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### Permalink

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### Journal

American Quarterly, 61(1)

### ISSN

0003-0678

### Author

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### Publication Date

2009-09-04

### DOI

10.1353/aq.0.0068

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## "You Should Give them Blacks to Eat" Waging Inter-American Wars of Torture and Terror

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American Quarterly, Volume 61, Number 1, March 2009, pp. 65-92 (Article)

Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: [10.1353/aq.0.0068](https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.0.0068)



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# “You Should Give them Blacks to Eat:” Waging Inter-American Wars of Torture and Terror

Sara E. Johnson



**Figure 1.** “The Mode of Training Blood Hounds in St. Domingo and of Exercising Them by Chasseurs” in Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London: James Cundee, 1805). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

A defenseless black figure is centered in the above image, arms bound and legs shackled. To his immediate right a uniformed white soldier holds him in place. The attention of both is riveted on a large cage in which several dogs lunge at their intended victim. The animals’ open jaws and sharp claws protrude menacingly, their restrained violence belying the tropical pastoral setting. In the background, armed soldiers corral several pleading figures outside of a small rural dwelling.

This disturbing engraving forms part of a series of plates included in Marcus Rainsford's 1805 *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*. Rainsford, a British captain in the Third West-India Regiment, was stationed in Saint-Domingue during the Haitian Revolution, and later wrote one of the only sympathetic analyses of the Haitian people's bid for independence to appear in the nineteenth century. He made the initial drawings for his text, believing that "mere description conveys not with so much force as when accompanied by graphic illustration those horrors which are wished to be impressed upon the public mind." The author was concerned with bringing one particular horror to the attention of the public: the use of bloodhounds to hunt and kill enemies of war. His stated purpose was to "excite the detestation he urges against the very idea of ever again introducing these animals under any pretexts to the assistance of an army." In a remarkable redefining of the "horrors of Saint-Domingue," Rainsford reverses the tales of hatchet-wielding slaves and indicts the French, "a great and polished nation," for "not merely returning to the barbarism of the earliest periods, but descending to the characters of assassins and executioners; and removing the boundaries which civilization had prescribed even to war, rendering it a wild conflict of brutes and a midnight massacre."<sup>1</sup>

This article examines the "boundaries of civilization" in place during times of full-scale military combat within the brutal context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century plantation societies. Specifically, I examine debates about the role of the state in sanctioning torture. What does one make of a sadistic technique considered beyond the pale in communities that by their very nature effectually existed in a state of permanent warfare between masters and slaves, societies that routinely resorted to physical and psychological torture to maintain the status quo? While the employment of dogs as a slave-catching strategy was commonplace throughout the Americas, I trace the use of dogs specially bred to track down and feed upon black flesh. What follows is a story linking Cuba with events during the Haitian Revolution (1791–1803), the Second Maroon War in Jamaica (1795–1796), and the Second Seminole War in Territorial Florida (1835–1842), the three largest-scale conflicts pitting colonial states against African and indigenous combatants from the 1790s to the 1840s. All three wars threatened the foundation of white colonial rule in some of the world's richest colonies; the first resulted in the total destruction of French society on the island, and the latter two campaigns led to victories that consolidated planter power.

Writing at the dawn of the nineteenth century, Rainsford suggested that "with the persons who breed and have the care of these animals in Spanish

America, the public are already sufficiently acquainted.”<sup>2</sup> This essay attempts to reconstruct that familiarity for present day readers. My interest in doing so is twofold. First, I trace the networks of inter-American trade and terror that sent Cuban dogs and their masters, the *chasseurs*, throughout the circum-Caribbean region in search of their black prey. While canine warfare has garnered a certain notoriety within the context of specialized national historiographies, an inter-American focus brings to light how transcolonial cooperation facilitated such atrocities as part of a regional proslavery agenda. The axis of Spanish, French, British, and North American slave-holding powers in the region collaborated in subduing nonwhite enemy combatants, using canine warfare techniques that dated back to the Spanish conquest of the Americas. In all cases, the use of dogs as a torture mechanism showcased the legal nonpersonhood and subhuman status of the colonized. I illustrate that the viciousness of this strategy was a topic of strident debate for contemporary observers and that it left an indelible mark on public memory. This memory has been vividly preserved in the visual record, as well as in historical fiction by African American and Caribbean intellectuals.

A contemporary urgency informs my second purpose. In today’s context of hotly debated “enhanced” torture techniques such as water boarding, forced nudity, and sexual humiliation, discussions of what constitutes a “just war” are equally pressing. Terror wielded with the avowed purpose of fighting terror is a discursive and military strategy employed by the political right that inevitably produces Rainsford’s aforementioned assassins and executioners. The use of canine torture and the debate it engendered recurred in the public sphere with the allegations surrounding the American prison at Abu Ghraib, and I close by examining continuities between the Age of Revolution and the contemporary War on Terror. Justified as a question of colonial/national security in each case, torture has proved an indispensable component in the imperial subjugation of nonwhite peoples.<sup>3</sup>

### **Inter-American Networks of Terror**

In an April 1803 letter to an aide-de-camp, Donatien-Marie-Joseph de Vimeur, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, wrote:

I send you my dear commandant . . . 28 “bouledogues.” These reinforcements will allow you to entirely finish your operations. I don’t need to tell you that no rations or expenditures are authorized for the nourishment of the dogs; you should give them blacks to eat. [Je vous envoie, mon cher commandant . . . 28 chiens bouledogues. Ces renforts vous mettront à

même de terminer entièrement vos opérations. Je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer qu'il ne vous sera pas passé en compte ni ration, ni dépense pour la nourriture de ces chiens; vous devez leur donner à manger des nègres.]<sup>4</sup>

Rochambeau was appointed commander of the French troops in Saint-Domingue after the death of the first leader of the 1802 Napoleonic expedition sent to restore slavery in the French Caribbean. Legendary for his cruelty, he allegedly massacred hundreds of people by drowning, burned others alive, and generally orchestrated a campaign of terror in order to salvage the last hopes of preserving the colony under French control. Thomas Madiou and Beaubrun Ardouin, the canonical historians of nineteenth-century Haiti, incorporated detailed accounts of Rochambeau's torture methods into their analyses of how the initial slave revolts became an outright war of independence.<sup>5</sup> These accounts circulated widely, becoming the basis for the lore surrounding the use of dogs as a gruesome weapon in the French arsenal.

The Vicomte de Noailles, a French aristocrat best known for his service in the American Revolution, traveled to Cuba at Rochambeau's request to purchase these dogs. Ardouin states that they were acquired at an enormous cost to the colonial treasury, and demonstrations of the dogs' ferocity were made center stage. Upon their initial arrival in Saint-Domingue, the dogs were paraded around town. Next, a black man, a domestic servant of a French general, was sacrificed to the starving dogs on a special platform erected in the town square for that purpose. Amid initial applause that soon turned to "consternation," the dogs "devoured his entrails and didn't abandon their prey until they had gorged themselves on the palpitating flesh. Nothing was left on the post but bloody bones [dévorent ses entrailles et n'abandonnent leur proie qu'après s'être assouvis de chair palpitante. Il ne resta plus contre le poteau que des ossements ensanglantés]."<sup>6</sup> Such executions were a frequent spectacle, and the horror they occasioned motivated many residents of the city, both white and black, to relocate in neighborhoods far from these "accents of death."<sup>7</sup>

The psychological intent of this civic spectacle was crucial. Beyond being used to hunt down black rebels, dogs were employed to publicly consume them in a staged performance of white supremacy and domination. Much as with lynching, these public performances were designed as a stark warning, and the presence of community observers provided an air of legitimacy to the terror. The slave's torture served as the ultimate example of his, and by extension, all slaves' expendability. His literal conversion into an edible object was a more extreme mode of persecution and execution than other forms of torture, for

example, whipping or time in the stocks. Inasmuch as one can suppose that the human species' most primal fear is being eaten alive by wild animals, the deliberate use of semidomesticated dogs as weapons made it clear that the state was a fearsome predator ready to cannibalize human flesh by proxy. Of course, such a method of marking black prey as legitimate entailed a simultaneous paradox: designating them as nonhumans while showcasing their human vulnerability in order to promote an ambience of anxiety and fear.

