BOVINE BENEFACTORIES: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN COW SANCTUARIES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the growing phenomenon to protect the bovine in the United States and will question to what extent religion plays a role in the formation of bovine sanctuaries. My research has unearthed that there are approximately 454 animal sanctuaries in the United States, of which 146 are dedicated to farm animals. However, of this 166 only 4 are dedicated to pigs, while 17 are specifically dedicated to the bovine. Furthermore, another 50, though not specifically dedicated to cows, do use the cow as the main symbol for their logo. Therefore the bovine is seemingly more represented and protected than any other farm animal in sanctuaries across the United States. The question is why the bovine, and how much has religion played a role in elevating this particular animal above all others. Furthermore, what constitutes a sanctuary? Does not the notion of a sanctuary denote a religious affiliation to salvation and sanctity, and as such are bovines so sacred that they need sanctuaries? Or is it simply that they are so exploited by the livestock industry that they, above all other animals, need salvation?

In such a way, this study asks the question, who is the benefactor: the bovine or the human? I highlight that depending upon the motivation the roles can be reversed, so that at a Hindu based cow sanctuary the cow is the benefactor, venerated in gratitude for the numerous gifts it bestows upon us. However, at the Vegan inspired cow sanctuaries it is the human who takes on the role of the "bovine benefactor," for they are specifically looking to protect and offer bovines sanctuary so that they can lead an autonomous life free from exploitation. I have therefore coined the term "bovine benefactories" to refer not only to the sanctuaries where are they are

venerated and protected, but also as an apt juxtaposition to the ‘fear factories’ where the bovines are made to suffer – fear factories being a more figurative name for what the industry labels as CAFOs (concentrated animal feeding operations).

At the heart of this study is therefore an emphasis upon the stark juxtapositions and contradictions that Americans have with the bovine. What is deemed holy by one bovine sanctuary is deemed profane by another. At the same time, all bovine sanctuaries stand united in complete contrast to the present-day treatment of bovines within the livestock industry. Furthermore, there is an intriguing juxtaposition between America’s reliance and infatuation with beef and dairy products and their treatment of the bovine. For what is deemed more holy to Americans than the hamburger? As such, I also question whether such a dependence and passion for bovine products is a form of religious expression in itself? This study therefore analyzes to what extent food is deemed sacred to a diverse American public. For example, is the bovine sacred to a secular America because it is their ultimate benefactor?

As such, this study looks to deconstruct and question what constitutes bovine veneration, highlighting that the bovine is not only venerated for its virility, aggression, and abundance, but that it has also taken on new significance as a symbol for exploitation, consumerism, and speciesism. In such a way, I highlight that there are many different religious motivations for protecting and offering bovines sanctuary. While some seek to venerate and use the bovine as a symbol, others seek to award the bovine its own autonomy – whereby it is not merely a symbol, but also an animal, with its own identity, will, and purpose beyond that of the human.

This work therefore stands squarely on the shoulders of many postmodern and critical theorists that have come before me, from Judith Butler and Rebecca Alpert to Clifford Geertz and David Chidester. Their work has demonstrated that all constructs are limited by presuppositions of what is considered to be the normative – and as such, what is religion and what is deemed sacred is relative to both the individual and the community that one seeks to identify with. In such a way, I shall conclude that the largescale rearing of bovine, the mass producing and consuming of beef and dairy products, and indeed the offering of sanctuary to the bovine can all be analyzed and interpreted as unique, and at the same time intertwined, forms of religious expression and practice.

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CHAPTER 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO BOVINE JUXTAPOSITIONS

I love cows. Big, beautiful, breathing cows. I grew to love them when I worked on farms, milking and feeding these peaceful creatures and getting to know their distinct individual personalities. My heart broke each time one of my friends was sent to slaughter, which is the sad reality of farm life. But what could I do? I made their lives as decent as possible while they were in my care, then I had to kiss them goodbye. Until the storm: a huge spring storm that lasted most of the night, with roaring thunder and lightning bolts hurtling down with deafening cracks. In the morning, when I went out to feed the cows, I found them beneath a split and blackened tree, all dead. Six little calves huddled together a few feet away. As I led the orphans back to the barn, something inside me changed. The years of accepting sad reality were over. If these little guys had survived an act of God as powerful as that storm, they sure weren't going to be killed by an act of man, not if I could help it! That's how the cow sanctuary began.

(Helga Tacreiter, *The Cow Sanctuary*, 2016)[1]

This study examines the growing phenomenon to protect the bovine in the United States of America and will question to what extent religion plays a role in the formation of bovine sanctuaries. The inspiration for this study came from my first encounter with pattrice jones – a feminist activist who runs an animal sanctuary in Vermont called VINE (Veganism is the Next Evolution), and which uses the bovine as the main motif in its symbol.[2] She had been invited to Temple University by the Temple Vegan Action Network to present a lecture on "Eco-Logic for Effective Activism,"[3] in which she argues for a more holistic approach towards all forms of

1 Helga Tacreiter, "The Story of the Cowches,"in *The Cow Sanctuary*: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/
(Helga has been running The Cow Sanctuary, located in Bridgetown NJ, for approximately 30 years)
[2] pattrice jones prefers to use lower case letters to write her name – a request I respect and uphold throughout this dissertation.
[3] pattrice jones, "Eco-Logic for Effective Activism." Presented on March 9th 2015 at Temple University, Philadelphia.

activism. She positioned her argument using her own organization as an example – looking at the multiple factors a Vegan activist needs to consider when "assessing the problems they are trying to solve and while imagining and testing interventions."[4]

Likewise, jones argued that being a Vegan is not just about refusing to eat animals – it is also about protecting their rights as nonhuman beings; identifying animals as different but equal to human beings.[5] This coheres with an emerging, broader definition of Veganism, as defined by the *Gale Encyclopedia of Alternative Medicine*, which acknowledges that it is both "a system of dietary and lifestyle practices that seek to promote health and peace, while reducing suffering of both people and animals."[6] Such an interpretation of Veganism reminded me of Emile Durkheim's equation of religion to "a system of ideas by means of which people represent to themselves the society of which they are members."[7] Furthermore, it seemed as though offering sanctuary to the bovine could be interpreted as a form of veneration, by which the bovine is seemingly being revered and respected more than other animals in that it is being specifically singled out, protected, and used as the emblem for VINE Sanctuary.

So when she had finished presenting I asked the question: "How much of a role does religion play in offering animals sanctuary at VINE?" To which she vehemently replied, "religion plays no role at VINE – if anything, religion is forbidden as it perpetuates essentialist ideas and practices." I was intrigued by this answer,

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[4] pattrice jones, "Everybody Is Somebody," in *VINE Sanctuary*: http://blog.bravebirds.org/archives/2479

[5] Throughout this paper I will write both Vegan and Veganism with an upper case letter to reflect my argument that such a tradition should be considered a form of religion.

[6] Douglas Dupler and Helen Davidson, "Veganism," in *Gale Encyclopaedia of Alternative Medicine*, 3rd edition, Laurie L. Longe ed. (Detroit: Cengage Gale, 2008), 2318.

[7] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1915), 44.

particularly because I was in my second year of pursuing my doctorate in religious studies, so I probed her some more: "but does not the act of offering sanctuary implicate a belief in sanctity whereby you are concurrently showing veneration to the animals you are choosing to protect?" Again, she denied such a correlation, stating that one can offer protection without veneration. Lastly, I questioned whether using the image of the bovine as the emblem of her sanctuary could be interpreted as a form of veneration, because it highlights in the least a form of preference and recognition, and again, she disputed such an interpretation.

After this interaction I became truly intrigued by not only the practice of offering sanctuary to an animal, but also the religious implications of such a practice. Were there cases that juxtaposed pattrice jones's position? And could I potentially dispute pattrice jones position, arguing that being a Vegan and offering sanctuary to an animal are intrinsically religious practices even if the practitioner did not perceive them to be so? After three years of extensive research I had not only enough evidence to build an argument that religion often does play a role in offering animal sanctuaries, but I had also collated the most comprehensive list of animal sanctuaries in the United States.[8] Though this list is by no means complete it is by far the most comprehensive – before I started my research the largest list of animal sanctuaries in the United States that I could find consisted of no more than 150 sanctuaries – after three years of research I have recorded that there are at least 454 animal sanctuaries in the United States. Furthermore, I am positive that the real number is even more, and will undoubtedly only grow, because in the past 60 years the animal sanctuary

[8] See Appendix A for the full list of all 454 animal sanctuaries that I have thus far compiled.

movement has rapidly grown, with an exponential increase in the last ten years.[9] In 2013 alone at least ten new animal sanctuaries were established, compared to only two ten years earlier in 2003.[10]

Such data supports and vouches that my research is necessary, because the animal sanctuary movement is a thriving contemporary practice, and has of yet not been significantly studied. Furthermore, my research has also uncovered some startling statistics, which demand more analysis. Out of the 454 animal sanctuaries that I had manage to identify, 166 had been established specifically for farm animals.[11] However, of these 166 farm sanctuaries only 4 are specifically dedicated to chickens, 4 to pigs, and 2 to goats, while 17 are specifically dedicated to the bovine.[12] Furthermore, another 50, though not specifically dedicated to the bovine, do use the bovine as a part of their logo. As such, the bovine is more represented and protected than any other animal in farm sanctuaries across the United States. This study therefore seeks to examine the question why the bovine should be so better represented and have so many more farm animal sanctuaries dedicated specifically to them than all the other farm animals combined?

The answer is not simply because they are so exploited by the livestock industry that they, above all other animals, need salvation. For if offering sanctuary was based merely upon who was the most exploited then it would be the chicken who would have more farm sanctuaries dedicated to them, because no animal is exploited as much as the chicken in the United States. As the *2007 United States Animal Health*

[9] See Figure 1, Appendix B, p. 325.
[10] See Figure 2, Appendix B, p. 325.
[11] See Figure 3, Appendix B, p. 326.
[12] See Figure 4, Appendix B, p. 326.

Report highlights, over 9 billion chicken are killed in the United States each year compared to approximately 41 million bovine.[13] In fact, chicken represent 98% of all livestock slaughtered each year,[14] and yet there are only 4 farm sanctuaries dedicated to the chicken, compared to 17 for the bovine. Moreover, more than 260 million turkeys are slaughtered each year, over six times more than the bovine, and yet there are no farm sanctuaries specifically dedicated to them. Additionally, the argument that the bovine is more intelligent and therefore deserves more protection is also insufficient, because if intelligence was the barometer then surely the pig would be more protected for its higher intelligence.

The question is, why the bovine? I propose in this study to answer this question, highlighting that religion has played a significant role in elevating this particular animal throughout human history, especially since the Neolithic revolution and the development of animal husbandry – both among horticultural/agricultural state societies and nomadic pastoral societies, with multiple examples of cultures engaging in various narratives of bovine veneration. In this project I shall therefore seek to examine the degree to which these multiple bovine veneration narratives do or do not play into the act of offering the bovine sanctuary in the United States, alongside questioning to what extent the bovine is uniquely venerated and utilized as sacred or key symbols in historical and contemporary American culture. Additionally, I will be exploring the valence of the concept of sanctuary in comparison to what it means historically in the U.S. and how it further relates to the American concept of sacredness, and what the significance of this might be for the bovine as a potential

[13] See Table 1, Appendix B, p. 333.
[14] See Figure 5, Appendix B, p. 327.

sacred/key symbol. This study will therefore examine not only the question of why the bovine is seemingly offered such preferential treatment but also what constitutes a sanctuary, analyzing its historical and contemporary use in the United States. For does offering sanctuary always necessitate offering protection, or can it mean something else? Furthermore, what does it mean to offer sanctuary – i.e. what motivates an individual to establish and run a bovine sanctuary?

For the purpose of this study I am using the term benefactor to refer to an individual who establishes and runs a bovine sanctuary, not only in connotation to the idea of giving money, time and labor to the cause, but also as a fitting comparison to the traditional role of the bovine as the ultimate benefactor of multiple human societies, providing milk and meat, amongst many other of life's essentials. In such a way, this study highlights how within the sanctuary movement roles are often reversed, with humans taking on the role of benefactors for the bovine. For example, at a Vegan inspired bovine sanctuary it is the human who takes on the role of the 'bovine benefactor,' for they are specifically looking to protect and offer the bovine sanctuary so that they can lead an autonomous life free from exploitation. However, at a Hindu based bovine sanctuary the bovine is still the benefactor, and is traditionally venerated as sacred because it produces milk.

I have therefore coined the term 'bovine benefactories' to refer not only to the sanctuaries where they are venerated and protected, but also to act as an apt juxtaposition to the "fear factories" where the bovines are made to suffer as wholesale benefactors of the American diet – fear factories being a more literal name, coined by animal rights advocist Matthew Scully, for what the industry labels as CAFOs

(concentrated animal feeding operations).[15] At the heart of this study is therefore an emphasis on the stark juxtapositions and contradictions that Americans have with the bovine, whereby it is treated and viewed as either the most sacred of animals, and is thus protected and revered, or the most profane, and is subsequently, locked up, forced fed, and mechanically pumped for its products.

To such a degree, I am using the study of religion as an analytical framework to examine such juxtaposing bovine realities in the U.S. Beyond questioning the motivation of 'bovine benefactors,' I am also superimposing the juxtaposition of the sacred versus the profane as important tools that my religion lens provides to an examination of what is at play in the American relationship with the bovine, and what is at stake in regards to the animal sanctuaries project. Additionally, I highlight that what is deemed sacred by one bovine sanctuary is in fact deemed profane by another. At the same time, all cow sanctuaries stand united in complete contrast to the present-day treatment of bovines within the livestock industry. Furthermore, there is an intriguing juxtaposition between America's reliance and consumption of beef and dairy products and their treatment of the bovine. With the demand on livestock farming exponentially increasing in the last hundred years alongside the demand for cheap fast food products, such as the iconic hamburger, CAFOs have been implemented in order to meet this demand and supplement America's hunger for cheap and convenient protein based products.

Bovines are not however just reared for their meat – they are also heavily exploited for their milk. As Deborah Valenze explains, "there is no question that the

[15] Mathew Scully, "Fear Factories: The Case for Compassionate Conservatism," in *The CAFO Reader: The Tragedy of Industrial Animal Factories*, Daniel Imhoff ed. (Berkley: University of California Press, 2010), 15.

modern industrial complex of food production helped mass-produced milk come into being," thus enabling it to become "the consummate commodity, the virtual queen of today's supermarket."[16] The bovine is therefore forced to excessively produce. This means, as Valence further highlights, that "modern dairying depends on sophisticated equipment and vigilant monitoring"[17] of an exponential number of cows packed into confined and often contaminated factory farm units. Such cows are treated as "production machines," being forced to "produce so much milk that (they are) often exhausted and useless by the tender age of five – at least a decade less than (their) natural lifespan."[18] However, as Philip Lymbery expounds upon in his work *Farmageddon*, this "insidious creep of industrial agriculture has taken place quietly, almost unnoticed except by communities immediately affected."[19] Instead, juxtaposed to this truly terrifying reality, Lymbery argues that the majority of the American populous "believe that farms are still wholesome places where chickens scratch around in the yard, a few pigs snooze and snort in muddy pens and contented cows chew the cud."[20]

Such pastoral imaginings are now as mythical as the cowboy himself, who has been extensively embellished and romanticized by Hollywood to become, like the hamburger, a perpetual icon of what constitutes the American dream. However, like the forlorn pastures, Dennis Hayes has argued that the real cowboys were mostly "unshowered, illiterate men with short tempers and bad teeth," who "came from the

[16] Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), ix.
[17] Ibid, 280.
[18] Philip Lymbery, *Farmageddon: The True Cost of Cheap Meat* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 3.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

lower stratum of society and labored hard and long, in nasty weather, for little pay."[21] These nineteenth century cowhands were not the roguishly handsome, chiseled-chinned James Stewarts, Clint Eastwoods, or John Waynes of Hollywood/Marlboro imagining, but instead, as Hayes further explains, they were more often "Spanish/Mexican vaqueros," "Native Americans, such as Cherokees dispossessed of their land, and former Negro slaves released by the Civil War."[22]

As such, the bovine has become a pertinent symbol in the United States for many environmental and anti-speciesist movements who seek to dismantle these mythical pastoral imaginings and instead expose the public to the reality of modern day mass incarceration and profane treatment of all forms of livestock. Environmentalist and anti-speciesist movements argue that such a normative is not sustainable and therefore must be challenged. Furthermore, they argue that such a violent model of exploitation and oppression is based on an assumption of superiority, and that what is needed is a blurring of the human/animal boundary: a position that calls into question the inherent dualism of an anthropocentric and speciesist reality. Such groups include FFAC (Factory Farming Awareness Coalition), ARC (Awakening Respect and Compassion for Sentient Beings), Animal Rights Revolution, The Vegan Peach, and White Lies.

Alongside such environmental and anti-speciesist movements, and at the heart of this very study, there are multiple animal sanctuaries who have likewise adopted the bovine as a symbol of the anti-speciesist movement, such as VINE (Veganism is the Next Evolution) in Vermont and The Cow Sanctuary in New Jersey. At these

[21] Denis Hayes, *Cowed: The Hidden Impact of 93 Million Cows on America's Health, Economy, Politics, Culture, and Environment* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015), 18-19.
[22] Ibid, 19.

sanctuaries the emphasis is not to view or venerate the bovine as a benefactor, because it is believed that such a role has been exploited only to serve the good of humans and has not benefited the bovine at all. Instead, I would argue that at these sanctuaries the bovine is deemed sacred in its own right without any anthropocentric or anthropomorphic meaning attached to it. And yet, once again, juxtaposed to these animal sanctuaries, there are other animal sanctuaries that use the bovine explicitly as a symbol of the sacred because it is deemed the ultimate benefactor, such as Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary in Pennsylvania and Mira's Cow Sanctuary in California. However, as of yet, there has been no comprehensive attention given to why such sanctuaries would have adopted such symbolism, nor to what degree religion has played a role in helping elevate the bovine to such a prominent position.

In fact, there is very little academic research at all on the growing phenomenon of animal sanctuaries, and, considering how many now exist in the United States, I sincerely believe that my work is of considerable value. As it stands, there is a substantial amount of non-academic, popular literature on animal sanctuaries, but very little of what can be considered academic, beyond Sue Donaldson's article "Farmed Animal Sanctuaries: The heart of the Movement" (2015) and Timothy Fargo's article "Religious and Moral Hybridity of Vegetarian Activism at Farm Animal Sanctuaries" (2014). There is likewise little indication that any academic work has been done thus far on explicit forms of bovine veneration in the United States. Though much has been written about the current practice of bovine veneration in India, no attempts have been made as of yet to analyze the current state of bovine veneration outside of India. My work will be the first of its kind. This is not, however, to say that there does not exist examples of historical works on bovine veneration outside of India. Alongside

Jeremy McInerney's excellent work *The Cattle of the Sun: Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks* (2010) there also exists several in depth analyses of the role of bovine veneration in Ancient Egypt, including Michael Brass' article "Tracing the Origins of the Ancient Egyptian Cattle Cult" (2003). And yet, once again, there exists very little research on the history of bovine veneration in the United Sates, beyond one or two limited overviews of bison (Pte) veneration among Native American traditions.

This study therefore hopes to not only stimulate conversations about the role of religion in bovine sanctuaries across the United States, but also to add to the growing literature on what constitutes as religion and in what ways animals, particularly the bovine, play a significant role in religious expression in the United States, comparing flourishing forms of bovine veneration among both Hindu and Native American traditions to America's relationship with dairy and cattle farming. As such, in this study I look to deconstruct and question what constitutes bovine veneration, highlighting that the bovine is not only venerated for its virility, aggression, and abundance, but that it has also taken on new significance as a symbol for exploitation, consumerism, and speciesism. In such a way, I argue that there are many juxtaposing religious motivations for protecting and offering the bovine sanctuary. While some seek to venerate and use the bovine as a symbol, others seek to award the bovine its own autonomy – whereby it is not merely a symbol, but also an animal, with its own identity, will, and purpose beyond that of the human.

This work therefore stands squarely on the shoulders of many postmodern and critical theorists that have come before me, from Judith Butler and Rebecca Alpert to Donna Haraway and David Chidester. Their work has demonstrated that all constructs

are limited by presuppositions of what is considered to be the normative – for as Judith Butler argues, what has been deemed normal is merely a "historical configuration of a nameless" indisposition.[23] In the same way that Butler argues that the terms "female" and "woman" are no longer "stable notions,"[24] as their meanings foreclose "certain habitual and violent presumptions,"[25] I will likewise assert in this study that our understanding of what constitutes the terms 'bovine,' 'bovine veneration,' and religion itself are similarly unstable and are bound in limited presumptions. I have therefore employed a more liberal approach in my definition of these terms, being further inspired by symbolic anthropologist Clifford Geertz's assertion that religion can refer to any beliefs or practices that "establish powerful, persuasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in people."[26] In such a way, as Rebecca Alpert argues, "religion does not stand apart from other aspects of society," but instead is "intertwined with politics, economics, and aspects of popular culture, like sport," I similarly argue that protecting cows can also be deemed a religious act.[27]

As such, what is religion and what is deemed sacred is relative to both the individual and the community that one seeks to identify with. In the same way that David Chidester argues that baseball, Coca-Cola, and Rock 'n' Roll are sacred features of "religion in American popular culture," and can be identified as "religious

[23] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990), viii.
[24] Ibid, ix.
[25] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1999), viii.
[26] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, M. Banton, ed. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), 4.
[27] Rebecca Alpert, *Religion and Sports: An Introduction and Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 8.

institutions" in their own right,[28] so can the same argument be made for rearing cows, mass producing and consuming ice cream, and indeed offering cows sanctuary. Furthermore, if we should adopt such a functionalist interpretation of religion then it can be argued, as David Loy does, that religion is anything that "grounds us" in relation to the world and highlights "our role in the world."[29] Likewise, I will argue that the formation and running of cow sanctuaries encourages people to question what our role in the world is through its emphasis on reconsidering our hierarchical relationship with other species on this planet. In such a way, protecting the bovine is an attempt to connect individuals to an "essential wholeness" through "a group of related values," which Alpert terms "what is ultimately meaningful in life,"[30] and influential twentieth century theologian Paul Tillich has termed "an ultimate concern."[31]

Additionally, my examination of the role of religion in bovine sanctuaries across the U.S. has been significantly influenced by Thomas Tweed's theory that religion is in part an organic experience, and as such can evolve into different states and practices depending upon who and what it encounters as it crosses terrestrial, corporeal and cosmic boundaries.[32] Unlike the late nineteenth century unilineal social evolutionary theories promoted by the likes of Lewis Henry Morgan and Edward Tylor, Tweed argues that religions are "confluences of cultural-organic flows" that

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[28] David Chidester, "The Church of Baseball, the Fetish of Coca-Cola, and the Potlatch of Rock 'n' Roll: Theoretical Models for the Study of Religion in American Popular Culture," in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64:4 (1996): 743.
[29] David Loy, "The Religion of the Market," in Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Summer, *1997*), 275.
[30] Rebecca Alpert and Jacob Staub, *Exploring Judaism: A Reconstructionist Approach* (New York: The Reconstructionist Press, 1985), 11.
[31] Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture,* Robert C. Kimball ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 8.
[32] Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 123.

swirl in a transfluvial motion.[33] Rather than there being a set order which every religion mimics, Tweed argues instead that religions organically coalesce with each other to create hybrid and syncretic traditions. To exemplify his argument he looks at transnational communities such as Cuban Catholics in Miami, whose tradition has been influenced by both African diasporic traditions and Christianity to form a unique version of Catholicism. In my study I will highlight that various "cultural-organic flows" have coalesced in and around the animal protection movement in the U.S., establishing in the process an alternative appreciation of animals, with in particular a heightened veneration of the bovine.

