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教育「新黑人」(New Negro) ——二十世紀初美國黑人 禮儀書之研究

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摘要

關鍵詞:黑人禮儀書、「新黑人」、非認知能力、刻板印象、哈林文藝 復興

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一、前言

由黑人文學家倡議的「哈林文藝復興」(Harlem Renaissance)以黑人菁英聚集的紐約哈林區(Harlem, New York)萌發。「哈林文藝復興」不僅是黑人社會在藝文與文化方面的覺醒,它亦倡議「新黑人」(New Negro)概念,力圖扭轉黑人形象。艾倫·洛克(Alain Leroy Locke, 1885-1954)於 1925年編輯出版《新黑人:一個解釋》(The New Negro: An Interpretation)推波助瀾下,「新黑人」成為「哈林文藝復興」主要訴求之一。「因此「哈林文藝復興」又稱被稱為「新黑人文藝復興」(New Negro Renaissance)。

其中「新黑人」的特質之一,就是要有男子氣概,黑人社會也從不同角度形塑之,以區分奴隸時代的「舊黑人」(Old Negro)。「新黑人」不再是白人社會視角下的膽小卑怯,他們參與第一次世界大戰,投效沙場,保衛民主,在種族歧視中勇敢與白人對抗,展現男子英勇。黑人詩人克勞德·麥凱(Claude Mckay, 1890-1948)的詩作〈如果我們必須從容就義〉("If We Must Die")中就對「新黑人」的戰鬥精神讚譽有加,詹姆士·麥可(James E. McCall, 1880-1963)的詩文〈新黑人〉("The New Negro")更刻劃出一個偉大黑人男性的形象。²「新黑人」表現出屬於黑人的自重和自信。

「新黑人」概念早在艾倫·洛克倡議之前,就已經存在。十九世紀末出現的「新黑人」以外表區隔「舊黑人」。在美國國會圖書館(Library of Congress)館藏中就有一幅照片,圖中有兩位黑人,其中年輕的一位西裝筆挺,年紀長者穿著寬鬆的長褲,布克·華辛頓(Booker T. Washington, 1856-1915,以下簡稱華辛頓)在照片下

Alain Leroy Locke, The New Negro: An Interpretation (New York: Arno Press, 1968).

Claude McKay, "If We Must Die," in American Negro Poetry, ed. Arna Bontemps (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), p. 31; James E. McCall, "The New Negro," Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life, 5: 7 (July, 1927), p. 211; James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 278.

方,親筆寫下:「老人與年輕人,攝於1900年10月6日密西西比州 尤地卡」(Old and New at Utica Miss Oct 6,00)。 3 華辛頓出版 《新世紀新黑人》(A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race),分別以廢奴運動者、士兵、藝術家等 60位黑人男性與女性人物的素描、肖像或照片,呈現「新黑人」的不同風貌。 4 1895年「婦女紀元聯誼會」(Woman's Era Club)在波士頓召開全國性會議,當時約有100位代表10個州20個團體的黑人女性參加。《婦女紀元》(Woman's Era)形容此次會議的盛況:「這是美國史上的第一次,可以看到數以百計的黑人女性盛裝參與會議,正如白人女性一般。」 5

二十世紀初,「新黑人」《克里夫蘭公報》(Cleveland Gazette)在慶祝〈紐約民權法〉(New York Civil Rights Law, 1895)通過的報導中指出,這是一群受過良好教育、舉止優雅、有錢的黑人爭取公民權益的成果。約翰·包溫(John Wesley Edward Bowen, 1855-1933)讚許這群黑人有能力與願意,為建設國家(美國)貢獻心力。艾倫·洛克認為「新黑人」具有更多文化、藝術內涵。亨利·蓋茲(Henry Louis Gates, Jr.)指出,「一群舊黑人」(Old Crowd Negroes)被「一群新黑人」(New Crowd Negroes)取而代之。6於是定義新、舊黑人有了更深層的區隔。

³ "Old and New at Utica, Miss. (1908)," [Photograph]. Utica, Mississippi. https://www.loc.gov/item/2002719711/ (2024/3/11).

Booker T. Washington, Norman B. Wood, and Fannie B. Williams, A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race (Chicago: American Publishing House, 1900).

Mary Church Terrell, "The History of the Club Women's Movement," in *Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954*, ed. Beverly Washington Jones (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Pub., 1990), p. 322.

Robert Bone, Down Home: Origins of the Afro-American Short Story (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 74; John Wesley Edward Bowen, Cotton States Exposition, and Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection, An Appeal to the King: The Address Delivered on Negro Day in the Atlanta Exposition, October 21, 1895 (Atlanta, Ga.: [s.n., 1895?]). https://www.loc.gov/item/12002889/ (2024/3/11); Alain Locke, "Enter

「新黑人」也是當時黑人社會努力爭取教育機會的結果。內戰前,白人社會鑒於 1829年造反的沃克 (David Walker, 1785-1830) 和 1830年反叛的奈·特納反抗事件 (Nat Turner's Rebellion) 都是受過教育的黑奴引發所致,⁷因此對黑人接受教育多持戒慎恐懼,南方各州甚至明文規定,禁止黑人接受教育。⁸多數南方黑人多半在晚間時刻偷偷學習;一方面顧慮黑人白天的工作時間,一方面也是避免被白人發現。有能力的黑人則會舉家搬到其子女有機會接受教育的地方定居,如布蘭奇·哈力斯 (Blanche V. Harris, 1844-1918)、瑪莉·帕特森 (Mary Jane Patterson, 1840-1894)、瑪莉·珍 (Mary Jane, 1840-1894)、費尼·孔賓 (Fanny Jackson Coppin, 1837-1913) 等黑人都是因此而有受教育的機會。⁹

內戰後,黑人的受教權一直受到體制性、有系統的干預。以各種法律之名行不公之實的種族隔離制度(Jim Crow laws),限制黑人接受教育的機會,1896年最高法院在「普萊西控訴佛格森

the New Negro," *Survey Graphic*, 53: 11 (March, 1925), pp. 631-634. https://www.unz.com/print/TheSurvey-1925mar01-00631/ (2023/6/12); Henry L. Gates, "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black," *Representations*, 24 (Special Issue) (Autumn, 1988), p. 136.

不·特納(Nat Turner, 1800-1831)是居住在維吉尼亞州南安普頓鎮(Southampton County, Virginia)的一位黑奴,從小就被當地黑奴視為先知。1828年5月12日,特納表示看到異象,上帝要其揭竿而起,反抗白人奴隸主,於是開始策劃,並鼓動其他黑奴一起行動。1831年8月20日傍晚,特納先和其他六位黑奴躲在樹林裡,約凌晨兩點時,進入特納主人家中。主人全家遇害,鄰居亦無一倖免。在其他奴隸的呼應下,約五十五位白人先後罹難。兩百位左右的黑人奴隸被列為嫌疑犯,遭到州政府拘捕與法律制裁。維吉尼亞州政府討論奴隸制度存續問題,支持奴隸制度者以些微差距贏得勝利,並要求奴隸主嚴格管控黑人奴隸。參見Stephen B. Oates, The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion (New York: Harper Perennial, 2016).

⁸ Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York: Arno Press, 1968).

Moses Dickson, Manual of the International Order of Twelve of Knights and Daughters of Tabor (Glasgow, MO: Moses Dickson, 1907), p. 8; Shirley J. Carlson, "Black Ideals of Womanhood in the Late Victorian Era," The Journal of Negro History, 77: 2 (Spring, 1992), p. 63; Linda M. Perkins, "The Role of Education in the Development of Black Feminist Thought, 1860-1920," History of Education, 22: 3 (September, 1993), pp. 266-267.

案」(Plessy v. Ferguson)案判決「隔離但平等」(separate but equal),合法化南方各州的種族歧視作為,¹⁰直到1954年5月17日「布朗控訴托皮卡教育局案」(Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,全名為 Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.)宣判,「隔離但平等」的原則實際上剝奪黑人學生的就學權益,違反美國憲法第十四修正案(Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution)的精神。這項法案正式宣布「隔離但平等」不適用於教育之上,但此判決精神在1960年代之後的民權運動被廣泛運用,影響深遠。

同時,白人社會在南方推動大規模的教育改革,強力干預黑人的生活與思想,限制學習的範圍,以符合南方經濟發展所需為主。南方進步主義者艾德溫·艾德曼(Edwin Alderman, 1861-1931)就指出:「我們的組織需要民主化,思想要國家化,生活要工業化,而整個進程都必須在教育中進行。」¹¹教育家湯姆士·瓊斯(Thomas Jesse Jones, 1873-1950)認為唯有透過教育的過程,讓黑人明

¹⁸⁹²年6月7日一個年約30歲的黑白混血荷姆·普萊西 (Homer Plessy, 1862-1925) 因為坐在屬於白人的車廂內,以違反路易斯安那州 (State of Louisiana) 州法規定而遭判刑。他不滿而提出上訴,宣稱公車隔離法 (Separate Car Act) 違反美國憲法第十三條修正案 (Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution) 與十四條修正案 (Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution) 的精神。負責審理的法官佛格森 (John Howard Ferguson, 1838-1915) 判決州政府勝訴,1896年5月18日最高法院審理「普萊西控訴佛格森案」一案,做出「隔離但平等」的措施合於美國憲法精神。參見"Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)," National Archives (College Park, MD: The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration). https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-vferguson (2024/3/11).

Edwin A. Alderman, "Charles D. McIver of North Carolina," Sewanee Review, 15: 1 (January, 1907), pp. 100-110. 原文引自 Amy Thompson McCandless, "Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women," The North Carolina Historical Review, 70: 3 (July, 1993), p. 304; Thomas Jesse Jones, Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute Press, 1908), p. 5; Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 188; Jacqueline A. Rouse, "Atlanta's African-American Women's Attack on Segregation, 1900-1920," in Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era, ed. Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), p. 13.

白社會階層化的既有事實,只有接受它,黑人才能為白人主流社會所接受。史家林恩·葛登(Lynn Gordon)認為這些教育改革完全沒有處理到種族問題,反而擴大黑人與白人之間的距離。史家潔克琳·勞斯(Jacqueline Rouse)直指這些教育改革其目的是鞏固白人優勢,置黑人永難翻身之地。¹²

黑人社會不願自己的文化傳統被邊緣化或消失,也開始積極作為。首先推廣黑人文化傳承的重要性。如瑪麗亞·史都華(Maria W. Stewart, 1803-1879)、索傑納·圖斯(Sojourner Truth, 1797-1883)強調要恢復種族的驕傲,必須奠基於黑人特有的文化傳承,才能共同面對種族隔離的嚴苛考驗。¹³「塔斯克基婦女會」(Tuskegee Women's Club)匯集志同道合的黑人女性,研讀黑人歷史與文學,探訪內戰遺老,撰述口述歷史。1882年成立的「紐約市調查會」(New York Enquiry Club)研讀與種族相關的資料,凸顯黑人光榮歷史(Negroes are really somebody)。黑人教育家瑪格麗特·華辛頓(Margaret Murray Washington, 1865-1925)強調,「我們不是要抗爭,只是要找到我們自己。」¹⁴

其次,創造黑人的教育的機會。1880年代後,開始有黑人投入教育界,或以個人興學的方式,提供黑人學生教育機會,實踐其種族教育理念。1886年露西·南尼(Lucy C. Laney, 1854-1933)率先在喬治亞州成立「漢司師範與工業學校」(Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Georgia);華辛頓致力於推動黑人教育,成立「塔斯克基學院」(Tuskegee Institute, Alabama),提供黑人相關的技職教育,期許經濟獨立;瑪莉·貝舒(Mary McLeod Bethune, 1875-

Fred L. Brownlee, "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Philanthropic Foundations," *Journal of Negro Education*, 13: 3 (Summer, 1944), pp. 329-339; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, p. 80.