Rainsford's engraving of a defenseless, bound victim being fed to snarling dogs may have been inspired by the events enumerated above. The commentary he provides in the appendix provides some details about how these dogs were bred to become assassins. He writes:

With respect to the dogs, their general mode of rearing was latterly in the following manner . . . they were confined in a sort of kennel, or cage, where they were but sparingly fed upon small quantities of the blood of different animals. As they approached maturity, their keepers procured a figure roughly formed as a negro in wicker work, in the body of which were contained the blood and entrails of beasts. This was exhibited before an upper part of the cage, and the food occasionally exposed as a temptation, which attracted the attention of the dogs to it as a source of the food they wanted. This was repeated often, so that the animals with redoubled ferocity struggled against their confinement . . . till, at the last extremity of desperation, the keeper resigned the figure, well charged with the nauseous food before described, to their wishes. While they gorged themselves with the dreadful meat, he and his colleagues caressed and encouraged them. By these means the whites ingratiated themselves so much with the animals, as to produce an effect directly opposite to that perceivable in them towards the black figure . . . The common use of them in the Spanish islands was in chase of runaway negroes in the mountains. When once they got the scent of the object, they immediately hunted him down . . . and instantly devoured him . . . With horrid delight the chasseurs sometimes preserved the head to expose at their homes, as monuments of their barbarous prowess.<sup>8</sup>

Severe physical torture, heads of gored victims kept as trophies—these methods of control were results of the well-documented regime of terror employed on the plantations in colonial Saint-Domingue, as well as those throughout the Americas. This terror was an ambient one in that extreme violence could strike at any time, and was routine, rather than employed solely during “officially” declared wars and revolutions. As C. L. R. James poignantly states, the fundamental dynamic in slave societies was that “though one could trap them [slaves] like animals, transport them in pens, work them alongside an ass or a horse and beat both with the same stick, stable them and starve them, they remained, despite their black skins and curly hair, quite invincibly human beings; with the intelligence and resentment of human beings. To cow them

in the necessary docility and acceptance necessitated a regime of calculated brutality and terrorism.”<sup>9</sup> A roughly hewn black figure made out of wicker and designed as a target for ravenous animals is a brutal reminder of this institutionalized violence.

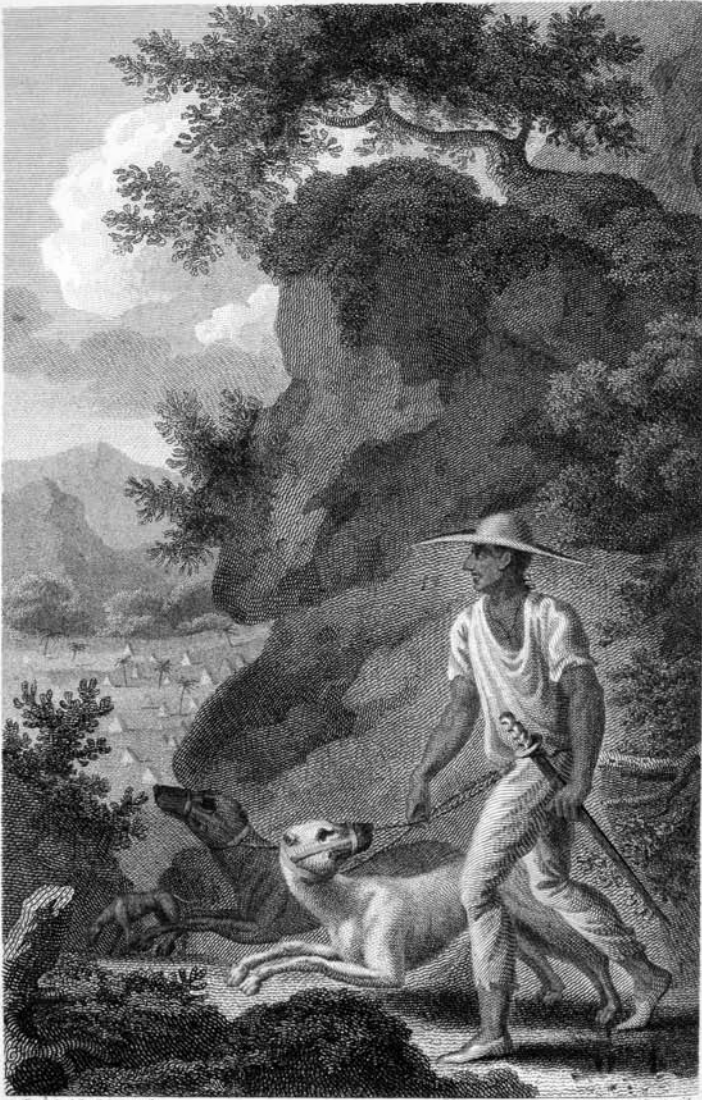
Less than 120 miles to the south, another conflict was in its final stages. In 1795 the Trelawney Town Maroons renewed hostilities against the British Jamaican colonial regime in what came to be known as the Second Maroon War.<sup>10</sup> Combat between Maroon guerilla forces and approximately five thousand British soldiers and militia led to a stalemate, and it was this inability to get the upper hand that purportedly motivated the Jamaican Assembly to resort to canine warfare and import dogs from Cuba. R. C. Dallas, author of the earliest account chronicling this conflict, *The History of the Maroons from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief tribe at Sierra Leone, including the Expedition to Cuba, for the Purpose of Procuring Spanish Chasseurs* (1803), credited the dogs with putting an “end to a war, in which force and military skill alone might have been foiled for years.”<sup>11</sup> The frontispiece of volume two, an engraving titled “A Spanish Chasseur of the Island of Cuba,” features a hunter with his three large, muzzled dogs, intimating that their story was at the center of the ensuing action (figure 2).

The nature of these hostilities was such that elite contemporary observers feared that the 1795–96 conflict had “all the appearance of being an endless evil, or rather one that threatened the entire destruction of the island.” Historians of all of the wars discussed herein focused on the epic nature of events, the outright contest to the death between those who fought for their privileged lifestyles and those who were determined to attain their liberty. Not surprisingly, the latter were portrayed as insurgent, bloodthirsty barbarians, not human beings fighting for freedom and self-determination. In Jamaica, this anxiety about the total collapse of British colonial society was in part due to the fact that several Maroon communities (for instance those in the Blue Mountains and those in the Cockpit country) had the potential to destabilize neighboring plantations. In the worst-case scenario for white landowners, they would unite forces with the slaves in “a permanent and successful opposition to the government.”<sup>12</sup> This did not prove the case, and as a result of this conflict, the surviving Maroons from Trelawney Town were deported and exiled in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone.<sup>13</sup>

**Figure 2.**

“A Spanish Chasseur on the Island of Cuba” in Robert C. Dallas, *The History of the Maroons* (London: Longman and Rees, 1803). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.