For this project I shall therefore be adopting both a functionalist and a fluid interpretation of religion. I shall highlight that religion plays a specific functional role in offering individuals and communities alike a purpose and a perspective that gives meaning and structure to their lives, and that such a purpose and a perspective is dynamic and changeable depending upon, as Tweed highlights, "movement, relation, and position."[34] As such, I will be using an interpretation of religion that is not restricted by static nor stable parameters, but instead appreciates the fluidity and variability of life's transfluvial motions. In such a way, I am adopting Tweed's kinetic theory of religion in analyzing the multiple manifestations of bovine veneration in the United States, incorporating his argument that "religions are not reified substances but complex processes,"[35] growing and dissipating as they confront and converge on America's uniquely multicultural "shifting terrain."[36]

[33] Ibid, 97.
[34] Ibid, 5.
[35] Ibid, 59.
[36] Ibid, 165.

Furthermore, in my analysis of the special role of the bovine in the American zeitgeist I will be incorporating a functional interpretation of religion that argues that religion is food, or as religious scholar Graham Harvey argues in his essay "Respectfully eating or not eating: putting food at the center of Religious Studies" that "religions begin with eating," and that "perhaps religions (as a locus of scholarly attention) ought to be defined not as believing but as eating."[37] I have come to discover that this is a particularly relevant interpretation of religion when analyzing the veneration of the bovine, because more often than not, such veneration is affiliated to an appreciation of the bovine as a food source, or what Harvey has described as "foodways," which he further delineates as "what gets eaten or avoided with others."[38] In other words, I will utilize a theory of religion that places an emphasis upon "consumption" rather than "cognition,"[39] with a recognition that the bovine is often deemed sacred and thus likewise venerated because it is integral to human consumption and nourishment.

To begin my study I will therefore first examine in more detail what constitutes and thus has informed our current understanding of the bovine, deconstructing the fluidity of our changing relationship to the bovine, from venerator and benefactor to exploiter and laborer. To start my examination I will first use poststructuralist and feminist theories postulated by Judith Butler in her work *Gender Trouble* and by Donna Haraway in her essay "A Cyborg Manifesto" to deconstruct our 'gendered' understanding of the bovine before offering a historical overview of multiple forms of

[37] Graham Harvey, "Respectfully eating or not eating: putting food at the centre of Religious Studies," in Religion and Food, eds. Ruth Illman and Bjorn Dahla (Turku: Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 26, 2015), 32.
[38] Ibid, 44.
[39] Ibid, 43.

bovine veneration and how they connect to gendered reaffirmations of human virtues, referencing, amongst others, Deryck Lodrick's work *Sacred Cow, Sacred Places* and Juliet Clutton-Brock's work *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals*. I will then detail the specific gendered history of the bovine within the U.S., comparing the 'hyper-masculine' narrative of cattle ranching in relation to the effeminate narrative of the dairy industry, explaining how these narratives have simultaneously shaped the American economy, diet, and popular culture narratives. In this section I will further highlight that the bovine became exponentially mass reared and thus more consumed alongside the mechanized industrial capabilities achieved in America's post-WWII boom. Juxtaposed to these bovine narratives I will also offer an overview of the much maligned narrative of the native American bovine, the Bison (Pte), charting how its plight can be directly connected to the increased colonial need for land for their cattle ranching and dairy farming projects.

In my third chapter, I will offer an in depth deconstruction of the term sanctuary, examining its etymology, symbolism, and history in comparison to its modern day use in the U.S. In my analysis I will engage with multiple texts, in particular Robin Lorentzen's *Women in the Sanctuary Movement* and Linda Rabben's *Give Refuge to a Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary*, in my effort to situate the specific American sanctuary movement in comparison to its broader historical and religious usage. I will then aim to contextualize how the animal sanctuary movement connects to the larger sanctuary movement in the U.S., as I simultaneously chart the growing movement to offer animals sanctuary in conjunction with the rise in animal welfare and rights. In this chapter I will also highlight how the term 'sanctuary' has become even more relevant to deconstruct and understand since

it has received intensified political and media attention after the 2016 presidential election.

In the second half of my dissertation I will examine how various narratives of bovine veneration and the animal's right movement have coalesced to form sanctuaries that I will argue can be productively examined through the lens of religion, and that I will further argue bears testimony to the distinctive iconography that the bovine has acquired in US society – including various culturally located representations of the bovine as sacred. In two separate chapters I will present unique examples and case studies that demonstrate how Lakota Sioux religion (Lakol Wicoh'an) and Hinduism have inspired individuals to become bovine benefactors. I will highlight how in each case the benefactor has established a bovine sanctuary because the bovine is worshipped as either a symbol or personification of the sacred. Moreover, I will explicate how beyond being deemed sacred the bovine also acts as an iconic emblem for both religious traditions, distinctly differentiating them from other traditions; so much so, that even practitioners of other traditions are capable of distinguishing that the Hindu worships the Holy Cow (Kamadhenu), and that the Lakota Sioux venerates the Bison (Pte).

Lastly, I will present the argument that bovine sanctuaries established by Vegan benefactors have also been motivated by religious ideology, since I will further argue that Veganism can also be interpreted as a form of religion, building on theories already hypothesized by Benjamin E. Zeller in his essay "Quasi-religious American Foodways: The Cases of Vegetarianism and Locavorism" and Malcolm Hamilton in his essay "Eating Ethically: Spiritual and Quasi-religious Aspects of Vegetarianism." As well as highlighting how in some cases Vegans offer the bovine preferential

treatment, I shall also explicate how Veganism acts like a religion, arguing that becoming and being a Vegan entails significant changes and demands upon one's life that are founded upon specific ethics and practices that promote peace, harmony, and the cessation of all forms of oppression. Furthermore, alongside promoting such a utopian non-speciesist reality, I shall also elucidate how Veganism propagates a form of medicinal and environmental salvation through its plant-based diet, claiming that it both physically and spiritually nourishes not only humans but the health of the planet as well. In this chapter I will also highlight how such a religious interpretation of Veganism is also problematic as it projects an identification which many Vegans readily reject, as in the case of pattrice jones – with some ardently preferring instead to identify with such descriptions as "Ethical Veganism" or "Spiritual Veganism."

In my conclusion I will present a more detailed analysis of specific themes that have made themselves apparent throughout my research – in particular, the notion of sanctuaries as manifestations of a utopian ideal, and the recurring themes of juxtapositions, contradictions, disruptions, and countercultures. I will also elaborate upon further research that I would like to pursue in order to build upon the preliminary research established and presented thus far in this dissertation, as well as discussing how my work as it already stands contributes to the two burgeoning fields of Animals and Religion, and Human Animal Studies (HAS). Likewise, I will explain in more detail how I perceive and situate my scholarship as a whole in both of these academic fields.

The main forms of methodology that I have adopted for this dissertation have been split evenly between historical, theoretical, and literary analysis, alongside the relatively new field of cyber ethnography. I have also conducted several on-site visits

to different animal and bovine sanctuaries that are examined within this dissertation, but I have decided to limit the use of insights and information obtained from these visits to the bare minimum in order to focus more directly on building the foundations of my overarching preliminary research, with the intention of pursuing more thorough fieldwork at a later date. Furthermore, it also became apparent to me early on in my research that collating data directly from hundreds of sanctuaries would take an extraordinary effort and amount of time, not to mention funding, when in comparison I could alternatively use the sanctuary websites, blogs, and social media accounts to collate the initial data needed to sufficiently build the foundations for my preliminary research and analyses. Additionally, I also discovered that contacting sanctuaries directly was not altogether that simple, with many sanctuary benefactors either unreachable or uninterested to answer my questions.

However, the majority of my experiences and interactions with the bovines and their benefactors at animal sanctuaries across the U.S. have been extremely positive and enlightening. The more I delved into my research, the more I realized that I had stumbled upon something much bigger and relevant than I could ever have imagined: the animal sanctuary movement is a phenomenon that deserves more academic research and analysis; so much so, that I am confident that my contribution is not only timely and needed, but is also just the tip of the iceberg. Or, in keeping with the theme of this dissertation, and using the first of many bovine analogies, it is just skimming the surface of the milk.

It is also important to clarify here my specific positionality as a scholar that has influenced my analysis and examination of religion in the U.S. and in particular has motivated my interest and focus on the burgeoning animal sanctuary movement – for

as Donna Haraway argues in her groundbreaking essay on scholarship and perspectivism, "Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," that there is no such thing as objectivity, but instead we all project our own subjective "situated knowledge" on the materials we study.[40] As Haraway further elaborates, claiming "positionality is, therefore, the key practice in grounding knowledge,[41] establishing an acute awareness that one's own "location, embodiment, and partial perspective" have influenced one's own research.[42] It is therefore imperative for me to delineate and to admit my own scholarship and research of American religious movements has been influenced by my unique positionality as an Englishman who has lived and studied in the U.S. as a graduate of Religion for the past five years, after growing up and carrying out my undergraduate work in the United Kingdom. My lens is that of an outsider, which both offers the opportunity to question and interrogate norms from a renewed perspective, but also portends the prospect of potential misunderstandings and missed opportunities of interpreting more subtle and less obvious cultural nuances.

Furthermore, my longstanding conversancy with ecology, animal rights, and the environmental movement, alongside having taught Earth Ethics for the past four years at Temple University, has had a marked influence on what I have chosen to research. Beyond recognizing that the animal sanctuary movement is a phenomenon that deserves more academic research and analysis, I would be amiss to not likewise acknowledge that this is a subject that is also of great interest to me as both a scholar

[40] Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1988), 581.
[41] Ibid, 587.
[42] Ibid, 584.

and as an animal rights activist. My agenda therefore is not only to shed light and offer a religious interpretation upon a growing phenomenon in the U.S. but also to add to what I believe has been missing for far too long in scholarship: an analysis of the significant role of animals within the complex and interwoven story of human religion. As Aaron Ross similarly argues in his comprehensive study *The Question of Animals and Religion*, there has been a profound "absent presence of animals in the history of the study of religion."[43] Ross suggests that the reason for this lies in the shared "presupposition" that exists in many religious traditions, as well as in the study of religion itself, which is "so basic that it often goes unnoticed: the existence of essential distinctions between humans and all other animals."[44]

Traditionally animals were studied in order to reify the prevailing narrative of human origins and dominance – as Donna Haraway explains in her work *Primate Visions*, primatology's main purpose was to reflect and maintain ideologies of class, race, gender, and nationality.[45] Likewise, Londa Schiebinger supports Haraway's assessment of early animal studies in her work on the influence of gender on the making of modern science. In *Nature's Body* she argues that the European discovery of the great apes in "Africa and Asia seemed to confirm the notion of a great chain of being, a hierarchy of creation reaching from God and the angels down through man to the lowliest worm."[46] As such the ape was studied neither in itself as an autonomous being nor in its relationship with humans, but rather as a missing link between

[43] Aaron Ross, *The Question of Animals and Religion: Theoretical Stakes, Practical Implications* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 7.
[44] Ibid, 6.
[45] Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 10.
[46] Londa Schiebinger *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 75.

humans and animals. As famous Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus explains in his 1758 work *Systema Naturea* that he knows "full well what great difference exists between man and beast when viewed from a moral point of view: man is the only creature with a rational soul and immortal soul."[47] In such a way, the initial study of animals often told more about European social norms and beliefs rather than about the natural habits of the apes they were supposed to be studying.

Just three years beforehand in 1755, renowned French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau similarly highlighted in his work *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inegalite parmi les hommes* that "under the pompous name of the study of man no one does anything except study the men of his own country."[48] In the same way, with the study of animals Europeans were predominantly invested in promoting their own culture on the animals they were studying. As Schiebinger further explains, "the apes stood mutely by as naturalists (in this case European and male) ascribed to females the modesty they were hoping to find in their own wives and daughters, and to males the wildest fantasies of violent interspecies rape."[49] As such the study of animals was not only anthropocentric but also anthropomorphic, with animals being studied in relation to human characteristics and norms – confirming the notion of hierarchy and continuity not only throughout the animal kingdom but also within the human race as well.

Alongside using the study of animals to excuse the blatant patriarchal and misogynist norms of European society it was also commonly used to justify racism

[47] Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturea* (Stockholm: Laurentius Salvius, 1758), 66.
[48] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inegalite parmi les hommes*, Vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1755), 212.
[49] Scheibinger (1993), 78.

and in particular the enslavement of Africans. In his 1835 study *The Animal Kingdom: Arranged in Conformity with its Organizations* French zoologist George Cuvier demonstrates such reified racism by suggesting that the African physical features, specifically "the projection of the lower parts of the face, and the thick lips, evidently approximate it to the monkey tribe: the hordes of which it consists have always remained in the most complete state of barbarism."[50] The ape was therefore used as a missing link to explain the "apparent" difference between Europeans and other human races, and as such excusing the enslavement of other races, because other races were less evolved and thus more "barbaric." It was therefore deemed not just excusable for Europeans to enslave Africans but it was also understood to be their moral duty, or as otherwise known, as the "white man's burden," to educate and rule over the African races with the hope, as Voltaire expresses in his 1772 *Les Lettres d'Amabed* that over time "these animals will know how to cultivate the land well, beautify their houses and gardens, and know the path of the stars"[51] – or in other words, evolve to be like Europeans. In the meantime however, it was deemed perfectly acceptable to treat Africans as 'animals.'

One of the most common comparisons used to justify treating Africans as animals was the "scientific" study of cranium shapes – otherwise known as Phrenology. Such craniometric theoreticians such as Dutch scholar Pieter Camper (1722-89) and American anthropologist Samuel Morton (1799-1851) collected and compared human and simian skulls to prove that Caucasians had the biggest brains, averaging 87 cubic inches, whilst Native Americans had slightly smaller brains with

[50] George Cuvier, *The Animal Kingdom: Arranged in Conformity with its Organizations* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1835), 50.
[51] Voltaire, *Les Lettres d'Amabed* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1878), 368.

an average of 82 cubic inches and Africans had the smallest brains with 78 cubic inches. The forefather of Phrenology, Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1832) further argued that it was not just the size of the brain that proved that other "races" were inferior to the European Caucasian but it was also reflected in the shape and characteristics of the face as well. As such, the white man's high, broad and large forehead was deemed an obvious signifier of formidable intelligence, whilst the "colored" man's lack of a large forehead signified the opposite.

The study of animals was therefore traditionally used to excuse the Eurocentric colonial endeavor to exploit and enslave. Animals were studied as lesser beings, and used to explain the Caucasian superiority over all other "races." As such, because of a predisposed belief that humans and animals are so inherently different, animals have been somewhat excluded from the study of religion, which has been traditionally deemed a predominantly human-centered cultural practice – one which does not necessitate the inclusion of animals. Consequently, as Barbara Allen highlights in her work on *Animals in Religion*, "during the last two centuries, since the bursting through of the Enlightenment, animals have been, for the most part, left off the pages."[52] And yet, as Allen further delineates, during the latter part of the twentieth century it became widely accepted that animals "have always been present within religions, some with major roles, other with a more walk-on part; but they are there."[53]

[52] Barbara Allen, *Animals in Religion: Devotion, Symbol and Ritual* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 7.
[53] Ibid, 7-8.

Moreover, Brian Fagan has argued in his work *The Intimate Bond: How Animals Shaped Human History* that "the complex and ever-dynamic relationship between animals and humans" has "defined and changed history."[54] The question even shifted beyond whether or not animals were intrinsic to a religion to whether animals themselves practiced religion – begging the question, is religion purely a human experience, or is it an organic expression that most animals can have? In such a way, religion is not a uniquely human experience, but "ultimately biological," for as Edward Wilson argues, "they have a life cycle. They are born, they compete, they reproduce, and in the fullness of time, most die. In each of these phases religions reflect the human organisms that nourish them."[55]

This has been particularly argued in the study of primates, whereby several primatologists, including the esteemed Jane Goodall, have argued that in their observations primates may display precursors of what we now consider to be religion. For example, in an excerpt on "primate spirituality" for the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* Goodall argues that chimpanzees dancing at the onset of heavy rain could be seen as an example of some form of ritualized behavior.[56] J. B. Harrod also argues in his article "The Case for Chimpanzee Religion" that chimpanzee engage in ritualized behaviors at the death of a group member.[57] Likewise, Ronald Siegel argues

[54] Brian Fagan *The Intimate Bond: How Animals Shaped Human History* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), xi.
[55] Edward Wilson, "Making Religion," in *God is Love: Essays from Portland Magazine*, Brian Doyle ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Books, 2003), 124.
[56] Jane Goodall, "Primate Spirituality," in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Nature*, B. Taylor ed. (New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2015), 1303.
[57] J. B. Harrod, "The Case for Chimpanzee Religion," in *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature, and Culture*, VOL. 8, NO. 1 (2014), 7.

that elephants maybe practicing a certain precursor religion in connection to their "elaborate burying behavior."[58]

This move to study "animal faith" has been significantly boosted by a phenomenal piece of work by Donovan Schaefer called *Religious Affect: Animality, Evolution, and Power*. In this work Schaeffer uses "an animalist approach" to see "religion as a by-product of bodies."[59] He argues therefore that it is possible to perceive "religion as a dance, as a surging multileveled, deeply stratified" experience that is "not reducible to language."[60] As such, religion can be deemed an organic experience, which animals can both practice and teach. For example, as I shall analyze in more detail later in this study, among the Lakota Sioux the bison is deemed a teacher of "the values of generosity, creativity, and strength."[61] As Joseph Epes Brown observes in his study *Animals of the Soul: Sacred Animals of the Lakota Sioux* such teachings "emanate" from the buffalo, as if they have a certain understanding of existence which humans lack.

Furthermore, an increased awareness of animals in religion and having their own religious behavior has grown extensively in the last twenty years in correlation with the blossoming interdisciplinary field of Human Animal Studies (HAS). Scholars from many different disciplines have begun to study and analyze our complex and multidimensional relationships with animals, asking such questions as: how do animals experience their lives? Do animals experience depression? Do animals feel

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[58] Ronald Siegel, "The Psychology of Life After Death," in *American Psychologist*, Vol. 35(10), October 1980, 912.
[59] Donavan Schaefer, *Religious Affect: Animality, Evolution, and Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 217.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Joseph Epes Brown, *Animals of the Soul: Sacred Animals of the Lakota Sioux* (Rockport: Element, 1967), xii.

pain? Do animals feel joy? Do animals play? Do animals use language? Do animals grieve? And ultimately, how are animals different to humans? As Margo DeMello explains in her work *Animals and Society* the aim of HAS is in "exploring the spaces that animals occupy in human societies."[62] She argues that for thousands of years animals of all kinds have figured "predominantly in the material foundations and the ideological underpinnings of human societies," so therefore given the ubiquity of animals in our history and our everyday life, it is the lack of inquiry to human-animal relationships that she deems "bizarre."[63]

My aim with this study is to therefore contribute to this growing movement within academia to examine, and thus include in the process, the significant role of animals within the complex and interwoven story of human religion. In particular, giving voice to the bovine benefactor; asking what motivates someone to take on such a responsibility, and how offering sanctuary is more than just guaranteeing protection. Rather it reflects a tendency to view the bovine as sacred and thus not only deserving of sanctuary, but also means to which a sanctuary becomes sanctified. This study is therefore as intrinsically concerned with studying a contemporary religious phenomenon as it is giving voice to an unrepresented and under studied area within the field of religion.

[62] Margo DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 4.
[63] Ibid, 7.

CHAPTER 2

DECONSTRUCTING THE BOVINE

Consider the contented cow. Since antiquity she has lived in simple harmony with nature and people, a selfless servant devoted with bovine serenity to the needs of progress.

(Emily Margolin Gwathmey, *Wholly Cow*, 1988)[64]

Introduction: Poststructural Analysis of the Bovine

In this chapter I will examine and deconstruct in more detail what constitutes a "bovine" and how "bovine veneration" has materialized in multiple forms across history and in contemporary America. I will highlight that the bovine has been socially and physically constructed to function both as a tool to reify and reflect gendered norms as well as fulfilling an invaluable role as one of the ultimate benefactors of the human diet. To position my analysis I will first use postmodern feminist theory, in particular the work postulated respectively by Donna Haraway and Judith Butler, as a tool to deconstruct and question what constitutes normative stereotypes and symbolism of the bovine. I will then present a historical overview of such normative stereotypes and symbolism in multiple world religions, before contextualizing how such various forms of veneration have manifested in the U.S. context. To do this I will initially layout a historical overview of three U.S. narratives of the bovine, delineating the unique stories of the bull, the cow, and the bison, before reviewing how each forms of bovine are currently represented, appropriated, and

[64] Emily Margolin Gwathmey, *Wholly Cow* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1988), 8.

arguably venerated in contemporary American culture. Lastly, I will analyze how these various forms of bovine veneration and symbolism have been influenced by America's uniquely hegemonic and diasporic landscape.

In *Gender Trouble* Judith Butler argues that what we consider to be a normative, specifically "gender," is in fact "culturally constructed,"[65] and then perpetuated "through discursively constrained performative acts."[66] Such an argument I believe can be effectively used as a model in the deconstruction of our understanding of all constructs – in that all constructs are limited by presuppositions of what is considered to be the normative and excludes anything that does not pertain to the norms that govern all constructs. Therefore, in the same way that Butler argues that there should be an "alteration of gender at the most fundamental epistemic level" I likewise consider the same can be said in the deconstruction of what constitutes our understanding and appreciation of the bovine.[67] For what Butler argues is deemed female or male, or in my analysis of the bovine, cow or bull, is in fact merely a "historical configuration of a nameless" indisposition, which has traditionally "veiled the notion that being female is a natural disposition."[68]

Therefore, while Butler suggests that there needs to be a "radical rethinking of the ontological constructions" of what constitutes gender, I am asserting that our understanding of the bovine needs to be challenged.[69] Likewise, in the same way that

[65] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 8.
[66] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990), viii.
[67] Butler (1999), xix.
[68] Butler (1990), viii.
[69] Butler (1999), 7.

Butler argues that the terms "female" and "woman" are no longer "stable notions,"[70] as their meanings foreclose a "certain habitual and violent presumptions,"[71] I would attest that our understanding of what constitutes the terms cow and bull is similarly unstable and forecloses monumental levels of presumptions. For, to what degree is our understanding of the bull or the cow shaped by our own gendered constructions? And, as such, to what extent does the cow and the bull reflect and reify our own understanding of how gender should be performed?

Likewise, in Donna Haraway's ground-breaking work "A Cyborg Manifesto" she also places an emphasis upon questioning, and as such deconstructing, how society reifies and celebrates essentialized gender norms. Instead of idolizing or pursuing ideas of gender perfection, she urgently argues for "transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities,"[72] whereby human, gender, animal, and cyborg are all fused together. As such, an impermeable wholeness is overcome by "disturbing and pleasurably tight couplings,"[73] and "people are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines."[74] The aim is to radically rethink gender and sexual constructions, and to refrain from perpetuating a continued oppression in essentialized constructs. The aim is "the confusion of boundaries" and "imagining the world without gender."[75] As Haraway explains, "the cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world."[76] As such, there is no monolithic authority, identification, or

[70] Butler (1990), ix.
[71] Butler (1999), viii.
[72] Donna Haraway. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. (New York: Routledge, 1991), 154.
[73] Ibid, 152.
[74] Ibid, 154.
[75] Ibid, 150.
[76] Ibid.

explanation. The "dream of a common language" is replaced by a "powerful infidel heteroglossia,"[77] whereby all affinities are recognized, and the "one code that translates all meaning perfectly"[78] is challenged.