Maria W. Stewart, "Throw off Your Fearfulness and Come Forth," in *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*, ed. Gerda Lerner (New York: Vintage House, 1972), pp. 526-530.

¹⁴ Gerda Lerner ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History, p. 544; 原文出自"Mrs. Booker T. Washington to Mrs. Lugenia Hope, September 15, 1922," Neighborhood Union Papers (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, Trevor Arnett Library).

1955) 素來被譽為黑人女性中的布克·華辛頓(Booker T. Washington of her sex), ¹⁵於1904年創辦「德通納黑人女子語文與職業訓練學校」(Daytona Literary and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls), 實踐其教育黑人女性,提昇種族的理想目標。

學校的正規教育固然可以提供學習知識、生活技能與行為規範,但這些學校初期的規模不大,因此對沒有能力就學的黑人而言,家庭取代學校,成為施教的場所,家庭教育甚至比學校教育更重要。況且在家自學相對容易,以瑪莉·貝舒為例,她有時會在工廠裡唸報紙給其他不識字的工人聽,但更多時候,她白天是學生,下課後搖身一變,成為失學的兄弟姊妹和鄰家孩子的小老師,教他們唱歌、閱讀。¹⁶布克·華辛頓的自傳《力爭上游》(*Up from the Slavery*)裡亦有相關記載。¹⁷

但家庭自學有其不足之處,施教者多半是家人、鄰居中識字者,並未具有適任教師的資格,且合適的教材不足,需要更多的資訊補充之。於是圖文並茂,內容淺顯的文字出版品,深受黑人家長歡迎。這些作品也是黑人接觸相關資訊之始。

黑人兒童讀物起於何時說法不一,主要是因為當時黑人社會文盲率極高,童話故事多以口語為主,少有文字記錄。相關黑人兒童讀物出現時間較遲,發行數量少,保羅·敦巴爾(Paul Laurence Dunbar, 1872-1906)的《小黑娃娃:給年輕人的詩文》(Little Brown Baby: Poems for Young People)應該是第一本黑人兒童讀物。¹⁸二

Rackham Holt, Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography (New York: Doubleday, 1964), p.
 29; Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "Multiple Consciousness in the Leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune," NWSA Journal, 6: 1 (Spring, 1994), p. 72.

Maxine D. Jones, "'Without Compromise or Fear': Florida's African American Female Activists," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 77: 4 (Spring, 1999), p. 481. 對於這個稱號,瑪莉·貝舒並不認同,她並不支持華辛頓的妥協態度,特別是在經濟和教育制度上接受種族隔離的立場。

Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page&Co., 1906). https://archive.org/details/upfromslaveryan08washgoog (2024/3/14).

Paul Laurence Dunbar, Little brown baby: poems for young people (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1940). https://archive.org/details/littlebrownbabyp0000dunb/page/n131/mode/2up (2023/6/21).

十世紀初出版的禮儀書(etiquette books),如艾瑪·黑克蕾夫人(Madame Emma Azalia Hackley, 1867-1922,以下簡稱黑克蕾)的《漂亮的黑人女孩》(The Colored Girl Beautiful)、¹⁹希勒斯·弗洛伊德(Silas X. Floyd, 1869-1923,以下簡稱弗洛伊德)的《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》(Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children)、²⁰門羅·麥哲思(Monroe A. Majors, 1864-1960,以下簡稱麥哲思)的《基本禮儀和童謠》(First Steps and Nursery Rhymes)、²¹威廉·杜博依斯(William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, 1868-1963,以下簡稱杜博依斯)主編的《黑孩兒之書》(The Brownies' Book)等,²²都深獲讀者青睞,《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》分別於 1909、1920、1922、1925年多次再版。黑人家長或參酌禮儀書,補助家庭施教教材之不足,所以禮儀書也具有共讀的特質。

這四本作品中,《基本禮儀和童謠》提出35種說話的範本,作為讀者行為規範的依循;《漂亮的黑人女孩》、《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》等兩本,都是為黑人而寫,內容偏重教導禮儀教育的作品。《黑孩兒之書》以月刊形式發行,「全國有色人種協進會」(National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)是主要的贊助者,「為所有孩子,特別是我們的孩子,『太陽之子』所創辦的(for all children,

Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful* (Kansas City, MO: Burton Publishing Company, 1916). https://archive.org/details/coloredgirlbeau00hackgoog/mode/2up https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/31340 (2024/3/14).

Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children (Atlanta: Hertel, Jenkins, 1905). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/60109/60109-h/60109-h.htm (2023/6/12).

²¹ Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes (Chicago: McElray & Clark, 1920). 再版後更名為Short Stories for Colored People Both Old and Young, 收錄在愛德華·格林 (Edward S. Green) 的《華盛頓特區禮儀規範》 (National Capital Code of Etiquette) 叢書之中。Edward S. Green, National Capital Code of Etiquette (Washington, DC: Austin Jenkins Co., 1920).

William E. B. Du Bois, *The Brownies' Book*. (New York: DuBios and Dill, 1920-1921). https://www.loc.gov/item/22001351 (2023/6/21).

but especially for ours, "the Children of the Sun")」, ²³由其組織刊物《危機》(*The Crisis*)主編杜博依斯兼任《黑孩兒之書》的出版事宜與專欄撰述。²⁴

在1960年《少年黑檀》(Ebony, Jr.!)出現之前,《黑孩兒之書》是第一本為黑人青少年專屬刊物。不同於其他三本書,《黑孩兒之書》的內容豐富、多樣性,傳遞知識,且具有互動的特質,如「法官」專欄(The Judge)紀錄法官(Judge)和四位不同年齡與性別的黑人小孩(Billikins, Billy, Wilhelmina, and William)之間的對話,探討教育、行為規範、社會價值與秩序等問題。除此,「每月小人物」專欄(Little People of the Month)、「我們的小朋友」專欄(Our Little Friends)、「成人角落」專欄(The Grown-Ups' Corner)等,提供黑人家長投稿兒女沙龍照、交換育兒經驗、意見與提問的互動平臺。兒童讀者也藉此了解其他黑人小孩的自我期許,成為展示黑人青少年成就的櫥窗。25學者珍妮佛·瑞特豪斯(Jennifer Ritterhouse)、凱薩琳·史密斯(Katharine Capshaw Smith)亦視為禮儀書。26

二、研究主旨

學界多從文學作品的角度,探討上述出版品。如黛安娜·強森(Dianne Johnson)、魯丁·畢夏普(Rudine Sims Bishop)、艾瑞克·羅特(Eric Lott)、奧麗特·哈里斯(Violet J. Harris)等學者,強調文

²³ 請參見《黑孩兒之書》,1卷1期(1920年1月)的封面內頁:"This is *The Brownies' Book*: A Monthly Magazine for the Children of the Sun," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 1 (January, 1920).

William E. B. Du Bois, *The Crisis*. https://archive.org/details/pub_crisis (2023/6/21).

²⁵ 譬如: "The Jury," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 6 (June, 1920), p. 178; "The Jury," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 7 (July, 1920), p. 215; "The Jury," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 10 (October, 1920), p. 308; "The Jury," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4 (April, 1920), p. 111.

Jennifer Ritterhouse, Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Katharine Capshaw Smith, "Childhood, the Body, and Race Performance: Early 20th-Century Etiquette Books for Black Children," African American Review, 40: 4 (Winter, 2006), p. 807.

本與書寫方式的分析。其中奧麗特·哈里斯將《黑孩兒之書》和「哈林文藝復興」、「新黑人」概念連結。凱薩琳·史密斯從文學與戲劇的角度切入,以跨學科的研究方式,分析黑人知識分子以兒童圖書作為振興黑人文化國族主義的媒介。克莉絲汀娜·謝佛(Christina Schäffer)用跨學科的研究方式,評析它們與「哈林文藝復興」、白人中產階級意識形態、振興種族文化的關係。珍妮佛·瑞特豪斯則用之探討黑人禮儀教育的養成與源由。²⁷

但這些出版品還有其他值得注意的特質。其一,這四本作品的作者均為黑人。兒童讀物通常為孩童認知養成的起始,一旦呈現的素材是經過選擇性的,或建立在錯誤訊息之上,其影響深遠,特別是涉及種族議題。這些作品內容特別著墨於正向能量。如:黑人孩子身上散發出來的健康、快樂與美麗特質,強調引領孩子走上正軌,與激發青少年的潛力,如黑克蕾要黑人女孩在種族進步中不要缺席;弗洛伊德強調每個黑人男孩與女孩都嚴正面對各自的種族任務。²⁸

其次,他們皆為長期關注黑人青少年教育議題或實際參與教育工作者。黑克蕾是一位混血(mulatto)女性音樂家,致力於透

Dianne Johnson, Telling Tales: The Pedagogy and Promise of African American Literature for Youth (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Rudine Sims Bishop, Free within Ourselves: The Development of African American Children's Literature (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007); Eric Lott, Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Violet J. Harris, "Race Consciousness, Refinement, and Radicalism: Socialization in The Brownies' Book," Children's Literature Association Quarterly, 14: 4 (Winter, 1989), pp. 192-196; Katharine Capshaw Smith, Children's Literature of the Harlem Renaissance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Jennifer Ritterhouse, Growing up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race; Katharine Capshaw Smith, "Childhood, the Body, and Race Performance: Early 20th-Century Etiquette Books for Black Children," pp. 795-811; Christina Schäffer, The Brownies' Book: Inspiring Racial Pride in African-American Children (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012).

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, p. 11; Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 8; Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 132, 247-248.

過音樂教育提昇種族榮耀,關心孩子生活教育與其未來,²⁹《漂亮的黑人女孩》就是要教導黑人女孩成為優雅的黑人淑女(refined African American lady)。弗洛伊德是一位作家與編輯,是「有色人種學校教師全國聯盟」(National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)的成員外,同時也是學校校長,實際執行施教者。麥哲思、杜博依斯則是長期投入種族平權運動,特別是黑人的受教權。³⁰他們都聚焦於實踐生活禮儀規範,教育「新黑人」是改善黑人社會整體生活現狀的契機。麥哲思指出,「這是一個理想,對於世界的關注端賴於你和你所知,要努力學習。」弗洛伊德強調兒童的未來一定要超越父母。³¹

但要學習什麼?如何做?各家觀點不一。不同於華辛頓、瑪莉·貝舒等黑人教育家的觀點,這四位作者相信禮儀教育可以讓孩子成為「新黑人」。知識的範疇不應該侷限在學科認知能力養成,除了識字能力、數學、閱讀、技藝等認知能力外,他們更強調的是實際運用於生活中的非認知能力(non-cognitive skills),著重傳遞良好習慣、禮儀與行為規範等知識,同時也告訴讀者們如何做中學,學中做,給予實際的執行方向與方法。這些特質也是學者沒有討論過的議題。

當艾倫・洛克提出「新黑人」成為「哈林文藝復興」主要精

²⁹ Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, p. 18.

