

Articles

RE-MEMBERING MOTHERS AS LIFELONG EDUCATORS: THE ART WORK OF THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

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Abstract

"I didn't know the White Ribbon had been used previously to Montreal Massacre Remembrance," a visitor wrote in response to the 1999 exhibit of 19th-century banners of the Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). My qualitative research into the art work of the Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) re-evaluates (re-members) mothers as informal educators of lifelong learning. Memory work and art work are both theoretical framework and research method that constitute the counter-memory methodology of feminist genealogy and resistance to dominant discourses around motherwork, art work, and lifelong learning. My research develops the rhetorical purpose of art work, in which words and images address an-other and stir memory; artful rhetoric joins two memories—speaker and listener, artist and spectator—in a shared moment.

Résumé

"Je n'étais pas au courant que le ruban blanc avait été employé lors de la journée commémorant la tuerie de l'École polytechnique", a écrit une personne après sa visite de l'exposition de bannières de la section

¹ This paper is a substantial reworking of my paper for the 2001 CASAE conference in Quebec City. The CASAE paper was entitled "Re-membering and re-picturing activist mothers in civil society: The Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the audiovisual rhetoric of 'home protection.'"

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canadienne de la Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), en 1999. Ma recherche qualitative au sujet d’objets d’art produits par des membres de la WCTU ré-évalue (et re-positionne) les mères en tant qu’éducatrices parallèles en formation continue. Les récits individuels et les objets d’art sont à la fois le cadre théorique et la méthode de recherche qui constituent la méthodologie d’une contre-mémoire de la généalogie et de la résistance féministes contre des discours dominants sur le rôle de la mère, l’art et la formation continue. Ma recherche se penche sur la visée rhétorique de l’art, où mots et images s’interpellent et remuent les souvenirs; une rhétorique habile qui lie les souvenirs des deux acteurs—le locuteur et le récepteur, l’artiste et le spectateur—dans un moment partagé.

My study of mothers’ art work as the activist and educational work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is memory work that combines storytelling and arts-based inquiry. Memory work is a recurring theme in my hybrid of methods—including archival research, narrative inquiry, feminist rhetoric, and autobiographical oral history with my own WCTU family and community from my teen years—and subsumes my favoured methodology of feminist genealogy (see Lander, 2000, 2001; Forsythe & Lander, 2003).

Feminist genealogy acts as counter-memory by stirring up the dust of habit and thus re-membering—in Braidotti’s (1995) words, “forgetting to forget”—what women and mothers have offered to the life of the mind and lifelong education. This is an important step in the process that Braidotti assigns to “constituting feminist genealogies as commonly shared discursive and political thought. Genealogies are, for me, forms of counter-memory, that is to say, spaces of mental [and I would add bodily] resistance to dominant forms of thought” (p. 26), which includes spaces of resistance to dualistic categories, including the taken-for-granted categories of motherhood and gender. Accordingly, this study challenges the separation of mind and body, culture and nature, and theory and practice, and thus accords with Hart’s (1997b) elaboration of mother-work and her challenge to the separation of work and family, public and private, and productive and reproductive. I am guided by Carabine’s (2001) genealogical analysis of unmarried motherhood 1830–1990 and her explication of contemporary “material effects”—power outcomes—from the discourse-power-knowledge triad in social policy documents written over 160 years ago. What are the discourses and normative ideas around motherhood, particularly mothers as artists and mothers as educators constructed during different historical moments of the WCTU that continue to hold sway in contemporary mothers’

art work as activism? My WCTU study traces discourses of mothering, educating, and art work from the 19th century through to the 21st century and thus illustrates how “discourses also produce effects—discursively and through practice—which influences the way we understand, experience, and respond to the issue or topic” (Caradine, p. 273).

I begin by taking up bell hooks’ (1995) call to interrogate art practices and to “defamiliarize by provocation” (p. 218). I trouble the categories in the dominant historical research and artful writing about women’s organizations as learning sites (e.g., Welton, 1991). This emphasis on women’s *learning* that emerges in their roles as leaders, community organizers, and “civic housekeepers” has the effect of making invisible women’s interventions as informal *educators* in others’ lifelong learning. Counter-memory serves to foreground activist mothers’ identities as educators and knowers who act. This accords with Martin’s (2000) deconstruction of lifelong learning discourses in the UK: “The construction of the ‘*self-directed learner*’ as consumer or customer puts the emphasis on the non-directive ‘facilitation’ of individual and individualized learning—as distinct from purposeful educational interventions (and our own agency as educators)” (p. 3). In the language of genealogy, this emphasis on the learner constitutes a “material effect” that privileges social practices around learning and learners and diminishes the value of educators and their educational interventions. I offer illustrations of this emphasis from recent adult education texts related to the arts. Kerka (2002) focuses on adult *learning* through the arts. A thematic issue of *Convergence* (2000) features articles on arts and creativity as political *tools* of environmental adult education (Clover, 2000; Roy, 2000); the focus is on adult learning through the arts rather than on artful adult educators and activists *as* educators (see Lander, 2003; Dufour, 2002).

Mothers as Artists and Lifelong Educators

By naming artful women and mothers as informal educators, I act on Freire’s (2002) oft-quoted line that it is in naming our world that we transform it. This translates Freire’s praxis into genealogical method and his naming practices as performative (see Lander, 2001)—that is, words and images do things, have effects. As further inspiration, I call on Thompson’s (2002) work in *Throughout Bread and Roses: Arts, Culture and Lifelong Learning*, in which she names exemplary women educators spanning the past 100 years and their educational initiatives through the arts for “realising the cultural and creative potential of lifelong learning” (p. 73). These exemplary women educators recognize that “people need bread and roses to enhance the quality of their lives, in ways that are relevant to their urgent problems and real

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concerns and which lift their spirits in difficult and troubled times" (p. 26). She names the contemporary Guerilla Girls as western women artists and arts professionals fighting discrimination in the art world. She points to the enduring impact of Mary Ward on public education in the UK "through her pioneering work she initiated at the settlement she founded [in the early 20th century], which now bears her name. On the agenda was a rich mix of clubs, concerts, debates and lectures that reached the lives of ordinary people" (p. 73). In today's language of equity and social justice, Mary Ward recognized that the "poor still need to share in the 'hundreds of pleasures and opportunities that fall mainly to the rich'...and that community arts can help to get in touch with the places that 'straight' policy and 'formal' educational initiatives often fail to reach" (p. 76). Thompson's introduction to community dance as an art form invokes the famous words of Emma Goldman, the American anarchist and social revolutionary for personal and sexual freedom and social justice: "If I can't dance, I won't join your revolution" (p. 83). Fraser (2002, p. 138) suggests that this statement attributed to Goldman is apocryphal but this does not diminish it as a performative instance with a lasting effect.

