



Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era

SARAT COLLING

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ANIMAL RESISTANCE IN THE
GLOBAL CAPITALIST ERA

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Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era

Sarat Colling

ANIMAL RESISTANCE IN THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST ERA

Sarat Colling

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Preface

A COW AND CALF FLEE FROM A FARM BY SWIMMING ACROSS A POND, RUNNING THROUGH a forest, and jumping over a high fence into the pasture of an animal sanctuary, where they hide among a herd of horses.¹ Four baboons escape from a biomedical research facility by rolling a 55-gallon barrel into an upright position, climbing onto the barrel, and jumping over their enclosure's wall.² After being sold to become fast-food, a chicken absconds over a fence and travels three miles over two months to reunite with her best friend, a rooster named Horst.³

These three viral news stories, which occurred within a month, are not unusual. Each demonstrates and reflects a familiar pattern: animals struggle against captivity, and their fight, or flight, for freedom elicits a strong response from the public. Such defiant acts are forms of *animal resistance*. Animals are largely subjugated in human society, but some manage to transgress the spatial and ideological orderings forced upon them. The social and political positioning of animals as commodities and living property makes this resistance no easy feat.

Animals are communicating through their resistance. How then, in a society where dominant modes of communication and knowledge production are exclusive to humans, can witnesses and allies of nonhuman animals read their defiant acts against exploitation and oppression? How do we represent other animals' struggles when we speak different languages? These questions are central to the project of centering animals in their liberation movement without appropriating their voices and experience.

For as long as humans have attempted to decipher animals' tracks on the forest floor, muddy fields, and dirt paths, we have tried to understand the world from the perspective of other animals. Animals speak in the languages, songs, movements, gestures, and rhythms of their own species. Today, drawing on cognitive science, animal behavior, and direct experiences (such as that of animal sanctuary workers), we can make highly educated attempts to understand other animals' diverse preferences, backgrounds, and interests. We may not know what it's like to experience the world as another species, but by drawing on our knowledge and senses to better understand their perspectives and emotions, we can make our best attempts to comprehend animals' voices. Yet, even with these careful efforts, we cannot expect to know more than pieces of animals' stories, since our understanding of them will always be filtered through human perspectives, languages, and worldviews.⁴

To genuinely listen to animals' voices requires being mindful of (and trying to dissolve) the asymmetrical power structures in animal-human relationships. Despite their diversity, multiplicity, and complexity, nonhuman animals have been largely represented in the dominant Western

European discourse as ahistorical, monolithic, and unable to affect their surroundings. Following a long tradition of European science and colonization denying animals' subjectivity and agency, animals' voices still go unheard, unrecognized, and unacknowledged by humans. Undoing the damage requires decentering the human: being cautious to avoid positioning ourselves as a primary referent from which to measure other animals who have their own histories, cultures, and communities.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty's keystone essay, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," has greatly inspired my undertaking of this work. Mohanty critiques how women of the Global South, whose experiences are multifarious and contingent on cultural, geographical, and historical factors, have been discursively constructed under the monolithic and ahistorical category of "Third World women" based on a general notion of their oppression.⁵ This Western narrative "freezes" nonwestern women as "singular," "silenced," and "homogeneous." It ultimately represents Third World women as needing a Western "savior."⁶ Saviorism serves the purpose of self-representation: producing a modern identity in opposition to (while appropriating the experiences of) those who are constructed as passive and voiceless. Yet, in the words of Arundhati Roy, "There's really no such thing as the 'voiceless.' There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard."⁷

Similar issues emerge in animal advocacy discourse around animals' voices and agency. In the animal advocacy movement, it is common to come across the terminology of speaking for "voiceless" animals and being "the voice for the voiceless"—language that usually stems from a feeling of ethical obligation to speak for those whose lives and suffering within vast structures of oppression are widely unheard and ignored. However, if we continue to refer to nonhuman animals as (literally or symbolically) voiceless, we may pass over meaningful opportunities to dialog and act in solidarity with them. As Lauren Corman explains, in Western European society there is a long history of referring to animals as "voiceless," "mute," and "speechless" in ways that preclude their agency.⁸ Rather, by recognizing animals' embodied and political voices, we acknowledge their subjectivity and remain open to the possibility of their participation in and impact on social and political realms.⁹

Recognizing that animals have voices has several important consequences. First, this recognition acknowledges that animals are subjects with a unique conscious experience. They have their own desires, feelings, and preferences, which are conveyed through their voices and reflect their individuality. Second, this recognition is required if we are to hear what animals are saying. To develop meaningful communication and the possibility of nonhierarchical relationships with other species requires carefully listening to their voices. Third, this recognition highlights the diversity of discourses belonging to the vast and varied animal species on this planet. Animals' unique and complex forms of communication challenge human exceptionalism (and the human species' self-positioning as a universal gauge to measure intelligence). Finally, this recognition counters the widespread denial of animals' agency. Since voice is equated with self-assertion, to recognize animals' (symbolic or literal) voices, acknowledges their agency. Instead of positioning human animal advocates as the defenders of voiceless animals we can identify as allies of animals, whose role is to amplify and elevate their voices by exhorting others to make the effort to listen, hear, and understand what it is they're saying.

Listening to animals' voices is the first step towards replacing savior narratives with *solidarity*. Mohanty defines feminist solidarity as a "principled way to cross borders" that requires the practice of "mutuality, accountability, and the recognition of common interests as the basis for relationships among diverse communities."¹⁰ This notion of feminist solidarity is helpful when

thinking about solidarity with nonhuman animals. Building alliances in social justice struggles entails self-reflexivity (being aware of one's positionality) by the privileged, while respecting diversity and difference and recognizing shared interests. Cultivating solidarity with other animals entails listening to their voices and attempting to speak in solidarity *with* them. Often, this speaking in solidarity *with* translates into speaking in solidarity *for* other animals because of our vastly different positions of power and ability to be heard. Speaking *in solidarity* with (or for) other animals helps counter the taken-for-granted normalcy of savior discourse. While the accuracy of animal representations can be questionable, partial, and contingent, to remain silent about the stories of those whose speech is ignored in human society would be to remain complicit in a culture of extreme violence and hypocrisy.

The diverse animal species on this planet are constantly communicating with each other and the world around them. Carefully listening to their voices, reading their actions, and responding as allies, is essential for making space for other animals in a world that has been so plundered and overrun by human industrial civilization that we are now living in a geological era of anthropogenic biodiversity loss and climate change, an unprecedented climate emergency marked by extreme weather events, melting ice, crop failures, desertification, and rising temperatures and sea levels. This human-caused environmental destruction has been increasing since the Industrial Revolution but has ideological roots that go deeper: to the domestication and "ownership" of cows in the early Neolithic period. A small segment of the human species has now destroyed over 80 percent of all wild mammals and half of all plants, with two hundred animal species now going extinct each day, and thirty times the number of farmed animals than there are humans on this planet at any one time. Those who are the least responsible for the crisis, such as those living in less industrialized countries and nonhuman animals, are suffering the first effects of the Earth's sixth mass extinction.

Animals' resistance insists that we listen to other animals' voices and recognize them as fellow beings in the struggle for social justice. Their disruptions to the system demonstrate the urgency that is needed in this unprecedented struggle. When monkeys unlatch locks and escape from laboratory cages, when pigs refuse to advance down the chute to the slaughterhouse, when cows fight back against those who steal their children, when salmon struggle and gasp for breath when pulled from the water, and when elephants attack those who have killed their family members or encroached on their lands, their actions speak loudly. When cows gather and moo to welcome new residents to animal sanctuaries, or chickens cluck and coo to comfort their newborn chicks, their voices are clear. Animals have been shoved into the margins by human spatial and ideological orderings, but they are also subjects of their own struggles, located at the center of their liberation movement.

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Introduction

THE RELEASE OF THE FILM *BLACKFISH* IN 2013 BEAMED THE STORY OF A RESISTANT ORCA named Tilikum out into the world. Tilikum experienced daily confinement and abuse, like all orca whales captured for entertainment. In response, he retaliated numerous times, eventually with deadly consequences. In 2010, Tilikum pulled a forty-year-old SeaWorld trainer under the water, drowning her. SeaWorld continually brushed off Tilikum's resistance, but the reality of marine mammal captivity and the dangerous working conditions presented in *Blackfish* did not reflect well on the corporation. The damage was done. Tilikum brought attention to the systemic violence inflicted on sea mammals in captivity, leading to public outrage. The adverse media coverage caused SeaWorld's stock prices to plummet.¹ Tilikum's struggle revealed to a broad audience that animals resist.

The public outcry in response to Tilikum's resistance wasn't the first time that humans had advocated for sea mammals who had resisted captivity. In 1960, in London, England, Billy Smart's Circus was using a boat on the River Thames for promotional purposes. Some of the boat's promotional "props" were animals who were forced to perform, including Fritzzi the sea lion. Fritzzi wanted no part of these activities and leaped off the boat, into the Thames. In response, the Performing Animals Defence League came to Fritzzi's aid and offered the then considerable sum of £60.00 to anyone who would help Fritzzi achieve his freedom by exiting the Thames for the expanse of the North Sea. The circus responded to this by offering £100.00 for his recapture, adding the spurious claim that he was a "warm water creature from California" and that he needed to be recaptured because of the coldness of the North Sea. Fritzzi spent the next two days swimming up and down the Thames (which can be just as cold as the North Sea). He dined on 20 pounds of herring thrown from boats that were pursuing him with trawl nets, while repeatedly thwarting the advances of his pursuers. At night, he would slip onto the shore for a couple of hours of rest. Fritzzi never made it to the North Sea, however. He was recaptured by the circus and returned to a life of entertaining humans.

Despite the value that human beings have placed on liberty, prizing the ability to choose our life path, have our basic needs met, and be free from suffering, the human species has deprived other animals with whom we share this planet of their freedom. Every minute, animals are hunted, caged, and killed on a vast scale. They are used as instruments of war, experimentation, and entertainment. Countless animal species suffer the consequences of human-caused fires, droughts, and other environmental disasters. Labeled as *commodities* and *property*, they are denied the most basic needs of life: the right to socialize, have shelter and privacy, and consume

healthy food and water. There have been many attempts to justify the subordination of our fellow beings. Cartesians misconceive other animals as mere biological machines acting from reflex, unable to experience suffering, pain, or pleasure. Some arguments still assume that humans are the only species with meaningful social lives and agency. Others have suggested that consuming animals is acceptable “because we can.” These anthropocentric justifications function to exclude nonhuman animals from ethical treatment for purely arbitrary reasons. The fact that we can do something, or always have, has no bearing on the morality of whether we should continue to do so in current times (and in fact, looking back into human history, we can identify many behaviors that were once considered normal but are now viewed as egregious).

Animals’ lives are important to them. By denying these rights to individuals such as Tilikum and Fritz, humans cause immense suffering. Unlike in the state of wilderness, which is characterized by diversity and symbiotic relationships, the dawn of civilization led to a hierarchical society with the human animal placing itself at the top of the food chain. Anthropologist Layla Abdel-Rahim explains how the emergence of industrial civilization, following the Agricultural Revolution, led to a critical shift in human consciousness. Humans became the ultimate predator. We had previously been living without the systematic killing of other animals for over 200,000 years, but with the decline of egalitarian societies, and the move from a gathering-hunting economy to an agricultural society, the concept of property emerged. Capturing and confining cows, sheep, pigs, camels, and goats enabled a powerful minority to elevate themselves above others. Departing from the view that humans were just one organism among many, humans began to view themselves as an exceptional, civilized entity. Not only were we separate from other animals, but also above them and capable of domesticating, colonizing, and commodifying sentient beings.

Domestication, colonization, and capitalism shaped contemporary human and nonhuman animal relationships. The domestication of animals, generally thought to have begun between 10,000 and 8,000 BCE, eventually paved the way for global domination by Europe. Colonization depended on animals’ labor for militarization, slaughter for rations, and grazing to expand the range for land appropriation. In the late sixteenth century, the colonization of devalued humans and animals, who were conceptualized as property, facilitated the emergence of global capitalism. Widespread plundering for precious metals, sugar, and animal hair, fat, and skins fueled the new capitalist system.² The globalized drive to control and conquer resources led to increased flows of goods, and eventually services and labor, across borders. The shift in self-consciousness that had revolutionized subsistence strategies ultimately enabled institutionalized violence such as that in slaughterhouses, factory farms, laboratories, amusement parks, and circuses.

It is within the context of human domination that the phenomenon of animals’ social and political resistance against human oppressors emerges. Despite their vast exploitation in today’s globalized capitalist economy, animals’ agency persists. Captive and free-living animals have resisted for as long as humans have oppressed them. While countless animals have struggled for liberation and justice for centuries, as sociologist David Nibert has noted, whether or not they succeed, their efforts have rarely been recorded in history.³ This book contributes to filling this gap by recording animals’ resistance, placing nonhuman animals at the center of their liberation struggle. But before delving into some of the *why*, *how*, and *to what ends—and beginnings*—animals resist, this introduction offers a brief overview of some of the shifting perspectives humans have held towards other animals, and how animals’ own agency has influenced these perspectives. Exploring animal representations in history helps to illustrate the significance of animals being recognized as resisters with whom animals’ allies can act in solidarity.⁴

Some of the earliest documentation of animal resistance against human oppression is from



Figure 1. Animal Transport Scene from the Big Game Hunt Mosaic, Villa del Casale, Piazza Armerina, Sicily, 4th.

Ancient Roman Colosseum games where thousands of animals were killed in bloody public spectacles. *Venationes*, animal exhibitions and hunting simulations in which *bestiarii* faced many animal species—elephants, bears, lions, leopards, panthers, dogs, bulls, and more—were introduced in the second century BCE and became highly popular during the imperial period. The exhibition and slaughter of animals from the most remote areas of the empire was a display of wealth and power for the emperors. Animal executions were not only a cruel form of amusement but symbolized and declared the domination of the Romans over human and nonhuman nature. The games endured for four centuries, and were later resurrected in their modern, ritualized form of bullfighting during the late eighteenth century in Spain, which continues to this day.

The games relied on the animals' will to live while being forced to endure a systematic process of torture and total domination. The resistance of animals used in these shows began prior to their arrival at the colosseums. Many were hunted, seized, and transported to Rome from Africa (as with those used for circuses, menageries, game ranches, and other forms of "entertainment"). Free-living animals opposed the hunters' attempts to capture them, so hunters devised various strategies to subdue the resistance. They starved elephants after driving them into pits, until they were weak enough to be transported,⁵ and employed the strongest hunters to restrain bears by tying their limbs to wooden planks. According to Oppian, the bears would "greatly rage with jaws and terrible paws, and many a time they straightway evade the hunters and escape from nets and make the hunting vain."⁶ Animals' resistance is evident in a transport scene from the Big Game Hunt Mosaic. The mosaic, which stretches across the Villa del Casale in Piazza Armerina, Sicily, depicts previously free-living animals being carried and pushed unwillingly onto a docked boat (see figure 1). To the left of the boat, men try to control a ram as he is pushed up a ramp. Behind them, a captive ostrich attempts flight while another cries out. Traveling with sentient, uncooperative animals was unappealing to those transporting them. As Claudian wrote, "the sailor fears the merchandise he carries."⁷

After they were dragged into Rome, animals were reluctant to participate in the colosseum shows. Upon arrival, many were held in the Roman amphitheater's dark cellars. Then they were either hoisted towards the stage in cages or transferred through underground passages that led into the arena. When the cage doors were opened, the captive animals often refused to budge, remaining huddled against the bars or trying to hide.⁸ The Romans regularly used hot irons or burned straw under the animals to force them to leave the cages.

Pliny the Elder reports that in 55 BCE, for the consecration of the temple of Venus Victrix, the newly elected consul, Pompey, organized two *venationes* a day for five days.⁹ On this occasion, he exhibited various "exotic" animal species, including lions, elephants, panthers, and Ethiopian monkeys, as well as an Indian rhino and a lynx, as a parade of his triumphs in the east. During one of the gruesome shows, Gaetuli hunters were equipped with javelins to slaughter about twenty elephants.¹⁰ One of the elephants, who had been pierced several times on her legs, charged the hunters and threw them into the air. Another elephant was killed with a shot of a javelin that struck under her eye. The spectators, although typically accustomed to the bloodthirst of the shows, most likely had never seen these gigantic animals and were stunned by the sight of this show. The elephants constantly tried to escape, but the arena was enclosed by iron bars, and the hunters forced them, with much struggle, back to the center of the theater. Realizing that there was no hope of escape, it is reported that the elephants suddenly directed a plea for compassion to the crowd. The tremendous trumpeting of pain and despair together with the attempted escapes frightened the people so much that Plutarch described the show as terrifying. Perhaps interpreting the reaction of the elephants as prayers to the gods or curses towards Pompey, the spectators identified with the plight of the elephants. They leaped to their feet in tears and demanded an end to the show. As Cassius Dio wrote of the event:

For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance.¹¹

After the incident, the *venationes* still included elephants on occasion despite the sympathy and shame expressed by Pompey's audience. In the coming years, the shows reached staggering heights, and thousands of animals were killed in the hunt-spectacles. Elephants were also used by Caesar, who employed trained elephants for more spectacular shows. They were often forced to fight rhinoceros, who were considered their natural enemies. The audience perceived the rhinoceros's strong reluctance to engage in battle as entertaining. Lions were also viewed as central to the games. In 281 CE, one hundred lions refused to exit their cages in the colosseum and were slaughtered at the doors.¹²

The emperor Commodus, who often wore lion skins to appear imposing, had a passion for gladiator fights and beast fights and would actively participate in both (which, for an emperor, was considered scandalous by the Roman people). Historians report, with great criticism, of Commodus's victories against the animals he faced. For the riskier battles, Commodus had a special platform built by subdividing the arena into four sectors employing two orthogonal palisades.¹³ In this way, he could safely strike the enclosed animals with a bow.¹⁴ Once, during a show, a tiger escaped from a cage and attacked a man who had been carrying the cage. Upon this act of resistance, the tiger was shot and killed by Commodus (see figure 2).¹⁵

In addition to the Roman rulers using animals in public shows to demonstrate their wealth and power, ancient militaries brought some animals onto the battlefields to create an intimidating

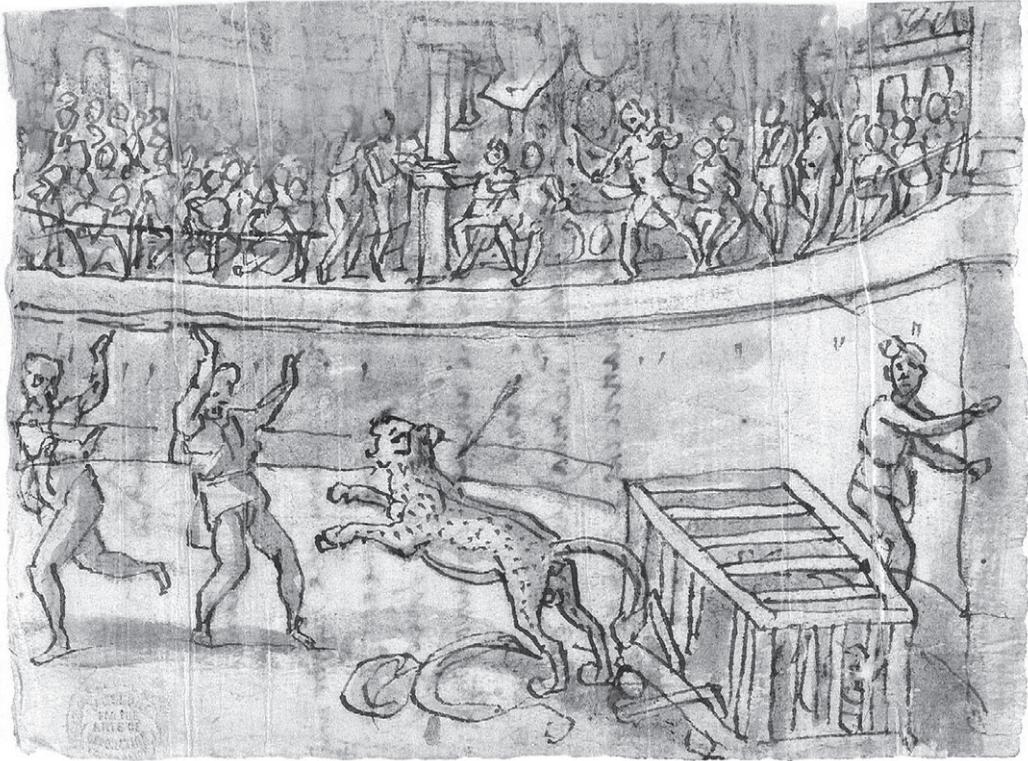


Figure 2. A tiger escapes and is killed by Emperor Commodus. Drawing, sketchbook page, 1590.

spectacle. For instance, the Greeks used elephants to intimidate their opponents in the third century BCE, as did others, including the Carthaginian leader Hannibal who took elephants on a treacherous journey over the Alps. As “equipment,” the elephants were highly decorated and sometimes made drunk with wine. Because they were so reluctant to battle, they mainly served as a symbol of the army’s strength. It was common for elephants to retreat if they were shot with arrows, and they would end up trampling anyone nearby. If the child of a mother elephant was wounded in the battle, the mother would abandon her post and rush to her child’s rescue.¹⁶

The Classical Greece period provides early records of another occurrence that illuminates animals’ agency: the practice of putting animals on trial. There are limited records about the animal trials during this time, but according to several Greek writers, including Aristotle, they took place in the Prytaneum at Athens.¹⁷ It wasn’t until the Middle Ages (500–1400) that we find more detailed recordings of animal trials in European countries. While the trials in Classical Greece likely did not address premeditation of the “crimes,” the medieval trials were often concerned with premeditation on the part of the animal defendants, a recognition that acknowledged their free will and moral agency.

The medieval animal trials began in the thirteenth century, and possibly as early as the ninth century, and lasted into the mid-eighteenth century. Nearly every country in Europe held animal trials during this period, in either the secular or the church courts.¹⁸ A wide variety of species, from dogs to swallows, from cows to weevils, and from dolphins to eels, were put on trial because they had, presumably, broken laws with calculation and intention. Often the offending actions

were forms of resistance, such as retaliating or escaping. For instance, in 1314, a bull escaped from a farm and ran onto a busy road where he attacked and killed a man. Had this occurred in modern times, the bull would probably have been shot to death on the spot. But this was the fourteenth century. The bull was imprisoned, tried in a court of law, and then, finally, he was sentenced to death by hanging. The Parliament of Paris confirmed the judgment and the execution proceeded on gallows typically used to hang humans. At the last minute, an appeal accused the court of being incompetent, but the Parliament of La Chandeaur decided that “The sentence was right in equity, but judicially and technically wrong, and could not therefore serve as a precedent.”¹⁹ As bizarre as it might sound in today’s social order, this case was somewhat standard procedure for the time. In 1389, the Carthusians of Dijon sentenced a horse to death for “homicide.”²⁰ In 1405, an order was issued by the magistracy of Gisors that demanded payment to a carpenter “who had erected the scaffold on which an ox had been executed ‘for its demerits.’” In 1499, a bull was sentenced to execution for killing a farmer’s young assistant.²¹

Two hundred cases of animal trials were recorded in Edmund P. Evans’s *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*, published in 1906. The record of medieval animal trials begins in Fontenay-aux-Roses, outside Paris, with the execution of a pig in 1266. Most animals put on trial during the Middle Ages were domesticated species or those vilified as “pests.” Assumed to have the same moral responsibilities as humans, as Jeffrey St. Clair explains, many “were subjected to the same ghastly forms of torture and execution as were condemned humans.”²² The nasty punishments included lashings, mutilation, live burial, exile, jailing, and execution on common gallows. Some animals were burned alive with their human counterparts who were accused of practicing witchcraft.

Absurd as they were, the animal trials revealed much about the contradictory views towards animals during this period. On one level, they were an acknowledgment of animals’ sentience (the ability to feel) and agency (the capacity to make choices and to act upon them). St. Clair discusses this phenomenon, noting that the trials reflected a radical openness to the notion of animal consciousness. He explains that the significance of the trials is not with their social purpose, but rather “in the qualities and rights the so-called medieval mind ascribed to the defendants: rationality, premeditation, free will, moral agency, calculation, and motivation. In other words, it was presumed that animals acted with intention, that they could be driven by greed, jealousy and revenge. Thus, the people of the Middle Ages, dismissed as primitives in many modernist quarters, were actually open to a truly radical idea: animal consciousness.”²³

In other respects, the trials were anthropocentric, since they assumed that various animal species, who naturally possess their own language and moral codes, must abide by human-created social systems. Even when the judge or jury acknowledged an animal’s agency or resistance, the trials exposed paradoxical attitudes and practices. Nonhuman animals were perceived as capable of moral and independent action, yet the imbalanced power dynamics were not accounted for, and they were tried and sentenced to death in a human courtroom rooted in human values. These methods were often highly unjust towards other humans, let alone other animals. Pigs were most often the victims of the ignorance and cruelty and were sometimes dressed in human clothing for the execution. Domesticated animals were already bred and raised for exploitative purposes. As Kathryn Shevelow explains, the trials demonstrated “hierarchical differences of species and power between humans and beasts—after all, humans ‘murdered’ sows every day.”²⁴ Even if a pig managed to escape a death sentence, they would still be slaughtered for human consumption.

The secular courts, where most of the trials were held, granted animals a defense lawyer. The



Figure 3. A pair of eagles defend their eaglets from a Victorian bird's nest thief. Illustration from "A Gift for a Pet" by Annie R. Butler (London: Religious Tract Society, 1896).

penalty for causing physical harm, whether to humans or other animals, was often death. In the animals' defense, lawyers could be crafty. In 1713, a lawyer in colonial Brazil made such an eloquent case in defense of termites charged with ravaging the foundation of a rectory at Piedade no Maranhão's Franciscan monastery that the judge ruled in the termites' favor, stating that the monastery must provide them with a woodpile for dining. In return, the termites were asked to leave the monastery building alone. Indeed, there was the occasional outcome in which the individual on trial was assigned their own piece of land so they would not trouble (or be troubled by) the plaintiff. Another lawyer, the acclaimed Barthélemy de Chasseneuz, defended a group of rats who had overrun Autun, an ancient village in Burgundy, France. After the rats failed to show up for trial not once, but twice, Chasseneuz made his final argument that Autun's cats, "well-known for their ferocious animosity towards rodents," were too intimidating for the rats to pass on their way to the courtroom.²⁵ The rats were acquitted.

Then there were the church tribunals. These dealt with the issues surrounding public resources, crops, moral corruptions, "witchcraft," and bestiality. The fate of indicted animals was decided solely by a judge. They often tried animals considered wild or vermin to denounce them and expel them from crops, orchards, and vineyards by spiritual means. Charges from the prosecution included supernatural activities, complicity in bestiality, murder, property damage, and attacks against farmers or bystanders. Bees were among those subject to these trials. Like other domesticated animals, honeybees, first recorded in ancient Egypt but domesticated for thousands of years in Europe, are well known for sacrificing themselves to protect their hive. In 864, the superstitiously motivated Council of Worms declared that a hive of bees who had killed a man by stinging him must be suffocated before they could make any more honey.²⁶

Before the humanistic divide between humans and other animals was solidified into the mechanisms of modernity, the animal trials signified a crisis of changing relationships between humans and the other animals they lived in close quarters with, while trying to maintain order. During the sixteenth century, changes in technology and agriculture were leading to the physical separation between humans and other animals, especially with the introduction of the heavy plow. More wilderness was brought under cultivation for expanded grazing land, mainly for sheep, who were increasingly viewed as an important commodity due to the price of “wool.” Violence towards animals was highly prevalent during this time, including the widespread hunting and torture of cats and other companion animals.

In response to immense and pervasive animal cruelty, some individuals voiced their opposition to the injustice and drew attention to animals’ subjectivity. For instance, In *An Apology for Raymond Sebond* (1576), Michel de Montaigne recognized animals’ communication, kindness, and reciprocity. Montaigne wrote:

By one kinde of barking of a dogge, the horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice of, he is nothing dismayd. Even in beasts that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall kindness which we see in them, we easily inferre ther is some other means of entercommunication: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.²⁷

Writers in the seventeenth century often expressed empathy with caged birds, free-living birds whose eggs were stolen, or chicks killed by hunters.²⁸ Perhaps they were influenced by Geoffrey Chaucer’s earlier description of caged birds’ determination to escape, found in *The Canterbury Tales*:

Although its cage of gold be never so gay,
Yet would this bird, by twenty thousand-fold,
Rather, within a forest dark and cold,
Go to eat worms and all such wretchedness.
For ever this bird will do his business
To find some way to get outside the wires.
Above all things his freedom he desires.²⁹

Although just a drop in the bucket, several of the first animal protection laws were initiated in the seventeenth century. In Ireland, the Parliament passed “An Act against Plowing by the Tayle, and pulling the Wool off living Sheep” in 1635, and in 1641 the Massachusetts Body of Liberties included regulation against “Tiranny or Crueltie” towards domesticated animals. Animals’ resistance was recorded during this time. Firsthand accounts from the early seventeenth century bear-baiting games, for instance, describe bears and other animals as unwilling to engage in battle with each other, and they were witnessed acting companionably offstage. Bulls lay down refusing to fight, while bears were forced to the stake.³⁰

Yet, during the shift from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, many philosophers outright denied animals’ agency and subjectivity. Animals were now the sole responsibility of their “owners.” This shift also meant that the juridical animal trials once common were no longer deemed necessary. The seventeenth century was marked by a movement from faith in tradition to an emphasis on scientific experimentation, logical thinking, and new technological forces (as the legitimate method of obtaining knowledge); human secularization and rationality; a division

of labor and economic growth; human individualization and freedom; industrialization and urbanization; and the development of the nation-state, institutions, and surveillance. The Age of Enlightenment ushered in the separation between the “social” and the “natural,” the “human” and the “animal.” The hierarchical, dualistic social order offered rights to men and the wealthy white classes, while denying them to marginalized groups such as women, people of color, people with disabilities, the impoverished, and nonhuman animals.

In 1637, the Enlightenment era’s most prominent voice, René Descartes, declared that animals were biological machines without intelligence or the ability to feel. Half a century earlier, Michel de Montaigne had proposed thoughtful ideas about animals, but Descartes’s human-centric ideas took hold instead. In response to Descartes and others who experimented on animals, the historian and philosopher Voltaire famously condemned the practices and stated that dogs are superior to humans in their ability to feel and show affection. In 1764 he wrote, “Now Machinist, what say you? Answer me: Has Nature created all the springs of feeling in this animal, that it may not feel? has it nerves to be impassible? For shame!”³¹ Although much English writing also critiqued and rejected Descartes’s mechanical philosophy, it became the predominant ideology and basis of how we relate to other animals.³² Solidifying the human-animal divide conveniently helped Descartes justify his experimentation on live dogs and shaped the Cartesian separation of humans (or those defined as “human”) from other animals (or those defined as “animal”) during a time when the number of animals exploited for vivisection, food, and labor were increasing.

Entering the modern global capitalist era (1800–2000), Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859, significantly advanced our scientific understanding of other animals. Darwin demonstrated that animals understand human language, have their own languages, and are capable of abstract thought and moral actions. In 1871, he wrote that “There is no fundamental difference between man and the higher animals in their mental faculties.”³³ While he taught what we conclusively understand today (that nonhuman animals are not just biological automatons but conscious and subjective individuals), Darwin never moved beyond the notion of human superiority altogether, as he linked moral conscience with a certain level of human intelligence.³⁴ During the late nineteenth century, Russian anarchist and naturalist Peter Kropotkin, a contemporary of Darwin, offered scientific observations of animals in their natural environment that more closely resemble today’s research on animals’ social lives.³⁵ Similar to the contemporary work of Jane Goodall and Marc Bekoff, for instance, Kropotkin observed that animal sociality was largely governed by cooperation and affiliation and that nonhuman animals participate in mutual aid. He concluded that those who worked together for the well-being of all community members were the most likely to survive.

On animal farms, both visitors and farmers have long recognized animals’ resistance. The eighteenth-century poet Henry Needler regularly observed sheep jumping over fences and pigs running from pens. He also noted other defiant actions such as cows kicking farmers, dogs asking for more food, chickens pecking hands, horses breaking equipment, oxen refusing to work, mules dragging their hooves, and donkeys ignoring commands. An eighteenth-century botanist named Peter Kalm suggested that there were always a few cows in every herd who were so determined to escape that they would break through their enclosures. Gilbert White, another observer, explained that, likewise, many horses, however seemingly well-behaved, would resist the strongest of fences.³⁶ In the late eighteenth-century, Samuel Deane observed that a lack of forage encouraged hungry farmed animals in New England “to leap over fences, or break through them.”³⁷

Despite the recognition of animals' agency by some individuals, the predominant treatment of animals in the nineteenth century was still Cartesian. Although the animal trials had since faded away, animal executions increased. Those who resisted captivity were liabilities in the new profit-oriented paradigm, as was the case with an elephant named Topsy. Born in Southeast Asia, Topsy was brought to America soon after her birth in the mid-1870s. Here she joined other elephants forced to perform in the Forepaugh Circus. In the wild, elephants enjoy bathing and playing in streams, eating fresh grass, scratching against trees, and communicating over long distances, but in circuses they were headlining entertainers, forced into an artificial round of learning tricks like walking in circles or standing on their hind legs. The rest of the time, they were kept shackled and chained, or forced to labor for the circus, raising tent masts and dragging wagons through the mud.

Topsy was repeatedly beaten and stabbed by trainers and became known for defending herself. In 1900, she killed two Forepaugh Circus workers. In 1902, a spectator in Brooklyn wandered into the elephant menagerie and is thought to have started teasing the elephants; he threw sand in Topsy's face and burned the tip of her trunk with a lit cigar. She responded by throwing the man on the ground and crushing him. Later that same year, while she was being unloaded from a train in Kingston, New York, a man jabbed Topsy behind the ear with a stick. She picked him up and threw him to the ground. After this incident, the circus sold her to a park on Coney Island. But when a drunken handler at this park led Topsy into a local police station (sending the officers clambering into the cells), the handler was arrested, and the park's owners tried in vain to unload her. When nobody would take the rebellious elephant, she was sentenced to death. On January 4, 1903, in a gruesome spectacle that was filmed for Thomas Edison's short movie *Electrocuting an Elephant*, Topsy was electrocuted in front of approximately 1,500 spectators on Coney Island. At the dawn of industrialization, the execution doubled as an experiment on electricity as a method of killing (preceded by the electrocution of hundreds of stray cats and dogs in New Jersey during the 1880s).³⁸

Mary was another elephant who was executed for her resistance. She was born in the jungle of Southeast Asia in the mid-1880s and her life in captivity was a far cry from home. Imprisoned in the southern United States from a young age, Mary was a popular performer in the Sparks World Famous Shows Circus. She was transported between towns and followed a tiring and relentless routine. As usual in the elephant business, Mary was regularly beaten with a bullhook—a device used to instill fear, pain, and discipline. One day, as she was walking in a parade, with a newly hired assistant trainer on her back, Mary tried to nibble on some watermelon by the side of the road. The man responded by prodding her, including in a spot, as it was later determined, where she had a tooth infection.³⁹ Mary lifted the man with her trunk, threw him down, and stepped on his head. The crowd responded by calling for retributive violence against Mary. A frenzy ensued. As Jason Hribal writes, there were rumors of lynch mobs, and police and government intervention. Everyone had an opinion on whether, and how, she should be killed. On September 13, 1916, when the circus arrived in the small town of Erwin, Tennessee, the execution was imminent.⁴⁰ As with Topsy, there was no justice for Mary. After the matinee, using a derrick mounted on a rail car, the circus hung Mary by her neck. But it didn't work on the first try. She fell and shattered a hip before being hung a second time. Over two thousand spectators watched the violent execution.

Topsy and Mary were two among many elephant resisters who shifted public perception of the American circus. From the arrival of the first elephant to the Early American Republic in 1796, subject to violent and rigid training and forced to endure hard labor for long hours,

elephants were known to go “off script,” instigating destruction and chaos in the circus industry.⁴¹ As Susan Nance explains, whether escaping from circus tents, throwing water and mud at passersby, or targeting the keepers who were most violent with the bullhook, elephants transformed the circus from within. Many were traded from one circus to another, yet their names were changed so that the receiver would not realize that the elephant they were buying had a history of resistance. In response to their demonstrations of agency, circuses began to portray elephant retaliation as part of their show’s spectacle. The narrative of the “mad elephant” was born, appropriating and capitalizing on their resistance. Elephants faced even more punishment for their dissidence, especially when these actions led to human injuries and a high turnover rate among circus employees. Eventually, as animal welfare concerns grew, the industry “purged” the most rebellious elephants. They stopped inviting members of the press to witness the punishment of elephants—activities that, once found to be entertaining, were beginning to be viewed by the general public as disturbing.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the industrialized world was on the brink of factory farming. With a rising public sentiment against animal cruelty, advocates brought forward incremental animal welfare reforms. Animal protection groups were established, and by the twentieth century there were hundreds of organizations advocating for animals commodified by the entertainment, experimentation, fashion, and food industries. Industrialized animal use began in the 1920s, which led some of these organizations to address supply and demand on a systemic level. The avoidance of animal products had existed around the world for centuries, but in 1944 the practice was acknowledged in the modern industrial context and given the name veganism, which was later defined by the Vegan Society as “a way of living which seeks to exclude, as far as is possible and practicable, all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose.”⁴²

Growing opposition to animal abuse and the recognition of nonhuman animal sentience led to a spike of advocacy in the 1960s. The Hunt Saboteurs Association, which takes direct action against killing sports (associated with the English aristocracy as a status symbol), was founded in England in 1964, followed soon by the clandestine Animal Liberation Front (ALF). The same year, British author Ruth Harrison published a seminal critique of factory farming called *Animal Machines*. On October 10, 1965, the *Sunday Times* published a full-page article by British playwright and novelist Brigid Brophy called “The Rights of Animals.”⁴³ American writer Norm Phelps described Brophy’s newspaper article as the pivotal event that sparked the modern animal rights movement in the United States. The article was rediscovered in the late 1960s by a group of postgraduate philosophy students at Oxford University.

The Oxford Group, as the students became known, held protests and tackled questions of animal ethics in a symposium that was later published in 1971. Harrison and Brophy were both contributors, along with Richard D. Ryder, a vocal critic of vivisection. Ryder explained that nonhuman animals are victims of speciesism (a concept that was later popularized in Peter Singer’s influential 1975 publication, *Animal Liberation*). In a 1970 anti-vivisection pamphlet distributed in Oxford, Ryder defined speciesism as the “widely held belief that the human species is inherently superior to other species and so has rights or privileges that are denied to other sentient animals.” In 1976, Animal Rights International, founded by Henry Spira, organized the first animal rights campaign in the United States. The campaign, which was against research that involved mutilating cats at the American Museum of Natural History, succeeded after eighteen months and the laboratory was shut down. Spira’s organization followed with a campaign against Draize testing on rabbits that launched research into alternatives to animal testing.



Figure 4. Two of the Silver Spring monkeys reach out and hold hands through the bars of their cages at the Institute for Behavioral Research in Silver Spring, Maryland. (Photo courtesy of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.)

In the early 1980s, investigations into animal cruelty proved essential in mobilizing the public, as shown after an undercover investigation revealed the abuse of seventeen monkeys in a Silver Springs, Maryland, testing laboratory in 1981. Police raided the facility and the researcher was charged with animal cruelty, but he went free on a technicality. Still, the resulting national coverage caught the public's attention. As Phelps stated (in 2012), "To the extent that anything could go viral in an era with no YouTube, no Facebook, and no Twitter, the Silver Spring monkeys went viral with a vengeance."⁴⁴ In 1984, Tom Regan published *The Case for Animal Rights*, which provided the philosophical framework that animals have the right to live free from exploitation and oppression. That nonhuman animals are sentient beings (as are humans) and "subjects-of-a-life" with social, biological, and individual needs is of the most fundamental moral relevance (not whether they can organize, reason, or self-emancipate).⁴⁵ Insights derived from the new field of cognitive ethology, the study of animal minds, demonstrated that animals have rich social and emotional lives. Zoologist Donald Griffin coined the term while discovering how bats navigate in the dark, how monkeys use deception, and how crows make tools out of twigs. In this tradition, Bekoff and Pierce have since described the sense of "wild justice" observable in numerous animal species, showing that they have characteristics, like empathy, previously thought unique to humans. Animals feel joy or suffering, mourn their loved ones, utilize tools and medicine, have culture and memory, and ultimately shape their own lives.⁴⁶

From the late 1980s onward, animal advocates have held demonstrations and marches, gathered for national conferences, provided spaces for rescued animals, stood in the path of



Figure 5. Sue Coe: *She Escaped the Circus and Was Shot 98 Times*. 2007. Etching. Copyright © Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York.

slaughterhouse trucks, built pressure campaigns, utilized new information technologies, started magazines and publishing companies, implemented vegan organic agriculture, and opened vegan restaurants offering a plethora of plant-based options. Emerging interdisciplinary fields of animals and society and critical animal studies responded to a lack of critical perspectives on the more-than-human world and signified a turn towards animal rights related issues in the academy. These disciplines were influenced by the multi-issue activism of the black liberation organization, MOVE, and ecofeminist work that recognized the oppression of animals through a pro-intersectional lens, such as that of Carol Adams, Josephine Donovan, and Marti Kheel. Critical animal studies, for example, bridges the gap between theory and practice. Promoting social justice for animals, humans, and the Earth, CAS advocates for building solidarity and alliances between “human activists and academics with nonhumans for total liberation to end all oppression, domination, and authoritarianism . . . by directly organizing and participating in other movements beyond nonhuman animal liberation. This includes supporting locally grown, organic, fair-trade veganism.”⁴⁷ Yet, disrupting the societal norms of animal consumption has been met with increasing government repression. “Ag-gag” bills, the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA), and a policy system that fails to go beyond a paradigm of *animals-as-commodities* to institute effective changes means that animal allies must contend with an environment where, despite the growing awareness around the plight and subjectivity of other animals, the consumption and exploitation of their bodies continues to rise around the world.

Thus far we have examined how animals’ agency and resistance has long been implied and

visible in historical records, from the Roman *venationes* of antiquity to the European animal trials of the Middle Ages. While the view of animals as valuable primarily because of their utility to humans has unfortunately been predominant in the modern capitalist era, many individuals have recognized the intrinsic value of animals' lives and advocated for their freedom. While activists advocated for animal liberation, the animals themselves have struggled for freedom, changing the system from within. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, nonhuman animals began to be acknowledged as central participants and resisters in their political liberation struggle.

On August 20, 1994, another elephant reminded the world that animals are on the frontlines of their social justice struggle. During a performance at Circus International in Honolulu, Hawaii, an African elephant named Tyke escaped her captors. She trampled her groomer, killed her trainer, and then fled to the street. Police caught up to Tyke after a half-hour chase, trapping her in an intersection. They then proceeded to shoot her eighty-seven times. Tyke collapsed and died a few hours later from her wounds. Captured from the savannahs of Mozambique as a baby in the early 1970s, Tyke had spent her entire life in confinement, often rented out to circuses and carnivals, and deprived of anything resembling the life of a sovereign wild elephant. This wasn't her first escape. In 1993, she had fled from a performance and ran for an hour. A few months later, she injured a handler and ran off during a state fair. After the incident, she was beaten so badly that she would scream and try to run from the trainer whenever he came near. Tyke was so stubborn and strong-willed that even some of her trainers felt she should be sent to a sanctuary and retired from circus life. Tyke's struggle was not in vain. Her resistance garnered international news coverage and prompted critiques of animal industries. People questioned the exploitation of animals for entertainment, anti-circus laws were proposed, and an elephant sanctuary was started in Tennessee. A 2015 documentary, *Tyke Elephant Outlaw*, recounts Tyke's story. While animals' resistance had once been integrated into the animal entertainment industry, modern-day industries (with the exception of bullfighting and illegal animal games) now depended on hiding and preventing animals' dissent as much as possible.

Long before there were viral videos of animals escaping or documentaries featuring animal rebels, animals' resistance has been depicted by novelists and painters. Representations of animal resistance recur in fiction, from works that portray their rebellion as a response to human oppression and the specter of domestic apocalypse, such as Arthur Machen's 1917 *The Terror*, to late twentieth and early twenty-first century stories that depict animals' resistance, like *The Plague Dogs* (1977), *We3* (2004), and *The Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (2011), or the numerous plots about bird attacks on a grand scale (notably by Frank Baker, 1936; Daphne du Maurier, 1952; Alfred Hitchcock, 1963; and Philip MacDonald, 1931). Painters have portrayed animals who cried out for emancipation, such as the unbroken, rebellious, and wild horses in Gericault's *Race of the Riderless Horses in Rome* (1817).⁴⁸ As these works of fiction and art have alluded to—and as animal farmers, hunters, butchers, vivisectionists, trappers, and trainers know—the revolt of other animals against human society is a real-life occurrence. As Frank Baker once wrote, Daphne du Maurier's version of *The Birds* “continues to haunt the imagination as a possibility.”⁴⁹ A full-on massive winged assault against humans would be a highly unusual event. But animals' resistance has been a real, everyday response to their exploitation.