對於黑人應該接受技職教育,抑或通識教育,杜博依斯與布克·華辛頓有不同的觀點。華辛頓主張強化黑人的經濟能力為優先考量,在1895年發表〈亞特蘭大妥協文〉("Atlanta Compromise," Cotton States and International Exposition, 1895),呼籲黑人以改善經濟優先於爭取政治權益,教育上以技職教育為重。杜博依斯於1903年出版《黑人的靈魂》,文中主張人文教育才是興邦之道,建立種族意識之源。William E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomason Organization Ltd., 1903, 1973 reprinted); Fred L. Brownlee...Fred L. Brownlee, "Educational Programs for the Improvement of Race Relations: Philanthropic Foundation," pp. 329-339; James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, p. 80; Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Compromise of 1895," History Matters, 17 June 2009 (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University, Center for History and New Media). http://history matters.gmu.edu/d/39 (2024/3/14).

Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 48; Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, p. 132.

神後,黑人社會變成有文化、有力量、有獨立性的一群人。但文 化素養需要時間,絕非一蹴可成。本文擬以黑人作者撰述的《漂 亮的黑人女孩》、《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美 麗》、《基本禮儀和童謠》、《黑孩兒之書》等禮儀書,探討他 們如何透過禮儀書教育「新黑人」,賦予其實質內涵與意義,預 先為「新黑人」的養成鋪陳。

三、破除刻板印象——禮儀教育之重

白人社會持續透過文字、影像、教科書等途徑,刻意營造黑人是懶惰、墮落、道德差、沒有家庭觀念、酗酒、性關係複雜、行為放浪等刻板印象。³²黑人男性多以滑稽劇的角色出現。³³海倫·班納曼(Helen Bannerman, 1862-1946)的《小黑人山寶的故事》(The Story of Little Black Sambo, 1899)應是黑人刻板印象與種族歧視充斥全書的作品。³⁴知名白人兒童作家安妮·強斯頓(Annie Fellows Johnston, 1863-1931)的《小小上校》(The Little Colonel)系列作品中,黑人的角色都是家奴,對白人主人忠心耿耿,滿口鄉間俚語,對迷信深信不疑,年紀漸長,腦袋依然駕鈍,但故事中的中產階級白人女孩則是樂善好施,關心與投入社會改革。³⁵杜博依斯不斷呼籲黑人要摒棄「這些無知、有系統的羞辱,扭曲事

Teresa de Lauretis, Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 31-48.

如S. Bryant, Epaminondas and His Auntie (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938)中男奴隸 Epaminondas 就是一個丑角性格。

^{34 《}小黑人山寶的故事》名列美國圖書館協會的禁書名單,美國公共圖書館、學校圖書館自1972年起將撤架。參見Dashini Jeyathurai, "The complicated racial politics of Little Black Sambo," *South Asian American Digital Archive*. http://www.saada.org/tides/article/little-black-sambo (2024/3/11).

³⁵ 安妮·強斯頓的《小小上校》系列作品共有11冊,以描述內戰後肯德基州的南方生活為主,其中主角就是外號「小上校」(Little Colonel)的勞伊德·謝爾曼(Lloyd Sherman)。參見"Annie Fellows Johnston (1863-1931): Author of the 'Little Colonel' Stories & More," *Pewee Valley History Society*. https://www.pewee valleyhistory.org/annie-fellows-johnston.html (2020/12/3).

實、毫無節制的毀謗」。³⁶因此在禮儀教育規範中,會特別致力於 破除這些刻板印象。

(一)清潔是禮儀之本

培養良好的日常清潔習慣一直是黑人教育家特別著重之處,華辛頓的「塔斯克基學院」就將教學生如何洗澡、保持衣物乾淨與清潔牙齒列入課程。³⁷「全國黑人女性聯盟」(National Association of Colored Women's Clubs)董事會主席瑪莉·衛琳(Mary F. Waring, 1870-1958)特別強調清潔教育的重要性;清潔工作不需要高深的學問,要的是「肥皂、水、刷子和熱情」。³⁸這也是瑪莉·貝舒在「德通納黑人女子語文與職業訓練學校」教育課程中的著墨點。³⁹

於是「清潔」是成為好孩子的基本條件。《基本禮儀和童謠》肯定清潔是成為好男孩、好女孩的第一步,將骯髒歸咎於個人懶惰所致。⁴⁰黑克蕾肯定黑人女孩要有良好的清潔習慣,必有助於改變黑人的刻板印象。⁴¹弗洛伊德以"T—"暗指「塔斯克基學院」,描述黑人女孩葛瑞絲·威爾金恩斯(Grace Wilkins)在學校讀書後,返家時帶了一把牙刷,「這是以前從未發生過的事情」。一天至少2-3次,她會細心的梳整自己的頭髮和洗臉,協助整理家庭整潔與衛生。這些都是她在上學後的轉變,「肥皂和水也可以讓壞孩子變好。」⁴²

³⁶ William E. B. Du Bois, *The Gift of Black Folk* (Boston: Stratford, 1924), p. 21.

³⁷ 布克爾·華辛頓 (Booker T. Washington) 著,思果譯,《力爭上游——布克爾·華盛頓自傳》 (香港:今日世界出版社,1963),頁70、頁95-96。

Mary Fitzbutler Waring, "Sanitation," National Association Notes, 19 (1917), pp. 8-9, in Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895-1992, ed. Williams and Boehm (microform).

Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "Ringing up a School: Mary McLeod Bethune's Impact on Daytona," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 73: 2 (October, 1994), p. 211.

⁴⁰ Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 16. 照片的副標是: "A Listening Senate May Sit in Awe of This Child."

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 8, 41-42, 44-45.

⁴² Silas X. Floyd, "Thanksgiving at Piney Grove," in *Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children*, pp. 37-46, 222.

而當時黑人社會更賦予清潔習慣深層意義,不僅是個人習慣,也是為種族贏得尊重與榮耀的方式。瑪莉·貝舒肯定「黑人女孩應該表現出清潔、美麗與學會思考,並應用所學盡可能的改善家庭環境;若一個家庭成功,就意味著其他所有家庭的進步」。⁴³黑克蕾認為男孩接受清潔教育,會對個人產生影響,但女孩嫻熟於清潔,受影響的範圍含括家庭與種族。麥哲思則主張清潔具有雙重意義,對個人而言,是評判好孩子或壞孩子的標準,更是觀察種族進步與否的重要指標,「骯髒」的孩子會變成「骯髒」的大人,壞習慣就會隨之而來,肥皂可以避免種族的墮落。於是不注重清潔的青少年,不但有損自己的身體健康與形象,也愧對種族。⁴⁴作者們強調青少年身體清潔的重要性,傳遞出一個非常重要的觀念,亦即他們堅信黑人和白人一樣,都具有自我改善的能力,沒有種族基因上的差異,透過學習的機制,就會表現得和白人小孩一樣好。

(二)正向面對外顯種族特質

認同黑色皮膚與五官長相是天生特質的論述,並不常見於白人兒童讀物中,卻是黑人青少年讀物中的常見的論述。在種族歧視與偏見的影響下,許多生活上的日常用語,如害群之馬(black sheep)、勒索(blackmail),都將黑色與負面意涵連結。為了改善這些偏頗的言論,這些青少年讀物的作者們都會特別賦予黑色正面能量,強化自信心,鼓勵讀者接受種族遺傳特質的論述。如安娜提·布朗尼(Annette Christine Browne)在《黑孩兒之書》的作品中,多以黑色作為隱喻,形容黑人小孩巴德(Bud)像一朵黑色蓮花花苞,內藏可愛與純潔;她告訴孩子們,上帝喜愛你們,捲髮是祂賜給的禮物,也讓你們有一顆充滿歡笑與歌聲的心,隨時歡唱,看到歡樂,據此安撫孩子對於自己膚色與外貌的不安。45杜博

⁴³ Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "Ringing up a School: Mary McLeod Bethune's Impact on Daytona," p. 211.

Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, pp. 31, 183; Monroe A. Majors, *First Steps and Nursery Rhymes*, pp. 15, 16, 20, 21, 23.

⁴⁵ Annette C. Browne, "How Little Bud Found Christmas," The Brownies' Book, 1: 12

依斯更強調自然界蜜蜂都是黑色和金棕色的,絕無白色的; ⁴⁶「如 烏飛翔」(As the Crow Flies)專欄的主角也是一隻黑色烏鴉。

至於五官長相的種族特質,如黑皮膚、捲髮、厚唇、塌鼻等,作者們則會用其他特質烘托之,如黑克蕾認為黑人有清澈、健康、充滿智慧的雙眼、漂亮的牙齒和天籟美聲,就是應該引以為傲的天賦。⁴⁷《黑孩兒之書》的各專欄中,用照片呈現小讀者可愛的真實樣貌,無論外貌特質為何,他們都是快樂、健康和衣裝整齊。⁴⁸於是一群穿著正式得體,白衣、白褲、白裙與白襪,手持樂器或騎著馬的美麗黑人孩童身影,吸引更多讀者的目光,甚至有白人讀者來函表示,從未看過如此漂亮的黑人小孩。⁴⁹除了外在的合宜相貌,照片中的黑人小孩都有值得稱道的表現與心懷理想。⁵⁰如愛咪·路易斯(Ammie Rosealia Lewis)在卡列克斯哥高中(Calexico High School)全校105名學生中,以成績優異上臺領獎的照片,作者更表示黑人以她為榮。⁵¹

作者們也提供黑人女孩讓自己更漂亮的作法,如用輕聲細語,抿嘴微笑,掩飾豐厚的嘴唇和過大的門牙縫,「黑人女孩的 美麗是可以教導的,張開眼,閉上嘴」。⁵²麥哲思則認為以多讀書

⁽December, 1920), pp. 367-368; Annette C. Browne, "Little Brown Boy," *The Brownies'* Book, 2: 1 (January, 1921), p. 14.

William E. B. Du Bois, "Honey," The Brownies' Book, 1: 8 (August, 1920), p. 228.

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, p. 23.

Bertie L. Hall, "A Visit to Fairyland," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 2 (February, 1920), pp. 35-37; Willie Mae King, "The Adoption of Ophelia," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 6 (June, 1920), pp. 180-182; Alice Burnett, "The Wish," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 6 (June, 1920), pp. 190-191; Willie Mae King, "Why Bennie Was Fired," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 7 (July, 1920), pp. 223-224.

^{49 &}quot;The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7 (July, 1921), p. 208.