The theory and practice of my study is also inspired by Byatt's (1994) short story "Art Work," which is an elaborate metaphor of what counts as art and creativity. My study upsets the normative criteria of order and disorder by acknowledging everyday artistry *as* art and, by extension, acknowledging art work focused on social justice issues *as* lifelong education, *as* activism. Many of the contradictions and ironies of WCTU art work and motherwork are embodied in Byatt's characters. Debbie, an editor for a women's magazine, covers a story of an art exhibition and learns from the promotional brochure that Mrs. Brown, her housecleaner, is the artist Sheba Brown who "gets her materials from everywhere—skips, jumble sales, cast-offs, going through other people's rubbish, cleaning up after school fêtes" (pp. 83-84). In my study WCTU mothers as artful educators of lifelong learning get their materials from everywhere and put forth their art work as the situated curriculum in and out of the home; like Mrs. Brown's found art, WCTU art work often is overlooked as art and as education (see also hooks, 1995; Parker, 1989). We do not learn from Byatt's story whether Sheba Brown is a mother in the biological sense of giving birth or the cultural sense of parenting. Accordingly, her art work serves to take up Hart's (1997b) challenge to motherwork and separate spheres of reproductive and productive, private and public. In my WCTU study, the art work of many women who are not parents constitutes motherwork and education in the tradition of the single, college-educated, liberal women of the 19th century

settlement houses, such as American Jane Addams, who called themselves “public mothers” (see Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). Almgren, Kemp, and Eisinger (2000) describe how settlement house women “self-consciously appropriated the rhetoric of mothering to support the movement of women into the public sphere...to advocate on behalf of women and children, despite their own lives being very often at a distance from prevailing norms of marriage and childbearing” (p. 5). Crossover politics in which “women with very different agendas thus forged powerful political and personal connections grounded in their shared interest in using women’s particular skills and energies to promote social justice” (p. 5) also animates the strategic use of maternal rhetoric in the work of the WCTU.

In my WCTU study, I name public mothers as educators and activists in order to value them as educators and activists. In my study re-membering mothers’ art work as the situated curriculum material for lifelong education seeks to re-image organizing mothers as informal educators of lifelong learning for ordinary people, from children to elders, and with whom they do not necessarily have a familial, home-based relationship. This image of mothers as educators expands Gouthro’s (2000) focus on the homeplace as a lifelong learning site in which mothers “*nurture* the next generation” (p. 65), in which “mothering is a learning experience that shapes many women’s world views” (p. 67), and in which mothers “try to mobilize communities for change to provide a safe home for their families and children” (p. 72). My point of departure is the homeplace and my memory work around my own WCTU mother’s art work and her continuing influence as an informal educator of my own lifelong learning. For the record, my gentle, shy, and soft-spoken mother was well into her 80s and I in my 50s, when, in the context of my WCTU research, I first explicitly named her as an informal artful educator and activist—to a startling and transformative effect on my values and beliefs related to lifelong learning and women as lifelong educators.

Galbraith’s (1995) distinction between *lifelong learning* as “those changes in consciousness that take place throughout the life span” and *lifelong education* “as a process of deliberate and unintentional opportunities that influence learning throughout the life span” (p. 6) frame my study of WCTU mothers as informal educators of lifelong learning. My study highlights mothers’ art work as the focus of both deliberate and unintentional opportunities that first and foremost influence learning for living throughout the life span. This study of WCTU mothers and lifelong learning in homeplaces and public spaces addresses the policy gap that MacNeil’s

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(2002) survey of lifelong learning as public policy in Canada identifies—the tendency of respondents to limit the scope of lifelong learning to adult learning; to emphasize the purpose of lifelong learning as the enhancement of human capital—learning for earning; and, to limit the official home of lifelong learning to domains that are explicitly named as educational. MacNeil's Canadian study parallels Martin's (2000) identification of two discourses of citizenship and lifelong learning in the UK, both of which rest on the idea that human beings are essentially economic animals:

The first discourse constructs the adult learner as worker or producer.... Adult education is reduced to training for work: preparing people for their roles in production, wealth creation and profit (mainly other people's, of course).... The second discourse constructs the adult learner as consumer or customer.... Adult education is reduced, at a stroke, to a market transaction. (p. 1)

Re-membering mothers of the WCTU is to remember human beings as artful *and* economic animals (the word economy derives from the Greek *oikos*, meaning home place); and to re-member their art work as the curriculum materials of home and community organizing around life-wide social issues. This counter-memory work seeks to open the policy context of lifelong learning in ways that emphasize learning for living and learning from life.

The Theory and Practice of Art Work

Byatt's "Art Work" is reminiscent of John Dewey's 1906 definition of art, which Jackson (2002) uses to extend traditional conceptions of what constitutes art:

To be engrossed with what one is doing, to feel deeply about its meaningfulness, to undergo, even if only for a time, the near erasure of the traditional distinction between inner and outer, subjective and objective, to feel as one with the object taking form under one's own agency—that Dewey tells us, is what it means to be artfully engaged in doing something. (p. 174)

The single sentence that Jackson (2002) elaborates is taken from Dewey's remarks almost a century ago at a joint convention of the Eastern Art Teachers Association and the Eastern Manual Training Association:

To feel the meaning of what one is doing, and to rejoice in that meaning; to unite in one concurrent fact the unfolding of the inner life and the ordered development of material conditions—that is art. (Jackson, 2002, p. 167)

Meaning-making and human flourishing are a major function of art work and also of education. Dewey's 1905 definition could easily end with the declaration, "that is learning." Jackson notes that Dewey includes language as "the tool of tools" in the list of art materials (p. 4). Language is also the tool of tools for learning from life when as learners we make meaning of our experiences (e.g., Jarvis, 1987; Kenyon & Randall, 1997; Merriam & Heuer, 1996). My study of mothers' art work as informal education for lifelong learning focuses on language, images, and other symbolic tools to collapse theory and practice. Michelson's (1998) feminist analysis of memory work and experiential learning that "*re-members* body and mind" (p. 217) resonates with Dewey's understanding of being "artfully engaged," which is dependent on the "near erasure of traditional distinctions." Gusfield's (1986) *Symbolic Crusade* presages the growth of feminist and rhetorical analyses of the art work and symbolic work of the WCTU in the 19th century in North America (see also Lander, 2003; Mattingly, 1998, 2001; Hedges, Ferraro & Silber, 1987; Strand, n.d.). The research is scant on the connection between temperance art and lifelong learning.

The Art Work of WCTU Mothers

The early WCTU "Do Everything" policy was manifested in their diverse Departments of Work. Their well-known activist activities relate to prohibition and women's suffrage and in Canada were subsumed under two Departments of Work: Legislation, Petitions and Parliamentary Usages; and Enfranchisement for Women. The Superintendent of the Department of Legislation, Petitions and Parliamentary Usages wrote: "Temperance and moral sentiment is being constantly crystallized into legal enactment, and we think that the WCTU may without egotism claim the first place as agitators and educators along these lines." (Harker & Allen, 1999, p. 20). My study of WCTU art work seeks to recover the parallels between WCTU mothers' artful rhetoric as it is "constantly crystallized into legal [and moral] enactment"—the performativity of genealogical analysis—and Dewey's definition of art as "uniting in one concurrent fact the unfolding of the inner life."

