the changes were implemented after World War Two.

1940-1950

Structure of Political Opportunities

World War II and its aftermath brought tremendous changes to the city of Windsor. In direct contrast to the 1930s, the 1940s-1950s brought many positive changes. The city of Windsor grew dramatically between 1941-1951 from 105,311 to 120,049 (Faludi 1959 p.1, part 1). In 1941, there were 174,230 persons in Essex County, including 1,699 blacks or .98% of the Essex population (Helling 1965, p.6). Faludi's study reported that in 1947, Windsor's weekly earnings were considerably higher than both the provincial and national weekly earnings averages (Faludi 1959, p.207). In 1947, employment was 92.2% in Windsor and

40 The club fits within the integrationalist model of black social movements. The cooperation between clubs was useful in breaking down barriers and the Hour-A-Day Study club attempted to do this.

41 In 1947 the average weekly earnings for Metro Windsor was $43.49 per week. While the average weekly earnings for Ontario was $38.57 per week and for Canada was $36.19 per week.
95.7% in Canada. The economy changed the character of Windsor and rapid urban expansion occurred outside the city in the suburbs (Helling 1965).

While these shifts were beneficial in helping the city of Windsor to recover from the Depression, newly passed federal and provincial laws began to undermine some of the discriminatory practices that blacks had endured. For black Canadians this decade raised basic questions as to whether the legislative changes would give them equal rights in Canada. It appears that issues of equal rights form an important chain of continuity linking black struggles with the activities of the club. Two important shifts were crucial to understanding the local and national conditions in which the club flourished: (1) the growing importance of federal and provincial government support and (2) the emergence of protest organizations.

The growing importance of federal and provincial government support was one of the factors that increased the significance of black struggles and placed pressure on provincial and national politicians to appear responsive to that constituency. Certainly some of the more prominent incidents that were documented center on the provincial and federal bodies' recognition of the obvious conflict between

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^2See Faludi, E.G. 1959. Urban Renewal of the City of Windsor and its Metropolitan Area. Table VII.
Canada's democratic values, including allowing black Canadians to fight as equals in the war, and the reality of white racism at home.\textsuperscript{42}

The development of the Racial Discrimination Act (1944) in Ontario was one strategy to oppose discriminatory practices. The Act "prohibited the publication or display of any symbol, sign or notice that expressed racial or religious discrimination" (Winks 1977, p.427). The passage of this legislation began to change the character of Canadian society. It helped to shift the emphasis away from the lack of constitutional/legal protection for minority groups in Ontario towards providing them with a legal avenue to make their grievances public.

A second area of contention focused on employment. Canada's national employment agency, the National Selective Services, until 1942 accepted racial restrictions from prospective employers (Bristow 1994, Walker 1980, Winks 1977).\textsuperscript{44} The National Selective Services tended to recruit employment for whites only. This policy clearly compounded the problem of racial discrimination by allowing businesses

\textsuperscript{42}Although blacks were initially refused entry, they were given admission to the Royal Air Force and Canadian Army later on in the war (Walker 1980, Winks 1977).

\textsuperscript{44}The struggles against racial discrimination were possible due to the broad based support from the Canadian Jewish Congress, black university students, and the Winnipeg Free Press (Winks 1977).
to use racist prejudices to feed on the exploitation of blacks.

The area of immigration was another extreme situation. The Canadian government attempted to ensure that nonwhite immigration was kept to a minimum. The background was formed by comments such as those of William Lyon Mackenzie King, who stated in the House of Commons in 1947 (Winks 1979, p.435):

Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental human right of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege.

The issues of race and immigration were clearly interwoven in Canadian politics. According to King, measures to improve Canada's future were to be balanced by limiting nonwhite immigration. Nonwhite immigration was represented as the symbol of all that was undesirable, a change in the Canadian population and a threat to public order--antiblack sentiment found a ready hold in Canadian society.

It is in the application of housing and public accommodations that one can clearly see the threshold of intolerance towards blacks. Helling (1965, p.14) writes:

that Negroes in metropolitan Windsor have experienced housing discrimination. There is a majority of Negroes living in traditional areas by choice. Opposition to Negroes moving into previously all-white neighbourhoods has, after the abolition of restrictive covenants, been primarily on the informal level.

Until about World War II, Windsor had a colour bar in the field of public accommodations. Negroes were not always accepted in theaters, restaurants,
barber shops, beauty shops, or taverns.

These two examples illustrate how housing and public accommodations were pivotal to the race issue in Windsor. The simple fact that businesses were able to refuse black customers or that white neighbourhoods could openly organize against black residents acted to legitimize racist practices. Accordingly, these discriminatory practices led many blacks to challenge racism in Windsor by forming protest organizations.

The assistance of federal and provincial governments and public pressure from protest groups helped to remove some of these discriminatory barriers. These conditions in Canadian society gave rise to yet more activism in the black community. A Joint Labour Committee to Combat Racial Intolerance formed in Windsor, Toronto, and Montreal.44

Black labour unions (Sleeping Car Porters) were organizing for provincial and federal antidiscrimination bills in areas of employment and accommodations (Buxton). Black credit unions or co-ops formed as a response to discriminatory practices that prevented blacks from borrowing money from the banks (Mahan 1992, p.8). In particular, Windsor's Fellowship of Coloured Churches was established in 1944 to

44The initial purpose of this organization was to assist Ukrainians and Jews in Winnipeg, but it soon included blacks. Similar organizations developed in Vancouver, Calgary, Hamilton, Halifax and Sydney.
establish an economic base to lend financial support to the black community. The formation of protest organizations strengthened the political hand of the black community. In the cities, blacks were not such easy targets for terror or intimidation as they were previously, and when they encountered it they were more prone to use these organizations to fight back. Within the conditions of Canadian society, it was this broader political context that informed the activities of the club. Institutional forms of racism in housing, employment and public accommodations meant that black Canadians' access to equal rights were denied by racism. As the historical accounts have emphasized, blacks had to rely on themselves and their community as a site of survival and empowerment. The Hour-A-Day Study Club must be placed within this context.