George Orwell's famous tale of animal rebellion, *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story*, stated in the introduction to the Ukrainian edition that observing “a boy beating a carthorse” had prompted Orwell to write the story. First published in 1945, *Animal Farm* is about a group of farmed animals who rebel against the humans who own and enforce their labor.⁵⁰ They realize that their miserable experience on Manor Farm is because humans steal nearly all the products of this labor.

The story is widely considered a satirical allegory depicting the failures of the Russian Revolution and Soviet communism. The farmed animals, representing different factions of society, face off against one another. This conflict is evident in the struggle between Napoleon, the dictator pig (representing Joseph Stalin), and Snowball, the pig who challenges Napoleon for leadership and control of the farm (representing Leon Trotsky). Upon defeating the humans, the animals conclude that they are in a class struggle and that the answer to their plight is the philosophy of “Animism,” the belief that all animals should be treated equally and share equally in the farm’s responsibilities and surplus. As the news of their rebellion spreads, animals across the countryside are inspired to rise up: “Bulls which had always been tractable suddenly turned savage, sheep broke down hedges and devoured the clover, cows kicked the pail over, hunters refused their fences and shot their riders on the other side.”⁵¹

Some have argued that the book is open to interpretation and that there are potential other readings of Orwell’s work. As Stephen Eisenman suggests:

Suppose that instead of being concerned with human revolution, warfare, duplicity, treachery and so on, *Animal Farm* was really about the animals? Suppose it was not an allegory of the failure of Soviet communism, but was actually about pigs, horses, ducks, cats, dogs and all the rest, striving but failing to achieve freedom? Adorno made a similar claim about Kafka—that the rule in his stories is ‘take everything literally’. Perhaps Orwell’s book was first of all an examination of the lives and deaths of a certain number of fictional farm animals.⁵²

Could *Animal Farm* be, to some degree, about the farmed animals themselves? Perhaps Orwell recognized animal resistance but knew that an animal allegory would be more palatable for his audience. Orwell clearly understood animals’ unjust domination and exploitation by humans under capitalism, exemplified by the following passage: “Man is the only creature that consumes without producing. He does not give milk, he does not lay eggs, he is too weak to pull the plough, he cannot run fast enough to catch rabbits. Yet he is lord of the animals. He sets them to work, he gives them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself.”⁵³

Relationships between humans and other animals were a popular theme for the new print media of the nineteenth century (newspapers, novels, pamphlets, and magazines), and publications often included *real-life* stories of animal resistance. One notable example is the weekly Italian newspaper *La Domenica del Corriere*, which regularly featured stories of animals’ transgressions in public spaces, both in Italy and internationally. During its run from 1899 to 1989, *La Domenica del Corriere* printed dozens of cover lithographs by artists such as Walter Molino, Rino Ferrari, and Achille Beltrame depicting real-life cases of animals escaping from and retaliating against their human captors, making it a notable source for historical records of animal resistance. The magazine was attached to the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, which was especially popular in the 1950s and 1960s and is still considered a pop-culture collector’s item. *La Domenica del Corriere* shows the extent to which domestic and free-living animals opposed their oppressive circumstances. The paper also paints a picture of chaos that results when humans attempt to dominate and control other animals: for instance, in the case of a gorilla who escaped a zoo in Antwerp, Belgium, climbed onto a roof, and threw shingles at his pursuers before being killed (August 3, 1958; see figure 6), or an elephant who escaped from a zoo in Basel, Switzerland, and took refuge from their pursuers in a garden before they were recaptured (February 3, 1929; see figure 7).⁵⁴



Figure 6 (left). A gorilla escaped from a zoo in Antwerp, Belgium, and threw shingles at his pursuers. Cover lithograph by Rino Ferrari, *La Domenica del Corriere*, August 3, 1958.

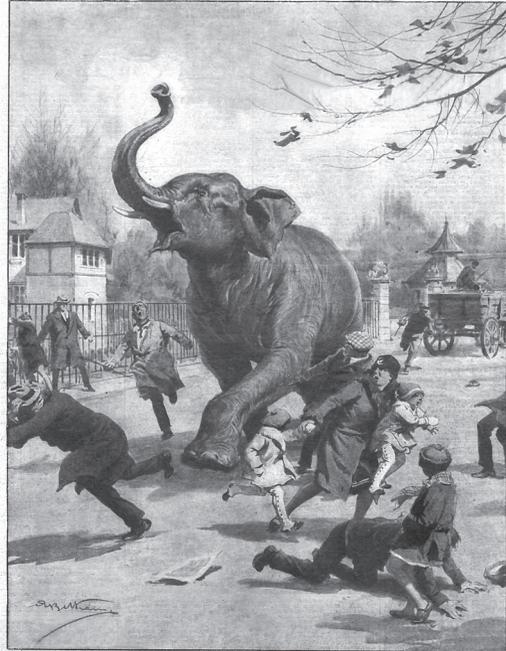


Figure 7 (right). An elephant escaped from the Basel Zoological Garden and ran towards the city, taking refuge in a garden before being captured. Lithograph illustration by Achille Beltrame, *La Domenica del Corriere*, February 3, 1929.

While *La Domenica del Corriere* offered a vivid picture of animal resistance, the stories were viewed more as entertaining than as a critical examination of animal oppression (especially of those transported from their homelands or exploited in the circuses, menageries, and farms). For instance, the caption on one illustration about animals escaping cages on a ship traveling from Calcutta to London in March 1933 describes the escape of several monkeys as “particularly funny,” while illustrations such as “Polar Hunting in the Heart of Milan,” depicting three seals after their escape from an enclosure at the zoo in May 1950, portrayed the spectacle that occurred when humans were unable to tame other animals.

The study of animal resistance in a critical social, cultural, and political context has only recently emerged in academia. Early documentation of animal resistance in a critical sociopolitical context, one that empathized and expressed solidarity with oppressed animals, was published by anarchist periodicals, including “Revolt of the Bats” in *Fifth Estate* (1993) and “Animal Antics” in *Do or Die—Voices from Earth First!* (1995). “Revolt of the Bats” acknowledges animals’ political resistance, explaining that “the animals are fighting back. By tooth and claw, by wing and paw, they are waging a war against human tyranny and destruction.”⁵⁵ Most recently, scholars have taken an interest in how other animals resist exploitation.⁵⁶ Cases of animal resistance in the entertainment business, animal testing industries, and animal agribusiness, are starting to be documented in a social historical context.⁵⁷

Jason Hribal's powerful work on animal agency and resistance has advanced our understanding of other animals as resisters who not only have a history but are making history. His research provides the first detailed systematic analysis of animal resistance, with a focus on animals captive for the vivisection and entertainment industries.⁵⁸ Based on his 2008 research at the Toledo Zoo, Hribal weaves together numerous cases that share animals' viewpoints in a "history from below." The series of narratives chronicle how animals who resist in zoos, circuses, theme parks, and laboratories are agents responding to violence, coercion, and appalling living conditions.

One of the stories Hribal recounts is that of Janet, a Great American Circus elephant who retaliated against circus employees in 1992. At the time, a group of children had been riding on Janet's back. To ensure they weren't harmed (for the children could easily have been killed if she threw them off her back), Janet stopped to let someone remove them before attacking those who had harmed her. Then she grabbed a fallen bullhook with her trunk and repeatedly smashed the oppressive tool, which had been used to cause her so much pain over the years, against a trailer.

Another case that Hribal describes occurred in 1987 after a thunderstorm knocked a branch into the Japanese macaque exhibit at the Pittsburgh Zoo. Three macaques took advantage of the accident, fashioning a fallen branch into a bridge, and climbing over it to escape the enclosure. One of them was Alphonse, a macaque who, despite the painstaking measures taken to recapture him, stayed ahead of the authorities for weeks. At one point, Alphonse was glimpsed heading towards West Virginia after reaching the outskirts of a southeastern Ohio town. Eventually recaptured in Bridgeport, Ohio, Alphonse had traveled over sixty miles from the zoo. He remained on display until July 1994, at which time he and the other macaques were sent to a wildlife park in Florida.

Hribal also chronicles the resistance of captive sea mammals, including that of a sea lion named Cyril. Cyril's escape began in a river that bordered a theme park called Storybook Gardens in London, Ontario. On June 20, 1958, after arriving from California, Cyril was to play a key role in the festivities of the park's grand opening. Instead, he escaped and entered the Thames River at nightfall, traveling over eighty miles southwest to Lake St. Clair. Cyril's route ended in Toledo, Ohio, where zoo employees tracked him to Sandusky Bay. Six days later, after Cyril had traveled over four hundred miles to escape captivity, his pursuers shot him with a tranquilizer dart. Cyril was eventually returned to Canada, where 50,000 people received him. Despite his fervent bid for freedom, Cyril spent the remaining nine years of his life in captivity.

Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era offers an overview of animal resistance that discusses in detail the *why*, *how*, and *to what ends (and beginnings)* animals resist. It may not be possible to know all the reasons and motivations of other animals' resistance, but several are highly apparent. This study draws on reports by animal advocacy organizations; visual texts such as paintings, drawings, and photographs; newspaper archives from the *New York Times*; magazine archives found on archival sites; personal and loosely structured interviews with animal sanctuary workers; online news stories; firsthand accounts by witnesses; video clips; opinion columns; and blogs. Secondary sources include scholarship in the fields of critical animal studies, cognitive ethology, history, and animal geography. The stories are told in a way that considers the animals' viewpoints (as much as possible), which constitutes a view from those on the margins of society—for example, the runaway animals who occupy a liminal space.

The book also turns a critical gaze on the "center" of society, the place that confers privilege on its occupants—the mainstream media, judicial branches, government, speciesism, neoliberalism, and whiteness. Together, these lenses provide insight into how animal resisters challenge the dominant paradigm of human exceptionalism. This detailed examination includes the phenomenon of *farmed* animal resistance. Throughout the book I have placed quotation marks

around terms that define living beings according to their perceived utility to humans, such as *meat*, *livestock*, or *cattle*. (The latter originates in the term *chattel*, which means property.) The purpose of these critical markers is to destabilize the language of human exceptionalism, which is embedded in the English vocabulary. Weaving together stories of animal rebels, primarily from the nineteenth century to the present day, in a social justice framework that acknowledges the mutual constitution of species, race, gender, class, and disability in relation to power, I am attentive to the borders that formed due to the intertwined processes of domestication, colonization, and capitalism. These conditions have radically and detrimentally shaped contemporary animal-human relationships and the spaces that animals (are often forced to) inhabit. Threaded with the stories of animals resisting are the *effects* of their resistance: the impacts on witnesses and surroundings, and how these translated into further action for social change.

Why Do Animals Resist?

Imagining Animal Resistance

IMAGINE YOU ARE WALKING DOWN A SIDE STREET ON A BRISK NOVEMBER DAY WHEN, suddenly, a cow runs by at full speed and disappears into the forest. You notice the cow has an identification tag on one ear. A few hours later, the local news reports that a cow has just escaped from a nearby slaughterhouse. The local police department is looking for tips on her whereabouts so that they can return her to the “owner.” Would you report what you saw? If the answer is “no,” you wouldn’t be alone. When residents in the small town of Sherborn, Massachusetts, learned that a cow had made a break from a local slaughterhouse, instead of trying to capture her, many individuals in this rural community provided “an underground network” of support—keeping her location a secret and leaving out hay for the elusive runaway.¹

One of the most famous cows to escape an abattoir, Emily’s harrowing story captured headlines. On November 14, 1995, Emily was being led to her death at a slaughterhouse. At two years old, she was no longer producing milk and was going to be killed for her flesh. On that fateful day, after witnessing her fellow bovines disappear one by one, Emily made a quick decision that changed her life. She leaped over a five-foot-high gate from the killing floor of the Hopkinton Slaughterhouse. After clearing the gate, she absconded into the woods. The daughter of the slaughterhouse owner gave Emily her name, and the local media began chronicling her journey. This attention led to a network of sympathizers leaving her food in the backwoods. Emily endured the winter snowfall and freezing temperatures with a herd of deer, with whom she was seen foraging. She became “New England’s most famous cow.”²

Emily eluded humans for quite a while—forty days and forty nights. Meg and Lewis Randa, founders of Peace Abbey in Sherborn, a multifaith peace and learning center for children with disabilities, wanted to help her. The slaughterhouse owner granted Emily’s freedom on one condition: the Randas were asked to pay one dollar (a request that highlights Emily’s status as “property” in capitalist society). Earning Emily’s trust was a long process. The Randas spent time outdoors, often in freezing temperatures, getting to know her. Finally, on Christmas Eve, they were able to coax Emily onto a truck and brought her to Peace Abbey. Emily lived there for the remainder of her life, with other animals including two goats and a horse. She was a bridesmaid at a wedding and was visited by the likes of peace activists Howard Zinn and Dave Dellinger. Emily died in March 2003 at only eight years of age from bovine leukemia virus (cows can live up to twenty-five years). Her caregivers had a life-size statue of her commissioned by the internationally renowned artist Lado Goudjbidze. It sits at her onsite grave, alongside statues of other peace activists, such as Maya Angelou, Gandhi, and John Lennon.



Figure 8. Statue of Emily at the Pacifist Memorial. (Photo courtesy of Meg and Lewis Randa.)

Emily's leap over the gate not only changed the course of her own life, but had significant impacts on humans and other animals. In her act of resistance, Emily crossed both physical and conceptual borders. First, she crossed the physical barrier of the abattoir gate. This was the hurdle keeping her from whatever mystery awaited outside its walls, and after seeing the other cows being led through the slaughterhouse doors, she mustered all her strength and took a chance on the unknown. Then, she crossed another physical border—moving from the town into the woods. In the forest, she crossed species lines and aligned herself with a group of deer. Through these concrete crossings, Emily also transgressed conceptual and psychological borders: human expectations of where a cow belongs in modern industrial society. She was no longer one of the ten *billion* animals sent to slaughterhouses in the United States each year, but an individual whose name and face was recognized.

ANIMALS' BORDER CROSSINGS

Countless individuals like Emily have resisted the borders of the farms, markets, abattoirs, cages, transport vehicles, and a multitude of other spaces that confine sentient beings. The concept of animals going *beyond* or *without* borders acknowledges both the material and conceptual significance of animals' transgressions across the borders that impose on their lives. In crossing

human-constructed borders—the literal and figurative walls that enclose animals as tools, fashion, clothing, and entertainment—animals challenge dominant paradigms and impact the world around them.

First, concerning *material* borders, animals' crossings of literal borders bring attention to how some bodies are thought to belong while others are not allowed to pass. Borders are constructed to contain and control those who are considered live property, or those judged as “threatening” the public order unless kept safely at bay. Borders maintain a system that requires rendering bodies of sentient beings into products, constructed so that those who consume these products can avoid feeling discomfort about their origins. These borders keep animals' oppression hidden from public view.

As Sara Ahmed writes, walls can be explored as borders—“a walled nation, a walled neighborhood.”³ Walls are experienced differently by different bodies. Some individuals can pass through easily, while others encounter walls as barriers and are stopped in their tracks. For resisters, borders can be prolific, constantly barricading and blocking their path. There is a Mexican American rights saying that succinctly expresses the imposition of borders on people's lives: “We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us.” Sometimes, the border crossings of humans and animals intersect. For instance, ranchers living along the Mexico-U.S. border have reported undocumented border crossers cutting holes in the fences on their property and consequently making way for cows to escape through the holes and disappear into Mexico. As one farmer at Jarrillas Ranch, located along five miles of the border in Arivaca, Arizona, stated, “If they cut fences, we don't know until we're missing cattle.”⁴ Here, the overlapping transgressions of borders—the private property, the Mexico-U.S. crossing, and the fences that enclose many animals—bring attention to the multiple types of arbitrarily defined borders (and specifically the *colonial* borders—a walled nation) that are a violent imposition on those they are meant to contain.

Borders cut through the lives of many species in the wild who are trying to complete their life cycles or to live in the places they have inhabited for generations. For some, moving through the landscape is essential. Humans impede these movements. Roads are built through animals' habitats, and many species are killed when trying to cross them. Salmon and other freshwater fishes die painful deaths while trying to swim through or under hydroelectric dams. Buildings, power-line corridors, and pipelines also prove disastrous. Although these borders do irrevocable damage in the lives of animals, their harm often goes unnoticed by humans. Of course, to the extent that it is possible, animals will rarely concern themselves with such barriers if they don't have to. As patrice jones writes, “Birds and other outlaws routinely disregard the authorities and boundaries established by people while working cooperatively with one another to pursue their own purposes,” a form of “natural anarchism in action.”⁵ These crossings of boundaries are everyday acts of resistance that influence society yet often fly under the radar.

Animals' material border transgressions destabilize ideas about how animals should behave and act, and where they should be located. Thus, animal resisters also cross *conceptual* borders, transgressing social and psychological barriers, such as social conventions and normative ideas about what animals are and where they belong, as well as who should be supported. These borders can be as harmful as concrete borders: they have real-life consequences.

Much of the normalized everyday violence towards animals is rooted in the Cartesian human/animal binary opposition. Jacques Derrida, a Continental philosopher who explored the animal question near the end of his life, explained how millions of different species are confined “within this vast encampment of the animals, in this general singular, within the strict enclosure



Figure 9. A cat climbs over a wire fence. (Photo by Nils Jacobi.)

of this definite article ('the Animal' and not 'animals'), as in a virgin forest, a zoo, a hunting or fishing ground, a paddock or an abattoir, a space of domestication."⁶ It is against "the animal" that the modern constitution has defined its categories—civilization, culture, progress, intelligence, agency, and reason. Categorizing the vast, diverse multitude of nonhuman animal species that inhabit this planet under a common denominator is an act of epistemic violence, upholding their wide-scale confinement, slaughter, and consumption.⁷

Whiteness can also function as a border; it is possible to come up against a "wall of whiteness."⁸ The arbitrary human/animal divide has entailed privileging bodies closer to the white Western European formulation of the "human," while devaluing bodies perceived as "less than human."⁹ Like speciesism, racism invokes a human-animal hierarchy. Maneesha Deckha explains that both "race thinking" and "species thinking" are based on the hierarchies of "human," "subhuman," and "nonhuman." At the top of the species and racial hierarchy is the figure that Aph Ko and Syl Ko refer to as the "master being." In *Aphro-ism: Essays on Pop Culture, Feminism, and Black Veganism from Two Sisters*, Aph Ko and Syl Ko demonstrate how "human" and "animal" are racialized categories and racially constructed opposites imbued with moral statuses.¹⁰ As Syl Ko writes: "The racial hierarchy tracks not just a color descent but also a species descent." Everyone is positioned along the human-animal hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy, the white male human; at the bottom, the "shady and necessarily opposite figure of 'the animal.'"¹¹ Crafted by those who benefited from it the most, "humanity is a *conceptual way to mark the province of European whiteness as the ideal way of being homo sapiens.*"¹² This taken-for-granted model, conceived from a human standpoint, offered those associated with "humanness" structural advantages, access to resources, and other privileges that were leaned on to justify the long and violent history of colonization, genocide, and slavery of those who were racialized as "animals." Thus, being human



Figure 10. A cow named Molly B runs through the street after escaping a slaughterhouse in Great Falls, Montana, 2006. (Photo by Robin Loznak.)

is not just about belonging to the species *Homo sapiens*. Moreover, being animal is not only about whether one is *not* of the species *Homo sapiens*.

Every animals' transgression across borders challenges their subordinate status as the "Other" (central to projects of domestication, capitalism, and colonialism) and defies the "master being." Animal resistance challenges the violence rooted in the hierarchical human/animal divide, the homogeneous categorization of all nonhuman species who inhabit this earth as *the animal* in opposition to *the human*, by countering the notion that those positioned at the bottom of this hierarchy are voiceless, passive, and subdued.

ANIMALS' INTERRUPTIONS

Like Emily, many farmed animals interrupt the borders of animal agriculture when they resist. In 2016, a truck transporting ten bulls to a slaughterhouse overturned in Eggenfelden, Germany. Eight of the victims remained trapped inside the vehicle, while two managed to flee. One of them sought shelter in a grocery store. In this rare moment, the bull stood next to the same products that someone had raised him to be killed for, in a place that relies on consumers forgetting about his living existence. Moments later, police shot the bull in the aisles, and he died next to the packaged flesh of his fellow species. Animal-rights lawyer Anna Pippus shared a photo of the tragedy on social media. She wrote of the response, "It went viral, with over 1400 people so far reacting to it." Bringing attention to the consumer implication in the cow's plight, Pippus

continued, “We don’t realize that the villain in the story isn’t the slaughterhouse. It is any of us humans who keep slaughterhouses in business.”¹³ It was reported that the police shot the other escapee as well.

The following year, New Yorkers witnessed a bull on the run for nearly three hours. The bull escaped by jumping a fence at a slaughterhouse in Queens. Police pursued him aggressively while bystanders shared photos and videos on Facebook and Twitter, media outlets live-streamed, and drones circled above. The bull raced through a residential neighborhood and made a near escape after being boxed in by police vehicles. At one point, he stopped for a breath on a front lawn, presumably exhausted from the chase. The bull had a lot to live for. He had been granted freedom from the slaughterhouse. Sadly, by the end of the three-hour chase, he had been shot with eight tranquilizers and died en route to New York’s animal care emergency shelter. Even with several sedative darts, he had kept running. Meredith Turner-Smith, a spokesperson from Farm Sanctuary (the first animal advocacy refuge for farmed animals), expressed sorrow over the incident, stating, “He wanted to live so badly and gave it everything he had.”¹⁴ Many commenters on social media expressed shock at coming across a cow on the streets. One Twitter user stated, “I’m on my way to work and see a cow walk right by me in Jamaica, Queens. Unbelievable.” Some people sympathized with the bull’s predicament, as exemplified in a tweet from Eyewitness News in New York: “Can’t blame the bull—I’d make a run for it too!” And, “We’re rooting for you, pal.”¹⁵ Others even expressed surprise that abattoirs still exist in New York City. As one individual exclaimed, “I’m surprised we still have slaughterhouses in the city limits.” As Tim Cresswell writes, border transgressions enable us to “realize that a boundary even existed.”¹⁶ The border crossing of the cow brought attention to the division between the slaughterhouse and its surroundings, as well as the conceptual boundaries that obscure its placement in the city.

The violent and excessive measures used in response to farmed animals trying to break free reflects the anxiety that occurs when animals cross barriers and enter the spheres from which they are typically excluded, bringing attention to the disconnect between consumers and the reality of raising and killing animals for products. In modern industrial society, we are disconnected from food production. This distancing occurs due to no small effort from animal agribusiness. Although animal agribusiness is the largest animal industry in North America (and the rest of the world), its apparatuses are conceptually and materially distanced from most of society despite their centrality in a culture that consumes vast amounts of animal products such as “bacon,” “hamburgers,” “nuggets,” “milk,” “eggs,” “leather,” “gelatin,” and “wool” that are derived from animals’ bodies.

It is easier to elicit empathy for farmed animals who escape than it is for the countless others who remain in captivity because their stories of escape make them visible *as individuals*—as singular beings with stories, lives, and the will to live. Jenny Brown of Woodstock Farm Sanctuary addresses the common response of sympathizing with the one who flees, while billions of other animals are killed every year in the United States alone. When I asked Brown about the media’s response to a runaway calf named Mike Jr. who became a resident at her sanctuary, she explained:

There is an interesting phenomenon that happens when there is one animal, a mammal, that gets away and makes the news. You see the animal running, or you see them back at Animal Care and Control, or wherever they are being kept, and people will sympathize because all of a sudden that animal is an individual. When you think about the ten billion farmed animals that are killed every year for human consumption, those numbers are staggering. And it’s hard to think of them as individuals, so when one animal escapes, and if a newscaster or somebody has nicknamed them something, that animal in



Figure 11. Sam and Luther Sutton. "Escaped Chicken." *Seattle Times*, January 29, 1976. (Photo by Vic Condiotti/*Seattle Times*.)

the eyes of the public becomes more of a someone and not a something, an individual and not just a statistic.¹⁷

The story of Sam the rooster also demonstrates how escaped animals go from being a statistic to an individual in the view of the public. In January 1976, Sam escaped from a slaughterhouse truck that had stopped for gas, and took up residence around the station. He had been living there for a couple of weeks when a reporter made the connection between Sam and the chickens' bodies that end up on the grocery store shelf. As the article, "Escaped Chicken," reports, "Sam the rooster could have ended up a plastic-wrapped stewer on a supermarket shelf instead of eating cookies in a service station at 201 Fourth Ave. S. yesterday. Luther Sutton, the station attendant who feeds Sam, said the chicken was shy at first. Now, Sam appears for breakfast when Sutton turns on the lights at 7:30 a.m." Each evening, Sam would go to roost in a nearby building when the station closed at 6 p.m. And each morning, he would greet his new friend for the anticipated meal. It wasn't long before Sam was known as *someone*.

While escaping captivity gives animals a chance at freedom, for every individual who has had the good fortune to remain free or be given sanctuary, many others are sent back to slaughter or killed during a pursuit. A cow drew international attention in 2006 when she escaped a slaughterhouse in Montana by leaping the five-foot-high gate of the slaughterhouse, running through Great Lake Falls, and swimming across the Missouri River. Police pursued the runaway cow while the public rallied for her freedom. Once identified only by the tag in her ear, 469, she became

known as the Unsinkable Molly B (see figure 10). After one failed attempt to find her a home, Molly B was given sanctuary at New Dawn Farm Sanctuary in Montana. While her story made headlines, what is lesser known of this day is that several other individuals escaped from Mickey's Packing Plant. Someone who lived close to the packing plant noted on a Facebook post about the incident, "I lived on the bluffs above the flats where the plant was. As I left for work, I saw a head peeking at me around the corner of our home. I went to check it out and found three sheep. Unfortunately, their story didn't have the same happy ending as Molly B's tale did." While her case got enough attention to inspire the workers to spare her life (they voted 10–1 in favor of not slaughtering Molly B), the others who escaped were not so fortunate.

Sam, Molly B, and other runaway animals are often viewed as individuals, with lives of inherent value, yet countless other animals live their lives in captivity and are sent to slaughterhouses every day, without public outcry. This disconnect demonstrates that specificity works to enable empathy. Distancing strategies protect corporations by ensuring the continued exploitation of those who become statistics, not subjects. Animal enterprises work to obscure the connection between the process of raising and slaughtering animals and the animal products found in stores. But how does this distancing occur? How do we move from individuals with specific stories and lives that matter to the abstracted population that fosters apathy?

The slaughterhouse system exemplifies how institutional distancing strategies operate. As Timothy Pachirat describes, the distancing strategies at play in slaughterhouses enable them to remain "hidden in plain sight." Here, distancing occurs through the physical boundaries of walls, fences, and borders; the categorical hierarchies of labor, race, gender, and species; and the linguistic distancing of language barriers.¹⁸ Pachirat explains that physical distancing is most apparent in the slaughterhouse's segregation between the kill floor and everything that comes after the kill floor. This is a spatial division that works to "fragment sight, to fracture experience, and to neutralize the work of violence."¹⁹ From the outside, the industrial slaughterhouse "blends seamlessly into the landscape."²⁰ But upon entering the building's sterile office, the deceptive neutrality is betrayed: a metal wall, hiding the disassembly lines and killing floor, serves to demarcate and enable hierarchies of race, class, and citizenship that divide zones of privilege and production.²¹ These hierarchies are apparent in the linguistic divisions, because many workers in the slaughterhouse do not speak English, and many workers fear the consequences of speaking out (in an environment where employees are easily fired and intimidated).

Distancing strategies also function through the media. The individuality of animals held captive in farms, markets, slaughterhouses, laboratories, aquariums, and show tents becomes highly visible when they resist and capture public attention. When this occurs, the companies quickly move into damage control. The mainstream media repeats sound bites about the "unique" or "special" escapee and celebrates them for having "earned" their freedom. The idea put forth by the mainstream media (prompted by animal industries)—that because they manage to escape, some animals are more deserving or intelligent—serves to dissuade consumers from questioning exploitative systems. Yet, despite the efforts to suppress them, stories of the animals who flee for their lives inevitably inspire contemplation.

Animal sanctuaries play a key role in encouraging people to question the normalized practice of consuming other animals by highlighting the individuality of sanctuary residents. Sanctuaries provide a home for animals who have been removed, or removed themselves, from places of abuse and neglect. They often house individuals of numerous species who needed refuge and community. There are many ways that animals come to live at sanctuaries. One common occurrence,



Figure 12. Charlie at Cedar Row Farm Sanctuary. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/ We Animals.)

especially in cities, is that escaped animals are recaptured by the police or animal control, and then (unless an “owner” comes to claim them) handed over and transported to sanctuaries.

In a less common scenario, a steer named Charlie was rescued on the spot while making his breakaway from a farm. What is known of Charlie’s story begins in January 2010, when he crossed paths with Cedar Row Farm Sanctuary founder Siobhan Poole on a rural Southern Ontario road. During a visit to the sanctuary, I asked her about the circumstances of Charlie’s escape (and rescue). She explained that during a trip to the grocery store, in 25°F weather, she spotted Charlie running down the road, over the icy pavement. At first, she thought that Charlie was a large dog, but was soon surprised upon realizing that he was actually an 80–90 pound calf. As Poole stepped out of her vehicle, Charlie eyed her and then “started booking down the road again.”²²

Poole noticed the tag in the calf’s ear. She knew that Charlie had probably been raised for “veal” on one of the nearby dairy farms. If he remained on the street, chances were high that someone would return him to this nightmare. Poole knew that she had to get Charlie to the sanctuary, but she was alone, and he was too heavy to pick up. She managed to tackle Charlie in the deep snow, but now a new problem emerged: how would she get him into the car? At that moment, in a fortunate turn of events, a young woman who had been watching Poole’s rescue

attempt from afar came running towards them to help. Together, they lifted the calf out of the snow and into the back of the van. During the drive home, Charlie was trying to climb into the front seat. Poole said that by this point, “All I could think of was how I’m going to tell Pete, my husband, that I have a cow in the back of the van.”²³ A medical examination revealed that Charlie was suffering from various ailments, but he survived. Charlie was soon introduced to another cow named Chickpea and other animal residents at the sanctuary. Charlie became one of the rare lucky ones to find freedom in a world where most farmed calves are not so fortunate.

Dairy production has been mistakenly viewed as benign in comparison to the meat industry, but both are predicated on violence. People don’t always realize that on all dairy farms cows are artificially inseminated every thirteen months in order to maintain continuous milk production. The practice results in a surplus of calves, each taken from their mothers soon after birth. The males are kept isolated in crates until they are killed to make “veal.” Their mothers fight back at first, but many become emotionally numb when their children are repeatedly stolen from them. They also live with physical pain, prone to lameness and an udder infection called mastitis. Once their mammary glands are worn out, they are sent to slaughter at a fraction of their natural life span. Most “hamburger” is made from the flesh of these cows.

We can only try to imagine what life has been like for Emily, Sam, Charlie, or the cows who flee from trucks and run through the city streets with the masses in pursuit. What did they think upon witnessing sunshine, fields, cars, and trees, perhaps for the first time? Stories from sanctuary workers contribute to understanding from the “animal standpoints or ways of being in the world.”²⁴ Sanctuary workers have a close connection to sanctuary residents and spend a considerable amount of time listening to and caring for them. Their stories serve to fill the gaps in animals’ histories as much as possible. For example, Brown attempts to understand animals’ perspectives in her book *The Lucky Ones*. When discussing an escaped goat named Albie with whom she formed a close bond, Brown writes: “We try to imagine the moment of escape for the animals who manage it. Were they just arriving and darted off during unloading? Were they being led from their pens, moments from slaughter? Was someone taking them home alive to slaughter at a celebration or religious gathering? We usually don’t know for sure, but regardless, our primary concern is bringing them to safety.”²⁵ Examining animals’ resistance, trying to understand *why* animals resist, occurs in direct opposition to the distancing strategies of animal enterprises.

POLITICAL ANIMALS

Animal resistance is political. Animals’ opposition to oppressive forces occurs in the context of their social and political positioning as commodities and as living property. In this social and political sense, animal resistance is an animal’s struggle and bid for freedom against their captive or other oppressive conditions by transgressing or retaliating against human-constructed boundaries. Whether or not this resistance includes strategy or self-reflection on the intention, it is an act that entails an underlying desire and drive for liberation. Resistance may be clandestine or in the open, against an individual oppressor or a larger oppressive system or occupation. Animal rebellions have a cumulative effect and bring attention to violence that is “hidden in plain sight.”

The Oxford University Press definition of the term “resistance” supports the assertion that other animals have the capacity to resist. It includes the following relevant definitions: (1) “the

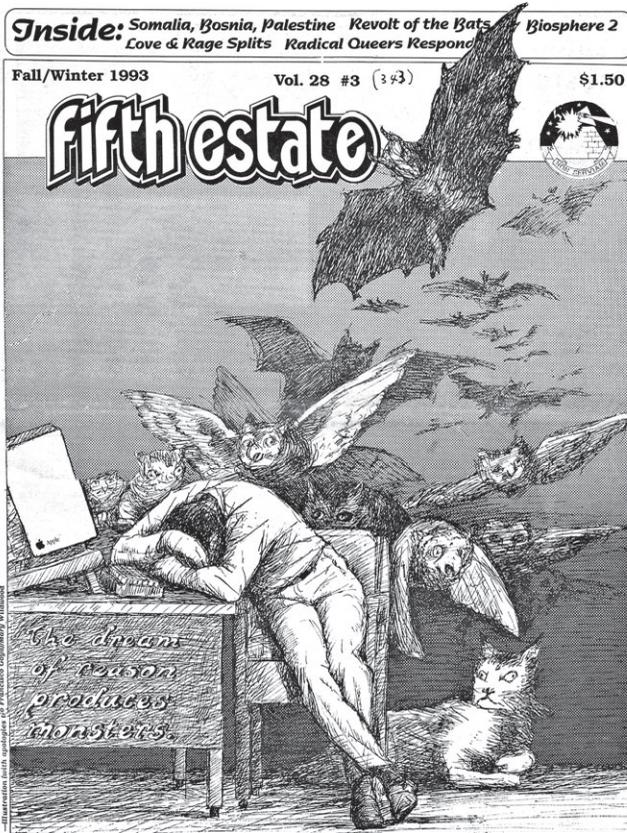


Figure 13. Cover art featuring “Revolt of the Bats” by Mary Wildwood, *Fifth Estate* (1993), Fifthestate.org. The issue provides an early depiction of animals’ resistance as political.

refusal to accept or comply with something.” This refusal may entail “the use of force or violence to oppose someone or something (e.g., “she put up no resistance to being led away”), and “a secret organization resisting authority”; (2) “the ability not to be affected by something, especially adversely”; and (3) “the impeding or stopping effect exerted by one material thing on another.”²⁶ There has yet to be a worldwide simultaneous rebellion of wild and domesticated animals as in Robyn Williams’s satirical novel, *2007*, but whether individually or collectively, nonhuman animals have defied authority with secretive organizing and the use of force “to oppose someone or something.”

Those invested in animal exploitation have often made charges of “anthropomorphism” in order to dismiss the idea of taking animals’ lives seriously and to deny their agency.²⁷ Chris Wilbert discusses anthropomorphism and representations of animal resistance in a case study of “Animal Antics,” a single page of animal resistance stories collected from press reports published in *Do or Die—Voices from Earth First!* (no. 5, 1995), and “Revolt of the Bats,” stories in the magazine *Fifth Estate* that include celebration of “hundreds of bats disrupting court sessions in Texas, and cows escaping from slaughterhouses and other perceived places of domination” (no. 343, 1993).²⁸ Wilbert suggests that celebrations of animal resisters as “symbols of the good,” and in collusion with environmental activists against industrialization, found in eco-anarchist texts, *may* constitute selective anthropomorphism. However, Wilbert recognizes that, unlike more dismissive charges of anthropomorphism, these representations and arguments are themselves “transgressive of most modern ways of discussing animal behaviour.”²⁹



Figure 14. Cover art for “Insubordination,” *Fifth Estate* (Fall 2003). Fifthestate.org.

“Revolt of the Bats,” for instance, celebrates free-living animals as symbols of resistance to corporate greed. The article describes various actions that may or may not have been intentional. One example they give is the 1991 case of a bald eagle whose nesting interrupted a multimillion-dollar highway-expansion project in Central Oregon: “Sometimes free animals are in a strategic position to resist greed and profit . . . An eagle standing in the way of motorized mania is a beautiful sight to behold.”³⁰ From a perspective that celebrates animals’ disruptions to the capitalist system, when an Atlantic blue marlin attacked a BP oil pipeline in 2014, which resulted in the crude oil transfer being shut down for five days (leading to a profit loss of approximately \$100 million and stopping 900,000 barrels from reaching their markets), the marlin was taking up the fight against the destructive multinational gas and oil corporation. While this case might be ascribed to mistaken identity, it’s also reasonable to ponder whether this action was taken out of animosity: marine and land animals, the surrounding ecologies, and human communities continue to suffer from the impacts of the Gulf of Mexico oil spill. Wilbert himself concludes that the world is made up of interrelating agency and that everyday resistance of nonhumans occurs.³¹

Such studies go beyond the norm of a Western European society in which animals’ rich and diverse social and cognitive experiences are systematically unacknowledged. Human beings can only know other animals to a limited degree (and to varying degrees). However, just as we cannot entirely know other humans or speak for them, we still make our best attempts to understand their lives. With other animal species, we do this through making informed attempts to recognize their standpoints, i.e., “careful anthropomorphism.” “Careful anthropomorphism,” as Bekoff and Pierce explain, requires caution when discussing other animals’ lives. They explain:

“Anthropomorphism endures because it is a necessity, but it also must be done carefully, consciously, empathetically, and from the point of view of the animal, always asking, ‘What is it like to be that individual?’”³²

At the beginning of this chapter, we imagined how we would respond to coming across an outlaw cow in the forest. Now, let’s consider another important question: what is it like to be the resistant individual? It’s relatively easy to imagine what led Emily to make a dash for freedom. The collective anxiety of those around her, the smell of the slaughterhouse, and loud, unknown noises are all possibilities. Whatever it was, probably all these factors combined, she saw an escape route and took it. This leap into the unknown—and at that moment anything must have seemed better than what lay ahead—saved Emily’s life. It was not a “human-like” action or a “cow-like” response, but that of a unique individual who was later named Emily. But Emily’s leap did more than impact her own life.

Emily’s escape helped change the narrative of what animals mean in human society. She initiated lively debates on the worth or rights of animals’ lives as found in the extensive newspaper coverage of her story. After her story received national and international attention, many individuals were deeply moved. *People* magazine described Emily as a “bovine Pimpernel” because “She was sought everywhere but never captured.”³³ Others were artistically inspired. Ben Tousley composed a children’s song for Emily (published on the album *Lookin’ for a Rainbow* in 1997). During a time when fear of mad cow disease was spreading across England, a newspaper guest column under the name “Emily” suggests that instead of slaughtering all the cows in the country, “why not load up all the cows on big barges and send them off to the Falkland Islands . . . and put them out to graze to live out their lives in peace?”³⁴

Capturing the imagination of individuals, Emily’s escape invoked a transformation of consciousness that translated into tangible life changes. She inspired people to reflect on their own struggles and dreams and to face the corrals that they had dreamed of leaping. One woman made such a leap. After meeting Emily, she finally resolved to leave an abusive relationship. “The woman said, ‘If she can, I can,’ and after she left the relationship, she credited Emily for this ‘escape.’”³⁵ The Randas point out that Emily compelled people to consider the violence of the dairy industry, decrease their consumption of animal products, and become plant based or vegan. And who doesn’t love an Escape to Victory story—the oppressed overcoming the oppressor and making off into the sunset (or in this case, the thicket) for a better life? Even more so when the story involves any of our animal friends. Some individuals made the connection between Emily and the cows remaining in captivity who were unable to escape. As one self-described former carnivore concluded when discussing Emily’s story, “Pass the tofu, please.”³⁶

Additionally, Emily’s escape brought awareness to the physical location of the area’s “meat” production. Some residents were unaware that there was a slaughterhouse nearby. As one journalist noted, when Emily cleared the five-foot gate, people were as surprised to learn about the slaughterhouse as they were of the leap. Finally, Emily inspired people to help others. Sharlet Ramsland was inspired to stop eating animals with her son Charlie and to start an animal sanctuary. Ramsland explained of the transformation, “She changed us . . . She’s very powerful.”³⁷ Emily’s escape also led to the refuge of another escapee, Belle the goat, who leaped from a truck headed for the slaughterhouse. A woman who knew about Emily found the five-year-old American Alpine goat and delivered her to the Randa family. Emily and Belle met over a feast of corn, spinach, nuts, and pumpkin pie.

Emily’s legacy lives on. To this day, visitors arrive at the Gandhi statue at the Pacifist Memorial and discover Emily’s statue over her gravesite and her story. As Lewis Randa explains, this leads

them to “invariably take the leap towards a more plant-based diet—a diet that is cruelty-free and in keeping with the Extinction Rebellion movement.”³⁸

Despite the many obstacles they encounter, animals have often refused to obey the perpetrators of their misery. Animal revolts reveal that humans are not the only animals who have motives, desires, goals, and strategies. Animal enterprises have employed distancing strategies to prevent the public from viewing other animals as more than commodified life. When we try to imagine *why* animals resist, try to glimpse the world through their lenses, we are working in direct opposition to these distancing strategies. Perspectives of sanctuary workers aid in this process by offering a fuller understanding of animal resisters’ struggles and lives. By acknowledging animals’ resistance, we are compelled to consider the circumstances that made this resistance necessary, question human control over our fellow beings, and undertake changes to counteract exploitation. As Emily’s story demonstrates, the meaningful and potent pedagogical moments of animal resistance have a domino effect, often inciting further transgressive acts: individual changes (e.g., going vegan or involvement in activism); cultural changes (e.g., creating protest art or subversive music); and systemic changes (e.g., influencing legal structures and social change). Transgressing multiple borders constructed in human society, animals alter their surroundings, and shape society, politics, and culture throughout history.

Societal Conditions of Animal Oppression

IN 1902, A PANTHER LIBERATED HIMSELF FROM NEW YORK'S BRONX ZOO, A PLACE WHERE animal escapes have been a regular occurrence. It was a sweltering day in July when the seven-month-old panther was delivered to the zoo as a gift from the Mexican Zoological Society. Employees left the newcomer overnight in the slatted wooden container in which he had arrived. By the following morning, the panther had gnawed his way out of the box and fled.

According to the *Times*, the panther “spread terror” after absconding from this prison. News of a panther on the loose spread fast, and the city was on high alert. Bystanders watched in awe as the large brownish-gray cat leaped from tree to tree with zoo attendants and three units of police officers equipped with chains, nets, and rope in pursuit. The panther was spotted several times before coming to the leftovers of a picnic, where he snuck in a meal before moving on. After fleeing through a grove of chestnut trees at the northern end of the Bronx Botanical Gardens, the panther leaped into the Bronx River and swam for freedom, crossing to the opposite side in a matter of seconds. As the *Times* described: “Then the figure shook itself, looked back as if in triumph, and walked slowly into the jungle again.” In taking this escape route and disappearing into the vegetation, the panther had followed the same path a bear had taken the previous summer. While the search was supposed to continue the following day, a spokesperson noted that it was like “finding a needle in the haystack.”

Over a century later, this escape inspired a series of paintings and a tapestry by Ido Michaeli called “Black Panther Got Loose from the Bronx Zoo.” Michaeli found the story to be a fitting political allegory for the current times: “It was like a prison escape . . . The wild animal was taken from his natural habitat and put in a cage, and he struggled until he managed to liberate himself.”¹ The artwork brings together some of the key themes of animals’ plight in the modern era, which is rooted in the intertwined processes of domestication, colonization, and capitalism that have shaped contemporary human and animal relationships and the conditions under and against which animals resist.

In Michaeli’s art, the panther is situated on the sidewalk between a park and the city street, surrounded by police on horseback and with dogs. In the foreground, a family picnic with slabs of meat has been interrupted, and one of the picnic-goers cradles a small dog under her arm. This scene brings to mind the arbitrary practice of consuming some animals while caring for others as companions. The dogs and horses used by the police are yet another form of ownable life: dogs are property as both domesticated companions and as workers used for the protection and gain of law enforcement, and horses as laborers who carry humans on their backs. The caging and the



Figure 15. Ido Michaeli, *Black Panther Got Loose from the Bronx Zoo*. Tapestry. (Courtesy of Ido Michaeli.)

claim to the panther’s life for entertainment—as well as those animals who become “food,” those called “pets,” and those who serve as “transportation”—is rooted in a long process of taming, controlling, confining, and eventually completely owning animals’ bodies. Yet, the image illuminates another important point: despite numerous obstacles, animal resistance persists. The police hold a bullhorn, invoking imagery of a horn used in a hunting party, but instead of glorifying the hunt, the image captures the panther’s fierce defiance, with his paw raised against the established order. It is a history told from below.