*J. Smith del et sculp*

*Landscape by T. Smith*

*A Spanish Chasseur of the Island of Cuba.*

*Line 10.*

*Published for Longman & Rees, Paternoster Row March 26. 1803.*

Dallas's two-volume history begins with the settlement of Jamaica and concludes in the early nineteenth century. In an interesting side story, Dallas interrupts his tale as it unfolds in Jamaica to include the adventures of Colonel W. D. Quarrell, a local planter and member of the legislature who traveled at the behest of the Jamaican Assembly to contract the chasseurs and their dogs in a small town on the outskirts of Havana. While in Cuba, Quarrell comments extensively on the chasseurs, the breeding of their dogs, and their particular aptitude for the hunt.<sup>14</sup> The descriptions of the training required to turn the dogs into killers, and the resultant punishment meted out to their victims, are graphic. Dallas cites the following observations:

The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in, that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops, then they crouch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growl if he stirs. In this position they continue barking to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner . . . These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. . . . [Their] coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog . . . The chasseurs beat their dogs most unmercifully, using the flat sides of their heavy muschets [machetes]. [The chasseurs] receive good pay from the Government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful. The activity of the chasseurs no negro on earth can elude.<sup>15</sup>

The picture painted is one of acute violence; the dogs are raised so savagely that they cannot go unmuzzled and unleashed even in the company of their owners. In language that lauds their dependability, fidelity, and skill, the chasseurs almost mimic a “perfect” slave. They perform their duty as mandated and police slaves in order to keep them under constant control. They are the classic middlemen necessary to the smooth functioning of all colonial regimes.

When Quarrell finally sails back to Jamaica, he is accompanied by 40 chasseurs and 104 dogs, only 36 of which have been completely trained.<sup>16</sup> This question of partial training was important, as without the requisite preparation the dogs “fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two.” Upon their arrival, much like in Saint-Domingue, the dogs provoked terror, attacking everything in sight including animals and people. As Dallas documents, “the streets were cleared [and] the doors of the houses shut.” Even General Walpole, leader of the British expeditionary force sent against the Maroons, “found it necessary to go into the chaise from

which he had alighted” when dogs attacked him and his horses.<sup>17</sup> Additional descriptions testify to the constant aggression and virtual uncontrollability of these animals.<sup>18</sup>

These engravings and commentaries provide a vivid glimpse of three key facets of canine warfare in Plantation America, even as they arrive at different conclusions as to its justification. First, they detail the use of torture (starvation techniques, beatings) to train the animals to be dependable executioners. Second, they provide a sense of the effect that this warfare had upon its victims. The evidence makes it clear that slaves and free blacks (the Maroons) were ultimately treated worse than the dogs themselves. They were routinely brutalized and, in some cases, literally forced to watch their own flesh being consumed as a reminder of their legal nonpersonhood. Actions that “justified” the use of dogs, from running away to outright revolt, were assertions of the slaves’/maroons’ humanity that necessitated an extreme response: negating that same humanity by treating them as prey for wild animals. Third, these studies show how the dogs and their chasseurs were a multistate-sponsored mercenary force of repression, a fact I examine below.

While the use of combat animals, including dogs, dates back centuries in Europe, the novelty in modern times in the extended Americas was the employment of dogs to kill.<sup>19</sup> Conventionally, dogs were used to sniff out hiding places, detect ambushes, and so forth. The initial justification offered in the Saint-Domingue and Jamaican cases, for example, was that dogs were more efficient than men in conducting a chase, especially in mountainous, inaccessible terrain. The specificity of their use was thus their tracking ability. By contrast, in the examples analyzed here, European colonizers wielded dogs as lethal weapons, and it was abundantly clear to contemporary observers that the animals were likely to maim and/or kill their prey, not simply to capture them in the course of pursuit. Hence they were used as part of a strategy of total annihilation, what Lord Balcarres, the aggressive new governor of Jamaica at the onset of the Second Maroon War, referred to as the key to permanently “reducing the Enemy.”<sup>20</sup>

This regional market for Cuban hounds and their handlers persisted into the 1840s. For example, the Florida Territorial government procured thirty-three dogs to fight Native American and African populations in the Second Seminole War.<sup>21</sup> The conflict pitted federal U.S. troops and local planters against the native populations and their African American allies, the latter comprising mostly free and fugitive blacks from the neighboring regions of Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas. General Zachary Taylor, himself a slave-

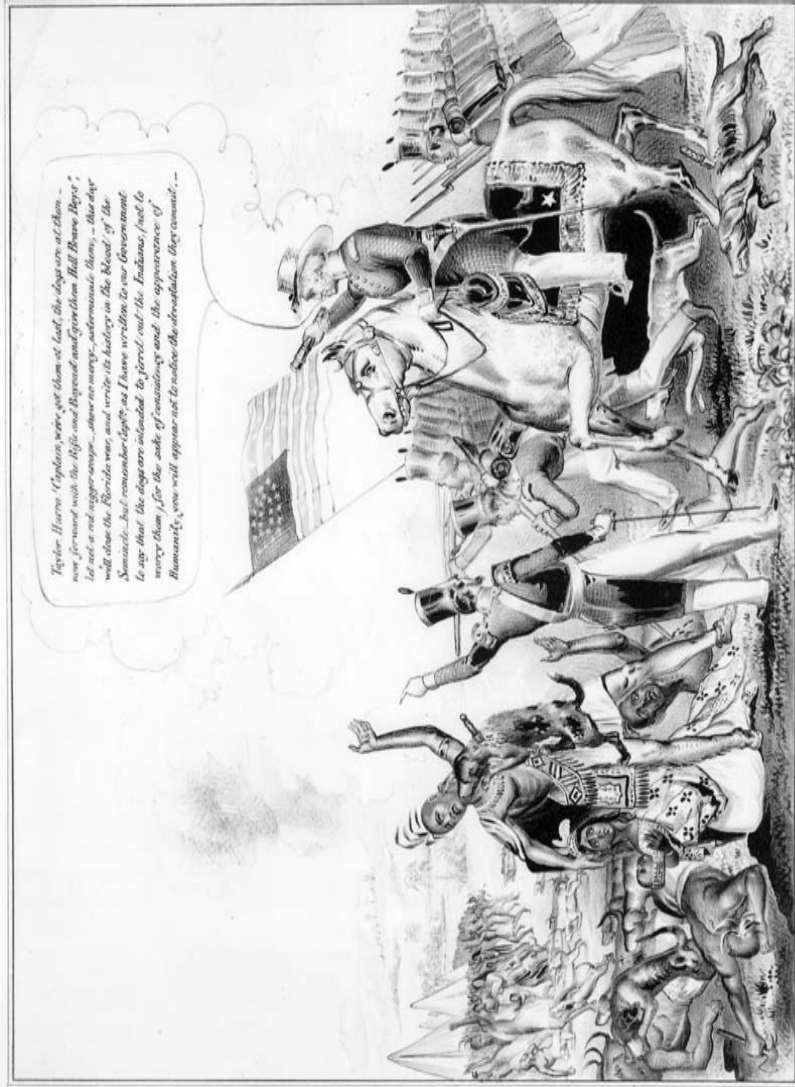
holder and the head of U.S. Army forces in Florida at the time, favored using dogs in his campaigns, though they were of little use in the swampy territory. Taylor, who was eventually elected the twelfth president of the United States in 1848, found that his decision to employ dogs against the Seminoles followed him throughout his political career, becoming the focus of many anti-Whig party caricatures disseminated by his opponents.<sup>22</sup> An 1848 lithograph titled “Hunting Indians in Florida with Bloodhounds” is one such campaign attack (figure 3). It depicts a chaotic scene of canine warfare in which uniformed U.S. military figures are advancing upon the Seminoles. Native bodies litter the ground as dogs charge them, and one Seminole warrior attempts to shield a woman and young baby as a dog seizes him by the throat. In the caption Taylor proclaims: “Hurra Captain, we’ve got them at last, the dogs are at them . . . let not a red nigger escape, show no mercy, exterminate them, this day we’ll close the Florida War; but remember Captn, as I have written to our Government to say that the dogs are intended to ferret out the Indians . . . for the sake of consistency and the appearance of Humanity, you will appear not to notice the devastation they commit.” The cartoon suggests that concern about using dogs as executioners during combat supposedly motivated Taylor and his colleagues to shield their intended homicidal

**Figure 3.**

“Hunting Indians in Florida with Bloodhounds.” Published by James Baillie, 1848. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-89725.

use from scrutiny. Again, “ferreting” out victims appeared to be a much milder strategy than consuming them. Managing public relations during times of war made it especially necessary to control the discursive terms of the debate.