The club's concern for race and gender issues that were inscribed in the transformation from the Mother's Club to a focus on community events can be regarded as an expression of the struggles occurring in its community. Working with organizations like the Community Council and the Coloured Credit Union,* or the Local Council of Women of

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*Mrs. L. Washington to Club, 6 October 1949, HDSC Papers, p.164 Re: meeting of the Community Council with groups.

Mrs. H. Johnson and Mrs. M. Talbot to Club, 5 November 1949, HDSC Papers, p.169, Re: Community Council meeting on 27 October 1947 at the North Star Lodge. The organizations is now known as the Central Citizen's Association.
Windsor,7 who were concerned with ending discriminatory practices in Windsor, contributed to black Canadians' demands for equal rights. The process of organizing to address problems in their community allowed for black women to become empowered by their own efforts. What made the political climate so important to informing the activities of the club was that it addressed in the public sphere many of the women's private concerns. These conditions can be seen as a decisive factor in giving momentum to the demand for equal rights and the struggles facing the Hour-A-Day Study Club.

**Indigenous Organizational Strength**

For the Hour-A-Day Study Club, the context in which its activities have been organized has always depended on the support it was able to get from the black community. Though its early years reflect the support of the black community in Windsor, the 1940s reflect an expansion of the club's activities in Windsor's community organizations and activities. The club's participation in these activities conveys the club's attempt to define itself as part of and

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7Mrs. Mildred Brown, 20 November 1947, HDSC Papers, p.92
Re: meeting of the Local Council of Women of Windsor to support the Consumer's League's attempt to keep food prices low, and the discriminatory practices of Peche Island proposal.

Mrs. Chatters, Mrs. Van Dyke and Mrs. Nall to Club, 5 November 1949, HDSC Papers, p.168, Re: Citizenship night at the Local Council of Women of Windsor, guest speaker was Mrs. Ormand.
not separate from the activities and resources in Windsor as a whole.

The church still played a dominant role in the activities of the club. The club attended the International Tea in Westminster United Church, supported the St. Valentine's teas at the British Methodist Episcopal church, and attended Mother's Day Service at the First Baptist Church. "These events indicate that the club was willing to support the diverse activities of women's religious groups, while supporting the activities of churches in a number of black and white communities. The club was able to broaden its support base and resources to network with women from different religious backgrounds.

The club's reports focused on current events and debates among members of the University and Windsor community and the club's representatives were expected to attend these events. Members attended a lecture on the "Geneva Conference" featuring Miss Ruth Smallwood, a debate concerning the "Palestine Question," featuring Dr. Pastor Shosson and Dr. Clark Hopkins (University of Michigan), a lecture on Child Psychology by Dr. Lewis of the University

"Mrs. Adella Jacobs and Mrs. Hilda Watkins, History HDSC" p.4. On 9 March 1939, according to the minutes, this was the first multiracial tea in Windsor, Ontario. The church was located on Tecumseh Road at Dougal Avenue.

Ibid, p.5, Re: morning service at the B.M.E. church on 12 May 1940.

Ibid, p.6, Re: First Baptist Church on 9 May 1941.
of Western Ontario entitled, "Problems of Parents with their Children," and the club discussed the importance of a new television station in Windsor. The strategic consequences of the club's presence at these meetings can be discussed. Racism was there to be eliminated and the activity involved in eradicating it was neatly counterpoised to the passivity of sitting back and watching events unfold. The central problem perceived by the club was the absence of blacks at these meetings. The club's participation at these lectures would fill part of this gap. It would be implemented by having club members attend as many events as possible in their community. The club's members became not only participants in community events, but provided a voice for black women. Drawing on events occurring in Windsor, the club members were not only able not to produce their own critical commentary on the meaning of these events, but also seemingly national conditions were seen as a complex and interrelated part of the issues in their community.

A notable feature of club meetings was the presence of guest speakers whenever this was possible. Many prominent

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Ibid, p.4, Re: lecture of the United Nations Association meeting on 9 October 1947 which featured the debate on the Palestine Question.
Re: luncheon at the Prince Edward Hotel featuring Miss Ruth Smallwood, World's General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A.
Mrs. Jacobs to Club, 17 January 1946, HDSC Papers, p.2.
Mrs. Florence L. Boddy to Club, 2 May 1946, HDSC Papers, p.19.
Mrs. Evelyn Parker to Club, 2 November 1950, HDSC Papers, p.38 Re: Book Review, This New Canada.
members of the black and white community were invited as speakers during the club’s programs. For example, Miss Ethel Alexander, Reverend C.L. Wells, Mr. McDonald of United Nations Organizations, Dr. Roy Perry, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Karnegay and Mrs. Small were among the list of individuals to speak to the club. The significance of the guest speakers was that they provided the social network which enabled the club to make connections with individuals outside of the black community. The club’s focus on guest speakers signifies that the encounter between blacks and whites had changed the terms on which they would engage each other. Thus, the club focused on issues that were of interest to both blacks and whites of Windsor.

By the 1940s, the club participated in many activities in the greater Windsor area. The club’s participation in the community was an effort to undermine racist sentiments about


Mr. Perry to Club, 5 June 1947, HDSC Papers, p.68, Re: guest speaker at Parents Banquet.

Mrs. Frances to Club, 18 December 1947, HDSC Papers, p.95, Re: Dr. Taylor to present Mrs. Frances member of Public School System (Audio Visual Teaching) supervisor of special classes for defective, vision, and hearing children.

Mrs. F. Karnegay to Club, 19 February 1948, HDSC Papers, p.103, Re: guest speaker, of the Urban League (Detroit), Topic: "Look at Your Community".
blacks at a time when government legislation assisted in bringing some of the discriminatory practices under attack. The club's social activities and its emphasis on community development was in effect renouncing those discriminatory practices that kept the black and white communities separate.