In such a way, Haraway pithily uses the imagery of "cyborgs, hybrids, mosaics, (and) chimeras" to contest any form of essentialism, in particular within feminism. As she argues, feminism, like cyborg politics, should be "the struggle against perfect communication,"[79] rather than attempting to install "a common language."[80] It should "insist on noise and advocate pollution, rejoicing in the illegitimate,"[81] rather than promote "the model of the organic."[82] Likewise, I would argue that an understanding of the bovine should refrain from seeking to romanticize and idolize, as well to essentialize or delimit the bovine's multiple meanings. The goal is not to promote an "organic" or "common" interpretation of the bovine, but instead to rejoice in the "disturbing and pleasurably tight couplings" that juxtapose and contradict each other, demonstrating the complexity of what the bovine means to a large and diverse American populous.

However, is it even possible to study the bovine without bias or predisposed constructions to guide us, or as Butler questions in her work, *Bodies that Matter*, how should we conceive "what occupies this site of unconstructed materiality? And what kinds of constructions are foreclosed through the figuring of this site as outside or

[77] Ibid, 181.
[78] Ibid, 176.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid, 181.
[81] Ibid, 176.
[82] Ibid, 151.

beneath construction itself?"[83] Butler argues that "such a loss of certainty… may well indicate a significant and promising shift" in "initiating new possibilities and new ways for bodies to matter."[84] As such what matter matters beyond the scope of presupposition, and in such a way, such unconstructed bodies, be it human or bovine, possess their own inherent worth beyond the predisposed judgments of others. And yet, beyond such inherent worth, the bovine does matter to many people, and one of my main prerogatives in this project is to question how the bovine matters, and how such mattering manifests in different ways.

As Haraway attests in her paper, "Situated Knowledge," that mattering matters, depending upon how subjects "materialize in social interaction" and "are drawn by mapping practices."[85] Therefore, "*objects* do not preexist as such"[86] – it is the mattering that matters in demarcating what something is and what it is not. In regards to what is a bovine, it is pertinently clear that both I as a researcher and you as a reader will have a "situated" predisposed construction already at hand. The challenge is to always reconsider such constructions in an awareness that there exist more interpretations than the ones we already have. And as such, as Keekok Lee argues in her paper, "An Animal: What is it?" – it is "neither futile or irrelevant" to continuously pose anew such a question as, "what is an animal?"[87] – in fact, it is tantamount to ask such a rudimentary question again and again in our attempt to

[83] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 28.
[84] Ibid, 30
[85] Donna Haraway, ""Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Feminist Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1988), 595.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Keekok Lee, "An Animal: What is it?" in *Environmental Values*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (November 1997), 393.

deconstruct and henceforth try to understand such a phenomenon as bovine veneration.

So what is a "bovine"? How many different kinds of bovine exist? And is there such a thing as a "common" understanding of a bovine, or is there a "common" factor that connects all forms of bovines? The term "bovine" has its etymological roots in the late Latin word "bovinus," which referred specifically to the "ox," a trained and castrated version of the bovine that was usually implemented as a draught animal to plow fields. The ox was also commonly castrated in order to control its latent aggressive tendencies, and in contemporary America, another castrated form of the bovine is also referred to as a "steer." However, unlike the ox, the steer is not trained in order to work but is instead primarily reared in order to be consumed. In contrast, an uncastrated male bovine is called a "bull" or a "bullock" and is deemed too virile and thus dangerous to keep as livestock without being castrated. The female bovine is famously known as a "cow," and less commonly as a "heifer." The term cow is in fact so commonly used that it is often used as the umbrella term for all bovine. So much so, that when I often say that I study bovine veneration, scholars and nonacademics alike normally respond with a tilt of the head and a querying look, before affirming, "you mean cow worship, right?"

The term "bovine" is therefore not so commonly used and yet its use is necessary to be inclusive of both types of sex category, for a bull is not a cow, and an heifer cannot be an ox. Furthermore, the term "bovine" is also used to refer to multiple genera of medium to large sized ungulates that include buffalo, bison, yak, anoa, zebu, tamaraw, and the largest extant species of bovine, the bangteng – ever

since the auroch was driven to extinction in 1627.[88] Therefore, the term bovine is necessary not only to be inclusive of sex types but also in order to be inclusive of multiple species of ungulates. And yet, if there are many different types of bovine, can there be such a thing as common form of "bovine veneration"? Is there evidence to suggest that the bovine has been similarly worshipped by humans across time and space in connection to an agrarian or nomadic lifestyle? And to what degree are such examples of bovine veneration steeped in reifying and celebrating essentialized gender norms and constructs?

History of Bovine Veneration

There is in fact considerable evidence to suggest that the bovine has been venerated throughout ancient Europe, Asia, and Africa from as far back as the Upper Palaeolithic period in conjunction with the integral role of bovine domestication in the revolutionary advances of agrarian culture. As Juliet Clutton-Brock emphasizes in her work *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals*, "there are no other animals that provide such versatile range of resources as domestic cattle" – it is therefore coherent that both the "bull and the cow have been symbolic figures in human societies for thousands of years."[89] For as well as using bovine as a source of labor in pulling the

[88] In fact, in a true twist of fate, and actualizing Haraway's plea for "disturbing and pleasurably tight couplings" in her *Cyborg Manifesto*, the auroch is being genetically brought back to life by the very specie that drove it to extinction. Using a combination of modern genetic expertise and old-fashioned breeding the auroch is expected to be fully introduced into wild by 2025. As Stephen Faris has reported in his article for the *TIMES*, "Breeding ancient cattle back from extinction" (February 12, 2010), this "would be the first time an animal has been brought back from extinction and released into the wild." The goal is to reintroduce a keystone herbivore to improve biodiversity in Europe.

[89] Juliet Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81.

ploughs to till fields, cows and bulls also acted as an indispensable source of raw materials.

As Salima Ikram illustrates in her work *Choice cuts: Meat production in Ancient Egypt*, bovines not only provided a source of nutrition in meat, bone marrow, milk, cream, butter, and cheese, their horns, bones, and hide also acted as the "raw materials for many artefacts, from weapons to clothes," and their "fat was burnt as fuel for lamps, as well as rubbed in to protect one's skin from the elements."[90] Therefore, once again it is important to reemphasize, that it is absolutely plausible to consider bovines as "the most important animal of the Near East," as they fulfilled "most of the nutritional and material needs of man."[91] Furthermore, as A. Lucas and J. R. Harris detail in their comprehensive work on *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, bovine "bones, skins, cartilage, and tendons" were reduced to make gelatine and glue, by adding them to "boiling water, concentrating the liquid by evaporation, and then pouring into moulds."[92] Clutton-Brock additionally asserts that alongside bones, cartilage, skin, and tendons, "hooves were used for gluten and glue."[93] She also emphasizes the importance of bovine dung "as a fuel, and as a building material."[94]

Moreover, Deryck Lodrick also argues in his work *Sacred Cow, Sacred Places* that bovine veneration has been intrinsically connected to the "ritual use of dung."[95]

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[90] Salima Ikram, *Choice cuts: Meat production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven: Department of Oosterse Studies, 1995), 8.
[91] Ikram (1995), 8.
[92] A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1962), 3.
[93] Clutton-Brock (1999), 81.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Deryck Lodrick, *Sacred Cow, Sacred Places* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 1.

Likewise, Terence McKenna has further expounded upon the importance of bovine dung in his "stoned ape theory" from his much contested work *Food of the Gods: The Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge*. In this work, McKenna asserts that one of the origins of bovine veneration could be connected to the fact that the hallucinogenic mushroom *Psilocybe cubensis* can grow in certain climates on bovine dung.[96] Or, as he further argues, perhaps the bovine has played such a prominent role in certain traditions because the bovine used to consume the fly-agaric mushroom, therefore making their urine and milk potent with hallucinogenic quality; for what else, he queries, would explain the significant emphasis "laid on cows in the Rig Veda and on the urine of bulls in the religion of the Parsis."[97]

Bovine veneration has therefore not been an isolated or unique practice throughout antiquity, and as the last example illuminates, many theories exist to explain why bovine veneration has thrived. Independent of such an explanation, there is evidence to suggest that for as long as there has been agrarian or nomadic pastoralist cultures there has been a propensity to revere and worship cattle. As civilizations formed so did concrete forms of bovine veneration, with Seri and Hurri in Çatal Höyük, Gugalanna in Mesopotamia, the Minotaur in Minoa, Moloch in Canine and Phoenicia, Red Heifer and the Golden Calf in Levant, Hera's epithet Bo-opis in Greece, Mithraic cult in Rome,[98] Auðumbla in Scandinavia, Nandi and Kāmadhenu in India, Gavaevodata in Iran, Hathor and Apis in Egypt, and the multiple

[96] Terence McKenna, *Food of the Gods: The Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge* (New York: Bantom Books, 1992), 100.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Furthermore, for the Romans, Mars was originally an agricultural deity and protector of cattle. He is analogous with the Roman Hercules who rescues his stolen cattle from Cacus. Cattle were so revered that they were considered a form of money - the term for "cattle" in Latin is *pecu*, and the term for "money" in Latin is *pecunia*. It is where we get the term "pecuniary" in English – another term for monetary or financial (Kveldulf Hagan Gundarsson, *The Thoth*, 25).

manifestations of "le taureau tricorne des Gaulois" from the Celtic traditions. Over the next couple of pages I will present a more detailed outline of two of these specific forms of bovine veneration to highlight how in two very different cultures on two different continents the bovine has played a significant religious role. The two that I have chosen also connect to later themes in this chapter in regards to how bovine veneration has been studied traditionally within the field of Animals and Religion, and how new interpretations of religion and the roles animal play have significant implications on interpreting and thus recognizing contemporary forms of bovine veneration in the United States. To start I will examine the historical evidence of the Celtic veneration of the "three horned bull." I will then give a detailed analysis of the multiple forms of bovine veneration in Ancient Egypt.

Sharynne MacLeod NicMhacha outlines in her research on the Celtic deification of the moon that "the bull has been venerated in Celtic traditions since the earliest times."[99] There are numerous examples of such veneration from Gallic Brittany, Celtic Britain, and Celtiberian Galicia. For example, as well as the phenomenon of the three horned bull deification, there were tribes and towns also named after bulls: Taurini – "bull tribe;" Tarbes – "bull town," in Southern Gaul; and Dietaurus – "divine bull," a town in Galatia.[100] The bull was thus a highly venerated animal amongst the Celts, adopting a plethora of magical and holy responsibilities in fighting "on behalf of humankind against the negative forces."[101]

[99] Sharynne MacLeod NicMhacha, *Queen of the Night: Rediscovering the Celtic Moon Goddess* (Boston: Weiser Books, 2005), 161.
[100] Miranda Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986), 179.
[101] Amanda Green, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 220

In total, archaeologists and historians have identified over forty iconographic representations of the three horned bull - 35 in Gallic Brittany and six in Celtic Britain.[102] Most of these representations are in the form of cast bronze figurines, but there is also an example found in stone at a shrine in Biere-Le-Châtel, and in pipe-clay at a child's grave in Colchester.[103] One of the most renowned renditions of the Celtic three horned bull was discovered in Switzerland in 1883 - "la tete de taureau tricorne de Martigny." Another is the "Pillar of the Boatmen," which is today housed in Paris, but was originally located in the Gaulish town of Lutetia, on the Île de la Cité - an island in the middle of the Seine. It depicts not only a deification of the three horned bull, Tarvos Trigaranos, with his three cranes/horns, but also Æsus, who has been often linked to the triad of Celtic deities, alongside Teutates and Taranis, to whom tauroctony is often associated.

There are only two known renditions of Tarvos Trigaranos – the other, from Trier, Germany, also depicts three birds sitting on a bull's head. Miranda Green contends in her exhaustive volume *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* that "the artistic origin of the triple horned bull image may derive from a Pompeii-Herculaneum type, where bull figurines have birds perched between their horns."[104] The example of Tarvos Trigaranos could therefore explain an early stage of hybridization in the manifestation of the three horned deity that resulted in the birds transforming into three horns. There are however others who have argued that Tarvos

[102] Green (1986), 190.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Miranda Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 53.

Trigaranus was originally a Celtic Britain deity, being "born at Coventina's well,"[105] a sacred Celtic site near Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall.

While archaeological evidence may not absolutely authenticate a specific form of bovine veneration among Celtic traditions it does indicate that the bovine was important enough to be idolized in multiple statues and engravings. Furthermore, the bovine plays an integral role in the first century Irish epic *Tain Bó Cuailgne*, otherwise known as, *The Cattle Raid of Cooley*. This epic details the infamous battle between two gigantic, supernatural bulls: Donn (dark brown) and Findbennach (the White Horned). In other words, this symbolized as Thomas Kinsella explains, a battle between the dark moon and the crescent moon.[106] I would also suggest that the middle horn of the three horned bull might have symbolized the moon, whereby the passage of time, as noted earlier, between the three horns, represents the transformative cycle of the moon, from dark, crescent, and full.

Such a transformative passing of time can also be symbolic of the liminal stages of young men entering manhood, by which certain rites of passage must be practised to express bravery and masculinity. Tauricide was particularly prevalent in Celtiberian Iberia, where the remnants can still be found today in the form of bullfighting. In Iberia bulls were sacrificed to appease the sacred triad of Æsus, Teutates, and Taranis. As the Roman Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) describes in his commentary of the Celts, *Pharsalia*: "You [Celts] who by cruel blood outpoured think to appease the pitiless Teutates, the horrid Æsus with his barbarous altars, and Taranus whose worship is no gentler that of the Scythian Diana," to whom human

[105] Sirona Knight, *Pocket Guide to Celtic Spirituality* (Freedom: The Crossing Press, 1998), 49.
[106] Thomas Kinsella, *The Tain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 46.

captives were sacrificed.[107] Of particular interest is Teutates, whose name comes from the Celtic root meaning of "valiant" and "warlike,"[108] and resonates with the Celtic tradition called *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*;[109] a rite of divination in which a druid would gorge on the flesh of a sacrificed bull, in order to prognosticate the new heir to the throne.[110]

Likewise, in the Nilotic region of northeastern Africa the bull, in the form of Apis and Mnevis, also "symbolized for the Egyptians strength in war and in fertility," and as such were considered to be "the abode of a supernatural power."[111] Apis' fertility was particularly signified by being "born of a virgin cow."[112] In such a way, alongside the veneration of the bull, the cow was worshipped as both the maternal protector and creator, and as well as a symbol of the sky and the heavens. Such veneration dates as far back as the early Neolithic period, approximately 13,000-10,000 years ago, with the worship of Bat – a goddess in the form of a "bovine with curled horns and human shaped eyes and mouth."[113] She was worshipped specifically in Hu, the capital of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt, otherwise known as Sesheshet. As illustrated in the *Pyramid Texts*,[114] Bat was commonly depicted with two faces, arguably representing her ability to be able to equally see clearly in the past and the

[107] Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, Vol. 1, Verse 441, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 16.
[108] Thomas Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race* (New York: Schocken, 1986), 86.
[109] Ronald Hutton, *Pagan Religions of the British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 193.
[110] Thomas Powell, *The Celts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1958), 183.
[111] W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 124.
[112] Anthony S. Mercatante, *Whos's who in Egyptian Mythology* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter Inc., 1978), 12.
[113] Carolyn Graves-Brown, *Dancing for Hathor: women in ancient Egypt* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 15.
[114] The *Pyramid Texts* are a collection of religious texts which were carved on the walls and sarcophagi of the pyramids at Saqqara during the 5th and 6th Dynasties of the Old Kingdom (Graves-Brown, 2010, 16).

future: “I am Praise; I am Majesty; I am Bat with Her Two Faces; I am the One Who Is Saved, and I have saved myself from all things evil.”[115] Furthermore, the *Pyramid Texts* emphasize her fertility and importance by describing her as “she who bears a thousand *bas* (souls).”[116]

By the turn of the Middle Kingdom, around 2000BCE, the worship of Bat had been subsumed into the worship of the goddess, Hathor.[117] As Anthony Mercatante explains in his work, *Who’s who in Egyptian Mythology*, “Hathor was one of the oldest known goddesses of Egypt, symbolizing the great mother or cosmic goddess, who brought forth, and maintained all life”[118] – yet, this is not entirely accurate, as Bat predated Hathor by several centuries. Like Bat, Hathor was praised for giving life to all in nourishing the living with milk. As esteemed Egyptologist Erik Hornung details in his work, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, Hathor was often depicted as a “cow from whose udder the king drinks.”[119] Yet, as Mercatante delineates, she was also revered for supplying “the celestial food for the dead in Tuat, the underworld.”[120] She was therefore called the “cow which is the sky, which watches over the world of the dead and which gives milk to Pharoh.”[121]

Hathor was also called the “cow which is the sky” because she was understood to give birth to her son, Ihy, “who emerges from his mother every day at dawn as the

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[115] Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 181.
[116] Graves-Brown (2010), 16.
[117] Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 172.
[118] Mercatante (1978), 53.
[119] Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 110.
[120] Mercatante (1978), 54.
[121] Ibid, 29-30.

new sun."[122] As R.T. Rundle Clark clarifies in his work, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, Hathor was therefore both the "mother" and "the sky" – and thusly can be considered as "the Primeval Ocean as the all-mother, whether as Hathor, Nut or Isis." Hathor's role as the mother of all, is further delineated in a creation myth that has been preserved in a text from Gebelien:

> My majesty precedes me as Ihy, the son of Hathor. I am the male of masculinity, I skid forth from the outflow between her thighs... I broke forth from the egg, I oozed out of her essence, I escaped in her blood. I am the master of the redness. I am the Bull of the Confusion, my mother Isis generated me.[123]

In another Ancient Egyptian text called *The Book of the Heavenly Cow*, Hathor and the sky goddess Nut are depicted separately, and yet both are intrinsically involved in the original unity of creation.[124] Divine Hathor is portrayed as the deliverer of punishment and Nut as the safe residence for Ra when humankind rebels against him, causing Ra to send Hathor as the violent *Eye of Ra* – after which Ra saves the rest of humanity by intoxicating Hathor with beer dyed red to appear like human blood.[125] The heavenly cow is therefore depicted as both the protector and the saviour in this fable. Furthermore, the image of the sky as analogous to the body of a cow is reiterated:

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[122] R.T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 87.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Egypt: It's Impact on the West* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 17.
[125] Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 149–151.

> The spell is said upon the cow, *the infinite ones who are*, upon her chest. The infinite ones who are upon her back… Upon whose belly are a plurality of stars issuing from its hind quarters in front of its front legs.[126]

The concept of the heavenly cow as representing the sky is also potentially analogous to that of Pleiades, the seven star cluster of the constellation of Taurus – for Hathor is depicted as having seven forms. In the *Book of the Dead*, the seven Hathors of the celestial herd are named in a spell, to be spoken in order to guarantee the deceased in question would be provided with an "abundance of food regularly and continually for ever."[127] Likewise, the seven Hathors were depicted on a relief at Dendera Temple, with a hymn that claims to exalt these Hathors "to the height of heaven."[128]

In each of these two examples of bovine veneration from Ancient Egypt and Celtic Europe there is a common denominator – "bulls and cows figured prominently in the ancient… view of life,"[129] whereby they are being used to symbolize essentialized gendered tropes of masculine strength and virility, and feminine fertility and benevolence. Therefore, beyond an appreciation of the bovine as the ultimate benefactor of labor, nourishment and materials, both cultures have also projected anthropomorphized gendered constructs onto the bovine, and as such, use the bovine to reify essentialized gendered expectations.

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[126] Erik Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* (The Book of the Heavenly Cow). Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 46. (Freiburg Schweiz; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 49.
[127] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* (London: Paul, Trench, Truber and Co., 1899), 123.
[128] Auguste Mariette-Bey, *Dendérah: Description Générale du Grand Temple de cette Ville* (Paris: Libraire A. Franck, 1871), Tom 3, pl. 60.
[129] Mercante (1978), 29.

Furthermore, these examples highlight that such anthropomorphic bovine veneration has not been an isolated phenomenon, but reflect, as renowned economist Jeremy Rifkin has described, a "unique relationship forged between human beings and cattle over the millennia of history."[130] In consideration of this historical and unique relationship, it is therefore not surprising that the bovine also plays an integral role in the formation of what constitutes the American national identity – not only because this identity has been so inherently shaped by numerous indigenous and migrant cultures that have heavily relied upon the bovine, but also because the American economy and diet is so intrinsically dependent upon it. In the next section I will therefore delineate in more detail how such a unique relationship with the bovine has developed in the U.S., as well as highlighting how these relationships are closely tied to specific gendered narratives that have subsequently spawned further essentialized and anthropomorhized examples of gendered bovine veneration.

[130] Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture* (New York: Plume Books, 1993), 2.

American Bovine Narratives

The story of the human-bovine relationship in the U.S. follows three distinct narratives – the story of the nomadic native cultures and the multiple incarnations of the bison; the story of the free ranging hypermasculine, high stakes cattle ranching culture and the uniquely American idolization of the cowboy; and the continued legacy of European animal husbandry and its dairy farming industry. In this section I shall argue that though these bovine narratives are seemingly separate and unique that they are in fact explicitly interconnected, with their stories having major implications on each other, whilst also directly impacting and thus influencing the social, economic, and ecological transformation of the North American landscape.

The first example of a human-bovine narrative in North America was established when migrating nomadic tribes crossed the Bering Strait land bridges up to 30,000 years ago.[131] Their first encounter would have been with the now extinct bovine giant *Bison laitfrons*, whose name in Latin means 'bison with a broad head,' and whom American Historian Tom McHugh has described in his work *The Time of the Buffalo* as "a hulking beast… its horns measured about nine feet from tip to tip, a span fully three times that of present-day buffalo."[132] As these nomadic tribes' hunting techniques evolved and became progressively more proficient over the

[131] Traditionally it was believed that the first humans to cross the Bering Strait land bridges occurred approximately 15,000 years ago, but recent research has literally unearthed that the first humans to enter North America occurred at least 10,000 years earlier. After using radiocarbon dating of animal bones to research archaeological sites at the Bluefish Caves, located on the banks of the Bluefish River in northern Yukon near the Alaska border, Ariane Burke, a professor in Université de Montréal's Department of Anthropology, and her doctoral student Lauriane Bourgeon, came to the conclusion that human settlement in the region dated as far back as 30,000 year Before Present (BP). A detailed overview of their research can be found in their 2017 coauthored article "Earliest Human Presence in North America Dated to the Last Glacial Maximum: New Radiocarbon Dates from Bluefish Caves, Canada,"in *PLoS ONE* 12(1).