Knowledge concerning the skills of the Cuban chasseurs and their dogs must have circulated widely, for while other colonial powers had their own slave-catching dogs, the dogs from Cuba were in especially high demand throughout the Caribbean. That the turn of the eighteenth century would see the most powerful imperial slaveholders almost simultaneously use these dogs against those who presented the biggest threats to the system is striking. The method of brutalizing the dogs in preparation for their tasks made them such sought-after commodities that Cuban torture methods came to signify effectiveness in the regional imaginary. More specifically, both the dogs and their chasseurs were commodities, as the dogs alone were of no value without their masters. The former could not simply be purchased since the technology required trainers to “rein in” the terror so that it was not indiscriminantly used against whites. Ironically, despite their training to the contrary, the dogs sometimes proved “ignorant of color prejudice.” For example, in one March





1803 battle between the French and the former slaves in Saint-Domingue, the imported dogs “attacked those who were fleeing, who, in this circumstance happened to be white.”<sup>23</sup>

Thus, although the brutality of canine warfare in the Haitian, Jamaican, and Florida conflicts is well documented and forms part of the local legends that have grown up around these pitched confrontations, it is crucial to remember that the colonists’ commission of dogs was not an isolated occurrence. The deployment of dogs as weapons in the Americas resulted from a common network of trade (in torture techniques and the necessary people and supplies) across empires. Spain, an ally sought by both the French and British during the height of their imperial wars in the 1790s, took advantage of its position as a purveyor of goods to make a profit and simultaneously repress the revolting blacks in neighboring American colonies. Dog-purchasing trips provide evidence of transcolonial collaboration, albeit involving an unusual cargo.

Although I have focused thus far on transcolonial networks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, any discussion of canine warfare in the Americas must begin earlier. The Spanish set the historical precedent for this mode of torture during the Conquest. Both Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas and Bartolomé de Las Casas include accounts of how the Spanish conquistadores, from Christopher Columbus to Juan Ponce de Leon to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, used dogs to subdue the indigenous populations of the Caribbean and Latin America. Las Casas was particularly horrified by this, and wrote:

The common ways mainly employed by the Spaniards who call themselves Christian . . . to extirpate those pitiful nations and wipe them off the earth is by unjustly waging cruel and bloody wars. Then, when they have slain all those who fought for their lives or to escape the tortures they would have to endure . . . they enslave any survivors . . . As has been said, the Spaniards train their fierce dogs to attack, kill, and tear to pieces the Indians. It is doubtful that anyone, whether Christian or not, has ever before heard of such a thing as this. The Spaniards keep alive their dogs’ appetite for human beings in this way. They have Indians brought to them in chains, then unleash the dogs. The Indians come meekly down the roads and are killed. And the Spaniards have butcher shops where the corpses of Indians are hung up, on display, and someone will come in and say, more or less, “Give me a quarter of that rascal hanging there, to feed my dogs until I can kill another one for them.” As if buying a quarter of a hog or other meat.<sup>24</sup>

**Figure 4.**

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and his troops setting dogs upon the indigenous Chief Torecha and his family in 1513. Engraving by Théodore de Bry. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars quarta, sive, Insignis & admiranda historia* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Feyrabend, 1594). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Valboa Indos nefandum Sodomix scelus com- XXII.  
mittentes, canibus objicit dilaniandos.



**V**ALBOA in ista ad montes profectioe Regulum in Esquaragua superat & cadit cum multis Indis: pagum deinde ingressus Reguli fratrem & alios quosdam muliebri vestitu ornatos: valde admiratus, causam sciscitatur: intelligit casum Regulum & omnes eius aulicos nefando illo peccato naturæ aduerso infectos. Attonitus Valboa adeo detestabile scelus ad istos Barbaros penetrasse, corripi omnes iubet numero forte quadraginta, & canibus quos circumducebat, lacerandos obijcit.

Later editions of Las Casas's work included an engraving depicting these human meat markets where body parts were sold, and figure 4 illustrates a widely disseminated engraving of Nuñez de Balboa's troops using the dogs in a particularly bloody reprisal against the native Chief Torecha and his family in present-day Panama. Varner and Varner, authors of a monograph on the use of dogs during the Conquest, write: "the dogs of the conquerors and early settlers were, in the main, war dogs and were trained purposely to relish Indian flesh. Thus, in combat or after a struggle was over, they gorged on the bodies of the victims. Not only was this destruction permitted, it was encouraged, both as an effective maneuver in the cruel process of subjugation and . . . as an easy means of providing them food."<sup>25</sup> These stories fed what would become the black legend (*leyenda negra*) about the Spanish Conquest.

Eighteenth-century British and French colonial governments who favored using canine warfare were well aware that they were contending with Spain's reputation for cruelty. Ultimately, however, the Cuban chasseurs' reputation for brutality was sought after, not shunned. Dallas writes that "the Assembly of Jamaica were not unapprised that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and using the canine species against human beings, would give rise to much animadversion in England and that the horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world would be brought again to remembrance." Ardouin, writing a generation later, reminds us that Rochambeau, le Vicomte de Noailles, and their conspirators risked the reputation of renewing "in the nineteenth century the spectacle of the cruelties committed by the Spanish conquistadors of the sixteenth century against the unfortunate indigenous population on the island of Haiti [au 19ème siècle le spectacle des cruautés commises dans le 16ème par les conquérans espagnols, sur les infortunes aborigines de l'île d'Haiti]."<sup>26</sup> Although concerned about angering the public and acquiring the stigma of Spain's abuses, British, French, and North American forces simultaneously sought to renew this centuries-old military strategy for their own ends. Cuban chasseurs seem to have acquired the former reputation of the conquistadores, serving as a local creole base for the dissemination of canine soldiers.

### **La Guerre à Outrance: The Proslavery Discourse of Self-Defense**

Contemporary public opinion was quite varied about the use of canine warfare. Debates did not fall along a simple pro- and antislavery spectrum, as even those without abolitionist leanings were not sanguine about such a mode of combat.