The panther’s history is bound with European colonial practices of capturing and importing wild animals out of their homelands for profit. If the panther had escaped in today’s digitalized, hypercapitalist world, the media attention wouldn’t have stopped at a newspaper article. It would be more like the outcome that occurred when a bobcat named Ollie escaped from the Smithsonian’s National Zoo. Ollie had squeezed through a five-inch square hole in her enclosure,

experiencing a short stint of freedom before she was recaptured on the zoo grounds. After her escape, a media blitz was followed by a grotesque shopping frenzy. As one employee at the zoo's gift shop noted: "Before she went missing, no one really bought the bobcat stuff . . . Now all of the bobcat toys are selling out."²

ANIMAL DOMESTICATION

From the outset of human domestication of other animals, wolves were our first companion animals. These early comrades kept warm by our fires, shared our dwellings, and polished off our leftovers. While humans and other animals have been closely associated for over 2.5 million years, animal domestication likely originated with an encounter between a human and wolf in Asia between 15,000 and 25,000 years ago (as demonstrated by their presence in burial sites that have been excavated, including a puppy curled up by the head of an elderly woman).³ Regular instances of children adopting wolf cubs began a long and complicated relationship between *Homo sapiens* and canines.⁴ This period also marked the long human-facilitated evolution of wolf to dog. Beginning with the domestication of dogs used for hunting, and later racing and herding, human societies sought to control populations of other animals, whether they were sheep in the Middle East, cats in the Near East, or other animals such as dromedary camels, chickens, cows, pigs, llamas, horses, bees, silkworms, and ducks. It is also likely that humans of the Late Paleolithic socialized with (playing, feeding, and nursing) the children of animals who had been slaughtered.⁵

While the domestication of dogs may have initially been collaborative, domestication has primarily entailed taming, controlling, and suppressing animal resistance. Animals domesticated for food, clothing, entertainment, and other purposes rebelled against captivity. Humans worked hard to control the animals they dominated—a violent process. It might seem shocking or extreme to say that domestication is violence, but most domestication of animals has been coercive. Nibert offers the alternative term *domeseccration* to refer to this process, reflecting that other animals have been desecrated through domestication since the dawn of agricultural society.⁶

Since the Antiquity period (5000 BCE–CE 500), humans have considered cows to be a highly important nonhuman species, evidenced by their prevalence in cave art and ceramic imagery. Mesopotamian art commonly depicted a confrontation between humans and other animals, usually bulls.⁷ As Linda Kalof explains, stone carvings on small Sumerian cylinder seals from 3500 BCE demonstrated a clash between nature and civilization and the entanglement of bulls in human society, depicting "a continuous fight between man, beast and a therianthrope (half-man/half-beast) form."⁸ Animal resistance was also suggested in the artists' lifelike sculptures, which were often part of large compositions that included bears, wild donkeys, lions, hyenas, and jackals. Animals were shown restrained in harnesses alongside free moving animals. Likewise, in some of the best-known discoveries from the time, excavations from burial sites and tombs unearthed musical instruments and decorated sculptures that contained animal imagery alluding to the struggle between wild and tame, domestic and civilized.⁹

The advent of the plow led to more animal resistance, as animals who were enlisted to labor with it struggled against this imposition on their lives. From around 4500 BCE, oxen were yoked to early wooden versions of the steel plow we know today. Junius Moderatus Columella, a well-known writer in the Roman Empire between CE 4 and 70, described what was needed to break

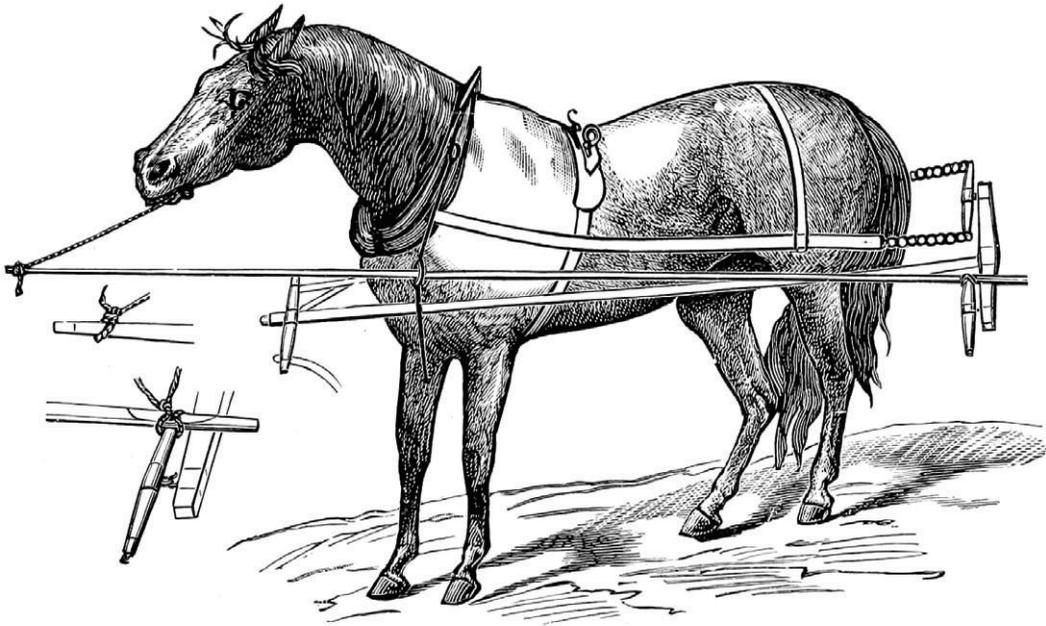


FIG. 253.—Arrangement for Breaking a Balker in Double Harness.

Figure 16. Illustration from Dennis Magner's *The Standard Horse Book, Comprising the Taming, Controlling and Education of Unbroken and Vicious Horses* (Chicago: Werner Company, 1895).

the spirit of an ox and force them to pull a plow. Oxen were restrained in a stall by tying them to two horizontal posts “in such a way that their ropes give very little play,” and if particularly “*wild* and *savage*” they would be left this way for many hours.¹⁰ These measures were required because of the oxen’s strong will and rebellious nature. Not only did the plow have significant implications for animals’ lives, it marked a new social division of labor.¹¹

With colonial capitalist expansion in the modern capitalist era, animal industry owners frequently sought new ways in which to control animals’ bodies. Traditional restrictive devices like nets and fences were combined with new devices to control animals. Restraints were used to ensure domination: bull-whackers, whips and/or goads, triangular-shaped yokes, wooden clogs, brindle and bit, chains, spurs, and prods. Training manuals to “break” animals and other measures that impaired their strength or aggression were increasingly commonplace by the mid-1800s. One such manual, filled with descriptions and illustrations of painful and awkward measures to “tame and control” horses, directly addressed their resistance in describing how to deal with those who are “vicious” and “disposed to resist when touched” until there is “entire submission.”¹²

In addition to these taming practices, domestication entailed other forms of confinement and control. Animals were altered for profit through selective breeding, which included the manipulation of genetics to pass on desired characteristics: preferred size, type of fur, “wool” color or texture, and even ear and tail shape. Producing animal products for human industry through domestication was a form of what Michel Foucault called *biopower*, a concept that refers to the state’s power over bodies and control of populations. Animals were bred not only to be more productive for human consumption, but to remove natural traits that might assist in their escapes.

Humans clipped wings to ground birds, castrated mammals to make them placid and submissive, and altered animals' bodies so that they were too heavy to move. The most resistant animals were usually the first to be killed. Humans weeded out the resistant genes by favoring characteristics of complacency and compliance. Over centuries, the foremost aggressive traits receded, and the descendants were typically more submissive than their rowdier ancestors.

Confinement was essential to domestication. Animals were caged and tethered in large warehouses; contained in small tanks; penned in bullfighting rings; captured in nets; caged in fur farms, laboratories, and zoos; and shackled and whipped in circuses. Wings were clipped or amputated, beaks were chopped, leg tendons were cut, eyes were blinded, claws were removed, and restrictive devices were fastened to prevent running, leaping, flying, and clawing. All these immobilizing and violent practices continue to this day, as well as the continued practices of "breaking" animals. Borders were constructed to contain some animals and keep others out, beginning with hedges and wooden fences, but these were ineffective at restraining captive animals and were soon replaced with barbed wire (after its invention in the nineteenth century).

Barbed wire was affordable for ranchers. It allowed them to fence expansive areas, which resulted in more captive animals and systematic confinement. By the late nineteenth century, barbed wire covered fields and streams, and cut across "cattle" trails. The consequences were devastating for the animals forced to walk miles to new grazing areas. In a reoccurring tragedy drift fences barring northern cows from southern pastures in Texas proved disastrous. On several occasions in the late nineteenth century, after cows tried to move south for the winter, thousands ended up piled against the fences, where they became trapped and froze to death.¹³

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the technologies of control became even more advanced. When a red panda named Sunny escaped from the Virginia Zoo in Norfolk, staff members used both a drone and thermal camera to pinpoint her location. However, their attempts were unsuccessful as, to date, Sunny's whereabouts remain a mystery. Tranquilizer guns have been used to stop animals on the run, such as the three large Scandinavian reindeer who escaped from the Buffalo Zoo after climbing high snowdrifts out of their enclosure during a blizzard.¹⁴ Tasers are sometimes used, as in the case of an emu who jumped a fence, ran into traffic, and died after being tasered by the police. Other backup plans to deal with animal escapes have been created: the development of pounds that by law must contain stray animals for a certain time period, giving their "owner" a chance to recover their "property," or routine bodily modification aimed at control through branding, collaring, ear-tagging, nose-ringing, and tail-docking. Escapes are so common at zoos that some of them require staff to complete regular training on animal escape protocols. The Edinburgh Zoo has a "living collections" team trained in methods of capture and restraint.¹⁵ Similarly, the British and Irish Association of Zoos and Aquariums carries out drills twice a year to practice for scenarios of "dangerous animal escape." Staff are required to hold a firearms license and participate in regular firearm training.

Domestication suppresses resistance, yet humans have not succeeded in eliminating animals' resistance. Today, "ringleaders" are still targeted to deter other animals in a group from resisting. In one instance, when a bison known as Blue 560 managed to escape after numerous attempts (and consequently made way for one hundred other bison to escape after knocking a fence down), he was killed upon recapture. The farmer remarked that Blue 560 should have been slaughtered long ago.¹⁶ Some farmers fear that resistant animals will teach other captive individuals ways to resist. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson describes how some sheep farmers worry that lambs in New Zealand who flee from farms by unlatching gates ("evidently not an uncommon skill") may teach this skill to others. The farmers will shoot them "so they can't pass on their knowledge."¹⁷ Culling cows or

goats in the dairy industry, who frequently fight back after their calves and kids are repeatedly taken away, is another common practice to eliminate resistance.

Contrary to dominant narratives about domestication enabling human progress, the capture, confinement, and breeding of animals did not favor a peaceful society. Rather, domestication enabled powerful elitist societies that promoted large-scale warfare and violence at different points in history. The exploitation, confinement, herding, and killing of domesticated animals is tied with early divisions and violence between tribes, leading to class divisions, widespread violence, and the rise of global capitalism and colonialism from the sixteenth century. European colonization depended on forced animal labor for militarization, animal slaughter for rations, and animals' grazing needs to justify land grabs.¹⁸

ANIMAL COLONIZATION

Fueled by civilized epistemology, colonization is the material, social, economic, and environmental system in which the human predator (i.e., the colonizer) takes control of "resources" (human or nonhuman) while consuming and controlling a remote land base. Colonialism involves the incursion into and conquest of an already-occupied land while taking control of the land's resources. The colonizing group usurps labor and resources from the original inhabitants or replaces them altogether through displacement and/or genocide. They may bring in other enslaved groups to exploit. In settler colonialism, this extermination occurs in the pursuit of material wealth. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang explain that colonization "denotes the expropriation of fragments of Indigenous worlds, animals, plants and human beings, extracting them in order to transport them to—and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of—the colonizers, who get marked as the first world."¹⁹

Colonization is interconnected with global capitalism as wealth is extracted and economies are controlled by the imperialist nation. In the mindset of colonizers, all the "wild things" are available to consume, control, and exploit. This is partly why modern racial theories, constructed by white European males under the guise of a civilized epistemology, have depicted Africans, Indigenous Americans, Chinese, Mexicans, South Asians, and other nonwhite peoples as animal-like and closer to nature. Cultures were (and are) destroyed, land recast, communities uprooted, and individuals enslaved—actions justified by an ideology that presented them as "less than human."

When farmed animals were first brought to America by colonizers, many managed to slip into the woods, never to be seen again. In the mid-seventeenth century, it was common to find descriptions of lost pigs or cows posted on courthouse doors. In parts of eastern Massachusetts or Tidewater Virginia's river valleys, one could more easily "spot a cow or a pig than . . . catch a glimpse of a deer" in the woods.²⁰ Farmed animals were allowed free range for convenience after English colonialists decided this would be the easiest way to feed them. Cows grazed on grasses and undergrowth, and pigs foraged on nuts, seeds, and roots, destroying the soil under them; as a result, they traveled further from the plantations to forage. Many of the escapees remained in the forest, becoming partly or fully feral. As Virginia Anderson writes, they "were never wholly under human control" and would act "in ways that their owners neither predicted nor desired."²¹ The introduction of new ruminant animals into the landscape, ever requiring more land to graze and forage, led them into Indigenous communities. Colonizers followed close



Figure 17. A horse escapes the carnage of the battlefield during WWI. Illustration from the weekly magazine *Illustrierte Geschichte des Weltkrieges*, 1914.

behind, expanding their geographic footprint by appropriating lands beyond their initial town and plantation settlements.

Although there is much to say about the effects of colonization on humans and the environment, this section focuses on articulating how colonization relied on and exploited *nonhuman animals* and how this was entangled with more familiar histories of colonization. The statement that animals are colonized individuals is based on a recognition that they are sentient beings and subjects of their own lives. They do not exist to be used by human beings. Animals have been both colonized subjects *and* killed or utilized to facilitate colonial practices. Around the world, the colonial quest for economic gain occurred on the backs of animals forced into labor, used for transport, and killed for rations. Exploiting animals strengthened military power (from using them for transport and rations for armies), capitalism (from using and selling them or the substances extracted from their bodies), and incursions into already-occupied land (to make room for grazing and feed-crops, and to appropriate water sources).

Some animals, like sperm whales, were not colonized subjects per se, but were killed to sustain and accumulate capital for the American colonies and colonial forces. Hunting sperm whales began in the early eighteenth century and became highly lucrative in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of the oil and the ambergris that was obtained from the whales' bodies. During the hunt, a whale hunting ship would launch several small boats, each with a designated crew and harpooner at the bow. Sperm whales resisted these ambushes, sometimes pummeling the boats with their flukes. They also took revenge against the hunters. Many deliberately targeted those they witnessed harming other whales. Many calculated retaliations by sperm whales were recorded, such as the famous counterattack by a large whale against the Nantucket

whale hunting ship, *Essex*, in 1820, which occurred while the crew was pursuing and attacking three other whales. Likewise, sperm whales sank hunting boats the *Lydia* and the *Two Generals* (in 1836) and the *Pocahontas* (in 1850). They also rammed the *Pusie Hall* (1835) and the *Ann Alexander* (1851), but these ships stayed afloat. Once sperm whales understood the threat of these vessels, they tried to debilitate them.

The introduction of grazing cows, pigs, and sheep enabled the colonizers to occupy land that belonged to Indigenous communities and became a central strategy of European colonization. Beginning in the late fifteenth century, systematic invasions of the Americas and later of North America in the seventeenth century were made possible by introducing farmed animals. Ranching was central to Europe's colonization around the globe in the nineteenth century, including in Ireland, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. In these places, the dispossession and genocides of Indigenous peoples intersected with those of free-living and captive animals.²² The number of farmed animals raised by elites to be killed for consumption (both locally and for exportation to maximize profits) often correlated with the number of humans displaced from their land; the larger the ranching operation, the more violence was inflicted against the Indigenous population.²³ Likewise, in the United States, as the colonizers searched the western states for grazing lands and water (to raise cows), they displaced and murdered Indigenous peoples and free-living animals. Settlers filled the plains with large grazing animals (brought over from Europe), tens of thousands of whom died from thirst during drought, or starvation and freezing during harsh winters. Free-living animals were trapped and hunted for skin and hair, and others (perceived as a threat to livestock operations or defined as "pests") were (and still are) killed by poisoning, shooting, and other methods.

Bison are among the many free-living animals who suffered greatly from the onset of American colonization. After the railroads reached the Great Plains in the nineteenth century, thousands of men poured into the bison's territory. At first, bison hunters like William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill") killed them to feed the exploited laboring construction crews, but later the bison were annihilated by state-backed operations because they would winter in places, particularly sheltered valleys, where European Americans wanted to settle, grow crops, and establish ranching operations. To transport raw bison hides, oxen were enlisted. Oxen pulled colonizers' wagons and carried their goods, which included the furs, skins, and flesh of other oppressed animals. Along with the culture of captive cows, and the commodified bodies of free-living animals killed for their furs, the labor of millions of horses and mules and hundreds of thousands of oxen, was exploited for the settlement of the American West.

A hunter traveling on one of those wagon trains recounted a case of bison resistance. In September 1831, the man was traveling with Charles Bent's train of ten freight wagons, each drawn by four oxen, returning from Independence to Santa Fe. The story was published in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (the title of a journal produced in Edinburgh from 1832 to the late 1850s before it moved to London) as "Hunting Escapes: 1. An Adventure with a Buffalo." Although it appears somewhat embroidered, the tale was published in a reputable journal of the time and is a reminder of how bison resisted colonial violence. The man describes stopping for a break and setting out on a hunt. Traveling upon horseback, he reports, he encountered two bison fighting. The hunter shot and killed one of them, while the other bison escaped. After watching him run off, the man tied the horse to a tree and turned to the bison he had killed. But the surviving bison wouldn't let this intruder, who callously murdered a fellow being, get away that easily. The bison returned, in an apparent vendetta, for the hunter. He recalls: "I had hardly whetted my blade, when a noise from behind caused me to leap to an upright attitude and look round;



Figure 18. A buffalo retaliates after witnessing a hunter kill another buffalo. "Hunting Escapes: 1. An Adventure with a Buffalo." *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*.

at the first glance I comprehended all. A huge dark object was passing the crest of the ridge and rushing down the hill towards the spot where I stood. It was the buffalo-bull, the same that had just left me."

As the story goes, the bison first ran towards the horse (resulting in the horse's escape) and then towards the hunter. The man failed to stop the bison with gunshot and narrowly escaped by jumping over a large ditch. However, the bison—described as "determined in his resentment"—found a way to cross and a chase ensued. Here the account becomes even more dramatic as the hunter describes managing to climb the tree that the horse had been tied to, and eventually lassoing the bison and killing him. The story reflects a time when bison contended with the violent intrusions of colonizers and surely resisted them. By the late nineteenth century, the millions of bison who had once roamed the plains in large wild herds were largely eradicated. Seventy-five million bison were killed between 1850 and 1880. The hunters would leave most of the carcasses to rot, which attracted wolves and other free-living animals, who were then shot for sport or their skins.

Today, most bison live in captivity, whether at game ranches, zoos, or wildlife parks. Despite many obstacles, these individuals retain their ancestors' defiant tendencies. In July of 2017, over a dozen bison (from a herd of twenty-five) broke through a fence in a wooded part of their confined range and fled through Gilford, New Hampshire. The group escaped from the Bolduc Private Game Refuge, a farm that has been raising and slaughtering bison for twenty-eight years. While their confined range is 340 acres of pasture and woods, the bison exist under perpetual

threat. Raised to become “meat,” they witness family members being taken for slaughter, until they, too, are sent to be killed. During their escape, traffic came to a standstill as the bison entered the streets. News reports described the scene as something out of the Wild West. An exhausted group of bulls, cows, young calves, and yearlings were chased for roughly seven hours through the neighborhoods and forests of Laconia and Gilford. The herd was eventually corralled by police officers. The odds had been stacked against them, with the entire neighborhood assisting in the capture. But when they reached 150 feet of the farm, the herd took off again. That evening they returned on their own accord. In an interview, the farm’s owner commented that the bison “realized there was nothing out there for them” and added that he’d been ready to start shooting them if they hadn’t returned.²⁴

The farmer’s comment reflects the reality with which escaped animals must contend. There was nowhere to go. Although the bison got away, twice, they were forced to return to the place from which they desperately wanted to escape. This example shows how colonization is an *ongoing* process. The bison, captive in their original homelands, are viewed as resources to be systematically exploited by the human colonizer for profit. Their resistance contested the control they are subjected to daily. Their return to captivity illustrates the dispossession of animals under settler colonialism. The loss of wilderness means there are fewer places to find refuge. Many species are subject to particularly stringent controls, and their “avenues for resistance and response” are foreclosed.²⁵ Spaces constructed primarily for human use contain barriers that prevent animals from moving freely. Securitization and surveillance are accomplished with police and neighbors who survey the area to maintain the social order. Even if an animal manages to escape, their outcome largely depends on human law and decisions. Unsurprisingly, in a society that relegates them to commodities and property, a common way of dealing with animal runaways is by shooting them.

Around the year 1913, a white steer described as having the “widest spread of horns” consistently defied his oppressors. Old Whitey, as he became known, arrived from Chihuahua, Mexico, along with five thousand other cows, to a 150,000-acre ranch north of Sierra Blanca. Upon arrival, Whitey “kept lifting his head and looking away towards the Diablo Mountains.” It wasn’t long before he fled towards them. A rancher noted that “Those roughs were his natural home.”²⁶ He stayed in the mountains for several months. The cows were to be slaughtered the next fall, so after winter passed, Old Whitey was captured in a roundup. But he managed to escape back to the Diablos, where he savored another year of freedom. The freedom was short lived, however: the lack of foliage and trees in the barren, mountainous terrain made it impossible to remain hidden. The following year, he was captured again. This time, his captors took no chances. One night, in preparation for slaughter, all the cows were carefully secured in shipping pens, including Old Whitey. But the following morning, he was glimpsed fleeing yet again towards the Diablo Mountains. Over the next few months, he was continually spotted looking alive and well. But no compassion was offered to the cow who had fought to live away from human civilization. The rancher made a point of tracking Old Whitey down, shooting him, and eating his flesh.²⁷

As Old Whitey’s story demonstrates, little mercy was shown even to those animals most admired by imperialist humans—those whose drive for freedom was respected due to their persistent, fierce, and resourceful natures. Escaped cows were thought to follow “the law of the wild, the stark give-me-liberty-or-give-me-death law against tyranny.” According to J. Frank Dobie, “They were not outlaws any more than a deer or wild cat in evading man is an outlaw.”²⁸ These individuals appear to reverse the narrative of domestication, becoming valued for their solitary and wild traits. They were known to be “fierce,” “hardy,” “persistent,” and “resourceful.”

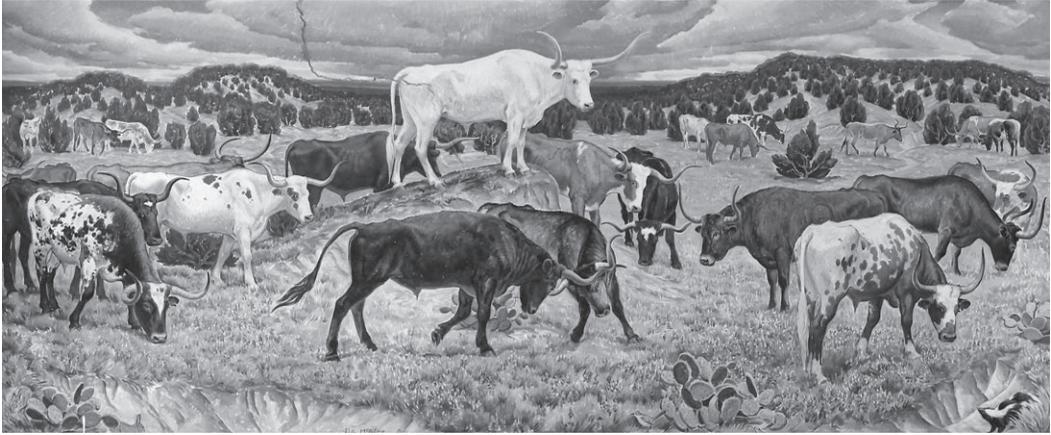


Figure 19. Ila Turner McAfee, *Texas Longhorn—A Vanishing Breed*. Oil-on-canvas mural hanging in the post office in Clifton, Texas. Creative Commons 4.0. (Photo by Larry D. Moore.)

Dobie's romantic description of runaway animals foregrounds the deep ecology perspective that has valorized animals in their "wild" state and disdained those who are tame and domesticated. According to Karen Davis: "Animals summoning forth images of things that are 'natural, wild, and free' accord with the 'masculine' spirit of adventure and conquest idolized by our culture. Animals summoning forth images of things that are 'unnatural, tame, and confined' represent a way of life that western culture looks down upon."²⁹ To prevent the resistance of rebellious cows, ranchers would take invasive and violent measures. These practices included chopping off the cow's horns, sewing their eyelids together, and tying their heads to their front feet.³⁰

The profit incentive of capturing escaped animals led to the birth of rodeo culture. On Western ranches, it was difficult to find workers who could successfully recapture the cows who escaped to nearby forest or mountain areas.³¹ Those skilled at recapturing animals were celebrated. Thus, rodeo culture was built on emulating the techniques of cowboys who would "identify, intimidate, and control" cows and prevent their escapes prior to slaughter.³² People enjoyed watching the spectacle of these cow catchers, and it soon translated into a capitalist enterprise that romanticized and popularized cowboy culture.

To enforce the governing body's rule of law, a police-cowboy culture has developed to uphold the so-called good (American) citizen and expel devalued animals, and humans, from the citizenry through everyday acts of violence. One report from 1935 remarks that escaped animals are recaptured by "cowboy police."³³ As in the case of a calf who sought shelter in Fifth Avenue shops, the spectacle of runaway animals was reminiscent of "the wild and woolly West."³⁴ In another story, in August 1892, five escaped steers were referred to as causing "A Great Wild West Show" on the streets of New York.³⁵ Both police emulating cowboys—the quintessential masculine figure of American imperialism, "Manifest Destiny," and whiteness—and cowboys (or wannabe cowboys) themselves partook in the "wild" (i.e., romanticized or dangerous) chase. This culture of "cops and cowboys" was evident when, in 1883, police pursuing a steer mounted their wagons and "began firing at the animal with their small revolvers,"³⁶ or in 1885, when a dozen police officers shot a steer with assistance from "every man in the vicinity who owned a pistol."³⁷ From these descriptions, you might think they were chasing the notorious fugitives Bonnie and Clyde, not a frightened cow fleeing from an abattoir.

References to cowboy archetypes continued in twentieth-century escaped animal reports.³⁸ When nineteen steers escaped from the Lehman Brothers Slaughterhouse in 1927, the ensuing chase was described as a “Brooklyn ‘Rodeo.’” A rebellious steer had led the large group through a door of the slaughterhouse, and from the fenced enclosure into traffic. Three of them were shot by police. Two hours later, the other sixteen steers were captured and sent back to the slaughterhouse.³⁹ One month later, another mass escape described as an “Old-Time Round-Up” occurred when several calves fled from a stockyard on Manhattan’s West Side. The horse-drawn wagon transporting them to an east side slaughterhouse stopped, and “Suddenly, in some unexplained manner, the wagon’s tailboard dropped, and all five animals leaped to the street.”⁴⁰ The calves were corralled and returned to be slaughtered. Hundreds of onlookers watched the chase in apparent “amusement.” One year later, a black steer was lassoed by police in a so-called “rodeo chase.” The steer had arrived from the Western plains and was set to be killed at an east side slaughterhouse. Lest these instances seem like only a thing of the past, the cowboy-police continuum carries into the twenty-first century. In January 2017, when two cows escaped and ran down the highway in Henry County, a central-north Georgia sheriff asked a “cowboy” to assist with the roundup. The cowboy proceeded to lasso the cows from the hood of the patrol car. When cows (and other animals) on the streets interrupt the distancing between the consumption and production of animal products, their agency is suppressed to protect the capitalist system, which is entangled with the continuing logics of colonization.

ANIMAL CAPITAL

The colonization of animals, both as forced laborers and resources for the growth of colonial power, played a pivotal role in the emergence of capitalism. Domestication of other animals was also a key component as breeding and genetic manipulation made their bodies produce excessively, and the resulting products enabled the capitalist class to accumulate a tremendous surplus. The ownership of farmed animals brought status and power for the first ruling class (who were primarily male) and evolved into ownership of other humans and animals who were exploitable because they were conceptualized as property.

The first highly systematic human control of other animals was the domestication and ownership of cows. During the counterrevolution against egalitarianism throughout the early Neolithic period, roughly 12,000 years ago, the ownership of cows allowed a minority of human society to elevate themselves above others, and the elite classes to shape the priorities and interests of societies to suit their own needs.⁴¹ “Cattle,” along with other animals, were defined according to their utility to humans, to serve the human class as food.⁴² Epistemological classes were translated into socioeconomic classes, distinguishing agents, or those who know, own, and possess, from those who are known, owned and exploited. Primitive accumulation, the privatization of land that occurred during the shift from a stagnating feudal system to the capitalist system, had devastating effects on all who were exploited, enslaved, and killed to sustain the system. Backed by institutions that influence and manipulate public consciousness, capitalism drove the oppression of humans and animals from the sixteenth century. With the rise of large financial institutions, by the mid-twentieth century, capitalism reached a global scale with militarized state actors enforcing and upholding class hierarchies and private property.

In this system, animals have been rendered “forms of capital” both “culturally and carnally.”⁴³

Capitalizing on animals requires their commodification, property status, and appropriation. Animals' bodies are exploited for the reproduction of children (e.g., "meat" and "eggs"), the nourishment *meant* for their children (e.g., "milk"), their coats (e.g., "fur" and "wool"), their drive for survival (e.g., "entertainment"), and animal experimentation for various nefarious purposes. This exploitation provides high surplus for capitalists because animals never leave their places of work, are never paid for their labor, and reproduce (through artificial insemination by humans) a continuous supply of new commodities, a process that is obscured by distancing strategies and aided by the human species' deep entanglement in the vicious cyclic nature of capitalism. Animals are commodified when they are treated as goods to be bought and sold, or when their labor is commodified. Animals' bodies are commodified in life (for "milk," "eggs," "feathers," "wool," and reproduction) and in death (for slaughterhouse-produced "meat," "leather," and "furs"). Regardless of the scale of production, violence is enacted on their bodies because animals are imbued with this commodity status, and because, as property, they are considered ownable.⁴⁴

The assignment of property and commodity status is not limited to domesticated animals. In December 2016, a wolf briefly escaped from Yellowstone Bear World, a privately owned wildlife park. At this pseudo-conservationist amusement park in Rexburg, Idaho, patrons can pay to drive through and gawk at animals such as deer, bears, and wolves. The moment the wolf escaped was documented in a photo that shows her moving through the snowy countryside, perhaps heading towards the distant forest. Her freedom lasted one hour. What went through her mind during these brief moments of freedom, and before being shot and killed by Bear World's owner, Mr. Ferguson? After being alerted of her escape, the man had followed the wolf's tracks in the snow. Because the transgression violated her designated property status, the wolf was not allowed to exist outside the space she was allotted by humans. After the shooting, in a statement that reveals much about the human feeling of entitlement to ownership of other animals, a conservation officer said: "There is a distinction between private property and wild animals. That [wolf] was private property for Mr. Ferguson. This wolf wasn't the same as the wolves we hunt during the hunting season. The wolves we hunt belong to the citizens of Idaho." Even some free-living wolves are a kind of property—"owned" by the state and by citizens through hunting permits granted by state actors. These wild lives, similar in ways to the wolves held captive in Bear World, are commodified as a form of "entertainment"; both the hunters purchasing hunting licenses and the visitors paying admission to Bear World are indicative of a commodified form of encountering wolves (which can be traced back to hunting programs that began with the bounties issued for wolf heads during the mid-1600s⁴⁵).

Animals considered "pets" also have very minimal legal protections. In March 2019, a zebra named Shadow was killed after escaping Cottonwood Ranch in Callahan, Florida. Shadow broke free and ran for two miles down a road, with several vehicles in pursuit. Although Shadow was considered a "pet," he was shot by his "owner" with the local sheriff and police officers present. The justification? Shadow was injured. However, several bystanders disagreed with this assertion, explaining that Shadow had been killed so he would not injure anyone (which would have made the owner accountable for the damage).⁴⁶ Either way, the injustice of Shadow's property status is glaring: the man was charged, but it was for lacking a valid permit to keep a zebra, not for shooting the zebra. As this case shows, animals who escape are often killed so that their owners avoid being held accountable if they hurt someone or damage property.

Animals' designated status as property functions as a very intentional impediment to their escaping. When a four-month-old calf named Herbie escaped while being transported between

trucks on a busy street in Brooklyn, police tranquilized the calf and planned to return him to his “owner” to be raised for slaughter. However, in a lucky turn of events for Herbie, and those rooting for his freedom, the person was unable to locate the paperwork to prove ownership.⁴⁷ The police brought Herbie to the local Center for Animal Care and Control. From there, he was adopted by a sanctuary for previously farmed animals. Had the person transporting Herbie proved ownership, police would have been legally required to return the calf to them, unless the “owner” was willing to relinquish the ownership of Herbie to someone else.

The early Agricultural Revolution to the First Industrial Revolution, and the shift from an agricultural economic system to an industrial system in the mid-eighteenth century, relied on animals’ labor. Animals transformed the urban, commercial, and industrial structures of the modern capitalist age, working long days, filled with heavy labor and little rest.⁴⁸ Their forced work was entwined with and enabled the rise of capitalism, as animals had a central role in operating the agricultural farms, mines, spinning factories, and plantations. Animals powered the machinery, from the harvesters to the harrows and plows, and crushed and transported the cane from sugar plantations. Early industrial transportation relied on animals powering ferries, buses, trams, and carriages. Even their entanglement in warfare was immense as animals deployed the artillery and supplies and carried humans on their backs.

After the Second World War, as consumption rates rose in neoliberal capitalist states, the desecration of animals as ownable beings also intensified. The systematic use of other animals domesticated for ranching and pastoralism paved the way for factory farming and led to the growth of the global food industry, the manufacturing sector, and the clothing sector. New industrial transportation allowing for the widespread displacement and removal of animals from urban areas (and other spaces where they were highly visible) enabled their exploitation on a much larger scale. Technological advances have led to artificial intensive operations called concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) that confine a growing number of individuals into increasingly smaller areas. The feed used in CAFOs promotes quick growth of the thousands of individuals crammed together in filthy, windowless, foul-smelling buildings, kept in small crates, stalls, or cages (e.g., 250,000 laying hens). Farmed animals’ natural inclinations to raise a family, root in soil, build a nest, walk, run, or fly are inhibited. They are subject to painful routine procedures and denied basic needs, from space to exercise, a healthy diet, medical care, social lives, fresh air, and sunshine, until the day they are slaughtered.

Animals’ lives were also exploited ideologically in the advancement of capitalism and nationalism.⁴⁹ Slaughtering animals has been documented as a spectacle since 186 BCE–CE 281, when nonhuman animals (and humans) were publicly slaughtered as a form of entertainment. In Rome, there was a long tradition of publicly killing animals, even before the arena shows.⁵⁰ The European animal trials during the Middle Ages also included public execution rituals, primarily of resistant domesticated animals. Following this gruesome tradition, the early twentieth-century slaughterhouses (especially those that killed pigs) became profitable tourist destinations where both animals and human laborers were considered part of the spectacle, and even the pigs’ squeals of terror were utilized for profit.⁵¹ Dominic Pacyga describes how Chicago’s Union Stock Yard, which opened to the public in 1865, was a tourist attraction as late as the 1950s, when schoolchildren were taken to see pigs slaughtered. The first stockyard and packinghouse tours were given to kids pulled from the street. But soon the industry was offering organized tours complete with waiting rooms, guides, and galleries above the killing floor. Pacyga describes how this demonstration appealed to a certain modern constitution: “And the fact is that the presentation of the modern was both intriguing and frightening. It was a spectacle.”⁵²



Figure 20. An escaped hen perches to eat in an industrial egg-laying barn. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/Animal Equality.)



Figure 21. Sheep skin with yellow ear tag signifying the sheep's property status still attached. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/We Animals.)

Public pressure drove animal industries out of the public eye in the early twentieth century. Today, the largest factory farms try to remain hidden away from public scrutiny. Yet, reminiscent of Chicago's early twentieth century guided industrial slaughterhouse tours, videos from activists and reports from whistleblowers have led the industry to go on the defensive with a new approach: agritourism in animal breeding facilities try to ensure that "mimetic capital is squeezed from the animals not in death, but at birth, generating not only revenue but priming goodwill."⁵³ Highly mediated, hiding the kill floors, the new "agritourism" industry serves as an agribusiness public relations campaign.

Jan Dutkiewicz explains how Fair Oaks Farms in Indiana is a contemporary mode of agritourism. At Fair Oaks, tourists can walk through a pig breeding farm. As Dutkiewicz shows, far from the transparency they claim to exude, these places rely on carefully scripted narratives that mask the industry's inherent violence, while failing to mention that the pigs, confined to crates or lying on metal bars, are unable to go outdoors, nest or burrow, or have normal social relationships. Unlike in the early Chicago tours, where slaughter was a focal point, birth becomes the center of this tourism experience. Not only do visitors walk through the factory farm, they are encouraged to take selfies with the animals. The tour leads visitors past pigs in various stages of the breeding process and ends with a "minor stampede" as everyone races to pose for selfies with newborn piglets.⁵⁴ Animal agritourism exists against the backdrop of "ag-gag laws" and the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Action (AETA), which attempt to criminalize anyone exposing animal industries through documentation, investigation, and protest.⁵⁵ Indeed, private property functions to protect the capitalist class because it provides a legal framework for punishing those, human or nonhuman, who try to defy the capitalist system.

ANIMAL ENTERPRISES AND OUR MODERN DYSTOPIA

Where, then, does this history of domestication, colonization, and capitalism leave us? Each of these global processes continues to shape contemporary social relations. Animals resist human oppressors on a large scale because of the crisis these global processes have created. This resistance occurs due to both the treatment they are subjected to directly—the current hyperintensified mode of global capitalism is founded on the taming, control, and desecration of other animals' bodies and lives—and the increasing destruction of their habitats. The accumulation of capital and power, and the drive to control resources carry forward colonial logics; it is dependent on colonization, enslaving humans and animals, and rendering them into resources. Animals continue to be colonized with the destruction of their habitats for human development, culling of entire populations and rounding up free-living animals (often perceived as obstructing ranching operations), and the widespread use of other animals in industries that completely commodify them.

When a pig jumped into traffic from a slaughterhouse transport truck on a Washington interstate in 2017, she remained by the side of the road for an hour. During this time, passersby stopped and moved the shaken individual to the side of the road, and highway patrol officers tweeted her picture. As the pig waited there, nobody stepped in to save her life. When the driver of the trailer realized what had happened, they turned around, picked her up again, and continued to the slaughterhouse. A news reporter described the haunting scene: "As is the fate of so many, the pig was defeated by the impassible obstacles and crushing gears of this, our modern dystopia."⁵⁶

Other animals in the global capitalist era have found themselves in a callous modern dystopia with everyday violence on every corner. The number of animals used for the food, fashion, transport, entertainment, and experimentation industries is hard to fathom. Around the world, over 150 million land animals are killed for food alone every day, amounting to approximately 70 billion killed per year, along with billions of farmed fishes (37–120 billion) and trillions of free-living fishes.⁵⁷ Intensive animal agriculture has steadily grown since the 1960s and now confines billions of branded, mutilated, and genetically modified animals. Genetic modification; cloning; harvesting of animals' organs, cells, and tissues for human bodies; and breeding animals with profitable traits are all common practices. DNA profiling and alterations, and the constant need to create more efficient breeds show how biopower, in the case of the management of animal populations, operates in modern society. For instance, the "Enviropig" was a pig modified to have less phosphorus in their manure, while "Perv-free" pigs (one of the latest developments in xenotransplantation) represent "the most genetically modified [animals] in terms of the number of modifications."⁵⁸

The level of suffering that animals held captive in animal enterprises experience has been well documented. This information is widely available to anyone willing to listen to the difficult truth. Animal cruelty laws regularly deny the interests of animals used for food, research, and other normalized "practices" such as "accepted agricultural practices."⁵⁹ Cows, chickens, pigs, fishes, and other farmed animals are unique individuals with social lives, just like dogs and cats, but they are completely excluded from protection under the law. Many majority practices (generally accepted practices) that are common in mainstream Western society are by definition "exempt from potential charges of cruelty."⁶⁰ These exemptions allow for practices in farming that would, in other contexts, constitute cruelty. While most domesticated animals are relegated to the cages of industrial agriculture, and their packaged flesh is found in stores, other animals are considered property as "pets" and family members. They are still considered disposable, as demonstrated by the immense number who end up at pounds and shelters, and who are thrown into gas chambers (as a form of mass "euthanasia") every day.

GLOBAL ANIMAL FARMING AND ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

In September 2018, the American Carolinas were hit by Hurricane Florence, which led to massive destruction and flooding. The consequences for those living in the path of the hurricane were severe. For millions of farmed animals, it meant death by drowning. Thousands of pigs and cows and millions of chickens were left to drown as the floodwaters hit farm after farm. Because it would have cost animal farmers to rescue them, millions of farmed animals were left to perish. Many companion animals such as cats and dogs also died after being left behind.

Amidst the wreckage, some individuals managed to escape the farms by swimming through treacherous floodwaters. A photo by We Animals Media showed two pigs swimming through the water having escaped one horror only to find themselves swimming through another: the toxic manure lagoons around the farms had been breached by the storm. The pigs were some of the few lucky ones to make it out of the farms, and out of those, only a few made it to sanctuaries.⁶¹ One of those pigs was Champ, who was adopted along with four other pigs by a farm sanctuary called Ziggy's Rescue. Champ had been warehoused in one of the factory farms that was flooded by the hurricane. He survived with a badly fractured leg in a marshy forested area for two weeks.



Figure 22. Pigs who escaped a farm swim through flood waters in North Carolina. (Photo by Kelly Guerin/We Animals.)

When rescuers arrived on the scene, he was lying despondently in the mud. The sanctuary took him to an animal hospital, where he spent four months receiving care for his leg. Finally, after his leg healed, Champ headed to his new home. There he was greeted by fresh grassy fields, his own custom-designed house, and the other rescued pigs.

Increasingly, powerful hurricanes like Florence are being predicted as a result of climate change. We are also witnessing a dramatic increase in wildfires, droughts, cold spells, and heat waves. Hurricane Florence, caused by higher sea levels and warmer ocean temperatures, is just one example of how a changing climate triggers environmental devastation when it impacts fragile, toxic, and volatile human systems like factory farming. As one of the leading causes of climate change, animal agriculture has a central role in causing and perpetuating these events since it is a primary contributor to greenhouse gas emissions, biodiversity loss, land degradation, pollution, overfishing, coastal sedimentation, and global mass extinction.