I grew up in a WCTU community and family in southern Ontario; my mother, grandmothers, and aunts were actively involved until well into the 1960s. From childhood through my late teens, I was involved in both the elocution medal contests and writing the quizzes for scientific temperance instruction—both activities comprised other Departments of Work. In this paper, I illustrate WCTU agitation and education assuming art forms that crystallized into social action if not enactment. Spinoza, Flores, and Dreyfus

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(1999) call the transformative kind of speaking that groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) engage in as "*interpretive* and not *persuasive*.... It allows some practice, thing, or identity to appear as worthy of consideration by a mixed community...composed of a wider range of interests than those of a group of professionals or technicians" (p. 99). Rhetoric then has effects; it is performative. The common focus of alcohol as a social issue supports my translation of the interpretive speaking of MADD and the WCTU to being "artfully engaged in doing something," to use Dewey's words.

Although the Canadian WCTU is diminished in numbers from its peak numbers of more than 10,000 at the turn of the 20th century, its continuing work of agitating for abstinence is activism constituted explicitly out of mothers' concern for their children. Elizabeth (Betty) Wolfe is the Canadian WCTU president today and echoes the "Do Everything" conviction for a membership of less than 300. Her interpretive speaking remains true to concrete experience: "The social glass is accepted now, and we believe in total abstinence.... It isn't just alcohol and drugs and cigarettes. It's pornography, and especially on the Internet now. All of this is available to them (children) and it's a concern. I don't know if we'll ever overcome the problem of alcohol, but we can work toward it" (Landon, 2000, p. F2).

My beloved mother who died in 2003 in her 91st year after I had submitted this paper (but before it was accepted for publication) numbered among the 300 faithful; she continued to read the WCTU periodical, *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings* into the last year of her life. The white ribbon is the predominant WCTU image of the homeplace. I suppose that a market discourse would name the white ribbon as the WCTU "logo" but for WCTU members like my mother, the white ribbon is tied to their political and religious slogan of "home protection" (see cover page of *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, May, 1962). Frances Willard, the first president of the World's WCTU, qualifies as a public mother, who as a single, college-educated woman, used maternal rhetoric. She referred to the work of the WCTU as "organized mother-love," in which members practiced "a religion of compassionate action, based on their understanding of God's 'mother heart' rather than a religion she characterized as dead theology" (Garner, 1998, p. 274). Willard then exemplifies "interpretive speaking" and Dewey's definition of art: she "feels the meaning of what she is doing" in her 1889 autobiography as she offers the "entailments [of the white ribbon metaphor]...that highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156). Frances Willard's artful use

of metaphor is performative and “may create realities for us, especially social realities...[and] may thus be a guide for future action” (Lakoff & Johnson, p. 156).

White light includes all the prismatic colors, so the white ribbon stands for all phases of reform, and there is no phase which the drink curse has not rendered necessary. Our emblem holds within itself the colors of all nations and stands for universal purity and patriotism, universal prohibition and philanthropy, and universal peace. For “hearts are near, though hands are far,” and women’s hands and hearts all round the world will be united by our snowy badge ere another generation passes out of sight. There is now no speech or language where its voice is not heard. (Willard, 1889, p. 430)

I offer as a performative instance, that is, “the self-fulfilling prophecies” (Lakoff & Johnson, p. 156) of metaphors, in the scene that I witnessed at the 35th triennial world convention of the World’s Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Birmingham in the UK in July, 2001. Women from around the world were wearing the white ribbon as brooches, pendants, and rings. T-shirts, posters, and educational materials were also emblazoned with the white ribbon. The simultaneous translation services offered in Japanese, Spanish, Korean, and Norwegian during the plenary is effectively “hearts all round the world united by our snowy badge.”

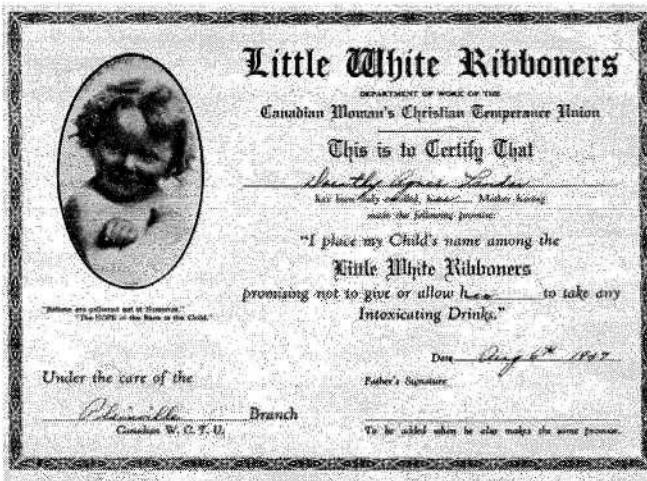


Figure 1: Little White Ribboners Certificate, 1947

My earliest temperance artifact also centres on the white ribbon. My mother pledges on my 1947 Little White Ribboners Certificate that she “will not

give or allow [me] to take Intoxicating Drinks." The bold statements on this certificate make the verbal-visual connection between the white ribbon and homeplaces: "Nations are gathered out of Nurseries. The Hope of the Race is the Child." This is not the contemporary politicized discourse of race and racism but rather refers to the human species as one race. However, the racialized "material effect" of depicting a fair haired, middle-class white child on the certificate privileges predominantly white Anglo-Saxon nations and the middle-class, white membership in the early WCTU (see Brookfield, 2003). My mother's pledge qualifies as a flawed performative, not in effecting my mother's parenting actions but rather in that I regularly drink wine and cider as an adult, as do my two brothers Howard and David; my sister June however abstains.

Memory Work as Artful Inquiry

In the summer of 1999, I began an oral history of the WCTU experience in the community where I grew up in a formal gathering: six women of my mother's generation (including my mother and my Aunt Dorothy) and two of their spouses; 28 men and women of my generation including my brothers, sister, cousins, friends, and neighbours (see Lander, 2000 for issues of research ethics; I name members of my immediate family and identify other members of this community only by sex, age, and occupation). My reading and re-reading of the transcripts of this audio taped formal memory work triggered many personal memories for me reinforced by many individual informal conversations with members of this group. I was struck by our vivid sensory re-membering of our temperance mothers' art materials in the "work." Serendipitously, the art work of my temperance foremothers—the political and religious banners of the WCTU between 1877 and 1932 (Harker & Allen, 1999)—were being exhibited at the Museum of Textiles in Toronto just as I was beginning my genealogy of the WCTU focused on the 1950s and 1960s. The embodied knowledge that suffuses the responses in the museum guest book also confirms experiential learning as *re-membering* (Michelson, 1998). Tisdell (2000) calls women adult educators to a *re-membering* of social change, by which she means "a reevaluation process of reworking and reshaping of...childhood symbols and traditions and reshaping them to be more relevant to an adult spirituality" (p. 317). My study is a *re-membering* of our mothers and foremothers as informal educators of lifelong learning and social change agents who "do everything" and get their symbols from everywhere.