[&]quot;Little People of the Month," The Brownies' Book, 1: 3 (March, 1920), pp. 92-94; Olive C. Jones, "Little People of the Month," The Brownies' Book, 2: 5 (May, 1921), pp. 146-148; "Our Little Friends," [Photograph]. The Brownies' Book, 1: 12 (December, 1920), p. 369; "Little People of the Month," The Brownies' Book, 1: 8 (August, 1920), p. 254.

⁵¹ "Little People of the Month," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 9 (September, 1920), pp. 284-285.

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 41-42, 44-45, 67-68.

改變氣質,彌補外貌的不完美。⁵³《黑孩兒之書》以年僅15歲的小作者葛瑞絲·懷特(Grace White)撰述的故事主角黑人女孩孤兒佩蒂絲·麥根倫(Patsy McCullen)為例,她因雀斑而自卑,並將之歸於自己一直無法成功找到收養家庭的主因。但在同期的「每月小人物」專欄中,藉由討論完美(perfect)的定義,指出每個生命有不完美之處,不用自卑,黑人孩子應該重視的是心靈與靈魂的完美。在〈朵麗的夢〉("Dolly's Dream")中,作者藉由黑人女孩朵麗(Dolly)的夢境,安撫黑人孩童不要對天生的膚色或捲髮、扁塌鼻子感到自卑,這些都是與生俱來,黑人社會引以為傲的種族特質。⁵⁴

(三)黑人社會重視家庭生活

長期以來,白人鄙視黑人沒有家庭觀念,是黑人自我墮落之源。即使在1960年代民權運動最盛之際,1965年丹尼爾·莫尼漢(Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 1927-2003)在其著作《黑人家庭》(The Negro Family: The Case for National Action)中認為黑人家庭不健全是美國社會的亂源。安德魯·比林斯列(Andrew Billingsley)更直指這亂源來自於黑人社會的自我滋長,而非外在環境的影響結果。55

這些禮儀書開始嘗試改變這樣的刻板印象;它們用文字、照 片或圖片呈現理想家庭樣貌。在《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花 朵,或責任和美麗》中,強調家庭生活的重要性,小孩要和父母 親一起閱讀和遊戲,並且上學接受教育。安排屬於孩子們的成長 環境與營養餐食,也是家長的責任。56即便父母親缺席,也會有長

53 Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 28. 照片的副標為: "Thousands Will Be Charmed by Her Reading."

Grace White, "Not Wanted," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4 (April, 1920), p. 115; "Little People of the Month," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4 (April, 1920), p. 117; Nora Waring, "Dolly's Dream," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 11 (November, 1920), pp. 351-352.

Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, DC: Office of Policy Planning and Research, US Department of Labor, 1965), pp. 29-30; Andrew Billingsley, *Black Families in White America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

Yetta K. Stoddard, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 1: 6 (June, 1920), p. 177.

者接續其職,維繫家庭結構完整與種族齊心照顧年輕世代的場景。⁵⁷如父親死於戰場,年紀長的男人就會扮演如先知的角色,負責偕同照顧。⁵⁸或有崇高社會地位的長者,如《黑孩兒之書》「法官」專欄中的法官,彌補父母親教導的不足。⁵⁹或如朱利安·貝格磊(Julian Elihu Bagley, 1892-1981)系列中,祖父母就會承接親職教育之責,教導黑人兒童各項生活細節、行為規範與保護自我安全的知識。⁶⁰這種建立家庭概念的作法,還延伸至對於同種族孩子的愛,在刊物中刊登訊息,協助孤兒找到合適的收養家庭。⁶¹

《黑孩兒之書》也會用文字描繪家庭成員互動的緊密關係。 譬如一位11歲小讀者愛麗絲·柏奈特 (Alice Burnett)的創作中,描述一對黑人父母親正在客廳討論女兒進入學校接受教育的問題。 這個黑人家庭布置簡陋,但父母親交談的內容,關心子女溢於言表。⁶²在一篇為可爾蒂莉亞 (Cordelia) 準備生日禮物的故事中,充滿家庭溫馨與吵鬧的日常生活。⁶³黑人家庭歡度節慶的快樂時光,豐盛的感恩節晚餐,與小孩搶食火雞腿的互動追逐。⁶⁴《弗洛伊德

^{Georgia D. Johnson, "The Story of the Little Tin Horn," The Brownies' Book, 1: 12 (December, 1920), pp. 382-384; Jessie Fauset, "Cordelia Goes on the Warpath," The Brownies' Book, 2: 5 (May, 1921), pp. 148-154; Annette C. Browne, "Funny Bunnies," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7 (July, 1921), p. 201; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7, p. 208; Augusta Bird, "Herbert and Frederick," The Brownies' Book, 2: 8 (August, 1921), pp. 219-223.}

Alphonso O. Stafford, "The Twin Heroes," *The Brownies' Book*, 1:4 (April, 1920), pp. 125-128.

⁵⁹ "The Judge," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 3 (March, 1920), p. 81.

Julian E. Bagley, "How Br'er Possum Learned to Play Dead," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 1 (January, 1921), pp. 29-32; Julian E. Bagley, "How Br'er Possum Outwitted Br'er Rabbit," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 4 (April, 1921), pp. 99-102; Julian E. Bagley, "Once' Twas a Little Pig," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 6 (June, 1921), pp. 186-188.

The Editors, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 2 (February, 1920), p. 45; "The Jury," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 2 (February, 1920), p. 52; "Little People of the Month," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 11 (November, 1920), pp. 348-349.

Alice Burnett, "The Wish," pp. 190-191.

⁶³ Jessie Fauset, "Cordelia Goes on the Warpath," pp. 148-154.

Jessie Fauset, "Turkey Drumsticks," The Brownies' Book, 1: 11 (November, 1920), pp. 342-345.

給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》中的「在家的夜晚」(An Evening at Home)、「家,甜蜜的家」(Home, Sweet Home)、⁶⁵ 愛德華·格林(Edward S. Green)之《華盛頓特區禮儀規範》(National Capital Code of Etiquette),也以「家庭之愛無所不在」("When There's Love at Home")為題,刊登黑人家庭和樂融融的照片。⁶⁶這些都呈現出黑人家庭生活中,父慈子孝,兄友弟恭,家人關係和樂的場景。

當家長與孩子分享禮儀書內容時,就已經具體實踐了黑人社會重視家庭生活的目標。

(四)稱職的黑人母親形象

為什麼黑人禮儀書中,要特別強調母親的形象?其一,黑人女性自始就背負許多種族偏見下的原罪。「密蘇里州報業聯盟」(Missouri Press Association)的主席傑克(James W. Jack)去函其英國友人貝佳尼(Florence Belgarnie)(該員為「反奴會社」[Anti-Slavery Society]的秘書),信中指稱黑人女性全部都是妓女,是天生的小偷和說謊者。⁶⁷1904 年,一位白人女性在報紙上發表文章指出,「在一般大眾的印象中,黑人女性顯然比男性更為墮落……,當一個男性的母親、妻子與女兒是如此時,她的墮落天性將無所獲得任何榮耀或道德的鼓舞,……我真的很難想像有這種黑人女性」。⁶⁸

面對汙衊黑人女性的指控時,當時黑人社會特別形塑「母親」對家庭的貢獻,「母親」是可以用來作為跨越所有障礙的象徵、母親應該是堅定、固若磐石、和藹、具有同情心的,是家庭

Beverly W. Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1901," *The Journal of Negro History*, 67: 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 23.

⁶⁵ Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 27, 278. 其他亦可參考頁21、74、80、142等圖片。

⁶⁶ Edward S. Green, National Capital Code of Etiquette, p. 131.

^{68 &}quot;Experiences of the Race Problem, By a Southern White Woman," *Independent*, 56 (Springs, Co), 17 March, 1904, p. 593. 引 自Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *Daughters of Sorrow:* Attitudes toward Black Women, 1880-1920 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1990), p. 46.

重要支柱,給予孩子們溫暖舒適的家,負責衣食起居照顧,並擔負家庭教育之責。⁶⁹瑪莉·泰瑞爾(Mary Church Terrell, 1863-1954)篤信女性是家庭道德的守護者,有健全的家庭就可以改善種族問題。⁷⁰在她擔任「全國黑人女性聯盟」的董事會主席時,就以協助黑人女性成為好太太、好媽媽為組織活動的主要目標。「塔斯克基學院」女性教職員工與眷屬組成「塔斯克基婦女會」,就是一群中產階級黑人女性,群策群力,協助塔斯克基地區(Tuskegee, Alabama)農家黑人女性處理家務和養育、照顧孩童的技巧。⁷¹她們都是鼓勵與協助黑人女性,詮釋完美母親角色。

而這樣的想法也深植禮儀書中有關母親的形象與期許。誠如前言,禮儀書是家長協助孩童家庭自學的參考書單,閱讀者包括家長和孩童。因此,書籍中對母親形象的陳述看似突兀,與幼童讀者無關,其實這些都是給共讀的家長看的,讓他們(特別是黑人母親)知道母親角色的重要性,一個行為舉止得宜的母親是有助於提昇種族形象。在《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》中黑人媽媽總是穿戴整齊,悉心照顧家庭。72麥哲思推廣女孩要培養高貴的心靈,以局負為人母的重責大任,而身為母親者,也要成為女兒的好榜樣,並在成長過程中親密陪伴。73在《黑

Stephanie A. Smith, Conceived by Liberty: Maternal Figures and Nineteenth-Century American Literature (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 14; Evelyn B. Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 202; Nannie H. Burroughs, "Some Straight Talk to Mothers," National Baptist Union (Nashville, TN),13 February 1904, p.4.

⁷⁰ Audrey Thomas McCluskey, "Ringing up a School: Mary McLeod Bethune's Impact on Daytona," p. 211. 瑪莉·泰瑞爾是二十世紀美國傑出黑人女性之一,活躍於黑人女性社團組織與華盛頓特區的社交圈,一生致力於爭取黑人權益,以「民權運動之老祖母」(Grandmother of the Civil Rights Movement)稱著。

Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), chapter 6, pp. 122-138.

⁷² Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 27, 74, 76, 80, 91, 112, 203, 205, 210, 232, 251, 265, 278, 301.

Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, pp. 25, 26, 31.