[132] Tom McHugh, *The Time of the Buffalo* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 30.

ensuing millennia, using more cohesive ambush techniques alongside more effective weaponry, the size and therefore speed of their bovine prey also dramatically changed, with the larger *Bison laitfrons* being replaced by increasingly smaller and faster bison species – first with *Bison antiquus* and then with *Bison bison occidentalis*, the last of which was driven to extinction approximately 8,000 years ago, and was supplanted on the plains by what we now know today as the American bison (*Bison bison*).[133]

Over the period of the next 8,000 years many nomadic Native American traditions that were located in and around the Great Plains of North America became increasingly dependent upon this now better adapted and thus thriving American bison, which ultimately, as McHugh further delineates, "determined not only the food of the tribes but also most aspects of their life and culture."[134] Of the many nomadic Plains tribes that based their lives unequivocally upon the bison the most well-known are the Arapaho, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Comanche, Crow, and Sioux, however there were many others, including the Cree, Iowa, Osage, Pawnee, Shoshoni, Yankton, and Wichita, to name just a few, that also relied upon the bison as a principle food source. Such an interwoven human-bovine relationship thrived and remained somewhat unchanged until European colonials and conquistadors brought horses, guns, and a market-consumer based economy to the Great Plains in the early to mid-seventeenth century.[135] Horses and guns, which were traded for safe passage, food, and fur pelts, ended up disrupting thousands of years of nomadic hunting

[133] Ibid, 34.
[134] Ibid, 10.
[135] Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?" in *American Anthropologist* (January 1938) 40 (1): 112.

techniques that centered on tribal cooperation and ambush methods. Instead, both encouraged a more individualistic and opportunist approach that complemented the increasing influence of a European capitalist system.

Alongside guns and horses, European colonials and conquistadors also introduced both cattle ranching and dairy farming to North America – two forms of human-bovine relationship which would have major implications for the American bison narrative. As these new bovine narratives exponentially grew over the next four hundred years they ultimately demanded more and more of the Great Plains in order to facilitate their need for resources. The cattle ranching and cowboy tradition, which was initially introduced into North America by Spanish conquistadors and later colonial settlers, was based on the principle of open-range breeding. This obviously demanded much land in order to facilitate large grazing herds, and for the European settlers, North America's vast prairies and desert lands were deemed more than suitable to support this open-range cattle-raising technique.

However, of course, this land was not free to exploit – it came at a cost, with many ranchers either being forced to purchase the land or coming into open conflict with the Native Americans who called the aforementioned open-ranges their home, and increasingly were forced to protect it as more and more land was appropriated to facilitate this specific bovine narrative, which would in due course develop into the fabled narrative of the American Wild West. Although the Spanish initially only introduced ranching projects into what is today Mexico and western U.S., by the turn of the nineteenth century huge swathes of land had become increasingly annexed and used for cattle ranching, with the recently created U.S. hungry to expand and

accommodate more resources for its ravenous young population. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Indian Removal Act in 1830, and a successful outcome in the 1848 war with Mexico, the U.S. effectively appropriated more and more land for open range cattle ranching.

By the 1870s cattle ranching had become the dominant economic activity in the American West, with vast open spaces now deemed free from contestation and thus to be used indiscriminately by settlers to redeem and remake the frontiers in their own image of progress and prosperity. Alas, such prevailing visions of progress and prosperity often overshadowed the much more malign narratives of regress and devastation that was inflicted upon native human and ecological populations. Therefore, the rise of one bovine narrative ultimately resulted in the fall and near demise of another. And yet, it was not the destruction of the bison, nor the humiliation and devastation of Native American traditions that caused the wide-reaching cattle ranching culture to come to an abrupt end in the late 1880s. Instead, it was a combination of increased competition between ranchers and the introduction of barbed wire in the mid-1870s, alongside an increasing awareness of the ecological damage caused by overgrazing that forced ranchers to fence off their land, and thus end the open range cattle ranching culture.

Nevertheless, even though open range cattle ranching ceased to flourish after the 1880s, its impact on the American narrative continued to thrive, and still to this day captivates the American image of itself as free-roaming, independent, and successful in manifesting its rightful and exceptional destiny as the stewards and caretakers of the frontier. In many ways this bovine narrative is about the Christian

gendered ideology of paternalism and husbandry, by which it is the right and duty of men to control, steer, and dominate natural resources as well as acting as the paternal guardians over Native Americans, whereby their bovine narrative is undermined, patronized, and systematically denied by a belief in a more progressive bovine narrative. In such a way, the paternal, hypermasculine ranching narrative has been used as a 'civilizing project' to elevate and assimilate the native to the colonial way of life.

Similarly, the palpable patriarchal connotation highlighted in the term 'animal husbandry' equates the relationship between man and his farm animals to that of his relationship with his wife, and as such, the wife is reduced to the same status to that of the farm animal. Alongside the misogynistic insinuations of such a comparison, whereby women are reduced to being kept and controlled, as well as being looked after under some form of patriarchal dominion and stewardship, this term also has broader implications for how Europeans have traditionally perceived how they should relate to farm animals. It is this relationship that characterizes the third explicit human-bovine narrative in the U.S. In this narrative the bovine is kept, monitored, controlled, and offered limited access to open spaces and often their own offspring. The beef and dairy industry is as such both a further reflection of a hyper masculine need to dominate and control, as it is a reflection of the now much contested feminine expectation that women should accept being dominated and controlled.

This third bovine narrative therefore pertinently reflects the projected gendered norms that humans have superimposed upon the bovine and which the bovine then subsequently reflects back on to us. And as such, beyond the gendered

anthropomorphisms that the bull and the cow may assume, in this particular narrative all bovines are feminized in relation to the paternalized role of their human steward and benefactor. Furthermore, in this human-bovine relationship the bovine is maternalized as the provider and source of life, with its milk both symbolically and figuratively replacing the milk we all once received from our own mothers. In such a way, the bovine has become our society's surrogate mother and our ultimate benefactor, to such an extent that we have become accustomed, as Deborah Valenze argues in her comprehensive historical overview of milk, "to expect easy access to what was now seen as an entitlement" and "a public necessity throughout Europe and America."[136]

Valence further highlights that such expectations of access and necessity was only "made possible by the handmaid of the twentieth century, modern science."[137] The corporatization and industrialization of dairy farming at the turn of the twentieth century saw an influx of scientific and technological implementations into how milk was produced, introducing growth hormones, antibiotics, artificial insemination, and milking pipelines to help facilitate a high demand for dairy products. Post WWII, increased technological advancements along with a booming economy meant that dairy access in the U.S. was sidelined by dairy excess, with the large scale corporate agribusiness pumping a seemingly endless flow of produce to meet the demand of a more prosperous, consumer based society. It is at this point, from the mid-1950s onwards, that the U.S. emerges as a high consumption society, revelling in its prosperity and mass consumer potentiality. Alongside bigger cars and houses, more

[136] Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 253.
[137] Ibid, 253-254.

expensive vacations and shopping trips, one of the major forms of increased consumption took the form of food, both in quantity and diversity, with dairy and beef products in particular becoming even more prevalent in the kitchens and diners across America.

Now, for example, enter any supermarket in the United States and you will be confronted with rows upon rows of bovine-based products. Walk down every other aisle and sooner or later you will be inundated with an excess of dairy options: be it milk, condensed milk, soured milk, powdered milk, buttermilk, butter, butterfat, cream, clotted cream, sour cream, whipped cream, or crème fraiche. Once you have overcome these never-ending options you are then presented with yet another insurmountable number of potential bovine products at the deli. Copious cuts of cheese stacked one on top of another, European intermingled with American, brie and camembert, cheddar and gruyere, provolone and pepperjack, mozzarella and parmesan.[138] From soft cheese to hard cheese, string cheese to cottage cheese, cheese curd to the uniquely American processed cheese, represented in all its glory by Kraft's Cheese Whiz.[139]

Turn yet another corner, and the dairy bombardment surmounts a fresh attack, switching its focus from targeting your savory palate to now focusing on conquering your sweet tooth, with up to 54 brands of yogurt and 55 brands of ice cream,[140] offering every flavor conceivable: from such simple classics like vanilla and chocolate to the slightly more imaginative like chocolate chip cookie dough and

[138] For an overview of America's most well-known cheeses, see Table 2, Appendix B, p. 333.
[139] For an overview of America's most well-known cheese brands, see Table 3, Appendix B, p. 334.
[140] See Table 4 and Table 5, Appendix B, p. 335-336.

cotton candy to the extraordinarily extravagant like Ben and Jerry's New York Super Fudge Chunk and Oddfellow's Chorizo Caramel Swirl. If all of this was not enough to prove that the bovine has commandeered the American supermarket experience, one turns yet another aisle and is presented with row upon row of bovine flesh packaged into conveniently sanitized products such as steaks, ribs, burgers, jerky, sausages, pastrami, and ground beef.

Altogether, it becomes clear that the bovine has somewhat monopolized the American supermarket experience. So much so, that one is left questioning to what degree the bovine has become the main foodway in the U.S. And if one perceives foodways as implicit forms of religious expression, as religious scholar Graham Harvey argues, whereby "religions begin with eating," and therefore should be "defined not as believing but as eating,"[141] then I would argue that the bovine is central to an implicit form of lived religion in the U.S. For if religion is interpreted as a form of nourishment – like a food, it has the potential to sustain life – then the bovine is surely a religious phenomenon because of the extent it nourishes the American public. This interpretation correlates with the Vedic term for religion, *sanatana dharma*, which is often translated as the "true way of being." The root of the term dharma is "dir," which literally means to sustain – therefore in Vedic traditions religion is that which sustains life; i.e. that which nourishes and keeps us alive. In such a way, the bovine is at the heart of a lived religious experience in the U.S., because of how much it physically nourishes and thus supports a certain way of life.

[141] Harvey (2015), 32.

For, surely, what we do to our body and what we consume into our body is a reflection of our lived religious experience. As phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty has explained, "the body is our medium for having a world."[142] Likewise, as anthropologist Mary Douglas has argued in her work on body pollution and rituals of purification that the body acts a code or metaphor of a socio-cognitive mapping of reality, so that "just as it is true that everything (naturally) symbolizes the body, so it is true that the body symbolizes everything else."[143] Therefore, what we eat reflects who we are, and in such a way, many Americans are walking bovine benefiters, completely reliant upon the bovine as the benefactor in order to exist.[144]

The body is also, as Rudolph Otto and Mircea Eliade have opined, the "locus" for experiencing "the numinous" – the experience of the Sacred. In their respective landmark works *The Idea of the Holy* (1923) and *The Sacred and The Profane* (1957) Otto and Eliade argue that such sacredness, which is experienced as the "mysterium tremendum et fascinans" of the Holy and is centered around either the sanctification or defilement of the body. In such a way, the American reliance upon consuming and being nourished by bovine products can be interpreted as either a form of sanctification or defilement of the body. The question is whether the consumer of the bovine perceives the product as sacred or profane, and to what extent it enables the consumer to experience the sacred. Does an American feel bliss and joy when he bites into his beef burger? To what degree is smearing cream cheese on a bagel a sacred

[142] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York: Routledge, 1962), 146.
[143] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Routledge, 1966), 122.
[144] It is appropriate to add here that there are also other nations, historically and contemporary, that are also obsessed with dairy and beef, especially among European traditions. However, even if such obsessions have a European legacy and lineage, this contemporary manifestation, which I am analyzing here, has become principally and characteristically an American retelling of the story.

experience? How can one measure what "mysterium tremendum et fascinans" a young boy feels when he eats his Ben and Jerry's New York Super Fudge Chunk?

Furthermore, if we take a look at both the *Miriam Webster Online Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* we would find several other definitions of religion that would also highlight the American relationship with the bovine as a form of religious expression. Religion is defined as "an interest, a belief, or an activity that is very important to a person or group,"[145] "to do something religiously, i.e. held to with ardour and faith,"[146] "devotion to some principle,"[147] and "obligation of an oath."[148] In these definitions of religion the emphasis is upon having strong convictions and beliefs that connect one to a group or community. As such, religion is presented as a somewhat "ubiquitous" phenomenon,[149] and what is more ubiquitous in America than the bovine and all its products – in particular "the phenomenon of the hamburger,"[150] or the "Americanness of the hamburger,"[151] which Josh Ozersky argues "isn't just an icon," but is also responsible for reflecting and shaping what constitutes the "American life."[152]

As Michael Pollan highlights in his highly popular and esteemed work *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, "these days 19 percent of American meals are eaten in the

[145] *Miriam Webster Online Dictionary* – http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/religion
[146] Ibid.
[147] *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (1980), 2481.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Gary Laderman, *Sacred Matters: Celebrity Worship, Sexual Ecstasies, the Living Dead, and Other Signs of Religious Life in the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2009), xiii.
[150] Gyula Décsy, *Hamburger for America and the World: A Handbook of the Transworld Hamburger* (Bloomington: Eurora, 1984), 24.
[151] Ibid, 19.
[152] Josh Ozersky, *The Hamburger: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 4.

car."[153] America, the ultimate fast food nation, desires easily accessible protein meals that are cheap, "convenient, waste-free, and automobile-friendly."[154] The hamburger therefore both reflects this need and helps sustain it. It is therefore not surprising that there are gross international assumptions that "the hamburger is the only food Americans eat and that the hamburger is a kind of main feature of Americanness."[155] Such generalizations are driven by the worldwide ubiquitous presence of the American hamburger fast food chain, with such brands as McDonald's, Burger King, and Wendy's promoting the convenience and thus the appeal of the American hamburger.[156]

And yet, once again, we are faced with another juxtaposition, because for many the hamburger, and the fast food culture it represents, is not seen as appealing or something to be proud of, but as Ozersky further explains, "everything bad about America – its soullessness, its conformity, (and) its vulgarity."[157] Furthermore, as Andrew Rimas explains, "due in large part to our happy glut for cattle (and by implication hamburgers too), we've swapped the spectre of malnutrition for the wheezing ills of obesity, heart disease, and diabetes."[158] Therefore, the American demand and reliance for beef is causing a strain on the health of its population. As Michael Greger also points out in his recent research on *How Not To Die: Discover the Foods Scientifically Proven to Prevent Reverse Disease* that "most deaths in the

[153] Michael Pollan, *The Omnivores Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 110.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Décsy (1984), 21.
[156] For an overview of all America's Hamburger outlets see Table 6, Appendix B, p. 312.
[157] Ozersky (2008), 3.
[158] Andrew Rimas, *Beef: The Untold Story of How Milk, Meat, and Muscle Shaped the World* (New York: William Morrow, 2008), xvii.

United States are preventable, and they are related to what we eat," whereby the epidemic of chronic diseases can be ascribed to "the near universal shift toward a diet dominated by animal-sourced and processed foods – in other words, more meat, dairy, eggs, oils, soda, sugar, and refined grains."[159]

In such a way, America's reliance upon the bovine, particularly the need for protein, can be compared to an eating disorder, as Garth Davis has recently argued in his work *Proteinaholic*, such "obsessive and mindless overconsumption of protein" is a tell-tale sign that American "society has a protein addiction,"[160] which translates as a compulsive need to consume meat, in particular beef. For what can explain the need for Americans to kill 39 million cows each year? How can one explain the need for places like South Dakota to have a population of cows that is four times larger than that of humans? As the "Beef2Live" website so proudly declares, "South Dakota has the most cattle per person in the United States followed by Nebraska and Montana" with a ratio of 4:32 – 844,877 humans to 3,650,000 cattle.[161]

Yet, with 1.28 billion cattle grazing an estimated 24 percent of the earth's landmass,[162] such aggressive livestock farming is not just having its toll on human health but has also now been identified as a leading cause for climate warming and environmental degradation. Recent research has highlighted the horrific consequences of such large scale livestock farming on the stability and welfare of the environment: it is the leading cause of species extinction, ocean dead zones, water pollution, and

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[159] Michael Greger, *How Not To Die: Discover the Foods Scientifically Proven to Prevent Reverse Disease* (New York: Flatiron Books, 2015), 1.
[160] Garth Davis, *Proteinaholic: How our Obsession with Meat Is Killing Us and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Harper One, 2015), 7.
[161] Cook, Rob. "Cattle Inventory vs. Human Population by State," on *Beef2Live: Eat Beef, Live Better*, 24 January 2017. http://beef2live.com/story-cattle-inventory-vs-human-population-state-0-114255
[162] Rifkin (1993), 1.

habitat destruction;[163] it is responsible for producing more greenhouse gas emissions than all transportation combined;[164] livestock and their byproducts account for at least 32,000 million tons of carbon dioxide (CO2);[165] livestock is responsible for 53% of all emissions of nitrous oxide – a greenhouse gas 298 times more destructive than carbon dioxide;[166] growing feed crops for livestock consuming 55% of water in the US;[167] this means animal agriculture uses a staggering 34 trillion gallons of water annually.[168]

And yet nothing is being done to stop such rampant degradation in the U.S., because the insatiable demand for the bovine conveniently produces vast amounts of profit. As the United States Department of Agriculture patently highlight in their 2016 annual report on the cattle industry:

> Cattle production is one of the most important industries in the United States, accounting for $78.2 billion in cash receipts during 2015. This represents 21 percent of the Economic Research Service's (ERS) forecasted total cash receipts of $377 billion from agricultural commodities in 2015. Corn being the United States 2nd largest cash receipt forecasted at $47.2 billion in 2015. Modern beef production in the United States is a highly specialized system that spans from cow-calf operations that typically graze pastureland to cattle feedlots focusing on finishing cattle on grain for slaughter. In 2015, the beef industry saw the first increase in cattle and calves production since 2011, producing 41.5 billion pounds, a 3 percent increase from 2014.

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[163] "The Problem." United States Environmental Protection Agency. http://www.epa.gov/region9/animalwaste/problem.html

[164] Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn, *The Sustainability Secret: Rethinking our Diet to Transform the World* (San Rafael: Earth Aware Editions, 2015), 5.

[165] Robert Goodland and Jeff Anhang, "Livestock and Climate Change: What if the key actors in climate change are… cows, pigs, and chickens?" in *World Watch Magazine* vol. 22: 6 (2009), 11.

[166] Andersen and Kuhn (2015), 5.

[167] "More Clean Water." Center for Science in the Public Interest. http://www.cspinet.org/EatingGreen/pdf/arguments4.pdf

[168] David Pimentel, Bonnie Berger, David DFiliberto, Michelle Newton, Benjamin Wolfe, Elizabeth Karabinakis, Steven Clack, Elaine Poon, Elizabeh Abbett, and Sudha Nandagopal, "Water Resources: Agricultural and Environmental Issues," in *Bioscience* vol. 54:10 (2004), 910.

> Total cattle and calves inventory as of January 1, 2016 was 92.0 million head, also 3 percent above previous year.[169]

This is an extraordinary statistic and highlights that challenging the dire health and environmental implications of over consuming and producing bovine products therefore faces two seemingly insurmountable odds: an American affinity for bovine products and a vast profit making industry. For what is more important to the world's most ardently proud capitalist system than making profit and thus capital. As documentary filmmaker Kip Andersen has exposed in his 2014 landmark film *Cowspiracy*,[170] even environmental groups such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club are avoiding tackling this issue, even though there is clear evidence to show the devastating impact of animal agriculture on the environment.

Instead, one can only presume that environmental groups stay silent because the bovine plays such an intrinsic role in keeping the American economy afloat. And as such, environmental groups add to the growing illusion of what constitutes and supports, and likewise threatens, the American way of life. Rather than challenge one of the main causes of environmental degradation, they instead opt for less grave issues that at least do not tamper with food industry profits, which rely heavily upon not disrupting the continued delusion of how beef and dairy magically appears on supermarket shelves. Therefore, as Philip Lymbery explains in his work *Farmageddon*, the majority of the Americans still believe in the fabled pastoral

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[169] *Overview of the United States Cattle Industry*, by the National Agricultural Statistics Service (NASS), Agricultural Statistics Board, United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), 24 June 2016, 1.

[170] The documentary has not only gained the backing of acclaimed Hollywood actor Leonardo DiCaprio, but has also recently been bought by the internet phenomenon streaming website *Netflix*, and thus can now be watched at any time anywhere around the world. Furthermore, it has won the Audience Award at the 2015 South African ECO Film Festival, as well as the Best Foreign Film Award at the 12th annual Festival de films pour l'environment in Canada.

fantasy that "farms are still wholesome places where chickens scratch around in the yard, a few pigs snooze and snort in muddy pens and contented cows chew the cud."[171] A fantasy which is as illusory as the seductive image of the cowboy and his noble adventures in the Wild West; a fantasy, which environmental advocate Denis Hayes argues in his work *Cowed*, is "practically ingrained in most Americans."[172] Though the cowboy fantasy may not be founded on real historical events, he has still become an emblem of American virtues, symbolizing both rugged individualism and independence, as well as humankind's ability to overcome insurmountable odds, and most importantly be able to dominate and "control big animals."[173] In particular, an animal known for its virility. Therefore, to understand the appeal of the cowboy, we must also understand the appeal of the animal itself. The bovine encapsulates not just the notion of fertility and abundance, but also the notion of power, energy, and aggression.

Likewise, the bovine has been adopted for similar symbolic qualities as an emblem for the New York stock market's competitive and profit driven ethic. Specifically, the image of the charging or running bull has been used as a symbol of aggressive financial optimism and prosperity after a period of investor fear and pessimism. As such, a "bull market" represents a period of rising prices, with the connotation that as a "bull runs" a feeling of hope replaces that of despondency in the stock market. As Robert Sobel explains, in the case of the great bull market of the 1920s it "began slowly, gained speed, and volume irregularly" at a time when "the

[171] Lymbery (2014), 3.
[172] Denis Hayes, *Cowed: The Hidden Impact of 93 Million Cows on America's Health, Economy, Politics, Culture, and Environment* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015), 23.
[173] Ibid, 19.

nation was in recession," in particular in reference to the Great Depression, and "then came the war… enabling American firms to make huge profits by selling to the Allies."[174]

The bull's synonymy with Wall Street was then proliferated and made even more tangible when in 1989 Italian born artist Arturo Di Modica installed an 11 foot, 3,200 kilogram *Charging Bull* bronze sculpture at Bowling Green Park in the heart of the Financial District of New York. The statue has been described as not only a "Wall Street icon"[175] but also "one of the most iconic images of New York,"[176] attracting thousands of tourists every day. The bull succinctly captures the essence of the aggressive Wall Street ethic, with its lowered head ready to charge, leaning back on its haunches, and equipped with long, sharp horns, flared nostrils, and sizeable testicles.

However, once again, we are presented with another example of bovine juxtaposition, because such characteristics that positively described the *Charging Bull* have been juxtaposed and appropriated as an apt symbol for the anti-austerity Occupy Wall Street Movement, which in September 2011 vehemently protested against the global dissemination of social and economic inequity. Protesters culminated around the statue and chanted such slogans as, "No more Bullshit" and "Enough Bull." Furthermore, several posters for the campaign depicted the *Charging Bull* tied up, speared, and dead. For the Occupy Wall Street Movement the bull no longer represented the *bovinea familia* – rather it was an absolute representation of Wall

[174] Robert Sobel, *The Great Bull Market: Wall Street in the 1920s* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1968), 97.
[175] Beth Greenfield, *New York City* (Oakland: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2006), 120.
[176] Nick Pinto, "Bull!" in *The Tribeca Trib*, September 1, 2007.