The Earth has been made into a global animal farm, wreaking havoc on the environment.⁶² Since 1970, the Earth's wildlife population has been cut in half, yet the farmed animal population has tripled. More farmed animals than human beings now inhabit this planet, with approximately 17 billion land animals alive at any given time.⁶³ The resources of our only planet are finite, yet massive areas of land are dedicated to raising water-drinking, grain-consuming, methane-emitting animals, and this process requires using large and disproportionate amounts of land, fresh water, and energy. Currently, one-third of the planet's ice-free land is becoming desert, occupied by farmed animals and feed for them. One-third of water goes to farmed animals (compared to one-thirtieth going to households), which is dangerously exacerbating a water crisis.⁶⁴ Animal agriculture is also responsible for at least 18 percent of greenhouse gas emissions,

more than the transportation sector, and was described by the United Nations as “one of the top two or three most significant contributors to the most serious environmental problems, at every scale from local to global.”⁶⁵ In 2018, Greenpeace reported that, if left unchecked, animal agriculture is projected to produce 52 percent of global greenhouse-gas emissions in the coming decades.⁶⁶ In the Amazon rainforest, approximately 90 percent of deforestation is caused by animal agriculture because wilderness is being converted to grazing areas, large-scale feedlots, and cropland to feed the animals, including growing soya on millions of acres to feed factory-farmed cows, pigs, chickens, and fish (far more than is used feed humans). The record-setting number of wildfires that devastated the rainforest in 2019 has been attributed to ranchers clearing land for cattle. No matter how animals are farmed, they are “inefficient food converters.”⁶⁷

All of these facets—the exploitative treatment of animals as capital carrying forward colonial logics, the domestication process that has driven to Frankensteinian lengths, and the global destruction of animals’ habitats and the environment due to animal farming—prompt the resistance of animals at increasing scales. The only recourse of animals subjected to the everyday violence of “accepted agricultural practices” by humans who are complicit or enacting these practices is to resist. Developing the narratives of animal agency is an important task in bringing them into historicity, for, as Nicole Shukin states, “the rendering of animal capital is surely first contested by the animals themselves, who neither ‘live *unhistorically*’ nor live with the historic passivity regularly attributed to them.”⁶⁸ As human civilization expands its reach, there are fewer places for animals to take refuge, yet despite their exploitation in the current violence-saturated system, animal agency persists. Within this process there has always been an underlying current of struggle, a tension that continues to this day, for the history of animal oppression is entwined with a history of animal resistance.

Motivations for Animal Resistance

MARKED BY ADVANCES IN DIGITALIZATION, TECHNICAL INNOVATION, AND THE INTENSIFYING globalization of consumer society, the twenty-first century has entailed both an increase in animal exploitation and an interest in animals' lives and well-being. Discoveries and anecdotes about animal cognition abound on the Internet. Every day, through photographs, videos, and scientific papers, knowledge is shared that challenges the notion that humans are the touchstone of intelligence and morality and demonstrates how other animals have rich social and emotional lives. Yet, revealing the deep cognitive dissonance in our society, animal exploitation persists on a massive scale for food, clothing, experimentation, and entertainment. Animals spend their lives locked in cages so small they cannot turn around, living in artificial, sterile, and cramped enclosures. They are crammed into feedlots, subjected to repeated live experimentation, and coerced into performing for human beings. Most are relegated to the crowded, waste-covered cages of intensive industrial operations and exploited in the machinery and violence of the "animal-industrial-complex."¹ This chapter examines some of the conditions that stem from domestication, colonialism, and capitalism: the captivity, dispossession, exploitation, and oppression that animals resist. Specifically, I explore the individual reasons that many animals resist their human-mediated circumstances. While animals' resistance is rooted in a desire for freedom, there are other factors at play.

SELF-DEFENSE

In the capitalist economy, the captivity of orcas (and other sea mammals) has been immensely lucrative. Forcing them to perform at aquariums and animal theme parks has brought in a huge surplus for these industries. Torn away from their ocean home and families, captive orcas are forced to swim circles in small tanks with chemically treated water. These conditions emerge in a society that prioritizes profit and defines nonhuman animals as "property."

The orca whale Tilikum's life in captivity was characterized by deprivation, confinement, and abuse, leading him to retaliate many times with deadly consequences. But the context for Tilikum's resistance began before his capture and confinement. The documentary *Blackfish* traces the story back further, to an orca capture near the State of Washington's Puget Sound in 1970.² One of the first "successful" orca capturers, Don Goldsberry (listed as SeaWorld's

“corporate director of collection” as recently as 1987), was active in catching orcas in this area until 1976.³ Fishing boats pursued and entrapped a pod in netting as they singled out the younger and smaller of the group for capture. In their attempt to protect the babies, the orcas without children diverted the fishing boats while the mothers and calves tried to swim away undetected. Sadly, as the footage shows, they were unable to escape the view of helicopters circling above. Three whales were killed. Those left behind remained close by, grieving and calling out to their family. After 1976, the State of Washington banned orca capture, so Goldsberry, working for SeaWorld, moved to Iceland.

Tilikum was captured off the coast of Iceland in November 1983. He was torn away from his family at only two years old. Tilikum’s first performances were at Sealand of the Pacific in Victoria, British Columbia. In 1992, he was transferred to SeaWorld in Orlando, Florida. Tilikum made an ideal subject for *Blackfish* because of his full life in captivity, his prominence as a breeding whale, and (garnering the most attention) his involvement in the deaths of three different people over his three decades of life. Tilikum died at age thirty-six in 2017 from a lung infection caused by pneumonia. SeaWorld has not made the necropsy report public. This withholding has been legal since 1994, when marine parks cofounded by SeaWorld successfully campaigned to keep such test results private.

The reality of marine mammal captivity presented in *Blackfish* does not reflect well on SeaWorld. The film highlights a pattern of unsafe working conditions for the trainers, a deliberate refusal to acknowledge the suffering and agitation resulting from marine mammal captivity, and a public relations department automatically poised to place blame onto their trainers whenever disaster strikes, as it often does. In working with captive marine mammals like orcas, professional trainers who have built relationships with them are lunged at or suddenly pulled underwater. Their only recourse is to stay calm and hope the whale will release them. In one scene, a peppy trainer is observed engaging an audience during a whale performance when, suddenly, Tilikum lunges at him from the water. The trainer dives out of the way, narrowly escaping. Quickly composing himself, and with only the briefest interruption of his beaming smile, the trainer attempts to calm the audience by shrugging it off. It was only the whale being a “big dork.” Tilikum’s retaliation was downplayed to conceal the conditions that he was rebelling against—and so the show could go on. Likewise, when Tilikum pulled forty-year-old SeaWorld trainer Dawn Brancheau under the water and drowned her, SeaWorld spun it as a rare case and labeled Tilikum a “bad apple.” As Michael Loadenthal explained, the mainstream media downplayed the attack by avoiding “discussions of domestication, speciesism and domination of non-human animals for entertainment dollars.”⁴

Tilikum’s expressions of self-defense were a product of his captivity in capitalist society. He lived in such frustrating and aggravating conditions that he was known to lie motionless for hours in his tank and had destroyed his teeth by chewing the sides of his small enclosure. He suffered injuries from other whales and was forced to endure isolation (so that SeaWorld could protect their investment). While animal attack films like *Orca* instilled a fear of orca whales in the public (as *killer whales*), there is no record of them harming humans in the wild. As is now widely recognized, orcas are complex and intelligent social creatures, who possess culture that is passed down over generations, and live in large, close-knit family groups. It is under human domination that their behavior changes; human-mediated captivity brings different nations of whales, who speak different dialects and languages, into tiny, artificial, and unhealthy environments. The deprivation they experience often drives them to resist. Tilikum’s plight and resistance has played a significant role in bringing unprecedented attention to the plight of sea mammals in captivity.



Figure 23. Tilikum during a performance at SeaWorld, Orlando, two months prior to killing his trainer after a similar show. December 21, 2009. Creative Commons 3.0. (Photo by David R. Tribble.)

The film led to public outrage, policy changes, and profit loss for SeaWorld. After its release, the marine zoo's stock prices plummeted.⁵

Another notable example of animals' self-defense against humans is witnessed in Japan's wild boars. Hunting these free-living individuals has long been accepted—even during a ban on eating animals put in place by Emperor Tenmu in 675. The boars' valiant efforts of resistance demonstrate their strong will to live. Indeed, these tenacious individuals rarely go down without a defensive fight or a battle of wits. Japanese hunters have a word for the wild boar: *kashikoi*, which translates to *clever* in English and refers to the impressive show of resistance that the boars undertake when they are being hunted. The boars use a reservoir of tricks and resources to outsmart the hunter. They are known to improvise with incredible wit. Hunters who pursue the boars believe that they purposefully lead the hunter into difficult terrain, taking great care to avoid being cornered and captured. Even when the hunter appears to be closing in on them, time after time, a boar will pull off a miraculous escape. In an intricate running pattern, boars will often rush to the end of their territory and suddenly turn around to confuse hunters and dogs. Sometimes they follow a circular or figure-eight-style path, and then quickly duck out of the track to escape their pursuers.

The boars are also clever enough to muddle their tracks in the frost or mud, changing direction and taking dead-end paths so the hunter never knows where they have run. For ages, Hongū hunters have been mystified by how well the boars manage to anticipate their next moves. Many believe boars have a calendrical awareness that drives their elusive tactics of escape. If the hunter is successful in cornering a boar, leaving them with no other options for escape, the boar usually refuses to resign. Instead, he cultivates what the Japanese call *shinimonogurui*, or a "dying rage," and charges after the hunter. With intimidating strength and dangerous tusks and teeth,

charging boars have been known to kill hunters and dogs in the last moment of self-defense. Furthermore, male boars will often lead hunters away from females and children. A hunter in Tanzawa recalled how one time, when his gun was pointed at a female boar, a male boar charged him from behind before he could shoot.⁶ The boars resist out of self-preservation, but also for the protection of their family.

In Rwanda's Volcanoes National Park, gorillas have sabotaged traps to protect themselves and others from harm. Each year, poachers set up thousands of snares in the park to catch antelopes and other animals. The poachers tie a noose to a branch of bamboo and bend it to the ground, holding it in place with a heavy object such as a stick or rock. Then they obscure the contraption with leaves and branches. When an unsuspecting animal comes along and bumps the rock or stick, the branch flips back and squeezes the victim in the noose. The captive animal remains there, sometimes dangling in the air, until the poachers return. If young gorillas are captured, they are left in the noose because the poachers have no interest in them. Young gorillas will often die in the snare or from injuries that occur while attempting to escape.

Once they were aware of the traps, a group of gorillas took preventative measures. Researchers at the park were surprised to find two four-year-old gorillas collaborating to dismantle snares in the area and warning others of the danger. This incident occurred just days after a poacher's trap had ensnared another young mountain gorilla who died before she was found. The infant belonged to a family of gorillas called the Kuryama clan. A research team was searching the park regularly for the traps in order to dismantle them, when a local tracker, John Ndayambaje, spotted one near the Kuryama clan. Ndayambaje was about to take the snare apart himself when a dominant male in the clan gave him a warning signal to "back off." According to the report, "Suddenly two juveniles—Rwema, a male; and Dukore, a female; both about four years old—ran toward the trap . . . As Ndayambaje and a few tourists watched, Rwema jumped on the bent tree branch and broke it, while Dukore freed the noose."⁷ The young gorillas worked fast to dismantle the traps, leading researchers to believe that they understood how dangerous they were. It wasn't their first time destroying them. As it turned out, the same gorillas had already dismantled another snare with the help of a comrade. The gorillas may not have realized that the tracker was going to dismantle the device, and they recognized the potential danger he faced. Their thoughtful action showed empathy and concern across species lines.

LOVE AND AFFILIATION

Domestication made it possible to control, subdue, and exploit other animals, but it has not diminished their compassion and empathy. Animals resist in self-defense when they or their families and friends are threatened. In recent years, heart-wrenching videos of various animal species trying to prevent humans from slaughtering their loved ones have gone viral. One shows a pig running up to a group of humans who are preparing to slaughter another pig. Another shows a duck defending her friend who is about to be killed. Yet another video captures the moment a cow attacks a farmer as he comes to take her calf away.⁸ Animals' freedom to socialize and be with their families has been disrupted with their commodification; commodifying logics separate animal friends and families regularly.

Mother cows have been known to travel long distances to find their stolen children. In 1993, a young cow named Blackie and her calf were sold separately at the Hatherleigh market in Devon,

England. The alienating effects of capitalism, rendered visceral in Blackie's separation of her calf at auction, drove this mother to escape. She broke away from the farm where she had been sent in Okehampton, jumped over a hedge, and walked several miles to an unfamiliar area. The following day, she was located seven miles from her escape point, reunited with her calf in Samford, Courtenay. The man who had purchased the calf identified Blackie as the mother by their matching auction labels. That morning, his sister-in-law had seen Blackie coming up the laneway. She reported that Blackie went straight for the calves' stable and started nursing her calf. In a similar report from *Soviet Weekly*, after her calf was sold, the mother went searching for him. The pair were eventually found reunited thirty miles away.

Social bonds can also make animals reluctant to escape when they have the opportunity. In January 2017, a superpod of three hundred dolphins was driven by hunters into Japan's Taiji Cove. The hunters surrounded the dolphins with a net, where they were to be left for several days while the slaughter took place. Eighty of the dolphins, many of them babies, were picked out to be sold to aquariums and marine parks around the world. The older dolphins became frantic as they witnessed family members killed by methods that can last minutes or longer. Some died from stress, fear, and starvation. Amidst the slaughter, one of the dolphins escaped the net. A photo shared by Sea Shepherd Conservation Society showed that after her escape the dolphin swam in circles, remaining close to her family even though no barriers prevented her from returning to the open sea. Dolphins have strong social bonds, which is reflected in her refusal to leave the pod.⁹

"Generalized reciprocity," in which animals help others when they have been subject to kindness themselves, has been witnessed in many species.¹⁰ Justice the cow was known to radiate empathy. After escaping a truck heading to a slaughterhouse, Justice was rescued by Peaceful Prairie Animal Sanctuary. Justice was still extremely frightened upon arrival, yet the empathy he received from another steer made a world of difference. As his caretaker Michele described:

When Justice first arrived at the sanctuary, he was so scared. The only other time he had been in a trailer was on the trip to the slaughterhouse, and so he had banged himself up terribly. That's how he broke his left horn—in the trailer banging around trying to get out of there. Sherman, another steer who lived at the sanctuary at that time, went over to him and started licking him through the fence and calmed him down. Justice has remembered that and he's done it for every new arrival since . . . it doesn't matter what species they are . . . Like when Rowdy, one of the sheep, got here, he was so scared . . . Rowdy was just screaming his head off and here comes Justice, charging up the hill to help him.¹¹

At the sanctuary, Justice began to assist and welcome frightened newcomers to the farm, sharing with them the same comfort and compassion that he had once received. His caring actions should come as no surprise. As cognitive ethologists have shown, cows communicate with unique voices, have meaningful friendships, enjoy learning new things, and express concern about the future.¹²

REVENGE AND RESENTMENT

On the flip side, as Frans de Waal explains, animals will sometimes express resentment or enact revenge.¹³ Similarly, Marc Bekoff writes that according to anecdotal evidence, "some animals can and do take revenge," when violence is directed towards them.¹⁴ Taking revenge requires "a



Figure 24. Tatiana at the San Francisco Zoo two months before she escaped an enclosure and was killed. October 26, 2007. Creative Commons 2.0. (Photo by Matt Knoth.)

complex cognitive reaction, involving memory, self-awareness, logic, hurt, justice, blame, and more.”¹⁵ Edward Westermarck, a Finnish anthropologist and sociologist whose views on animal emotions were contrary to the prevailing paradigms of his time (late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries), once wrote about a revenge-seeking camel who had been subjected to beatings by a young camel driver. Although passive at first, upon finding himself alone with the driver, the camel “seized the unlucky boy’s head in its monstrous mouth, and lifting him up in the air flung him down again on the earth.”¹⁶ Westermarck referred to such acts as stemming from “retributive emotions,” a concept that includes both positive and negative emotions, as he considered retributive emotions the foundation of morality.¹⁷

Sometimes retaliation is delayed. Negative actions towards individuals who exhibit undesirable behavior is a form of justice. It also serves an educational purpose by showing that the behavior won’t be tolerated. Although less abstract than human justice systems, delayed retaliation shares the same desire for vindication. For instance, after a baboon was hit and killed by a man driving a car in Saudi Arabia, the driver quickly became a target for revenge. For three days afterward, a troop of baboons waited by the side of the road where their friend had died. On the

third day, the driver appeared again. As he passed the group, one baboon screamed to alert the others, and the entire group pelted the car with stones and tore out the windshield.¹⁸

A four-year-old Siberian tiger named Tatiana had a grudge and acted on it with precision. On December 26, 2007, Tatiana killed a teenager and injured two others at the San Francisco Zoo. The three teenagers visiting the zoo had been standing outside of Tatiana's enclosure and harassing her. They yelled obscenities while waving their arms around. According to some reports, they were throwing things at her. One person described seeing the same group taunting lions earlier and noted that the big cats were visibly angered. Tatiana's anger motivated her to escape over a 12-foot-high wall and attack the teenagers. She immediately killed one of them while the two others escaped. She then roamed around the zoo for twenty minutes with countless opportunities to attack employees, responders, and other visitors. But she didn't attack again—not until she came to the Terrace Café where the other two individuals had tried to take refuge. Tatiana proceeded to injure both before she was shot and killed by police. One year earlier, Tatiana had bitten the arm of her trainer. It appears that Tatiana attacked only those whom she perceived to be a threat or nuisance to her. While she could have lashed out or escaped any time, "she wanted revenge."¹⁹ Tatiana was born in a zoo, and her actions were a serious and tragic warning that life in captivity is deeply distressing.

Tatiana's calculated actions mirror those of her free-living counterparts, such as the Amur tiger described in John Vaillant's *The Tiger: A True Story of Vengeance and Survival*. Set deep in the icy Siberian wild known as the Taiga, *The Tiger* explores the height and decline of humans' cooperative relationship with the majestic Siberian tiger. Many books that tell tales of a ferocious wild "beast" wreaking havoc and violence against humans place the attacker in the role of antagonist, but Vaillant paints a more nuanced picture. The story takes place in the year 1997 in a small, remote village in the Far East of Russia. On December 5, an attack on a man named Vladimir Markov was reported by Yuri Trush, a leader of one of six Inspection Tiger units in the area. These units investigate forest crimes, specifically those involving tigers. Trush was reporting from the Primorye territory of Eastern Russia. According to him, this story is very real: he preempts anticipated skepticism by stating that he was there, and "These are the facts."

It is not easy to live in these parts, for humans or tigers. While the two used to live in a semblance of harmony, from 1992 to 1994 a quarter of the tiger population—about one hundred tigers—were killed and transported to China for medicine and their skins. Primorye, a densely forested and mountainous region that the Amur tiger calls home, suffers from a thriving black market, corrupt government, and immense poverty, due to the border between Russia and China being reopened. The tiger population was greatly diminished, and the children and the impoverished grandchildren of the area's settlers turned to poaching.

The Tiger explores evolutionary theories of the coexistence of big cats and humans and examines the idea that humans and tigers once lived in a harmonious and symbiotic relationship. The Indigenous peoples had once worshiped and lived among tigers for centuries, even sharing kills from hunting. The Kalahari Bushmen and Chauvet cave artists also revered them. But at the onset of the twentieth century, expanding settlements changed the area, along with the dynamic between humans and these big cats. In the Bikin Valley in 1997, writes Vaillant, "This primordial understanding had been disrupted, and the risk of attack had become paramount."²⁰ Modern society disrupted the relationship between humans and tigers. The relationship became strained and tenuous.

In response to pressure from international conservation agencies, the local government employed Inspection Tiger teams, armed with cameras and weapons, to bring order, stop poachers,

and prevent conflicts. The story of Markov, a poacher who is killed by an Amur tiger, is featured in the book. The tiger had been hunting Markov, and it was widely thought to be an act of revenge for something he had done. The situation was so out of phase with the norm that it led Trush's teammate, Sasha Lazurenko, to pose the following question over Markov's remains: "Why," he wondered aloud, "is the tiger so angry at him?"²¹ As the Inspection Tiger team followed the tracks of the tiger, they started noticing a pattern in her attacks. They believed that the victims weren't random, but instead explicitly targeted as part of a greater plot of sustained tiger vengeance.

A small team of men decided to hunt down the tiger in the middle of a harsh winter. After the group, acting out of strong and unforgiving vengeance themselves, killed and dissected the tiger, they realized that she had been shot many times. And it was not just by Markov and his hunting group, but dozens of bullets from prior years. The Amur tiger "had absorbed bullets the way Moby-Dick had absorbed harpoons," writes Vaillant. Indeed, "Markov may not have been the beginning but rather the last straw."²² As Denis Burkhin pondered, "Maybe after someone fired that birdshot . . . [the tiger] got angry with the whole world." Trush declared, "It was men who were responsible for the aggression of this animal."²³ This observation aligns with science: tigers have excellent memories, remember data, and learn from their experiences.

Although deadly tiger attacks on humans are rare in Russia, there were other stories of tiger revenge. One Amur tiger expert, Vladimir Schetinin, said that he had collected similar stories for thirty years prior to 2007. "There are at least eight cases that my teams and I investigated," said Schetinin. His team agreed on the conclusion: "If a hunter fired a shot at a tiger, that tiger would track him down, even if it took him two or three months. It is obvious that tigers will sit and wait specifically for the hunter who has fired shots at them."²⁴ A former logger and longtime resident of the area, Sergei Boyko, wasn't surprised to hear about Markov's fate. He and another hunter had a run-in of their own with a tiger. They had taken some of a tiger's kill after he ran away but made sure to leave some for when the big cat returned. Still, after they returned the following day, the tiger had not touched any of the remaining flesh. According to Boyko,

after that, we couldn't kill anything: the tiger destroyed our traps, and he scared off the animals that came to our bait. If any animal got close, he would roar and everyone would run away. We learned the hard way. The tiger wouldn't let us hunt for an entire year. I must tell you . . . the tiger is such an unusual animal: very powerful, very smart, and very vengeful.²⁵

Tiger resistance doesn't occur in a vacuum. Global capitalism and its inevitable deepening of poverty and desperation fueled an imbalance of power between humans and Amur tigers. Some tigers suffered from multiple bullets before finally lashing out. There's no question here that the "why" of animal resistance was rooted in the disruption of nature by modern society—and a strong sense of justice for the hunted.

LONELINESS AND BOREDOM

Social isolation or deprivation of one's natural social context is a strong incentive for animals' resistance. Captive animals show signs of boredom and depression, such as self-mutilation, pacing, and sullen resignation. While many cages are hidden from public view, zoo exhibits are a place where the suffering associated with captivity becomes highly visible.

To counter unstimulating environments, orangutans are known to make detailed escape plans. They will work daily, sometimes for several weeks, to master the art of escape. Fu Manchu is a young orangutan whose numerous attempts to escape led zoo employees to continually alter and monitor his environment. Once Fu lived in the Sumatran rainforest, but he was captured by poachers and brought to the United States. No longer free with his family in the wild, his life was now spent enclosed at the Omaha Zoo. For some time, he would regularly escape his cage there. How did he do it? Once, Fu climbed onto the roof of his enclosure and tore the chimney off, leading the zoo to remove a chain that had been installed as a swing for Fu. Other times, he picked the locks with a wire and then hid the wire, leading the zoo employees to state that each day they would “rake the grass and search under bushes for wires.”²⁶ In response, Fu gave a neighboring caged orangutan some biscuits in exchange for wire she retrieved from a light covering. He inspired other orangutans to escape or become accomplices in his escapes.²⁷

A young Bornean orangutan, Ken Allen, also mastered the art of escape from a young age. As an adolescent, he would escape by unscrewing the bolts on his cage. He would then explore his nursery, before returning to his cage and reassembling it. In 1985, when he was older, Ken Allen escaped from a supposedly escape-proof cage at the San Diego Zoo not once, but several times. The first time, he climbed over the massive wall of his enclosure. Although the zoo extended the wall by four feet to prevent future escapes, after recapture Ken Allen absconded over the wall once again. For his next escape, he enlisted the help of another captive orangutan, his friend Vicki, to pry open a window using a crowbar that had been left behind by workers. During these escapes, he would walk calmly around the zoo. His combination of wit and a peaceful demeanor led to worldwide fame—followed by the launch of a Ken Allen fan club, complete with members who referred to themselves as the Orang Gang. The zoo was initially stumped about how Ken Allen got out and spent thousands of dollars investigating the enclosure and increasing security. Staff members even posed as tourists to clandestinely identify his escape route. Their efforts didn’t stop him from escaping one more time and showing friends how to escape the same enclosure. During his final recapture, Ken Allen did not return to his enclosure as agreeably as he had in the past. Unfortunately, Ken Allen was diagnosed with terminal cancer and died in December 2000 at age twenty-nine.

Fu Manchu’s and Ken Allen’s escape attempts were the outcomes of their captivity. Deriving escape plans offered a brief reprieve from dull enclosures that were a world away from the lush expanse and social diversity of an orangutan’s natural environment. That their enclosures were continually altered by their captors to prevent further escapes highlights their agency.

A WILL TO LIVE

When animals resist, they demonstrate a will to live. Their willfulness and defiant acts are often witnessed in the final hours of their lives, such as during transport to slaughter when they briefly pass into public view (in a transport trailer or while being loaded or unloaded) or in their horrific final moments in slaughterhouses.

For instance, in 1914, a cow made a break for her life while being herded to her death in New Jersey. It was a last-resort attempt to escape the slaughterhouse. As reported in the *Abbeville Progress*:

One of the cows of a large herd being driven to a slaughterhouse here escaped and running on the tracks of the railroad created havoc with the schedules of several trains between New York and Philadelphia. In its wild run along the tracks, the cow became tangled up in the trestle work over Assanpink creek and was badly cut in its struggle. After the railroad employees had succeeded in liberating the cow from her precarious position she promptly turned on them and after knocking down Special Officer Murphy and a brakeman, she was chased down the railroad and captured.²⁸

In defying her placement as an ownable body, the cow's resistance interrupted her object status and placement in animal agribusiness. Her fight for freedom transgressed the human spatial ordering of the Union Stockyard era, when slaughterhouses were centralized in urban areas, and demonstrated her strong will to live.

Today, farmed animals are sent to slaughter in transport trucks rather than being herded through the city streets; they are shipped locally, nationally, and internationally across borders—part of an extensive international network of animal trade for numerous nefarious purposes. The initial shipments of animals across the United States required some of them to walk long distances to market on foot, where they were sold and then shipped from the western to eastern cities on the new railroad lines. The steamers on which they were carried were crowded with poor ventilation. Farmed animals were forced to endure several days of these conditions, often without food or water. Dozens died during the treacherous journey.²⁹ Sheep would frequently jump from the top of railway cars, until escape-proof roofs were built.³⁰ One steer, upon arriving in New York, fled for his life before being transferred onto a “cattle boat” (a mode of transport also known to cause immense suffering). After running through the city for about half an hour (from 12th Avenue at 41st Street to 9th Avenue and 53rd Street), he was recaptured and butchered. An article describing his fate noted that the steer had either a longing for liberty or an “inkling of the fate” that was the abattoir.³¹

Farmed animals continue to escape from transport vehicles, within which they are still denied food and water, and forced to endure crowded conditions for hundreds of miles in extreme temperatures. Animals Australia, an advocacy group that has investigated transport ships carrying millions of cows, sheep, and goats each year, reports that the animals are subjected to shocking maltreatment during the long voyages before they are slaughtered. In November 2016, a cow being transported from a truck to the Wellard live export shipping company tried to escape this fate by jumping into the water at Fremantle Harbour in Australia. Once in the harbor, she swam to the shore and took off running along the beach. She remained free for twenty-four hours. After running for more than seven kilometers, she was spotted in North Coogee, a western coastal suburb. Several other cows briefly escaped, but one was immediately killed and the other eight were quickly rounded up to be sent back on the perilous journey. The cow who was found in North Coogee died of exhaustion.

A case of animal resistance that occurred during transport to a slaughterhouse was recorded in China's Guangxi Zhuang region in 2014. A driver behind a slaughterhouse vehicle captured images of a pig jumping 16 feet from the truck's roof to the pavement. The desperate individual flung herself from the truck after starting to climb down the side. It is reported that police officers on the scene collected the pig and brought her to the local station, saying that they would adopt her rather than send her to another slaughterhouse. As one of the officers noted, “She deserves her chance of life and she has got it. She will never be eaten here.”³² The “owner” could have claimed the pig; however, it was speculated that they decided against this to avoid charges for



Figure 25. Sue Coe: *The Lobster's Escape*. 2016. Linocut. Copyright © Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York.

unsafe animal transport. According to reports, Babe, as the pig was named, was given a pen and fed apple peels and acorns by Wang Shen, a cleaner at the station.

A pig in California also escaped from a moving vehicle on the way to a slaughterhouse. Rita, as she was later named, escaped a metal cage and leaped out of the back of a flatbed truck.³³ Drivers behind the truck observed her jumping onto Highway 50 near Sacramento, where she landed unharmed on the grassy curbside. Officers from a shelter for cats and dogs picked her up and brought her to the shelter, where she surprised everyone by giving birth to fourteen piglets—nine of whom survived. Rita was given a home at a sanctuary in Grass Valley, California, called Animal Place. Although Rita wasn't ready to trust her piglets around humans, with a little encouragement (and lots of grapes and cantaloupe) she warmed up to her caregivers. Photos from the sanctuary show the piglets nursing, running in the hay, and rooting in the dirt.

Lobsters, belonging to the large marine crustacean family, are known to resist their final moments after they are thrown alive into boiling water. In "Consider the Lobster," David Foster Wallace imagines what it's like to be a lobster cooked alive, and the "uncomfortable" feelings that begin after someone, about to prepare dinner, pulls a live lobster out of the shopping bag. In a profound acknowledgment of crustacean suffering and agency, Wallace writes:

However stuporous the lobster is from the trip home, for instance, it tends to come alarmingly to life when placed in boiling water. If you're tilting it from a container into the steaming kettle, the lobster will sometimes try to cling to the container's sides or even to hook its claws over the kettle's rim like a person trying to keep from going over the edge of a roof. And worse is when the lobster's

fully immersed. Even if you cover the kettle and turn away, you can usually hear the cover rattling and clanking as the lobster tries to push it off. Or the creature's claws scraping the sides of the kettle as it thrashes around. The lobster, in other words, behaves very much as you or I would behave if we were plunged into boiling water (with the obvious exception of screaming). A blunter way to say this is that the lobster acts as if it's in terrible pain, causing some cooks to leave the kitchen altogether and to take one of those little lightweight plastic oven timers with them into another room and wait until the whole process is over.³⁴

In their ocean homes, lobsters can live over one hundred years. They use their antennae to smell and the sensory hairs on their legs to taste. The sensitivity of their bodies, and their visible resistance to being boiled alive, such as clinging to the edges of boiling pots, suggests that the pain must be immense. That lobsters will often scrape at the sides of boiling pots or try to push off the lid shows that they suffer. The fact that some cooks will leave the room and set a timer demonstrates that the lobster's will to live is recognized, but that instead of listening to their pleas, some humans would rather ignore their voices.

Animals' wills to live are evidenced by the complex structures that are designed to prevent their resistance and escape in the slaughterhouse—such as the narrow chutes, corridors, and hoods, and the kill floors they lead towards. Inside slaughterhouses, farmed animals are hung upside down in preparation to be disassembled. They are often skinned or thrown into boiling vats of water while still alive. At one industrialized slaughterhouse, animals are killed “every twelve seconds per nine-hour working day.”³⁵ In these spaces of terror, maintaining the efficiency of the kill line is paramount.³⁶ The steel bolt used to stun animals before slaughter often fails to render them unconscious on the first try, and they continue to fight for their lives. Animals also resist in backyard slaughter operations, which use countering measures such as fences, chains, and other restraints.

This chapter has gone deeper into examining the motivations for animals' resistance—particularly those that stem from the social conditions governing the lives of animals caught in and negatively impacted by human society. In a capitalist society that prioritizes profit and renders living beings as *property*, the odds are still stacked against those who make it past the gates, doors, fences, and other barriers that they come up against. Yet, animals continue to fight against the machinery and ideologies that are designed to prevent their freedom. In the next part of the book, we will explore *how* animals resist, beginning with an examination of their social and political agency.

How Do Animals Resist?

Animals' Social and Political Agency

ANIMAL RESISTANCE, IN A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SENSE, IS AN ANIMAL'S STRUGGLE AND bid for freedom against their captive or other oppressive conditions by transgressing or retaliating against human-constructed boundaries. Animals resist through escape, retaliation, liberation of other animals, and everyday defiance. This resistance may be active, as in a horse throwing a rider, or passive, as in a tiger refusing to perform tricks at a circus. Animals may also resist in ways that humans don't comprehend. While self-reflective intentionality isn't required for resistance, animals' resistance entails a desire for freedom from an individual oppressor or larger oppressive system or occupation. Animals have been treated throughout history as "passive surfaces on to which human groups inscribe imaginings and orderings of all kinds." However, they do not exist to serve as a reflection for human beings.¹ To the degree that their attempts to navigate the world on their own terms goes unimpeded, the diverse animal species on this planet order their own lives. They act with intention and purpose, making choices that impact their social, political, cultural, and environmental surroundings.

ANIMAL TRANSGRESSIONS

According to geographers Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, nonhuman animals "destabilize, transgress or even resist our human orderings."² Domesticated and free-living animals transgress human-constructed, normative social spaces, those "created and policed around them by human beings," by removing themselves from both these physical places and their allotted roles in them.³ Whether breaking out of enclosures or sabotaging oppressive tools, animals transgress the borders of captivity and the roles they are expected to play. Colonized, confined, and displaced, their transgressions lead them to occupy spaces in which they are deemed "out of place," such as the city streets. Animals are both "out of place" when they transgress the spatial regulations of captive places, and "out of place" *within* these spaces where they are deprived of a natural environment and life.⁴ Animals resist human orderings in the context of their displacement in human dominated society, which is different from the way they resist nonhuman predators or environmental forces in their natural habitats. This agency is also significant, however, and may offer insight into animals' resistance against humans. Those who transgress the spatial regulations

of animal enterprises demonstrate this “out of placeness” in a way that is “particularly dramatic” and invokes an ethical crisis.⁵ Farmed animals, for instance, are no longer expected to appear on city streets, and when they escape from markets, auctions, or slaughterhouses, their presence is met with both unease and media hype.

New York is a salient site of analysis for farmed animal transgressors, and their inclusions and exclusions on the city streets. Runaway animals have been highly visible in the city. These sightings are well documented because: (1) live animal markets operating throughout the city have kept animals on the premises until they were killed and sold,⁶ (2) cattle ships docking on the city’s shores have transported animals to slaughter,⁷ and (3) newspaper reporters consistently recorded the public spectacle of the city’s many escaped animals. In 2012 alone, for instance, over one hundred farmed animals were recorded as having escaped slaughterhouses and live markets in the city.⁸ New York State was also to become home to the first sanctuary for previously farmed animals.

Since the nineteenth century, animal resistance has been documented in New York, from the escapes of elephants to wolves, and from bulls to bears. Although slaughterhouses are not typically thought of as urban industries, hidden as they are from view, many have been located in the city (and beyond). The *New York Times* has published many stories about slaughterhouse runaways, particularly cows, who would flee while being herded from place to place, breaking through gates and fences, and leaping from moving vehicles. Reporters described the escapes fantastically and in great detail—as exciting pursuits (e.g., “Wild Steers At Large: A Number Escape from a Drove Exciting Pursuit,” 1877, or “A Wild Steer’s Long Race: Exciting Pursuit by the Police,” 1878). For those on the run, these pursuits were terrifying; those considered uncontrollable, subhuman, wild, or abnormal were viewed as a threat to the community, to be subdued and banished.

The presence of these animals on the streets was contested. Butchers and city authorities debated where animal industries should be located, not only within the city, but whether they should be in the city at all (as opposed to rural areas). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was public pressure to remove animals from public spaces due to sanitization and ethical concerns. (Contrarily, some people appreciated the presence of certain animals, such as pigs, because they would eat food that was thrown onto the streets.) This pressure led to geographical changes in the “meat” industry, with large-scale “disassembly” lines centered in urban areas like Chicago and Cincinnati, and delivery via railway with refrigeration to New York and beyond. New Yorkers could now “feast on bacon from hogs raised in Indiana and butchered in Chicago.”⁹

In the nineteenth century, cows were transported to New York City from multiple directions. They were transported from New Jersey by ferry, from Westchester and Dutchess Counties by foot, and from upstate on sailing sloops.¹⁰ They were docked at Corlears Hook and west of Rutgers Street, and then “driven mercilessly through the streets all day.”¹¹ Cows were driven from the Western United States after 1820, while pigs and chickens were raised on Long Island in the late 1820s.¹² By the mid-nineteenth century, 206 slaughterhouses were located throughout the city.¹³ Many of these were located in Abattoir Center, which ran from 42nd to 46th Streets along First Avenue. The slaughterhouses were notorious for noxious odors, and in 1869, a ban on “livestock” was passed for Manhattan avenues below 40th Street.¹⁴ In 1920, zoning ordinances banned most farmed animals from U.S. cities.

For an applicable comparison, around the question of animal agency and the resulting push to ban farmed animals from New York, we can turn to Philo’s research on the exclusion of



Figure 26. Godefroy Durand, *London Sketches, the Cattle Nuisance*. Engraving. *The Graphic*, January 27, 1877.

cows, pigs, and sheep from the streets of Victorian London. In the nineteenth century, spatial restructuring of the “meat” industry brought slaughterhouses and live markets into urban areas. In London, animals were herded from place to place on the city streets—which meant that their suffering, as well as their normal bodily functions, were visible to the general public.¹⁵ Sometimes an individual would break loose, which led to more havoc. The perceived danger posed by animals breaking through shop windows and other transgressive acts, and the cruelty directed towards them, was viewed as an affront to Victorian morality and economic stability. Animals’ disruptions clashed with the myth of a civilized modern constitution. Eventually, spatial solutions were sought to remove farmed animals from the city, “which was increasingly identified as a place for people rather than for beasts,” and relegate them to the countryside and the outskirts, which were deemed more “appropriate for beasts who proved so difficult to manage in congested marketplaces and urban streets.”¹⁶ The removal of farmed animals from cities marked the Western European separation of humans from “livestock,” and the increasing delineation between urban and rural.

These inclusions and exclusions of animals in the city, their “in-placeness” and “out-of-placeness,” occurred due to numerous concerns: health, hygiene, moral, and urbanization. From a lens that reads history from below, to what degree did opposition to the presence of animals on the streets of New York depend on the animals’ own transgressive behaviors?

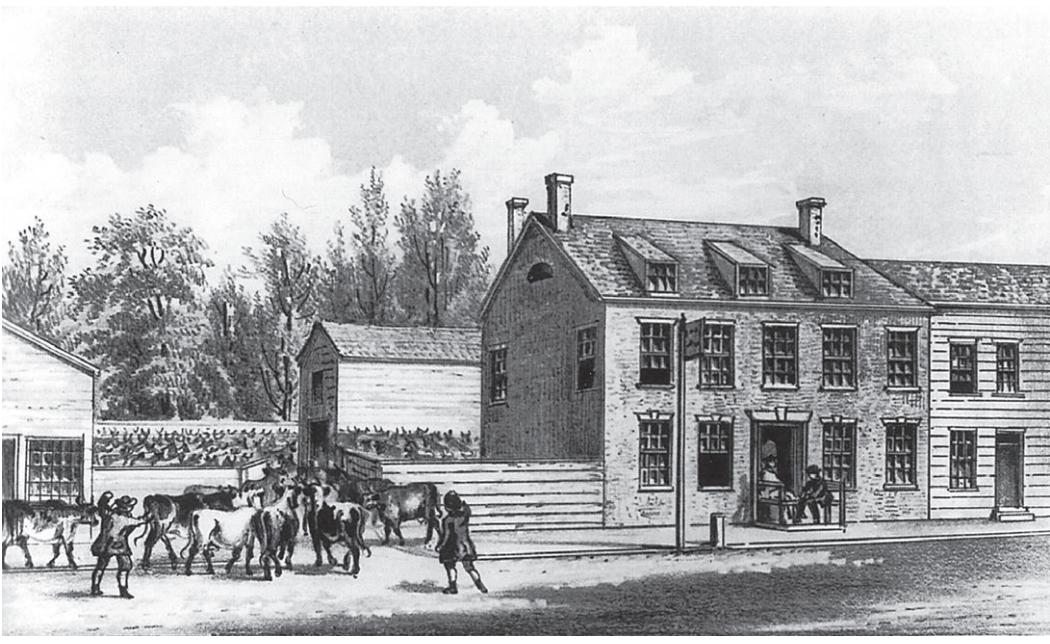


Figure 27. Bull's Head Tavern in the Bowery and adjoining pen belonging to a slaughterhouse, 19th.

ANIMAL WORLDMAKING

Much like the exclusion of farmed animals from nineteenth-century London, runaway farmed animals have occasionally been cited in slaughterhouse histories as (at least part of) the reason that animal industries came under scrutiny in New York, with many (but not all) being shut down.¹⁷ In Manhattan, escaped farmed animals on the streets interrupted ideas of them only belonging/being in rural areas. It also shed light on their agency. For instance, a guide to the city published in 1939 explains how modern sanitation methods led to the disappearance of the “most objectionable aspects of the slaughterhouse neighborhood” in Manhattan: in addition to the dilapidated shacks and strong, unpleasant odors, the guide points to the “runaway livestock” as being some of those objectionable aspects that were left in the past.¹⁸ Here modern sanitation is noted as the reason slaughterhouses were removed from the neighborhood, but the “runaway livestock,” leading people to come face to face with someone who could have become their meal, was another reason for this removal.

To give another example, discussing the shifting urban slaughterhouse landscape, Burrows and Wallace cite “the occasional steer running amok and goring passers-by” (i.e., animals’ escape and retaliation) as part of the reason that the Bull’s Head Tavern (see figure 27), a famous bar that served cattlemen, drovers, and butchers who worked in the slaughterhouses on and near Mulberry Street, was driven from one Manhattan neighborhood in the early nineteenth century. They write:

Bowery Village remained notorious for the stomach-turning slaughterhouses and tanyards. As late as 1825, upstate drovers like Daniel Drew were herding an estimated 200,000 head of cattle across King’s Bridge each year and making their way, accompanied by hordes of pigs, horses, and bleating

spring lambs, down Manhattan to Henry Astor's Bull's Head Tavern and adjacent abattoirs . . . [Some customers] wanted to transform the Bowery into a more genteel neighborhood. Taking aim at the stink, the endless whinnying, lowing, and grunting, and the occasional steer running amok and goring passers-by, they set about driving the Bull's Head from the area.¹⁹

The central stockyards, located near the Bull's Head Tavern, were an endpoint for cows, pigs, and sheep driven through the city during these years—but it was also a point from which they would escape.

As I discuss in chapter 1, with the story of Emily, and address further in chapter 7, encounters with animal resisters lead to further transgressions when witnesses are inspired to change. Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rapid industrial expansion drastically changed animals' lives, keeping them "hidden in plain sight." Now, in the digitized twenty-first century, animals fleeing through the streets of Manhattan can be recorded in a video that goes viral on social media, which may produce a vastly different outcome for the individual than was found in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century cases. Once they are a part of the social media landscape, animals' stories reach, and touch, a large audience. Those invested in upholding the status quo downplay animals' resistance, suggesting that those who escape are an anomaly or that they lack consciousness and are acting purely on instinct. Although it is just one facet of exploring animals' resistance, the question of whether animals who transgress borders and resist are doing so *intentionally* is worth considering.

ANIMAL INTENTIONALITY

Scholars have raised the question of whether nonhuman animals possess cognitive capacities like intentionality, or whether their actions are accompanied by conscious inner experiences.²⁰ The millions of animal species on this planet have varying levels of consciousness. There is primary consciousness, a perceptual awareness characteristic of many animals that includes the awareness of one's own body. There is also reflective consciousness, an awareness of one's thoughts and an understanding that one is feeling or thinking something. Although the latter was previously believed to only apply to human beings, this form of consciousness has been recognized in great apes, and there are surely other species who experience this form of awareness. The full nature of consciousness of the varied and unique species who inhabit this earth will remain a mystery to human beings, although we know that other animals have moment-to-moment consciousness and demonstrate intentional behavior. "The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness in Nonhuman Animals," presented by leading scientists in 2012, stated: "Convergent evidence indicates that nonhuman animals have the neuroanatomical, neurochemical, and neurophysiological substrates of conscious states along with the capacity to exhibit intentional behaviors." As the Declaration confirms, the vast evidence shows that many animals—including all mammals, birds, and cephalopods—are conscious creatures.

The forms of intentionality that animals have are varied. There is intentionality that is not consciously reflective of the intention. This might occur when an animal escapes without conceptualizing or reflecting on the fact that they are escaping or deliberating whether to escape. The second kind of intentionality is self-reflective, meaning that the subject deliberates, conceptualizes, and even knows that they are acting intentionally while doing so. Studies that

involve cows solving problems to unlatch gates show that the cows react emotionally to their own achievements.²¹ This response demonstrates a key component of self-reflective consciousness: self-awareness. Intentionality of this type also occurs when an individual carefully plans out an escape, like the infamous orangutans Fu Manchu and Ken Allen.