孩兒之書》中,更常凸顯母親在兒童成長過程中的重要地位,黑人小孩都受到父母親細心照顧、協助;⁷⁴強調母親對於孩子習慣的養成的影響不容小覷,母親要以身教代替言教,協助孩子往正確的方向發展。⁷⁵南妮·布諾斯(Nannie H. Burroughs,1879-1961)認為許多壞習慣,如嚼口香糖、抽煙,或者不願待在家裡,都是沒有好母親之故。⁷⁶黑克蕾則延續南妮·布諾斯的看法,認為失職的黑人母親會受到他人唾棄,沒有資格批評其他女性。她更強調黑人母親應該側重品味的養成,特別是對於自然、藝術、科學、音樂和文學的涉獵與關切,涵養品味與靈魂,為種族孕育優秀的下一代而努力,將訓練顧家、有責任心的好男人與好爸爸的責任視為母職(motherhood)的一部分;兒子的言行充分反映出母親的家教。⁷⁷顯然黑克蕾也期望黑人成年男性許多不良紀錄都可以在男孩成長階段中,藉由盡職的母親而獲得改善。

(五)情緒管理與品德教育是贏得尊重之鑰

在種族隔離與歧視的社會氛圍下,情緒管理與品德教育也是 禮儀書作者們共同關心的議題,視此為贏得種族尊重的方法。黑 克蕾認為女性要學會自我情緒控制,規範合宜行為,才能獲取男 性的尊重;不禮貌的行為不僅是道德上的瑕疵,也有害於種族形 象。⁷⁸《黑孩兒之書》中藉由黑人小孩威尼佛列德(Winifred)和艾 倫(Ellen)的故事告訴讀者,每個人都有善惡兩面,讓善良持續發 揚,遠離邪惡。它不會譴責孩子做壞事,但要學會原諒別人的犯

^{Peggy Poe, "Pumpkin Land," The Brownies' Book, 1: 1 (January, 1920), pp. 6-7; "The Judge," The Brownies' Book, 1: 2 (February, 1920), pp. 49-50; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 1: 2, p. 52; Ella T. Madden, "A Girl's Will," The Brownies' Book, 1: 2 (February, 1920), pp. 54-56; "The Judge," The Brownies' Book, 1: 3, p. 82; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 1: 4, p. 111; William E. B. Du Bois, "Honey," pp. 227-232.}

Yetta Kay Stoddard, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 9 (September, 1920), p. 265.

Nannie H. Burroughs, "Some Straight Talk to Mothers," p. n.p.

⁷⁷ Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, pp. 188-194, 198-199, 203-204, 205.

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 103, 134-136.

錯;⁷⁹不會特意隱藏小孩子的說謊使壞的作為,卻會給他們改過自新的機會。⁸⁰它也藉由法官與四名孩子的對話,禁止偷竊和欺騙,不可投機取巧,要腳踏實地生活,黑人就可以保持和平和自尊。⁸¹ 麥哲思也持類似的看法,教導孩童要謹言慎行,不要說謊,勤於上教堂與主日學校,否則會失去成為好人的機會。⁸²

再以黑人小孩與西瓜為例。西瓜一直是與歧視黑人意識並存的食物,特別是內戰後美國南方白人更以此作為輕蔑黑人的諷刺。因此在許多與黑人小孩相關的照片或圖片中,一身破爛的黑人小孩偷西瓜後大快朵頤,特別凸顯他們的嘴和西瓜一樣大,與小偷行徑。⁸³但在禮儀書中,力圖糾正這些刻板印象。譬如在《黑孩兒之書》中主角「快樂」(Happy)和他的朋友偷吃西瓜的被發現,西瓜的主人並沒有責罵孩子,只是要他們限期賠償一元,否則會告訴警察有人偷他的西瓜。小孩們努力尋找工作機會賺錢賠償的情節。⁸⁴《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》中也以圖片將西瓜與誠實的黑人孩子形象連結。⁸⁵

此外,禮儀教育被賦予了自我保護的意涵。1914年心理學家 G·史坦利(G. Stanley Hall, 1844-1924)指出,十九世紀末的美國中產 階級因為擔心性別與白人威權受到移民與黑人的挑戰,因此主張

Augusta E. Bird, "A Guilty Conscience," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 1 (January, 1921), pp. 26-27

Caroline Bond Day, "Big Round Date and Little Bean," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 9 (September, 1920), pp. 259-262.

⁸¹ "The Judge," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 8 (August, 1920), pp. 240-241; "The Judge," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 9 (September, 1920), p. 280.

Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 20.

William R. Black, "How Watermelons Became Black: Emancipation and the Origins of a Racist Trope," Journal of the Civil War Era, 8: 1 (March, 2018), pp. 64, 67-70; Kenneth W. Goings, Mammy and Uncle Mose: Black Collectibles and American Stereotyping (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 37-40. 網路上有許多相關圖片,參見"The watermelon stereotype," Abagond, 10 March 2011. https://abagond.wordpress.com/2011/03/10/the-watermelon-stereotype (2024/3/14).

⁸⁴ Caroline Bond Day, "Big Round Date and Little Bean," pp. 259-262.

⁸⁵ Silas X. Floyd, "Honesty," in Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 53-55.

要規範行為,確定彼此的分際。學者珍妮佛·瑞特豪斯指出禮儀教育不僅規範行為,也是區分你我之別的界線。郝坦斯·包爾麥可爾(Hortense Powdermaker, 1900-1970)則指出為保持現狀(status quo),黑人必須遵循規範,不可踰越。⁸⁶因此,黑人必須學習禮儀,維持種族社交距離,與白人接觸時可以全身而退。

但如何讓黑人年輕人遵守種族隔離制度分際,減少不必要的衝突與麻煩,得以自保?避免傳遞仇恨是首要之職。杜博依斯在《黑孩兒之書》中處理1919年種族暴力衝突「紅色夏天」(Red Summer)時,只用文字輕描淡寫,提出簡單的批評,陳述的重點特別聚焦於黑人反抗種族壓迫的事蹟,輕輕帶過黑人社會被血洗的事件。⁸⁷同時刊載一張曾在《危機》出現過的照片,一群出現在抗議遊行中的黑人小孩,其中一個黑人小女孩手中拿著標語:「媽媽,執行私刑的人會上天堂嗎?」(Mother, Do Lynchers Go To Heaven?)。⁸⁸照片傳遞出黑人社會聲討私刑不公,但卻不要引發《黑孩兒之書》讀者更多的仇恨之心。

其次,黑克蕾建議黑人女孩在面對種族歧視與偏見時,應該保持正面的思維,從助人的善念出發,用微笑面對困境。⁸⁹杜博依斯也從兩方面著手,一方面給予黑人小孩正確的資訊,面對種族偏見與歧視。⁹⁰譬如,一個黑人小孩扮成牛仔樣,拿著玩具槍要大

Granville S. Hall, "Must Your Child Lie?" in Parents and Their Problems: Child Welfare in Home, School, Church, and State, vol. 3, ed. Mary Hezlep Harmon Weeks (Washington, DC: National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, 1914), p. 285; Jennifer Ritterhouse, Growing up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race, pp. 50, 53, 57, 90-94; Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), pp. 43-45, 51.

⁸⁷ "As the Crow Flies," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 1 (January, 1920), p. 24; "As the Crow Flies," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 5 (May, 1921), pp. 158-159.

⁸⁸ "Children in the 'Silent Protest' Parade, New York City (1920)," [Photograph]. *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 1 (January, 1920), p. 26.

⁸⁹ Emma A Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 56-57, 72.

William E. B. Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1975), pp. 203-204; "As the Crow Flies," The Brownies' Book, 2: 5, p. 159.

人舉手投降。照片下面的副標題是:「『陽光山米』在現實生活中是不會這樣做的。在電影中這樣做是無妨的。」⁹¹讓小讀者清楚知道有些行為是不可模仿的。

適時的退縮,是保護自己,不是懦弱,也是不錯的選擇。《黑孩兒之書》也鼓勵讀者適時退縮至世外桃源,以擺脫種族衝突的緊張狀況,如凱薩琳·坎培爾(Katheryn M. Campbell)描述兔子與南方棉田的關係,並以兔子暗喻黑人奴隸的生活亦如秋天之於兔子,必須智取人類,才能獲致安全生計。G·哈里遜(G. B. Harrison)則以小體型流浪犬貝比(Babe)面對其他大型流浪犬時,不會刻意引起爭執,但一旦需要搏鬥時,就要全力以赴。92暗喻黑人不會自找麻煩,但也會全力保護自己,決不退讓。透過布爾負鼠、小豬、布爾兔等的行為,不僅關注到孩童的情緒,如憤怒、嫉妒、恐懼、孤獨,也是建議小讀者們在適當的環境中採取合宜的行動,並提供解決問題的策略、方式與想法。

弗洛伊德在面對種種的不公平與種族隔離時,反問讀者,黑人能做什麼?他認為回擊是不智的,因為法院、鐵路、媒體、電話、武器軍火都在白人的手中,每次衝突事件受傷最深的往往都是黑人。但更重要的是,他認為黑人不能在這種無名的羞辱和傷害中,失去禮貌、自尊;我們不能在種族之名下犯下錯誤,我們唯一能做的是增加耐心,相信上帝的引導。對他而言,兒童遊戲場就是一個不斷複習情緒控管的場域。每個人都喜歡挑戰打倒再爬起來的人,黑人孩子要習慣種族間的粗暴行為,這是成長中不可避免的經驗。他鼓勵黑人讀者要學會情緒管理,甚至承受隱忍一些肢體上的磨難,以免衍伸更多的肢體暴力衝突。93

^{91 &}quot;Sunshine Sammy," [Photograph]. The Brownies' Book, 2: 7 (July, 1921), p. 203.

^{Katheryn M. Campbell, "Bunny Cotton-Tail's Christmas Dinner,"} *The Brownies' Book*,
1: 12 (December, 1920), pp. 361-363; G. B. Harrison, "This Is a Dog's Life," *The Brownies' Book*,
1: 7 (July, 1920), pp. 198-202.

Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 72, 321-322.

四、與時俱進的論述

無論弗洛伊德、黑克蕾、麥哲思以合於規範的行為,自我約制與自我保護,或杜博依斯則強調黑人面對種族衝突的柔性反抗之說,都反映出作者們仍傾向延續傳統保守的觀點,面對美國社會現實處境。除此,《基本禮儀和童謠》、《漂亮的黑人女孩》、《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》、黑孩兒之書》以單本或月刊形式呈現,出版時間也有差異,論述也隨著實際情況修正,「新黑人」更能適應時代需求。

(一)強調互助的金錢觀

黑人社會的傳統觀念倡議賺錢與儲蓄才能脫離貧窮。艾達·威爾斯(Ida B. Wells, 1862-1931)就說,儲蓄避免貧窮,脫離受役於他人之苦,如果銀行有許多存款,沒有人會向他說「不」,所有不公平與壓迫也會隨之遠離。⁹⁴《漂亮的黑人女孩》亦提出類似的主張,銀行有存款才是值得被尊敬的事情。⁹⁵

禮儀書中卻有不同的主張。儲蓄固然可以個人脫離貧窮,也是幫助他人之道,因此而多了互助的精神:幫助需要幫助者。杜博依斯藉由蜜蜂與花粉的關係,隱喻南方黑人北上遷徙是存續種族的必要之舉,大家要互相照助與扶持。%譬如《黑孩兒之書》透過舞臺劇傳遞助人可以發揚光大金錢的價值。劇中的黑人小孩將自己撲滿小豬的儲蓄拿出來,幫助馬琳達阿姨(Aunt Malinda)付房屋租金,換得容身之處。97一對夫妻賣了十隻小豬換取金幣一枚,正在高興商量要如何購買心儀已久的東西時,後來決定放棄自己的物欲,協助一位不良於行黑人老太太的盲兒復明之醫療費用。郎格斯頓·修斯(Langston Hughes, 1901-1967)強調黑人的無私、慷慨

⁹⁴ Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History, p. 540.