Street's reckless and aggressive capitalist agenda, which saw many large financial institutions, such as MF Global, go bankrupt, taking millions "of misappropriated customer money with it."[177]

Furthermore, such reckless and aggressive capitalism is also pertinently symbolized by the late nineteenth century eradication of almost all the bison from the Great Plains of America.[178] When explorers such as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark first crossed the Great Plains, "no sight better symbolized arrival in the West than the buffalo."[179] However, as Curtis H. Freese points out, their numbers "were reduced from tens of millions at the time of European colonization to a few hundred by the mid-1880s."[180] Such widespread extermination of bison, as Clay Duval argues, was a direct consequence of nineteenth century American expansionism, whereby their extermination "was used as a political means of suppressing Native American resistance to colonization."[181] American expansionists evidently understood that "when you killed off the bison, you also killed the Indian," because the buffalo was not only perceived as a crucial source of food and materials, but also as an intrinsic part of their religious traditions. [182] For the Lakota Sioux they are not perceived as animals or others, but rather their closest relatives, like a 'brother,' reflecting the

[177] Sheila Bair, *Bull by the Horns: Fighting to Save Main Street from Wall Street and Wall Street from Itself* (New York: Free Press, 2012), 361.
[178] The bison are often called buffalo – though not scientifically correct, the name has stuck. Originally settlers from Europe called the bison buffalo out of ignorance, presuming this particular bovine was similar to its buffalo brethren.
[179] Michael Punke, *Buffalo: The Last Stand* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 4.
[180] Curtis H. Freese, "Second Chance for Plains Bison," in *Biological Conservation* 136 (2007), 176.
[181] Clay Duval, "Bison Conservation: Saving an Ecologically and Culturally Keystone Species," in *Deliberations* (Fall 2006), 21-22.
[182] Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, "The Symbolic Role of Animals in the Plains Indian Sun Dance," in *Society and Animals* Volume 1, Number 1, (1993), 32.

philosophy of Mitakuye Oyasin: "I am related to all that is."[183] Furthermore, because of such an intimate rapport the bison had become a cherished symbol, and even revered as chief over all animals on the face of the earth. Moreover, they have also been defined as teachers, whereby the values of generosity, creativity, and strength seem not to be projected onto the bison but to emanate from it. The bison has therefore played such an important part in the Lakota Sioux religious experience because of this very sacred bond that has existed between humans and bison.

However, by the 1880s the United States of America had successfully removed both the Native Americans and their bison from the Great Plains, leaving the now vacant land ripe for further expansionism free from contestation. The comprehensive eradication of the bison in North America has therefore become a germane metaphor for the ruthless nature of European colonization and later American expansionism and imperialism. The bison is a reminder of the atrocities perpetuated by the United States Government in their attempt to annex land from Native Americans – atrocities which some argue need to be viewed as a form of genocide. As Wambdi WateWin argues in her aptly titled essay "The Ongoing Traumatic Experience of Genocide for American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States," ever "since the formation of the United States on July 4th 1776,[184] the settler nation has engaged in a long term and persistent policy of genocide against American Indians."[185] If we are to understand

[183] Arthur Amiotte, "Our Other Selves," in *I Became A Part of It: Sacred Dimensions in Native American Life*, eds. D. M. Dooling and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York: Parabola Books, 1989), 171.
[184] This clearly reflects WateWin's own specific bias/indignation, for really the start of what can be defined as a genocide begun with the arrival of the first Europeans in 1492, and not in 1776. This therefore highlights the ongoing animosity that many Native Americans have specifically toward the U.S. Government with its treatment of the indigenous people and its breaking of an incalculable number of treaties.
[185] Wambdi A. WateWin, "The Ongoing Traumatic Experience of Genocide for American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States: The Call to Recognize Full Human Rights as Set Forth in the UN

the act of genocide as defined in the United Nations 1948 convention on the "Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," then the United States has indeed committed genocide, for according to this UN definition, genocide are any "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group."[186] Such acts have been undeniably perpetrated against Native Americans, and are pertinently represented in the comprehensive eradication of the buffalo.

Yet, to this day neither the United States government nor the international community recognize the atrocities inflicted upon Native Americans as an act of genocide. The United States continues to deny full responsibility for the plight of Native Americans, and instead promotes a mythical rendition of U. S. history.[187] Presidents, such as Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, are idolized rather than held responsible for their horrific policies against Native Americans. For example, as WateWin expounds, "biographers often gloss over the facts," be it in 1862 when Abraham Lincoln presided over the largest mass execution in United Sates history of thirty-eight Lakota Sioux for resisting "sham treaties and starvation conditions," or in 1830 when Andrew Jackson passed the Indian Removal Act that "violated every legal treaty entered with Tribal Nations in eastern and south-eastern lands."[188] As a result, and as WateWin further argues, "most students in the United States can graduate from high school without ever learning about

Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People," in *American Indian Law Journal*, Volume III, Issue II (Spring 2015), 439.

[186] G. A. Res. 260, U. N. GAOR, 3rd Sess., Part 1, at 174, U. N. Doc A/810 (1948) available at : http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=a/res/260(III)

[187] WateWin (2015), 424.

[188] Ibid, 435.

contemporary tribal governments, the eras of United States Indian policy, or the ongoing human rights issues that impact American Indians over generations."[189]

Likewise, contemporary American culture still celebrates the heroism of "a known masochistic murderer and subjugator of Indigenous Americans" in the annual commemoration of Christopher Columbus, and blindly upholds a celebration of Thanksgiving when those we are supposed to show gratitude towards have been and still are continuously victimized and subjugated.[190] Though there are recent signs of reconciliation, and symbolically bison numbers are today on the increase (there are now approximately 500,000 bison in the United States, of which only 15,000 are considered wild), a national denial of responsibility still endures. Furthermore, the United States government continues to legally enable corporate exploitation of what little land Native Americans still own, be it by using Native American land for over a century of oil and mineral extraction, for waste disposal,[191] or fracking, because Native Americans are "too poor and disadvantaged to successfully dispute site selection or relocate to safer environments."[192]

The bison therefore functions as an important symbol for a multitude of juxtapositional purposes: Native American religion and Native American genocide; precolonial conquest and re-wilding restoration projects; national parks and commercial cooperations. As a symbol for commercial corporations the bison's noble prestige among Native American traditions is noticeably debased in such examples as

[189] Ibid, 425.
[190] Ibid.
[191] T. B. K. Goldtooth, "Indigenous Nations: Summary of Sovereignty and its Implications for Environmental Protection," in *Environmental justice: issues, policies, and solutions*, B Bryant ed. (Washington D.C: Island Press, 1995), 115.
[192] Nancy C. Carre, "Environmental Justice and Hydraulic Fracturing: The Ascendancy of Grassroots Populism in Policy Determination," in *Journal of Social Change* 2012, Volume 4, Issue 1, 1.

Buffalo Wild Wings (chicken based fast food chain), *Blue Buffalo* (pet food for dogs and cats), *Buffalo Jeans* (clothing), *Buffalo Trace* (Kentucky straight bourbon whisky), *Buffalo Rock* (ginger ale), *Red Bison* (hot sauce), *Bison Office Systems* (technology), *Bison Group* (IT services), and *White Bison Design* (web-design). In none of these cases does the brand correlate with the bison. Instead, the brand appropriates the bison to promote an idea – that there brand is strong, competitive, original, and even wild.

For similar reasons, the bison has likewise been used as a symbol for numerous professional and minor sports teams. In the NHL there is the *Buffalo Sabres*, in the NFL there is the *Buffalo Bills*, in the NBA there is the *Oklahoma Thunder*, and in Triple AAA baseball there is the ultimate combination of the *Buffalo Bisons*. Additionally there is the *University of Manitoba Bisons*, *Colorado Buffaloes*, *Bucknell Bisons*, and at North Dakota State University, Gallaudet University, Howard University, Lipscomb University, Harding University, West Texas A&M, and Marshall University the bison is used as a mascot to represent the university sports teams. Correspondingly, the "bull" has been adopted for similar symbolic qualities for many sports teams: past and present examples include the basketball team the *Chicago Bulls*, football team the *Jacksonville Bulls*, and ice hockey teams such as the *Belleville Bulls*, the *Birmingham Bulls*, and the *San Francisco Bulls*, who have appropriately named their stadium "Cow Palace."

Once again the bovine's sacred image of strength and fertility has been seemingly sullied by an American culture that does not directly seek to venerate the bovine but instead appropriate its symbolism to represent secular entertainment. And

yet, who is to say that such an appropriation is any different or worse than the religious adoption of the bovine as an emblem or totem of power and fecundity? For, as Rebecca Alpert argues in her work *Religion and Sport*, "religion does not stand apart from other aspects of society," but instead is "intertwined with politics, economics, and aspects of popular culture, like sport."[193] Therefore, in what ways does sport reflect religion rather than a form of "secular entertainment," for as Shirl Hoffman argues in his work *Sport and Religion*, it seemingly embodies the same inherent functions and qualities of any other religion:

> Sport is not merely fun and games, not merely diversions, not merely an entertainment. A ballpark is not a temple, but it isn't a fun house either. A baseball game is not entertainment, and a ballplayer is considerably more than a paid performer. No one can explain the passion, commitment, discipline and dedication involved in sport by evasions like these. Sport is more like religion than like entertainment. Believers in sport do not go to sporting events to be entertained; to plays and dramas, maybe, but not to sport. Sport is far more serious than the dramatic arts, much closer to primal symbols, metaphors, and acts, much more ancient and more frightening. Sport is a mystery of youth and aging, perfect action and decay, fortune and misfortune, strategy and contingency. Sport is rituals concerning human survival on this planet: liturgical enactments of animal perfection and the struggles of the human spirit to prevail. If sport was entertainment, why should we care? It is far more than that.[194]

In such a way, the bison or the bull represents so much more than just a logo for a sports team. Instead, the bovine functions more like a totem, representing for both the team and its fans a cohesive symbol of identity and community, whilst also effectively embodying the essential winning virtues of strength, courage, aggression, and endurance. As Tim Delaney likewise argues in his work *The Sociology of Sports*,

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[193] Rebecca Alpert, *Religion and Sports: An Introduction and Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University
Press, 2015), 8.
[194] Shirl Hoffman, *Sport and Religion* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1992), 38

"the manner in which fans defend their right to hold on to and embrace their cherished symbols of the team reflects a type of totemism."[195] Therefore, for devout fans of the *Chicago Bulls*, who are undoubtedly the most successful and well-known team from this aforementioned list of examples, they will be passionately protective of and devoted to their team's inimitable bovine totem: the charging, scowling, red faced bull with white horns dripping with blood. This totem is unmistakably representative of the *Chicago Bulls* and their fans. It matters not where one travels, for everywhere around the world, this specific bovine is understood to represent something very unique: a basketball team from the city of Chicago. And as such, the charging, scowling, red faced bull with white horns dripping with blood has also become to represent the city of Chicago itself, evoking not only Chicago's traditional meat packing industry, but also their highly successful basketball team that won the NBA championships six times between 1991 and 1998, making their city and franchise a household name, and propelling some of their players to international stardom, in particular Michael Jordan and Dennis Rodman.

As such, the bovine's ability to encapsulate the virtues of strength, courage, aggression, and endurance has meant that it has become a positive symbol for many sports teams and likewise the cities and universities they represent. Additionally, its ability to embody the notion of fecundity and vitality, alongside that of energy and endurance, has made the bovine an obvious choice as a logo for energy drinks. *Red Bull*, for example, not only sells its product on the promise that its drink will give you so much energy that you will literally grow wings and fly, but also that you will grow

[195] Tim Delaney, *The Sociology of Sports: An Introduction* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009), 211.

horns and thus ascertain the raging quality of the bull itself. The premise of Red Bull's claim is that its specially infused concoction has not only a very large quantity of sugar and caffeine, but also "taurine." Taurine is an amino acid which is found naturally in fish and meat, and derives its name from the Latin *taurus*, which is a cognate of the Greek "ταῦρος" to mean bull. However, a 2008 review of the use of taurine in energy drinks came to the conclusion that the amount of taurine "found in popular energy drinks are far below the amounts expected to deliver either therapeutic benefits or adverse effects."[196] Therefore, it can be argued that the small amounts of taurine added into Red Bull is less about its effects and more about the marketability of the animal and the characteristics it represents.

Red Bull has not only utilized the reputation of the bovine to promote its product, it has also perpetuated such symbolism through the success of its product. We therefore continue to associate the bovine with energy and virility through Red Bull's successful and aggressive marketing tactics, which has predominantly focused in and around sport sponsorship, in particular extreme sports such as mountain biking, BMX, motocross, windsurfing, snowboarding, skateboarding, kayaking, rowing, wakeboarding, cliff-diving, surfing, skating, freestyle motocross, rally, and Formula 1 racing. The red bull is therefore plastered all over vehicles, boats, and contestants trying their damnedest to go as fast as they can. In such a way, the red bull represents not only energy and vitality, but also "speed," which, as Jay Griffiths emphasizes in her study on time, "is something of a holy cow to modernized westernized cultures."[197] For, as already noted, what is more American than "fast-food," where the

[196] KA Clauson, KM Shields, CE McQueen, and N Prasad, "Safety issues associated with commercially available drinks," *Journal of the American Pharmacists Association* 48(3): 55.
[197] Jay Griffiths, *A Sideways Look at Time* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1999), 37.

emphasis is not on ruminating one's food slowly and deliberately but instead to gobble everything down as quickly as possible whilst still driving-on-through,[198] overtaking, and competing, for if "you snooze you lose," therefore better "be fast than last."[199] As such, in the United States "speed hustles everything, from microwave ovens, fast food, Polaroid cameras and the quickie divorce to the Western cow itself, bred to accelerate milk yields."[200]

For, as Griffiths pertinently highlights, the Western cow is traditionally condemned for its slowness, and as such, "to call someone bovine, slow as a cow, is to express real contempt."[201] The red bull therefore contradicts the bovine's otherwise unacknowledged title as the "god of slowness,"[202] and instead befits and thus conforms to the Western obsession with obsolescence, "jejune in its desire for greed above need, speed above subtlety, it crashes through the gears, cornering too fast, flinging grit in the eyes of the ancient cow, in ancient slowness chewing."[203] And, as such, for a world governed by speed "it can be hard to understand the deification of the cow" unless one appreciates the merits of slow indolence.[204] For then, "amid the fizzing pandemonium of the fast lane" the majesty of the bovine is illuminated in all its "awesome slowness."[205]

[198] As Jay Griffiths further highlights, even "the term drive-thru is itself a speeded-up term" (1999, 37).
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid, 47.
[202] Ibid, 49.
[203] Ibid, 57.
[204] Ibid, 37.
[205] Ibid.

And nowhere is this aforementioned stark juxtaposition more profound than in the busy streets of Mumbai or New Dehli where the bovine slowly chews the cud while millions of humans busy themselves in rickshaws and taxis, quickly going everywhere as fast as possible. In India the bovine is still explicitly venerated as a deity in multiple different incarnations, and thus is protected not only in sanctuaries but on every street corner of every city, town, and village. India's love for the bovine, *vātsalya*, is well-known, and will be later expounded upon in this study. It has, however, also baffled many visitors from the West, who traditionally interpreted bovine veneration as "a very strange order among them" and was even deemed more of a cult rather than an intrinsic part of religious practice.[206] As Mukandi Lal suggests in his work *Cow Slaughter: Horns of Dilemma* "the cow cult in India is one of the greatest mysteries of human behavior. How a beef-eating race became the greatest protector, preserver, and worshipper of the cow is a wonder of wonders?"[207]

The sacred cow in India has therefore intrigued generations of scholars, and there are no shortages of books and articles on the subject. One of the aims of this study is to ask the question how much such a veneration has influenced the rise in bovine sanctuaries in the United States. With an estimated 1.5 million Hindu devotees in the United States today, I seek to prove that love for the bovine (*vātsalya*), is not a phenomenon isolated in the Indian subcontinent, but thrives worldwide in conjunction with Hindu diaspora and other indigenous traditions. As Barbara Wayland Barber argues, remnants of bovine veneration are even "persisting to this day from Spain to

[206] Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921) 170.
[207] Mukandi Lal, *Cow Slaughter: Horns of Dilemma* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House, 1967), 15.

Provence in traditional bullfights and bull-running."[208] My aim is to utilize Thomas Tweed's theory of religion as "confluences of organic-cultural flows" to highlight how bovine vernation in the United States has been influenced by multiple diasporas to produce multiple variations of *vātsalya*.[209]

The word "diaspora" comes from the Greek διασπορά and literally means, "scattering" or "dispersion," and as Leif Manger and Munzoul Assal explain, the word has come to advocate "a world of transnationalism, of travelling, of cross-culture borrowing, and of mixed, hybrid cultures."[210] J. Lorand Matory argues that such cross-cultural borrowing between the cultures of "the Atlantic perimeter" has been active "for more than five hundred years," and should be considered as "a transnational dialectic of mutual transformation."[211] In such a way, the United States is a hotbed for cultural exchange and diversification. Traditions are adopted with the potential to transform and even create brand new practices and beliefs. In some cases, the influence is so subtle that they are often overlooked, whilst in others they are so apparent that the connection is transparent. There are then other cases which are not deemed as appropriate "organic-cultural flows" but instead examples of misappropriation.

For example, New Age shamanic practitioners in the United States have been criticized as culturally appropriating from Native American traditions. This is

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[208] Barbara Wayland Barber, *The Dancing Goddess: Folklore, Archaeology, and the Origins of European Dance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 307.
[209] Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 54.
[210] Leif Manger and Munzoul Assal, *Diasporas Within and Without: Dynamism, Heterogeneity, Variation* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2006), 7.
[211] J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 71.

especially the case in regards to such figures as Brooke "Medicine Eagle" Edwards, whose work *Buffalo Woman Comes Singing: The Spirit Song of a Rainbow Woman* unequivocally appropriates from many Native American traditions, including the Lakota Sioux. She has been accused by AIM (American Indian Movement) as performing a "great attack" and "theft" of Native American culture,[212] and has been branded as a "profound embarrassment" by SPIRIT (Support and Protection of Indian Religions and Indigenous Traditions) in "misrepresenting and abusing the spiritual traditions of the Crow People through her high-profit cottage industry."[213] Criticism has even gone as far as accusing Edwards of committing "spiritual genocide" in her "exploitation and abuse" of sacred traditions.[214]

Edwards is therefore reproached by Cynthia Snavely not only for potentially lying about her claim to Native American heritage, but also for "exploiting and commercializing Native American spirituality."[215] Snavely groups her together with other "plastic medicine people" and "pseudo-medicine quacks passing themselves off as Native American spiritual leaders," with little authority to do so.[216] Snavely argues that Edwards is a reflection of a larger issue of "misappropriation of Native American spirituality [that] takes place within the New Age movement."[217] One outcome of such misappropriation is that traditions are trivialized and universalized in an attempt

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[212] Ronald Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone: Reinventing Rites of Passage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 143.
[213] A Statement from the Center for the SPIRIT, *Alert Re: Brooke "Medicine Eagle" Edwards – Abuse and Exploitation of American Indian Sacred Tradition.* https://web.archive.org/web/20120302004752/http://www.sonomacountyfreepress.com/features/brooke-edwards.html
[214] Ibid.
[215] Cynthia Snavely, "Native American Spirituality: Its Use and Abuse by Anglo Americans," in *Journal of Religious & Theological Information* 4 (1): (2001), 91.
[216] Ibid, 92.
[217] Ibid.

to "pitch to individual fulfilment."[218] In such a way, as Alice Kehoe succinctly delineates, the commercialization of New Age Shamanism is just another addition to the growing market of spiritual commodification at the "great Nonordinary Mall filled with spirits as eager as salesclerks to assist all comers."[219]

Therefore, in this case the line between appreciation and appropriation has been well and truly crossed, resulting in many people feeling exploited rather than respected. There are then of course other examples of cross cultural exchanges, which are neither as obvious nor politically problematic. Such a case is the influence and potential adoption of the aforementioned Celtic deification of the three horned bull in Haitian Vodou in the form of the three horned bull lwa Bosou Twa Kòn, also sometimes referred to as Bosou Konblanmen. Though both traditions share a similar form of bovine deification there has been little research into this connection and thus the possibility that there may have occurred a cross cultural exchange at some point in time. Most scholars argue that the Vodou lwa's origins are uniquely Dahomean.[220] For example, Phyllis Galembo states that Bosou Twa Kòn "may be descended from a bull spirit of ancient Dahomey, who guarded the king of that land."[221] Maya Deren likewaise claims that Bosou Twa Kòn is "related to Kadja Bosou, and thus, perhaps, to King Agaja, who - legend has it - was an ancient king of Dahomey."[222] As such, Bosou Twa Kòn is suggested to be an incarnation of the Rada Lwa Boddou Ashadeh -

[218] Alice Kehoe, *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking* (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press Inc., 2000), 87.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Alfred Métraux, *Voodoo in Haiti* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 31.
[221] Phyllis Galembo, *Vodou: Visions and Voices of Haiti* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2005), 34.
[222] Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1953), 136.

the spirit of the legendary Dahomey King, Tegbessou (1740-1774), who was the son of King Agaja (1718-1740).

However, in concurrence with the inherent syncretism and religious creolization of Haitian Vodou, it is also hypothetically conceivable that a Celtic religious tradition could have equally influenced the formation of a three horned bull lwa. As Terry Rey expounds, Haitian Vodou is a "fusion" of both West African and Western European cultures in which such European influences are "mainly Estremaduran and Breton."[223] For, as Soléne Brisseau's work *Les Bretons de Saint-Domingue* emphasizes, there is conclusive evidence of Breton influence in Saint Domingue during the period of French colonization from 1697-1804. Therefore, in the same way that the Celtic mermaid Arhes of Brittany may have influenced the cult of Lasyrenn, the maritime incarnation of Ezili, "the leading female lwa in Haitian Vodou,"[224] it is also feasible that "le taureau tricorne des Gaulois" from Gallic Brittany may have also influenced the formation the three horned Bosou Twa Kòn. The synonymity between two the three horned deities is uncanny, and such a theory is certainly more credible than the extraordinary claim that Bosou Twa Kòn originated from Africa as "a *toxosu*, that is to say a sacred monster of the royal family, a deformed child or an aborted fetus, shaped like a tortoise with three protuberances sticking up from his shell."[225] Although an origin for the three horned character trait is asserted in this claim, the essential bovine characteristic is completely overlooked. Instead, as Donald Cosentino

[223] Terry Rey, "Towards an ethnohistory of Haitian pilgrimage," in *Journal de la société des américanistes* 91(1), 2005, 162.
[224] Deborah O'Neil and Terry Rey, "The Saint and Siren: Liberation Hagiography in a Haitian Village," in *Studies of Religion* 41(2), 2012, 169.
[225] Métraux (1972), 31.

hypothesizes, it is more likely that Bosou Twa Kòn's "descent, like his horns, seems to be triple, with progenitors from Dahomey, Kongo, and Celtic France."[226]

This example not only highlights the potential of cross cultural exchange of bovine veneration between two different traditions, but also the ease with which such a connection can be overlooked by scholars either because the evidence is not conclusive or because they are blinded by their own biases and desires. As Haraway highlights in her work on *Situated Knowledge* there is no such thing as complete objectivity – everything is tainted by an inevitable "polluting bias in any discussion."[227] As such, how many other forms of bovine veneration have traversed, hybridized, and manifested in the U.S., and have either not been identified or been simply dismissed. As this chapter has proved to delineate, there are multiple ways in which the bovine can be interpreted as being venerated in the U.S. – be it as a key foodway, a totem for sports teams, an emblem for the New Stock Market, or as the principal industry upholding the American economy. To what degree these examples are interpreted as bovine veneration depends upon the biases and desires of the individual scholar, and to what degree a scholar is prepared to employ a more liberal and functional interpretation of veneration, and to the same extent, religion itself.

