

Native Guard¹

*If this war is to be forgotten, I ask in the name of all things
sacred what shall men remember?*

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS

November 1862

Truth be told, I do not want to forget
anything of my former life: the landscape's
song of bondage—dirge in the river's throat
where it churns into the Gulf, wind in trees
choked with vines. I thought to carry with me 5
want of freedom though I had been freed,
remembrance not constant recollection.
Yes: I was born a slave, at harvest time,
in the Parish of Ascension; I've reached
thirty-three with history of one younger 10
inscribed upon my back. I now use ink
to keep record, a closed book, not the lure
of memory—flawed, changeful—that dulls the lash
for the master, sharpens it for the slave.

December 1862

For the slave, having a master sharpens 15
the bend into work, the way the sergeant
moves us now to perfect battalion drill,
dress parade. Still, we're called supply units—
not infantry—and so we dig trenches,
haul burdens for the army no less heavy 20
than before. I heard the colonel call it
nigger work. Half rations make our work
familiar still. We take those things we need
from the Confederates' abandoned homes:
salt, sugar, even this journal, near full 25
with someone else's words, overlapped now,
crosshatched beneath mine. On every page,
his story intersecting with my own.

1. Epigraph from "Address at the Grave of the Unknown Dead" by Frederick Douglass, Arlington, Virginia, May 30, 1871; quoted in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* by David Blight. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2001.

The first regiments of the Louisiana Native Guards were mustered into service in September, October, and November of 1862—the 1st Regiment thus becoming the first officially sanctioned regiment of black soldiers in the Union Army, and the 2nd and 3rd made up of men who had been slaves only months before enlisting. During the war, the fort at Ship Island, Mississippi, called Fort Massachusetts, was maintained as a prison

for Confederate soldiers—military convicts and prisoners of war—manned by the 2nd Regiment. Among the 2nd Regiment's officers was Francis E. Dumas—the son of a white Creole father and a mulatto mother—who had inherited slaves when his father died. Although Louisiana law prohibited him from manumitting these slaves, when he joined the Union Army, Dumas freed them and encouraged those men of age to join the Native Guards. (From *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War* by James G. Hollandsworth. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.) [Trethewey's note.]

January 1863²

O how history intersects—my own
 berth upon a ship called the *Northern Star* 30
 and I'm delivered into a new life,
 Fort Massachusetts: a great irony—
 both path and destination of freedom
 I'd not dared to travel. Here, now, I walk
 ankle-deep in sand, fly-bitten, nearly 35
 smothered by heat, and yet I can look out
 upon the Gulf and see the surf breaking,
 tossing the ships, the great gunboats bobbing
 on the water. And are we not the same,
 slaves in the hands of the master, destiny? 40
 —night sky red with the promise of fortune,
 dawn pink as new flesh: healing, unfettered.

January 1863

Today, dawn red as warning. Unfettered
 supplies, stacked on the beach at our landing,
 washed away in the storm that rose too fast, 45
 caught us unprepared. Later, as we worked,
 I joined in the low singing someone raised
 to pace us, and felt a bond in labor
 I had not known. It was then a dark man
 removed his shirt, revealed the scars, crosshatched 50
 like the lines in this journal, on his back.
 It was he who remarked at how the ropes
 cracked like whips on the sand, made us take note
 of the wild dance of a tent loosed by wind.
 We watched and learned. Like any shrewd master, 55
 we know now to tie down what we will keep.

February 1863

We know it is our duty now to keep
 white men as prisoners—rebel soldiers,
 would-be masters. We're all bondsmen here, each
 to the other. Freedom has gotten them 60
 captivity. For us, a conscription
 we have chosen—jailors to those who still
 would have us slaves. They are cautious, dreading
 the sight of us. Some neither read nor write,
 are laid too low and have few words to send 65
 but those I give them. Still, they are wary
 of a negro writing, taking down letters.

2. The Union ship *Northern Star* transported seven companies of the 2nd Louisiana Native Guards to Fort Massachusetts, Ship Island, on January 12, 1863. The lines “. . . I can look out / upon the Gulf and see the surf breaking. / tossing the ships, the great gunboats bobbing / on the water. And are we not the same, / slaves in the

hands of the master, destiny?” are borrowed, in slightly different form, from *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels*, edited by C. P. Weaver. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. [Tretthewey's note.]

X binds them to the page³—a mute symbol
like the cross on a grave. I suspect they fear
I'll listen, put something else down in ink. 70

March 1863

I listen, put down in ink what I know
they labor to say between silences
too big for words: worry for beloveds—
My Dearest, how are you getting along—
what has become of their small plots of land 75
did you harvest enough food to put by?
They long for the comfort of former lives—
I see you as you were, waving goodbye.
Some send photographs—a likeness in case
the body can't return. Others dictate 80
harsh facts of this war: *The hot air carries*
the stench of limbs, rotten in the bone pit.
Flies swarm—a black cloud. We hunger, grow weak.
*When men die, we eat their share of hardtack.*⁴

April 1863⁵

When men die, we eat their share of hardtack 85
trying not to recall their hollow sockets,
the worm-stitch of their cheeks. Today we buried
the last of our dead from Pascagoula,
and those who died retreating to our ship—
white sailors in blue firing upon us 90
as if we were the enemy. I'd thought
the fighting over, then watched a man fall
beside me, knees-first as in prayer, then
another, his arms outstretched as if borne
upon the cross. Smoke that rose from each gun 95
seemed a soul departing. The Colonel said:
an unfortunate incident; said:
their names shall deck the page of history.