At the time of Quarrell's 1795 trip to Cuba, for example, evidence shows that this military strategy was the subject of intense discussion both in England and Jamaica. Lord Balcarres did not wish to bargain with the Maroons, and much like his contemporary Rochambeau, he favored employing any and all means to subdue them. An 1803 edition of the London *Anti-Jacobin Review* confirms that certain members of the British public balked at his decision to use canine warriors. In an extensive review of Dallas's book, the reviewer states: "When the circumstance was first heard of in this country, we may remember what a clamour it raised. The humane bosom of an Englishman revolted at the seeming barbarity of the expedient, and Lord Balcarres was not only stigmatized by the public prints and pamphlets of that time, but attacked in the House of Commons, where even his friends were at a loss to defend him."<sup>27</sup> King George III also weighed in, demanding that the dogs be removed from the island due to his "abhorrence of the mode of warfare."<sup>28</sup>

In order to justify this strategy, the desperate planters and their allies in government took pains to shift the terms of the debate. In Jamaica, the strategy was presented as a "preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush, savages more ferocious and blood thirsty than the animals which track them."<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, the initial victims of the slave trade were portrayed as the aggressors, their attempts to defend themselves couched in terms of savagery that denied the possibility that they even had "human" blood. They were characterized as more vicious than the dogs themselves, and their right to share the island questioned despite the fact that they had been recognized as legitimate co-owners of the land since the original Maroon Treaty of 1739. Those propagating the measure prevailed, and it was determined that the use of the dogs against the maroons posed no ethical violations. While arguing that some aggression *was* beyond the pale, specifically the "slaughter of captives, subjecting them to indignities or torture, and the violation of women," the planters and their allies claimed that "these very enormities were practiced, not by the colonists against the Maroons, but by the Maroons against the colonists."<sup>30</sup> In this way canine combat was discursively figured as a preemptive attack undertaken as an act of self-preservation rather than as an act of aggression.<sup>31</sup>

In the context of the Florida conflict with the Seminoles, popular opinion was likewise divided about the use of bloodhounds. One letter from J. R. Poinsett, a South Carolina planter and secretary of war in the Van Buren administration, warned that "the cold-blooded and inhuman murders lately

perpetrated upon helpless women and children by these ruthless savages render it expedient that every possible means should be resorted to, in order to protect the people of Florida.”<sup>32</sup> Orwellian sophistry allowed local Florida residents to blithely refer to the dogs hired to pursue and destroy rebel Seminoles as “hounds of peace.”<sup>33</sup> Every hate-inducing portrait of “red” men bearing tomahawks or of throat-slitting, duplicitous Africans was employed in the rhetorical and actual battles waged to acquire new slave-holding territories.

However, as the mocking tone of the 1848 print examined above indicates, not everyone shared this perspective. The Second Seminole War was called into question by many because of its exorbitant costs as well as trepidation over how the incorporation of additional slave states would upset the delicate balance of power established in the 1820 Missouri Compromise. Most famously, Joshua R. Giddings, a congressman from Ohio, used the war as a way of avoiding the gag rule prohibiting discussions of slavery on the House floor. As one historian writes, “the gist of his constitutional argument was simple: If what the slaveholders were always saying was true—that the federal government had no business making laws about slavery—then the same logic should hold in Florida, where the federal army should therefore have no business hunting fugitive slaves.”<sup>34</sup> In an 1841 speech that provoked the ire of his southern colleagues, Giddings cited voluminous documentary evidence linking the federal government with slave-holding interests. Outraged by both the justification for fighting the war and the means used to do so, Giddings concludes that the national flag “seems to have been prostituted in Florida to the base purpose of leading on an organized company of negro catchers.”<sup>35</sup> He documents the tension between soldiers on the ground and local planters with regard to this policy, noting that the former were “duly conscious of the dishonorable employment in which they were engaged; that they were daily subjected to dangers and death for the purpose of enabling the people of Florida to seize men and women and sell them into interminable bondage.”<sup>36</sup> The tension alluded to in this context is similar to Rainsford’s disaffection with the imperial government’s complicity with slaveholders’ extremist tactics.

In Saint-Domingue, both Ardouin and Madiou noted that several French generals refused to participate in the human-eating spectacles. However, many planters offered justifications for the use of contested torture techniques in order to “save” the island and its white inhabitants. An anonymous Saint-Domingue creole justified the rigorous punishments needed to ensure order, noting that “for those who question the discipline under which they [the slaves] live, it is certainly not more rigorous than that which is observed for soldiers

and sailors; and when one realizes that thirty thousand whites are in the center of six hundred thousand semi-barbaric Africans, one should not hesitate to say that discipline is necessary." Convinced that the slaves rebelled only because of outside agitation, he refers to abolitionists as "egoistic pedants who, from the depths of their libraries, judge everything by hearsay, and make a pretence of feeling compassion for some unfortunates whom they have never seen or known."<sup>37</sup> In a letter to Napoleon, a group of planters further exemplifies the typical remonstrances leveled against "armchair philosophers." They praised Rochambeau as "the leader they needed [le chef qu'il faut]" because he was "distanced by his principles and his morality from those vain abstractions of false philosophy, inapplicable in a country where only Africans could cultivate the soil under the force of harsh discipline [éloigné par ces principes et sa moralité, de ces vaines abstractions d'une fausse philosophie, inapplicables dans un pays dont le sol ne peut être fécondé que par des Africains, qu'une discipline sévère doit comprimer]."<sup>38</sup>

Thus, in all three locales, local colonists portrayed opponents of canine warfare as out of touch with reality. They publicly countered objections to their political and military strategies by claiming that the "safety of the island and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be sacrificed to the apprehension of perverse misconstruction or willful misrepresentation in the mother country."<sup>39</sup> The so-called friends of the blacks and other purported negrophile advocates were blamed for inciting controversy and bloodshed due to their abstract principles and "sickly sentimentality."<sup>40</sup> Different measures were argued to obtain in certain types of societies, in this case Plantation America vis-à-vis metropolitan Europe. A state of exception was invoked for combat against nonwhite others. Indeed, to the extent that the fundamental paradox of the Age of Revolution was the subtext in these debates, whether liberty, fraternity, and equality were universalist rights that pertained to Africans and their descendants in the Americas, the colonial state responded with a decisive negative. Black insurgents had to be viewed as expendable nonhumans in order for the rhetoric of self-preservation to have weight.

The positions of the planters are thus ultimately aligned with their class and racial interests. Violence was the *modus operandi* for sustaining elite slaveholding lifestyles. What bears closer examination is the outrage expressed by Rainsford and other contemporary witnesses about the use of dogs as weapons of war. Was their chief objection grounded in the knowledge that these animals were used to kill rebellious opponents rather than to capture them? Was a more stringent code of honor to be enacted between opponents on the

battlefield than those in place during times of peace? I contend that any use of dogs specifically bred to track and destroy human beings is evidence of a state of war. Can one ever speak of a peaceful cohabitation of the enslaved and free in the context of slavery such that the use of dogs in the quotidian context is much different from their use during a declared state of full rebellion? Plantation America poses a challenge to conventional understandings of “warfare” and “torture” as terms for supposedly discrete, bounded activities (a military encounter between multiple states, a particular moment of cruelty) with utilitarian purposes (the achievement of military goals, the extraction of information).

Although the ethical dimensions of using dogs may have been more publicly discussed during these massive late-eighteenth- and mid-nineteenth-century wars, their visibility therein does not essentially change the nature of their presumptive function. Unlike for white civilian populations during times of peace, for those of African and Native descent living as slaves or runaways throughout the early Americas, the threat of being killed by white owners/settlers was constant and not relegated to moments of officially declared warfare. Rainsford and others’ conviction that the use of dogs in war was against “human nature,” a crime against humanity that should be universally deplored, effectively relegates the extreme repressive use of violence to the animal world.<sup>41</sup> There is a displacement of human atrocities onto dogs, and the *means* of subduing black victims becomes the focus of the critique rather than the *system* that necessitates those means. As a result, a discussion of slavery itself as an institution based upon terror gets sidelined.