What cannot be disputed is the major role that the bovine plays both dietarily and economically within the U.S., as well as how instrumental it has been historically for both native and colonial societies. The question is to what extent these historical relationships have hybridized with more recent diasporic traditions to impact the

[226] Donald Cosentino, *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou* (Hong Kong: South Sea International Press, 1998), 56.
[227] Haraway (1988), 595.

current human-bovine narratives, which have in turn inspired the recent phenomenon to offer the bovine sanctuary in the U.S.

CHAPTER 3

THE SANCTITY OF SANCTUARIES

Thus I have seen You in the sanctuary, To see Your power and Your glory.

(Psalm 63:2)

Introduction: History of Sanctuaries

In this chapter I will analyze and deconstruct what constitutes a sanctuary, examining whether the notion of a sanctuary denotes a religious affiliation to sanctity, and whether by implication anything that is offered sanctuary must also be sacred. As such, are bovines sacred because they are offered sanctuary or are sanctuaries sacred because they contain bovines? In my analysis I will first look at the etymology of the term 'sanctuary' before detailing its use historically and in contemporary American culture, before proceeding to overview how it is used specifically in regards to offering animals sanctuary.

I will argue that offering animals sanctuary in the U.S. has been as much influenced by the Christian rhetoric of stewardship and paternalism that similarly defines animal husbandry and farming, as it reflects the American rhetoric of establishing independence and promoting freedom. At the same time, I will acknowledge the inherent irony of such a conflation, in so much that freedom and independence can never truly be realized when confined and limited to a contained space. This chapter is therefore as much about analyzing the specific sanctity of freedom and independence in the U.S. as it is a reconsideration of what constitutes sanctuary.

I am likewise aware that for this chapter to be more balanced that it would also demand a more thorough overview and analysis of Protestant Christianity in the U.S., and how it has inspired not only particular understandings of sanctuary and freedom, but moreover how it has also shaped the rise and spread of secularism, which in itself has also influenced the sanctuary movement. This is something I will endeavor to achieve at a later date when revising this work, and I anticipate close readings of John Lardas Modern's *Secularism in Antebellum America* (2011) and Jonathon S. Kahn and Vincent W. Lloyd's edited volume *Race and Secularism in America* (2016) will be particularly useful for a more detailed overview of how religion, secularism, and notions of freedom have specifically intertwined and shaped the current U.S. popular and political landscape.

The term 'sanctuary' is derived from the Latin *sanctuarium*, which literally translates as "a container for holy things." The word is made up of two compounds: *sancta* or *sancti*, meaning holy things or holy people, and *–arium*, a commonly used suffix pertaining to a container to keep things in. On an etymological level therefore the word implies that the space is not in itself holy but it is made holy because of the things or people that it contains. Or, the space has been sanctified because of something holy, be it a thing or a person, and as such has become a consecrated place.

Throughout history the term has been used to denote a place of significant holiness, separated and protected from the secular world. From the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, where the famed Pythian oracle dwelt, to the Holy of Holies, the inner sanctum of King Solomon's Temple, where the Ark of the Covenant was specifically kept after the Israelites were instructed by their lord Yahweh to "construct

a sanctuary for Me, that I may dwell among them."[228] He then commanded them to "revere My sanctuary" for "I am the LORD."[229] The term is further referenced a total of 276 times in the Torah, used both specifically, as highlighted above, to describe a place of significant holiness, and then also figuratively in reference to the coming of a messiah that "He shall become a sanctuary" for the people of Israel.[230] And, as such, it implies that the messiah's body shall become the new sanctuary, for within it will be the message, grace, and hence salvation of God.

When this aforementioned messiah purportedly did arrive, according to what has now become the world's largest religion, Christianity, but not of course according to the vast majority of Jews, he was described in scripture as repeatedly reinterpreting the notion of "sanctuary," encouraging his disciples to seek sanctuary not only within him but also within themselves, as one of his most ardent apostle's declared: "Have ye not known that ye are a sanctuary of God, and the Spirit of God doth dwell in you?"[231] and "Have ye not known that your body is a sanctuary of the Holy Spirit in you, which ye have from God?"[232] Once again, what is implied is that the space is not in itself holy but it is made holy because of what it contains. In this case, the human body is not a sanctuary because it is in itself deemed sacred, but because of what exists within it – God in the form of the Holy Spirit.

Fast-forward two thousand years, and the term sanctuary is still widely used to denote a place which has been consecrated with something considered holy. In synagogues the main room for prayer is called the sanctuary. Here services are

[228] Exodus 25:8-9
[229] Leviticus 19:30
[230] Isaiah 8:14
[231] I Cor 3:16
[232] I Cor 6:19

conducted from a raised platform called a *bimah*, in which the ark holding the Torah is often kept. In contrast the synagogue's smaller rooms are dedicated to various other services and functions rather than for prayer and worship. Similarly, many denominations of Christianity use the term sanctuary to describe the most holy part of their churches and cathedrals, where God is purportedly most present. It is here where relics of saints are kept and the Eucharist is consecrated on an altar situated at the center of the sanctuary.

Furthermore, there has been a growing trend within the U.S. to create sanctuaries within one's own home in order to nourish "the spiritual visions of all the souls who dwell and are welcomed within it."[233] With Life Coaches, such as Diane Passage, encouraging their clients to make their homes a "Stress-Free Sanctuary" by creating "a little zen station" filled with calming "chachkies," pillows, and essential oils.[234] Therefore, rather than seeking communal places to experience sanctity and peace individuals are increasingly creating their own sanctuaries by allocating rooms specifically for meditation or yoga and building shrines with an eclectic array of statues, symbols, and crystals. Some are even trying to make their whole household a sanctuary, as Laura Cerwinske explians in her work *In a Spiritual Style: The Home as Sanctuary*. The aim, she highlights, is to create "a retreat from the disharmony of the world," as well as providing "a safe place to dance with the devil" and "embrace lurking shadows on hallowed ground."[235]

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[233] Laura Cerwinske, *In a Spiritual Style: The Home as Sanctuary* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 22.
[234] Diane Passage, "10 Ways to Make your Home a Stress-Free Sanctuary," in *Huffpost*, 15 June, 2016: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-passage/10-ways-to-make-your-home_b_10470974.html
[235] Cerwinske (1998), 22.

In such a way, the sanctity of a sanctuary not only has the potential to nourish the soul but also has the power to protect the individual from outside malicious forces. This alludes to the other common use and understanding of the term sanctuary – that it is a "retreat" and "a safe place" for those suffering persecution because the space is protected by its sanctity. From such protection individuals can gain what the Ancient Greeks called ἀσυλία *(asulia)* – a concept from which we have derived the word asylum. The Ancient Greeks believed that the spaces in and around their temples were sacred grounds that inhabited a proscribed *temenos* with its own domain, and as such, as long as individuals who sought asylum performed a supplication and pledged devotion to the specific deity of the temple they could then be accepted into his/her sanctuary. And once the suppliant had gained asylum in the temple's sanctuary it was then deemed a serious offense for anyone to bring harm upon them. As Ancient Greek historian Herodotus noted in regards to the practice of offering sanctuary at the Temple of Heracles at the mouth of the Nile River that if supplication and devotion had been performed then "no one is permitted to lay hands" on the suppliant.[236]

Such practices were also upheld by the Romans with Constantine's Edict of Toleration in 324 C.E., guaranteeing sanctuary in Christian churches throughout the empire. The Theodosian Law Code in 392 C.E. was then implemented to formally codify the rights of churches to offer sanctuary and to further delineate who could be officially guaranteed sanctuary. As Linda Raben explains in her expansive work *Give Refuge to the Stranger*, sanctuary was limited "according to the type of crime and the character of the accused" with "debtors, embezzlers of state funds, Jews, heretics, and

[236] Herodotus, *Histories,* 2.113.

apostates… to be excluded from its benefits."[237] By 450 C.E. Theodosius the Younger had permitted Churches to offer sanctuary beyond the confines of its interior, extending their jurisdiction to bishop houses, cloisters, and cemeteries.

Churches therefore became inviolable because the law recognized that the power of God superseded that of the state, and as such, as the Council of Orange declared in 511 C.E. "no one was permitted of his own authority to remove by force from churches those who had fled to them."[238] Emperors and Kings throughout the Middle Ages were hereafter forced to concede that the Church had its own sovereignty from that of the state – from King Ine of Wessex who in 680 C.E. accepted sanctuary as alternative to punishment to Emperor Charlemagne who in his Saxon Capitulatory of 785 C.E. declared, "if anyone seeks refuge in a church, no one should attempt to expel him by force, but he should be permitted to have his peace until he presents himself to judgment; and his life should be spared in Honor of God and Holy Church."[239] Likewise, when William the Conqueror built a church in 1086 C.E. to honor his victory over the Saxons at the Battle of Hastings he enumerated that "if any thief or homicide or other guilty person flee from fear of death to this church, let him not be harmed, but let him be released wholly free."[240]

Therefore, it is not surprising that King Henry II of England was met with categorical outrage throughout Christendom when he had the Archbishop of

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[237] Linda Raben, *Give Refuge to a Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2011), 55.
[238] Thomas John de Mazzinghi, *Sanctuaries* (Stafford, UK: Halden and Son, 1887), 90.
[239] William Jones, "Sanctuary, Exile and Law: The Fugitive and Public Authority in Medieval England and Modern America," in *Essays on English Law and American Experience*, Elisabeth Cawthom and David Narret eds. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1994), 27.
[240] Karl Shoemaker, "Sanctuary for crime in the early law," in *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, citizenship and social movements*, Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 15.

Canterbury Thomas Becket assassinated in the sanctuary of his abbey in front of the altar in December 1170 C.E. His aim to silence one of his loudest opponents, who had resisted the notion of royal authority over the Church, categorically backfired and he was forced to perform a public act of penance in July 1174 C.E. at Canterbury, where he publicly confessed his sins, allowed bishops and monks to beat him with a rod, and offered gifts to Becket's shrine, before spending a night alone in vigil by his tomb.[241] Such were the consequences, even for kings, for questioning the sanctity of sanctuaries.

However, by the late Middle Ages the concept of the sanctuary had become increasingly tarnished by a common view that they were not offering asylum to the innocent but instead to the fugitive thieves, and debtors, who could use sanctuaries as an escape from retribution. Alongside such disillusionment, the combined impact of a more empowered state and the increased questioning of the authority of the Church brought on by the Protestant Reformation had led to a Pan-European abolition of sanctuary laws. In England legal reforms instituted under Henry VIII with the Dissolution of Monasteries between 1536 C.E. – 1541 C.E. brought the crown not only vast wealth, but also power and the ability to set into motion the cessation of Church sovereignty. Then in 1624 C.E. King James I formally abolished the sovereignty of churches as spaces of sanctuary.

Even though the religious institution of sanctuary had been called into question the underlying principles of seeking asylum within a sanctuary endured within a secular system, with countries replacing the role of churches in offering sanctuary to

[241] Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 270.

victims of persecution: be it Jews seeking sanctuary in England from the Spanish Inquisition in 1659, or British Puritans creating a sanctuary in the New World in the 1660s for officers from William Cromwell's army who had been sentenced to death by King Charles II. Ultimately, the New World would be promoted as a beacon of hope and a sanctuary for many of Europe's tired, poor, and "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" – with the tantalizing promise of freedom so iconically symbolized by the broken chains of the Statue of Liberty. And yet, paradoxically, for Africans and Native Americans, the New World promised a much more despotic future of chains and enslavement. For them, freedom was not promised, but stolen and denied.

Sanctuaries in U.S. History

The iconic figures of U.S. history who are proudly revered as symbols of freedom and liberation, are also pertinent examples of the country's systematic efforts to enslave and starve the rights of the many to benefit the few. For example, George Washington, the great leader of the American Revolution against the British and the first president of the U.S. was also a slave owner, who signed the Fugitive Act Law in 1793 C.E. that barred slaves from escaping from a state where slavery was legal to one where it had been banned – hence denying them sanctuary anywhere in the U.S. Even more controversial is Andrew Jackson, the military hero of the Second American Revolution against the British and the seventh president of the U.S. who was not only an ardent supporter of slavery and a slave owner himself, but was also responsible for signing and actively championing the Indian Removal Act in 1830 C.E., which legalized the forcible relocation of Native American tribes in the South to less arable land further west. This not only denied them the right to the lands that they

called home and that their ancestors had cultivated, it also in the process robbed them of their identity and religion that was so intrinsically connected to the lands that they had called home. It is therefore understandably quite shocking for many Native Americans to see a portrait of this much maligned figure hanging in the latest rendition of the Oval Office, and yet arguably befits the current president's own racist rendering of forcible removal.

The United States has and still is as much a symbol of kleptocracy as it is democracy, with only a select few being granted the opportunity to exercise power, be it to vote, speak, or be heard. Proud slogans such as "Manifest Destiny" in the nineteenth century and "America First" more recently appropriately reflect the country's deeply rooted racist and elitist ideologies that have privileged the few to expand and grow at the expense of the many. Therefore, for the many to experience freedom they had to flee the U.S. in order to seek sanctuary elsewhere. Countries such as Canada and Britain became last stops on the Underground Railroad (UGRR), which stretched through 17 states, lasted for as long as 60 years, was successful in emancipating up to 100,000 slaves, and was to become, as Raben argues, "a model for many later sanctuary efforts that took place outside the law."[242] However, even once freedom was successfully obtained this did not guarantee that African Americans were safe or free from discrimination. Freedom in the U.S. still promised multiple layers of racist segregation. As the esteemed human rights advocate Frederick Douglass realized when travelling in Britain, having previously lived seven emancipated years in Boston, Massachusetts:

[242] Raben (2011), 83.

> I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as his slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab--I am seated beside white people--I reach the hotel--I enter the same door--I am shown into the same parlor--I dine at the same table--and no one is offended. No delicate nose grows deformed in my presence. I find no difficulty here in obtaining admission into any place of worship, instruction, or amusement, on equal terms with people as white as any I ever saw in the United States. I meet nothing to remind me of my complexion. I find myself regarded and treated at every turn with the kindness and deference paid to white people.[243]

Therefore, even though African Americans could find freedom in such states as Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Massachusetts as far back as 1787 their freedoms were still significantly restricted. As Fergus Bordewich has outlined in his work *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America*, they "were excluded from most schools, denied the right to vote, barred from many public places, and relegated mostly to menial occupations."[244] Such a reality was still a far cry from the atrocities befallen upon them as slaves – so much so that the simple experience of crossing a state line that promised sanctuary and hence emancipation was like being reborn to a whole new world. As Douglass remembered crossing the state line into Pennsylvania, it felt like "a new world had opened upon me. If life is more than breath, and the quick round of blood, I lived more in one day than in a year of my slave life. It was a time of joyous excitement which words can but tamely describe."[245]

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[243] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), 371.
[244] Fergus Bordewich, *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 47.
[245] Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (London: Christian Age Office, 1822), 170.

Likewise, Harriet Tubman, another admired human rights advocate who had started her life in slavery, also experienced a sense of euphoria in finally finding sanctuary in Pennsylvania: "When I found I had crossed that line, I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything; the sun came like gold through the trees, and over the fields, and I felt like I was in Heaven."[246]

In both of these cases the sanctuary offered something never experienced before – that of freedom and thus dignity to exist an autonomous life – an experience for Tubman that felt like "heaven" and for Douglass "a new world… of joyous excitement." The state of Pennsylvania became holy because of the experiences that were promised, yearned for, and then finally realized. For slaves across America such sanctuary states and cities were beacons of hope, where the sanctity of life was being championed over that of racist dominion, torture, and enslavement. In such a way, these states and cities were sanctuaries not just because they offered refuge for slaves but because they contained the most sacred thing that any slave could ever dream of – freedom. In the same way that the most sacred book or relic makes a temple a sanctuary, states like Pennsylvania became sanctuaries because of the freedom that they promised. That simple, and yet much underappreciated feeling of being free, that for some was not a reality, and thus was revered in the same light as the Holy of Holies – imperceptible and untouchable, but desperately believed in and worshipped as the most sacred essence of life. As nearly every African American freedom song has resonated from plantations to battlefields and unto civil rights marches led by Martin Luther King and Black Lives Matter, that a life without freedom is no life at

[246] Quoted in Sarah Hopkins Bradford, *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1869), 19.

all: “Oh freedom, oh freedom, oh freedom over me, and before I'd be a slave I'll be buried in my grave, and go home to my Lord and be free.”[247]

As such, the history of sanctuaries in U.S. is intrinsically linked to the promise and sanctity of freedom, which is even enshrined in the holiest of U.S. texts, the Declaration of Independence, with the conviction and thus assurance “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”[248] The U.S. Bill of Rights further outlined that such an inherent right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness would include the freedom of speech, of the press, of the right to peacefully assemble, of religious practice, and most controversially in recent history, the freedom to keep and bear arms. To be American is thus to be free. To live in America is thus to feel free. It is promised, enshrined in law and in the holiest of texts. Furthermore, as many an American proudly sings in their national anthem that it is their country that is the “land of the free.” And yet, as already highlighted, such freedoms were not offered to all, with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights being written only by and thus for white men. The black man, the native, and the woman were not offered such freedom – for in the context of eighteenth century America, it was believed that the Christian God only endowed white men as equals, with all other humans created for white men to rule over.

Prominent women at the time such as Abigail Adams pressed their male counterparts to reconsider this exclusion of women’s rights to freedom from the U.S.

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[247] Quoted in Daniel R. Katz, *Why Freedom Matters: The Spirit of the Declaration of Prose, Poetry and Song – From 1776 to the Present* (New York: Workman Publishing, 2003), 96.
248 Quoted in Stephen E. Lucas, "Justifying America: The Declaration of Independence as a Rhetorical Document", in Thomas W. Benson, ed., *American Rhetoric: Context and Criticism* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989), 85.

Constitution, arguing that "if man is lord, woman is lordess… God and nature designed it so."[249] However, women had to wait another 130 years before they would win the right to vote, when they were finally gained suffrage with the passage of the 19th Amendment, in 1920. Three years later, Alice Paul tried to pass the Equal Rights Amendment that sought to give women not only the right to vote but true equality under the law, but alas, still to this day the amendment has not been included into the U.S Constitution. Perhaps by 2023, a hundred years after Alice Paul presented the amendment, "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."[250]

Such an endeavor to amend the constitution so that women are granted equal opportunity is in itself an attempt to offer women sanctuary within their own country, for how can one experience the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness if one is not granted autonomy from patriarchy, freedom to vote, and ability to peacefully assemble in "free spaces."[251] In such a way, the women's movement not only sought freedom from religious orthodoxy and bigotry that condemned them as inferior, but also granted them access to safe "free spaces" where they could meet, organize, and ultimately plan the activism which they hoped would bring about change. As Robin Lorentzen argues in her work *Women in the Sanctuary Movement*, "women's activism is rooted in a network of local sanctuary sites,"[252] whereby "the concept of sanctuary itself constitutes a free space."[253] For women such sanctuary had traditionally taken

[249] Abigail Adams to Eliza Peabody, July 19, 1779 in *The Quotable Founding Fathers*. Buckner F. Melton, Jr., ed. (Washington, D.C: Potomac Books, 2004) 326.
[250] Quoted in Martha Davis, "The Equal Rights Amendment: Then and Now," in Columbia Journal of *Gender and Law* Vol. 17:3, 419.
[251] Robin Lorentzen, *Women in the Sanctuary Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 6.
[252] Ibid, 3.
[253] Ibid, 6.

the form of family, church, and community spaces, where "their deviance [was] generally overlooked and made invisible," and "their activism met with benign indifference."[254] And yet, as Margret Mead has so famously reflected,

"never doubt that a small group of thoughtful,

committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."[255] For what starts as one voice can become a choir of many, and as Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman in the U.S. to become a physician, has argued, "what is done or learned by one class of women becomes, by virtue of their common womanhood, the property of all women."[256]

In the same vain, political scientist James Scott has argued in his work *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* that "the aggregation of thousands upon thousands of ... petty acts of resistance [can] have dramatic economic and political effects…rather like snowflakes on a steep mountainside, set off an avalanche."[257] The latter part of the twentieth century saw such an avalanche not only in women's activism but also in the sanctuary movement in the U.S. with Americans seeking sanctuary in other countries from fighting in a war they didn't believe in and refugees from Central America seeking sanctuary in the U.S. From 1964 to 1975 hundreds of thousands of Americans tried everything possible to dodge the draft and resist military service for a war in Vietnam that they believed to be "immoral."[258] As Martin Luther King Jr. emphasized in 1967, "if America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the

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[254] Ibid, 7.
[255] Attributed in Frank G. Sommers and Tana Dineen, *Curing Nuclear Madness: A New-age Prescription for Personal Action* (London: Methuen Publishing, 1984), 158.
[256] Quoted in *How Harvard Rules Women* (Harvard: New University Conference, 1970), i.
[257] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 192.
[258] Conelius F. Murphy Jr. "The War in Vietnam: A Discussion. The Vietnam War a Moral Evaluation," in *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* Vol. 1: 1 (1967), 196.

autopsy must read Vietnam."[259] These 'draft dodgers' not only refused to serve because they disputed the ethics of the U.S. involvement in the war, but also because they didn't want to kill or be killed, conscientiously objecting to sacrificing their right to live and die how they chose fit. By the end of the 1960s an "estimated 60,000 to 100,000" young American men had left the U.S. to dodge the draft, finding sanctuary in mainly Canada, Britain, and Sweden.[260]

As well as 'draft dodgers' there were also 'military resisters' who sought sanctuary from fighting in Vietnam. Many of these also fled the country, but for soldiers on the aircraft carrier *USS Coral Sea* they found sanctuary in Berkeley, California in 1971 when a group of them formed the anti-war resistance Stop Our Ship (SOS) from participating in the war. As Jennifer Ridgley points out in her essay "The City as a Sanctuary in the United States," this was the first time in the history of the U.S. that a city had declared itself as a sanctuary, and "although none of the crew publicly took Berkeley up on its offer, the resolution represented a reworking of sanctuary in the secular spaces of the city."[261] In particular the emphasis in the resolution that no city employee should assist investigations into arresting those seeking sanctuary. As it states in point number five:

[259] Quoted in Bob Adelman, Charles Johnson, and Robert Sullivan "Remembering Martin Luther King Jr. 40 Years Later," in *Life* magazine (2008), 139.
[260] David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 164.
[261] Jennifer Ridgley, "The City as a Sanctuary in the United States," in *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, citizenship and social movements*, Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 223.

> no Berkeley City Employee will violate the established sanctuaries by assisting in investigation, public of clandestine, of, or engaging in or assisting arrests for violation of federal laws relating to military service on the premises offering sanctuary, or by refusing established public services.[262]

Such policies of restricted cooperation with law enforcement became a model for sanctuary cities in the 1980s in support of Central American refugees fleeing political persecution in El Salvador and Guatemala. Offering sanctuary to refugees was deemed extremely dangerous because the U.S. government considered them illegal aliens and thus sheltering them was considered a federal offense. As Margaret Battin outlines in her work *Ethics in the Sanctuary* "participation in the sanctuary movement carries substantial legal risk."[263] However, today cities have initiated policies that prohibited the use of city funds and resources to assist ICE (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement), which in the least offered support to citizens seeking to "protect, defend, and advocate for the rights of undocumented refugees."[264] When San Francisco passed the resolution that it was the first "City of Refuge" in 1985 it most notably declared that "federal employees, not City employees, should be considered responsible for implementation of immigration and refugee policy," thus relieving City employees to instead focus more on ensuring "the safety and welfare of law-abiding refugees."[265]

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[262] Ibid.
[263] Margaret Battin, *Ethics in the Sanctuary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 200.
[264] Peter Mancini, "The birth of a sanctuary-city: A history of governmental sanctuary in San Francisco," in *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, citizenship and social movements*, Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 210.
[265] Ibid, 211.