In an interview with Animal Voices Radio on the topic of animal resistance, Hribal distinguishes resistance from instinctual response. Using the example of elephants forced to perform in circuses, Hribal explains that animals demonstrate resistance when they repeatedly act against their own self-interest to remove themselves from oppressive situations:

Every captive animal knows, through years of direct experience and learned response, which actions will be rewarded and which actions will be punished. Elephants, for instance, most of them are trained with a bullhook, if they do something wrong, they get hit repeatedly or stabbed with the barbed end to correct those actions so that they don't do them again. So really it's against their own self-interest to be disobedient in any way, because who wants to get hit . . . Yet, history is filled with cases of captive elephants doing just that: continuously refusing commands or purposefully injuring trainers even though they are going to get beaten, and then they do, and then they get back out again, and then they do it again. That's why I say these are acts of resistance: because these animals are *struggling* against their captivity and against domination.²²

As Hribal clearly explains here, resistance is apparent when an animal knows they will be subject to violence as punishment for their struggle, yet still resists.

Indeed, elephants and other animals who repeatedly fight back against their oppressors, such as those who target specific zoo staff or visitors, are resisting intentionally. Elephants held captive in the entertainment industry have been aware that they risk subjection to increased violence if they dissent, and yet they repeatedly ignore any instinct to take the path of least resistance, which suggests that they have reflective intentionality. Additionally, elephants may demonstrate intentionality in a one-time show of resistance. Take the example of Edie. In January 2011, the twenty-eight-year-old elephant at the Knoxville Zoo crushed the head of her trainer against steel bars. The zoo director called the incident a “tragic accident,” but Edie was looking right at the trainer before she attacked. The zoo was cited by a government health agency for allowing the handler to work with the elephant without any physical barriers, and while using a bullhook. Like Tatiana, and so many others, Edie was intentionally fighting back against the physical and psychological torment of being held in an exhibit and constantly surrounded by human activity.

My definition of animal resistance extends to actions by individuals who don't necessarily undertake such consciously purposeful action. Animal rebels need not show reflective intentionality or proof of intentionality. We are justified in reading their demonstrated attempts for freedom from captivity as “escape,” for instance. Musing about the nature of an animal's intention of escape, Stephen Bostock writes:

An animal's apparent attempts at escape—a leopard tearing at the bars or a lizard scabbling at the glass—may be just what they seem. We may not always be justified in reading the intention of escaping into such actions, but an animal clearly can have such an intention. Take the extreme case of a very small or otherwise very unsuitable cage: a large box, for instance. If we put a dog into this, he would scabble around, frantically trying to get out. Would we be less justified in thus describing his reactions than in similarly describing a human's reaction to the same situation? Would it really be anthropomorphic, would it not just be obvious, that the dog as much as the human was trying to escape?²³



Figure 28. Rescued bird and rescued dog communicate. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/We Animals with the Montreal SPCA.)

Whatever form of intentionality we read in such purposeful attempts to escape a small prison, these attempts constitute resistance.

The research on other animals' cognition is necessary to counter Cartesian philosophy and those who still act on this philosophy's influence today, which have long denied that other animals have social and emotional lives. When discussing other animals' intentionality or resistance, we should avoid the universalizing tendency that homogenizes the numerous nonhuman species who inhabit this earth under the umbrella notion of the *animal* in opposition to the *human*. A cow, eagle, mouse, whale, or chimpanzee each have unique cognitive experiences of the world and their own forms of agency. Discussing individuals or species in specific circumstances, just as when Hribal argues that the repeated resistance of elephants against their captors shows that elephants resist intentionally, acknowledges that there are many potential contexts and locations to study animal resistance.

Although there are several forms of consciousness and intentionality shown to exist in countless species, in the end, whether animals experience or act with intentionality has little to do with their inherent value. The question is only one facet of conceptualizing animal resistance. At the same time, we should avoid the anthropocentric denial of the likelihood that many other animals do act with intention that is accompanied with reflective inner experiences.

ANIMAL LABOR

The question of intentionality prompts reflections about animals' roles in human-constructed social justice frameworks. Do animal laborers, for instance, constitute a working class? Should they be included in working-class social justice movements? In a capitalist society there are two primary classes: a working class and a capitalist class. According to Karl Marx, one of the defining characteristics of the working class is its exploitation by the capitalist class. Hribal puts forth that other animals are also members of the working class. The view of animals as laborers is well articulated in Hribal's article "Animals Are Part of the Working Class: A Challenge to Labor History." Animals' bodies and labor in food, manufacturing, transport, and lumber industries was integral to industrial capitalist expansion. Today, the lives of cows, pigs, sheep, horses, and chickens continue to be exploited and commodified as they labor alongside humans in the capitalist system. By historicizing the roles of other animals in the industrial and agricultural revolution, as commodities, property, and laborers, but also resisters who "contested their expropriation and exploitation," Hribal challenges the notion that only humans can be considered workers. He contends that "The animal rights movement was part of the working class movement, for their formations had always been linked. Animals are part of the working class."²⁴ In this line of thinking, Hribal explains that historical processes are shaped by the combined factors of class and agency: the term *class* denotes the relationships between various historical figures, such as the relationship between the "owner" and their "dairy cow," as well as the relationship between the "dairy cow" and other dairy laborers.

Thus, animal allies have struggled for the rights of a rarely acknowledged sector of the working class: the nonhuman animals who labor and are exploited and killed. We may not comprehend the depths to which other animals have awareness of themselves as an opposing force to their capitalist exploiters and communicate their grievances, but they certainly have this awareness and share their grievances. Since Marxist concepts of *workers* and *class* are human constructs, when using these terms to acknowledge how animals have been forced to labor and resist under capitalism, it may be beneficial to remain cautious of projecting political activity onto nonhuman animals (although, as I discussed in chapter 1, these types of representations can still be subversive). Reading animals as workers with shared interests that transcend species lines is a powerful way to acknowledge their agency and their political voices, while continuing to advocate for their freedom in a human dominated world. Oppressed animals are at a disadvantage because they do not organize under formal institutions such as political parties or unions. Even if a cow can strike back against those stealing her calves and her milk, there must also be humans willing to shut down the slaughterhouse where she would eventually be sent to die.

Today, most of the animals who are acknowledged by mainstream society as workers are under the complete control of their "owners" and trainers. These individuals work long hours with few breaks. This reality prompts fundamental questions about whether it's ever ethical to enlist



Figure 29. Oliver the African watusi in the sun at a fair in Texas. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/We Animals.)

animals in work given that they cannot consent (in contrast to situations where animals freely choose to undertake work they enjoy). Their life of labor may be better than the gas chamber at a shelter, or being served for dinner, but animals do not owe us anything for being rescued or excused from human-caused problems. For instance, an African Watusi steer named Oliver may not have been sold like most other calves on his “owners” ranch in Liberty, Texas, but he has labored for them for eight years. He is considered a popular attraction: people pay to have their photo taken with the gentle steer (see figure 29). From an early age, he was fully trained by one of the ranchers (who was previously a professional bull rider) and is described as responding “to a bridle with a modified hackamore” (a hackamore is a noseband that exerts pressure on particular points of the face of the individual wearing it).²⁵

Of course, misery and suffering don’t necessarily lead to resistance. As with human beings, when animals do not resist, this doesn’t imply that they enjoy their work or that their work is appropriate. Everyone processes experiences of trauma and pain differently. Often, individuals will give up hope or bear the burden in silence. As Kathryn Gillespie explains in “Nonhuman Animal Resistance and the Improprieties of Live Property,” farmed animals have been subjected to intensive breeding practices that cull the most resistant tendencies or selectively breed the most subdued individuals. While conducting ethnographic fieldwork on dairy production, Gillespie was informed by one farmer that “some cows on his farm had resisted and become depressed initially after the removal of their first calf or two, but that once they realized this was a regular occurrence, they seemed to have ‘just given up.’”²⁶ As this heartbreaking observation demonstrates, while animals’ resistance can bring their will to the forefront, a lack of visible resistance in no way suggests that they are content, or that their situation is just. Instead of animals rising up in

resistance, life in captivity and a polluted environment, with consistent deprivation and repeated loss of loved ones, can lead an individual to shut down. Some individuals are less willing to take risks that could lead to increased pain, some have doubts that their resistance could ever succeed, and others are wary of leaving behind family members or are frightened of leaping into the abyss.

Animal resistance is a social and political phenomenon. As documentation shows, other animals have been aware of and fought against their exploitation by escaping from cages, retaliating in self-defense, and refusing to perform, comply, and produce. Animals' transgressions and agency become visible in reading the responses to their escapes in Manhattan during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Those occupying the streets and transgressing boundaries defied the systematic control and assault on their bodies. They interrupted notions of where animals belong and the myth of a civilized modernity in which humans are separate from and superior to nonhuman nature. As agents and laborers, diverse animals have actively transformed their surroundings in many contexts.

Methods of Animal Resistance

ANIMALS HAVE RESPONDED TO HUMAN DOMINATION WITH VARIOUS FORMS OF RESISTANCE that include escape, liberations, retaliation, and everyday defiance. Escape involves fleeing captivity by various means, whether utilizing tools, strategies, or a crack in the system. Liberations occur when animals free others from captivity, whether it be through opening cages and gates, breaking down barriers, or moving another out of harm's way. Retaliation entails animals fighting back against their captors or anyone perceived as threatening or blocking the way of freedom. Everyday resistance often manifests as disobedience: animals dragging their hooves, refusing to work, deserting posts, ignoring directions, declining to perform, or causing property damage such as wrecking equipment or damaging enclosures. There are also forms of animal resistance to human violence that, as human observers, we will probably never fully understand. This review is not meant to encapsulate every form of animal resistance, but rather to examine some of the common forms that have been documented and to recognize and take to heart the messages that nonhuman animals are sending through their actions.

ESCAPE

Animals attempt to escape from constricted worlds of human domination daily—from a cage in a sterile laboratory, a tiny pen in a huge warehouse, or an enclosure in a loud exhibit. Some flee by breaking through gates, jumping over fences, unlocking latches, and leaping from trailers. They sprint through the streets, fields, and forests; swim across lakes and rivers; crawl out of drainpipes; slither out of cages; and fly over buildings and forests. Sometimes they are quickly recaptured. Other times the feathered, furred, scaled, gilled, or finned fugitives remain free, transitioning to life in the wild or finding home at a sanctuary. In some cases, numerous individuals will abscond together, such as the three red pandas who climbed out of their cage when a broken tree branch provided an exit route, or the eight camels who fled a traveling circus in northern Bavaria by mysterious means.

Several flamingos have become famous for their successful escapes. Their ability to fly and adapt is advantageous. Escaped flamingos have lived for years in the wild, migrating from place to place. In 1988, when a flamingo named Pink Floyd escaped from Tracy Aviary, he became a local celebrity in the Great Salt Lake Area.¹ Pink Floyd's wintering grounds became the shores of

the Great Salt Lake, where he dined on brine shrimp and socialized with his feathered friends. In the spring and summer, he flew north to Montana and Idaho. A website dedicated to Pink Floyd notes that he was often observed associating with a group of gulls, when not flying in from the north with a group of tundra swans.² Pink Floyd's loyal human fan base even lobbied their governors to import other flamingos to the lake to keep him company (and raised \$25,000 for this endeavor). When state officials put a wrench in the plan, stating ecological concerns, Pink Floyd's followers improvised by providing him with an array of plastic flamingo replicas. He was last observed in Idaho in 2005. Although there is no confirmation of what happened to Pink Floyd after this, many believe that he died during the winter of 2005–2006.

On June 27, 2005, a pair of flamingos took flight from the Sedgwick County Zoo in Wichita, Kansas. The pair had recently arrived from Tanzania. They became known by their ID tags. One of them was 492. Later that year, a birdwatching group observed 492 in Wisconsin, now alone. His partner was assumed to have died. The same winter, 492 *flew south*. Around the same time, another flamingo took flight from a Yucatan nature reserve colony and *flew north*. Then, to the delight of bird enthusiasts on the shores of Louisiana and Texas, this pair of fugitives, from different backgrounds yet sharing a commonality of having escaped, were spotted side by side. The newcomer, a smaller pink flamingo native to Mesoamerica and South America, was also identified by their name tag: it read *HDNT*. A photo captured HDNT and 492 side by side in a shallow lake. Each had a yellow name tag on one leg, reminders of their past in captivity. In 2015, ten years after 492 escaped, he was spotted in Refugio County, alone once again. In May 2019, 492 was spotted in Texas, now estimated to be twenty-three years old.

For orangutans held captive in zoos, escape becomes a “singular obsession.”³ Orangutans possess a combination of ingenuity, strength, and dedication, sometimes spending days or weeks carefully planning their escape. These plans can be elaborate: they include finding the necessary materials, concealing intention and actions, and awaiting the perfect moment to implement the plan.⁴ Orangutans have worked daily, for weeks on end, to remove screws and bolts from their cages, while hiding them from staff.⁵ In one instance, an imprisoned orangutan used clumps of grass as an insulating mitten to protect his hands when climbing over an enclosure made of electrical hot wire. The stories of Fu Manchu and Ken Allen in chapter 3 demonstrated how two orangutans became escape artists and continued to escape several times despite their captors taking strident measures to thwart their plans.

The Tulane National Primate Research Center (TNPRC), located in Covington, Louisiana, has been a site of multiple group escapes. This biomedical research center imprisons over five thousand monkeys for animal testing. The first massive group escape occurred in 1987 when one hundred rhesus monkeys broke out and ran for the nearby swamps.⁶ More recently, in 2005, fifty-three monkeys escaped the TNPRC. Their cage had not been closed properly. After using their observational knowledge to open it, the monkeys took off. Cooperative monkey escapes also occurred at Alpha Genesis, a facility that breeds and sells thousands of monkeys to laboratories where they will be subjected to a wide range of experiments. Alpha Genesis is notorious for allowing monkeys to die from freezing, stress, thirst, and injuries from attacks by other captive animals. In 2016, nineteen monkeys absconded from the Yemassee Alpha Genesis research facility by utilizing a ledge on a damaged metal fence and then scaling a 12-foot-high barrier. In prior years, numerous monkeys had made a break from the facility, including a group of twenty-seven in 2014. One member of this group avoided recapture. Because so many monkeys have escaped captivity over the years, there are now many free-living in the United States. Many others have been injured or died during attempts to flee from testing facilities.⁷



Figure 30. A cow and goat escape from a pen together in Pinellas County, Florida. "Walk on the Wild Side." *Tampa Bay Times*, January 1987, via ZUMA Wire. (Photo by Joan Kadel Fenton.)

Cooperation and affiliation are important to animals' social lives.⁸ They can also play an important role in animals' resistance. At the 45-hectare Royal Burgers Zoo in Arnhem, Netherlands, a chimpanzee colony made an impressively organized escape attempt. The escape was documented on film by a researcher named Emil Menzel, who recounted the story at a lecture during the 1970s (a time when tool use in nonhuman animals was still a matter of contention). First, the group found a tree trunk and collaboratively moved it inside the wall of their enclosure. Leaning the trunk against the wall, several chimpanzees held the pole while others climbed up. The plan was complex: they had to avoid the electrified wire coils. They also used hand gestures at "critical moments" to recruit assistance from the other apes.⁹ In another escape at the same zoo, a group of chimpanzees shaped themselves into a pyramid so that one of them could climb to the top of their enclosure. The first chimpanzee to reach the top assisted those below.¹⁰

Different animal species have occasionally absconded from captivity together. One such instance occurred in January 1987, when a cow and goat escaped from a pen in Pinellas County, Florida. After departing from a residence near 119th Street, north of Umerton Road, the friends wandered through a neighborhood across from Ridgecrest Elementary School (see figure 30). They are reported to have returned to the residence by the time local deputies arrived. In November 2016, a pig named Ponyboy and sheep named Johnny escaped from an unknown location in Southern California and were found wandering the streets. They were rescued by Farm Sanctuary after being picked up by animal control and sent to a local shelter. Another multi-species breakout occurred when dozens of goats and sheep fled from an auction yard in Hackettstown, New Jersey, likely instigated by a previously escaped goat named Fred,

ANIMAL LIBERATION

Animals have attempted, and sometimes succeeded in, rescuing or retaliating on behalf of others in need. Often, they must break free themselves before turning around and freeing their fellow captives. Consider the story of Fred, a goat who lived free in Hackettstown, New Jersey, for one year. Around late summer of 2017, Fred was being held at an animal auction house in Hackettstown, destined to be sold and slaughtered. But before this could happen, he made a bold move and broke out.¹¹ Now, some may have thought this would be the last anyone heard of Fred, but he had different ideas. He decided to stay around the town, popping up to be seen from time to time, especially near the local police station (a daring move). And so, his popularity grew.

In August 2018, Fred the Urban Legend became Fred the Potential Liberator when dozens of farmed animals at the same auction house inexplicably broke free. Coincidence? It doesn't appear that way. The local police department confirmed that Fred had been sighted near the auction house just hours before the latest breakout. Then, the following day, Fred turned up at the site of the breakout and was spotted by the auction manager headbutting the gate that was holding the recently recaptured farmed animals. The manager shooed Fred away and was quick to share his assessment that Fred had instigated the mass breakout. Perhaps Fred was not just interested in his own freedom, but, like other animal activists, wanted his fellow beings to experience this freedom too.

At the Battersea Dogs and Cats Home in London, England, several dogs stumped the staff when, each night for several days, they escaped from locked cages.¹² Shelter staff were surprised to find the kennels in one block open each morning when they arrived to work. It started with two dogs and soon increased to a dozen. Initially, the employees were blamed for failing to secure the kennels. But after installing video cameras in the corridor, kitchen, and kennel of a dog named Red (whose cage was always found open), the shelter discovered that something more interesting was happening. Each evening, Red was opening the latch of his own kennel. After a quick snack in the kitchen, Red would then let his "best buddies" out of their cages. Red had learned to release the spring-loaded catch through the bars by using his teeth. The staff stepped up security after this revelation. Red would soon be free of the cage once again, as he was adopted two weeks later.

In another demonstration of mutual aid, a parrot named Chango in Wichita, Kansas, not only freed himself, but facilitated a group escape of double yellow-headed parrots. When a couple who kept the parrots for breeding left for a weekend, he took the opportunity to unscrew the bolts on his cage using his beak. After his own escape, he flew around the room unlatching the other birds' cages.¹³ The person checking on the parrots found them flying around the room. Chango gave his friends a taste of freedom, though sadly it was soon taken away. This story highlights his ingenuity and empathy, and that freedom can be sweeter when surrounded by friends.

The infamous Mocha Dick attempted to liberate fellow whales. Starting around 1810, he survived many, possibly over one hundred, encounters with vessels in the Pacific Ocean. The white 70-foot long whale was known to be friendly and playful, often swimming alongside ships, but became fierce when defending himself and other whales. Mocha Dick is credited with having sunk over a dozen whale hunting ships. Named for the island of Mocha off the coast of Chile (where he was often encountered), he was introduced in an article by Jeremiah Reynolds, "Mocha Dick: or the White Whale of the Pacific: A Leaf from a Manuscript Journal," which was published in 1839.¹⁴ According to Reynolds, Mocha Dick died in 1838 while attempting to assist another whale whose calf had just been killed. When the mother realized that her calf was



Figure 31. Moby Dick flips a whale hunting boat. Illustration by Rockwell Kent published in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1930 ed.), which was inspired by stories of Mocha Dick.

dead, she had tried to attack the whale hunters' ship but was harpooned and killed in the process. Upon witnessing her plight, Mocha Dick retaliated against the same ship. Although he managed to destroy a small boat, he was hit by a harpoon and died soon after. Reynolds reports that over twenty harpoons were found in Mocha Dick. The men capitalized on the oil as well as the highly sought ambergris that was extracted from his body.

This incident was not the end of Mocha Dick sightings, however. The naturalist and whale expert Richard Ellis notes that there were continued reports of him attacking ships between 1840–1842.¹⁵ Additionally, a decade after Reynolds's publication, a man claimed to have spotted Mocha Dick with a shocking “depository” of some two or three hundred harpoons; and their broken lines, green with sea-moss, and knotted with barnacles.” The whale had, in this account, cruised through the Arctic Ocean to Honolulu, where he was sighted by the captain of the *Superior* who dared not attack him.¹⁶ There may well have been other old, large whales whose resistant actions were associated with Mocha Dick. Many sperm whales defended themselves and their fellow whales from those who sought to profit in the multimillion-dollar whale hunting industry.

Animals coming to the aid of other animals in captivity or distress also occurs across species lines. One powerful liberation attempt was recorded in KwaZulu-Natal, Africa, when eleven elephants tried to rescue a group of antelopes who were captive at a private game reserve. One of the elephants used her trunk to release the latch to a gate behind which the antelopes were being

held, allowing them to escape.¹⁷ As these stories demonstrate, many animals have a desire to free fellow beings regardless of whether they belong to the same species.

RETALIATION

Animals fight back after being abused. They charge after being shot. They use tools or their own bodies for self-defense. As well as direct human violence, in the twenty-first century, human-caused changing climate, deforestation, and pollution force animals to resist. As Rebecca Solnit writes, human-caused “climate change is itself violence. Extreme, horrific, long-term, widespread violence” that harms humans and other animals. In her groundbreaking article on pollution’s detrimental effects, Rachel Carson referred to this violence as “man’s war against nature.”¹⁸ As long as the war on animals continues, they will have no other option than to resist human encroachment and colonization.

Like Mocha Dick, numerous sperm whales were known for retaliating against their oppressors, either on their own behalf or for their fellow whales. A famous act of sperm whale resistance occurred when a large whale took revenge on a crew that had attacked and wounded three other whales. On the morning of November 20, 1820, crew members of a whale hunting ship from Nantucket called the *Essex* were pursuing and attacking a pod of sperm whales from three boats. When one of the whales was harpooned, their tail damaged the boat of the first mate, Owen Chase. Later, Chase was repairing the boat while aboard the *Essex* when the crew noticed another sperm whale—estimated to be 85-feet long—some distance away. At first the whale floated motionless on the surface. But after spouting a few times, he dove and resurfaced less than 35 yards from the ship.

The huge whale then rammed the ship and passed underneath, bumping the bottom so hard that he knocked off the false keel. After swimming away, the whale turned and approached the ship a second time. He struck the ship again, this time shattering the hull, which caused water to fill the lower deck. As the ship sank, the whale swam away, and the *Essex* crew was left bobbing in the wreck. After two days, the twenty crew members packed everything they could and rigged three whale boats with makeshift masts and sails, but it was a long journey ahead and supplies were scarce. At one point several of the men resorted to cannibalism. Only eight of the crew members survived the ordeal. Three of them had been left on an island and were near death when help finally arrived. When he later reflected on the incident, Chase recognized the whale’s attack as a sign of revenge, writing in his journal: “He came directly from the shoal which we had just before entered . . . and in which we had struck three of his companions, as if fired with revenge for their sufferings.”¹⁹ The whale’s attack on the *Essex* is thought to have inspired Herman Melville’s book, *Moby Dick*, as did the numerous reports of the infamous Mocha Dick.

EVERYDAY DEFIANCE

Animals engage in daily understated resistance. They hide from crowds, deliberately perform poorly, ignore commands, stop working, and bite their exploiters. Everyday defiance might mean sabotaging the tools of their oppression and destroying the property that confines them, such as

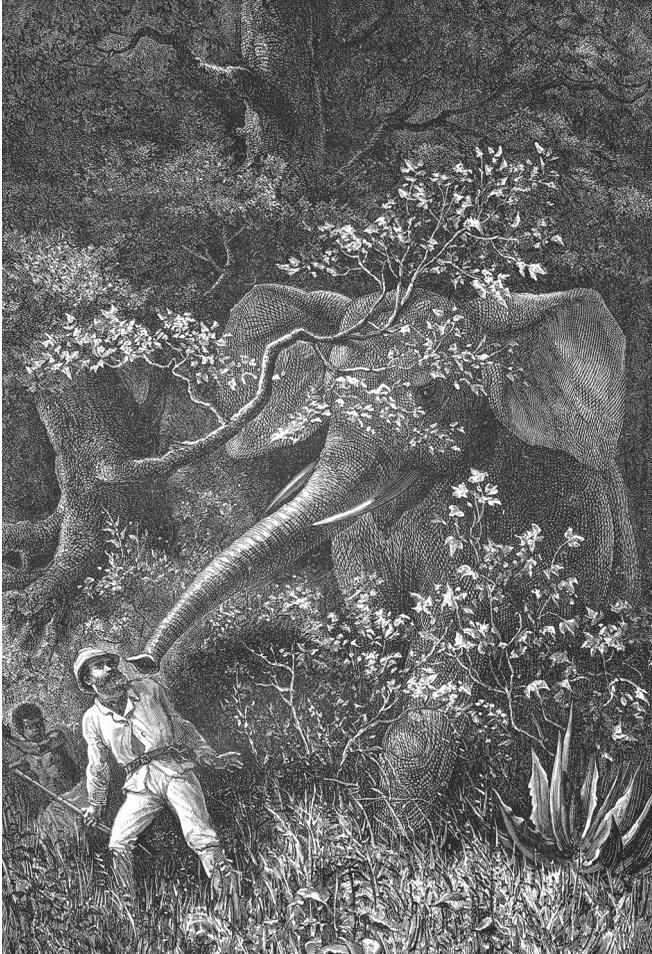


Figure 32. Colonialist Henry Morton Stanley and an elephant in Tanzania. Illustration by Émile-Antoine Bayard.

when Janet the elephant smashed the bullhook against the trailer. Acts of everyday resistance can also involve using the oppressor's tools to further an individual's own goal, appropriating the means of oppression. Such appropriation is seen in an example described by George A. Kennedy in "A Hoot in the Dark: The Evolution of General Rhetoric." Citing a case of "bricolage"—meaning to use whatever is available—Kennedy observed that when his local city enforcement set traps to exterminate the beaver population, the beavers built the traps into their own dams.²⁰ Recall also Ken Allen's appropriation of the crowbar left in his cell in order to break free, or Fu Manchu's collection of wire that he used to pick the cage lock.

Everyday defiance can mean refusing commands, and in the case of a highly prized horse named Chautauqua, refusing to budge. One day, Chautauqua would not leave the starting gate. From then on, he refused to race. This resistance was significant because, from an early age, he had been forced to wear a saddle and bridle and submit through a process of breaking in. As the highest-earning Australian sprinter, he had already brought in over \$8 million for his "owners." After he refused to race seven times, they were given a final warning. If Chautauqua resisted again, he would have to be retired. On September 28, 2018, Chautauqua was at the starting gates for a race in Moonee Valley, Melbourne, alongside other horses and their riders. The gates opened. His rider kicked and slapped Chautauqua. But he remained still in defiance. The "owners" did not accept his incomppliance. They attempted to "reeducate" Chautauqua by recruiting a trainer

who used standard industry practices in an attempt to break his spirit. But Chautauqua didn't crack. By repeatedly standing still, despite the pressure and force he knew could come as a result, he finally escaped the track.²¹ It is uncertain what the future holds for Chautauqua. In late 2019, rather than being granted retirement at a sanctuary, he was once again being trained to perform. This time it was for horse shows. However, it was reported that a "minor setback" has delayed his return to the track.

Buddha was another individual who refused to comply with his oppressors, with tragic results. No alarm bells rang when Buddha resisted, but like Chautauqua, his actions were crystal clear. When the orangutan, who had once costarred with Clint Eastwood, stopped working on a Hollywood set in 1980, he was repeatedly clubbed by his trainer. The crew witnessed Buddha being beaten with a hard cane, yet he was still forced onto the set and expected to perform. One day, when Buddha helped himself to some doughnuts on set, his trainer beat him to death with an axe handle. These last moments were in his cage. The film left Buddha out of the credits.²² Buddha deserved better than these atrocities during his life and his final moments.

Animals' everyday resistance is a response to everyday violence. Gillespie describes how when animals resist, violent retribution by humans has been normalized. Animals are subjected to "every day acts of violence (such as beating, shocking, and killing)" that are a form of "making mundane," and necessary for their commodification and use to persist.²³ She gives the case of the farmed auction yard as a space designed specifically to subdue animal resisters. Not only does the farmed auction yard facilitate the animals' commodification—as ownable beings to be bought and sold—like other spaces of animal commodification, it violently represses resistance.²⁴ At auction yards, beating, yelling, and shocking of farmed animals are commonplace. Sometimes, as with a steer who Gillespie observed trying to escape one yard, the price for dissidence is death on the spot.

For those who manage to escape animal enterprises, it is often the first time they experience a world beyond a walled, caged, barred, netted, or fenced enclosure. Although their first inclination may be to run, do they take a moment to enjoy the breeze or rain, savor the grass and earth, and relish in their newfound freedom, perhaps once seen as only belonging to other creatures such as birds, insects, and humans? What happens to runaway animals who make it into the wild?

Into the Wild

IN JANUARY 2018, ORNITHOLOGIST ADAM ZBYRYT WAS OBSERVING A HERD OF BISON when one member caught his attention. “It’s not unusual to see bison near the Bialowieza Forest,” Zbyryt reported, “but one animal caught my eye. It was a completely different light-brown shade from the rest of the herd.”¹ As it turned out, there was a domesticated cow in the herd, an escapee from a farm in the area. The cow had never lived in the wild but was readily accepted into the free-living bison herd. After escaped animals cross the material barriers holding them captive, they can cross geographical barriers: urban and wild, city and forest, land and water. These crossings unsettle conceptual boundaries that dictate *where* animals belong in human society, such as the unsettling of where this cow, who was designated as property but found a home free with the bison, belongs. This freedom entailed feeding and fending for herself, and breaching the species barrier, albeit one also classified under the taxonomic subfamily *bovinae*.

Some domesticated animals will revert to their wild roots when given a chance; they adapt, even thrive, in the wild to avoid exploitation. Reverting to wildness is often associated with carnivores, such as cats who are partially domesticated animals living on the borders between domesticated, feral, and wild.² As we have seen, the breaching of domesticated and wild boundaries occurs frequently with herbivores too. In fact, as Jason Hribal notes, the Spanish term *cimarrones*, meaning “wild ones,” once referred to escaped cows.³ Today’s domesticated cows, for instance, have been engineered into a much different creature than their ancestors, the wild aurochs, who were known to kill hunters with the flick of their horns. But when allowed to express themselves in a free, or semi-free, living state, their unique personality traits, preferences, and intuition (and in some cases, the fierceness of their wild ancestors) becomes highly apparent.

BOVINES AT THE BORDER

Upon escaping from a Vermont auction house in April 2005, a cow traveled along the countryside, crossing a river and several roads. Her quest led to a small farm located near two square miles of forest. There she retreated into the woodlot, but she soon began visiting the farm to eat seeds from a birdfeeder. The farm belonged to Bill and Barbara Chamberlain, who happened to be members of Farm Sanctuary. They were away at the time. The cow, who was later named Annie Dodge, was first spotted when the person filling the Chamberlains’s bird feeder while they were

away noticed that someone (other than the birds) was enjoying the seeds. Noticing the cracked corn and sunflower seeds left beneath the feeder, she thought the visitor might be a moose.⁴ After the Chamberlains returned and studied the tracks carefully, they realized the prints were more rounded than moose prints; rather, “they were the prints of Annie the cow.”⁵

The Chamberlains’ first glimpse of Annie came at twilight. They noticed that she would enter their yard late in the day, and they began anticipating her evening visits. An auction house offered to slaughter her for the Chamberlains, but they balked at the idea. They wanted to help Annie, not allow someone to shoot her or recapture her for slaughter. The question was, how? Gradually, they earned Annie’s trust by speaking to her and offering her food. Although still frightened of humans, she stayed a little longer with each visit. The Chamberlains put out hay and water and slowly moved these towards the barn, adding grain and wild apples. On October 25, 2005, Annie moved into the barn.

Annie was then picked up by Farm Sanctuary, which named her after Annie Dodge Wauneka. When she arrived at the sanctuary, the other resident cows began comforting and calming her. Their compassionate welcome helped dissolve her new caregivers’ concerns that she would have difficulty socializing after being alone for the most part for several months. She even became friends with three other cows who had escaped animal agribusiness. One of her new companions was Cincinnati Freedom, a white Charolais who jumped over a six-foot fence and fled from an Ohio slaughterhouse in 2002, remaining on the lam for eleven days in Mount Storm Park, Clifton.⁶ There were also Queenie and Maxine, escapees from New York live markets whose stories are discussed in chapter 7. The four friends traveled and grazed together.

Bonnie was another bovine who captured the hearts of her neighbors while on the lam. In 2018, the brown and white calf, who was only four months old, fled from a farm in Holland, New York, and absconded into the forest. The farmer had recently passed away, and the herd was put up for sale. When Bonnie heard the cries of her family being forced onto a trailer, she knew something was wrong and fled. News that there was an escaped cow living in the forest spread quickly. Neighbors caught glimpses of her in the woods before she quickly disappeared into the bush. Weeks went by and people began to wonder how the calf was surviving on her own. It turned out she was in good company. Cameras set up by hunters caught her on film, and to the surprise of many, she wasn’t alone. Bonnie was traveling, foraging, and grazing with a herd of deer. The deer offered her the companionship she needed after losing her family and showed her how to survive in the wild. They likely helped Bonnie avoid capture: deer have acute senses and will stomp their front feet on the ground to warn their herd when they sense danger. In fact, in July 2011, a black Angus calf who fled into the forest of Milford, Connecticut, also lived with deer and escaped capture twice thanks to the deer stomping during her five months of freedom.

Many people in Holland were rooting for Bonnie. Some wanted to see her placed in a sanctuary, but she was still afraid of humans. A neighbor named Becky Bartels moved into action. Although Bonnie was receiving help from the deer, she faced dangers. Neighbors were threatening to kill Bonnie if she transgressed onto their property. Also, a previous northeastern winter had brought three feet of snow. Bartels decided she would try to gain Bonnie’s trust. Each morning at 6:30 a.m., she pulled a sled piled with food and bedding through the snow. With every visit, Bonnie became more comfortable with Bartels and eventually approached her. Before long the deer were also approaching Bartels for treats. It would have been a nice routine to continue, but Bartels remembered the neighbors’ threats. So, after eight months living a clandestine life in the forest, Bonnie was rescued by Farm Sanctuary. The operation took three trips and two weeks, but eventually, Bonnie was brought to her new home.⁷



Figure 33. Bonnie in the woods. (Photo courtesy of Farm Sanctuary.)

It is common to hear stories of intelligent dogs or dignified cats, but such personalizing qualities are less often attributed to farmed animals. In May 2011, when a six-year-old cow named Yvonne fled from a dairy farm in the small German village of Muehldorf, her life was imbued with meaning: she became both a symbol of national sentimentality (independence of the small town) and freedom fighter for justice. Yvonne lived in the woods for several months, during which time a tabloid offered 10,000 euros for her capture. The local mayor remarked that because of Yvonne's burgeoning fame, no one would dare to shoot her now. News reports described Yvonne as outsmarting the police and emerging only at night. An animal rescue worker described her as intelligent and aware: "Yvonne knows exactly what she's doing, and she's tricking us."⁸

Yvonne was described as not only creating her own destiny, but also being on the side of justice. After escaping, as one article explained, she "adopted a lifestyle that might be called Sherwoodian: sticking to forests, eluding police, and bringing acclaim and tourist dollars to her quaint village."⁹ The reference to Yvonne leading a "Sherwoodian" lifestyle brings her into the good company of another elusive and well-loved figure who spent his life in the forest: Robin Hood, known in legend as stealing from the rich to help the poor (and who, as the story goes, had many rewards offered for his capture). This allusion places Yvonne on the side of the people and against the wealthy royalty who would hunt animals in that same forest. Those trying to capture her even attempted to lure her with a particularly likable ox named Ernst, who was meant to capture her heart. Yvonne was eventually caught when she wandered into a meadow of cows on the property of a farmer who described her as seeming lonely and stressed. The farmer was given the reward, and a sanctuary called Gut Aiderbichl in Deggendorf purchased Yvonne. They also gave sanctuary to Yvonne's son, Friesi, and her sister, Waltraud. The expressions of Yvonne

seeking companionship, acting with awareness, pranking her pursuers, and feeling loneliness demonstrate a new way of understanding farmed animals that emerges in these stories.

While Annie Dodge, Bonnie, and Yvonne were fortunate to be granted life at sanctuaries, most animals who escape captivity have not been so lucky. Animals who transgress human-established boundaries between domesticated and wild become perceived (by some) as disorderly or dangerous, and those who teeter in a liminal space, on the edge of civilization, are perceived as unsettling. The degree to which these bovines on the border appear as disorderly or frightening depends on the extent to which they are perceived as threatening to infiltrate the community.

When four cows escaped from a Columbia, Maryland, farm in 1993, descriptions of “wildness” were invoked to justify shooting them. After their escape, the cows took refuge in the woods. Over the next six weeks, police tracked them on foot and even by helicopter. At night the cautious group would emerge to eat grass at a golf course. The manager remarked of their elusiveness: “You couldn’t get very close to them. They had become like deer . . . They were incredibly fast.”¹⁰ In the end, two of the cows were shot by police, while the other two remained free by absconding deeper into the forest. One police consultant, whose additional role as a dairy-farm research manager suggests a partial viewpoint, argued that the police had acted correctly by shooting the cows because they had become wild and it was “the only choice.” Within the narrative of civilization, it was incomprehensible to just allow the cows to remain free-living.

On March 11, 2011, a herd of thirty cows entered the gardens of a North Wales housing estate after escaping a farm in the area. Before long, eight officers had arrived on the scene. As the officers forced the cows into a nearby field, a joint decision was made by the city council, the Welsh Assembly Government, and an animal welfare agency that the animals must be shot “on welfare grounds” to prevent their suffering. Shots rang out through the village as the officers proceeded to massacre the cows. Children who had been playing nearby, and were on their way to visit the cows, were left screaming in horror. As one bystander noted, “some of the youngsters were hysterical and traumatized by it.” The cows’ escape brought the children into the vicinity of a species featured in some of their favorite stories, but the reality was nothing like the fantasy that we have been taught. (There is an immensely profitable industry, constructing and responding to children’s love of “farm animals,” that naturalizes the “farm” status and location.) The same year, a dozen cows escaped a paddock and made themselves at home on the quiet streets and lawns in Peacehaven, Tredegar, Blaenau Gwent, Wales. These cows were described as “frightening” to the community, peering in windows and treading through gardens. One resident stated, “We are used to having pints of milk delivered to our doorstep but not the whole cow.”¹¹ As this comment shows, the cows’ natures are believed to be constituted entirely in relation to the products of their labor, and on which side of the fence they were placed (or positioned themselves).

In each of these stories, the cows appear disorderly or “frightening” because of the decontextualization that occurs when they transgress the walls of captivity. The dominant narratives in our society create stories about runaway animals while purposefully forgetting the histories that have led these individuals to flee and appear in these human-centered spaces: the golf courses, schools, paved roads, and residential communities. The escaped animals are viewed as dangerous to those entitled to these spaces, private property, and the safety of the community. As Sara Ahmed writes, “Strangers become objects not only of perception but also of governance: public policy for managing strangers: a way of removing those who would be eyesores; those who would reduce the value of the neighborhood; those whose proximity would be registered

as price. We learn from this. There are technologies in place that stop us from being affected by some bodies; those that might get in the way of how we occupy space.”¹² The agreement by those in power that these animals’ bodies are dangerous endangers them further, leading to their slaughter or massacre. I return to the question of the public’s response to animal resisters, including the consequences of stranger danger narratives for animal runaways, in the following chapter.

FINDING A WILD HOME

Some cows who reside on the border of urban and wild have found a home. A group of “rebel cows” in the coastal region of Liguria, northwestern Italy, found some solace living in its mountainous terrain and rolling hills. Back in the mid-1990s, a herd of cows was introduced to the area to help with a fire-risk-reduction project through having them graze on open areas. When residents ran tight on funds, they decided to dispense with the project. The authorities subsequently attempted to round up the herd for slaughter, but only partially succeeded. A few cows remained at liberty, rediscovering their agility and swiftness, and consequently inverting their domestication. Since then, because food can be scarce in the area, especially during winter, the cows will sometimes descend into the villages for a snack. While they have been known to frequent the local residents’ vegetable patches, generally the residents have warmed to the herd. But the herd still lives with a judicial order of death over their heads, as well as threats from poachers. One adaptive measure the cows have taken in this precarious situation is appointing a member of the herd to act as lookout while the others are grazing. They have learned to only enter the villages after dark and stick to the high mountains during daylight. A documentary called *Rebel Cows*, released by filmmaker Paolo Rossi, captured footage of the cows, using trail cameras. Rossi expressed concern for the cows’ survival due to the obstacles they face—“it’s very difficult for them to live in the wild now,” he said.¹³ Footage from his camera crew shows only six cows remaining, although it’s likely there are a few others who weren’t captured on film.

Throughout history, many animals have managed to escape human clutches completely. One famous case is that of Moe the chimpanzee. Moe’s story could have inspired the 2011 film *Rise of the Planet of the Apes*, about a domesticated ape who ends up in a dingy for-profit facility but escapes and disappears into California’s redwood forest. Moe’s mother was killed by hunters in the wild, and the orphaned chimpanzee was adopted in 1967 by St. James and LaDonna Davis, a couple living in California. St. James was known to carry young Moe in a sling as he worked in his auto shop. Moe wore clothing and was the best man at their wedding. He watched television, and when he was older, was cast in Hollywood movies. As he grew older, Moe’s time was increasingly spent in an outdoor 10x12-foot cage. In 1998, Moe escaped this enclosure and ran through the neighborhood. It took several animal-control workers and officers to contain him, one of whom had their hand mauled by Moe. After thirty years with the Davises, everything changed the following year. Moe bit the hand of a visitor who had reached through his cage; apparently her painted fingernails looked like red licorice. The next day the Davises were ordered to send him to a wildlife facility. He lived there until he was transferred to another facility for “dangerous” chimpanzees (who had been exploited in the entertainment industry until they were considered too unpredictable) called Animal Haven Ranch.

The Davises would visit Moe there several times a month, bringing food for all the chimpanzees

in his cage. On Moe's thirty-ninth birthday, they brought him a cake. They had just passed it to Moe when another tragedy struck. Two younger chimpanzees in the facility escaped from their cage and attacked the couple, pushing LaDonna over and biting her thumb, and leaving St. James in critical condition. The two chimpanzees were shot and killed. Moe, who was unable to intervene because of his imprisonment, became depressed after the incident. LaDonna stopped visiting him regularly and St. James remained for some time in an induced coma. LaDonna describes visiting Moe on Mother's Day and him jumping up and down in delight to see her.¹⁴ Three years later, at the age of forty-two, Moe was "retired" to life in a cage at another miserable place called Jungle Exotics, a business that rents out animals for the entertainment industry, in Devore, California. On June 29, 2008, Jungle Exotics supervisor Tom Betty reported that a chimp had gone missing, stating, "I don't know if he escaped or not."¹⁵ Later, Betty stated that Moe was thought to have escaped to Southern California's San Bernardino National Forest.

A large group of volunteers and animal control officers, as well as a private helicopter, mobilized to search the forested area. Michael McCasland, who identified as a friend of the Davises, said that he had been told the following: "Moe opened his cage Friday and walked to the caretaker's home at Jungle Exotics . . . He then kept on going to a nearby home that is being remodeled. After surprising workers there, he disappeared into the wild."¹⁶ McCasland believes that Moe made it to the San Bernardino Forest, which appears to be corroborated by the workers who saw Moe at the nearby home.

When we think of animals who escape their cages, we often envision a chimpanzee like Moe, or perhaps a bird, a small rodent, or maybe even a cat or dog who cleverly maneuvered out of a kennel. But how about an octopus? Sea animals are also known to escape from captivity. One such individual was Inky, a soccer-ball-sized octopus held captive in a New Zealand aquarium. Inky managed to make a great escape not only out of his aquarium tank, but back into the sea. During the evening, when all was quiet, Inky had slipped out of his tank and squeezed through a tiny drain hole that led right into Hawke Bay, a large bay located on the east coast of the North Island. How did he do it? First, Inky slipped right through a small gap at the top of the tank. Then, as octopus tracks showed, Inky slithered eight feet across the floor and made his way down a 164-foot drainpipe that was just six inches in diameter. Staff searched the aquarium's pipes for Inky, but there was no trace of the escapee. Inky had managed to get into a hole that drained into the ocean and torpedoed into the depths.

Octopus experts like Alix Harvey of the Marine Biological Association in England weren't surprised at all. As Harvey explains, "Octopuses are fantastic escape artists . . . they have a complex brain, have excellent eyesight, and research suggests they have an ability to learn and form mental maps."¹⁷ She recalled an octopus at a British aquarium who escaped their tank one night, crawled to a nearby tank, and dined on a fish for dinner before returning to their tank. In another case, a worker at the Marine Biological Station in Plymouth, UK, observed a captive octopus out of their tank, crawling down the stairs early in the night.¹⁸ As invertebrates, octopuses can squeeze their soft, flexible bodies through the smallest of spaces. Sy Montgomery describes octopuses' ability to escape captivity as "Houdini-like." Staff at aquariums put hours into inventing escape-proof lids and finding ways to keep octopuses occupied. But to really listen to octopuses means understanding that they want to be free. The ocean is their natural habitat. Unfortunately, humans have been moving in the opposite direction, with plans now in the works to factory-farm these intelligent creatures in even tinier enclosures than they have in exhibits.