When the employer of the dogs was no longer an anonymous planter but the state, in a state-sanctioned battle, the stakes were higher for those who might otherwise have turned a blind eye to the systemic functioning of plantation life. For a trained military man such as Rainsford, using bloodthirsty dogs to fight one’s enemies was distasteful: it had none of the organized, mechanistic efficiency of professional warfare. At a historical moment when people sought to define modernity partially through evocations of enlightened rationalism, the guillotine was the era’s contemporaneous weapon par excellence. It was most famously put to use in Europe during the Terror phase of the French Revolution (1793–1794) precisely because of its perceived humanity; it was controlled, effective, and didn’t make its victims suffer needlessly. Allowing people to be ripped to shreds by dogs demonstrated the opposite. Rather than distant and scientific, the method was raw and unpredictable. The very attributes that made dogs a preferred weapon in the colonial arsenal, their

sense of smell and superhuman strength, also made them a danger. Once they were unleashed, they were still wild beasts and no appeal to their “reason” was possible. At a moment when a nascent creole sensibility began to claim opposition to old world tyranny as a formative patriotic ideal, the debate over the military use of dogs allowed European observers to restate long-held associations regarding the inherent depravity of creole life. In the context of revolutionary struggles on both sides of the Atlantic, the debate complicated the articulation of clear boundaries between the civilized and the barbaric, the rational and the irrational, the discrete campaign and the total reign of terror. This was a meaningful division, for as C.L.R. James reminds us, the growing fissure between old and new world whites would contribute decisively to the fortunes of black rebels.

### The Longevity of Terror

I conclude by affirming the critical role that cultural production plays in documenting, disseminating, and bringing the memory of these events to life. Rainsford’s above-mentioned conviction that images wield the power to influence public opinion is one pertinent example. The prints examined herein invited sympathy, outrage, curiosity, and a host of other emotions at the time of their production, much as they do in the present. Using iconographical narrative techniques, they present a truth that is stranger and more disturbing than fiction. The striking correspondence between warfare strategies across the Americas, strategies made possible by transcolonial cooperation, are immediately discernible. As we shall see, images establish temporal continuities as well as geographic ones, as evident in the photographs capturing the iterations of this brand of torture as employed in the current U.S. War on Terror.

A wide array of fiction has documented Cuba’s position as a unique source of torture technology. For example, Cuba’s most famous nineteenth-century novel, *Cecilia Valdés* (1839; 1882) mentions dogs as a slave-hunting mechanism in a domestic scene set in the 1830s. One of the protagonists is horrified that a runaway slave has been bitten and conjectures, “What if they’ve torn him to pieces! It’s more than likely. Those dogs are like wild beasts.”<sup>42</sup> Moving outward from Cuba, Leonora Sansay, a contemporary observer of the last days of the French occupation of Saint-Domingue, wrote *Zelica: The Creole* (1820), a novel that provides a sense of the pall cast by the dogs’ presence. At one point the protagonist entreats Rochambeau to “remove, I pray you, these frightful dogs from the city, whose dismal howlings fill me with terror,

and torment me day and night. These dogs are our means of defence, replied the general; but they shall be removed as far from the possibility of annoying you as the limits of our town will allow."<sup>43</sup> At first glance, the protagonist's remarks seem like a superficial elite response to "bothersome" noise. However, her comments imply a deep unease with the tactics used by her "defenders" to protect her way of life. Unnerved by the dogs' presence, she cautiously critiques those who deem it appropriate to employ them, even if the military authorities seek to justify their use by invoking national security.

The dogs' continued international reputation in an everyday context in 1850s North America is also evident in the first African American novel. In William Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853), a visitor to the south remarks upon an astonishing sight. It was "a kennel of bloodhounds . . . they were of a species between the bloodhound and the foxhound, and were ferocious, gaunt, and savage-looking animals. They were part of a stock imported from Cuba."<sup>44</sup> Wells must have been well acquainted with their use, as he portrays these dogs hunting down a runaway slave belonging to one of the main characters.<sup>45</sup> Twentieth-century texts continued to keep this memory alive. During the anxiety-producing days following abolition in the British Caribbean in the mid-1830s, the white creole child protagonist of *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) wishes that she "had a big Cuban dog to lie by my bed and protect me" as she waits in fear that her former slaves will harm her.<sup>46</sup> Evidently the memory of these dogs' brutality was still alive more than one hundred years later when Rhys composed her prequel to Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

In perhaps the most famous example of historical fiction memorializing the particular aptitude of Cuban dogs for slave repression, Alejo Carpentier opens a chapter of *El Reino de Este Mundo/The Kingdom of This World* (1949) with a discussion called "The Ship of Dogs." The chapter's title is a double entendre, as the following pages first introduce the Napoleonic expedition, a convoy of French ships sailing forth to wreak terror on the island. Foreshadowing life in Saint-Domingue under General Leclerc, and then Rochambeau, the narrator states that "this was the road leading straight to horror." Carpentier was well aware of Rochambeau's penchant for torture, and his protagonist, Ti Noel, witnesses a French official provisioning a ship bound for Cap Français with Cuban dogs. He writes:

One morning the harbor of Santiago was filled with barking. Chained to each other, growling and slaving behind their muzzles, trying to bite their keepers and one another, hurling themselves at the people watching behind the grilled windows, hundreds of dogs were being driven with whips into the hold of a sailing ship . . . Where are they taking

them? Ti Noel shouted above the din to a mulatto sailor . . . “to eat niggers!” the other answered with a guffaw.<sup>47</sup>

The reference is repeated in the subsequent chapter when Carpentier states, “on the assumption that this would keep the Negroes in place, the Governor had sent to Cuba for hundreds of mastiffs: “They’ll be puking niggers!”<sup>48</sup> The characters’ glee at the thought of dogs consuming and regurgitating human beings illustrates just how macabre such events were; the spectacle has excited public interest, both disgust and acclaim, for well over a century.

I cite these literary examples from North America and the Anglophone, Francophone, and Hispanophone Caribbean as evidence that audiences continue to grapple with the meaning of this brand of torture. Given the long life of these canine villains, it is reasonable to suppose that they occasioned deep trauma. Can a human being ever be injured to the sight of another person deliberately consumed by a dog? We have little direct evidence documenting the sentiments of the victims and their families; like the man sacrificed by Rochambeau and his lieutenants on stage, they are the nameless dead.<sup>49</sup> We do know however, that those who witnessed these horrors passed the stories down, and that they have been reworked time and again as evidence of the contested extremities employed by the colonial state in a bid to maintain power. Unfortunately, this recurring trope often gets critiqued within nationalist contexts (e.g., Haitian or Jamaican or U.S. history), despite the circuits of travel that brought Cuban dogs to foreign shores to begin with. The novels cited above highlight inter-American connections, and their authors demonstrate that the plantation zone depended upon both transatlantic and intraregional supplies of labor and goods in order to survive.