⁹⁵ Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, p. 156.

⁹⁶ William E. B. Du Bois, "Honey," pp. 227-232.

Willis Richardson, "The Children's Treasure," The Brownies' Book, 2: 6 (June, 1921), pp. 176-179.

與信任,鼓勵讓小讀者團結力量,共同對抗貧窮、不公義。⁹⁸威利斯·李察森(Willis Richardson, 1889-1977)透過話劇承認當時黑人社會的窮困,但黑人之間更有互助的精神,可以做到比錢更有意義的事情。⁹⁹在這些故事中,轉換角度,強調無私慷慨,討論金錢使用的其他可能。

在描述有關節慶的題材上,特別淡化黑人之間富人與窮人差異性,而強調彼此的互助情誼。譬如有錢小女孩海爾達·貝爾(Hilda Blair)用自己的存款2.9美元買一隻雞與蔬菜讓窮小孩愛帝斯·傑金斯(Edith Jenkins)全家歡度聖誕節;北方孩子黛安娜·喬登(Diane Jordan)邀請黑人小孩全家過感恩節。100「法官」專欄也針對聖誕節禮物的選擇提出理性的討論,法官就向孩子們解釋禮物的價值不在於貴重與否,而在於是否符合受贈者的身分與真正需要,要務實而不浪費。101同期兩篇同樣以聖誕禮物的故事,繼續延伸討論,告訴孩子施比受更為有福的道理。102這些文章的深層涵義,不僅化解現實生活中,黑人父母親能力不足與孩子對聖誕禮物期望的差距,也藉由黑人小孩之間窮與比較不窮,小禮物與沒有禮物之別,鼓勵孩子成為給予者(giver),才是聖誕節的真諦。

禮儀書的金錢觀中也強調自我投資,成就與提昇自我。譬如《黑孩兒之書》中的「法官」專欄中,黑人小孩卡爾.蓋瑞(Carl Gray)、約翰·伊斯特曼(John Eastman)努力存錢打工,為了可以進入大學讀書;法官肯定其為創造價值,永久致富之道;麥哲思

Langston Hughes, "The Gold Piece: A Play That Might Be True," *The Brownies' Book*,2: 7 (July, 1921), pp. 191-194.

⁹⁹ Willis Richardson, "The Children's Treasure," pp. 176-179.

Jessie Fauset, "Merry Christmas to All," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 12 (December, 1920), pp. 355-360; Langston Hughes, "Those Who Have No Turkey," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 11 (November, 1921), pp. 324-326.

¹⁰¹ "The Judge," *The Brownies 'Book*, 1: 12 (December, 1920), p. 364.

Georgia D. Johnson, "The Story of the Little Tin Horn," pp. 382-384; Pocahontas Foster, "Jim's Theory of Santa Claus," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 12 (December, 1920), pp. 380-381.

則以孩子驕傲說出自己有銀行(撲滿)為榮,表示他們努力儲蓄,以後會成為一個好男人。¹⁰³

(二)使用攝影新技術呈現「新黑人」

文學作品靠文字經營意象,白紙黑字的描述與讀者自身的經 驗與想像力相互激盪,產生不同的感受。當圖片與照片成為黑人 青少年讀物中不可或缺的角色時,照片的魅力略勝一籌,拉近和 讀者之間的距離,增加閱讀的樂趣,也容易完整接收所欲傳遞的 訊息。

1884年喬治·伊士曼 (George Eastman, 1854-1932) 發明了世界上第一款膠卷底片,1900 年後逐漸普及,攝影不再是有錢人的專利。「巴黎博覽會」(Paris Exposition, April 14, 1900-November 12, 1900)時,杜博依斯就以「美國黑人展」(Exhibit of American Negroes)為題參展,策展的內容除了喬治亞州(Georgia)黑人人口、經濟發展數據等資料外,也展出約150張包括黑人人物、建築物或生活實景的照片,呈現黑人的尊嚴、成就和進步的事實,駁斥不實的刻板印象。104

華辛頓有其專用攝影師,肯定好的照片有益於提昇黑人的形象(「圖1」)。¹⁰⁵黑克蕾更提醒黑人,拍照時要謹慎小心,不要留下壞印象。所以無論在街上或者車子經過家門口時,黑人都必須擺出最好的一面,即使我們無法住到很好的房子,但我們的居住環境很清潔、安靜,每個人都穿著得宜。¹⁰⁶

^{Edna M. Harrold, "Black Cat Magic," The Brownies' Book, 2: 5 (May, 1921), pp. 131-133; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 1: 10, p. 308; "The Judge," The Brownies' Book, 1: 9, p. 280; Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, pp. 15, 31, 40.}

Deborah Willis, "The Sociologist's Eye: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Paris Exposition," in A Small Nation of People: W. E. B. Du Bois and African American Portraits of Progress, ed. Library of Congress (New York: Amistad, 2003), pp. 51-78.

Booker T. Washington, "Negro Homes," *The Century Magazine*, 76: 1 (May, 1908), pp. 71-79.

¹⁰⁶ Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, p. 75.

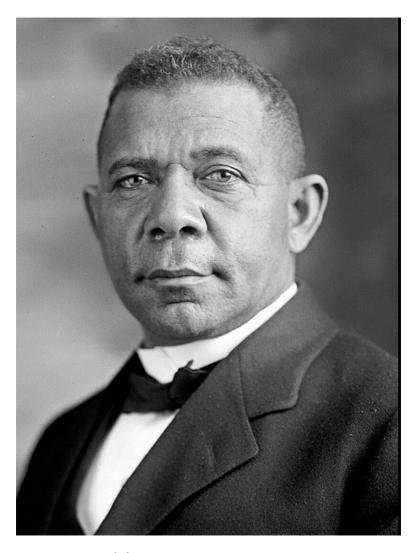


圖1 Booker T. Washington

資料來源: Harris & Ewing Photography Studio. "Booker T. Washington." *Black & white photoprint*, available from Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.. https:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File: Booker_T_Washington_retouched_flattened-crop.jpg (2023/8/23).

而在禮儀書中,無論《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》、《基本禮儀和童謠》、《漂亮的黑人女孩》、《黑

孩兒之書》等,都具圖文並茂的特色。¹⁰⁷弗洛伊德以照片呈現出中產階級小孩的理想生活模式,有洋娃娃陪伴、父母親伴讀等等。¹⁰⁸以推廣育兒科學知識為例,白人進步主義者咸認年輕人與兒童應該受到更多的關注,將科學精神運用在育兒之上。¹⁰⁹於是我們在《漂亮的黑人女孩》在第一章〈未來〉("The Future")中,黑克蕾就以「給嬰兒更好的照顧」,呼應進步主義時期重視育兒的趨勢。¹¹⁰

1920年2月《黑孩兒之書》強調幼兒飲食應注重營養,大力推 薦牛奶的營養價值,也刊登一位穿著整齊的黑人小孩端莊坐在餐 桌前吃早餐的照片,以及美國農業部(The United States Department of Agriculture)根據不同年齡小孩建議的飲食標準圖 片。該文並於1921年5月重複刊登。¹¹¹從文章內容與照片顯示了早 餐營養的重要性,餐桌上有牛奶、蛋糕(和麵包)、炒蛋與培 根、優格麥片,提供讀者參考,並鼓勵家長提供兒童營養豐富的 早餐,有助於成長,培育優秀的下一代。¹¹²

照片或圖片也會將生活教育的成果更具體化表現。《弗洛伊德 給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》附有女主角葛瑞絲上學前和 畢業時的圖片作為比較,讓讀者體驗她的變化,不言可喻。¹¹³《黑

Bertie L. Hall, "A Visit to Fairyland," pp. 35-37; Willie Mae King, "The Adoption of Ophelia," pp. 180-182; Alice Burnett, "The Wish," pp. 190-191; Willie Mae King, "Why Bennie Was Fired," pp. 223-224.

¹⁰⁸ Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, p. 268.

¹⁰⁹ James Marten, ed., *Children and Youth during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, chapter 1, pp. 17-19.

Yetta Kay Stoddard, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 1: 6, p. 177.

¹¹² 雖然文章中也提出替代食物,當牛奶、雞蛋與新鮮水果取得不易時,綠色蔬菜、果乾也是很好的替代品,全穀物麵包與濃粥也是不錯的選擇。但值得注意的是,這些才是反映了真實黑人的生活現狀,特別是在南方黑人家庭。以華辛頓為例,當他憶及初到塔斯克基地區時,肥豬肉、玉米餅和黑眼豆才是當地黑人的主食,因為小孩不從事農務與勞力生產,所以很少有吃肉的機會,遑論喝牛奶、吃麵包配蜂蜜。布克·華辛頓(Booker T. Washington)著,思果譯,《力爭上游——布克爾·華盛頓自傳》,頁63-64、頁132。

Silas X. Floyd, "Thanksgiving at Piney Grove," in Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 38, 42.

孩兒之書》更大量採用讀者投書的照片,「每月小人物」專欄、「我們的小朋友」專欄刊登許多各種年齡層黑人小朋友的沙龍照。¹¹⁴每張照片的主角都是清潔整齊的模樣。弗洛伊德用圖片,如孩童之間吵架的樣子、小孩抽菸、用手肘擊、打架、年輕與老後的賭徒、舉止穿著隨便的女孩等,讓讀者清楚知道甚麼是不得體的行徑,再用文字驅策讀者努力尋求改變與改進。¹¹⁵

照片也對種族優劣說提出無聲但有力的反駁。以1920年4月《黑孩兒之書》的「每月小人物」專欄刊登 7 張黑人小孩的沙龍照為例,¹¹⁶文中指出,他們都有健康的身體,是成為有健康心靈和靈魂的基本條件,所附的嬰兒照片證明,黑人幼兒並非不健康,只是後天養育的環境差,父母的窮困、低收,和美國社會無法給予黑人適當的照顧與生存空間所致,駁斥黑人人種劣於白種人的說法,也控訴美國社會政策無法照顧黑人。¹¹⁷而這些「完美」的黑人小孩照片,凸顯在適當的育兒和教育之下,可以培育出和白人一樣好的青少年。麥哲思則會在照片副標題上著墨,譬如,他在一位穿著美麗的黑人小女孩下寫著:「他將會成為下一位瑪莉·泰瑞爾」;在一位男孩的照片下寫著:「我們期許這是未來的費德瑞克·道格拉斯 (Frederick Douglass, 1818-1895)。」¹¹⁸

^{**} 地 : The Editors, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 2: 1 (January, 1921), p. 63-64; Ida R. Richardson, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 2: 2 (February, 1921), p. 25; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7, p. 208; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 1: 12 (December, 1920), p. 366; "The Jury," The Brownies' Book, 1: 5 (May, 1920), pp. 140-141; The Editors, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 1: 7 (July, 1920), p. 218; "Graduates of 1921: Colored High Schools," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7 (July, 1921), pp. 194-200.

Silas X. Floyd, Floyd's Flowers, or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, pp. 47, 52, 65, 163, 165, 310. 亦可參考其他圖片,頁212、222。

[&]quot;Little People of the Month," The Brownies' Book, 1: 4, p. 117.