It isn't just these clever cephalopods who sometimes succeed in escaping back to the ocean. A fish who crawls on land, called the walking catfish, regularly escapes ponds and fish farms in



Figure 34. Trout try to escape after being hooked on a line. Valentine Thomas Garland, *Trout at Winchester*, 19th.

the United States and China by crawling out at night.¹⁹ Thousands of salmon have also escaped from fish farms. In *What a Fish Knows: The Inner Lives of Our Underwater Cousins*, Jonathan Balcombe notes that fishes confined in aquaculture farms, which are like underwater factory farms, sometimes defy humans by escaping their cramped and unnatural environments. They swim “through nets damaged by seals or storms,” but it is difficult for them to survive in the wild because they have never been free-living fish.²⁰

Anyone who has seen a fish caught on a line knows that they will resist the pain of being hooked through the mouth and unable to get oxygen. Studies confirm that fish are acutely sensitive to pain. Scientist Dr. Donald Broom of Cambridge University explains, “Anatomically, physiologically and biologically, the pain system in fish is virtually the same as in birds and mammals.”²¹ But humans have denied that fish are conscious and can experience pain. The primary relationships humans have with fish tend to revolve around eating them, catching them, or watching them swim circles in tanks. Adult rainbowfish are among the many fish who have demonstrated excellent cognition, particularly memory. One study showed how they learned to escape from a trawl through a purposefully placed hole in an experimental tank. After improving their escape ability dramatically over several sessions, the rainbowfish were given a year off from the experiment. The following year, the same fish were put into the tank again for the experiment. Their ability to use the escape hole was at the same rate that it had been after their learning curve the year before. It was like no time had passed at all.²² The rainbowfish’s demonstrated memory is an example of long-term memory in the study of fish cognition.²³

BECOMING ESTABLISHED

Animals' escapes into the wild have led to the establishment of new populations of their species in different areas throughout the world. For instance, in North America, South America, and Australia, feral horse and donkey populations were established from domesticated ancestors who escaped the European colonialists who used them for transportation. In North America, many horses brought over by Spanish explorers escaped from captivity, such as from Hernando Cortés in 1519 at Veracruz, Mexico, or Hernando de Soto along the Mississippi River. Horses who were enlisted in the 1540 expedition of Spanish conquistador and explorer Francisco Vázquez de Coronado fled from the army and thrived freely in several plainslands.

Animals fled from the fashion industry and established wild populations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The coypu, similar in appearance to a beaver, was introduced to North America (and other countries) from South America for fur farming. When free-living, coypus burrow along rivers and other stretches of water, feeding on plant stems. In the U.S. fur industry, the lucky ones would escape small, filthy cages by burrowing under fences or taking advantage of storm damage. Coypus living in Texas have descended from those who escaped after being brought to Louisiana in 1937. Some of them absconded from a farm during a hurricane in 1940 and made themselves homes in wetland marshes and swamps, before moving further into the southern states. In Maryland marshes, coypus lived feral in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In 1945, fur-farm runaways were found living in California's Stanislaus County.²⁴ They also spread through western Oregon after escapes during the 1930s to 1950s. Today, coypus are established in the southeastern United States and beyond.

Fur farming has been a significant commercial enterprise since the twentieth century. During her undercover investigations of fur farms, Jo-Anne McArthur made the following observation: "With all the investigations I've been part of, it's been disturbing to me how close these fur farms are to the natural habitat of the animals inside them. In addition to the putrefaction of their own waste they stand over, minks, raccoons and foxes can smell and see the forest, just beyond their reach."²⁵ In a cruel irony, living in small wire cages, animals bred for fur live are often placed excruciatingly close to their natural wild habitat.

In the small town of Maynard in Massachusetts, a mink farm called Taylor's Mink Ranch, which operated until the 1960s, held nearly ten thousand minks. Owner John Taylor was a fur dealer known to have bred minks with light-colored fur through a chance mutation. The white coats produced from these minks were seen by patrons as a sign of prestige, and by activists as a symbol of animal exploitation. Some of the white minks escaped and became free-living. Over fifty years after Taylor's Mink Ranch closed, descendants of these minks (signified by their white fur) are occasionally spotted at Concord's Great Meadow National Wildlife Refuge.²⁶

American minks established free-living populations throughout Europe after being imported and escaping from hundreds of fur farms, starting with feral minks being spotted in Sweden in 1928 and Britain in 1929. In Japan, a species called the masked palm civet, also known as the gem-faced civet, was imported for fur farming in the 1940s. They had been used in ancient times as well. Masked palm civets escaped captivity and were spotted in various parts of the country: central Hondo, Shikoku, Yamanashi, and Shinano, and in the Nagano, Yamanashi, and Shizuoka prefectures.²⁷ In 1985, they were still established in eastern and southern Honshu. Canada foxes escaped from fur farms on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, and became established in the Sayward forest north of Campbell River. The population is believed to have peaked in 1948. Because their escapes are so common, in addition to the pens and cages holding thousands of



Figure 35. Curious escapee at a mink farm. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/Djurrattsalliansen.)

animals, fur farms now have additional perimeter fences to keep animals contained. While animals have regularly escaped on their own throughout the years, there have always been humans willing to assist in their departures.

Often escapees will establish populations far from their native environment, such as monk parakeets native to South America. The infamous self-sustaining monk parakeet colony known as the wild Brooklyn parrots made themselves at home throughout the city (see figure 36). The birds living there today are thought to be descendants of the group that escaped from the John F. Kennedy Airport while being imported for sale in pet stores in the 1960s. They nest in the same spaces each year. At the Green-Wood Cemetery, they have built nests against the terra-cotta features on the main gate, and at Brooklyn College, they nest in light posts found on the campus fields.

Animals who escaped from being used as entertainment have established themselves in the wild. In the United Kingdom, as early as 1850, captive wallabies and kangaroos made a break for freedom, founding feral populations in the woods near Norfolk. Chinese water deer were brought to Woburn Park, Bedfordshire, in England by the Duke of Bedford around 1900, and later escaped into the surrounding woods. The population grew with the arrival of escapees from Whipsnade.²⁸ In 1944, the duke brought water deer to Hampshire. Again, several made a bid for freedom. These runaways were observed on the Hampshire-Berkshire border in the late 1940s, as well as in the wilds of Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, and Oxfordshire. In Ludlow, Shropshire, a few water deer escaped from a park in 1956. Seven years later, it was estimated that twenty feral water deer were living outside the park. Likewise, in 1950, water deer escaped from Studley Royal Park in Ripon, Yorkshire, and four years later several were observed living outside the park.²⁹



Figure 36. Monk parakeets at the Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York. It is believed that monk parakeets became established in the area after escaping from JFK Airport in the 1960s. (Photo by Linda Harms.)

Animals who abscond from the food industry can often survive free-living given the right conditions. Many domesticated pigs have run from game ranches, farms, or slaughterhouses. Most of the time, they remain hidden. Already excellent scavengers, pigs survive by following creeks and looking for farm crops. The fast growth of pig populations in new areas regularly occurs after they escape from fenced hunting areas (as well as illegal transport and release). A wildlife biologist with Michigan's Department of Natural Resources noted that pigs are difficult to contain on game ranches because they make holes in the fences or dig under them. Once pigs escape, their physicality begins adapting to the wild. This is a notable occurrence because, in 1260, according to the records, a cull of the last remaining true wild boars was ordered in the Forest of the Dean (the western part of Gloucestershire, England) by Henry III. Living independently in the woods can lead a previously farmed pig to develop a bristly dark coat and long tusks resembling their wild boar ancestors, sometimes in a matter of months. It was hypothesized that Sundance of the legendary "Tamworth Two"—a pair of pigs who escaped while being unloaded from a slaughterhouse truck in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, and stayed hidden in a nearby thicket for days—had a more "rebellious nature" because one of his parents was a wild boar. As one member of the large search party stated, "He's obviously quite bright. He's foxed a number of people for a number of days. I don't want to spend another day chasing around Malmesbury."³⁰ Butch and Sundance lived the remainder of their lives at a Rare Breeds Centre instead of being sent back to the slaughterhouse.

Newly freed animals have conceived children with already free-living animals, giving way to new hybridized identities. Feral ostriches in the Horn of Africa have mated with non-feral

wild ostriches. After escaping from farms, reindeer (the Eurasian caribou's domesticated form) introduced into Canada's north to start a herding industry, mated with native caribou. Rewilded chickens in Southeast Asia have hatched chicks with wild red jungle fowl, and their chicks have a hybridized appearance. Feral cats in the United States have had kittens with wild bobcats, and in southern Africa, with the African wildcat. Runaway animals are sometimes described as "threatening the purity" of their wild counterparts and wild populations. For instance, in most of South Africa, free-living ostriches are considered "impure" because so many "hybrids" have emerged after numerous farm escapes.

The term *feral*, lying between the *wild* and the *domestic*, has been used as an insult by those upholding the status quo; to be feral is to be abnormal or an outcast.³¹ Contrarily, ferality or wildness can be an ideal for those living outside the mainstream, untamed by societal attempts at domestication and unbounded by authoritarian regulations. Through establishing themselves in various parts of the world (of which I've given a small range of examples), escaped animals and their wild children are living evidence that human civilization has never been able to fully control nonhuman nature.

NAVIGATING DANGEROUS TERRAIN

When animals escape captivity, their odds of remaining free are higher when located near meadows, fields, forests, dense thickets, and wetlands. Nocturnalism can be an advantage, remaining hidden in daylight and emerging at nightfall to locate food and water. Yet, human technology, surveillance, and shrinking wild spaces mean that after short stints of freedom in the wild, many runaways are recaptured. As in the case of the bison herd that escaped from the Bolduc Private Game Refuge, only to return when they realized there was nowhere safe to take refuge, the loss of wild spaces can also result in animals reluctantly returning to the places from whence they tried to escape.

The earth has been increasingly carved out for human use. Even in the countryside animals must navigate dangerous terrain: vehicles, paved roads, hunting trails, helicopters, and human intrusion. They contend with pollution, deforestation, and garbage in potential places of refuge that block access to water, food, and migration routes. The use of surveillance technologies to capture escaped animals has also increased. Even social media, which can be a valuable tool to rally support for animal resisters, may also impede animals' attempts for freedom. For instance, in 2018, four piglets who escaped from a farm in Buck Ridge, British Columbia, were recaptured after someone posted on a local Facebook page that piglets were running through properties in the area. The piglets had already traveled far. They swam across the Fraser River and hiked through seven hours of rough terrain, only to have their quest for freedom thwarted by local social media surveillance.

Sometimes escaped animals experience freedom for weeks or even months before they are recaptured. In 2012, a scarlet ibis named Cherry took flight from the Edinburgh Zoo and found a route through the city. She remained free for nearly a week despite attempts by Scottish SPCA and zoo workers to lure her back with mussels and prawns. Cherry made herself at home on Scotland's Cramond Beach before she was recaptured. Then there was the penguin who absconded over the Tokyo Sea Life Park's 13-foot wall and barbed wire fences in 2012. The penguin settled in Tokyo Bay for several months before he was recaptured.³² When three pandas escaped from

the Hangzhou Zoo in Zhejiang, China, in December 2015, two of them were quickly recaptured, but the third lived free for 242 days. Eventually, he was spotted in a tree and, after refusing apples from zoo staff, was shot with a tranquilizer gun and dropped to the net below. In January 2016, an otter named Geoff lived free for several weeks after escaping from the Jersey Zoo (previously the Durrell Wildlife Park), located on the island of Jersey in the English Channel. After vanishing from the zoo, Geoff made a three-mile journey to St. Catherine's Woods. He resided there for a while, subsisting on fish and small animals. Geoff's freedom was cut short when the zoo recaptured him using a remotely activated camera.

After experiencing freedom, animals may grow increasingly sullen and depressed upon recapture. In the Czech Republic, two macaques named Šimpy and Tatin broke free in 2011. The pals were confined in a zoo but managed to escape when an electric fence was turned off for maintenance. The pair foraged in gardens and the forest, also allowing humans to feed them (except those pursuing them for recapture). Eight months passed, and then Šimpy was caught. The macaque had thrived in the wild; he had grown stronger and his fur was healthy. It was reported that, upon his return to the zoo, "Šimpy didn't like being back at all, he pulled faces at the staff and was visibly upset."³³ Because of these changes, the zoo sold him to another place of captivity, in Ukraine. Tatin appears to have remained free.

This chapter has explored the phenomenon of animals escaping from captivity into the wild. The outcomes for these individuals are varied: they often occupy the borders between civilization and wilderness, where they can be rescued or remain at liberty. Some affect their surroundings and establish new populations. Some are recaptured or killed. The crossings of those who inhabit the margins are often unsettling—they unsettle boundaries of domesticated and wild, and ideas of where animals belong. Some escaped animals become free-living in the wild, while others rely on human infrastructure to survive on the margins. In a society that relegates animals to the status of commodities and property, the outcomes for animals who resist often depend on human decisions, and how the public responds to their attempts for freedom.

To What Ends (and Beginnings) Do Animals Resist?

Public Responses to Animal Resistance

IN 2016, A BULL, LATER NAMED FRANK, ESCAPED A SLAUGHTERHOUSE IN NEW YORK CITY. Frank was raised to be served on a plate, but thanks to his escape secured not only his freedom but also a friendship with iconic former *Daily Show* comedian Jon Stewart. Frank was being driven off a truck in Queens to be sent to the slaughterhouse when he fled from the scene and wandered over to CUNY York College. Within an hour, he was caught and sent to a Brooklyn Animal Care Center. Although Frank technically belonged to Jamaica Archer Live Poultry and Meat Market, Jon Stewart stepped in and helped transfer Frank to Farm Sanctuary. Frank had a brief checkup at the Cornell Hospital for Animals, and Farm Sanctuary's director announced that the newcomer would live at the sanctuary for the rest of his natural life.

Animals' resistance interrupts the distancing strategies of those who consume and profit from animal products in industrial society. In a video about Frank's story, Stewart remarks that because of the nature of Frank's escape, "This time I paid attention."¹ When animals break free, we take notice. While animal farmers, researchers, auctioneers, hunters, breeders, and trainers have always known firsthand about animals' revolts, the concept of animal resistance is reaching a wide audience in the twenty-first century digital mediascape. Social media allows people around the world to like, share, and comment on articles and videos of animals' resistance, making their stories more accessible than ever before and prompting a wide range of responses from the public.

WITNESSING INDIVIDUALS

When animals resist and enter the public sphere, they are no longer statistics, but become viewed as individuals. Animal enterprises use distancing strategies to hide their means of production, but escaped animals cause a physical and conceptual rupture by occupying spaces where they are considered "out of place." When the public encounters runaway animals, these individuals become recognized as having their own unique consciousness.

In 2012, a calf escaped from a Paterson, New Jersey, slaughterhouse, swam across the Passaic River and eluded police for hours. His escape made headlines after footage emerged of police in pursuit and someone backing into him with a truck. Public outcry to spare his life ensued. The calf was returned to the slaughterhouse after being tranquilized by police, but the owner agreed not to slaughter him. An animal rescue volunteer named Mike Stura was concerned that they

might not send him to a sanctuary as promised. Stura's suspicions proved correct. He quickly learned that the calf was on route to another slaughterhouse. Fortunately, the calf was located and soon Mike Stura and Mike Jr. (as he was later named) were driving upstate to Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary.

The story went viral. As Jenny Brown noted:

A lot of people heard about it because they played that footage over and over on TV . . . People saw this and were so happy that we were able to take him in . . . Meeting him up close and personal, realizing the good fate that has come to this animal, in terms of his escape, and that now he gets to live forever and free at the sanctuary, it does get people to think: he's an individual.²

Indeed, many members of the public were inspired to reflect on what the cow on the loose signified. The footage of Mike Jr.'s escape is followed by an article that has over four hundred comments.³ One article quotes Brown explaining that rather than becoming "steak" Mike Jr. will be given a "comfy straw bed" and will be "loved and respected."⁴ Several people commented that they were inspired to stop eating animal products. As one individual noted, they have "started a vegan program . . . I feel bad for the animals . . . Might as well eat your dog or cat if you think about it."⁵ It took time for Mike Jr. to warm up to humans, but his new friends soon learned that he enjoyed a good head scratch and will "use your nails as a scratching post, much like a cat."⁶ According to the sanctuary's website, Mike Jr. relishes his freedom and spends time roaming the pasture with his friends.⁷

When animals who resist are witnessed, viewed as individuals, they can have the positive effect of inspiring people to live in closer alignment with their values. Runaway farmed animals have won the hearts of animal shelter workers who previously may have only recognized cats, dogs, and other traditional companion animals in their circle of compassion. After fleeing from a New York live market in September 2007, a Hereford cow named Maxine was brought to Animal Care and Control and picked up by Farm Sanctuary to live out the rest of her days in their green pastures. A video made by the sanctuary includes an interview with Dienna Capers, an ACC employee of nine years, who was touched by Maxine's flight for freedom. With tears in her eyes, Capers shared the following realization:

This morning was really astonishing to me . . . this sweet innocent cow running away from being slaughtered. I'd never even thought about it before . . . and we've been eating this for years. I never pictured this face . . . and it hurt . . . so now we are going to work on not eating meat: me and my entire family . . . this was a life that was saved today.⁸

Molly was another individual who inspired plant-based eating after taking actions that were described as both brave and inspiring. In spring 2009, the small black cow absconded from the Musa Halal slaughterhouse in Jamaica, Queens, breaking through a fenced passage that led from the pens to trucks. During the chase, Molly ran past slaughterhouses that kill chickens, turkeys, goats, and lambs. After running behind a residence, she was trapped, tranquilized, and transported to Brooklyn Animal Care and Control. Molly was given permanent shelter at a 60-acre organic vegetable farm and home for rescued animals on Long Island.

As truck driver Adam Khan, who witnessed Molly's dash for freedom, commented, her escape "tells you something . . . [Molly] didn't want to get killed."⁹ In response to the coverage of Molly's escape from slaughter to sanctuary, several comments reveal that her story invoked



Figure 37. Levi at Farm Sanctuary. (Photo courtesy of Farm Sanctuary.)

deep contemplation. One person thanks Molly, explaining that they wrote a haiku in her honor: “nothing so bright as / the sharpened knife in the sun / except the new sun.”¹⁰ Another brings attention to “the others being unloaded” from the same truck as Molly: “If only they had been so lucky.”¹¹ “Animal Lover” takes the opportunity to offer Molly’s non-vegan supporters a suggestion: “If this story makes you feel good, please refrain from eating any more meat.”¹²

The names given to these three runaways—Mike Jr., Maxine, and Molly—helped them to be viewed as individuals by the public.

Every animal who is brought to a farm sanctuary is given a name. Levi was another one of these individuals. When the tiny emancipated goat—named Levi by his rescuers—was found wandering the streets of Brooklyn by Animal Care and Control, he had two tags in one ear: a white one from Kentucky that read “Ky5926, 0069” and a blue one that read “MEAT.” Not only were the tags weighing his ear down and causing an infection, but they told a terrifying story. The “MEAT” tag defined him as a product, while the other one suggested that Levi had been shipped from Kentucky to be sold at a live market in the city. Levi was revived back to health at Farm Sanctuary, where he joined a herd of goats and will never be relegated to the status of “meat” again. Free of the symbolic tags that defined him as a number and a commodity, Levi was recognized

as an individual and a valued community member. Naming other animals is a subversive act in a society where billions, like Levi, are identified only by a tag signifying their property status. As Ahmed writes, for those who are not in the right place, their own bodies become borders: “A body can be a document: if your papers are not in the right place, neither are you.”¹³ Branding animals with name tags highlights how their own bodies become borders; they highlight and document the “out of placeness” that occurs when animals cross human-constructed boundaries.

DOWNPLAYING RESISTANCE

The recognition that animals who escape are individuals is significant given the lengths to which animal industries go to downplay animal resistance. When animals resist, the effort led by zoos to downplay their agency exemplifies this phenomenon. As Hribal explains, first, zoo personnel will claim that such resistance is rare, that their animals are typically well-behaved, and that those who escape or retaliate are exceptional; they are “bad apples.” Second, although they often describe the animals they hold captive as intelligent beings, zoos will deny animals’ agency and resistance, claiming that they are only acting from instinct, or that the incident was an accident—even going so far as to invent scenarios that explain the injuries, such as a trainer being caught up in a playful elephant roughhousing match or falling on a pair of pliers being carried in one’s back pocket.¹⁴ Third, zoos will try to assure the public that instances of resistance will not happen again, announcing that modifications to the system of captivity will be implemented, e.g., stronger walls, extensive employee training, isolation or additional “training” for animal retaliators, or even killing the retaliators. Alternatively, zoos will sell particularly resistant individuals to an intermediary figure who sends them into a black market allowing the zoo to pass off responsibility while still profiting from their investment. To control and limit information, a careful public-relations campaign will be executed that portrays the zoo in a positive light, such as through aligning their mandate with conservation goals.¹⁵

Stories about runaway animals elicit varied reactions from the media. The media can aid in personalizing individuals by telling their stories, leading people to question ingrained assumptions about our relationships with other species. In one instance, *Time* magazine invoked contemplation when referring to escaped animals as “adorable fugitives.” Conversely, the mainstream media regularly downplays animals’ resistance by placing their stories in the “odd news” sections, while making puns and jokes at their expense. They often describe escaped animals as “special” and “unique” or having “earned” their freedom. These attributions fail to challenge the property status of nonhuman animals, instead focusing on the specialness of the individual who broke free. Framing animal resisters as uniquely special endorses the idea that only these individuals deserve freedom, and that it’s acceptable for other animals to remain captive due to a supposed lack of intelligence or ingenuity.

Molly is described in several news articles as having earned her liberty, i.e., having earned a “free pass” or a “reprieve from the slaughterhouse.” The following paragraph begins by celebrating Molly’s escape, but the final statement that “this fills us with warmth, and we’re not even vegetarian” exemplifies a common dissociative response to escaped farmed animals:

Though little is known about the cow, or her motivations (Was she taking a stand against industrial production? Trying to get a little fresh air? Or simply trying to avoid her gruesome fate?), her bravery

in the face of adverse circumstances can only be admired. And so we are *extremely* happy to report that we just spoke to an officer at Police Precinct 103, who informed us that although the cow has been corralled and captured by an elite team of officers, she is currently being delivered to the SPCA and *not* back to the slaughterhouse! ‘We always think that once they’ve escaped, they’ve earned the right to go free,’ a police spokeswoman, who wished to remain nameless, told us. You hear that, cows? You shall overcome! Viva la revolution! This fills us with warmth, and we’re not even vegetarian.¹⁶

Although it sympathizes with Molly and points out the “gruesome fate” Molly avoided, like many others, the joking tone in some parts of the article risks downplaying the urgency of her situation. This phenomenon plays on a type of cognitive dissonance: people develop emotional attachments to individual animals who they encounter, while continuing to consume others. Humor serves to mask the uncomfortable feelings that arise when people empathize with individual animals but continue consuming other animals.

Cognitive dissonance is often found in responses to stories about escaped animals. It was evident in the response to a cow’s escape in south Poland that went viral in 2018. The cow made a bid for freedom after ramming through a metal fence. A pursuit ensued, and she absconded to Lake Nyskie, swimming away from her would-be captors towards a nearby island. After the farmer failed to capture her, local firefighters tried from a boat, but she retaliated and swam to a peninsula 50 meters away. There she lived for the next four weeks. Soon after her escape, the incident was packaged into newsbytes in Polish media and reported on the show *Wiadomości*. After that, it became political fodder, as a local politician named Pawel Kukiz offered to buy the cow’s freedom and ensure that she would live out her remaining years in safety. In a Facebook post, Kukiz first assured his constituents and Facebook friends of his carnivorous eating habits, then celebrated the inspirational virtues of the cow by declaring, “She did not succumb to firefighters who wanted to transport her by boat and she was still on the battlefield.” Kukiz finally concluded that “the fortitude and the will to fight for this cow’s life is invaluable” and that he would make every effort to “give her a guarantee of a long-term retirement and natural death.” This freedom did not come to pass. Many were sad to learn that the cow died, reportedly due to a stressful recapture and multiple tranquilizer darts.

Consumers are also implicated in strategic or willful ignorance. The irony being that many people who celebrate animal resisters’ freedom simultaneously consume other animals who weren’t so lucky. Even if the media picks up on stories about runaway animals, the same viewers “wishing this animal the best” may also be “sitting home that evening and eating ‘steak’ or ‘hamburger.’”¹⁷ As Brown explains, there’s nothing about animals who escape that places them above those who remain captive: “They all want to live, they all love life, they all fear death, they would all escape if they could.”¹⁸ At Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary, Brown shows visitors that the animals who live there are individuals receiving equal consideration and care. Offering a counter-discourse to the rhetoric of having earned one’s freedom, she says, “There’s nothing any different about the ones that didn’t escape because if they would have seen the opportunity, they would have done it too.”¹⁹ It is easy to impose on runaway animals that they are more intelligent, have a stronger will to live, or are particularly special, but these assertions are flawed. Humans are more inclined to empathize with individuals than with large groups and convincing people to empathize with the *billions* of nonhuman animals in captivity can be challenging.

Sometimes animal advocates will refer to escaped animals as special and worthy of life, but this is done without placing them in opposition to other animals (who they also want to be free). There can be immense pressure to garner empathy and support to save an individual’s life.



Figure 38. Thanksgiving Day Postcard, November 1908.

Remember the case of Fred, the goat who was suspected of trying to liberate other auction animals in Hackettstown? Later that month, Fred was captured and returned to the “meat” industry. After being on the lam for a year, living with deer near the auction house and occasionally visiting the train station, Fred was viewed by some locals as the town’s unofficial mascot. But police had prioritized his capture due to ongoing sighting reports (in addition to the havoc he had allegedly caused by freeing the other animals). Afterward, members of the community rallied for his freedom, offering Fred sanctuary in their gardens and calling on the Hackettstown police via social media to “Free Fred.” One person pleaded, “Please, don’t kill him. He’s very special to all of us. Fred is not just a goat. Fred is The Hackettstown Goat.” The Hackettstown Livestock Auction responded to the outcry stating that they would not sell Fred for slaughter. However, this outcome was not as positive as the auction house (and media reports) suggested. Instead of being sent to a sanctuary, Fred was returned to a farm that didn’t want to be publicly named. They said he would be used as a “breeding goat.” Additionally, the other animals who broke free from the same auction house were still sent to auction.

Referring to escaped animals as special is only problematic if simultaneously suggesting that those who don’t escape are less deserving of life. Similarly, caution is needed to avoid categorizing individual animals under any label (e.g., gentle, intelligent, strong, or brave) if done *at the expense of* those who don’t fall into these categories. To suggest that those who haven’t broken free are less deserving is highly problematic on several levels; for one thing, it prioritizes life based on *ability*, which is a form of ableism. Many animals are disabled, often due to breeding practices, and it can be especially difficult for them to resist by escaping.

Most farmed turkeys, for example, are bred to grow so fast that they can barely walk during their unnaturally short lives. If one manages to escape, they are described as a special case. One

such individual was Gobbles the turkey. When he was only one day old, Gobbles was brought to a farm that raises about eight hundred turkeys a year for slaughter, which occurs when they are six months old. After three months, Gobbles started flying over fences and into trees. Although Gobbles weighed 14 pounds, his body had defied centuries of selective breeding, becoming more like those of his wild ancestors. When the farm owners were unable to catch Gobbles, they decided not to slaughter him. Instead, he would live on the farm for an indefinite period.²⁰ An illustrated postcard from 1908 of a boy pursuing a turkey shows how normalized the violence towards turkeys has been in North America, and how the birds would try to elude hunters (see figure 38). North America had a large population of free-living turkeys until hunting led to a sharp population decline in the early 1900s. Today, an estimated 46 million turkeys are killed for Thanksgiving alone each year. The vast majority of them are kept in factory farms with up to ten thousand birds in a single warehouse.

Animals' everyday resistance is sometimes equated with psychosis, which is yet another way that the speciesism of downplaying their resistance (including the *motivation* behind their resistance) intersects with ableism. During her research on the U.S. dairy industry, Gillespie observed the everyday resistance of farmed animals, and their consequent labeling as deviants. Gillespie writes:

I sit in the bleachers at a Washington State auction yard and wait . . . A mother cow and her calf are herded into the auction ring. The calf comes into the ring easily, but the cow resists mightily. She kicks and bellows and repeatedly moves her body in between her calf and the human herder. The herder grows increasingly aggressive in response to the cow's resistance, yelling loudly and hitting her. Finally, exhausted, she comes running into the ring with her calf. At this moment, an audience member sitting next to me comments, "I would have bid on this pair—they're real beauties. But the way that cow is resisting. It's clear she's psychotic."²¹

Although the woman decided against bidding on the family, they were quickly purchased by another buyer in the audience. The cow's resistance in this commodifying space led her to be labeled as deviant. She was defying the system that was separating her and her calf, but rather than recognizing her pain, the dissuaded buyer instead wrote her off as a "psychotic" living commodity. Her refusal to give up her will was interpreted as madness. Within the contained space of the auction yard, her resistance was tolerated, but if she had moved beyond this space into the public sphere, her defensive behavior would have been perceived as a threat.

DISTANCING STRANGERS

When animals break through the material and symbolic walls that represent normalcy in our society, they are perceived as a threat to the social order. Their exclusion is justified through a discourse of disorder and abnormality. In 1878, a black steer from Texas escaped a slaughterhouse near North River, New York, and was found branded with the number 70.²² The symbol branded on the steer's body represented his designated property status and outsider status—as such, he had little recourse under the law. When resistant animals challenge this property status, asserting their agency, those upholding the status quo perceive them as a threat to the established order. To regain the illusion of normalcy, animal resisters are deemed uncontrollable, subhuman, mad,

or abnormal—in opposition to the “normal,” i.e., the civilized human (white, European)—which serves to justify their confinement, banishment, and slaughter.

Sara Ahmed’s concept of stranger danger aids in understanding how the abject animal is already recognized as something fearful to be scorned or removed from the community. The recognition and expelling of “strangers” from the “human” citizenry is a paradoxical process, for in such recognition—to *recognize* a stranger—a *knowing* is entailed.²³ Ahmed suggests that the figuring of strangers is primarily a racial process that serves to strengthen and maintain certain economic and social privileges. Strangers are not only those we don’t know, but those we shouldn’t know (e.g., homeless people, immigrants). Racialized immigrants in particular are considered the “ultimate stranger.”²⁴ Extending Ahmed’s theory of strangers, identifying strangers can also be a *speciesist* practice as certain species (and those perceived as closer to “animals” in the colonial, racialized human-animal hierarchy) are recognized and excluded as strangers. Animals are both excluded and fetishized, and those who run loose are perceived as a threat to the community. The dominant discourse creates a story about these individuals while willfully forgetting the means (in this case, the farms, live animal markets, and slaughterhouses) that allow them to appear in the present moment. How disorderly or frightening escaped animals appear depends on the extent to which they are perceived as endangering those who are recognized as belonging in the community.

Discourses of disorderly animals threatening the so-called safe spaces of civilized society were prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a society where normalization effectively regulates social relations, including human-animal relations, escaped animals were regularly associated with deviance, oddity, beastliness, and abnormality. They were described as beasts “on a rampage,”²⁵ “mad” or “maddened,”²⁶ or as taking “devious routes.”²⁷ In one article, a steer fleeing from a crowd of boys who were shouting and pelting him with stones is called a “wild” and “maddened beast.”²⁸ In contrast, police officers are considered orderly figures who subdue the wild creatures. In another case, a description of an escaped steer concludes that a “courageous bluecoat ended his mad career with several ounces of cold lead.”²⁹

The outsider—in this case the strange, dangerous, and out-of-place animal—must figure in opposition to those who protect the community. Often, the opposing figure is the police officer who shoots and kills the transgressor. This dynamic is apparent in the story of two steers who escaped from a transport truck after being driven from the western United States. They dashed along the Pennsylvania Railroad, across the ferry tracks, and through Little Italy. The *Times* describes how, during the escape, the “usual crowd of idlers and children” pursued the steers and “showered them with missiles of every description.” In reference to one of the escapees, the writer notes that “a nine-year-old girl named Jennie Cassidy stood in the middle of First Street as the frightened animal turned into that thoroughfare.”³⁰ The steer is portrayed as sentient, i.e., “frightened,” but apparent from the emphasis of the young girl in the street through which he fled, he is also a threat that must be exterminated for the community’s safety. In this case, a police sergeant shoots the steer after he jumps in a river. Shooting runaway animals was an attempt to maintain order and normalcy. Yet, it could result in even more chaos, as was the case one hundred years ago when a watchman was killed by police fire directed at eight escaped cows.³¹

Farmed animals in New York not only fled captivity, they retaliated by kicking, biting, or stampeding. One steer charged “at every obstacle in his path” while another responded to being pelted with stones by administering “a vicious kick to a boy.”³² In 1895, a steer resisted by escaping from the Isaac Stelfel Beef Company’s slaughterhouse at First Avenue and 44th Street. He



Figure 39. A steer who escaped from the New York Stock Company yards and was killed in Central Park, New York City, November 3, 1913. *New York Times*, November 4, 1913.

began running down the tracks of a loading section of Grand Central Station. As described in the *Times*:

There was a large number of women among the passengers. They screamed at the sight of the maddened animal tearing along . . . The animal went westward through 42nd Street, until near Vanderbilt Avenue, when he stopped suddenly, and faced his pursuers. The latter also came to a standstill. The steer moved toward them. They turned quickly and ran. The steer charged after them. The pursued became the pursuer.³³

The “pursued” steer’s resistance is apparent when, followed by an angry horde, he turns and becomes “the pursuer.” What is also striking about this story is how the projection of danger onto those marked as different and “out of place” legitimizes violence against those individuals.

Furthermore, the description of those who are “mad” as threatening to violate the community mobilizes a gendered rhetoric that produces endangered women and children in need of rescue, as seen, for instance, in the description of the female passengers screaming upon sight of the “maddened” runaway cow. Women and their children face real dangers in the world, not from a cow fleeing the slaughterhouse, but from those who would stifle their autonomy to navigate the world freely (and to escape domination). Patriarchal thinking denies women’s agency by projecting the idea that they are unsafe by virtue of not being under male control. Here we find intersections between sexism and speciesism: the steer (who is figured as dangerous) is sent back to the stockyard and the women and children (who are figured as endangered) are not safe in public spaces without a male savior.



Figure 40. British satire from *Punch's Almanack*, 1899.

This discourse is also found in nineteenth-century London in descriptions of animals' transgressions into shop spaces, such as the comment that after "one beast put his head through the window" and "a sheep got into the shop and fell down the cellar steps . . . the ladies would not come to the shop."³⁴ In another case, describing what happened when cows gathered outside their house after escaping a drove, someone remarks, "I am quite sure if women or children had been there, they would have been frightened."³⁵ In response to animals' bodies "out of place," young females are taught that they must be cautious in public spaces, to restrict themselves and the spaces they occupy—so not to be found "out of place" like the "wild animals" loose on the streets.

Today, anyone walking along Wall Street might come across the iconic *Charging Bull* statue. One historian describes the bull, with flaring nostrils and sharp horns ready to gore a passerby: the bull is "an angry, dangerous beast. The muscular body twists to one side, and the tail is curved like a lash: the *Bull* is also energetic and in motion."³⁶ The statue serves as a reminder that the "stock market" is referred to as such because "livestock" was the original currency and source of wealth for European colonizers. The symbolism of the bull, to represent Wall Street's power, is ironic given that "cattle" served as this early form of capital. While the statue was built to represent the capitalists, whose Stock Exchange is now purely numerical, with the actual "live-stock" removed from sight and replaced with stock valuation and electronic marketplaces, bulls have long been subjects of a domestication process that has tried to subdue their agency and power. Like how the statue of the charging bull has been the subject of much symbolism and satire, British satire from the nineteenth century provides a historical example of how bulls' resistance has been appropriated in ways that rely on stranger discourses (see figures 40 and 41). Contrarily, in



Figure 41. A fox-hunting man is chased by a bull who objects to the hunt passing through his field. Illustration by John Leech in *Mr. Jorrocks's Hunt* by Robert Smith Surtees (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854).

a view from below, the statue is a reminder of the many cows exploited for capital accumulation, and their many acts of defiance in response to this commodification, including their escapes on the streets of New York.

In the twenty-first century, animals who escape are still regularly killed. For instance, a bull who made headlines in 2011 after escaping from a Jamaica, Queens, slaughterhouse was quickly returned to the killing line. The bull ran down Tuckerton and Liberty Avenues before he was captured at York College.³⁷ Members of Farm Sanctuary attempted to rescue him, but it was too late. During his short stint of freedom, the bull was met by discomfort on the streets. One witness exclaimed, “This thing was charging, spit flying out of its mouth . . . It was crazy” and “we were all screaming.”³⁸ The reference to the bull as a charging “thing” with “spit flying” suggests a societal tendency to see the nonhuman body as foreign and strange. The video also captures men laughing, suggesting the tendency to accept (and, in some cases, even take pleasure in) violence towards those who are out of place. An article about the bull’s escape refers to two other instances in which bulls escaped and were killed: one who was chased by police for fourteen hours and died soon after being caught (presumably from exhaustion and dehydration) and “Narco,” who escaped from an illegal rodeo while being forced onto a truck. Police officers shot and killed Narco. Likewise, in 2011, a police shooting caught on video in Gatineau, Quebec, made international headlines. After two steers fled from a slaughterhouse, the Gatineau police stated that they had “no choice but to shoot them dead.”³⁹

COMMODIFYING REBELS

Animal strangers are also fetishized and commodified. The cognitive dissonance that occurs when animals escape can amount to the anxiety of what Ahmed calls “stranger fetishism,” meaning that those figured as strangers are simultaneously consumed and distanced (an extension of Marxist commodity fetishism, the theory that commodities in capitalist society are cut off from the means of their production). Stranger fetishism is found in our society’s massive consumption of animals’ bodies—their flesh, feathers, fur, or fins—while simultaneously keeping these individuals at bay from the community. For instance, farmed animals are simultaneously distanced in large warehouses, while their bodies are consumed in homes, whether as soaps, candles, sofa covers, or food. A major disconnect is apparent between the animals consumed in these normalized ways and those who are accepted into the family as companions. The consumption of some species is accepted because they are constructed as strangers.

Animal fetishization is visible when animals’ skins, hair, or feathers are used for a nationalist statement. When thousands of emus were injured and killed in the Australian government’s 1932 “emu war,” their bodies were appropriated for their feathers, which became a symbol of stealth for the colonizer’s army. The assault on approximately twenty thousand emus commenced in November 1932, by the Seventh Field Regiment, Royal Australian Artillery. In the aftermath of the Great War, Australia had an influx of returning servicemen seeking a living. Consequently, the government offered large numbers of Australian and British veterans the opportunity to become grain farmers in the West. The local emus of the area, who had lived in the area much longer than the predominantly white British settlers, saw an opportunity to forage for food on the newly farmed lands. The new farmers, upset with the emus consuming their crops, approached the Australian minister of defense. Military action was deemed necessary against the emus (apparently, fencing and other methods of deterring the birds were not even considered).

While they were under assault, the emus’ bodies were appropriated to distinguish the army’s nationalistic uniforms. One military group was sent specifically to collect the feathers. As noted in the *Canberra Times*, “The officer in charge of the party received orders from military headquarters in Sydney for 100 emu skins, the feathers of which will be used for hats worn by light horsemen.”⁴⁰ It was the birds’ admirable stealth—with a running speed over 30 miles per hour and a leg stride of over ten feet—that made their plumage a desired adornment by Australia’s Light Horsemen. This stealth became even more apparent in the emus’ defiance against the army. The emus were tough, often defying both the odds and the bullets. They would dissipate rapidly or quickly gauge the range of gunfire and retreat accordingly. The operation soon became known as a farce. Many emus were slaughtered, but nowhere near enough to satisfy the farmers. The operation was called off after six weeks. Renowned Australian ornithologist Dominic Serventy noted: “A crestfallen field force therefore withdrew from the combat area after about a month.”⁴¹ At one point, a soldier found himself reloading his rifle, taking aim at an emu 1,000 feet away, missing, again, and thinking “strewth . . . what am I doing here?” One commander compared the emus to tanks.⁴² Although many birds survived, approximately 1,000 emus were confirmed dead and 2,500 died from their injuries. The emus were both fetishized and subject to massive slaughter (a war *on* emus).

The escape of a snake named Pete was embraced by numerous opportunists hoping to profit from his notoriety. The story began in 1954, in Fort Worth, Texas, when Pete the Python slithered out of an enclosure at the Forest Park Zoo. Immediately after Pete’s escape, one hundred police officers rushed to the zoo to usher out around four thousand visitors in a state of orderly panic.



Figure 42. A rattlesnake in a pit stretches upwards searching for escape. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/We Animals.)

The police then periodically drove around the zoo, blaring out from a loudspeaker mounted atop a squad car that there was a python on the loose and he should not be approached. Zoo staff, the police, and area locals in boats and helicopters spent over two weeks unsuccessfully trying to find the 18-foot, 150-pound python. Pete remained hidden for fifteen days before he was recaptured. Several months later, Pete surprised everyone by laying fifty eggs. Unfortunately, Pete (aka Patricia), who had now defied physical and assigned labels, died before the eggs could hatch.

While Pete was loose, various individuals decided to capitalize on Pete's popularity and sell Pete the Python-related goods in the area, including shirts, burgers, and cakes. The Ford dealer Hatley Motor Co. worked Pete into their advertising, stating: "I don't know where Pete the Python is, but he's probably headed for Hatley's!" Pete's escape was so widely capitalized on that someone asked the zoo's manager whether he had contrived the entire fiasco for profit. Capitalistic frenzy is a recurring theme when animals who escape make headlines. On notable example is the media hype that occurred when Butch and Sundance, the famous Tamworth Two, escaped a slaughterhouse and were chased around Malmesbury by dozens of reporters and photographers. A former executive of the *Daily Mail*, which purchased Butch and Sundance in exchange for exclusive rights to their story, is quoted in *The Guardian* as saying: "It may seem like a fun animal story, but at the time it was deadly serious. It was the most important story of the week—by far."⁴³

When a pig's escape from a slaughterhouse made headlines in the city of Red Deer, Alberta, his infamy was not only used to promote tourism, but also to symbolize the "importance" of animal agriculture in the city. In the summer of 1990, at the time known only by his captors as "KH27," Francis made his exit from the C/A Meats slaughterhouse.⁴⁴ As Francis was being forced towards the kill floor, he turned and fled. He jumped a fence nearly four feet high, snuck through



Figure 43. A bronze monument of Francis created as part of the Ghost project in Red Deer, Alberta. (Photo by Krista Ritchie.)

the processing area, and pushed through the back door. He then took off running towards the parklands of Red Deer River Valley.

For several months, Francis lived alone in the forest, sheltering in dens and foraging for grass. He was also known to emerge from the forest to rummage through neighborhood garbage cans. As a descendant of the European wild boar, he had the ability to thrive in the wild. Once free, his resourceful nature shone through. Like his ancestors, who could live in harmony with nature for twenty years, Francis possessed the ability to reason, sense danger, understand his environment, adapt to change, and travel long distances when necessary. When the media caught on to his escape in late October, after he was regularly sighted in park areas and bike trails, Francis became a household name.

Citing concern about Francis's ability to survive the cold weather, the slaughterhouse sent a hunter to track him. Yet, Francis was cunning; he eluded capture by never returning to the den that the farmer had discovered. One time the man came close, but Francis took off again, despite having been hit with a tranquilizer dart. On November 29, the hunter located Francis again and shot him with three tranquilizer darts. Unfortunately, one of them injured his bowel. Francis died two days later. C/A Meats, which slaughters countless pigs, had likely been more concerned about liability due to potential injury to humans (or property) than Francis's ability to survive

in the cold. Prior to his capture, Francis had been struck by a car. After his capture, as the farmer who was tasked with taming Francis commented, he was “like an alligator. If you walk past him, he’ll tear your leg off.”⁴⁵

After his death, Francis was memorialized as one of the seven bronze statues in the Red Deer Downtown Business Association’s Ghosts project, which pays homage to individuals, actions, and events that have shaped Red Deer (see figure 43). The sad irony of this story is that, after his death, the city used Francis’s bid for freedom to promote tourism and animal agribusiness. Relying on cognitive dissonance, the Downtown Business Association stated in the write-up about the statue: “Francis reminds us that hog production and processing are important parts of the Red Deer economy.”⁴⁶ Thus, the statue was a Potemkin gesture: it performed a deceptive function as propaganda that capitalized on the citizens’ love for animals and the escaped pig, while trying to profit from Francis’s notoriety. Neglecting the suffering of pigs killed for their flesh, the industry that caused and profited from Francis’s misery appropriated his struggle.