Presence of Group Consciousness

The club's comments on racial incidents in Windsor in the 1940s provide insight into the consciousness of black women in the Hour-A-Day Study Club around racial issues. For example, on 21 March 1944 the club commented on the editorial page of the Windsor Daily Star that Windsor needed education about racism in addition to passing a civic by-law prohibiting public businesses from discriminating against blacks. There was the Peche island Proposal that attempted to ban black people from entering Boblo Island. The club attended a meeting with the Interracial Group of Windsor, met to request that someone be named to act on the Mayor's Housing Committee to raise questions concerning their group, and attended a meeting of the Fellowship of Coloured Churches Credit Union to discuss forming a federated executive council of all coloured organizations in Windsor. The club organized with the Armstead Club to address what they described as the "restaurant situation" and the
opportunities for positions for blacks.\textsuperscript{51}

It is important to remember that these major events made confrontations between blacks and whites visible. These accounts set the tone for the context of black Canadians' struggles for equal rights in the 1940s and 1950s. The emergence of this consciousness within the group is significant in that it conveyed the political concerns of the women in the Hour-A-Day Study Club. In identifying themselves with the struggles of black Canadians, the club drew attention to the historical struggles of blacks in Windsor in the 1940s. The chapter's consciousness of events in their community foreshadows black struggles for political rights at the center of their club. The club was acting in response to the conditions in its community. This had the overall effect of articulating and at the same time promoting a group consciousness and collective identity around issues of race. Writing to the \textit{Windsor Star} and stating that the city of Windsor discriminated against its

\textsuperscript{51} Mrs. Mildred Brown, 20 November 1947, HDSC Papers, p.92 Re: meeting of the Local Council of Women of Windsor to support the Consumer's League's attempt to keep food prices low, and the discriminatory practices of Peche Island proposal.

Mrs. Henderson to Club, 17 September 1946, HDSC Papers, p.32 Re: meeting with the Fellowship of Coloured Churches Credit Union on 20 September 1947. Mrs. Rock wrote a letter to the Armstead Athletic Club and stated that the club wanted to have a "voice" in drafting the constitution. Mrs. Hilda Watkins and Mrs. Hilda Dungy represented the club at the 1 March 1947 meeting.

Mrs. Margaret Talbot to Club, 19 December 1946, HDSC Papers, p.47-48 Re: Lyle Talbot outlined the growth, progress, and benefits of the Fellowship Credit Union.
black citizens indicate the development of a group consciousness around issues of race.

Of primary importance to the club was to provide support for black culture. By exposing members to black culture, the club was able to situate black struggles historically while tying their local concerns to black struggles for equality. The culture provided by the club to its members was not designed just to inform blacks of their contribution to Canadian and North American society. It was motivated by a desire to bring about changes to their local condition. They were able to reinforce their arrival on the cultural scene while challenging the negative attitudes towards black culture.

The cultural program usually took the form of vocal or instrumental performances by individuals or groups, either local, foreign, members and non-members or prominent musical figures in the black community. The club's president attended the international Tea held at the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue on Giles Boulevard featuring vocalist Mrs. Mae Thomas, a former club member. The club presented Mrs. Josephine Love in a recital at the First Baptist Church, presented Miss Hazel Solomon, a guest soloist in a recital at the Central United Church, featured soloist Celeste Cole and Mr. Millard Williams at their annual concert, and attended the Michigan Opera's salute to Windsor at the Detroit Civic Opera Concert. The cultural programs depended
on the ability of blacks as a group to do things together. The music describes a collective experience which involves the community.

Other musical guests included Mr. Cecil V. Reeves of Detroit who was presented in concert by the club at their annual concert. Miss Charlotte Watkins and Mr. Arthur Maxey tenor of Detroit who sang at the club's annual cultural program at the First Baptist Church. The Columbia Boys Choir of Windsor and pianist Cora Palmer were the featured musical guests at their annual cultural program.\textsuperscript{22} The club's focus on music is important as elaborating a set of relationships or cultural expression that reflects the values of the black community. In other words, by showcasing black culture the club drew on the resources and individuals available in the City of Windsor. Music was used to situate black people historically, culturally and politically. It follows that the cultural programs were an expression and celebration of their sociability.

\textbf{Cooperative Efforts Between Clubs}

It is in the period between 1940 and 1950 that the club became part of a network of informal and locally-based

\textsuperscript{22}Mrs. N. Talbot to Club, 11 September 1947, HDSC Papers, p.81, Re: Mrs. Celeste Cole for the annual concert, a singer from Detroit who was trained in Europe and lived in Russia. Mrs. Adella Jacobs and Mrs. Hilda Watkins, "History HDSC" p.13.

Ibid, p.18.
organizations. The Hour-A-Day Study Club began to express itself as a self-conscious political formation and to create its own strategies for communication and debate. Though its primary audience lay in the black community rather than white society, the club played an important role in linking the struggles between blacks and whites around a number of issues related to educational activities and charitable endeavours. The club attempted to build links between black and white organizations in different parts of Windsor and at times Detroit.

The club posed a consistent challenge to the idea that blacks and white could not work effectively together to resolve many problems within their community. For example, educational pursuits involved attending a lecture by Canadian playwright and radio personality, Mr. Lister Sinclair. They attended the Sisterhood of Shaar Hashomayim's book fair and book review night. They attended a lecture and a movie sponsored by the Maternal Health League. They attended a Home Maker's conference sponsored by the Detroit News, and the Progressive Education Association's Conference organized at the Prince Edward Home and School Association. These developments are important from the

\[\text{Mrs. Kathryn Butler to Club, "History HDSC" p.12. Re: Mr. Sinclair who presented at the Prince Edward Hotel on 17 October 1951.}
\[\text{Mrs. Nancy Watkins to Club, 17 October 1946, HDSC Papers, p.36-37.}
\[\text{Mr. Lyle Talbot to Club, 6 March 1947, HDSC Papers, p.44.}
\[\text{Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 13 July 1949, HDSC Papers}\]
point of view of the Hour-A-Day Study Club because the expansion of the club's activities and their involvement with other groups was to transform decisively the meaning of the club. The entry of the Hour-A-Day Study Club into these organizations and into the politics of the city helped create unity among groups in the city of Windsor during the 1940s and 1950s.