Arts-based inquiry and memory work are qualitative research methods that are gaining momentum in adult education. I favour a combination of

memory work and storytelling and imaginal practice as a way of engaging in artful inquiry and genealogical analysis and thereby meshing qualitative research with informal education and lifelong learning. Crawford (1995) discusses visual art and storytelling (stories of lived experience) as powerful ways for self-reflection and imagining new possibilities—a *pedagogy of connection*. In the context of presenting a research framework, Barry (1996) similarly calls for “nonroutine artlike portrayal (e.g., drawings, sculpture, photographs, dramatization) to catalyze alternative knowings of conscious, tacit and nonconscious beliefs and feelings” (p. 411). Telling and listening to stories of lived experience constitute memory work as artful inquiry focused on the imagination; storying our lives becomes memory work, art work, and artful inquiry, which serves to re-constitute feminist genealogy as emancipatory adult education. I remember my high school English teacher saying that a “good” story develops plot and character through dialogue and sensual images—and he enjoined us to consider images of smell, taste, and touch as much as hearing and seeing. I can now theorize on the constructivist approach in my own memory work and artful inquiry *and* lifelong learning; I am attentive to the poetic, imaginal practices of dialogue and imagination as the new language of both qualitative research and adult education. Hillman (1989) praises the sense of smell in image-sensing, which in the tradition of Heraclitus, implies that “the gods distinguish by means of aroma...referring to invisible perception or the perception of invisibles” (p. 61). The practice of smelling images is pertinent to memory work and storytelling as “smells are all there at once, like images. There is no beginning, middle, and end, like stories. We are less likely to read images narratively” (p. 63). I add memory to Crawford’s use of Matthew Fox’s words to link art and storytelling: “Images are closer to our experience than words. Images are the midwives between [memory and] experience and language” (p. 59).

Re-Membering Maternal Rhetoric in Public Homeplaces

The confluence of word and image in our mothers’ temperance rhetoric became a common theme of my counter-memory work and of the exhibit of WCTU banners. The artful rhetoric of both word and image has a value-laden purposeful message, and addresses an audience in a social and political context. I give particular attention to how we as audience and spectators today remember and respond to the artful rhetoric of another age. This paper seeks to re-image our mothers’ and foremothers’ art work as maternal rhetoric, as feminist rhetoric, as artful rhetoric, and as performative instances (Foss, Foss, & Griffin, 1999; Foss & Griffin, 1995). The rhetoric of homeplaces based on a feminist understanding of rhetoric is the use of any

kind of human symbol in "public, private, and anything in between" (Foss et al., 1999, p. 7). The WCTU members qualify as "public mothers" (Smith-Rosenberg, 1985) and the organization itself as a "public homeplace" (Belenky, 1996) in its emphasis on the values associated with mother-work, home, and domesticity in public life; public homeplaces are organized around the metaphors and maternal rhetoric of care, concern, and connection. "On the deepest level, the homeplace women think of all human beings as belonging to a single family" (p. 410).

My study de-romanticizes the artful maternal symbols of WCTU mothers and homeplace women. I explicate the patriarchal bias in the WCTU's rhetoric of domination, which Foss and Griffin (1992) attach to the use of persuasion, argument, and a conscious intent to change others (p. 335). "Moral suasion" and argument as an alternative to legislation and prohibition created divisions in the 19th century WCTU membership in North America (see Lander, 2003); implicated in this discourse of moral suasion was the conscious intent to eliminate male vice and to dominate others. Contradictorily, my study also explicates the WCTU's feminist rhetoric of inherent value; in Starhawk's conception, "the context of interconnection produces rhetoric that is inevitable, unceasing, and directed, whether intended or not, to multiple and complex audiences. Consequently, the rhetoric produced by one being affects all others" (Foss & Griffin, pp. 333-334). The patriarchal bias is evident in the rhetoric of WCTU orators such as Frances Willard, the founder of the National (American) WCTU in 1874 and President between 1879 and 1897, and Letitia Youmans, the first President of the Dominion WCTU formed in 1888 (later the Canadian WCTU). Willard and Youmans exemplify the patriarchal bias of "rhetors [who] typically adjust their conduct [and their metaphors] to the external resistance they expect in the audience or situation" (Foss & Griffin, 1995, p. 6). The rhetoric of feminine virtue and domination over male vice pours forth in Letitia Youmans' (1893) autobiography but so too does the feminist rhetoric of inherent value in the context of interconnection. "At the request of [her] sisters in the work, [Youmans]...recalls the story of her life" (p. v):

The term prohibition, when applied to the liquor traffic, was obnoxious, so much so that I would announce my subject as "home protection," assuring my audience that I had not come to advocate woman's rights, but to remonstrate against woman's wrongs; to claim for every wife the right to have a sober husband, and every mother to have a sober son, and a comfortable home for herself and her children. (p. 207)

Belenky's (1996) romantic image of homeplace women eschews the masculinist metaphors of war (see also Gouthro, 2000). Nor does Belenky explicitly attach the metaphors of advocacy and activism to homeplace women. "The metaphors, verbs, and adjectives the homeplace women actually use...almost always suggest activities that foster growth, development, and connection" (Belenky, p. 411). My study of WCTU mothers' artful rhetoric provides exemplars of the contradictory rhetoric that WCTU mothers use; war and advocacy metaphors co-exist with metaphors of home and hearth. The biblical theme of the 35th triennial world convention of the World's WCTU in July 2001 in Birmingham was "Put on the whole armour of God.... Serve Him in love." This is interpretive speaking that seeks opportunities for "cross-appropriating practices from the subworlds" (Spinosa et al., p. 99) of the military and the Christian religion. Frances Willard's 1893 address to the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1893 began "Beloved Comrades of the White Ribbon Army." Feminist rhetoric calls on contradictions as a way of understanding how people organize and make sense of the worlds in which they live (Foss, Foss, & Griffin, 1999, p. 7). At my 1999 gathering of WCTU mothers and their families, a mother and neighbour whom I have know all my life, repeated from heart her prize-winning recitation from an elocution medal contest during the war years of the 1940s:

There are two armies abroad today,
 As in the age that has passed away,
 The makers and vendors and patrons and all
 Who aid in the traffic of Alcohol.
 These are the warriors, bold and strong,
 Who swell the ranks of the army of Wrong.
 And we are the soldiers, strong and brave,
 Who are striving with heart and hand to save
 The youth of our land from the deep, dark grave,
 That the foe is digging by night and day.