Since San Francisco declared itself a "City of Refuge" there are now up to 500 jurisdictions that have also become sanctuary cities, with "a massive surge in the number of places trying to thwart federal immigration agents since President Trump's election."[266] Ohio alone has reportedly added more than three dozen new cities and counties to its list in 2017, with Steve Salvi, founder of Ohio Jobs & Justice Political Action Committee (OJJ) stating that "more will be coming… a lot of communities now, there's resolutions in the works and citizens groups encouraging city councils to pass them."[267] The threat of stripping all federal funding to sanctuary cities has therefore not had the effect that President Trump was anticipating, with cities and states openly refuting the Trump administration's authority to brandish such executive orders. Furthermore, U.S. District Court Judge William Orrick has even called such executive orders unconstitutional, stating that "the Constitution vests the spending powers in Congress, not the President, so the order cannot constitutionally place new conditions on federal funds."[268] He thus agrees with the cities of San Francisco and Santa Clara that the Trump administration cannot legally withhold federal grants because the counties refuse to comply with Trump's deportation requests. As journalist Amber Phillips argues in *the Washington Post*, "California is in a war with Trump on sanctuary cities," and "it just won its first major battle."[269]

Additionally, in October 2017 the state of California upped their arsenal against the Trump administration's anti-sanctuary rhetoric by approving Senate Bill 54

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[266] Stephen Dinan, "Number of sanctuary cities nears 500," in *The Washington Times*, March 14, 2017: https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/mar/14/number-sanctuary-cities-nears-500-report/
[267] Ibid.
[268] Quoted in Amber Phillips, "California is in a war with Trump on 'sanctuary cities.' It just won its first major battle," in *The Washington Post*, April 25, 2017: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/25/california-is-in-a-war-with-trump-on-sanctuary-cities-and-it-just-won-its-first-major-battle/?utm_term=.b2ba397395bc
[269] Ibid.

(California Values Act). This bill put into place further restrictions on federal immigration agencies ability to access resources in order to detain and investigate people – ultimately making the whole state a sanctuary for "illegal aliens." Moreover, since the Trump administration took over office at least nine universities have declared themselves sanctuary campuses. These include Portland State University, Reed College, Wesleyan University, Pitzer College, Santa Fe Community College, Rutgers, University of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College, Drake University, and Connecticut College. In each case, the universities were reacting to the visceral urgency to protect their undocumented students from being threatened with registration or, even worse, deportation. With some even stating that they felt "spiritually and morally compelled" to speak up and protect their students.[270]

And yet, in most cases, the universities who are actively defying the Trump administration can financially do so because they are private institutions, but even then, some private universities are still reliant upon government research funding – as Emory University President Claire Sterk highlights: "declaring ourselves a sanctuary campus, which has potent symbolism, could have the collateral effect of reducing funding for teaching, education and research, directly harming our students, patients and the beneficiaries of our research."[271] However, in the same way that state of California ruled that stripping all federal funding to sanctuary cities was unconstitutional it can likewise be argued that the government cannot reduce funding

[270] Quoted in Shannon Najmabadi, "How Colleges Are Responding to Demands That They Become Sanctuary Campuses," in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 02, 2016: https://www.chronicle.com/article/How-Colleges-Are-Responding-to/238553

[271] Quoted in Melissa Cruz, "Sanctuary Campuses Defy Trump - Though at a Risk," in *Real Clear Politics*, February 18, 2017: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/02/18/sanctuary_campuses_defy_trump_though_at_a_risk_133117.html

to universities for declaring themselves sanctuary campuses. As Michael Roth, the president of Wesleyan University argues, "the federal government is not allowed to punish schools for using policies to protect their students' entitled rights. Vengeance is not allowable under law… it would be a violation of the Constitution."[272]

Regardless, it is still a risk, and for some universities, cities, counties, and states, it is not a risk worth taking. However, for many the risk of being threatened with a cut in federal funding is less palpable than the risk of their students, colleagues, neighbors, and friends being potentially arrested and deported. For those who decide to offer sanctuary the question comes down to who is more threatened, and who has more to lose. At the same time, it is also a question of freedom. On one level it is about offering freedom to undocumented individuals so that they have the right to live and flourish in the U.S., while on another level it is about individuals, institutions, cities, or states having autonomy beyond that of the federal government to decide for themselves whether they can offer sanctuary. For as already highlighted in this chapter, to be American is to be free – it is promised, preserved, and revered, both as an ideal and as a part of the very fabric of what distinguishes this country as different from any other. For what is more American than founding father Patrick Henry's declaration, "give me liberty, or give me death." Therefore, the sanctuary movement in the U.S. is as much about offering freedom as it is about conserving the rights of its citizens to act freely in offering freedom. As Agnes Czajka argues in her essay "The Potential of Sanctuary" that at the heart of the sanctuary movement is the individual's "capacity to challenge the state's attempt to monopolize territorial sovereignty and

[272] Ibid.

govern the political,"[273] as well as challenge to "the state's monopolization of decisions on the right of residence and citizenship… and thus the right to determine who has the right to have rights."[274]

In such a way, what is sacred about offering sanctuary is literally the freedom to be able to offer it in the first place. And thus, the physical space of sanctuary becomes sacred because it represents a "free space" from which individuals can offer sanctuary to whomever they choose, be it criminals, slaves, draft dodgers, military resisters, or undocumented immigrants. Offering sanctuary therefore is an act of defiance as well as a declaration of independence, whereby the notion of the sanctuary demarcates "a kind of state-within-a-state."[275] In demarcating a space independent from the state individuals are then free to work outside of what Hilary Cunningham defines in her essay "The emergence of the Ontario Sanctuary Coalition," as the "massive structures of governance – structures too often fraught with bureaucratic indifference and incompetence" to be able to have "compassion and deep moral commitment to those who are rendered invisible.[276]

Sanctuaries therefore offer a space for the "invisible" to be seen and thus dignified as human beings, beyond being labelled merely as a number. As the 1993 press release for the Ontario Sanctuary Coalition emphasizes: "the people are not just cases to us. They are human beings with names and faces. Their tears are like yours

[273] Agnes Czajka, "The Potential of Sanctuary: Acts of Sanctuary through the Lens of Camp," in *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, citizenship and social movements*, Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 48.
[274] Ibid, 51.
[275] Hilary Cunningham, "The emergence of the Ontario Sanctuary Coalition: From humanitarian and compassionate review to civil initiative," in *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, citizenship and social movements*, Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 172.
[276] Ibid, 173.

and ours."[277] At the end of the press release is this plea "we have been, we are, more decent than this."[278] In such a way, the sanctuary offers a chance to both the privileged and the targeted to be more humane, to act with dignity and to gain dignity. Beyond recognition, it is an attempt at a "more decent" approach to treat human beings rather than resorting to having "fathers shackled in front of their children" and then having these "children put in detention."[279] The sanctuary movement is therefore not just an ethical protest against maltreatment but a very physical intervention to prevent it and in the process restore a common sense of humanity.

In restoring a sense of humanity sanctuaries promote empathy and responsibility for the most vulnerable and threatened in our society, encouraging us not only to protect them from harm but also to guarantee their right to live an autonomous and free life. Offering sanctuary is therefore intrinsically linked to protecting the most disadvantaged from discriminatory laws – be it any laws that are governed by religion, sex, race, age, or nationality, and also promote prejudice and as such deny rights and freedoms. Such discriminatory laws can be as transparent as religious creeds stating that women should be "submissive" or as the U.S. government's passing a law like the Fugitive Slave Act in 1793 that permitted the re-enslavement of people. There are then laws that are so imbedded within us that we do not even consider the way they govern us and cause us to act with prejudice. Laws which we deem to be so utterly natural or biological that we accept them without questioning whether they are baseless and problematic. Laws which promote violence, exploitation, and oppression, and yet are

[277] Quoted in Cunningham (2013), 173.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ibid.

not challenged because they are deeply rooted on an assumption of natural laws of survival, competition, and superiority.

Dualisms in Western Traditions

Underpinning such natural laws is an emphasis upon dualism, whereby the subject rules and competes by distinguishing the "other" as something different, and therefore unrelated to the subject. As Judith Butler explains, such pervasive dualism has manifested a binary frame of thinking — "a relation of constant inversion between a subject and an other."[280] Perhaps nowhere is this subject/object dualism more emphasized than in the stark schism between spirit and matter. This dichotomy is most often attributed to Enlightenment rationalism and Cartesian dualism, but its origins can be traced back to the antiquity of Greek idealism, which sought to replace mythology with theology and philosophy. For example, in *Timaeus* Plato devalues matter as "unable to preserve itself and, when it is separated from the cause, on its own it becomes powerless and is dispersed into non-existence."[281] Plato's theory of forms, or otherwise known as metaphysical dualism, places the balance and movement of power in ideas and spiritual beings, depriving matter from its innate activity and quality. For Plato, matter is completely lacking an animating principle. This degradation of matter as passive and inert without an exterior agent has been further epitomized in the West by the archetypal metaphysical dualism inherent

[280] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990), viii.
[281] Plato. *Timaeus* 1.259, 20-24.

within Christianity. Plato's influence on Christianity was so considerable that St. Augustine claimed that he was a Christian before Christ.[282]

The Bible offers that the world and the corporeal must be avoided at all times to experience God: "Love not the world, neither the things [that are] in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him,"[283] "know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God,"[284] "for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live"[285] and "he that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."[286] From Christian ontology and Descartes' mind-body dichotomy to the physics of Galileo and Newton, and the philosophy of Locke and Kant, the disconnection and degradation of matter/physical/nature is prominent. For example, Kant delineates in his 1790 *Kritik der Urteilskraft* that "the possibility of living matter cannot even be thought; its concept involves a contradiction because lifelessness, inertia, constitutes the essential character of matter."[287] As Huston Smith surmises in his anthology of world religions, "on the whole, the modern Western attitude has been to regard nature as an antagonist, an object to be squared off against."[288]

From such antagonism and detachment we have formed an anthropocentric and thus speciesist outlook on reality – so much so that we readily excuse incessant discrimination, exploitation, and incarceration of anything that is not human; be it

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[282] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Religion & The Order of Nature*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 87.
[283] I John 2:15-17
[284] James 4:4
[285] Romans 8:13
[286] John 12:25
[287] Immanuel Kant. *Critique of Judgement.* (New York: Hafner Press, 1951) 242.
[288] Huston Smith. *The World Religions*. (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1991) 212.

waterways, forests, swamps, seas, mountains, valleys, fields, microbes, plants, fungi, insects, or animals. So much of humankind's history has been shaped by the notion that we above everything else have the right to live, because we are sacred, we are born in the image of God, and thus only we have the potential to transcend, go to heaven, and liberate our souls from this world of inanimate profanity. And as such we have consumed and ravished ecosystems and subjected all forms of cruelty to other life-forms because we have inherently believed that we are superior to everything, and thus justified to take and do whatever we want. As pertinently exemplified by seventeenth century English philosopher Francis Bacon's now infamous and rapine description of nature as needing to be "unveiled", stripped of her clothing, dragged by her hair into the laboratory, "vexed" and forced to "yield her secrets."[289]

Such anthropocentric autocracy, i.e. "speciesism," has been delineated by the *Oxford English Dictionary,* as the "discrimination against or exploitation of animal species by human beings, based on an assumption of mankind's superiority."[290] The term "speciesism" was first coined by British psychologist Richard Ryder in his 1970 pamphlet by the same name. In this pamphlet he specifically built an argument against "prejudice" towards animals in and around the debate on the ethics of animal experimenting.[291] He further expounded upon this theory a year later in his essay, "Experiments on Animals," asserting that "if it is accepted as morally wrong to

[289] Francis Bacon, De sapientia veterum, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 6, 726, cf. 652.
[290] Steven M. Wise, "Animal Rights, One Step at a Time," in *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions*, eds. Cass Sunstein and Martha Nussbaum (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26.
[291] Richard D. Ryder, *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism* (New York: Bloomsbury Academics, 2000), 6.

deliberately inflict suffering upon innocent human creatures, then it is only logical to also regard it as wrong to inflict suffering on innocent individuals of other species."[292]

He therefore connects the prejudice towards animals to that of the mistreatment towards humans, arguing that "it may come to pass that enlightened minds may one day abhor *speciesism* as much as they now detest *racism*."[293] He further argues that "the illogicality in both forms of prejudice is of an identical sort" in that "both *race* and *species* are vague terms used in the classification of living creatures according, largely, to physical appearance."[294] As Peter Singer concurs in his essay, "Ethics and the New Animal Liberation Movement," that "speciesism, pure and simple," is "as indefensible as the most blatant racism."[295] He argues that "there is no ethical basis for elevating membership of one particular species" over another, and that "from an ethical point of view, we all stand on an equal footing – whether we stand on two feet, or four, or none at all."[296] And as such he argues that if any "being suffers there can be no moral justification for refusing to take that suffering into consideration."[297]

Sanctuaries have therefore also been created to protect nature in all its forms from humankind's speciesist legacy. Furthermore, the devastating combination of such speciesism with modernized technological industrialism has led to the unremitting liquidation of the earth's limited natural assets to fuel humankind's tenacious appetite to exploit and expand. As leading American environmental analyst

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[292] Richard D. Ryder, "Experiments on Animals," in *Animals, Men, and Morals: An Inquiry into the Maltreatment of Non-humans*, eds. Stanley and Roslind Godlovitch and John Harris (New York: Grove Press, 1971), 81.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Peter Singer, "Ethics and the New Animal Liberation Movement," in *In Defence of Animals*, ed. Peter Singer. (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1985), 6.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation* (New York: Random House, 1975), 9.

Lester Brown delineates in his 2004 work, *Outgrowing the Earth*, "in system after system, demand is overshooting supply."[298] Water tables are falling dramatically, wells are going dry, and soil erosion exceeds soil formation, draining the land of its fertility. Furthermore, livestock farming is converting vast stretches of grassland to desert, and forests are shrinking by 13 million acres per year as we clear land for agriculture, lumber and paper. On top of this, four fifths of the ocean's fisheries are being overfished, leading to collapse and possible extinction of a phenomenal number of species.[299]

There therefore now exists a very real threat to many species and ecosystems across the planet, and to counter such a threat, many types of sanctuaries have been formed to preserve what little life still exists. From plant sanctuaries that offer the opportunity for species to thrive in unmanaged natural ecosystems to naturally occurring wildlife sanctuaries, such as an island, that are left untouched in order to provide protection for species from hunting, predation, competition, or poaching. There are state run refuges and national parks, such as Lake Merritt Wildlife Refuge in California, where it is "unlawful for any person to take, catch, kill, capture, or in any manner destroy any fish in the waters,"[300] and there exists privately ran preserves like Bowman's Hill Wildflower Preserve in New Hope, Pennsylvania, where the mission is to inspire "the appreciation and use of native plants by serving as a sanctuary and an educational resource for conservation and stewardship."[301]

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[298] Lester Brown. *Outgrowing the Earth*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 134.
[299] Lester Brown. *World on the Edge: How to Prevent the Environmental and Economic Collapse*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), 6.
[300] Quoted in "About Lake Merritt," at *Lake Merritt Institute*: http://www.lakemerrittinstitute.org/abt_lake_wildlife.htm
[301] Quoted in "People of the Preserve, " at *Bowman's Hill Wildflower Preserve*: https://bhwp.org/people/our-story/our-mission/

As the Bowman's Hill Wildflower Preserve aptly highlights in its mission statement, wildlife sanctuaries, preserves, refuges, and parks function on two levels: firstly, the preserve works as a sanctuary in order to protect native plants, and secondly, it functions as an educational resource for conservation and stewardship. Therefore, the Preserve is as much about protecting nature as it is facilitating a human experience to relearn a more intimate relationship with nature, and in such a way it tackles the inherent speciesist ontology that has left us detached and very limited in our appreciation of the natural world. The traditional appreciation of nature has been unabashedly anthropocentric, whereby the impetus has always been on what nature can offer to humans – be it resources, recreation, rejuvenation, or spiritual enlightenment. As poignantly highlighted by America's most celebrated naturalist John Muir, "everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where nature may heal and give strength to body and soul alike."[302]

It was such a philosophy that enticed federal government to set aside parkland not so much to preserve nature for nature's sake, but more specifically to preserve, as President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote in his personal memoirs, the "most magnificent scenic areas as national treasures for the enjoyment of present and future generations."[303] Likewise, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made a similar statement in a 1934 address on America's national parks that "no other country in the world has ever undertaken in such a broad way for protection of its natural and historic treasures and for the enjoyment of them by vast numbers of people."[304] And more recently,

[302] John Muir, *The Yosemite* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1912), 192.
[303] Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change* (New York: Doubleday Publishing, 1963), 549.
[304] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Volume three: The advance of recovery and reform, 1934* (New York: Random House, 1938), 360.

President George W. Bush has reiterated in a 2008 speech that these "National Parks belong to us, they are natural places to learn, exercise, volunteer, spend time with family and friends, and enjoy the magnificent beauty of our great land."[305] Again and again and again, the emphasis is upon preserving nature for human enjoyment, and not for protecting nature because it is deemed sacred or deserved of its own right to flourish beyond that of humans. From the foundation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 when it was explicitly "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people"[306] to more recently in 2011 when President Barack Obama remarked upon the America's Great Outdoors Initiative that "it is not just the iconic mountains and parks that we protect… it's [also] the forests where generations of families have hiked and picnicked and connected with nature"[307] – the history of protecting land in the U.S. has been categorically intended for the benefit of humans. As the National Park Foundation proudly asserts on their website, "the preservation of our most magnificent and meaningful places for the purpose of public appreciation and recreation is a uniquely American idea."[308] Or as President Franklin D. Roosevelt has further suggested, "there is nothing so American as our national parks" in "that the country belongs to the people." [309]

In such a way, national parks in the U.S. are not designed as sanctuaries for nature to flourish and exist autonomous from human exploitation, but rather they

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[305] Quoted in Teri J. Walker, *Today's Environmental Issues: Democrats and Republicans* (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, LLC, 2018), 338.
[306] Quoted in Kevin McNamee, "Preserving Canada's Wilderness," in *Protected Areas and the Regional Planning Imperative in North America*, John Chadwick Day, James Gordon Nelson, and Lucy M. Sportza eds. (East Lansing, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 27.
[307] Quoted in Teri J. Walker (2018), 338.
[308] Quoted in "Our National Park History," at *National Park Foundation*: https://www.nationalparks.org/about-foundation/mission-history
[309] Franklin D. Roosevelt (1938), 360.

epitomize a vigilant effort to connect recreation with "scenic nationalism,"[310] and thus reflect the deeply engrained anthropocentric ontology that the U.S. pertinently exemplifies: that the land with all its species and resources belong to humans.[311] As Woody Guthrie's famous folk song "This Land Is Your Land" fittingly epitomizes:

> This land is your land, this land is my land, From California to the New York Island, From the Redwood Forest to the Gulf Stream waters, This land was made for you and me.[312]

Though written in 1940 as a protest song against prevalent income inequalities in the U.S. the song also highlights the anthropocentric mindset that emphatically endorses human dominion over nature and as such an attitude that the land with its forests and streams belong to humans. In the case of national parks, the land has been designated for public appreciation and recreation, "attracting over 350 million visits yearly."[313] Everywhere else the land has been seized upon and utilized for humankind's endless need to expand and conquer. Such land grabbing and expansionism has been nowhere more ruthlessly demonstrated than in the American Manifest Destiny philosophy, which saw the whole continent as there for Americans to conquer, in complete disregard of the indigenous claims to the land. One particularly voracious example was the Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889, when tens of thousands of white settlers manically competed to make their claim of what was called "unassigned land," but mere days beforehand had been called "Indian

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[310] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 1.
[311] Such an interpretation of ownership, with the land and its resources belonging to the citizens of the U.S. appositely reflects the tenets of "Manifest Destiney" with the national parks equating to the promise land for the chosen people, and in such a way exemplifies what Robert Bellah has referred to as "Civil Religion in America" (*Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* from the issue entitled, *Religion in America*, Winter 1967, Vol. 96, No. 1, pp. 1-21).
[312] Quoted in Katz (2003), 23.
[313] Kerry Mitchell, *Spirituality and the State: Managing Nature and Experience in America's National Parks* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 3.

Territory." After the Indian Appropriation Act had been signed on March 2 1889 millions of acres of land, which had been ceded by the Creek and Seminole after the Civil war, was eventually made available to white settlers on April 22. By nightfall the land had been comprehensively grabbed, with up to ten makeshift tent cities already formed, with one coincidently called Guthrie. As William Howard Millard commented in the *Harpers Weekly* later that year, "at twelve o'clock on Monday, April 22, the resident population of Guthrie was nothing; before sundown it was at least ten thousand. In that time streets had been laid out, town lots staked off, and steps taken toward the formation of a municipal government."[314]

Land grabbing is therefore as quintessentially American as is the concept of freedom. In fact it can be argued that the two are inseparable, so much so that "the land of the free" is founded upon the notion that the land is free to usurp. No one has as much right to their land as Americans do, because, citing Woody Guthrie once again, "this land was made for you and me."[315] It was not made for the indigenous people, and it certainly wasn't made for the other species which also call this land their home. And when use of this land is in anyway denied, the reaction is indignant outrage. Take for example the reaction to President Barack Obama's use of the Antiquities Act to establish Bears Ears National Monument in late 2016 on the grounds that "the land is profoundly sacred to many Native American tribes, including the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Navajo Nation, Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah Ouray, Hopi Nation, and Zuni Tribe."[316] For some the monument designation was

[314] William Howard Millard, "The Rush to Oklahoma," in *Harpers Weekly* (33), May 18, (1889), 391.
[315] Quoted in Katz (2003), 23.
[316] Barack Obama, "Establishment of the Bears Ears National Monument," in *Federal Register* Vol. 82, No. 3, January 5 2017, 1139.

hailed a victory, while for others it was described a "grand theft," as Juliet Turkewitz has reported in *The New York Times* article, "Battle Over Bears Ears Heats Up."[317] She explains that for James Adakai, whose "Navajo ancestors lived and hunted here for generations," it felt like he had "fought" and "won the century-year old fight," however, for Phil Lyman, whose great-grandfather had settled in Bears Ears in 1879, the designation was criticized as a "land grab."[318] The irony of such a claim could not be more profound.