Though the club's networking with local groups developed, the need to support many charitable organizations was widely accepted in the Hour-A-Day Study Club. This was significant not simply for the club's open support of black charities, but for the convergence it represented between black and white groups. Of primary importance to the club was to provide assistance to individuals and organizations that were brought to their attention.

Individual members would hear of an organization that needed assistance, report it to the group, and the club would decide whether to provide assistance or in a few cases decide against providing help. The club's minutes provide the most specific examples of such help to the Children's Aid Society, Tornado Fund, Boy Scouts Drive, Federated Charities Drive, Canadian National Institute for the Blind, Community Fund of Windsor, Goodfellows, Canadian Tuberculosis Association, Essex County Sanatorium, Community

p.188 Re: Congratulatory letters.
Swimming Pool Fund, Lions Club of Windsor, and the Rotary Fund for Crippled Children. The club made a financial contribution to the Windsor Teacher's Council concerning the proposed Museum in the Baby House as well as a financial contribution to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.\textsuperscript{a} The club made charitable donations to the following organizations: United Nations, Tuberculosis Association, United Negro College Fund Detroit, Michigan.\textsuperscript{a}

By supporting a number of charities the club became part of the Windsor community, rather than a separate,

\textsuperscript{a}Mrs. M. Talbot to Club, 16 May 1946, HDSC Papers, p.20, Re: Children's Aid.
Mrs. M. Talbot to Club, 17 September 1946, HDSC Papers, p.32, Re: Boy Scouts Fund.
Mrs. Hilda Watkins to Club, 17 November 1946, HDSC Papers, p.38, Re: Federated Charities Drive Fund.
Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Milburn to Club, 2 December 1946, HDSC Papers, p.43, p.105, Re: National Institute for the Blind.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 19 June 1947, HDSC Papers, p.70, Re: Community Fund of Windsor.
Mrs. H. Johnson and Mrs. E. Watkins to Club, 18 December 1947, HDSC Papers, p.95, Re: Goodfellows Fund, Canadian Tuberculosis Association.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 8 January 1948, HDSC Papers, p.97, Re: Essex County Sanatorium.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 8 March 1948, HDSC Papers, p.106, Re: Baby House.

\textsuperscript{a}Mrs. Adella Jacobs and Mrs. Hilda Watkins, 20 September 1947, "History HDSC" p.9, p.10, and p.17.
marginalized group. It relied for its development on networks of culture and communication in which the voice of black women could be added and it drew its momentum from the informal relationships between the club and these organizations which formed in the shadow of the 1940s discriminatory practices. The club's focus on supporting charities that included the greater community was therefore viewed as an effort to work out racial problems in order to unite the Windsor community. The club's participation in community activities both reflected and defined the developing conditions and shifts that shaped the politics of the 1940s-1950s. By focusing their activities around various issues in the community, they found a means of enlisting much broader support for their cause. The club was able to participate with their community in the struggle for racial equality.

The period from 1940 to 1950 proved to be one of increased activities for the Hour-A-Day Study Club. The expansion of the club's activities during these years stemmed in part from profitable linkages the club was able to establish with external groups. The passage of government legislation and the social relationships established with blacks, whites and women's organizations contributed to assisting blacks in improving their lives.
1950-1955

Expanding Political Opportunities

In the 1950s, Windsor experienced a population growth of 1.6% or from 1951 to 1956, the population increased from 120,049 to 121,980 (Faludi 1959, p.188) and there was an increase in the population in the cities. Urbanization continued as residential development occurred outside the city. As in the last decade, Windsor's weekly earnings were considerably higher than both the provincial and national weekly earnings averages (Faludi 1959, p.207).\footnote{In 1954, the average weekly earnings for Metro Windsor was $67.82 per week. While the average weekly earnings for Ontario was $61.15 per week and for Canada was $58.88 per week respectively. } These changes support a conclusion of the relative increase in the standard of living for many blacks:

Qualified Employees of several races, nationalities and religious beliefs have been given positions of responsibility and authority in some of the largest factories in Windsor (Windsor Council on Group Relations 1957, p.3).

However, some of the political conditions had a profound impact on the condition of blacks. Three factors are particularly important: (1) the increase in the number of discriminatory incidents, (2) the Immigration Act (1952), and (3) constitutional/legal issues.

In Ontario, blacks found that many of the discriminatory practices from the 1940s continued into this decade. Black tourists encountered "difficulties in being..."
served in restaurants in Dresden, while black residents were barred from patronizing community restaurants" (Winks, 1977 p.457). Impeded by the lack of acceptance of public accommodations, discrimination in "theaters, restaurants and taverns, barber shops and beauty parlors, and night clubs made Windsor negroes understand that they were less welcome" (Helling 1965, p.16-17). Windsor blacks had great difficulties in using recreational facilities. According to Helling (1965, p.17) the towns along the Lake Erie shore of Essex County "have a tradition of anti-black attitudes and the white residents believed that intimidation was one method of discouraging blacks" from living in these towns. He writes:

residents of the town referred to either unwritten laws or rules that Negroes could not stay overnight. Since no municipality could have such a law, the purpose of this approach seemed to be a discouragement of Negroes through intimidation.

Windsor blacks recognized that these discriminatory practices indicated the need to assist their community.