In 1999, six WCTU mothers of my mother's generation, including my mother and my Aunt Dorothy, responded to this recitation with applause for the orator, but also with deep sighs as they lamented the increasing "social acceptability" of alcohol. For them, alcohol as "the foe" is still a viable metaphor. Foss and Griffin (1995) oppose patriarchal rhetoric to "invitational rhetoric [in which] change occurs in the audience or the rhetor or both as a

result of new understanding and insights gained in the exchange of ideas" (p. 6). My study of WCTU artful symbols illustrates women purposefully using both patriarchal rhetoric and invitational rhetoric. Invitational rhetoric features in my oral history with the WCTU community where I grew up in that rhetoric as memory work (see Rider, 1990) enables the exchange of ideas across generations. I can trace new understanding and insights that emerged in the process of remembering our WCTU mothers' artful symbols.

I shall also explicate the invitational rhetoric that emerges in the audience responses to the WCTU banners in the Museum of Textiles guest book. The WCTU banners were displayed in the Museum of Civilization in Hull in the autumn of 2000 and the invitational rhetoric began beforehand in *The Ottawa Citizen* and the story about this exhibit. Here Landon (2000) underscores the confluence of word and image in the rhetoric of public homeplace women by featuring three colour reproductions of the banners and repeating the slogan of an 1888 banner in the headline: "For God and Home and Native Land." This invokes Shlain's (1998) plans of action that combine the focused, step-by-step "masculine" logic of the left brain and the holistic, "feminine" logic of the right brain. Conversation blends right-brain images and orality with the left-brain logic of the written word to generate common sense, that is, "the wisdom of all the senses...wisdom generated 'in common'" (p. 315). De Vries (1999) describes the banners in *The Anglican Journal*: "The starkness of these words is softened through elaborate needlework of flowers and curlicues interwoven with letters.... The visual design elements add another level of meaning.... White and yellow colours predominate, symbolizing purity and the suffragette movement respectively" (p. 17).

This description reminds me of my cousin Ruth's memory of her WCTU mother's prize possession, the "green book" that was Frances Willard's autobiography. Frances Willard was President of the WCTU in the US and also of the World's WCTU until her death in 1898. Kimble (1999) elaborates on Frances Willard's use of visual rhetoric in her 1889 autobiography to "persuade" her readers of her feminine persona. Frances Willard was a public mother in Smith-Rosenberg's (1985) terms but not a parent; her autobiography seeks to re-create herself in the maternal image of protector of the home. The patriarchal bias of rhetoric that persuades underpins the visual packaging of her autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, but it is also feminine art work and rhetoric that invites the audience and spectator to understand and value public homeplaces. The book that my Aunt Ada held so dear is reminiscent of the WCTU banners:

Printed in dark and light shades of green, the original front and inside covers are decorated in design of ribbons, flowers, and leaves. The frontpiece pictures Willard in partial profile, blouse decorated with frills and brooch, her hair pulled back. Other illustrations throughout the book are framed in flowery design, banners, or ribbons. (Kimble, p. 55)



Figure 2: Frances Willard, Frontpiece of 1889 Autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*

I can trace the strong imaginal elements that attended our 1999 oral history and the process of negotiating our way from remembering our temperance foremothers as out-of-touch old women to *re-mem-bering* their work as feminist lifelong education and activism. Our imaginal touchstone was of older women drinking tea together in the parlour, and the WCTU fostered this image themselves. The October 1967 cover of *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings* includes just such a photograph. Cook (1997) provides some balance for this stereotypical image of the WCTU “as a group of aging women rather irrelevantly railing against mainstream and its mores” (p. 656). Note the “fight” metaphor in Cook’s description of homeplace women as activists:

This inaccurate and demeaning interpretation trivializes the historical significance of the WCTU and the many causes it fought.... The WCTU white ribbon campaign has in the 1990's been appropriated by men as a public symbol condemning male violence against women—an ironic, but not unwelcome, gesture to those who remember the original meaning of the white ribbon: personal purity for women who would in turn purify and reshape their society. (pp. 656-657)

The WCTU encouraged its members to wear their white ribbon badge as a symbol of membership and all the WCTU stood for. They also encouraged WCTU to dress for public occasions in a way that did not masculinize them (Mattingly, 1998, p. 66).

In CBC's *In Performance* profile of Maureen Forrester (April 12, 2000), this gifted contralto credits her mother, and in part, her mother's association with the WCTU in Montreal, to her life work as a singer. The emphasis the WCTU placed on youth participation in their artful rhetoric is implicit in Maureen Forrester's words, and a reminder of mothers' contribution to lifelong education in the early years:

My mother was an alto. Of course, we always sang in church choirs and school choirs and things.... I loved basketball and playing and stuff. I would come home, and I'd say, "Oh gosh, I'm so excited! I'm going to be the centre forward for the basketball team this year! My mother, she'd say, "Oh, you can't do that." I'd say, "Why?" And she'd say, "Because I promised the Woman's Christian Temperance Union you'd sing at their annual meeting and you just can't let them down." She did this to me all the time, my mother [laughs]. It was really funny. If it wasn't for my mother, I probably wouldn't be a singer.

Maureen Forrester's recollection stands as a trace (that is, a performative instance) of Letitia Youmans' (1893) early temperance practices. As a Sunday School teacher, Letitia Youmans organized public entertainment featuring youth rendering recitations, dialogue or song, which "even by the youngest of the crowd, inculcated some strictly moral or temperate sentiment" (p. 94). Letitia Youmans' interest in temperance predated her efforts at organizing the WCTU in Canada, which began in her own town of Picton, Ontario in 1874. As an organizer of children's Bands of Hope and as a teacher of Sabbath-school (pp. 84-95), she had already been involving youth in taking the temperance pledge. Letitia Youmans called on the "service of song" for retaining older scholars in Bible-class. "In too many instances as they approached the transition period between child and man and womanhood, they slipped out of the school" (p. 85). Letitia Youmans offers

testimony to the power of music with an illustration of how she addressed retention problems in her Bible-class when she returned as teacher one summer after being “prostrated with low fever” for a number of weeks. Her class had “dwindled from ninety to about twenty” (p. 87). She tells how “we organized an orchestra with a service of song on week evenings.... The old members came back bringing new ones with them, until more than the original number assembled on the Sabbath” (p. 87). I hear forward echoes from Letitia Youmans’ Christian discourses to contemporary adult education discourses on transformative learning that accord with archetypal psychology (e.g., Dirkx, 1997):

I believe [the power of music] brings us nearer the heavenly world than any exercise in which we engage, and sometimes it seems to me that invisible intelligences hover around us, catch up the strains and echo them through the heavenly mansions. (pp. 87-88)

Letitia Youmans (1893) understands the rhetorical purpose of storytelling and imaginal practices for crystallizing temperance and moral sentiment into legal enactment. She recounts the life of poverty and heartbreak for a wife and mother who lived next door to her and who was “stitching away day and night to support her family” because her husband “spent what little he did earn in a bar-room” (p. 89). As she tells it, the children found their father’s bottle one Sunday morning and brought it to their mother, who had them kneel down and raise their right hands to heaven, pledging never to “taste anything that would make you a drunkard” (p. 90). In the contemporary language of feminist genealogy, this is a performative instance focused on lifelong education. Letita Youmans extends the performative reach when she expresses the wish that the ritual scene of the children making the solemn promise while the mother broke the bottle could have been “photographed and suspended on the walls of our Dominion Parliament when the prohibition question was up” (p. 90).