June 1863⁶

Some names shall deck the page of history
as it is written on stone. Some will not. 100

3. Illiterate prisoners would sign letters written on their behalf with an "X."

4. A durable cracker of flour, water, and salt.

5. On April 9, 1863, 180 black men and their officers went onto the mainland to meet Confederate troops near Pascagoula, Mississippi. After the skirmish, as the black troops were retreating (having been outnumbered by the Confederates), white Union troops on board the gunboat *Jackson* fired directly at them and not at oncoming Confederates. Several black soldiers were killed or wounded. The phrases *an unfortunate*

incident and *their names shall deck the page of history* are also from *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels*. [Trethewey's note.]

6. During the battle of Port Hudson in May 1863, General Nathaniel P. Banks requested a truce to locate the wounded Union soldiers and bury the dead. His troops, however, ignored the area where the Native Guards had fought, leaving those men unclaimed. When Colonel Shelby, a Confederate officer, asked permission to bury the putrefying bodies in front of his lines, Banks

Yesterday, word came of colored troops, dead
 on the battlefield at Port Hudson; how
 General Banks was heard to say *I have*
no dead there, and left them, unclaimed. Last night,
 I dreamt their eyes still open—dim, clouded 105
 as the eyes of fish washed ashore, yet fixed—
 staring back at me. Still, more come today
 eager to enlist. Their bodies—haggard
 faces, gaunt limbs—bring news of the mainland.
 Starved, they suffer like our prisoners. Dying, 110
 they plead for what we do not have to give.
 Death makes equals of us all: a fair master.

August 1864

Dumas was a fair master to us all.
 He taught me to read and write: I was a man-
 servant, if not a man. At my work, 115
 I studied natural things—all manner
 of plants, birds I draw now in my book: wren,
 willet, egret, loon. Tending the gardens,
 I thought only to study live things, thought
 never to know so much about the dead. 120
 Now I tend Ship Island graves, mounds like dunes
 that shift and disappear. I record names,
 send home simple notes, not much more than how
 and when—an official duty. I'm told
 it's best to spare most detail, but I know 125
 there are things which must be accounted for.

1865⁷

These are things which must be accounted for:
 slaughter under the white flag of surrender—
 black massacre at Fort Pillow; our new name,
 the Corps d'Afrique—words that take the *native* 130
 from our claim; mossbacks⁸ and freedmen—exiles
 in their own homeland; the diseased, the maimed,
 every lost limb, and what remains: phantom
 ache, memory haunting an empty sleeve;
 the hog-eaten at Gettysburg, unmarked 135
 in their graves; all the dead letters, unanswered;

refused, saying that he had no dead in that area. (From *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War*.) [Trethewey's note.]

7. In April 1864, Confederate troops attacked Fort Pillow, a Union garrison fifty miles north of Memphis. One correspondent, in a dispatch to the *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, reported that, after gaining control of the fort, the Confederates disregarded several individual attempts by the black troops to surrender, and "an indiscrim-

inate slaughter followed" in which Colonel Nathan Bedford Forrest purportedly ordered the black troops "shot down like dogs." (From "The Fort Pillow Massacre: Assessing the Evidence," by John Cimprich, in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African-American Troops in the Civil War Era*, edited by John David Smith. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.) [Trethewey's note.]

8. Men who hid to avoid conscription into the Confederate army.

untold stories of those that time will render
 mute. Beneath battlefields, green again,
 the dead molder—a scaffolding of bone
 we tread upon, forgetting. Truth be told.

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2006

Miracle of the Black Leg

*Pictorial representations of the physician-saints Cosmas and
 Damian and the myth of the miracle transplant—black donor,
 white recipient—date back to the mid-fourteenth century,
 appearing much later than written versions of the story.*

1.

Always, the dark body hewn asunder; always
 one man is healed, his sick limb replaced,
 placed in the other man's grave: the white leg
 buried beside the corpse or attached as if
 it were always there. If not for the dark appendage
 you might miss the story beneath this story—
 what remains each time the myth changes: how,
 in one version, the doctors harvest the leg
 from a man, four days dead, in his tomb at the church
 of a martyr, or—in another—desecrate a body
 fresh in the graveyard at Saint Peter in Chains:¹
there was buried just today an Ethiopian.
 Even now, it stays with us: when we mean to uncover
 the truth, we dig, say *unearth*.

2.

Emblematic in paint, a signifier of the body's lacuna,
 the black leg is at once a grafted narrative,
 a redacted line of text, and in this scene a dark stocking
 pulled above the knee. Here the patient is sleeping,
 his head at rest in his hand. Beatific, he looks as if
 he'll wake from a dream. On the floor
 beside the bed, a dead *Moor*—hands crossed at the groin,
 the swapped limb white and rotting, fused in place.
 And in the corner, a question: poised as if to speak
 the syntax of sloughing, a snake's curved form.
 It emerges from the mouth of a boy like a tongue—slippery
 and rooted in the body as knowledge. For centuries
 this is how the myth repeats: the miracle—in words
 or wood or paint—is a record of thought.

1. Roman Catholic church and basilica in Rome; among the relics preserved there are chains said to have bound Saint Peter when he was held captive in Jerusalem.