The club minutes indicated that its concern with political conditions was not expressed in an incidental fashion. The club women debated the Dresden Affair concerning racial discrimination in restaurants, attended a lecture on the Status of Women in Canada, and discussed the need for unity and harmony among the races. They argued about the Canadian government allowing 100 girls from the British West Indies into Canada to work as domestic help and
received a letter from Harold Johnson on human rights.\textsuperscript{87}
The changes taking place within the broader political climate were always reflected in club politics.

Many black women closely identified with other blacks who were experiencing discrimination and their action supported their feelings. The club's discussion and debates about issues of race represented their identification with their own political setting. The club appealed to black women who believed that they should play a role in addressing some of the problems in the city and saw black women as an essential force for social change. The club's discussions and attendance at community events mentioned above was congruent with black Canadians' attempt to address the conditions in their city.

In the 1950s, some of the discriminatory practices were being undermined and transformed although the fruits of the

\textsuperscript{87} Mrs. A.P. DeShield, 4 February 1954, HDSC Papers p.54, Re: Dresden affair the "Two Bit Town that Shamed Canada".  
Mrs. Louise Rock, 4 November 1954, HDSC Papers p.110, Re: Local Council discussion paper on the Status of Women in Canada. The corresponding secretary was instructed to send for copies  
Mrs. Lavina Lucas to Club, 25 June 1955, HDSC Papers, p.146, Re: meeting on New Canadians.  
Mrs. E. Henderson to Club, 16 June 1955, HDSC Papers, p.150, Re: report from Mr. Morris Harding concerning Mr. Howard Berry's incident with the Windsor Police. The club paid $25.00 for Mr. Berry's legal fees. Mr. Berry lost court case. The club decided to send a letter to Mayor Patrick to ask him to investigate this matter.
transformation were not fully visible until the 1960s and later. But the political power of the club was enhanced by its support of community events and organizations in order to bring about change.

Second, although there was an increase in immigration from black and Third World countries, the Immigration Act (1952) provided a double standard allowing for white entry on one criterion, while prohibiting the entry of non-whites on the basis of:

nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin, peculiar customs, habits, or modes of life (Winks 1979, p.4).

Ramcharan (1982, p.14) argued that "the discriminatory behaviour of Canadians was firmly reflected in the attitudes of the Canadian government toward nonwhites' entry into the society." By 1955, legislators in the Ministry of Immigration expressed the view that because Canada "preferred Whites, the policy of preventing or strenuously limiting immigration from non-White countries would continue" (Ramcharan 1982, p.13).

While black immigration was restricted on the basis of the suitability criteria, another discriminatory practice came into effect. The Domestic Scheme Program (1955) brought immigration from the West Indies and caused an increase in the number of blacks in Canada in the late fifties that was accelerated in the sixties. The domestic scheme came about due to the demand for domestic labour in Canada. Under this
scheme middle class, white collar teachers, clerks and nurse's aides left their jobs and emigrated to become government sponsored domestic laborers (Bolaria & Li 1988, p.193; Walker 1980, p.70).

Third, the provincial government provided political opportunities for black Canadians through the passage of anti-discrimination legislation used to address racial incidents. The provincial government educated the public through the Human Rights Commission and statements to the press. All of this government action was stimulated by public pressure from black organizations (Walker 1980, p.11; Winks 1977, p.427). These efforts were further facilitated by the enactment of more sweeping protections, for example, the Fair Employment Practices Act (1951) which outlawed discrimination in collective agreements and declared restrictive covenants in land sales null and void in the province of Ontario (Winks 1979, p.427).

The Fair Accommodations Practices Act (1951) was a government initiative to end discrimination in business and employment. The federal government's anti-discrimination policies in the 1950s, encouraged by national and local pressure, and the Ontario government's series of legislative changes beginning in the early 1950s provided some of the constitutional safeguards, political opportunities and breaks for black Canadians.
Indigenous Organizational Strength

The club's emphasis on using the resources of the Windsor community to support its activities was key to the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club during this period. One achievement that resulted from this established organizational base was that despite its small numbers, a distinct black community existed. According to Helling's (1965, p.7) study:

at the present time negroes are concentrated in Census Tract Number 12, between Wyandotte Street East and Giles Boulevard East; Census Tract 25, Tecumseh Boulevard East, Census Tract 36, City Boundaries and Third Concession; Consensus Tract 11, Wyandotte East and Detroit River; Census Tract 5, Tecumseh West and Essex terminal Railroad; Census Tracts 1 and 2, Western City Boundaries, Huron Line and Detroit River. The greatest concentration of Negroes is on McDougall Street, between Detroit River and Giles Boulevard. It is estimated that about 20 Negro families live in this area.

The concentration of blacks in a relatively small space contributed to both a sense of community and institution building that served to strengthen the effectiveness of the black community as a vehicle of social change.

The club had organized around a number of social and religious issues. Overlapping membership in church associations was common and the club frequently adopted and supported many of these causes. Involvement in church activity often seemed to lead the club towards keeping ties to the black community in Windsor. For example, the club attended a Women's Fellowship meeting at the First Baptist
Church, a Youth Guide meeting at the British Methodist Episcopal church, the annual conference of the British Methodist Episcopal church— in addition to attending a Fellowship dinner at the First Baptist church and Valentine's Teas at the B.M.E. church.

Through the churches organized activity, the club's participation in many of these events allowed black women to develop and refine their skills of organizing and fundraising. In the 1950s, the First Baptist Church and the B.M.E. Church were able to draw on the efforts of black women to organize fund raising events and found the support in black women's clubs. Other club activities included attending concerts. The minutes indicate that the club attended a concert at the First Baptist Church featuring Mr. William Hines and Chorus, attended a recital at the Central United Church, participated in the Church Aid society of the British Methodist Episcopal Church. The churches provided a

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Mrs. Evelyn Parker to Club, 19 June 1952, HDSC Papers, p.125 Re: Conference of the B.M.E. church to be held in Windsor on 24 June 1952.