In conclusion during the recent media frenzy surrounding NFL player Michael Vick and his dog-fighting ring, public outrage was palpable concerning the vicious, inhumane treatment of animals bred to fight and kill one another for their owners’ profit. It is almost impossible for a contemporary audience to imagine that dogs were once similarly and purposefully abused in order to train them to attack human beings, all in the name of maintaining the slave economies that were the foundation of modern capitalism in the Americas. We may think that we have moved beyond the use of canine warfare, but disturbingly similar conversations about the use of this and other torture techniques are omnipresent two centuries later. Virulent debates about the “clash of civilizations” and what constitutes a just war are uppermost in many discussions of the current War on Terror, as a string of new stories document the U.S. government’s use of contested interrogation techniques and the



Bush administration's subsequent denial of implementing "cruel, degrading, or inhuman" torture.<sup>50</sup>

A close examination of events from 1795–1842 invokes certain parallels to the present moment. Instead of severed slaves' heads kept as mementos, photographs of naked, abused, and bound prisoners emerge from Abu Ghraib. Dogs once again enter the public record concerning activities at the infamous prison, as figures 5, 6, and 7 chillingly illustrate. The photographs, taken in December 2003, were published in 2006 as a photo log on salon.com alongside the captions furnished by the army's Criminal Investigation Command report into the incidents.<sup>51</sup> In figure 5, a prisoner looks at a dog in terror as a modern-day chasseur/handler holds the dog at close bay while presumably interrogating him. Figure 6 shows a naked, defenseless man cowering in fear and surrender in front of a prison cell as two dogs and three soldiers threaten him. Both images bear an eerie resemblance to figure 1. Figure 7 depicts the same prisoner lying on the ground surrounded by a pool of his own blood after being bitten by the dog(s) on both legs.

Remarkably, Cuba, in this case the U.S. military base, is still ground zero for experiments in torture methodologies. According to a 2005 story in *The Washington Post*, this interrogation technique was brought to Iraq by a team from Guantánamo. Two soldiers, Sergeants Smith and Cardona, were eventually "charged with maltreatment of detainees, largely for allegedly encouraging and permitting unmuzzled working dogs to threaten and attack them."<sup>52</sup> Rainsford's belief that images wield the power to mobilize public opinion holds true in the present moment, as the now notorious Abu Ghraib photographs have occasioned global condemnation of U.S. abuse of Arab detainees, albeit abuse that the Bush administration has attempted to blame on a few "bad apples."

Other disturbing parallels abound. Much as Lord Balcarres and the local Jamaican government made tenuous accusations of collaboration between the Maroons and revolutionary French agents from Saint-Domingue in a calculated effort to foment public fear and justify the use of canine warfare, similar parallels were drawn by the Bush administration to suggest links between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda that justified preemptive strikes.<sup>53</sup> In times of war, accusing one enemy of fraternizing with another functions to further vilify both. Likewise, as colonial American slave-holding regimes were deemed a space wherein metropolitan concerns about humane ethics did not obtain, analogous arguments are voiced about the dangers of "militant" Islamic societies. These arguments suggest that modified rules of engagement that violate





**Figure 5.** Photograph taken in Abu Ghraib prison, Iraq. No date. Probably December 30, 2003. The original caption from the Criminal Investigation Command Army report published on salon.com read “Dog is looking at detainee. Soldier: Sgt. Smith.”



**Figure 6.** Photograph taken in Abu Ghraib prison, Iraq. December 12, 2003. The original caption from the Criminal Investigation Command Army report read “Two dog handlers have dogs watching detainee, while Graner orders detainee to floor. Soldiers: Cpl. Graner, Sgt. Smith and Sgt. Cordona; two dogs are Duco and Marko.”



**Figure 7.**  
December 12, 2003. "Detainee  
after dog bite."

the Geneva Convention must be sanctioned if the United States and its allies are to succeed.

I do not wish to overstate the correspondences between the two moments; debates about the legitimacy of various modes of warfare attend any military conflict. It is clear, however, that these turn-of-the-eighteenth-century and contemporary events are not exceptional; transnational networks of canine torture have been state-sanctioned during half a millennia of Western warfare against peoples of color. Post-Enlightenment modernity has consistently reinscribed the nonpersonhood of subject populations. As a result, while combatants change, as do the objects of conquest (sugar, oil), some questions remain the same: what communities of people count as a human beings with certain inviolate rights? When is torture acceptable?

From the vantage point of the present, the horrors of American slavery may seem like a distant reality. However, the firsthand commentary on the era provided in Rainsford's 1805 critique was prescient. Much like the so-called revolting generals who have questioned the efficacy of current policy in Iraq, Rainsford was a soldier on the front lines, a professional military combatant with twenty-five years of service who believed in his duty to voice concerns about the inhumane strategy adopted by his civilian leadership.<sup>54</sup> He invoked his readers to action, reminding them that:

this cautionary memorial records the first step; it is for the public only, by marking it with a general sentiment of detestation, to preclude another and more dreadful, because more extensive, employment of the means [canine warfare]. Such measures increase upon those who adopt them by insensible gradations, and once admitted, may extend even beyond their own intentions. The modern art of war is already removed to a sufficient distance from the magnanimity of ancient combat. Let not the breach be rendered wider by adoptions such as these.<sup>55</sup>

Rainsford made a profound indictment of torture, warning that once certain ethical boundaries were crossed, there was no turning back. What was once unthinkable became, if not commonplace, acceptable and no longer worth commenting upon, a “wild conflict of brutes and a midnight massacre.” Every age perfects its own modes of torture, and our horror about the repugnant cruelties of the past should make us more vigilant about those occurring in the present.<sup>56</sup>

#### Notes

Many of the ideas for this article were first generated during a 2004 summer fellowship at the Library Company of Philadelphia, where I was privileged to work with extant copies of Rainsford's and Dallas's texts. I thank the librarians there for their intellectual generosity, especially Jim Green, Philip Lapansky, and Linda Wisniewski from the print department.

1. Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London: James Cundee, 1805), xix, 428, xi.
2. *Ibid.*, 424.
3. In the twentieth century, the use of dogs as weapons of repression and torture was common in many colonial contexts, from South Africa and the Belgian Congo to the United States. Images of police dogs attacking peaceful civil rights protestors in 1963 Alabama depict some of the most well known examples of how dogs have been regularly used to police populations deemed a threat to the status quo. To this day, African American popular culture is replete with jokes about racist dogs.
4. See Thomas Madiou's *Histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 2 (1847–1848; repr., Port au Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1989), 555. Madiou includes another exchange between Rochambeau and one of his men on the island of La Tortue. When asked whether to feed the dogs meat or bread, he was told, “Donnez-leur de la chair de nègre et mulâtre; n'en existe-t-il pas à la Tortue?” (507).
5. See Madiou and Beaubrun Ardouin's *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 5 (1853–1860; repr., Port au Prince: Chez l'editeur François Dalencour, 1958).
6. Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 506–7.
7. *Ibid.*, 507.
8. Rainsford, *An Historical Account*, 427–29.
9. See C. L. R. James's chapters, “The Owners” and “The Property,” in *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* for the classic account of cruelty to slaves in colonial Saint-Domingue (1938; repr. New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 12. For one of the few personal accounts of the range of torture enacted upon blacks, consider the words of King Henri-Christophe's secretary Pompée Valentin Vastey: “Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars? Have they not forced them to eat shit? And, having flayed them with the lash, have they not cast them alive to

