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美国内战记忆的建构与南北和解——兼与东西德  
的二战集体记忆比较

the construction of American civil war  
memory and national reconciliation

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## 摘要

美国内战后，南部经历了短暂温和的“约翰逊重建”，它实质上是林肯重建政策的延续。在“林肯之死”与“孟菲斯骚乱”后，一场持续时间较长的激进重建随之而来。作为“去南部邦联化”的国会重建，它加剧了南部民众对代表黑人利益的共和党政权的抵制，使得本在襁褓中的“失去事业”（Lost Cause）迅速发展，为建立种族隔离制度铺平道路。

南部的集体记忆形成分为两阶段。第一阶段从1865年到1898年。其中，第一阶段又可以划分成两时期，第一时期从1865至1884年，称为南部内战记忆的分裂期，从“南部重葬运动”的兴起到罗伯特·李塑像在新奥尔良的落成。第二时期从1884至1898年，称为实现南部内战记忆统一的时期，以“南部邦联老兵联合会”与“南部邦联女儿联合会”的建立为终点。第二阶段是从1898年到1914年，即是“失去事业”要义被北方民众广泛接受的阶段。南部白人社会精英虽在1877年完成了“政治救赎”，但至1884年前，他们的集体记忆依旧是分裂的。南部城镇的纪念与扫墓活动虽繁多，但在组织过程中，均存在各自为政，领导不统一且目标混乱的问题。为募集活动经费，满足会员的诉求，扩大其影响力，纪念组织、妇女团体与老兵协会常常口诛笔伐，内讧不断。至1870年代末，南部白人的集体记忆依旧凌乱，具有低调悲伤、去政治化的特征。

不同于1860年代的“仇恨记忆期”，1870年代是老兵记忆的“休眠期”，很多老兵忙于生计，无暇内战记忆的讨论，尽管存在少数前高级军官整理战地记忆的情况。从1880年代开始，随着商业文化与煽情思想在美国流行，南北老兵开始举行各种战场旧址重聚活动。同时，在《世纪》等期刊的推动下，美国社会掀起了一股内战记忆民主化与商业化的浪潮。此外，南部在战后废除了奴隶制，但无法改变单一农作物的经济模式。这种情况使南部更依赖于北方的工业资本主义。在“新南部建设”中的很多问题就是这种经济矛盾性的缩影。然而，这种地区差异却有利于南部白人的集体记忆朝着继往开来，服务全美工业建设大局的方向转变。

直至美西战争前，南部勉强实现了集体记忆的统一，但在与北部老兵在实现“文化和解”的道路上举步维艰，尽管北方年轻一代已不同程度地接受了“失去事业”的

要义。随着美西战争的爆发，参军潮与爱国主义思想加速了和解进程。1913年，为共同纪念葛底斯堡战役爆发50周年，南北老兵举行了一场盛大的内战纪念活动，通过威尔逊总统的“葛底斯堡演说”将南北和解的进程推向顶峰。随着《一个国家的诞生》的上映，北方老兵从文化上最终承认了南部奋斗已久的“失去事业”。这一切的实现都是以抹去非裔美国人的内战记忆为代价。随着一战的爆发，非裔美国人再次获得千载难逢的觉醒契机。通过与法属非洲士兵的并肩作战与思想交流，非裔美国人渐渐恢复了自我认知与被抹去的战争集体记忆。一战后，非裔美国人走向了民权斗争的国际化之路。当然，这条国际化道路是漫长而艰险的。

**关键词：**美国内战；内战记忆；失去事业；民族和解；二战集体记忆

## Abstract

After the Civil War, the south had experienced a brief mild "Johnson reconstruction", it is essentially a continuation of Lincoln's reconstruction policy. After "Lincoln's death" and "Memphis riots", a long radical reconstruction was looming. As a congressional reconstruction to eliminate confederacy, it contributed to the south boycott of the republican regime representing the interests of the black, making the "Lost cause" in swaddling clothes rapid development, which paved the way for establishing segregation.

The southern collective memory formation were divided into two stages. The first stage is from 1865 to 1865. Among them, the first stage can be divided into two periods, the first period is from 1865 to 1884, known as the divisional memories of the civil war, being from the rise of "southern reburied movement to inauguration of Robert lee statue in the New Orleans. The second period is from 1884 to 1898, known as the realization of unification in southern memory of the war, regarded the establishment of "Confederate Veterans' Association" and the "United Daughters of the Confederacy" as the end mark. The second phase is from 1898 to 1898, known as the "lost cause" concept widely accepted by the north.

Southern white elite' "political redemption" was completed in 1877, but before 1884, their collective memory is still divided. Memorial and decoration activities are various in the southern towns, but in the process of organization, there are more fragmented, leadership is not unified and target in chaos. For raising, meeting the members of the appeal, expanding its influence, such organizations to commemorate, including women's groups and veteran's association, was fraying each other. To the end of the 70s, the collective memory of southern whites stil was messy, while with the characters being sad, depoliticized and victimized.

Different from the 1860s shrouded by the hatred memory, veteran's memory in

the 1870s was in the inactivity, forced by making a live, many veterans had no time to discuss civil war memory, even though there are a few former senior offices starting to clear the war memory out. In the 1880s, since sensationalism and commercialism was popular in the United States, north and south veterans hold various reunited activities located on battlefield sites. At the same time, under the impetus of "century" and so on, the American society caused a wave of democratization and commercialization for civil war memory. Moreover, while abolished slavery abolished in the postwar, Southern region can't change a economic model of single crop. The situation made more dependent on the north of industrial capitalism for the south. A lot of problems in constructing "the new south" is a microcosm of the economic contradiction. The regional differences, however, is conducive to the collective memory of southern whites towards the direction of service for the industrial construction of the nation.

Until the Spanish-American war, the south reluctantly realized the unity of the collective memory, but the way of "cultural reconciliation" with north veterans was in the air, even though the north younger generation has in the varying degree accepted the essence of Lost Causes. With the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, the army tide with patriotism ideology accelerated the process of national reconciliation. In 1913, for a common motive to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the battle of Gettysburg, the north-south civil war veterans held a grand memorial activity, by President Woodrow Wilson's "Gettysburg address" will be the process of national reconciliation in the climax. As "the birth of a nation" premiered, the northern veterans finally admitted the culture of the "lost cause struggled for a long time. Evidently, the implementation of all were finished at the cost of wiping out African American civil war memory. With the outbreak of the first world war, African Americans' once again won the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to awaken themselves. With ideas exchange with the Africa soldiers fought for French, African Americans gradually restored self-

cognition and collective memory of war erased. After the first world war, African Americans chose the road of the internationalization for the civil rights struggle. At the same time, the internationalization of the road was long and dangerous.

**Keywords:** American civil war ; the war memory; lost cause; national reconciliation

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