Mrs. Alice De Shield to Club, 4 March 1954, HDSC Papers, p.63 Re: Women's Fellowship of First Baptist Church having a meeting 18 April at 2 p.m., guest speaker A.N.H. Parker.

Mrs. Naomi Edwards to Club, 19 January 1950, HDSC Papers p.3. Re: Fellowship Dinner at the First Baptist Church on 20 January 1950 sponsored by Mrs. G. Milburn

Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 2 February 1950, HDSC Papers p.5, Re: Valentine's Tea held at B.M.E. church 12 February 1950, guest speaker Mrs. Tyrell."
communication network linking the activities of the club to church activities. These activities merely reassert a fundamental tenet of the political process model: the club was a collective phenomenon arising first among those segments of the minority community characterized by a high level of prior organization (established interactional networks facilitating the individual recruitment of club participants).

Presence of Group Consciousness

The club women demonstrated their ability to perceive and respond to social problems in their community. One strategy was to reinforce the contributions blacks made to their community. As in the 1940s, the study of black culture and black history was very important. In the 1950s, club members presented talks on members of the local black community. For example, Mrs. Hilda Watkins presented a seminar on Mr. William Alberts, who owned a steam laundry in Windsor. Mrs. Henderson reported that Mrs. Judy Turner had owned the first Ice House in the Old Town of Sandwich, that Mrs. Elvia Lexon Banks taught in the first school in Sandwich, and Mr. Frank Nolan owned his own gasoline station.\(^6\) This setting allowed for the development and

\(^6\) Mrs. Jacobs to Club, 16 October 1953, HDSC Papers, p.138.
Mrs. Kathryn Butler to Club, 18 November 1952, HDSC Papers, 149.
Mrs. Louise Rock to Club, 18 November 1952, HDSC Papers
transmission of culture and history. By discussing black history the club was preserving and enhancing its group culture. Black women understood that the club's identification with black historical events reinforced black group unity. Furthermore, although blacks experienced discrimination, black people were still able to be successful. The study of black history and culture was used to encourage black women to take advantage of the power that comes from organizing with other women.

The club's programs focused on current literature. For example, the club purchased Carter Woodson's book *History of the Negro*. Mrs. Charles Butler reviewed a chapter per month throughout the year. The life of black painter Henry Tanner was reviewed by Mrs. Kathryn Butler. Fred Hart Williams of the Detroit Negro Historical Society discussed Negro History in Detroit. The club's emphasis on black history and culture was important because it indicated that they were aware of the need to preserve and promote their culture. By studying black history they were supporting a culture that was the cornerstone of their identity.

The club attended many black history exhibits and plays

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p.150, Re: Negro Exhibit was in Detroit Michigan.
Mrs. Hilda Watkins to Club, 15 October 1953, HDSC Papers, p.30 Re: Mr. Alberts.
Mrs. A. De Shield to Club, 3 June 1954, HDSC Papers p.86 Re: Mr. Frank Nolan's gasoline station on Broadhead and Howard.
like one entitled "Stevedore," presented at the Detroit Institute of Arts, that depicted black life in the South. The club viewed a play at the Lucy Thurman Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association in Detroit sponsored by the Current Topic Study Club of Detroit. They saw a play, "Church Bells," by the Armstead Club and visited the Detroit Museum of Arts to view an exhibition of Negro Life and History sponsored by the Detroit Negro History Association.*1

The club introduced black history into the club to indicate new values that a budding black community would require. By exposing members to black culture, the club was able to educate the local black community about historical black struggles while tying their local concerns to that history. The history and culture provided by the club to its members was not just designed to inform blacks of their contribution to the Canadian and North American society. It was motivated by a desire to bring about changes to their local condition. They were able to reinforce their arrival on the cultural scene, while challenging the negative attitudes towards black culture. These activities assisted

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in facilitating the growth of the club during this time. In effect, the club's shared belief in themselves provided the club with the will to act, while their organizational efforts afforded them the capacity to do so.

Cooperative Efforts Between Clubs

The purpose of working with a number of groups contributing to building a united front among women and men of different racial backgrounds is further illustrated in the club's minute books. The club attended meetings of the Educational Council of Windsor, received letters from the Women's Club, Armstead Athletic Club, Victorian Order of Nurses, Adult Educational Council, North American Lodge, Town Planning Meeting, Current Topic Study Club of Detroit, Canadian Association of Windsor, the St. Johns's Ambulance Corps. The club participated in the meetings of the Community Council, Interracial Group of Windsor (now called the Central Citizen's Association), and the Detroit Urban League.²²

²²Mrs. Rock to Club, 16 March 1946, HDSC Papers p.43, Re: Women's Club c/o Collier & Moore.
Mrs. to Club, 18 March 1948, HDSC Papers p.106, Re: Baud P. Women's Club invitation to attend their Bridge Party.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 18 March 1948, HDSC Papers p.52, Re: Meeting, Armstead Athletic Club (Mrs. Vivian Nall and Mrs. Louise Rock were the club's representatives).
Mrs. Hilda Dungy to Club, 6 February 1947, HDSC Papers p.53, Re: renting the North American Lodge's Hall for student's rally.
Mrs. Browning to Club, 20 March 1947, HDSC Papers p.58, Re: Town Planning Meeting.
Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Nolan, 18 December 1947, HDSC Papers
The relationships developed with these clubs provided members with support from other women's groups and broadened the Hour-A-Day Study Club social network. It is also clear that a number of nonblack organizations and local groups proliferated across the city. In this case, many of these nonblack organizations sought to extend its activities to include black women and men's groups in the City of Windsor. But more importantly, the Hour-A-Day Study Club took the initiative to become more active in a number of organizations. As they worked with educational, social and religious groups their involvement in the community also increased.