[&]quot;Our Little Friends," [Photograph]. *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4 (April, 1920), p. 114; "Little People of the Month," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4, p. 117.

Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 12. 照片的副標題是:This little girl some day will be another Mollie Church Terrill(依照原文);Monroe A. Majors, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, p. 17. 照片副標題為:A Frederick Douglass in the First Stages. Let Us Hope. He Lives in Indianapolis, Indiana.

自此白人社會不再只能從早餐桌上的產品商標,如「傑米姨」認識黑人,也可以從書中的圖片、照片看到黑人理想樣貌與 進步的情況。黑人社會也從照片中找到學習模仿的對象。

(三)服裝以得體為官

黑人女性的穿著打扮部分是仿效白人女性,並視之為獲致尊重的途徑。「婦女紀元聯誼會」的主席約瑟芬·露芬(Josephine Pierre Ruffin, 1842-1924)表示:「長久以來,南方的白人女性認為我們的道德上有瑕疵,……我們應該站起來,……教導這個充滿無知、懷疑的世界,我們的目標和興趣和那些行為舉止優雅的白人女性一樣。」¹¹⁹瑪莉·貝舒出身奴隸之家,為了要進入「全國黑人女性聯盟」,開始改變穿著,言行舉止上多加著墨。¹²⁰曾任「全國黑人女性聯盟」董事會主席的瑪莉·泰瑞爾深諳衣著品味,在1916年演說時穿著就被譽為「現代女性」(Modern Woman)。當時她穿著粉色晚禮服,白色的長手套,整齊「龐帕朵髮型」(Pompadour hairstyle)。在國會圖書館館藏瑪莉·泰瑞爾全身照或網路上的半身照來看,她總是穿著華麗的長裙,優雅的髮型,和充滿自信的風采。¹²¹(「圖2」)

[&]quot;Address of Josephine St. P. Ruffin, President of Conference," in *Lifting as They Climb*, ed. Elizabeth Lindsay Davis (Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women, 1933), p. 18; Charles H. Wesley, *The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service* (Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1984), pp. 57-59.

¹²⁰ Joyce A. Hanson, Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), p. 104; Rackham Holt, Mary McLeod Bethune: A Biography, pp. 105-107.

¹²¹ Katharine Capshaw Smith, "Childhood, the Body, and Race Performance: Early 20th-Century Etiquette Books for Black Children," p. 795. 李見 "Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954)," African American Perspectives: Materials Selected from the Rare Book Collection (Washington, DC: Library of Congress). https://www.loc.gov/collections/african-american-perspectives-rare-books/articles-and-essays/daniel-murray-a-collectors-legacy/mary-church-terrell/ (2023/6/12).



圖2 Mary Church Terrell

資料來源: "Mary Church Terrell, three-quarter length portrait, seated, facing front." Black & white photoprint, available from Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97500102/(2023/8/14).

顯然瑪莉·泰瑞爾的穿著樣式,符合當時黑人社會對於女性穿著的期待,卻與當時年輕女孩競相模仿的吉布森女孩(Gibson Girl)和菲萊普女孩(Flapper)截然不同。吉布森女孩是查理斯·吉布森(Charles Dana Gibson, 1867-1944)筆下勾勒出的虛構理想女性樣貌,一頭蓬鬆自然頭髮盤在頭上,身材玲瓏有緻,穿著性感,無論短袖或削肩,都集流行時尚於一身。菲萊普英文的原意是「剛剛學會飛的小鳥」,後用來形容1920年代前後十多歲的小

女生。菲萊普女孩穿著略為寬鬆的及膝短裙,穿搭流行服飾,蓄著短髮,以追求自由自在與時尚生活著稱。(「圖3」)她們勇於嘗試新事物,常常夜夜流連於哈林區的爵士俱樂部或酒吧,跳舞、抽菸,恣意約會,甚至不遵守種族隔離規範。¹²²

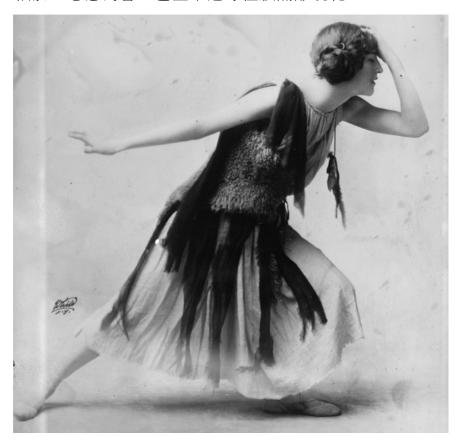


圖3 Violet Romer in a flapper dress

資料來源: "Violet Romer in a flapper dress c. 1915," George Grantham Bain Collection, available from Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flapper#/media/File:Violet_Romer_in_flapper_dress,_LC-DIG-ggbain-12393_crop.jpg (2023/8/14).

Joshua Zeitz, Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006); Martha H. Patterson, Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915 (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

吉布森女孩和菲萊普女孩穿著打扮已經和傳統著重長裙及 地、束腰,強調胸、臀部線條的服飾迥異,花俏的衣著配飾更是 有錢、有閒與消費能力的展現,黑人社會望塵莫及,他們生活開 銷捉襟見肘,每日勞心勞力賺錢。但對年輕的黑人女性而言,吉 布森女孩和菲萊普女孩確實是豔羨與模仿對象。

我們在禮儀書中,也看到作者對吉布森女孩和菲萊普女孩的影響,感到擔憂。因此建立正確的價值觀,避免物質誘惑,成為關注的重點。黑克蕾直指購買超過自己能力的東西是最愚蠢的。黑人女孩既無能力跟上流行,就要撙節治裝費,衣著以可以穿兩季,凸顯個人特質,色彩素雅為主。在公開場合,特別是參加教堂活動或主日學校時,更要著重樸實。¹²³「法官」專欄中,對衣著提出看法,法官主張衣著主要以兼具保暖與保護身體之用,亦具代表穿者的個人特質;假設同樣年齡與同樣條件的人到我的公司求職,外在清潔與穿著得體與否,絕對會是初步判斷錄取與否的依據。¹²⁴《黑孩兒之書》更轉載「基督教女青年會」(Young Women's Christian Association)「女青年籌備會議」(Girl Reserves Conference, 1921)的會議紀錄,針對青少年女性的穿著得體合宜的建議;冬天穿深色的衣服,春秋則穿簡單的格子棉布衣;校服應該是及膝裙子為主;短跟鞋子、不要穿戴過於流行、或過多的首飾珠寶,避免濃妝艷抹。¹²⁵

無論黑克蕾、《黑孩兒之書》的法官從個人或作為謀職的參考,或「女青年籌備會議」的建議,關心年輕女孩穿著,都用簡潔、乾淨為女性衣著的理想模式,美麗與否奠基於健康、實用之上。作者們務實地建構屬於黑人的衣著標準,符合青少年自我能力所及的消費觀;用理性處理消費行為,不需要炫耀性的生活方式,防範黑人年輕人被不當誘惑與墮落的可能。

作者們對於女性在娛樂場所的表現,仍以矜持為重。以跳舞

¹²³ Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, pp. 26-27, 73-74, 137-138.

^{124 &}quot;The Judge," *The Brownies' Book*, 2: 3 (March, 1921), pp. 92-93.

[&]quot;Girl Reserves Conference," The Brownies' Book, 2: 7 (July, 1921), pp. 212-213.

為例。黑克蕾的書中傳遞女生要矜持才有價值。所以她以「母職」作為防堵的道德藉口,男女交往時,應該謹守分際,女孩不應該讓年輕的男孩愛撫、牽手或撫摸,或周旋於不同男性之間,質疑一個親吻不同男人的女孩是否夠資格稱為「母職」,主張要對自己的身體賦予更高的價值,並嚴禁在沒有成年人陪同下進入任何娛樂性的跳舞場所。¹²⁶《黑孩兒之書》提出正確的跳舞姿勢是與舞伴有一手臂的距離。¹²⁷「法官」專欄中指出,跳舞有很多類型,讚美上帝之舞,或者親朋好友之間的歡慶活動,都是值得鼓勵的好事。¹²⁸舞廳的空氣不流通,參加者通宵達旦,讓跳舞變質,家長應介入,在兼顧身體健康,謹守生活規範,協助規劃假期的娛樂活動,選擇合適跳舞的場所。¹²⁹

法官的建議有其窒礙難行之處。在傳統社會中,因為黑人女孩多半住在家裡或離原生家庭較近的地方,父母或教會對她們的約束力較大。但當她們來到城市之後,生活不如夢想中的容易,離鄉背井的她們,常常到地下舞廳跳舞消遣,尋求慰藉,難免受到賭博、酗酒等誘惑,甚至為了生活,出賣靈肉賺錢謀生。¹³⁰

另外值得一提的是,雖然吉布森女孩和菲萊普女孩仍以白人社會中產階級的女性為主,但黑人社會關切她們所引發的效應,擔心黑人年輕女性盲目追求流行文化,行為放蕩,進而投入關切都市中年輕黑人女性的問題。¹³¹在西奧多·德萊賽(Theodore Dreiser, 1871-1945)的小說《嘉莉妹妹》(Sister Carrie)、史蒂芬·克萊恩

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 65-67, 105.

[&]quot;Girl Reserves Conference," pp. 212-213.

¹²⁸ "The Judge," *The Brownies' Book*, 1: 4 (April, 1920), pp. 108-109.

The Editors, "The Grown-Ups' Corner," The Brownies' Book, 1: 5 (May, 1920), p. 139.

對於酗酒一事,在知名兒童作家安妮·強斯頓的《小小上校》系列作品之一《小小上校的假期》(The Little Colonel's Holiday)中角色茉莉(Molly),就對沙龍(saloon)深惡痛絕,因為她的父親在此染上酒癮,破壞和樂的家庭生活,她不僅支持禁酒運動(Temperance),也認為社會有責任照顧貧窮與不幸之人。參見 Annie Fellows Johnston, The Little Colonel's Holiday (Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1901).

Theodore Dreiser, Sister Carrie (New York: New American Library, 1961); Stephen Crane, Maggie: A Girl of the Streets (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1970).