- be devoured by worms, or onto anthills, or lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes? Have they not thrown them into boiling cauldrons of cane syrup? Have they not put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss? Have they not consigned these miserable blacks to man-eating dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and poniard?" See Vastey's *Notes à Monsieur le Baron Malouet, Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies* (Haiti, 1814), 6.
10. For a history of the Maroons, see Mavis C. Campbell's *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655–1796* (Granby, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1988). Chapter 7 deals specifically with the 1795 war between Trelawny Town and the British government. See also Richard Price's anthology *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); and David Geggus's "The Enigma of Jamaica in the 1790s: New Light on the Cause of Slave Rebellions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44.2 (April 1987): 274–99.
  11. Robert C. Dallas, *History of the Maroons from their Origin to the Establishment of their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone, including the Expedition to Cuba, for the Purpose of Procuring Spanish Chasseurs*, vol. 2 (London: Longman and Rees, 1803; repr. facsimile by Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 3.
  12. *Ibid.*, 2.
  13. Far from being traditional allies, the Maroons and slave populations had long been enemies, the former making money by capturing runaways from the latter group.
  14. Other evidence about the breeding of these Cuban dogs is found in the diary of J. B. Dunlop, a Scotsman who spent two years traveling in Cuba. See Raymond A. Mohl, "A Scotsman in Cuba, 1811–1812," *The Americas* 29.2 (October 1972): 244. Dunlop is given a "demonstration" of the dogs' ability, during which "either owing to the looseness of muzzles or the force [of] the Dogs jaws the poor Negroe was nipped rather severely." The example illustrates how such an activity had an element of sport to it, not unlike the Spaniards' engagement in the *monteria infernal* during the Conquest, a sportive event during which dogs were used to hunt and kill indigenous peoples.
  15. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 56–58, 64, 59–61.
  16. *Ibid.*, 109.
  17. *Ibid.*, 67, 119–20, 129.
  18. See Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 229.
  19. For an overview of the use of dogs in warfare, from ancient Greece to Napoleon's use of them in the Egyptian campaigns, to the twentieth century, see Charles F. Sloane's "Dogs in War, Police Work, and on Patrol," *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 46.3 (September-October 1955): 385–95.
  20. Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 229.
  21. For the use of dogs during the Seminole War, see James W. Covington's "Cuban Bloodhounds and the Seminoles," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 33 (October 1954): 111–19.
  22. For an excellent multimedia site chronicling the history of the Black Seminoles, see "John Horse and the Black Seminoles: the First Black Rebels to Beat American Slavery," <http://www.johnhorse.com/index.html> (accessed July 20, 2008). Five images of the bloodhounds, dated between 1840 and 1848 are included. One contemporary print (c. 1840) shows three bloodhounds being presented with awards from the Van Buren administration for their aid in the war. The caption reads: "Fellow citizens & soldiers! In presenting this standard to the 1st Regiment of Bloodhounds, I congratulate you on your promotion, from the base & inglorious pursuit of animals, in an uncivilized region like Cuba, to the noble task of hunting 'men' in our Christian country! our administration has been reproached for the expense of the Florida war, so we have determined now to prosecute it, in a way that's 'dog cheap!" Finally, another pro-Democratic Party caricature shows Taylor climbing a pole in order to flee some hounds hot in pursuit. Taylor says, "When Cuba is Annexed I hope these Foreigners will no longer be imported to annoy the 'Natives' in this way." Taylor's legacy, much like George W. Bush's, will always be associated with the use of torture.
  23. Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 292–93. Dubois cites Ardouin and Dayan's work, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 155, for this example.
  24. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, trans. Herma Briffault (1552; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 31, 127.

25. For their use in the Spanish Conquest of Latin America, see John Grier Varner and Jeannette Varner's *Dogs of the Conquest* (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 13.
26. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 9–10; Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti*, 74.
27. *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine, Or, Monthly Political and Literary Censor*, vol. 15 (London: R. Bostock, 1803). The editors later state that “enough, however, was explained at that period to divert the censure of the House, and the subject was not afterwards renewed” (247).
28. The quote from George III is cited in Campbell, “Letter from Portland to Balcares, March 3, 1796,” *Maroons of Jamaica*, 230.
29. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 12.
30. *Ibid.*, 14.
31. *Ibid.*, 18.
32. For a nineteenth-century source that outlines the debates about use of the Cuban dogs, see former congressman Joshua Giddings's narrative of the Seminole Wars in *The Exiles of Florida* (1858; repr. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1997), 268.
33. Covington, “Cuban Bloodhounds,” 117.
34. See the commentary on the Johnhorse.com Web site, available at <http://www.johnhorse.com/trail/03/a/08.htm> (accessed December 18, 2007).
35. Quoted in the African American newspaper *The Colored American*, April 10, 1841.
36. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, 279.
37. Anonymous, *My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions by a Creole of Saint Domingue*, trans. Althea de Puech Parham (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 25, 40.
38. Ardouin, *Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti*, 74.
39. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 11.
40. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, 264.
41. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, xviii.
42. Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés*, trans. Helen Lane (1882; repr. London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 331.
43. Leonora Sansay, *Zelica: The Creole* (London: William Fearman, 1820), 251.
44. William Wells Brown, *Clotel; or The President's Daughter* (1853; repr. New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 114.
45. There is an extensive visual record of engravings depicting slaves being hunted and mauled by dogs, especially in antislavery literature from the United States in the immediate antebellum period.
46. Jean Rhys, *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966; repr. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 22.
47. Alejo Carpentier, *The Kingdom of this World*, trans. Harriet de Onis (1949; repr. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1989), 89, 102. In the chapter “Saint Calamity,” Carpentier includes an almost verbatim summary of the above-mentioned incident, when an anonymous slave is eaten alive on stage.
48. *Ibid.*, 102.
49. One of the most memorable descriptions in Juan Francisco Manzano's *Autobiografía* (1840), Latin America's only extant slave narrative, concerns his capture and mauling by dogs. He writes: “He [the slave catcher] took out a rope of flimsy hemp, tied me up like a criminal, mounted his horse, and pushing me ahead, ordered me to run . . . We had gone about a fourth of a league when tired of running in front of the horse, I tripped and fell. No sooner had I hit the ground than two dogs or two beasts, which were following him, attacked me. One of them, holding my entire left cheek in his mouth, sank his fang all the way through to my molar. The other one perforated my thigh and my left calf, with the utmost voracity and speed. These scars persist in spite of the 24 years that have transpired since then. The overseer leaped from the horse onto the dogs and separated them. I was bleeding profusely, especially from my left leg, which fell numb. He grabbed me with one hand by the rope that bound me, hurling a stream of obscenities at me. This yank dislocated my right arm which had not yet healed.” See his *Autobiografía de un esclavo* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), 95, 97.
50. See the following articles and books for a sampling of coverage concerning the use of torture in the current War on Terror: Elizabeth Holtzman, “Torture and Accountability,” *The Nation*, July 18, 2005; Seymour Hirsch, *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (New York: HarperCollins,

- 2004); Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Bush Defends CIA Detentions, Says No Torture" *New York Times*, October 6, 2007; Alfred McCoy, *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006).
51. The Salon.com site includes a section called "The Abu Ghraib Files," which consists of the Criminal Investigation Command's Forensic Report on the 279 digital photos and 19 videos obtained from the cameras of several soldiers. Chapter 8 of the files, "Working Dogs," contains photos depicting detainees being abused by military dogs, including the ones used herein.
  52. See Josh White, "Abu Ghraib Dog Tactics Came from Guantánamo: Testimony Further Links Procedures at 2 Facilities," *Washington Post*, July 27, 2005. Sergeants Smith and Cardona were both found guilty of some charges, including simple and aggravated assault and dereliction of duty. No senior military personnel have been criminally charged.
  53. Balcarres filed erroneous reports that "emissaries from the French had been in that country of the Maroons," accusing them of stirring up trouble as they had in Saint-Domingue (Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 215).
  54. In the "Revolt of the Generals," many top-level military commanders critiqued the Bush administration's strategies in the Iraq war. See Mark Sauer's "Generals Opposing Iraq War Break with Military Tradition" *San Diego Union Tribune*, September 23, 2007.
  55. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, xix.