The 1890 “Workers for God” WCTU banner (see Figure 3 below) is reproduced on the front cover of the catalogue, *Gather Beneath the Banner*, for the Museum of Textiles (Harker & Allen, 1999). I re-present it here as an exemplar of homeplace women and of contradictory feminist visual rhetoric. The rhetoric of feminine virtue and domination over male vice is exemplified by the sword in the mother’s hand ready to strike the serpent in the grass—or perhaps the serpent lies in the cereal grain that will be pressed into alcohol. Contradictorily, the violent metaphor of the sword, which represents “home protection” for the WCTU, accords with the “entailments” of metaphors used

by Belenky's (1996) and Gouthro's (2001) homeplace women, emphasizing "nurturing" and "caring."



Figure 3: Workers with God, Hamilton WCTU Banner, 1999 Courtesy of the Archival Collection, Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Toronto District

The rhetoric of inherent value and the value of home protection is exemplified in the mother's hand shielding her child from danger. Shlain (1998) develops his thesis that the divisions between right and left accord with the primary perceptual modes of women and men respectively.

The left hand controlled by the right brain, is more protective than the right.... Shielding, holding, and toting are maternal functions necessitated by the helplessness of human infants.... The dominant right hand is the agent of action. It throws the spear.... These two mirror-image strategies, gather/nurture and hunt/kill, are combined in each of us. (pp. 26-27)

This banner exemplifies the artful rhetoric of mothering, particularly the "dual aspect" activity of childrearing that Fraser (1989) elaborates in order to include both symbolic and material reproduction. The rhetoric of domination inheres in a modernist capitalist organization that would separate childrearing practices as symbolic reproduction practices from the material reproduction

practices of producing food and objects (Fraser, p. 115). The artful and archetypal rhetoric of the Workers for God banner addresses audience and spectators on the complexities of childrearing practices.

The image of the serpent makes the connection for me between Dewey's conception of art as "uniting in one concurrent fact the unfolding of the inner life" and Hillman's (1989) imaginal practice inspired by Jungian archetypes, in which "we amplify an image...in order not to find its archetypal meaning but in order to feed it with further images that increase its volume and depth and release its fecundity" (pp. 59-60). The serpent in the 1890 WCTU banner is a symbol of sin associated with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and a reminder of Kidd's (1975) claim that early Canadian adult education converged around the ideas of the social gospel. Moore's (1989) use of the snake image in his example of Hillman's "rules" for working with images in the way that artists do, calls for a rethinking of the art work of WCTU mothers as the situated curriculum of lifelong education through the social gospel:

These rules protect the individuality of the image and yet let it speak more loudly than it would without this work. One rule, for instance, is to consider all the details and the context of an image. If you dreamed of a snake last night, that snake is not identical to the one that appeared to Adam and Eve, although it may be related.... A painting is of special value because it represents a classic myth. A work of literature is prized because it teaches an important moral lesson. In all those instances, the image suffers from neglect. Its own presence, pregnant and full of implication, can't get through all the attempts to ground it. (p. 51)

Re-membling the imaginal practice of mothers' art work serves to identify its influence on lifelong learning, or as Hillman notes, a particular image "is a necessary angel waiting for a response. How we greet this angel will depend on our sensitivity to its reality and presence" (p. 51). Thompson (2002) identifies community artists as social and political critics who contribute to social transformation in the space of "narrative imagination;" I translate imaginal practices into performatives in this passage:

In those words and images and symbols, whereby people recognise themselves and name their condition in the company of others—in ways that celebrate difference, generate understanding and encourage activity—lie the possibility not simply of resistance to being ill-served, but of the energy to create something better. (p. 31)

To deepen our sensitivity to the reality and presence of the images in the WCTU banners—to help us in framing our greeting to this angel—I suggest

a complementary practice to this focus on archetypes taking the form of a reflective scrutiny of the gendered division of art forms that Parker (1989) develops in *The Subversive Stitch*.

The art/craft hierarchy suggests that art made with thread and art made with paint are intrinsically unequal: that the former is artistically less significant. But the real differences between the two are in terms of where they are made and who makes them. Embroidery, by the time of the art/craft divide, was made in the domestic sphere, usually by women, for 'love'. Painting was produced predominantly, though not only, by men, in the public sphere, for money. (p. 5)

bell hooks (1995) calls for the interrogation of art practices, and the canons of art history in a way that interconnects categories of difference. "Essentialist understandings of identity—gender, race, nationality—must be questioned. And hedonistic reveling in the transcendent power of the imagination must be celebrated" (p. 218). Central to this celebration is "an aesthetic vision wherein one dares to bring together the sacred and profane, to defamiliarize by provocation" (p. 218).

WCTU mothers as artist-activists were highly sensitized as to how others would greet their images and art forms; they tactically used the knowledge that needlework was an expression of femininity; by moving their needlework out of the home and into the streets, they defamiliarized by provocation. Accordingly, women's art work served to counter anti-temperance and anti-suffrage propaganda (the two issues were often twinned), that depicted activist women as Amazons, that is, as unsexed and unnatural mothers (see Lander, 2003; Parker, p. 198). Nellie McClung, novelist, social reformer, suffragette and active member of the WCTU, is perhaps best known as one of the Famous Five Alberta women who in 1929 successfully petitioned the government of Canada to have women declared "persons" under the British North America (BNA) Act. In 1915, Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy (who wrote under the name of Janey Canuck) persuaded the White Ribbon sisters to take part in a Prohibition Parade proceeding through the main streets of Edmonton. Once convinced that the addition of the WCTU banners would dignify the parade, which were perceived as circus-like spectacles, the marching mothers bearing banners embroidered with such slogans as "Liquor Enslaves," joined the 12,000-strong procession (Harker & Allan, 1999, p. 41).