ADVOCATING FOR ANIMALS

The courage and determination of escapees can resonate deeply with witnesses, leading people to advocate for animals in numerous ways. The story of Francis’s escape and the ensuing appropriation of his struggle by the city was highlighted by the Winnipeg-based punk group Propagandhi in the lyrics of their song “Potemkin City Limits” (from their 2009 album, *Supporting Caste*). The song centers around Francis’s dash for freedom:

Francis shut his eyes and felt the hand of humanity
brush over him but then his killers back turned for a moment.
A blinding ray of light spread across the floor.
In a crimson pool he saw his own reflection
as he bolted for the door. Not just some fractured fairy tale,
although I wish that that were true.
This is a fable far too real
that we somehow still cling to.⁴⁷

The song imagines what Francis experienced during and after his escape, including the way he recalls the brief loving touch of his mother. It calls out the willful ignorance of a society built on animal exploitation. No sentient creature would consent to be imprisoned, slaughtered, experimented on, or harmed for entertainment. The rhetoric of *free range*, *sustainable*, or *organic* in reference to animal flesh are fables intended to unburden the consciences of some consumers, but these labels mean little; although some animals have slightly more space or better feed, their lives are still cut short and they are killed by the same methods.

An archive of letters in support of Francis shows that many individuals cared for him and eschewed animal products. While Francis was on the run, media attention drew sympathy to his cause. A Grade 3–4 class at Parkallen Elementary School in Red Deer chose a school theme on pigs and persuasive writing. The students sent letters to the city pleading for Francis’s freedom. In a letter dated November 8, 1990, a student named Jordanna B. wrote to the City of Red Deer: “How would you like to be chopped up into bacon. If you were a pig you would run away too . . .

This pig has been out in the cold for four months. It is not nice to kill them.” Another student named Anna D. wrote: “I think Francis is a terrific pig. I like pigs very much. I do not want him to die. No Ham No Pork No Bacon.” The archives also include letters from animal advocacy groups, inquiries about Francis’s well-being, sympathy cards, newspaper articles, and photos of Francis.⁴⁸ The statue of Francis is now located at the Blue Grass Sod Farms Central Spray & Play Park.

Ten years later, another farmed animal made history with their bid for freedom. In the year 2000, a speckled brown and white cow captured hearts after escaping and dashing through the streets in New York City. Queenie escaped from the Astoria Live Poultry Market at 109th Avenue, sprinted along 94th Avenue, turned at 150th Street, and ran onto Liberty Avenue. Susie Coston, who identifies Queenie as “the first slaughterhouse freedom fighter” that she worked with, recounted Queenie’s fortuitous escape. As Coston describes:

Driven by the fear of the canes, sticks and electric prods, which are commonplace in live markets and stockyards, Queenie made the choice any animal would if given the chance . . . she sprinted for blocks, attracting the attention of surprised and jeering onlookers as she dodged traffic, pedestrians and eventually police cars on the busy New York streets. Her flight to freedom was finally brought to a halt when police shot her with a tranquilizer gun.⁴⁹

Upon capture, Queenie was scheduled to be returned to the killing floor. But after national media attention led to public outcry, the slaughterhouse owner agreed to release her to Farm Sanctuary. The media had picked up on the public sentiment that recognized Queenie’s will to live.

Queenie was one of Farm Sanctuary’s first residents who is known to have escaped through their own act of resistance. Upon her arrival at the sanctuary, it became clear that Queenie was “a free spirit” and preferred keeping her distance from humans. At first, she remained in a separate pasture with the shyest cows. She became acquainted with other cows such as Maxine and Annie Dodge, who had also escaped from animal agribusiness. This new situation was a lifetime away from the nightmarish system she was born into. At the live animal market, from which Queenie had run, animals were slaughtered in full view of one another; chickens lived in excrement-covered cages, among the dead bodies of other chickens, and were regularly denied food and water.⁵⁰ Not only did Queenie’s escape mean that humans encountered someone who could have become their meal, and thus bridged the distance between consumption and production, but her story also launched an investigation into the plight of chickens at the facility. After her story made headlines, neighboring residents took the opportunity to complain about the facility and demand its closure. Their concerns were stated in the *New York Post*: “This is a market that we don’t believe is treating anything humanely, and we want to see it closed for that reason alone . . . Through the night, you can hear the screaming of the animals.”⁵¹ When animal advocates were allowed to rescue the chickens stuck in cages after the facility closed, the ones who survived were sent to Farm Sanctuary.

Given the political and social context, the important question is not whether Queenie intended to inspire social change, but rather what her actions demonstrated about the environmental and social structures around her, and her own will to live, as well as the implications of this knowledge for social change. Queenie’s story impacted public consciousness in such a way that it led to the removal of the surviving chickens, gave people an incentive to rally against animal exploitation, and inspired people to consider Queenie’s own perspective. Described by those who knew her as small, commanding, and independent, Queenie remained wary of humans

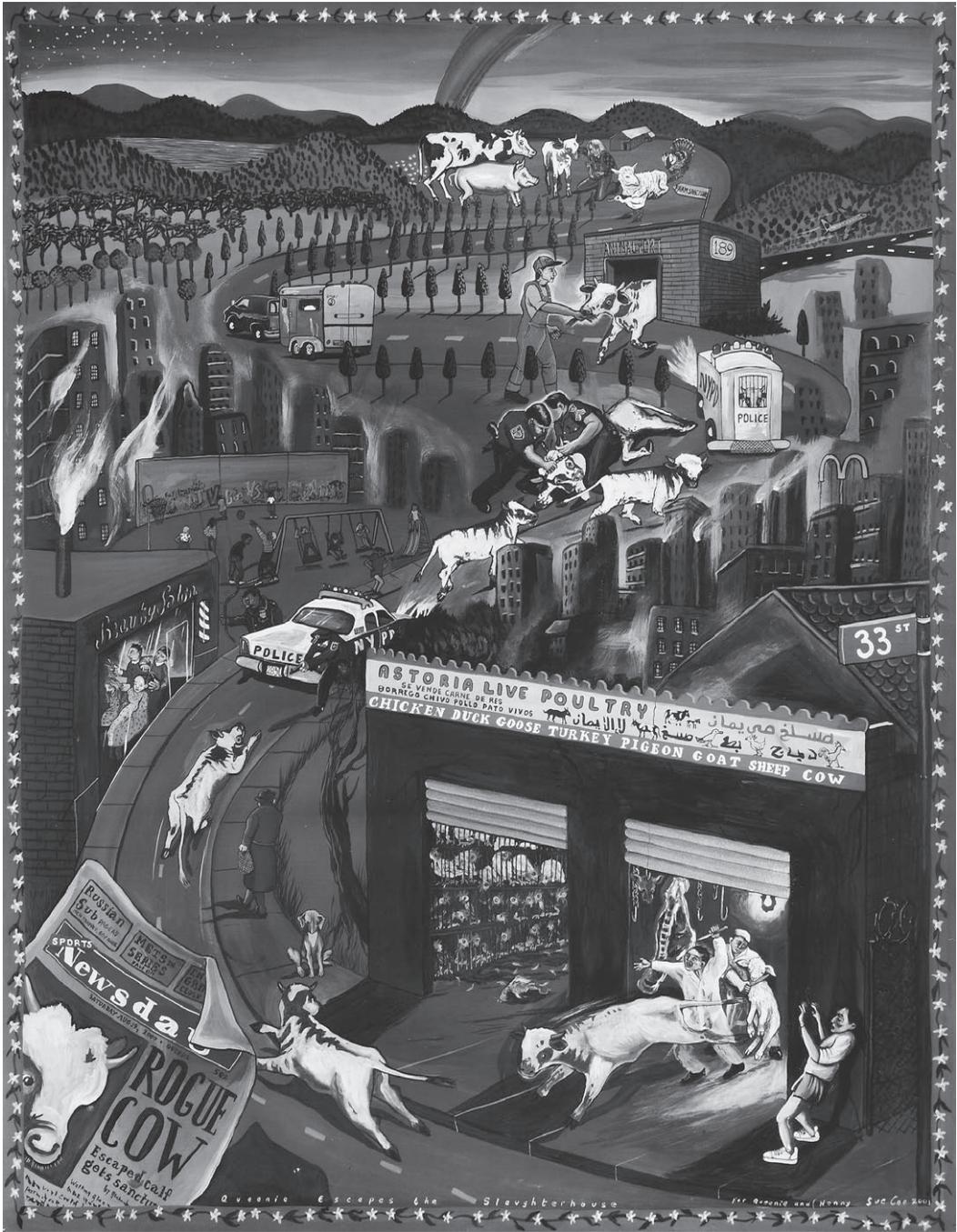


Figure 44. Sue Coe: *Queenie Escapes the Slaughterhouse*. 2001. Color lithograph reproduction. Copyright © Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York.

throughout her life, but understood when they were helping her. In her older years, Queenie's own small herd was made up of her best friends, Ros and Tricia. Queenie lived at Farm Sanctuary for nineteen years before she passed away in 2019. As Farm Sanctuary reported, her friends were by her side.

Artist Sue Coe represented Queenie's escape in a lithograph that traces different stages of her escape route from the live market to her home at Farm Sanctuary (see figure 4.4). Illustrating the media stir invoked by animals who escape their oppressors, a newspaper in the bottom left corner of the lithograph has the headline "Rogue Cow." In her book *Dead Meat*, Coe describes crossing paths with a pig who escaped a slaughterhouse as a life-changing moment. As a youth, she once witnessed three men chasing the terrified pig who darted around cars while several people looked on and laughed. Looking back and reflecting upon her response to learning that the pig would be slaughtered, Coe writes: "Maybe this was the first time I saw all was not well with the world."⁵² Coe's work includes depictions of animals who resist, including this pig in an artwork titled *There Is No Escape* (water and graphite on paper, 1987).

From the late twentieth century onward, the public has repeatedly demonstrated concern for animal resisters who are killed. In Narco's story, this concern was expressed by a boy named David Diaz who, upon hearing Narco was dead and that his body would be disposed of, responded, "That ain't right."⁵³ In the Gatineau case, people around the world expressed outrage after watching a video taken from a witness's porch. As for the bull in Jamaica, Queens, the escape was caught on a truck driver's cellphone, and many online comments on the video advocated for his freedom. Several comments raised awareness about the other animals in the area who become "dinner." Bringing attention to a moment where commuters on the Long Island Rail Road cross paths with slaughterhouse-bound animals, one person wrote: "I hate to break the news folks: but he's already somebody's dinner . . . The elevated tracks for the Long Island Rail Road run by this section of Jamaica. On the way to work each morning you see the trucks transporting hundreds of animals for slaughter. None of them have a happy ending."⁵⁴ Another commenter states, "It's very sad . . . They sense and smell the death going on around them and feel terrible fear . . . I know that they are our equal in the ability to feel pain."⁵⁵ One individual acknowledges animals' sentience: "Does anyone have any empathy for the fear these animals must feel? . . . they can see and hear and smell the death in those horrid places—as they are shoved along, often with bucket loaders. This is absolutely heartbreaking."⁵⁶

Before social media and farmed animal sanctuaries existed, it was even more difficult to rally widespread support for runaway cows on the city streets, but a pro-animal-welfare letter published in the *New York Times* on February 17, 1954, demonstrates that some people were deeply concerned. Responding to the treatment of a steer who escaped a slaughterhouse owned by the New York Butchers Dressed Meat Company (at 11th Avenue and 39th Street), Katherine A. Park writes:

To the Editor of the New York Times: If I had not read it in The New York Times I should not have believed the story of the steer which escaped from the abattoir, and in being recaptured was deliberately run down by a truck so that its leg was broken, and then was tied to the truck and dragged moaning through the streets for five blocks. I should have said that an act of such sadistic cruelty could not have taken place today in a city like New York . . . That the act should have been carried out by grown men in responsible positions is a disgrace to the city.⁵⁷

Park's opposition to the treatment of the steer turns the tables: instead of describing escaped animals as the troublemakers, which was common during this time, she calls out the men who perpetrated and allowed the violence to occur. She expresses concern for the steer, but also for the implications of animal cruelty in human society.

A “livestock” supervisor, who was driving the truck for the Meat Company, was put on trial in this case. He had driven over the steer several times. Two eyewitnesses, an investigator, and an ASPCA photographer took the stand. One witness testified that before he was run over the steer’s back left leg was severely injured.⁵⁸ Despite the violence involved, the supervisor was released without charges. This case demonstrates how animals can be subjected to incredible cruelties without consequence to the perpetrators, even when the violence is witnessed. Charges of animal cruelty are challenging to prosecute because evidence of ill-intent can be difficult to obtain and nonhuman animals have few protections under the law.

The response to animal resisters reveals our society’s complex and contrary relationships with other animals. This chapter has examined how those who break free from slaughterhouses, farms, auctions, and markets bridge the distance between consumers and the process of raising and killing animals for products. In response, many observers root for the runaway’s success. Others work to secure a safe haven for an escapee or donate to their medical expenses. Some individuals have gone vegan or plant-based after witnessing farmed animals running for their lives. There are also responses that mask cognitive dissonance with humor, appropriate animals’ stories for capital gain, downplay animals’ resistance, or portray animals as a threat to the community. These responses reinforce the human-animal divide and fail to transcend the lies and secrecy of animal enterprises. As seen in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in New York, a discourse of disorder has mobilized rhetoric that valorizes police officers as the heroes who protect vulnerable women and children from “maddened beasts” roaming the streets. Public responses to animal resisters, thus, demonstrate that these rebels occupy the center of a complex discursive struggle, where power reasserts itself through gendering, racism, classism, ableism, and ridicule. Expanding our understanding of agency to include nonhumans provides a unique challenge to contemporary political activism: What does it mean to act in solidarity with other animals?

Sanctuaries

BEFORE BECOMING A LOCAL CELEBRITY, MATA HARI WAS RELEGATED TO COMMODITY status, bred to be processed into “meat” and sold at the grocery store. But the ewe managed to escape this outcome, fleeing a slaughterhouse and avoiding capture for months. Known as the “Ann Arbor Sheep,” she was regularly spotted grazing at parks and cemeteries, holding up traffic, and even disrupting tennis matches. Bloggers began recording her story. A Facebook fan page wasn’t far behind. One day, Mata Hari began frequenting a secluded spot behind a furniture store. The shop’s employees fed her, and when she showed up injured one evening, they called for help.

The police and animal control were unable to catch Mata Hari, but SASHA Farm Animal Sanctuary had more success. Volunteers placed a pen in the spot where she was regularly fed. When she showed up for a meal, they enclosed her inside and transported her to the safety of SASHA Farm. Mata Hari’s injuries healed. Then the unexpected happened: she gave birth to twin boys. Mata Hari’s new life was abundant. She had the security of regular healthy meals, medical care, and the guaranteed well-being of her new family, with whom she remained close. Because of the work of SASHA Farm, she would never be sent to a slaughterhouse.¹

Sanctuaries, particularly those for previously farmed animals, were started for individuals like Mata Hari—those who have no other options to live out their lives safely. Sanctuaries have both practical and symbolic consciousness-raising power: multi-sited ethnographic research on the U.S. animal sanctuary movement shows that they are invaluable to animal advocacy, impacting the lives of individual animals and illustrating how “different ways of living with animals are possible.”² For animal resisters who make it to sanctuaries, sanctuaries are not just a significant way out of oppression, they are also a new beginning.

WHAT ARE ANIMAL SANCTUARIES?

Animal sanctuaries take in animals who have been removed (or removed themselves) from places of abuse and neglect. They may house numerous species or a single species. There are sanctuaries caring for companion animals, wild animals, and formerly farmed animals, as well as animals formerly forced to perform or be used for experimentation. They promote a compassionate and healthy lifestyle, while exposing the exploitative mechanisms of animal enterprises. Residents

are provided with proper housing, food, rehabilitation, veterinary care, socialization, and companionship. On a societal level, sanctuaries may offer humane education programs, engage in advocacy initiatives, answer questions and give tours, undertake research and investigations, initiate reforms, engage in direct rescue, and rehabilitate wildlife.

Sanctuaries for previously farmed animals are usually called “farm sanctuaries,” but they do not farm animals. Rather, they operate under the recognition that nonhuman animals exist for their own reasons, not for human utility. Every animal who arrives at a sanctuary has specific needs. A cockfighting industry survivor frightened of other roosters requires gentle reintegration, while a dairy industry survivor suffering from enlarged udders and weak leg muscles requires urgent medical care and rehabilitation. A duck dipping her webbed feet into a cool pond should be a normal occurrence, and learning of a duck experiencing this for the first time at a sanctuary after escaping a slaughterhouse drives home the importance of sanctuaries.³

Before the emergence of farm sanctuaries, even if runaway animals made news headlines, they rarely (if ever) were given a safe place to live for the remainder of their natural lives. Even humane societies have fallen short and reinforced the property status of escaped farmed animals by either killing them or returning them to animal enterprises. For instance, an ASPCA officer was cited nearly a century ago in New York City as having fired three of the shots that killed a cow who made a break for freedom while being transferred from a boat to the New York Meat Company.⁴ However, with the founding of Farm Sanctuary in Watkins Glen, New York, some escaped animals in New York were able to find a forever home. In 1986, the sanctuary’s cofounders Lorri Houston and Gene Baur pulled a live sheep from a pile of dead bodies outside a stockyard. She was named Hilda by rescuers and became the sanctuary’s first resident. A safe place for previously farmed animals, Farm Sanctuary was the first of its kind, and now has shelters in New York and California, providing a home for approximately one thousand animals such as pigs, cows, chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, sheep, and goats. Today, the ASPCA and humane societies like Animal Care and Control of New York will work with sanctuaries to find rescued farmed animals homes, as their own facilities offer limited material support for these individuals.

WHAT SANCTUARIES DO FOR ANIMALS

Sanctuaries provide animals a place to live out their natural lives, while receiving health care, space to flourish, and an interspecies community. As Elan Abrell states, “The primary existential purpose of any animal sanctuary is to care for the animals who live there.”⁵

Sanctuary residents receive medical care for the sake of their own well-being, not just to keep them moribund so an owner can profit from their bodies. Medical care for the animals, and not for profit incentive, is unfamiliar terrain for most veterinarians.⁶ Treating arthritis, limb injuries, reproductive issues, and other ailments common in older (previously) farmed animals is new for those who are used to treating them during a short time frame of their life. Many are still babies when they are sent to slaughter. Furthermore, farmed animals’ bodies have been bred and manipulated for profit, which has devastated their health and often leads them to require special care. For instance, upon arrival at RASTA Animal Sanctuary in Chemainus on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, a Berkshire pig named Pirate was unable to walk and required custom orthosis. Because he grew so quickly, the sanctuary fitted him for a custom prosthetic leg every few months.



Figure 45. Ron, a chimpanzee rescued from medical research, sits in his self-made nest at Save the Chimps. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/We Animals.)

Sanctuary residents are also provided with emotional support from their human caregivers and their fellow animal residents. They have opportunities to flourish as species and as individuals. They can graze with their herd, bask in the sun, and enjoy their favorite foods. They have some freedom to explore and form social relationships of their choice. Some individuals prefer the option of privacy, as in the case of a goose named Goosifer. He often preferred to be alone and designated a corner of a pond yard to himself.

Indeed, at sanctuaries, there is freedom in choosing when to retreat and having a safe space in which to retreat. Prior to his arrival at Save the Chimps sanctuary near Fort Pierce, Florida, a chimpanzee named Ron spent many years as a medical research test subject; most of his time was spent in a five-foot by seven-foot cage that was suspended above the ground.⁷ Ron had been anesthetized 105 times with ketamine (at the Laboratory for Experimental Medicine and Surgery in Primates in New York), followed by 16 times in a five-week period (at the Coulston Foundation), and forced to endure part of a six-month study in which researchers removed a disc in his neck and left him without pain medication for eight days. After arriving at Save the Chimps, Ron had the option of inhabiting several acres on the 200-acre space, but as photographer Jo-Anne McArthur documents, he made the choice to stay indoors, where he created his own nest by arranging his blankets in a circle. Ron eventually passed on peacefully there in October 2011. He

was still young. Chimpanzees used for research often die prematurely even if they are fortunate to live their final days at a sanctuary.⁸

Freedom can also entail enjoying a patch of forest, like one's wild ancestors. VINE Sanctuary gives their chickens the option to roost in trees, branches, and bushes, as well as the coop and yard. Many take the opportunity, essentially rewilding themselves. The LGBTQ-led animal sanctuary shelters hundreds of residents and is involved in an array of education and advocacy projects, including, as stated on their website, "efforts to end cockfighting, deconstruct dairying, promote plant-based diets, and galvanize veganic farming and gardening." VINE is a multispecies community that has included sheep, turkeys, parrots, parakeets, doves, ducks, cows, chickens, pigeons, geese, emus, guinea fowl, peafowl, and pigs. The residents are encouraged to develop their own strategies to resolve internal conflicts, and act as mediators, peacemakers, and hosts (to welcome newcomers) in their communities. VINE's practices, which give animals considerable opportunities and support to express their agency, are an excellent example of the potential for farmed animal sanctuary residents to be engaged community members in a just interspecies community.⁹

Many animals find themselves important work at sanctuaries, drawn to tasks they are naturally inclined towards. Sanctuaries recognize the contributions of residents and encourage their involvement in community life. This work often includes social roles and is supported by the guidance of their caregivers. At sanctuaries, animal residents are busy parenting (often as surrogate parents), teaching (especially sharing their knowledge with newcomers to the sanctuary), and watching over and caring for friends, partners, and other community members. In a community where everyone has lost someone, bonds may go beyond species. Many stories describe previously farmed animals comforting fellow residents who suffer from grief or illness or require support and encouragement.

For instance, in chapter 3 we learned the story of a community-oriented cow named Justice who adopted the role of welcoming new residents and providing them with the same comfort that he had received upon first arriving at Peaceful Prairie Animal Sanctuary. Justice found other important work at the sanctuary and even gained a following of fellow residents. He was a protector of Lucas, a little black piglet found on the streets of Denver after leaping from a slaughterhouse truck. Lucas's curious nature led him to various adventures at the sanctuary (like the day he tipped over a bucket of paint, rolled in it, and then started chasing around the volunteers).¹⁰ After these escapades, Lucas would take refuge behind Justice until all was forgotten. Another friend of Justice was Juliette, a cow who made a break from a farm with her calf and found her way to the sanctuary. It wasn't an easy feat: the pair escaped through several fences and ran for miles. The story had a sad ending, however, as the farmer demanded that the calf, considered property under the law, be returned. Juliette could stay at the sanctuary, but she suffered from having her child stolen.¹¹ Then there was Laurel, a swan who made every effort to visit Justice in the field, and Bumper, a young brown-red steer "who likes to sneak up on people" and bump them!¹² Justice passed away in 2016, but not before touching the hearts of many with his generous nature.

Like Justice, a rooster named Charlie Parker had a knack for comforting newly arrived residents. Charlie was rescued as a chick by the Eastern Shore Chicken Sanctuary (now VINE). When Charlie first arrived, he was more interested in the sanctuary's cofounder, patrice jones, than the other chickens. She helped him socialize by introducing the chick to a small group in the infirmary area. Here Che Guevara, an older rooster with a disability, comforted and "literally took Charlie under his wing."¹³ Years later, after Che Guevara had passed on, Charlie returned to the infirmary. With an aging body and medical problems of his own, it was now Charlie's turn to



Figure 46. Mickey and Jo at Woodstock Farm Sanctuary. (Photo by Sharon Lee Hart.)

welcome the new arrivals, taking them under his wing and offering reassurance. Demonstrating what research has already shown—that chickens will pass on cultural knowledge—he carried on the compassionate tradition of his older friend.

Mickey and Jo, two Muscovy ducks who escaped the foie gras industry, supported one another throughout their ordeal. When it was cold out, Mickey would wrap his wing around Jo to keep her warm.¹⁴ The pair was found malnourished and injured in the frigid waters of Inwood Hill Park in New York City. Their upper bills were cut off, a common practice in the foie gras industry. They were rescued at different times, but Mickey and Jo never lost their deep connection. When they met again at Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary, their reunion was joyous: “They ran toward one another making excited but gentle noises and lay their necks around each other as if embracing.”¹⁵ Mickey and Jo were able to maintain their close bond. From then on, they lived together at the sanctuary.

A powerful and caring social bond developed between Phoebe, a cow rescued by Farm Sanctuary, and an old sheep named David who she adopted. As David aged, Phoebe was with him constantly. She would lick and try to soothe her friend. After he was taken away for medical care, she became distressed, but when he returned, it was “the reunion of the century.”¹⁶ Likewise, at Catskill Animal Sanctuary in Saugerties, a Hereford cow named Helen developed a caring relationship with a small steer named Rudy. Helen’s life had been saved when, upon realizing she was born blind, a farmer’s daughter advocated for her safety. Helen was frightened when she arrived at the sanctuary so its founder, Kathy Stevens, decided to introduce her to Rudy. The two quickly bonded and Rudy became her seeing-eye steer. In return, Helen would groom him, as well as a horse with a disability and her human friends.¹⁷

At Poplar Spring Animal Sanctuary, a Jersey cow named Heidi became surrogate mother to new calves and guide to a blind cow named Emily. But before that, she escaped from death three times. Heidi was born in Georgia on a dairy farm. As a “byproduct” of the dairy industry,

she was slated to be killed soon after birth. Instead, she was gifted, with three other cows, to another farmer who happened to be lecturing at the farm. At his farm in Virginia, Heidi was again scheduled to be slaughtered. But when the day arrived, she sensed that something was wrong and fled to the fields. The farmer didn't give up. He locked Heidi in a barn and backed the transport trailer right up to the door. This time, she jumped out of the window and ran. After overhearing that Heidi would now be killed right on the farm, a neighbor purchased her and called the sanctuary. Heidi's deep sensitivity became apparent when volunteers arrived with their trailer to rescue her. Filled with apprehension (would they really be able to catch this elusive cow?), the volunteers were surprised when she emerged from the field and walked right onto their trailer.¹⁸ Heidi's trust was remarkable considering that all of her previous interactions with humans must have made her incredibly wary of them.

Sanctuary residents have also been known to alert their fellow residents to potential threats. Dogs commonly take on this task, but there's also Dee Dee, a miniature Sicilian donkey who was rescued from a locked barn. At her home, Days End Farm Horse Rescue in Lisbon, Maryland, Dee Dee has chosen to protect the resident sheep and goats by chasing unfamiliar visitors away from their field and braying to sound the alarm if she senses trouble.¹⁹

As these examples demonstrate, by providing animal residents with a healthy and supportive environment in which they can flourish, sanctuaries make room for the residents to support one another and pursue meaningful activities. By supporting and caring for their residents, sanctuaries also provide a model for animal advocacy and show that nonhuman animals are individuals who should be treated with compassion and respect.

WHAT SANCTUARIES DO FOR THE WORLD

Sanctuaries regularly engage in educational advocacy and outreach that has a far-reaching impact. They demonstrate that animals have inherent worth and are not commodities or property. Providing visitors with opportunities to connect with their animal residents is one way that sanctuaries have a consciousness raising influence. This connection occurs in person through scheduled tours and by sharing their residents' stories on social media. At the farm, visitors might get to feel the delicate feathers of a chicken (who, if they are lucky, has chosen to sit on their lap), the textured coat of a sheep, and the soft belly of a pig. They can watch goats jumping and playing, experience the affection of a turkey, or receive nuzzles from a cow, often weighing several thousand pounds. Online, people can read stories of animal rescues or sponsor a resident by donating and receiving updates about their progress. Although many people have been socialized to believe that some animals exist for human companionship and others for food, sanctuaries collapse this boundary. When given the chance to be themselves, a pig (or a chicken, or a goat, or a duck) are equally endearing as the animal companions who typically share our homes.

By demonstrating alternative ways of relating to animals and creating the conditions that allow them to flourish, sanctuaries influence how we perceive other animals. Animals have favorite activities and foods, social and emotional lives, curiosity, and unique dispositions. Visitors enjoy meeting them and learning about their lives, but they are also informed of the industrialized raising and slaughter process. Making a case for animal rights and explaining the horrors of animal agribusiness is easier done while sharing the stories of rescued animals.²⁰ When visitors meet the animals as individuals, they witness the mental, emotional, and physical scars of everyday animal

agriculture practices. Videos showing these practices and exhibit models of tiny cages and crates amplify the message.

Another key component of sanctuary advocacy is vegan education, with an emphasis on animal rights as well as healthy living. Research on plant-based vegan diets comprised largely of whole foods has shown that they can successfully lower blood pressure, reduce the risk of diabetes, reduce the risk of cancer, protect the brain, improve bone health, and protect the heart.²¹ Farm Sanctuary's first fundraising gig was selling veggie dogs at Grateful Dead concerts out of the founders' Volkswagen van. Patrons of the traveling festival-like concerts were often receptive to the compassionate message. At one of these concerts, a fan offered the idea for the sanctuary's first bumper sticker. It read, "If you love animals called pets, Why do you eat animals called dinner?"²² This statement emphasized that animals are sentient and every individual should be understood as "someone." Indeed, sanctuary visitors experience the truth of this message firsthand. They are often surprised by how quickly they connect with the animals, which is a profound inspiration towards going vegan.

The stories of animals who escape can resonate with people in a unique way. As Sophia Rivers explained, when Farm Sanctuary shares stories of their residents who previously escaped from captivity, the stories resonate deeply: "people see that each animal is unequivocally expressing his or her will to live."²³ Referring to Queenie's escape, Rivers said that people visiting the sanctuary were "deeply moved seeing her in pasture, running around free and with friends."²⁴ Similarly, some people visit Woodstock Farm Sanctuary because they want to meet, for instance, "the steer who escaped."²⁵ Often these visitors love animals and may already be vegan for ethical reasons, and "sometimes someone just really sympathized with that one animal."²⁶

The presence of Queenie and other animals escaping through the city streets demonstrates that they are individuals, much like the companion animals (such as cats and dogs) who share our home. Likewise, the presence of those traditionally considered "farm animals," such as pigs, cows, or chickens, as companions in city spaces interrupts normalized ideas of where they belong.²⁷ The Microsanctuary Movement works to this effect by offering sanctuary to farmed animals in both urban and rural environments. While nature enthusiasts have long created wildlife sanctuaries in their backyards, attracting songbirds and other wild residents, microsanctuaries focus on a traditionally less respected but equally lovable birds: chickens. In "The Sanctuary in Your Backyard," Justin Van Kleeck describes microsanctuaries as functioning to "demystify farmed animals."²⁸ Run by vegans, they tend to focus on public education through personalizing individual companions, offering reproductive health care for chickens, and providing shelter to ten or fewer residents at a time.

Sanctuaries are spaces where all members have the potential to become self-determining participants and influencers in "a new and shared interspecies society."²⁹ Listening to animals' voices, attempting to include them in decision making, giving them autonomy to follow and develop their interests, and providing them with space and privacy are the main tenets of this vision.³⁰ For instance, VINE Sanctuary provides a model of how decision making that includes listening and responding to other species can occur. In *The Oxen at the Intersection*, patrice jones describes a gathering at VINE in which many residents were included:

We stood in the barn surrounded by sanctuary residents, as we like to do when making important decisions. (Miriam [cofounder of the sanctuary] and I have always believed that decisions about animals ought to be made, insofar as possible, in consultation with animals. If that's not possible, the next best thing is to be in physical proximity to animals like those you're thinking about, so that you don't make the mistake of treating them as abstractions.)³¹

This meeting included roosters, ducks, sheep, and cows—some participating in or pecking in on the gathering, and others going about other business nearby. The presence of the sanctuary’s residents serves as a powerful reminder of their inclusion in the community.

ANIMAL AGENCY AT SANCTUARIES

As previous examples in this chapter demonstrate, animal residents at sanctuaries are often active in their communities, engaging in various routines and roles and making decisions that demonstrate their agency. Another way animals’ agency becomes visible at sanctuaries is when they purposefully push sanctuary boundaries and negotiate their environments. Even when animals arrive at a sanctuary, as volunteers will attest, they don’t necessarily lose their resistant tendencies. Sanctuaries may be an endpoint for resistance against harmful oppression, but they are also a beginning for animals to freely express their agency, with caretakers reconfiguring sanctuary spaces to accommodate their needs and desires.

Lerr, a large Leghorn rooster, will give visitors a karate kick if he doesn’t want them in the yard; Billie, an elephant rescued from the circus, will refuse medical procedures or tinker with, and dismantle, technology; and Olivia the goat, with her formidable group of pals, will patrol the grounds and enjoy whatever feed is available. Resistance from sanctuary residents like Lerr, Billie, and Olivia occurs for numerous reasons: they may still be traumatized from mistreatment in their former lives on farms or in circuses; they may test the boundaries or enjoy exerting their agency knowing they are in a safe place; they may find benefit in transgressing borders that exist at the sanctuary, even if these are established for their own well-being; and in some cases they may just rejoice in breaking the rules. One frequently cited form of animal agency at sanctuaries is when residents transgress their allotted spaces. This refusal to remain in, or their disruption of, the spaces that are lovingly constructed for them is the focus of this section.

After their adoption, Snowy and Shotzie, two ducks who were abandoned in the city and brought to Farm Sanctuary, retained the perseverance that helped them to survive difficult times. The pair were adopted out to Farm Sanctuary members Karen and Drea in central New York. Once Snowy and Shotzie set their eyes on a pond between Karen and Drea’s place and the neighbor’s house, their minds were made up. They settled on the water and wouldn’t leave. Their caregivers tried everything to entice them back to a duck house in the yard, including offering them home-cooked meals. But they resisted these attempts. Their new caretakers listened. Following the lead of the determined duo, they built a new duck house at the edge of the pond. Snowy and Shotzie now had everything they wanted to enjoy life to the fullest.³²

Likewise, three emus—Tiki, Breeze, and Adele—at VINE Sanctuary mostly ignored a shelter that was built for them. Rather, the trio appropriated a ravine for sleeping and hanging out. Then there’s Gilly. Her human caregiver hoped to slowly introduce the enthusiastic chicken to her new flock. Gilly, having none of it, ended up “running and crashing” into the other hens who accepted her with grace.³³ There’s also the case of Farrah and Damien, two high-spirited rabbits rescued from a live animal market. Every night, they rearranged everything their human caregiver set out so carefully for them—the water dishes, litter box, and toys. In the morning, if they were not let out as early as they wanted, Farrah and Damien would bang their toys against the cage and sometimes push everything off the shelves.³⁴

In refusing to remain in their allotted spaces, sanctuary residents may also cross species

barriers. Selick the pig had a difficult start to life before being given a home at Indraloka Farm Sanctuary in Mehoopany, Pennsylvania. At Indraloka, Selick lived with other pigs in the pig barn, but he wanted a change. One night, Selick escaped the pig enclosure. While wandering on the sanctuary grounds, he found the barn door to Henny, Jake, and Tom's residence. The old turkeys welcomed Selick into their space, where he gobbled up some grain and fell asleep. These were individuals he could imagine associating with. After Selick's human caregivers brought him back to the pig pasture, he once again broke out and headed straight to the turkeys' barn. This routine continued for a week, with the sanctuary volunteers putting him back with the pigs, and him breaking out again to reside with the turkeys, who had even started visiting their new friend during the daytime. Eventually, it was decided that a new living arrangement would be implemented. Selick would stay with the turkeys. A few years later, he suffered a heart attack. This brush with death led him to open up and explore the sanctuary further. He befriended other animals, including birds and goats, and even humans. When Selick passed on, it was clear that he had touched many people who had visited the sanctuary.³⁵

Marcie, a blind ewe, was drawn to the goats. When she first arrived at Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary, Marcie was well acquainted with heartbreak. During her early days at the sanctuary, she avoided humans altogether. Her caretakers were understanding and gave her plenty of space: "We understood her apprehension, and went out of our way to not intrude in her safe zone," they explained.³⁶ Later, however, Marcie warmed up to her human caregivers. She began to seek them out. As Joanna Lucas explains, "If, in her estimation, we had been inside the house too long, she knocked on the door with her hoof and summoned us out."³⁷ For the rest of her life, Marcie would visit the porch to check on her human friends several times a day, and in the last year of her life would remain for hours into the night.

Ariala and Rhoslyn also loved being near their human companions. The white-feathered sisters had a terrible start to life. They were transported in storage containers packed with 15,000 turkeys from Detroit to California. Over 13,000 of the turkeys died of suffocation in the blazing summer heat. Ariala and Rhoslyn were two of eleven live birds rescued by a local humane society. Karen and Mike, who adopted them in a small town outside of San Francisco, observed that the pair preferred the company of humans (who give them plenty of kisses and pats) rather than their chicken friends. They also enjoyed strolling through the garden and sneaking into the house when nobody was watching.³⁸

Not only do animals sneak into their human caregivers' dwellings, they will sneak into the sanctuary itself—their acts of agency apparent in their escape into the safe space. One morning in 2004, after Florida had been hit by a large hurricane (one of several), a head count of sanctuary residents by the staff at Kindred Spirits Sanctuary revealed something surprising. While making the rounds to check that everyone was safe and accounted for, they noticed that there were two more heads than usual in the cow pasture. It turned out to be a pair of bovine buddies who were later named Aintcho and Nacho. Because there are no farms near Kindred Spirits, the sanctuary surmised that the two must have made a long trek through the storm. They remained at the sanctuary, and Aintcho even came to lead his own herd.³⁹

In 2018, a cow and her calf also made a harrowing journey to find refuge. Fleeing from a farm that had recently acquired them, the pair swam across a pond and ran through the forest for hours. They finally arrived at Sycamore Tree Ranch in North Texas. A photo taken soon after their arrival shows the pair hiding behind horses in the pasture. After two weeks of remaining cautiously in the treed area, the mother began to trust the sanctuary's cofounder, Koby Wegge, and would even eat from Wegge's hand. Their future was unclear, however. The farm from whence



Figure 47. Clarabelle and her daughter Valentine at Edgar's Mission Sanctuary in Australia. (Photo courtesy of Edgar's Mission.)

they escaped knew of their whereabouts and planned to send them to slaughter (since they were too “wild” to keep). Cowboys intended to rope and drag the cow and calf onto a slaughterhouse transport trailer. Faced with this troubling situation, Sycamore Tree Ranch raised the funds to purchase them, and they remained at the farm.

Sanctuary residents' actions sometimes reflect their trauma from previous mistreatment. For instance, the trauma of the cycle of artificial insemination, separation from their calves soon after birth, and intensive milking is so severe that even newly arrived cows at farm sanctuaries have hidden their calves because they fear having them stolen once again. Take the case of Clarabelle, a cow who was rescued by Edgar's Mission sanctuary in Australia just hours before she was scheduled to be slaughtered on a dairy farm. Because each of her previous children had been taken away from her days after birth, year after year, upon arrival at the sanctuary she was still apprehensive around humans. It wasn't until the sanctuary workers noticed that Clarabelle was acting differently than usual that they discovered Clarabelle had been hiding something—actually, *someone*—for several days. After arriving at the sanctuary, Clarabelle had given birth. Then she hid her newborn on the sanctuary grounds, not yet realizing that, for the first time, no one was going to take her child away. If her mom hadn't been rescued, the calf, whom the sanctuary named Valentine, would have been born into the dairy industry and killed.



Figure 48. Billie and Ronnie (front) and Minnie and Debbie (back) at The Elephant Sanctuary in Tennessee. (Photo courtesy of The Elephant Sanctuary in Tennessee.)

Billie, an elephant, was another sanctuary resident who continued to protect herself from past trauma by exerting her agency. When Billie was captured from Asia as a baby and brought to the United States, her world was turned upside down. The young elephant was forced to perform tricks for a circus, including one-foot handstands. Behind the scenes, her life was miserable. She was chained for hours, shipped across the country, held in horrendous conditions, and forced to undergo violent training procedures.⁴⁰ After enduring this treatment for years, one day, Billie fought back, injuring her trainer. As a result of her rebellion, Billie was removed from performance life and confined in an old barn for a decade. Billie finally escaped captivity when she was rescued and brought to The Elephant Sanctuary in Tennessee. Even though Billie was now safe, the physical and emotional harm had deeply traumatized her. A chain around her leg, which Billie wouldn't let anyone at the sanctuary remove for five years, became a symbol of the trauma and broken spirit she carried.

To provide animals with medical care at sanctuaries, caregivers often employ special training that entails the patient being given a treat and plenty of encouragement when they cooperate with the procedure. The residents often enjoy the process, primarily the haul of goodies they get from the training (fruits and veggies, candy, cereal, and more). Billie had a penchant for jelly beans and other snacks. But her caregivers found themselves always tense around Billie. She was skeptical and would keep everyone on their toes by throwing her trunk, charging, swinging around, and trying to grab those close to her. The loss of control that comes with offering up a foot, trunk, or ear is a reminder of the many years of helplessness Billie had experienced. One of Billie's caregivers, Laule, attributed Billie's unpredictability to her being angry at those who had mistreated her, took her life away for so long, and made her live in constant fear of being

struck.⁴¹ Billie's story highlights the importance of allowing animals to retain as much autonomy as possible to feel comfortable with various medical procedures, and recognizing that there will always be challenges. In the book *Last Chain on Billie*, Carol Bradley tells Billie's story, including the heartwarming moment when those who cared for Billie were able to remove the chain. It took several weeks of careful preparation, during which time they encouraged Billie with praise for raising her foot, and familiarized her with the bolt cutters that would be used to cut the chain. When the time came, a bucket full of her favorite snacks assisted in the process. For all her human friends present, it was a huge relief when the chain fell to the ground. Billie, however, didn't appear particularly interested. As Bradley writes, when the chain fell from her leg, she "picked it up with her trunk, then dropped it and walked away . . . [Billie] had better things to do."⁴²

Sanctuaries offer necessary care for animals who have been rescued and perform numerous other important functions. They provide their residents with health care, legal advocacy, and opportunities to flourish. In broader society, they play an important role in education and consciousness-raising. The healthy, nonviolent lifestyle model of sanctuaries also inspires visitors to follow healthier ways of living. Beyond the traditional framework, sanctuaries have the potential to become (and some already *are*) places that model just multispecies communities in which animals' voices shape the communities. As animal agency at sanctuaries demonstrates, sanctuary residents transgress, negotiate, and sometimes extend the boundaries of their homes. Sanctuaries are continually being reconfigured in response to animals' agency. As places that challenge dominant societal paradigms and human-animal hierarchies, and imagine and practice new ways of relating across species lines, sanctuaries are spaces of resistance and multispecies solidarity.

Outcomes and Multispecies Solidarity

THIS CHAPTER EXPLORES SOME OF THE IDEAS AND PATHWAYS THAT HAVE EMERGED through examining animals' resistance: what it means for humans to work in genuine solidarity with other animals and what their resistance means in a multispecies struggle. Chapter 7 examined public responses to resistance and acknowledged animal rebels' own roles in creating social change. Chapter 8 explored the ways that sanctuaries have an important (life-saving) role in the lives of animal resisters and are a powerful way to support them. This chapter reviews some of the ways that animals impact their surroundings and considers how to be an effective ally with animal rebels.

RECOGNIZING INTERCONNECTED STRUGGLES

In the early twenty-first century, a financial crisis in Greece following massive bailouts left many citizens without a job or a home. In December 2008, massive demonstrations began in Athens after a police officer shot and killed a fifteen-year-old student named Alexandros Grigoropoulos. The demonstrations, triggered by his death, quickly spread to other Greek cities as people protested government corruption and the economic crisis. During this tumultuous time, a dog named Kanellos (meaning *cinnamon* in Greek) joined in the protests, along with his successor, Loukanikos (who was otherwise known by his caretaker as Theodore). Each dog, appearing in photos that were shared around the world, became known as a "riot dog." As loyal revolutionaries, Kanellos and Loukanikos were infamous for always siding with the protestors against the state. The presence of a dog barking at the heavily armored police and holding the frontlines became a regular sight in the revolution. The riot dogs had joined the struggle by their own volition, despite water cannons and tear gas being hurled their way. Loukanikos was even known to "protect people by grabbing tear gas canisters and pushing them away."¹ The dogs became a symbol of the working people's struggle against government corruption and austerity regulations imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

Kanellos became known in 2008 after he was photographed during a general assembly of students at the National Technical University in Athens. During the Greek protests at this time, Kanellos was always found beside the protestors. When he died, Kanellos was buried at the university, which was associated with the revolution. A woman who cared for Kanellos said, "He



Figure 49. "Loukanikos the Riot Dog," by Bradley C. Watson: brad@watsonswanderings.com.

used to go to all the protests and even to the courts when someone was arrested."² Because he suffered from arthritis near the end of his life, students raised money to purchase a wheelchair that allowed Kanellos to stay indoors with them until his passing.