It is apparent from the club's minutebooks that they worked with and supported a number of local groups devoted

p.96, Re: Housewives League were visitors of club.
Mrs. Nall and Mrs. Washington to Club, 2 January 1948, HDSC Papers p.98, Re: Canadian Association of Consumers.
Mrs. Rock to Club, 21 January 1948, HDSC Papers p.100, 102, Re: Interracial Group of Windsor announcing meeting on 12 Feb 1947, Mrs. Rock and Mrs. Brown will observe.
Mrs. Washington to Club, 15 April 1948, HDSC Papers p.113, Re: reported pins had ben received from Red Cross for individuals who worked during War and who knitted six pairs of socks. Pins were awarded to: Mrs. Nall, Mrs. Watkins, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Van Dyke, Mrs. Bishop, Mrs. Marguerite Jackson, Mrs. Naomi Edmunds, Mrs. Beck, Mrs. H. Garil, Mrs. G. Lawson, Mrs. Buchinin.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 5 May 1948, HDSC Papers p.114, Re: announcing Mrs. Christian and Mrs. Edmunds were to receive pins.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 2 October 1948, HDSC Papers p.137, Re: Miss Corry and Miss St. Pure of the St. John Ambulance Corps requested to come in at the end of the regular meeting to explain their work of the Corp and their desire to form a groups among the junior girls of the city.
to improving the Windsor community. This was particularly the case with the club's focus on charitable activities. While the club participated in many local activities, the club also engaged in charitable work and contributed much to advance the social issues in its community. The club made regular contributions to the Windsor Community Fund, Children's Aid Society, Rotary Fund, Red Cross Society, Essex County Cancer Fund, Kiwanis Music Festival, and Community Welfare Fund. They supported the effort of the United Negro College Fund, the Windsor Art and Literary Society and Crippled Children's Fund. Financial support was given to the Retarded Children's Group, Sunshine Fund, Centennial Festival Association, Sunshine Fund of Riverview Hospital and a donation was made to the Red Cross.\(^2\)

The Hour-A-Day Study Club's participation in

\(^2\) Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 17 March 1950, HDSC Papers p.11, Re: Windsor Community Fund, Children's Aid Society.
Mrs. Rock to Club, 15 April 1950, HDSC Papers p.14, Re: Red Cross Society.
Mrs. Mildred Brown to Club, 20 April 1950, HDSC Papers p.15, Re: Essex County Cancer Fund.
Mrs. L. Rock to Club, 5 April 1951, HDSC Papers p.66, Re: Kiwanis Music Festival.
Mrs. Lily Kelly and Mrs. Hilda Watkins to Club, 17 February 1952, HDSC Papers p.105, Re: Community Welfare Fund.
Mrs. Lily Kelly to Club, 6 November 1952, HDSC Papers p.141, Re: Windsor Art and Literary Fund.
Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Wall to Club, 6 May 1953, HDSC Papers p.6, Re: Retarded Children's Group.
Mrs. Alice DeShield to Club, 15 April 1954, HDSC Papers p.76, Re: Centennial Festival Association.
Mrs. E. Washington to Club, 21 October 1954, HDSC Papers p.106, Re: Sunshine Fund, Riverview Hospital.
Metropolitan Windsor was clearly indicated by the numerous references in the minutes and the many memberships and relationships that the club had with other organizations. It remained for the club to exploit the expanding opportunities for collective action among groups in the city of Windsor. The club exploited these political opportunities by becoming active participants in many organizations in the city of Windsor.

The analysis in this thesis began by placing the club within the local and national conditions in Canadian society and examining how this context informed the activities of the club. It provided a nonreductivist macro analysis of the broad sociopolitical forces which have shaped the club. This allows for the understanding of the club not as an autonomous entity, but as deeply rooted in the sociopolitical history of Canada—a history which involves struggles in and around race and rights. The analysis demonstrates how struggles are defined by the subjects' everyday experiences and the need to address or ameliorate social and political injustice. It provided a microanalysis which allowed us to understand the way these struggles in and around race and rights have shaped the formation of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. The microanalysis examined themes generated by the individual members' experiences and connected them to the ways the club itself was structured, its goals and aspirations, its members, and its role in the
Windsor community.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to apply the political process model to examine the activities of the Hour-A-Day Study Club. In this study of the early years of the club, the questions posed were: What were the conditions influencing the development of the club? What were the goals of the club? What role did this club fulfill within the black community and for the members themselves? These questions led to the examination of both the national and local level influences, which taken together, provide a greater understanding of the development of the club during the period of 1935 to 1955.

First, the social change literature was examined in order to determine the ways in which it contributed to our understanding of the development of the club. Chapter one focused on three dominant models of social change: the classical model, resource mobilization theory and new social movement theory. In addressing the origins of social change I focused on two main questions: first, what conditions facilitated the development of social change in modern society; and second, what theoretical model of social change is most relevant to a sociological analysis of the Hour-A-Day Study Club? I argued that through a critical analysis of how social change occurs in modern society, the three models provide a broad social change framework to examine the development of the Hour-A-Day Study Club.
Second, McAdam's political process model was used to structure my analysis of the club. To this end, I focused on four main themes, the political context, the indigenous organization, presence of group consciousness and the cooperative efforts between clubs to provide a general outline of the local conditions in Windsor and national conditions in Canada informing the activities of the club.

Focusing on the local conditions in Windsor, I argued that despite the bleak economic conditions and opportunities available to Windsor blacks they were actively organizing in defence of their lives. Although blacks could vote and there was no legal segregation, blacks were unofficially segregated and disproportionately represented in low paying, low skilled occupations (although there was a small minority who worked as teachers, nurses, detectives, dentists and lawyers).