(Stephen Crane, 1871-1900)的《阻街女郎瑪姬》(Maggie: A Girl of the Streets)中,就描述女性到都市謀生的難堪,與不得不然的謀生方式。對乍到都市的年輕黑人女性而言,處境更為不利。她們固然沾到鍍金時代的繁榮,有機會脫離南方勞力密集的農業,移居北方都市尋求工作機會。但她們離鄉背井,舉目無親,居無定所,甚至困囿於膚色,謀職不易。瑪莉·泰瑞爾就對戲院、酒吧、舞廳影響黑人年輕女性道德敗壞感到憂心。¹³²

如何協助年輕的黑人女性適應都市生活,避免因誘惑而墮落,成為必要的課題。美國民間社團組織主動在謀職與安置方面提供協助,如維多利亞·馬修斯(Victoria Earle Matthews, 1861-1907)成立「白玫瑰任務」(White Rose Mission),與黑人女性組織「旅人協助會」(Travelers Aid Society)合作,在車站和碼頭協助剛剛抵達都市的黑人女性安全的歇腳處,與工作諮詢、教育、技職訓練等協助,並要求寄宿的女孩們必須遵從相關行為規範。1908年,「亞特蘭大鄰里聯盟」(Atlanta Neighborhood Union)也開始提供類似的服務。¹³³1911年,珍·杭特(Jane Edna Hunter, 1882-1971)在克利夫蘭(Cleveland)成立「女工之家協會」(Working Girls'Home Association),協助安置因為種族之故,被社福單位拒於門外的黑人女孩,除提供住宿服務、交誼與教育的活動外,也幫忙她們在北方城市中找到合適的工作。

(四)鼓勵女性追求自我

長期以來,黑人女性與種族發展有密不可分的關係。1992年 史家雪莉·卡爾頌(Shirley J. Carlson)提出屬於黑人女性的「維多利 亞女性特質」論述,針對十九世紀末黑人女性中產階級參與公領

Beverly W. Jones, "Mary Church Terrell and the National Association of Colored Women, 1896 to 1901," p. 28.

Anne M. Knupfer, "'If You Can't Push, Pull, If You Can't Pull, Please Get Out of the Way': The Phyllis Wheatley Club and Home in Chicago, 1896 to 1920," *The Journal of Negro History*, 82: 2 (Spring, 1997), p. 227; Gerda Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," *The Journal of Negro History*, 59: 2 (April, 1974), p. 163.

域的行為提出分析。¹³⁴白人女性接受教育在於提昇個人素質,學習持家技巧,扮演稱職妻子與母親的角色;對於黑人女性而言,接受教育是累積黑人社會資產的表現,成就家庭、社區、種族正向發展。¹³⁵在運用雪莉·卡爾頌的論述,以瑪莉·泰瑞爾為個案研究,發現種族因素不僅影響黑人社會對於女性特質的定義,也能以種族優先之名,合理化黑人女性中產階級在公領域活動的正當性。¹³⁶

在黑人禮儀書中,亦發現作者對於其女性讀者的相同期許。 在《黑孩兒之書》「法官」專欄中,有關黑人與國家未來發展的問題,多由其中二位黑人小男孩發問,但並沒有忽視女性心智發展,並賦予她們承擔種族興衰榮辱大責,延續傳統黑人社會對於母職的期待。譬如刊物中的女性角色通常賦予種族與家庭責任,以照顧幼童、手足優先。譬如在《黑孩兒之書》中,女孩抱怨半工半讀的煩累,祖母告誡她,祖先們為了脫離奴隸制度而抗爭,讓所有辛苦都可以獲得代價,這樣的精神應該繼續下去,「直到妳有能力掌握機會時,才有結束的一天。」祖母告訴女孩,如果她失敗了,整個種族都會對你失望。¹³⁷所以她個人的成敗,不僅攸關個人,也賦予她發揚種族榮譽的角色。

即使強調黑人女性謹守傳統規範,卻作品中時時可見到鼓勵 她們要做自己,不要放棄理想的勵志故事;她們即使必須因為照

Shirley J. Carlson, "Black Ideals of Womanhood in the Late Victorian Era," pp. 61-73.

Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," Journal of Social Issues, 39: 3 (October, 1983), pp. 17-28; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Black Male Perspectives on the Nineteenth Century Woman," in The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images, ed. Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), pp. 30-31; Lucy C. Laney, "The Burden of the Educated Colored Women," in Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings, ed. Bert J. Lowenberg and Ruth Bogin (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), pp. 296-301.

前文齡,《或躍在淵——種族困境下的美國黑人女性,1920-1950》(新竹:國立清華大學出版社,2020),頁30-52、71-102。

Blanche Lynn Patterson, "The Heritage," *The Brownies' Book*, 1:8 (August, 1920), p. 250.

顧家庭的生計而改變人生規劃,但在完成階段性任務後,也要回學校繼續接受教育,不要放棄追求人生理想,特別是在《黑孩兒之書》中。其中〈女孩的願望〉("A Girl's Will")的海倫(Helen)一角,她因代替逝世母親照顧年幼弟妹們,放棄接受高等教育的機會。海倫毫不猶豫替代母職,成就弟妹們進入霍華德大學(Howard University)就讀,或順利進入職場。海倫的犧牲奉獻呼應傳統對於女性的期許,但當她完成家庭責任後,逕赴北方進入芝加哥大學(University of Chicago)就讀,完成年輕時的夢想。138

此外,對兩性關係的看法也有轉變。1894年卡文·切斯 (Calvin Chase) 在蜂報 (Bee)中發表〈我們的女性〉("Our Women")一文中,力主黑人男性肩負起保護黑人女性的角色,確保種族進步。¹³⁹馬可仕·高維 (Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940) 也宣稱要讓黑人女性離開白人的廚房是黑人男性的責任。¹⁴⁰但他的論點是立基於婦女應該具有高貴的道德,一切以協助家庭與丈夫為主。1932年卡特·烏德遜 (Carter G. Woodson, 1875-1950) 抗議黑人婦女在工作場域中遭到不當性騷擾,¹⁴¹卻還是以黑人男性保護黑人女性作為解決之道。

但早在二十世紀初,這些黑人禮儀書裡,女性應該接受男性 保護,順從男性的傳統觀念逐漸轉變。以黑克蕾為例,她的作品 內容以教育黑人女孩謹守規範,特別是以成為賢妻良母為理想目 標,但亦同時鼓勵黑人女孩要有生涯規劃。她主張女性需要男人

Bell Hooks, Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism (Boston: South End Press, 1984), p. 91.

Ella T. Madden, "A Girl's Will," pp. 54-56.

Barbara Bair, "True Women, Real Men: Gender, Ideology, and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement," in *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*, ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 158.

Carter G. Woodson, "Males Lack Of Respect For Our Womanhood Shameful, Charges: Women Should Have More Voice in Our Affairs," *Pittsburgh Courier* (Pittsburgh, PA), 17 December, 1932, sec. 2, p. 2.

的保護,妻子要以夫為貴,遵守婚姻承諾,時時刻刻注意自身的外在美,維繫對丈夫的吸引力。但她也提醒黑人妻子們也要有危機意識,培養隨時重返職場的能力。¹⁴²她更主張,黑人女孩應該選擇可以教授多元知識的學校就讀,學習一技之長,經濟獨立。¹⁴³一旦達到此目標,黑人女孩就要提高擇偶的標準,不必委曲求全,讓男性予取予求。¹⁴⁴

黑克蕾這樣的主張是符合二十世紀的黑人女性的現況,她們往往已經是家庭中重要的經濟支柱,早出晚歸,克盡職守,照顧小孩,清理家務,和準備三餐,從未怠忽。在《黑孩兒之書》強調黑人女孩肩負起對家庭的責任,完成賢妻良母為主要目標之餘,方可成就自己。他們隱而未談的是,黑人女性也是家中主要經濟支柱的事實。黑克蕾則專闢一章節肯定黑人女性勞工的貢獻。黑克蕾強調無論她們從事的工作性質為何,即使是在廚房洗盤子或擦地板,只要她們尊重自己的工作,她們就是「有成就的人」(somebody);她們都有成為領袖的特質,有執行力,只是在等待機會;她們並不孤單,因為女性不分你我,彼此支援,完成共同的目標。¹⁴⁵黑克蕾賦予更多職場工作的價值,並且描繪出不放棄成就自我權益與發展空間的機會的黑人女性樣貌。

五、結論

本文以二十世紀初《漂亮的黑人女孩》、《弗洛伊德給黑人孩子們的花朵,或責任和美麗》、《基本禮儀和童謠》、《黑孩兒之書》等四本禮儀書,透過施以禮儀教育的論述,兼具傳遞知識與導引的功能,提供案例參考,常見問題也以答問的方式解答,因此能夠更有效率的協助讀者面對、化解現實生活的困境,具體引導並提供教育「新黑人」的可行方向並實踐之。

¹⁴² Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, pp. 165, 169, 170, 171, 172-173.

¹⁴³ Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, p. 138.

¹⁴⁴ Emma A. Hackley, *The Colored Girl Beautiful*, pp. 154-155.

Emma A. Hackley, The Colored Girl Beautiful, pp. 87-88, 151-152, 156.

研究發現,他們建構的「新黑人」是新舊思維下的混合體。 在傳統行為規範的堅持中,如清潔是禮儀之本、正向面對外顯種 族特質、黑人社會重視家庭、稱職母職的重要性、情緒管理與品 德教育是贏得尊重之鑰等,提昇種族仍是一個核心價值,影響論 述的本質。透過他們極力劃分與「舊黑人」時代產生的刻板印 象,透過節制和自我控制,改變白人社會加諸的刻板印象為重, 注意自己的行為規範,據此贏得尊重。

但這些禮儀書也受到時代氛圍的影響,發展出適合的觀點,提供年輕讀者符合事實情境的指引。如,金錢的觀念養成,不再是脫離貧窮而已,節儉的目的兼具協助他人與成就自己;也受惠於攝影技術普及,以照片拉近與讀者間的距離,增加閱讀樂趣,彌補或直接取代文字描述的不足外,也讓讀者有具體可以仿效的方向。在對黑人女性期許方面,也有明顯的轉變,特別是黑人社會因應吉布森女孩和菲萊普女孩時尚風潮的挑戰時,它們鼓勵讀者建立正確的消費觀念與習慣,以符合黑人社會生活的現狀與能力。在堅持對黑人女性行為舉止保守的立場,同時,也鼓勵黑人女孩在完成家庭責任後,繼續追求理想與自我學習。當白人女性積極爭取女權之際,黑人社會也透過禮儀書的教育,鼓勵黑人女性爭取發展機會與空間。

當艾倫·洛克提出「新黑人」時,二十世紀初的黑人禮儀書早已勾勒出具有內在涵養的「新黑人」樣貌,他們重視清潔,深諳禮貌,穿著得宜,進退有據,實踐家庭生活,而女性重視母職,同時兼顧追求自我。

(責任編輯:林煒恩 校對:林家維)

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Educating "the New Negro": African-American Etiquette Books from the Early Twentieth Century

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Abstract

In this paper I examine several etiquette books written at the start of the twentieth century and addressed especially to African Americans. Among the books examined are The Colored Girl Beautiful, Floyd's Flowers: Or Duty and Beauty for Colored Children, First Steps and Nursery Rhymes, and The Brownies' Book. I conclude that these etiquette books contain a mixture of traditional and contemporary ideas. They stress traditional notions such as the importance of having good habits, taking pride in one's own appearance, family life and motherhood, emotional management, winning the respect of others through proper conduct, and so on. Contemporary ideas include having the right attitude toward money, paying attention to one's appearance, advocating for independence for women, and stressing the importance of self-cultivation. Etiquette books helped African Americans combat negative stereotypes, while also encouraging them to embrace the notion of "the New Negro." The books helped to raise the self-esteem of African American women during the Gilded Age, when the ideal beauty in American society was exemplified variously by the Gibson Girl and the Flappers.

Keywords: African-American, etiquette books, New Negro, non-cognitive skills, stereotypes, Harlem Renaissance

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