A contemporary coda to Nellie McClung's WCTU art work: my first flight with Air Canada in 2003 featured a meal packaged in a box that reproduced Ruth Starr's (1937) painting, *The Picnic*, juxtaposed to its

inspiration from an artful passage in Nellie McClung's (1908) first novel, *Sowing Seeds in Danny*. This was McClung's first in her trilogy of social action fiction in which issues of temperance and women's suffrage unfold through her art. The Air Canada script supplies its own greeting to accompany these complementary forms of art work: "Canadians' artwork and thoughts on food *take flight...*" (italics original). Nellie McClung's efforts to take WCTU mother work and art work and its commentary on Prohibition and franchise questions into the public space of parades, echoes forward to the work of the California activist group of mother-artists, Mother Art (Moravec, 2003). Mother Art members wanted to put private unacknowledged activity into public space and offer the public contemporary artistic experiences usually accessible only to those who frequent galleries and museums. Here their art work also defamiliarizes by provocation.

Laundryworks (Mother Art, 1977) involved a performance timed to a wash and dry cycle.... [T]he members of Mother Art entered the laundromat, put an item in to wash, strung a clothesline across the room and hung individual artworks from it. Gloria Hadjuk's piece played with the parallel notions between the wash cycle and life cycles. Suzanne Siegel created a Xerox series that transitioned from a clear image to one almost completely faded, equating colors fading in the laundry and the invisibility of women's work. . . .In an effort to create dialogue among the community of laundromat patrons, the *Laundryworks* pamphlet posed 12 questions about the experience of doing laundry...such as "what in your life could the different cycles of a washing machine (soak-wash-rinse-spin-dry) be compared to?" (p. 72)

Re-membering White Ribbon Rhetoric

The artful rhetoric of the white ribbon takes up Hart's (1997a) call to value and make visible motherwork, which includes the mothers-as-activists challenge to the market-oriented orientation to production as profit that thrives on divisions and separations. Compare this to the rhetoric of inherent value in the context of interaction: "The wearer of the white ribbon badge prays daily for the welfare of all mankind" (*The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, May 1962). In taking up Hart's (1997a, 1997b) challenge, I analyse the artful rhetoric in my oral history of the WCTU and the 1999 responses to the WCTU banners in the Museum of Textiles guest book. How do the spectators "greet the angel?" The artifacts highlight the contradictions of feminist rhetoric (Foss & Griffin, 1992, 1995) and the engagement of both inherent value and domination.

Ironically, memory is perhaps the least remembered of the five Aristotelian canons of rhetoric that also include style, arrangement, delivery, and invention. Following Rider (1990), I propose to bring back memory (especially counter-memory) to the canons of rhetoric and redefine memory in the context of the feminist rhetoric of my oral history and the banner exhibition. Neuroscientists and cognitive linguists lend support to using the visual and the verbal to reinforce one another in lifelong learning. Meaning making forges the link between learning and memory (see Heath, 2000). In Rider's schema, feminist rhetoric depends on the linking of metaphor to memory. Metaphor is an image and it does not matter if it is a speech or a poem or woman's dress or a WCTU banner. "It's still a stirring of the memory and it's letting two memories—both speaker and listener, reader and writer, [artist and spectator]—share for a minute" (Rider, p. 7). Metaphor connects to activism and lifelong learning as a "phenomenon of use...an interactive phenomenon, in the sense that it is an utterance which a speaker [and an artist] intends his hearer [and spectator] to amplify and adjust" (Haack, 1998, p. 77). Nasstrom's (1999) analysis of memory work and women's activism in the context of the civil rights movement in Georgia validates my analysis of the oral history with my WCTU family, friends and neighbours. Our collective memories of the past legitimate action in the present. We "become historical actors who intervene between the past and the present, continually reframing the movement" (p. 134). I begin with the WCTU banners as exemplars of stirring of memory and the amplifying and adjusting of metaphors.

The rhetoric of inherent value in the context of interaction embodies this woman's response to the banner exhibition. Note how she amplifies and adjusts the metaphors of the banners with her own taste-touch image of "cold, cold water."

I didn't know the White Ribbon had been used previously to Montreal Massacre Remembrance. This exhibition is an example of what women do best in getting their message across, collaboration, creativity and network organization—excellent exhibit. "Cold, Cold Water is the Drink for Me!"

Listen to this woman as spectator and historical actor who intervenes between the past and the present—"then" and "today"—in her longing to connect to the art work:

Difficulty in keeping my eyes and hands off. The intricate work of needle, art, paint & message is presented then yet is still today an issue in many ways. Thank you.

This next spectator becomes a “spect-actor” in Boal’s (1992) *Invisible Theatre* where active spectators do not know that they are both audience and actor (p. xx). The WCTU art work becomes “the *agent provocateur*...mingling with the public...using theatre to stimulate debate, getting people to question issues in a public forum” (pp. xx-xxi). In the process, the spect-actors change the script.

So glad these banners have been “found” and brought to the light of day!
Has the WCTU ever considered amalgamation with MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving)? Strength in numbers!

The WCTU banners legitimate action at a personal level for this next spectator’s own family. Her response redefines memory work as rhetoric that carries the past forward to the present and an imagining of a different future:

A moving exhibit—the passion these women had are felt through their works still. This exhibit has inspired me to create my own banner for my family, with the beliefs we hold to be important. Thank you for the life changing collection.

Not all spectators amplified and adjusted the images—greeted the angel—in such glowing phrases. This spectator responds to the WCTU’s patriarchal bias and their rhetoric of domination. His closing remark is telling of a response at a bodily level: “Thanks for letting me get that off my chest.”

To think how strong the church and state are that they have the power to influence our morals, our sense of what is right and wrong. Too bad these temperance ladies fell into the trap of believing that they were the pious ones and that their moralistic values and gender would keep everyone in line (their children and husbands). Instead it subordinated their positions and made them repressed.

Another spectator captures the contradictions of feminist artful rhetoric: “This is a very reactionary movement of our history (or her-story!). The stern severity of the message is so juxtaposed with the beauty behind it—fascinating! Gorgeous!” Part of amplifying and adjusting a metaphor is to substitute another metaphor, as does this next spectator:

Our favourite WCTU pledge “Lips that touch liquor will never touch mine.” Great show.

The taste-touch-smell-hearing-sight senses combine in this image and stirred my memory of this song. When I sought out the sheet music (see Figure 4 below), I was struck by the resemblance of the visual design of the cover page to the WCTU banners and to the front cover of Frances Willard’s (1889) autobiography. The lines of the song add another dimension of

meaning to the rhetoric. The chorus goes like this: "With this for our motto and succor divine/The lips that touch liquor will never touch mine." The last verse takes up the themes of the "dual activity" of mothers as childrearers, activists, and lifelong educators:

O mothers whose sons tarry long at the bowl,
Who love their good name
As you love your own soul;
O maidens, with fathers, and brothers, and beaux;
Whose lives you would rescue from infinite woes.