In 2011, diverse groups of protestors and citizens occupied Syntagma Square, a central square in Athens, demanding change. The downtown demonstrations grew, and when austerity measures were announced, political turmoil escalated. Loukanikos was the riot dog visible at most of the protests in Syntagma Square. Like his predecessor, Loukanikos was not afraid of tear gas or the heavily armored police. Photos showed him barking at officers and nearly being kicked by them. Popular with the media outlets, Loukanikos's fame spread around the globe. His consistent show of solidarity with the revolution was apparent during the September 2011 police union march. When a group of striking police officers marched in the center of Athens, Loukanikos wasn't sure how to react at first: suddenly there were uniformed police on opposing sides. However, when riot police attacked the striking officers, he sided with those being attacked. His loyalty and interspecies solidarity made headlines. He was even nominated for *Time* magazine's "Person of the Year." On June 29, 2011, the government used more than 3,000 tear-gas canisters in downtown Athens (2,900 more than is typically used to evict a demonstration). That spelled the end of media attention on Loukanikos until his death at age twelve. According to a veterinarian monitoring his health, he died from the aftereffects of the tear gas and other chemicals in the air.



Figure 50. A chicken flies over a fence at a farm. (Photo by Tatyana Kuznetsova.)

He lived until 2014 and died peacefully at a caretaker's home. His death was felt deeply around the world. One author suggested that Loukanikos played a role in having the media stick around, and that it was "a metaphor for the passing of a time of creative upheaval for Greece, maybe forever."³

The same year that Loukanikos participated in the Greek anti-austerity protests, activists gathered in Zuccotti Park, located in New York City's Wall Street financial district. The Occupy Wall Street movement protests began on September 17, 2011, raising awareness of corruption and the unethical corporate influence (especially from the finance sector) on government. It was within this social-political environment that Harvey the rooster was found during an Occupy Goldman Sachs protest in November 2012. Protesters were opposing the corporation, and its central role in the financial crash of 2007, when they spotted someone hiding in the bushes around Columbus Circle: a speckled black and white rooster. They wrapped the dehydrated rooster in blankets and brought him indoors for the night. One of them remarked that when she cooed to Harvey, he would coo back. The following day, Woodstock Farm Sanctuary picked Harvey up and drove him to the sanctuary. As Brown explained, when Harvey arrived, "he was initially quite shy and timid but has blossomed and seems very happy in his new home. He enjoys the daily 'mash' (special food mash made of bananas, apple sauce, vegan canned dog food, and vitamins) everyone gets and is very sweet, letting the ladies eat first."⁴

Harvey's connection to the Occupy movement and the riot dogs' alliance with the anti-austerity protestors are fitting given that humans and other animals are oppressed by the same corporate systems. They share an interest in the end of neoliberal economics. When the Occupy movement released an official declaration, its noted concerns included the capitalist injustices against animals. Namely, the capitalization and concealment of the "torture, confinement, and

cruel treatment of countless nonhuman animals.” Harvey’s escape did not attract the same media attention as some of his larger revolutionary animal counterparts, but he was another powerful resister whose story raises awareness of the dire circumstances from whence he escaped.

Harvey, found in the corporate jungle, is not alone. Most of the calls the sanctuary receives are for unwanted roosters from urban backyard chicken operations, as well as escaped chickens from urban “live kill markets.” The most common reports of animals on the loose in New York City concern chickens. Mike Pastore from Animal Care and Control estimated that each year they receive calls for thirty to fifty birds, and two to three calls for larger animals who escaped. As one Farm Sanctuary press release notes, “Given the high volume of animals coming and going from the businesses, escapes are common and birds can be found wandering nearby streets.”⁵ Despite the large number of chickens who escape within cities, they are rarely chased far because they are considered to have low financial value. Chickens slip unnoticed into alleyways or abandoned parking lots, where they are less likely to attract attention than escaped cows, pigs, or goats. Although there are few mainstream news stories on chickens who escape, we can find glimpses of them in other stories. For instance, in an article describing the conflict between new condominium owners in Brooklyn and a nearby slaughterhouse, a bystander identified as Ms. Coats recalls witnessing workers chasing escaped birds. One morning, as Ms. Coats was walking her dog after a snowfall, she noticed “little chicken tracks in the snow.”⁶

Interconnected struggles between humans and animals are apparent in the exploitation, and resistance, found in the industrial slaughterhouse. A culmination of centuries of slaughter and invasions against living beings, the labor of oppressed humans in the slaughterhouse is commodified to make animals into commodities, which are then advertised in ways that obscure the nightmarish root of violence. Animal agribusiness has long exploited migrants and immigrants. Since 1865, when capitalists celebrated the opening of Chicago’s Union Stockyard, the industry has treated its workers as expendable. Some of the first documentation of this treatment appears in Upton Sinclair’s novel *The Jungle*, first published in 1906. Through the eyes of Jurgis Rudkus, a Lithuanian immigrant trying to support his family, *The Jungle* exposes the intolerable working conditions, poor health regulations, and cruelty to animals endemic to the slaughterhouse. Sinclair, who worked in the Chicago stockyards for research, uses the plight of farmed animals to illustrate the plight of workers under capitalism.

During these years, immigrants from Eastern Europe were enticed to America by corporations promising an escape from poverty. Immigrants sought work in the meatpacking industry, but upon arrival they were exploited to facilitate industrial capitalism. The industry targeted their vulnerability and crushed their hopes with dangerous working conditions and low wages. Slaughterhouse workers were, and still are, subject to repetitive stress injuries, stabs, or burns; exhaustion from being denied breaks; and loss of limbs from body parts being caught in dangerous machinery or hit by struggling animals. Sinclair observed how both the farmed animals arriving constantly on trains and the immigrants seeking employment formed seemingly endless lines to be “processed.”⁷ Cows arrived daily on freight trains, some with broken legs, gashes, and other injuries, and others already deceased from the treacherous journey.⁸ If workers went on strike, recently freed African Americans were given transportation from the South to take their place.

Recruiting vulnerable migrant workers for the undesirable work of killing animals continues to this day. During the second half of the twentieth century, the number of “livestock” operations increased, as did the amount of land they required. Raising cows in confinement could now be done anywhere—though it was mostly relegated to low-income communities due to the

industry's noxious stench and pollution. Displaced farmers fought back in response, but CIA-backed Central American dictators violently suppressed their efforts, resulting in thousands of casualties.⁹ As the fast-food industry grew, the United States sought cheaper "meat" from Mexico and Central America. Low-cost cow flesh ("beef") funded the expansion of private ranching operations into Latin American economies, which were increasingly under U.S. control after the 1960s. The U.S. government and the World Bank gave hundreds of millions of dollars for private ranching operations built on land that was expropriated from small villages and communities, which facilitated the rise of fast-food and "hamburger culture" (along with the ideological indoctrination for increased consumption of animal flesh).¹⁰

In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed into law, allowing goods made in Mexico to be imported to the United States free of tariffs, and opening Mexico to U.S.-made goods. The U.S. government in consortium with the World Bank and NAFTA undermined Mexican farming as many businesses were unable to compete with U.S. corporations that began freely operating in Mexico, driving thousands of people into poverty. The resulting products were sold to multinational corporations based in the United States. The destabilization of subsistence communities' livelihoods rendered by industrial agribusiness in Mexico, and the resulting environmental pollution, drove some of the poorest people to migrate north across the border, seeking opportunities to make a living and support their families. Many were led right into the clutches of the U.S. slaughterhouse industry, which requires (and preys upon) vulnerable people to fill the bottom of the labor hierarchy.

The exploitation of immigrant workers by animal agribusiness accelerated in the 1980s. Immigrants were recruited for the most undesirable jobs, including those in what we now call concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs). Today, as migrant communities grow, the U.S. government justifies racial profiling through their campaign against terrorism. The number of immigrant detention centers and deportations have grown since the 2008 financial crisis. More recently, some U.S. citizens' heightened fears of "outsiders" have increased with the surge of right-wing white nationalism in the United States. Lilia Trenkova's chapter "Food Without Borders: Xenophobia and Global Corporatism in the U.S.-Mexico Agricultural Commerce," in the book *Food Justice: A Primer*, is a useful resource on the current neocolonial relationship between the United States and Mexico and the colonial and capitalist practices that led to food injustice for Mexican communities on both sides of the border, with animal agriculture being a central force in these practices.¹¹

Entangled in the multinational pathway of slaughterhouse capital are the farmed animals themselves. Sinclair wrote about how the animals transported to the Chicago Union Stockyards resisted in slaughterhouses: cows, pigs, and sheep struggled as they were shackled and hoisted through the air. Describing the struggle of the pigs amidst the horror, Sinclair writes:

They had chains which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft . . . once started upon that journey, the hog never came back; at the top of the wheel he was shunted off upon a trolley, and went sailing down the room. And meantime, another was swung up, and then another, and another, until there was a double line of them, each dangling by a foot and kicking in frenzy—and squealing.¹²

As the workers tried to keep pace with the mechanistic, fast-moving system, occasionally an animal would "get upon its feet and run amuck."¹³ Chaos ensued when partially stunned animals

tried frantically to escape. The men would run desperately in pursuit (for they too were disposable) and the boss was not afraid to threaten those he was meant to control with firearms.

In the twenty-first century industrial slaughterhouse, the mechanisms of control and violence are concealed. Yet, animals who escape highlight the power relations of its borders. For instance, when a runaway cow was shot by Omaha police in August 2004, her escape interrupted the way that people, including workers at the very slaughterhouse from whence she fled, are distanced from the killing. When six cows broke out of the slaughterhouse, four of them were quickly recaptured from a nearby church parking lot, while the other two ran towards an abandoned railroad yard. One of these two turned onto a side street (that led to another slaughterhouse), but she was cornered against a fence by heavily armed police, who proceeded to shoot her several times. Before she died, the cow fought for her life, trying to run and bellowing in pain.¹⁴

Several workers happened to be on break and witnessed the escape and subsequent shooting of the cow. Later, one employee recalled the moment the cow was killed: “They shot it, like ten times,” she said. She then recounted a police shooting of an unarmed man from Mexico and suggested that because he was Mexican (and not a Caucasian), “They shot him just like they shot the cow.”¹⁵ The cows’ resistance brought attention to the concealment of violence in the modern industrial slaughterhouse. Indeed, even many of those employed on the sterile (such as the meatpacking) area were appalled to see the cow shot in the open. The slaughterhouse is designed to minimize the number of workers directly involved in killing the animals, or who see them alive before they are killed.¹⁶ Formative dichotomies serve to divide and conquer, pitting poor people of different backgrounds against each other, dividing factory-farm workers along racial lines, and normalizing the exclusion and suffering of farmed animals. The patrolling and enforcing of slaughterhouse borders enable the higher-level employees (the managers, CEOs, and high-level players of the industry) to maintain a distance from the horrific kill floor.

The willingness of the working class to identify with animals—and in the case of the riot dogs, the willingness of another species to side with dispossessed humans despite being threatened with gas canisters and tear gas—shows that opportunities for collective liberation can emerge. Working people have often led the way in championing animals’ rights and compassionate treatment. The early nineteenth-century labor activist, weaver, and poet Samuel Bamford supported the rights of “the dog, the steer, and the horse,” as did the Chartist Thomas Cooper.¹⁷ Members of the working class strongly opposed vivisection because they identified with the terrible fate of the animals.¹⁸ In fact, during the nineteenth century, the white bourgeoisie often portrayed the proletariat as bestial and closer to animals. Anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon also included other animal species in his formulation of working-class politics. Proudhon observed that oxen and horses labor for humans but receive nothing in return.¹⁹ Workers who were part of the Old Brown Dog Affair in early twenty-first-century England recognized their connection to other animals, a recognition that drove the capitalist class to work harder in promoting speciesist ideology.²⁰ Likewise, the labor division in the slaughterhouse is a point where such solidarity can emerge.

DECOLONIZING THROUGH VEGANISM

The colonial capitalist system is rooted in colonial food practices. Food has been a principal tool of European colonization.²¹ Colonization introduced animal products to Indigenous

communities that never previously relied on animal agriculture, and paved the way for global capitalism to push high-animal-based diets around the world. It also appropriated vast swaths of land for ranching. While oppressive food practices have been a central part of this violent process, food justice has a central role in dismantling colonization. A vegan diet and veganism as lived politics complement other revolutionary practices against global capitalist destruction. For many people of color, veganism is a radical and decolonial practice that opposes inefficient and oppressive food systems.

Claudia Serrato, a community health educator, is one writer who has initiated critical decolonial conversations around veganism. Rooted in an Xicana Indígena perspective, Serrato's work remembers ancestral cuisine and returns to the roots of her Indigenous ancestry, which includes a diet of the Three Sisters: corn, beans, and squash.²² Margaret Robinson has explored the connections between Robinson's Mi'kmaq Indigenous ancestry and views of animals. Robinson explains that the colonization of the Mi'kmaq people entailed a shift to dependence on store-bought food and factory farming. These changes were at odds with historical Mi'kmaq values, while Indigenous veganism is more in line with these values.²³ Breeze Harper, of the Sistah Vegan Project, has demonstrated how decolonizing one's diet is an important decolonial practice for African Americans. Harper examines racism and whiteness in the context of food justice and veganism, showing how African American communities are subject to the longstanding violence of colonial food systems. As part of their vegan anti-colonial praxis, Aph Ko and Syl Ko address the colonial mindset, dismantling white colonial supremacy within a framework of Afrofuturism.

When asked what she thought about including animals in social justice movements, speaking particularly about chickens, the activist and scholar Angela Davis responded that there is an important connection between the way that humans and animals are oppressed: "The food we eat masks so much cruelty. The fact that we can sit down and eat a piece of chicken without thinking about the horrendous conditions under which chickens are industrially bred in this country is a sign of the dangers of capitalism." In a 2012 interview, Davis noted that now is the right time to talk about being vegan: because it is part of a "revolutionary perspective" and because "most people don't think about the fact they're eating animals." As Davis explains, it "would really be revolutionary to develop a habit of imagining the human relations and non-human relations behind all of the objects that constitute our environment."²⁴ Both chickens and human beings are oppressed in a capitalist society where commodities are the primary form of understanding the world. That Davis is vegan suggests that she objects to more than just the *conditions* under which chickens are killed; it suggests that her reasons are more fundamentally grounded in Marxist understandings of commodity fetishism.

Cesar Chavez, the well-known advocate for farm workers and marginalized peoples, also recognized the importance of animal rights in the struggle for social justice. Chavez followed a plant-based diet and acknowledged that other animals are subjects of life. He once said, "It was my dog Boycott who led me to question the right of humans to eat other sentient beings."²⁵ Chavez's great-grand-niece, Genesis Butler, became vegan at age six and advocates for animal rights. In April 2017, at age ten, Butler gave a Ted Talk about how veganism can counteract the ecologically destruction of animal agriculture.

Although communities around the world thrive while living on whole food vegan or plant-based diets, and many have done so for centuries, in our hierarchical class society there is uneven access to food (as well as cultural and social stakes in consuming animals). A shift to veganism is most accessible for those with autonomy over their food choices. Plant-based options are now widely available with a diversity of offerings, but communities with less access to fresh



Figure 51. A recently separated calf waits in a wheelbarrow as a farmer prepares her solitary crate. (Photo by Jo-Anne McArthur/Animal Equality.)

whole-plant foods need to be supported. Paving the way in this regard are initiatives like Food Not Bombs, which is a global movement serving free vegan meals and reducing food waste since 1980; Chilis on Wheels, which serves vegan chili to communities throughout the United States; Sol Sips Vegan Café, which serves affordable, healthy food in Brooklyn; and the Food Empowerment Project, which offers many resources and initiatives that address interconnected injustices towards humans and animals.²⁶

Capitalist consumer ideology demands continual growth and control of life. Global capitalism, a continuation of colonization, has spread large-scale animal agriculture around the world, including the production of products that fall under “vegetarian” (not vegan) and still rely on animal exploitation. Cows raised for milk and hens raised for eggs experience equal (or worse) conditions than animals farmed solely for their flesh, and are subjected to the same practices (e.g., branding or beak trimming, confinement, and transport to slaughter without food or water). Cows’ milk is meant for their calves, but dairy production necessitates the death of countless male calves who are of no use to the dairy farmer, the sentencing of calves to “veal crates,” and the premature death of cows slaughtered when their milk production decreases. Footage of dairy farms often show cows being shoved by machines to and from slaughterhouse transport trucks. In the egg industry, even so-called free-range egg production involves the gassing, suffocating, or grinding alive of unwanted male chicks when they are just a day old. Chickens are descendants of wild African jungle fowl, who naturally laid no more than a dozen eggs per year. Today’s chickens have been bred to lay a painfully unnatural number of eggs (nearly 365 per year). If they aren’t killed by slaughter, chickens often die from reproductive diseases and laying complications at a fraction of their ancestors’ lifespans.

Fortunately, the alternatives to animal products are abundant. In addition to today's plethora of plant-based food options, there are animal-friendly alternatives to "fur," "leather," "wool," "silk," "down," animal-tested products, and captivity-based entertainment, as well as activities that intrude on animals' habitats. Many vegans are extending the practice to avoid highly socially and environmentally destructive products such as palm oil, (non-fair-trade) coffee or cacao, and heavily packaged (and processed) foods. Vegan-organic (veganic) gardening and farming, which excludes any animal inputs, is also increasingly popular.

Because of crowding out the plant-based diets in many countries, less food is being produced on the same area of land. As a 2006 United Nations report found, a vegan diet feeds many more people than an animal-based diet.²⁷ Eating low on the food chain is the most effective and attainable way to lower our carbon footprint because the volume of crops, water, and land needed to sustain plant-based diets is significantly less. If humans stopped breeding billions of animals for "meat," "eggs," and "dairy," which requires growing food and procuring land and water for the animals, the Earth's precious resources would no longer be under huge stress to sustain them. This would free up a vast amount of land and provide the opportunity for forests to regrow and wildlife to return to spaces previously decimated by animal agriculture. It would dramatically reduce greenhouse gas emissions, pollution of water and air, and the catastrophic freshwater crisis (as billions of gallons of water would no longer be consumed by farmed animals).²⁸ We could help prevent ocean "dead zones" and give sea life a chance to recover. Thus, veganism is compatible with, and a necessity to, rewilding and making space for diverse animal species.

REWILDING SPACE FOR ANIMALS

Animals need the room to fly, roam, crawl, walk, and swim, and to be free to meet their physical, emotional, and social needs. How, in the current ecological and social crisis, can we respect and provide space for them to flourish? Sanctuaries are a significant endeavor, carving out space for other animals, and there are other ways.

With large-scale deforestation and ecological devastation, never has the concept of rewilding been more important. The term was first used to prescribe a lifestyle of bringing humans back to their wild roots.²⁹ It is generally thought of as the remaking or restoring of the natural landscape. Before the term was applied to human culture in this way, it was used to describe releasing captive animals into the wild. Later, it encompassed the reintroduction of animals and plants—and sometimes an entire ecosystem—into areas where they had been previously exterminated. George Monbiot has argued that switching to a plant-based diet, along with dismantling capitalism, is necessary to make space to regrow forests that will draw carbon emissions from the atmosphere, effectively reversing significant effects of climate breakdown. Monbiot has often written about ideal rewilding as encouraging ecology to resume natural processes: allowing the natural world to follow its own course instead of looking for new ways to control nature.³⁰ Rewilding reintroduces species, dismantles fences and other barriers, and excludes detrimental enterprises that exploit ecological systems. The result is self-governing wildlife. While "managing rewilding" might appear contradictory from this viewpoint, humans can assist with rewilding by supporting the ideal conditions for nature to self-govern.

The potential of rewilding as a boon to the ecosystem is apparent in the reestablishment of boar populations in England. Boars have long escaped from English boar farms. The first



Figure 52. A wild boar forages in the Forest of the Dean, Gloucestershire, February 2018. (Photo by Emi.)

well-known escape occurred in 1987 after strong winds blew trees onto fences. Today, the boars are held captive behind wire and electric fences. There are now at least four wild boar colonies in the country helping restore the forest to its former beauty; the boars break up monocultures and allow dozens of species to share the spotlight. The boars' previous removal from the wild was likely detrimental to the landscape. As Monbiot explains, "The British woodland floor is peculiar in that it is often dominated by a single species, such as dog's mercury, wild garlic, bluebells, bracken, hart's tongue, male fern or brambles . . . [which] may in some cases be the result of human intervention, such as the extirpation of the boar."³¹ A testament to their positive environmental influence, robins follow the boars around as they root, grub, and create tiny ponds and wetlands through the forest, just as they follow human gardeners who are digging in the dirt. The generative possibilities for rewilding as a way forward are numerous, but if humans impose on nature rather than working with the natural ecosystem there can be dangers.³² Supporting natural ecological processes while avoiding practices that have caused massive problems in the first place are vital for a rewilding in which life can flourish.

One example of a fraught wildlife project is Oostvaardersplassen, located northeast of Amsterdam in the Flevoland, Netherlands. Oostvaardersplassen is a large nature reserve made up of marshland, woodland, and wetland. It is home to rewilded yet fenced-in Heck "cattle," the auroch's closest domesticated relatives. The project was started to maintain the important bird habitat (threatened by an abundance of willow trees and seedlings in the dry area of the reserve) by introducing large grazers whose chomping would maintain the reserve's openness. The number of ruminants has increased since the project began, due to a lack of predators (since humans exterminated the native predators much earlier in the region's history). The population



Figure 53. An elephant seal lies in a protected elephant seal area, Point Reyes National Park. (Photo by Yurim.)

that the area can sustain is limited and having large numbers of grazing animals is detrimental to the landscape. The result is a rewilded landscape that lacks balance in the ecosystem and still requires human management and intervention, which defeats the project's purpose. With a lack of predators and shelter, many of the grazing animals (including the cows, red deer, and Polish Konik horses) starve to death each winter. Late frost and snowfall are especially disastrous, as the geographically constrained and confined animals are unable to seek out alternative habitats and food sources after the fenced area has been overgrazed. During the winter of 2005, the deaths of many of the animals from starvation did not sit well with the public. Population management measures were deployed, which involved shooting off the weakest, sickest animals (between 30 and 60 percent) with the “eye of the wolf,” meaning that humans stand in as predators to attempt to keep the population in balance.

A positive example of how public spaces can respond to and accommodate animals' needs was seen after nearly one hundred elephant seals and their pups occupied an understaffed beach at Drakes Bay, along California's Point Reyes National Seashore. During a government shutdown, the colony refused to let a fence block their entrance into the beach. After breaking down the fence, the elephant seals moved onto the shoreline. Fewer staff meant less people to deter the gatecrashers. Alissa Greenberg described the joyful scene: “As the surf crashed and gulls wheeled nearby, dozens of the beach's newest inhabitants lazed in the sun, filling the air with purrs and honks, barks and grunts. Pups nursed from their mothers or wiggled through pebbles and seaweed to explore their new world, chirping in panic when they wandered too far away; a handful of rowdy, mountainous males sparred and tussled occasionally, throwing up sprays of sand.”³³ The pinnipeds also reclaimed the parking lot, with a few males taking shelter under picnic tables.

Because the pups were nursing, the Point Reyes Education Center refused to disrupt the process; hunting in California previously brought elephant seals to the brink of extinction and conservation initiatives have been employed to save them. The enclave continued to grow in ensuing weeks. After several weeks, the group moved on.

Rewilding requires building walkways and bridges, modifying fences, closing roads, and building corridors so that animals can travel unimpeded. It means reestablishing green and multispecies-friendly spaces in urban areas, engaging in community-supported veganic farming, stopping development on migration corridors, and no longer geographically marginalizing animals (which is also detrimental to their transmission of cultural knowledge and mental maps). Looking at the big picture, if transnational corporations were removed from the control of food production, by eliminating animal farming and ranching, huge tracts of land currently used for grazing animals and growing animal feed would be made available. As well as reforesting this land, it could be used for veganic food cultivation: field crops, gardens, orchards, and greenhouses (for humans rather than countless artificially bred animals). It could also be transformed into wildlife and animal sanctuaries. In the urban environment, rewilding cities would move us towards a more inclusive multispecies community.

MOBILIZING AROUND ANIMAL RESISTERS

Animal resisters are actors in their social justice struggle, changing the system from within. When oppressed animals resist, it is an opportunity for animal advocates to strategically mobilize by creating a network of support for individuals whose freedom and release must be urgently addressed. Animal advocates might protest at strategic locations in solidarity with the resister and demand their freedom, such as the guarantee of sanctuary. They might campaign for animal resisters on social media, encouraging supporters to make phone calls on the animal's behalf, or letting them know where to attend a scheduled protest. This mobilization could mean holding protests outside a laboratory where a monkey has escaped or occupying a slaughterhouse where a cow has broken free. This campaigning centers the struggles and amplifies the voices of animal resisters, who have usually already gained empathy from concerned citizens.

Amplifying animals' voices is an essential step in mobilizing with animals who resist, as co-agitators in the anti-capitalist and anti-colonial struggle. It is widely recognized that other animal species have their own culture, knowledge, and language, but when it comes to sharing their stories on a wide scale in *human* society, human allies must elevate their voices. Sanctuary workers share tales of their residents with the public. Visual artists, photographers, and documentary producers share haunting and compelling images. Scholars share narratives and provide historical and social context. Writers and artists envision life through the lenses of other species, imagining what they are thinking, feeling, and saying. Social media activists utilize their platforms to spread viral videos of escaped animals or documentaries featuring individuals such as Tilikum or Tyke. Storytelling is a powerful way to amplify animals' voices, as shown by ethologists who have worked to decode animals' language when the nuances of their behavior require more than numbers and graphs, and "narrative is an act of interpretation" that transcends species lines.³⁴

There is a difference between representations of animal resistance in the context of their social and political oppression, and those that depict animals as violent, "demonic" killers. Authors of the popular-culture "animal attack" genre have acknowledged some unintended consequences of

their works. When Peter Benchley, author of the notorious book about a large killer fish, realized the absurd cultural phenomenon it had incited, he stated, “I couldn’t possibly write *Jaws* today . . . the notion of demonizing a fish strikes me as insane.”³⁵ Since the *Jaws* phenomenon, there has been increased fear of sharks. However, sharks only kill about one person per year and this can be due to mistaken identity. Divers in black wetsuits resemble the sharks’ true prey, seals. Humans, by contrast, kill millions of sharks each year: some estimate *one hundred million*, many for their fins. When comparing this massive slaughter to the miniscule risk of being injured by a shark, it becomes evident that humans are the most threatening predators.

Sharing animals’ stories of resistance and agency is a form of solidarity with them. Rebellious animals feature in ballads (e.g., “The Ballad of Ken Allen” by Allen Dennis Gersten), movies (e.g., *The Legend of the Tamworth Two*, written by Mark Smith), musical tributes (e.g., “Riot Dog” by David Rovics), nonfiction literature (e.g., *The Tiger: A True Story of Vengeance and Survival* by John Vaillant), and much more. The Animal Resistance page on Facebook is an accessible resource that regularly shares and contextualizes stories about animal rebels, with the goal of centering animals in their liberation movement and elevating their voices. No longer are humans the only ones with a say in how animals should be treated.³⁶ Fictional representations in the forms of novels, films, art, drama, and poetry aid us in imagining animals’ inner experiences. They help create a holistic understanding of animal resistance alongside the real-life stories, conveying the setting, the characters, the antagonistic forces, and other external factors. Two dogs could escape a laboratory and birds might attack if they feel threatened or protective of their families. While animal resisters tell a story through their actions, there are gaps in what we can know about their histories in captivity.

Tilikum’s and Tyke’s stories demonstrate the powerful outcomes that can occur when humans act in solidarity with animals’ struggles. On March 4, 2010, in solidarity with Tilikum’s resistance, the queer anarchist liberation network Bash Back! acknowledged that animals are agents in their own liberation movement. Bash Back! issued a satirical communiqué entitled “Splash Back,” which called for “solidarity actions with Tilikum across the country to support animal autonomy and resistance” and “total solidarity” between radical human and nonhuman actors.³⁷ Applying a savior discourse critique in an analysis of the incident, Michael Loadenthal describes how this framework helps shift us away from the prevailing idea of a “strong (human) saving the weak (animal)” and serves to “problematize liberation by acknowledging that in this case, the ‘strong’ actors (humans) are the primary oppressors of the ‘weak’ actors (animals).”³⁸

After the film *Blackfish* introduced the public to Tilikum and prompted widespread public scrutiny of SeaWorld and concern for orcas in captivity, human solidarity with Tilikum’s resistance led to policy changes and profit loss for SeaWorld. After the film’s release, the marine zoo’s stock prices plummeted. Musicians canceled shows, and people boycotted and protested the park. In March 2016, SeaWorld announced the following changes: (1) the orca breeding program would be closed, (2) orcas would no longer be brought in from external sources, (3) theatrical orca shows would be replaced with those that exhibit the whales’ natural behaviors, and (4) orcas would not be found in any new parks because they are ending their breeding program. SeaWorld also announced their plans to invest millions in marine animal rescue programs.³⁹ However, the company did not offer to move the orcas currently held captive in their parks to marine sanctuaries. Orcas can live up to fifty years, so this decision sentences the orcas currently owned by SeaWorld to potentially endure many more years in conditions of deprivation. Today, to phase out marine mammal captivity, the Whale Sanctuary Project is working to “establish a model seaside sanctuary where cetaceans (porpoises, dolphins, and whales) can live permanently in an

environment that maximizes well-being and autonomy and is as close as possible to their natural habitat.”⁴⁰ The Whale Sanctuary Project is working with the Russian government to bring ninety-seven captive orcas and beluga whales to the ocean. At least one of these whales has been photographed after their release having successfully joined a pod in the wild.

When Tyke’s resistance was broadcast around the world, her story garnered international coverage and led to significant material changes for animals. Tyke’s life ended before she could ever experience life outside the circus, but her resistance saved other animals from captivity, inspired social change, and altered society. After Tyke’s death was broadcast internationally, protests, boycotts, and lawsuits directed at circuses ensued. Lawsuits were filed against the circus, Tyke’s “owner,” and the Hawthorn Corporation (the company behind the circus), as well as the City of Honolulu and the State of Hawaii. It was revealed that the trainer she killed already had animal abuse complaints filed against him from a previous job selling elephant and camel rides. Her story went on to inspire local legislation in Hawaii and California. Although a ban on having wild animals in circuses in Honolulu failed by one vote, to this day, there hasn’t been another circus with wild animals or elephants brought into the city. In 2003, the first elephant, Delhi, was confiscated from Hawthorn Corporation. In 2004, the remaining sixteen Asian and African elephants were relinquished to USDA approved facilities, and Hawthorn was fined \$200,000. One of these facilities was The Elephant Sanctuary in Tennessee, a retirement community for elephants freed from circuses and zoos. Tyke’s story was the catalyst for the establishment of the sanctuary, which opened in 1995.⁴¹ Between 2003 and 2006, the Elephant Sanctuary in Tennessee took in eight of the elephants (starting with Delhi) from the Hawthorn Corporation. Today, it is among several working to end elephant captivity through education and providing homes for previously captive elephants.

There is a long history of mobilizing around high-profile cases of nonhuman animals’ struggles. In the case of the Old Brown Dog Affair, in early twentieth-century England, different factions of social justice movements came together to protest animal oppression. On February 2, 1903, the torture of a brown dog was observed by two anti-vivisectionist activists enrolled in a psychology class. The two women, Lizzy Lind af Hageby and Leisa Schartau, had enrolled in the otherwise all-male class to expose live animal experimentation practices at the University College London. They maintained a diary of the experiments they witnessed, including those on the day a physiologist named William Bayliss stood before the class with a brown dog strapped to an operation board. The authors write, “The animal, still alive, was on its back, its rear legs stretched flat, its front legs clasped to its sides, and its mouth tightly muzzled. Bayliss moved in with his scalpel.” As Bayliss cut into the unanesthetized victim, the dog cried out in pain and tried to escape. Lind af Hageby and Schartau recorded that he was suffering immensely and making “powerful attempts to get free.”⁴² They also noted that he had incisions on his stomach from previous experiments. But his struggle did not appear to affect his tormenters, who proceeded to kill the dog at the end of the class.

The brown dog’s tragic story deeply troubled others, however. After the women published what they had observed in *The Shambles of Science: Extracts from the Diary of Two Students of Physiology*, although Bayliss was not charged with animal cruelty, media coverage of the incident brought vivisection under public scrutiny. In 1906, a small bronze memorial statue of the dog was placed in Battersea’s working-class neighborhood. The memorial stated:

In memory of the Brown Terrier Dog Done to Death in the Laboratories of University College in February, 1903, after having endured Vivisection extending over more than Two Months and having



Figure 54. Bronze statue in memory of the Brown Dog. Created by Joseph Whitehead, Battersea, London, 1906. (Photo by the National Anti-Vivisection Society.)

been handed over from one Vivisector to Another Till Death came to his Release. Also in Memory of the 232 dogs Vivisected at the same place during the year 1902. Men and women of England, how long shall these Things be?

The statue enraged the medical students. On December 10, 1907, a group of them marched from their central London campus to Battersea. Their mission? To destroy the statue of the terrier, now defiant in memorialization. The approaching mob was met with resistance from suffragettes, trade unionists, socialists, and other progressive agitators who had joined anti-vivisection activists after recognizing similarities with, and sympathizing with, the terrier's plight. Women were moved by the iconography of vivisection, since they too had been treated as objects that male medical students would study and experiment on.⁴³ As the angry crowd of medical students advanced towards the statue, effigies of the dog in hand, one student yelled out, "Down with the brown dog!"⁴⁴ The mob grew to about one thousand people and was fought off by police for hours. Although the original monument was removed, in 1985 a new statue of the dog was placed in Battersea Park, where it remains to this day.

In solidarity with animal resisters, sharing animals' stories of rebellion can challenge injustice and taken-for-granted systems of domination. Their actions have implications for social justice, and resistance to global capitalism is central to the struggle for animal justice. There are complex and overlapping histories and resistance of those situated inside slaughterhouses and other places of animal oppression. As a form of lived politics, veganism as decolonization is compatible with ecological living that strengthens connections between social movements. From the cases of the brown dog to the riot dogs, and from rebellious cows to runaway chickens, other animals have been emblems of political struggle. By catalyzing the powerful response to animal resisters by mobilizing with them and sharing their stories, we can center animals in their liberation movement.

Conclusion

IN CITIES, FARMS, PLANTATIONS, MINES, AND BATTLEFIELDS, ANIMALS HAVE LABORED under human domination and violence. Their skins, furs, scales, and flesh, and their bodily power and strength, have been appropriated and commodified. Domestication, colonization, and capitalism have desecrated countless individual animals through mutilation, genetic manipulation, confinement, and torture. Today, the violence against both terrestrial and aquatic animals has systematically increased, enabled by their status as property and commodities (and the willful ignorance of the general population). Yet, in the face of seemingly insurmountable oppression and tyranny, animals have resisted this placement and struggled for their freedom.

This book has explored the context, meaning, and implications of animals' resistance: why, how, and to what ends (and beginnings) animals resist. The examples discussed throughout offer a glimpse of animals' resistance that occur through retaliation, escape, liberations of other animals, and everyday acts of disobedience. These stories, along with analysis of the public response to animal resisters and insights from sanctuary workers, provide a perspective on animal resistance that considers both the animals' lived experiences and what their transgressions reveal about our global capitalist society. One outcome of animal allies making an effort to listen to, hear, and understand what nonhuman animals are saying is that we can amplify and elevate their voices in solidarity. This solidarity with animal resisters can facilitate bridge-building by creating a compelling case for collective liberation: it offers a foundation on which to create dialogue between social movements, which is a necessary step towards multispecies social justice.

ANIMALS' AGENCY IS HIGHLIGHTED WHEN THEY RESIST

Animal resistance produces a subjectivity and a counter-discourse that challenges the normalizing workings of power. Despite the regulation and subjugation of living beings in animal enterprises, there is subversive and resistant power—for power is not merely restrictive; it is also productive. As Foucault has demonstrated, power produces new forms of life through normalization. If the prison system produces the “prisoner” as a new form of life, a new type of subjectivity through discipline and panoptic surveillance opens up a space for resistance. Likewise, if factory farming produces a new form of life (i.e., the factory-farmed animal, the so-called biological machine, the walking “meat”) through tactics of normalization, there is a possibility



Figure 55. Sue Coe: *Glimpse of Freedom*. 2016. Linocut. Copyright © Sue Coe. Courtesy Galerie St. Etienne, New York.

of counter-discourse when that so-called “meat” escapes and the animal’s will to live is foregrounded. Animals’ acts of willfulness shift the underlying relationships that make up a system of animal exploitation. For instance, they can confront a consumer with the living source of their “meat” in the grocery store; lead slaughterhouse workers to empathize with the shooting of a cow; instigate other animals’ resistance (intentionally or inadvertently); and inspire people to switch to a plant-based diet or veganism. Animal rebels also challenge the idea that humans are the only animals with interests and agency. Some have demonstrated reflective intentionality. Tatiana, Tyke, Mocha Dick, Old Whitey, and others have understood that they risk recapture, punishment, or death for resisting, but rebelled despite these potential consequences. As active participants in their movement for justice, animals affect individual, societal, and environmental changes in many different ways.

IN TODAY’S SURVEILLANCE CULTURE, ESCAPE REMAINS A SPECTACLE

Much like the public spectacles of animal slaughter in ancient Rome and animal trials in medieval Europe, in Chicago from 1865 and onward into the twentieth century, guided slaughterhouse tours were a popular attraction for the public. In the industrial stockyards and packinghouses, visitors watched the spectacle of animals being sent to their deaths, and the workers struggling to contain them, with awe and horror. The modern-day version of agritourism that is occurring

at Fair Oaks Farm, where visiting a factory farm is billed as “fun for the whole family,” has roots in Chicago’s slaughterhouse tourism. When animals escape and run for their lives, it can also be perceived as a spectacle (that relies on their “out of placeness”). While some may, unfortunately, find this entertaining, those rebelling in circuses, zoos, slaughterhouses, laboratories, and other spaces of commodification raise awareness by illuminating the power relations of the borders they transgress. Every animal who makes waves by escaping expands the collective resistance against capitalism and impacts the public consciousness. They inspire people to consider the means of production and to make choices that more closely align with values of compassion and social justice.

ANIMAL RESISTERS INTERRUPT THE DISTANCING STRATEGIES OF ANIMAL INDUSTRIES

Animals who resist transgress the barriers of the spaces and roles they have been allotted. Their illumination of the normalized workings of animal enterprises can encourage people to reject a (animal-derived) “hamburger,” a new “leather” coat, or a trip to an animal theme park, each of which require animals’ lives to be violated. Bridging the distance between the public sphere and animal industries makes space for conscious transformation. When we sympathize with an individual, they are rallied for, but the human species has a harder time extending this compassion to the billions of animals who remain captive. While there has been a shift in how rebellious animals are represented in public discourse since the late twentieth century, and more animals who escape survive recapture (thanks to the positive influence and safe haven offered by sanctuaries), today more animals are systematically killed than ever before. Thus, although our relationships with other species have in many ways changed over the last century, it is difficult to argue for a progress narrative between the nineteenth- and twenty-first-century cases examined throughout this book. A discursive shift reflecting a change in attitudes towards animals has occurred, but this has yet to be translated into material changes for most of the animals caught up in the capitalist machinery of human society.

ANIMAL RESISTERS OCCUPY THE CENTER OF A DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE

The presence of animal resisters in the public sphere can evoke deep feelings of anxiety and discomfort. Animal resisters occupy a space in which power reasserts itself through humor, ridicule, gendering, racialization, ableism, and other material and discursive means. Animals who transgress boundaries of wilderness and civilization have been framed as “wild,” “mad,” and instigating “chaos,” language which served to control them. Many of the earlier texts I examined call on a trope of “cops and cowboys” pursuing and rounding up the “wild” escapees. These texts illustrate how, in the American imperialist project, representations of animal runaways are bound up with what it means to be normal, i.e., a “real” American as opposed to an abnormal outsider. The labeling of devalued individuals as “less than human” and “abnormal” was invoked to justify their exploitation under colonialism. In the neocolonial capitalist system, animals are often construed as “out of place” and “invasive,” distanced under the same rhetoric that

detrimentally effects immigrants and people of color. Stranger discourse projects violence onto those viewed as out of place, wrongly assuming that violence originates with their transgressive acts rather than the exploitation of their bodies. When animals break free and try to navigate the world on their own volition, policing infrastructure keeps them at bay, so that the body politic may carry on as usual.

ANIMALS WHO ESCAPE AND THOSE WHO REMAIN CAPTIVE EQUALLY DESERVE LIFE

Animal industries use ideological propaganda to normalize and defend animal use. They cannot fully prevent animals from transgressing into public spaces, so they devise ways to downplay the resistance. The mainstream media often plays a role in trivializing animals' resistance by reinforcing the notion that there's something uniquely special about animals who escape, in opposition to those who remain captive. The celebration of escaped animals as special in comparison to other, less fortunate individuals holds similarities with other discourses of exceptionalism, such as international refugee discourse that grants only a select few entrance into the receiving country. It also suggests that those who manage to escape are more deserving than those left behind. A select few can be championed, while the suffering of countless other individuals remains willfully ignored. In contrast, farm sanctuary workers and other animal advocates counter this discourse by sharing animals' stories and emphasizing that the animals who remain captive would all escape if they could. Every one of their lives has meaning, just like Queenie, Emily, Sam, Pink Floyd, Francis, Mary, and Tilikum, among many others.

DEMONSTRATING SOLIDARITY WITH ANIMAL RESISTERS IS FOUNDATIONAL TO ANIMAL LIBERATION

Clearly, animal liberation goes beyond humans advocating for other animals: many animal species free themselves and each other. Allies of oppressed animals should support our fellow beings in their bid for liberation. This solidarity entails *mobilizing* with and on behalf of animal resisters. Building campaigns and activism around their resistance and stories is a powerful way to awaken and build on the public's sympathy to their struggles. It also entails *rewriting* our relationships with other animals, reimagining more just ways of living in this world together. Finally, it means *rewilding* the environment that we share. A radical organic vegan rewilding that replaces animal agriculture with forest, sanctuary, gardens, and open land would be monumental in dismantling neocolonialism, while rewilding city spaces would make them a welcoming place for diverse species. Sanctuaries play an important role in the transition to compassionate and just multispecies communities, recognizing and supporting animals' agency and resistance through giving animals meaningful opportunities to order their own worlds and flourish. Radically reimagining and restructuring a society based on mutual aid, strengthened by ecologically balanced ways of living, would benefit all life.

ANIMAL LIBERATION REQUIRES DISSOLVING OPPRESSIVE BORDERS

Human politics and consumer practices all radically shape the spaces that both free-living and domesticated animals inhabit. Global capitalism has imposed borders that obstruct and oppress animals' lives. These borders are policed by force to protect animal enterprises and uphold the paradigm of human exceptionalism. While acknowledging the very real borders and their impacts in our society, it is essential to build bridges of solidarity across them and dissolve oppressive boundaries. We can learn from animal resisters who directly challenge the borders that underlie modern human civilization (and that are used to justify their captivity), such as "in place/out of place" and "domestic/wild." For instance, those who escape to the wild challenge assumptions that domesticated cows require human intervention or that chickens can't roost comfortably in trees.

This book has explored how and why animals resist in a landscape increasingly dominated by human life and technology, the response to and outcomes of their resistance, and how humans are (and can be) assisting animals. Stories of animals' resistance amplify and illuminate their voices and agency. The individuals discussed in this book were not the first to resist human domination, and they won't be the last. At this moment, birds flutter in the forest canopy after escaping cages, cows conspire at their new sanctuary homes after running from slaughter, minks scatter across the forest floor after creeping under fences, and salmon swim free after disentangling themselves from nets and hooks. When celebrating animals' resistance and supporting their bids for freedom, let us remember all those individuals who are unable to share their stories with us. There are currently billions of animals held captive on this planet who are unable to escape, and there will be countless others until we end the war against our fellow beings. We are often taught to turn away from other animals and their struggles, but, on the contrary, it is time to turn towards them. Every one of them is an individual. Each one has a story to share.

Notes

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INTRODUCTION

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43. Thousands of people in Britain read the essay, in which Brophy wrote: "The relationship of homo sapiens to the other animals is one of unremitting exploitation. We employ their work; we eat and wear them. We exploit them to serve our superstitions: whereas we used to sacrifice them to our gods and tear out their entrails in order to foresee the future, we now sacrifice them to science, and experiment on their entrail in the hope—or on the mere offchance—that we might thereby see a little more clearly into the present."
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CHAPTER 1. IMAGINING ANIMAL RESISTANCE

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CHAPTER 2. SOCIETAL CONDITIONS OF ANIMAL OPPRESSION

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CHAPTER 3. MOTIVATIONS FOR ANIMAL RESISTANCE

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