From the 1930 to 1950s, black Canadians were not always treated as Canadian citizens and encountered a number of discriminatory practices which restricted their rights. Racial incidents were frequent in Windsor, Toronto and Hamilton. Black immigration was viewed by William Lyon Mackenzie King as undesirable and therefore kept to a minimum—antiblack sentiment found a ready hold in Canadian society. Blacks experienced discrimination in housing and public accommodations. These events were some of the conditions that gave rise to many anti-racist organizations
which attempted to narrow the channels of discrimination in Canada. The Joint Labour Committee to Combat Racial Intolerance, the Sleeping Car Porters, and the Windsor Fellowship of Coloured Churches were actively protesting racial discrimination in areas such as education, housing and employment.

Black Canadians continued to press the federal and provincial governments respectively for more action on issues concerning racial inequality and equal rights. The passage of the Racial Discrimination Act (1944) and the Fair Employment Practices Act (1951) provided black Canadians with a legal avenue to make grievances public. The legislation also played a major role in undermining some of the discrimination that blacks had experienced. However, blacks were still marginalized in Canadian society and this meant that blacks had to depend on their communities for support. It was within this context that black Canadians began to demand that greater attention be paid to racial equality to place black issues in the political agenda and to give a voice to the demands of those who were excluded from equal participation in Windsor and Canadian society.

The Hour-A-Day Study Club's references to racial issues demonstrate that it was responding to similar kinds of discrimination that existed in Windsor and the surrounding areas, for example, the refusal to serve blacks in restaurants in Dresden. They responded with actions such as
writing a letter to the Windsor Daily Star to encourage a public educational campaign to support a civic by-law in Windsor prohibiting public businesses from discriminating against blacks. This study argued that the Hour-A-Day Study Club's activities represented a collective, integrationist response to the circumstances in its members' community in an effort to empower themselves.

Finally, armed with a sense of the local and national conditions, it was possible to derive a fuller analysis of the Hour-A-Day Study Club's activities. The main activities that I examined included improving themselves, charitable donations, guest speakers, church activities, black culture and cooperative efforts between clubs. By examining the club's activities in the private sphere (domestic realm, child psychology) and the public sphere (equality rights, workforce and civil rights), I argued that the issues that informed the women's movement and the black movements also informed the club.

**Self-Improvement**

The club focused on developing the intellectual skills of its members. The club maintained an ongoing interest in current events, public speaking and the educational needs of their children. While most of their efforts in this area were expressed through their work in the development of a scholarship aid program, organizing a high school graduates
party, or by attending conferences (Educational Association conference organized at the Prince Edward Home and School Association), in their efforts to assist their children's educational pursuits they also educated themselves. The club created the space for black women to discuss issues affecting their own lives.

Charitable Donations

Though the club's networking with local groups flourished, the need to support many charitable organizations was widely accepted in the club. This was significant not simply for the club's open support of black charities, but for the convergences it represented between black and white groups. The club provided financial support to the Windsor Teacher's Council, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, Children's Aid Society, Community Fund of Windsor, United Negro College Fund Detroit and the Canadian Tuberculosis Association. By focusing its activities around a number of different charities in Windsor and at times Detroit, the club found a means of enlisting broader support for its issues.

Guest Speakers

The club's reports focused on current events and debates among members of the University and greater Windsor community. Members attended a lecture on the Geneva
conference featuring Miss Ruth Smallwood. attented a debate concerning the "Palestine Question" featuring Pastor Shossom and Dr. Clark Hopkins of the University of Michigan and invited Dr. H.D. Taylor to speak to the group. Racism was there to be eliminated and the activity involved in eradicating it included attending meetings. The club's participation at these lectures filled this gap. The club's members became not only participants in community events, but provided a voice for black women. Drawing on events occurring in Windsor, the club members were not only able to produce their own critical commentary on the meaning of these events, but seemingly national conditions were seen as a complex and interrelated part of the issues in their community.

Church Activities

The church played a dominant role in the activities of the club. For example, the St. Valentine's tea at B.M.E. Church, The Mother's Day Service at the First Baptist Church and the International Tea at Westminster United Church were supported by the club. These events indicated that the club was willing to support the diverse activities of women's religious groups, while supporting the activities of churches in a number of black and white communities.
Black History

The club's cultural program took the form of vocal or instrumental performances by either local individuals and groups, or members of prominent musical figures in the black community. For example, Miss Mae Thomas, Miss Charlotte Watkins, Miss Celeste Cole, Ms. Josephine Love, Mr. Millard Williams, Miss Hazel Solomon were featured soloists. Club members also read books on black history and presented talks on the achievements of local Windsor blacks (Mr. Frank Nolan, Mr. William Alberts and Mrs. Elvia). By exposing members to black culture, the club was able to situate black struggles historically while tying their local concerns to black struggles for equality. The culture provided by the club to its members was not just designed to inform blacks of their contributions to the Canadian and North American society. It was motivated by a desire to bring about changes to their local conditions. They were able to reinforce their arrival on the cultural scene while challenging negative attitudes towards black culture among whites.

Cooperative Effort Between Clubs

The club tried to alleviate racial tension by working together with many organizations. The goal was to reinstate black identity around a number of different issues and to work with, for example, the Local Council of Women of Windsor, Adult Educational Council, Central Citizen's
Association, Community Council, Current Topic Study Club of Detroit, Detroit Urban League, Armstead Club, Fellowship of Coloured Churches and the Sisterhood of Shaar Hashomayim. The equal participation of black women in these organizations meant that black women attempted to counteract the discriminatory practices in favour of an inclusive strategy.

I examined the club's activities to demonstrate that the club tried to change some of the conditions affecting black women by improving themselves and participating in the broader Windsor community. The analysis of the club's activities was necessary in order to understand clearly why the Hour-A-Day Study Club engaged in these activities and was provided to point to the desires of the club's members to address their local conditions. The Hour-A-Day Study Club becomes therefore a site of survival and a vehicle for social change.

Epilogue

The Hour-A-Day Study club is currently organizing and celebrated its sixty-first anniversary on 20 February 1995.
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The Hour-A-Day Study Club Papers
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