Figure 4: Sheet Music Cover: *Lips that Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine*
(Courtesy of the Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection,
The Johns Hopkins University)

The responses to the artful rhetoric of the WCTU banners made me pause over the transcripts of my oral history with friends, relatives, and schoolmates from my own generation. A 50-year-old dairy farmer's total recall of his temperance elocution poem from some 35 years earlier supports Rider's (1990) claim that feminist rhetoric depends on memory. I present his memory work in support of my hunch that the artful rhetoric favoured by the

WCTU acts as a retrieval cue in the selectivity of memory. The dairy farmer clearly remembers his mother's work (and images) in helping him prepare for his recitation, a tragic saga of drinking and driving: "Mother being inventive as she was, she got a Spic and Span can and we put a set of Meccano wheels on it.... And I can remember holding up this thing, it was to represent a car, it was an old tin can." Like Byatt's (1994) Mrs. Brown, whose artwork teemed with vitality, this WCTU mother and artist "gets her materials from everywhere"—the kitchen and the toy closet. We all laughed and applauded after the dairy farmer recited: *It's nobody's business what I drink/ I care not what my neighbours think....*

The canon of rhetoric that the dairy farmer validates is invention: "Mother being inventive as she was..." Initially he does not validate memory in the canon of feminist rhetoric and its link to women's activism (see Nasstrom, 1999). Rather he remembers the WCTU's rhetoric of domination:

I don't remember much of an education program involved in the speaking that we did.... I just remember yeah, being pushed into these, everybody did it and that was sort of it.... I think public speaking is always a valuable thing.... To have to get up in front and speak in front of people is something, that if you can do, you can always sort of do it and use it. I don't ever remember, you know, anything going along with those to sort of say, "Well, this is why you should be doing those little speeches" or "This is why we advocate..." I don't remember that.

The response from my sister June (age 58) supports my theorizing on memory work as a negotiation of a shared past to create a history (her-story) of the present: "Well, maybe it was better without a long sermon because those speeches had all the message right in them."

The dairy farmer's tale of motherwork and artwork stirred my memory of my own mother's use of artful rhetoric to accompany my brother David's recitation of "The Cider Mill" for the WCTU elocution contest in the church basement. I can remember only the last line of this poem, which was "This is the best way to make cider!" at which point David bit into an apple with gusto. My mother insisted it must be a well-polished red MacIntosh for the visual effect and even more for its juicy sound effects. But surely it is the ineffable taste and smell of a MacIntosh apple—I am drooling as I write—that sustained this memory for me and evoked a story of lived experience: "The sense of smell gives a body depth to whatever is smelled...implying the image has body" (Hillman, 1989, p. 62).

A Concluding Invitation

In the spirit of genealogical inquiry and its insistence on historically situating truth claims, I resist a conventional conclusion. I seek to interrogate my own artful practices of academic writing and "defamiliarize by provocation" the conventions of academic texts. Accordingly, I refuse one peer reviewer's recommendation that I avoid "simply questioning." I agree that I need to respond to questions about the importance of genealogical art work and its implications for contemporary adult education. I want to respond to these questions by offering an alternative closing activity that is experiential and artful, as a way of explicating for readers the potential of feminist genealogical analysis as emancipatory adult education in their own educational contexts. I invite readers to become spect-actors who intervene between the past and the present—in other words, I invite you to engage in a brief genealogical inquiry that may interrogate your own artful practices as informal educators and affirm (and possibly defamiliarize) the importance of art work in lifelong education. I invite you to combine Hillman's (1989) imaginal practice ("greet the angel") and Parker's (1986) subversive analysis of mothers' art work—in response to Letitia Youmans' (1893) image of both the US and Canada working for the passage of a prohibition liquor law. I offer Youmans' account as invitational feminist rhetoric—an invitation to historical spect-actors to respond in the 21st century in the context of WCTU's "Do Everything" program. Re-membering public mothers and their art work is a form of feminist genealogy and a history of the present in the sense of an ongoing questioning of truth. In this way, the public mothers of Letitia Youmans' day challenged the essentializing of motherhood, which Moravec (2003) points to as one of the factors that contributed to the rise of cultural feminism and the decline of radical feminism in the early 1970s. Moravec offers as a contrast the activism of Mother Art—an activist group of artist-mothers formed in the early 1970s in California to use art work to transform both the experience and institution of motherhood—and their view of motherhood "as part of their identity as feminists and connected to multiple feminist issues...embody[ing] the ideal that 'the personal is the political'" (p. 75). A historical trace and performative effect of the WCTU's "Do Everything" motto?

My invitation to you is to interrogate the artful practices in this passage from Letitia Youmans' 1893 autobiography and take up issues that continue to matter to civil society and learning throughout the life span—peace, substance abuse, family violence, mothers' activism, US-Canada relations, and world trade. This is an invitation to amplify and adjust Letitia Youmans'

metaphors and archetypes of US-Canada relations in the context of the Free Trade Areas of the Americas (FTAA), the People's Summit and anti-globalization protests in Seattle in 1999 and Quebec City in 2001, and the post-September 11 Smart Border Declaration. What if the Summit of the Americas and the Smart Border Declaration (US Department of State, 2002) were played out with the feminist artful rhetoric of mothers instead of the patriarchal rhetoric of the marketplace? Page's (2001) question, "Can history teach us peace?" frames his objection to teaching peace through a war-centred history that does not emphasize alternatives to war. I re-phrase Page's question to ask hopefully, "Can re-membering the art work of mothers as activists and informal educators teach civil society civility?" Can Letitia Youmans' proposal for an international holiday be re-membered and re-pictured as art work, as activist education, and as lifelong education? Can we add Letitia Youmans to the predominantly male canon of Canadian adult education pioneers by re-membering her as a lifelong educator? I invite you to re-member Dewey's definition of art as meaning making—"uniting in one concurrent fact the unfolding of the inner life"—and Galbraith's definition of lifelong education "as a process of deliberate and unintentional opportunities that influence learning throughout the life span" in the following passage from Letitia Youmans' autobiography. Letitia Youmans' imaginal practice focuses on plans to celebrate the passage of a border-crossing prohibition law, beginning with July first, Dominion Day, and closing up with July 4th, Independence Day.

The assemblies shall meet at Niagara, where the two countries are tied together by the Suspension Bridge...the women of the WCTU to lead the van; the United States women to plant the Stars and Stripes on their side of the river, and the Canadians to erect the Union Jack on their side; each part to have bunting enough to meet in the centre of the bridge, where the two flags are to be tied together with white ribbon; the American Eagle to poise on the top, while the British Lion is to crouch underneath; the Eagle to see that no Canadian whiskey crosses over to his domain, while the Lion guards the Canadian shore from Yankee rum. Thus we will have annexation in spite of the politicians; and the best reciprocity treaty that could be enacted. (Youmans, 1893, p. 205)

How do you greet the angel in Letitia Youmans' (1893) images? How do you greet the angel in the images of the Smart Border Declaration (2002) "based on the principal of risk management...a blueprint for action with four pillars: the secure flow of people, the secure flow of goods, secure

infrastructure and information sharing and coordination in the enforcement of these objectives" (p. 2)?

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