Yet, such "injustice" was swiftly overturned when President Donald Trump rescinded the monument designation less than a year later, calling his predecessor's use of the Antiquities Act as an "egregious abuse of federal power."[319] On December 4 2017 President Donald Trump reduced the size of Bears Ears National Monument from 1.35 million acres to 228,784 acres, in what many have lambasted as both unprecedented and illegal. As Rhea Suh, president of the Natural Resource Defense Council complained, "this is unprecedented — and it's illegal. Presidents use the Antiquities Act to create national monuments and protect our special lands and waters for future generations. This president thinks he can use it to destroy them. He does not have that authority. What's next, President Trump — the Grand Canyon? See you in court."[320] As it stands there have already been five lawsuits filed against President Donald Trump and his attempt to rescind not only Bears Ears National Monument but also Grand-Staircase National Monument, which was designated by President Bill

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[317] Juliet Turkewitz, "Battle Over Bears Ears Heats Up," in *New York Times*, May 15 2017: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/14/us/bears-ears-ryan-zinke.html
[318] Ibid.
[319] Quoted in Jan A. Randall, *Endangered Species: A Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2018), 18.
[320] Quoted in Keith Schneider, "In an unprecedented action, Trump dramatically shrinks two national monuments in Utah," in *Los Angeles Times*, December 4 2017: http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-trump-national-monuments-20171204-story.html

Clinton in 1996. Eleven environmentalist and conservationist groups, five Native American tribes and one private corporation (Patagonia, Inc.) have argued that only Congress, and therefore not the president, has the authority to rescind or adjust a national monument. Furthermore, they argue that such a rescindment is a violation of the Antiquities Act, which was signed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 to give presidents authority to establish national monuments – not to take them away. The last time a president diminished a national monument it was in 1963 when President John F. Kennedy reduced Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico by 1,043 acres.[321] Firstly, this emphasizes how irregular it is for a president to rescind or reduce a national monument, with the last example taking place 55 years ago, and secondly it highlights that when a modification did occur it was at a very different scale than what President Donald Trump has proposed: the combined reduction of Bears Ears National Monument and Grand-Staircase National Monument would be over two million acres.

While President Obama clearly emphasized that the designation of Bears Ears was in order to protect land "profoundly sacred to many Native Americans tribes," President Trump's redesignation is overtly not intended to benefit Native Americans. His claim that his decision will ensure that "public land will once again be for public use" not only perpetuates the old adage that the land exists only for us to "use," but

[321] It is important to clarify here that although Kennedy did reduce the Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico by a 1,043 acres, he also redrew the boundaries of the park by shaving off approximately 4,000 acres and adding an additional 3,000, quoting that the borders of what needed to be preserved had evolved, arguing that the new added land possessed "unusual scenic character together with geologic and topographic features," whilst the land that had been "excluded" had "limited" values (John F. Kennedy, "Proclamation 3539—Revising the Boundaries of the Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico," May 27, 1963, in *The American Presidency Project*: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=24101).

more appropriately for one type of "public" and one kind of "public use" alone.[322] As he further clarifies, "some people think that the natural resources of Utah should be controlled by a small handful of very distant bureaucrats located in Washington. And guess what, they're wrong."[323] The implication could not be more blatantly transparent. The reason to challenge Bears Ears National Monument has been motivated by a desire to have access to "natural resources," and thus appease the fossil fuel and uranium industries. This is what the land signifies, and this is how it will be used. As Laris Karklis explains in *The Washington Post*, "areas cut out of Utah monuments are rich in oil, coal, uranium" and that businesses have "planned a large expansion that is opposed by the Navajo Nation and environmental groups."[324] Furthermore, Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument "sits atop Utah's largest coal field" – and though "it is Utah's biggest coal field… there are no mining leases within it," because the land was protected as a national monument.[325] Alas, not any longer.

The rescinding of two of Utah's largest national monuments further exemplifies the prioritization of "public use" of land over an appreciation of the land's intrinsic worth or autonomy. As already outlined, national parks and monuments were never designed to explicitly protect the land from humans, and yet in setting aside land to be appreciated or revered then par consequence the land maintained an aspect of freedom to be "wild." To be "wild," as renown eco-activist and beat generation poet Gary Snyder has defined in his work *The Practice of the Wild*, is to exist with free agency,

[322] Quoted in Schneider (2017).
[323] Ibid.
[324] Laris Karklis, "Areas cut out of Utah monuments are rich in oil, coal, uranium," in *The Washington Post*, December 7 2017: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/national/utah-monuments/
[325] Ibid.

"living within natural systems" without the dominant hand of humanity trying to exploit, control, and subject domesticity.[326] He therefore argues that to be wild is simply to be free, as much an inherent right for humans as it is for "a gray fox trotting through the forest, ducking behind bushes, going in and out of sight."[327] Therefore, in the same way that humans are offered sanctuary in order to guarantee their right to freedom, it can likewise be understood that other species are offered sanctuary in order to reclaim a sense of wilderness.

In such a way, wildlife sanctuaries offer species "the basic principle of equality," which, as Peter Singer argues in his work *Animal Liberation,* "does not require equal or identical *treatment*," but instead "it requires equal *consideration*."[328] An "equal consideration" that each species has a subjective intrinsic worth and therefore has the right to live and flourish beyond simply being valued on the merit of utility. As such, Singer argues that equal consideration "for the well-being of a pig may require no more than that we leave him alone with other pigs in a place where there is adequate food and room to run freely."[329] Once again, the impetus is upon ensuring freedom, and yet such freedom is limited in that the "room to run freely" is constricted by the confines of the sanctuary. Therefore, for some species wildlife sanctuaries may only be able to offer a taste of freedom; for to be truly wild would be to exist without the need for, or limitations of, sanctuary walls. For surely to be wild

[326] Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 10.
[327] Ibid, 9.
[328] Singer (1975), 3.
[329] Ibid, 6.

is the opposite of being constrained. As such, the very notion of a wildlife sanctuary is an oxymoron.[330]

However, for species who are small enough or whose needs do not depend upon excessive mobility, then a wildlife sanctuary can offer a tangible experience of the wild, or at least a much needed respite from the ever increasing influence of human industry. Yet, even this experience is questionable, with most wildlife sanctuaries committed as much to preserving wildlife as they are to serving the local community. As the website for Mariton Wildlife Sanctuary in Media, Pennsylvania highlights, their mission is to "serve as an environmental education center for local schools, colleges, and the greater community."[331] Likewise, Poole Wildlife Sanctuary in Emmaus, Pennsylvania promotes itself as a recreation center with a "wide variety of wildlife viewing opportunities," where "visitors can enjoy the boardwalk along the Little Lehigh Creek, hike trails through deciduous and coniferous forests, and spend time in the open meadows of the urban forest stewardship area."[332] Similarly, Daniel Webster Wildlife Sanctuary in Lincoln, Massachusetts advertizes on their website that it has "fun programs and activities for you and your friends and family… activities

[330] Although the notion of keeping wildlife within the parameters of an enclosed area can be considered a contradiction, for how can species be called wild if they are at the same contained and restricted, it is also important to point out that wildlife sanctuaries are in fact not just designed to contain certain species but also to prevent the growth of others, and thus promote an ecological balance between native and invasive species. In such a way, these wildlife sanctuaries are as much focused on protecting native species, as they are concerned about inhibiting invasive species. For as Edward Wilson writes in the foreword of *Strangers in Paradise: Impact And Management Of Nonindigenous Species In Florida*, "the two great destroyers of biodiversity are, first, habitat destruction and second, invasion by exotic species," whereby "extinction by the invasion of exotic species is like death by disease" (Washington: Island Press, 1997: x).

[331] Quoted in "Mariton Wildlife Sanctuary," in *Natural Lands*: https://natlands.org/mariton-wildlife-sanctuary/

[332] Quoted in "Poole Wildlife Sanctuary," in *Wildlands Conservancy*: http://www.wildlandspa.org/pool-wildlife-sanctuary/

like Nature Bingo, print out a discovery booklet, or play at our Nature Play Area."[333] They even promote entire "vacation week programs."[334] In each of these examples the sanctuaries highlight how limited a respite they can truly offer wildlife, with true wilderness being compromised at the expense of the human experience. As Poole Wildlife Sanctuary sedulously asserts, our "preserve is open to the public from dawn to dusk."[335]

Wild animal sanctuaries are likewise confounded by the very fact that the animals are not free to be wild. Instead, gorillas and lions, bears and wolves, tigers and elephants are constricted to a limited space, where their lives are put on display for the hungry voyeuristic human eye. For example, Forever Wild Exotic Animal Sanctuary in Phelan, California encourages the public to regularly come and visit its "animal family," as "there is always something lively happening at the sanctuary," with "group events, field trips, guided tours and our most popular Extreme Feed tours."[336] And to capitalize on the holiday seasons they even have "festive events like *A Very Wild Christmas* and *The Wild Easter Egg Hunt*."[337] Overall, the sanctuary seems more interested in selling an experience than it is focused upon "preserving the lives of abused, neglected and abandoned exotic animals through rescue, rehabilitation and education."[338] Nowhere is this more apparent than in its intent to even capitalize on feeding the animals they are supposed to be protecting; ardently

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[333] Quoted in "Daniel Webster Wildlife Sanctuary," *Mass Audubon*: https://www.massaudubon.org/get-outdoors/wildlife-sanctuaries/daniel-webster/programs-classes-activities
[334] Ibid.
[335] Quoted in "Poole Wildlife Sanctuary," in *Wildlands Conservancy*: http://www.wildlandspa.org/pool-wildlife-sanctuary/
[336] Quoted in "Plan A Visit," in *Forever Wild Exotic Animal Sanctuary*: https://www.foreverwildsanctuary.org/
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid.

upselling at every chance. As the website highlights that "for an additional $5 per Child (17 & under) and $10 per Adult you can feed one of the many of our big cats."[339] There is certainly nothing "wild" in the reality of a five year old child paying $5 to feed a "wild" cat its dinner. Perhaps this why they call the cats big instead of wild. In such situations sanctuaries are literally selling their wild animals' wilderness to entertain a hungry public. Therefore, instead of offering these animals freedom from exploitation they are further capitalizing off of them.

Even though wilderness and being wild may never truly be actualized in wild animal sanctuaries, at least some form of relief is promised. As The Wild Animal Sanctuary in Keenesburg, Colorado state on their website, they are "dedicated exclusively to rescuing captive exotic and endangered large carnivores" and "providing them with a wonderful life for as long as they live," whilst also educating the public "about the tragic plight faced by an estimated 30,000 such animals in America today."[340] Their goal is "to give them a life of dignity and respect" by introducing them to "large acreage habitats where they can experience life with plenty of space, diets of exceptional quality, expert veterinary care and freedom from performing, traveling or doing things Nature did not intend."[341] And, at the very least, children are not allowed to feed them.

For these animals, being left alone in acres of space may not equate to being wild, but it does guarantee sanctuary from the atrocities that might otherwise be inflicted upon them, whilst confined, manacled, tortured, and forced to perform like

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[339] Ibid.
[340] Quoted in "History," in *The Wildlife Animal Sanctuary*: https://www.wildanimalsanctuary.org/history
[341] Quoted in "Our Major Programs," in *The Wildlife Animal Sanctuary*: https://www.wildanimalsanctuary.org/major-programs

caricatures of themselves. In being offered sanctuary they are being liberated from the perils of anthropomorphic cultural constructions, which they have then been expected to perpetuate through "performative acts."[342] No more will they be told how to behave or put on display "for entertainment" at "travelling road shows, rodeos, carnivals and circuses, film and television programs, and of course, zoos."[343] They will not be forced to suffer at the hands of animal trainers, whose philosophy is "beat'em-into-obedience"[344] in order to perform humiliating acts that strip them of their dignity – as pertinently exemplified by Carol Adam's article on "Deena, the World's Only Stripping Chimp."[345]

After witnessing such abuse first hand while working on famous television shows such as "Lassie," "Flipper," "Daktari," and "Gentle Ben," Pat Derby wrote an exposé in 1976 called *The Lady and Her Tiger: And Other Famous Animals She Trained With Love And Struggled To Save*. The book is best described in her own words as "full of death and loss, pain and sickness, cold and rain and animal poop."[346] It therefore unsurprisingly caused tremors within the entertainment industry with its detailed accounts of the horrific maltreatment of some of Hollywood's favorite animal stars and "sounded a death knell" to her career as an animal trainer.[347] As she later recalled, she became a "persona non grata in Hollywood."[348] Having been forced out

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[342] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990), viii.
[343] Jasper M. Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin, *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of a Moral Protest* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 156.
[344] Phil Maggitti, "Where the Unicorn Is King: A Look at the Circus," in *Animals' Agenda* 9 (November 1989): 25.
[345] Carol J. Adams, "Deena, the World's Only Stripping Chimp," in *Animals Voice* 3, (1): 72.
[346] Pat Derby, *The Lady and Her Tiger: And Other Famous Animals She Trained With Love And Struggled To Save* (New York: Thomas Congdon Books, 1976), 284.
[347] Pat Derby, "PAWS: An Introduction," in *PAWS* (2011): http://www.pawsweb.org/about_paws_home_page.html
[348] Ibid.

of Hollywood she then dedicated the rest of her life to saving exotic animals from the entertainment industry and to combatting "the romantic nonsense that so often leads people to try raising wild animals in their backyards, garages, and one-bedroom apartments."[349] Not only did she start a non-profit called PAWS (Performing Animals Welfare Society), but she was also responsible for establishing the first sanctuary for exotic animals in the U.S. In 1984 she founded PAWS Sanctuary on 30 acres of land in Galt, California in order to offer "rescued animals" an opportunity to "live in peaceful and natural habitats, free from fear, chains, and harsh confinement," and where "they are at complete liberty to act out natural behaviors in the comfort of their individually designed enclosures."[350] For her, the concept of a shelter did not adequately achieve their goal "to properly house and provide care for the hundreds of exotic animals who were in need of refuge in the early 1980s."[351] Furthermore, she observed that animal shelters at the time "were often as bad as roadside zoos, with handlers walking young lions and tigers on leashes and breeding animals to provide more homeless cubs for display and photo ops."[352] She therefore chose the term "sanctuary" to "exemplify our mission which we hoped was different."[353]

In the 35 years since Derby made this decision to distinguish a difference between a shelter and a sanctuary over 400 other animal sanctuaries have been founded, where the emphasis is upon providing animals a refuge and a home, where they are protected for the rest of their lives and treated with respect and "equal consideration." Beyond offering wild and exotic animals sanctuary, there are also

[349] Derby (1976), 284.
[350] Derby (2011): http://www.pawsweb.org/about_paws_home_page.html
[351] Ibid.
[352] Ibid.
[353] Ibid.

sanctuaries for animals who have never been wild or granted the dignity of being called wild, such as domesticated companion and farm animals. At these sanctuaries animals are not just being offered the room to run freely, or as Nature intended. They are being offered something even more precious; the most basic, rudimentary right of all: the right to live. As Living-Free Animal Sanctuary in the San Jacinto Mountains in southern California encapsulate both in their name and in their mission statement, "we rescue, rehabilitate and find permanent homes for healthy cats and dogs that were scheduled for shelter euthanasia."[354] The emphasis is not just on securing them new homes where they can live freely, but to also "rescue dogs and cats whose time has run out at local kill shelters."[355] Living free therefore means not being killed, and as such, literally being guaranteed more "time" to live.

In fact, my research has revealed that the vast majority of animal sanctuaries in the U.S. have been established to save companion and farm animals from this very real threat of immanent death. Of the 454 animal sanctuaries in the U.S., 350 are dedicated to offering a home to companion and farm animals from being killed, put-down, gassed, or slaughtered.[356] Therefore, beyond dignity, respect, autonomy, or emancipation, it is life itself that is being salvaged and protected from those who threaten to take it away. As Piece of Peace Animal Sanctuary in Marysvillle, California state on their website, "we stand against oppression and violence towards all beings and… fight for those helpless animals who have no say in their destiny."[357]

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[354] Quoted in "Mission," in *Living-Free Animal Sanctuary*: https://living-free.org/
[355] Quoted in "About," in *Living-Free Animal Sanctuary*: https://living-free.org/
[356] See Figure 3, Appendix B, p. 326.
[357] Quoted in "About the Sanctuary," in *Piece of Peace Animal Sanctuary*: http://pieceofpeaceanimalsanctuary.org/?page_id=15

In such a way, as Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary in Deer Trail, Colorado highlight, such rescued animals are "given a second chance at life."[358]

This means that for approximately 80% of the animal sanctuaries in the U.S. the initial focus is upon saving animals' lives, and thus acting as "lifesavers," as exemplified in the name of a sanctuary in Lancaster, California, called Lifesavers Wild Horse Rescue. Even in the Golden State, the home of the showbiz and the entertainment industry, where one would expect more sanctuaries to be dedicated to exotic animals, 75% of its sanctuaries are actually dedicated to companion and farm animals.[359] Out of its 32 animal sanctuaries only eight are designated for wild or exotic animals, while nine are dedicated to companion animals such as dogs, cats, tortoises, and parrots, and 15 have been established for farm animals such as cows, pigs, sheep, goats, chickens, mules, and horses. However, in comparison to one of its neighboring states, Arizona, it would appear that California does have a high percentage of sanctuaries dedicated to exotic animals. In the Grand Canyon State there are 23 animal sanctuaries, out of which only one has been established exclusively for exotic and wild animals, with another one for exotic, wild, and farm animals, and then one other for wild birds. This means that 87% of the animal sanctuaries in Arizona are run entirely for companion and farm animals.[360] And then again, there are some states where this percentage is even higher, with some at a 100%. On the other side of the country, in the states of New Hampshire and Vermont, all nine of their combined animal sanctuaries have been established exclusively for companion and farm animals.[361]

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[358] Quoted in "Home," in *Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary*: http://www.peacefulprairie.org/
[359] See Figure 7, Appendix B, p. 328.
[360] See Figure 8, Appendix B, p. 329.
[361] See Figure 9, Appendix B, p. 330.

Such a high percentage of sanctuaries being dedicated to companion and farm animals is a pertinent reflection of the high number of companion and farm animals that exist in the U.S., and therefore need sanctuary when abused, abandoned, or, on the off chance, have successfully escaped captivity. The most recent national survey of pet ownership in the U.S. estimates that there are approximately 70 million dogs and 74.1 million cats in American households across the country.[362] However, many of these companion animals end up in shelters, where they face the prospect of having their lives terminated if not adopted. As the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) details, of the 6.5 million companion animals that end up in a shelter each year, at least 1.5 million them face euthanasia.[363] However, this number pales in comparison to the number of farm animals who have their lives prematurely ended, with an estimated 9.1 billion farm animals being slaughtered in the U.S. each year alone.[364] This means that there are a profound number of animals that are denied sanctuary each year, and instead fall victim to the industrialized livestock economy.

Farm sanctuaries therefore act more like a token gesture, offering sanctuary to a minute fraction of animals who face all forms of mental, emotional and physical torture as they await the impending horror of the slaughterhouse production line. Billions upon billions of animals will not experience relief or sanctuary. Instead, as William Crain, the founder of Safe Haven Farm Sanctuary in Ponghquag, New York opines, the vast majority will "spend their lives crowded in huge, windowless sheds,

[362] See Table 7, Appendix B, p. 338.
[363] Quoted in "Shelter Intake and Surrender," in *ASPCA*: https://www.aspca.org/animal-homelessness/shelter-intake-and-surrender/pet-statistics
[364] See Table 1, Appendix B, p. 333.

until the day of their slaughter… their misery is difficult even to imagine."[365] Therefore, farm sanctuaries can only provide relief and freedom to a lucky few animals who miraculously find a way to defy seemingly insurmountable and truly terrifying odds. As well as offering the animals sanctuary, they also offer their benefactors a glimmer of hope. An opportunity to imagine a different world, where animals are not subjected to such large scale cruelty and exploitation. A world where humans are not the perpetrators of violence and destruction, but instead acting responsibly as both stewards and students of the animals they seek to protect. As William Crain admits, "I wish I could say my own motive for starting the farm sanctuary was purely altruistic, but I had another goal: I wanted to learn more about animals."[366]

As such, animal sanctuaries have two clear functions: firstly, they offer animals life, and to a certain extent freedom; and secondly, they offer humans an opportunity to question their values and promote a different appreciation of both themselves and the world around them. Undoubtedly for the animals who are liberated from factory farms they prefer the conditions offered to them at a sanctuary, and there is also evidence to suggest they appreciate the new levels of intimacy they experience with both humans and other animals alike. However, unlike sanctuaries designated for humans, animals are not aware that sanctuaries exist. They do not have the same means to aspire or dream for a better life, nor can they envision the day when they will be liberated from the confines of their impediment. Sanctuaries therefore do not exist as a beacon of hope for animals who are locked up or treated cruelly. Instead,

[365] William Crain, *The Emotional Lives of Animals and Children: Insight from a Farm Sanctuary* (San Francisco: Turning Stone Press, 2014), xv.
[366] Ibid, xvi.

they serve as beacons of hope for their human benefactors, who not only run the sanctuaries to protect animals, but also to protect themselves from the profanity of their own species apathy, cruelty, and exploitation. In such a way, sanctuaries serve to both protect life and to promote a more reverent appreciation of life.

Animal sanctuaries therefore seek to counter the prevalent profane treatment of all life, upholding instead, as Sacred Cows Sanctuary in Georgia states on their website, a belief "in the sacredness of All Life."[367] Such a sentiment is not new or strange to American culture – it is as much embedded in its veneration of freedom as it is in its most influential religious tradition; as it states in Genesis 9:8, "All life is sacred." And yet, as Ronald Dworkin argues in his work *Life's Dominion*, "life is sacred" is commonly interpreted "in a secular as well as a conventionally religious way."[368] Perhaps this is nowhere better exemplified than by Albert Einstein's statement, "life is sacred – that is to say, it is the supreme value, to which all other values are subordinate."[369] Therefore, revering life as sacred does not have to reflect a religious perspective or mark an animal sanctuary's benefactor as being religious because they seek to uphold life as being sacred.

In such a way, establishing a sanctuary in order to protect the sanctity of freedom and of life itself does not necessitate religious motivation. However, on the other hand, such motivations could be religious, inspired as much by Christian theology as by American Religious Nationalism. And as such, what sanctifies a

[367] Quoted in "Sacred Chapel Mission," in *Sacred Cows Sanctuary*: http://sacred-chapel-of-compassion.org/
[368] Ronald Dworkin, *Life's Dominion: An Argument about Abortion, Euthanasia, and Individual Freedom* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 195.
[369] Albert Einstein, *The World As I see It*, (London: The Bodley Head Limited, 1935), 91.

sanctuary could be a belief that freedom or life is sacred, and that the space that protects this sacredness henceforth becomes sacred because of what it upholds and thus contains. In this case, an animal sanctuary is therefore sanctified not so much by the animals they protect but by what the animals represent: life and a right to freedom.

However, as this study seeks to explore in more detail, an animal sanctuary could also be sanctified because the animal that is being protected is believed to be sacred. This is clearly exemplified in the name of the aforementioned animal sanctuary in Georgia: Sacred Cows Sanctuary. Not only is this a clear statement that the cow is believed to be sacred, it also differentiates the cow from other species, who in not being named are presumably believed not to be sacred, or at the very least, less sacred than the cow. This is the only example of an animal sanctuary using the term sacred to describe a specific animal in its name, as far as I know. And yet, this is just one example of many cases where indisputable bias is being shown towards the bovine, and where the bovine is being offered preferential treatment and protection at animal sanctuaries because it is deemed to be more sacred. Furthermore, there are numerous cases of sanctuaries becoming sanctified because of the sacredness of the bovines it contains.

Over the course of the next three chapters I will present explicit examples of such bovine veneration and thus preferential protection at animal sanctuaries across the United States, starting with an analysis of the influence of Lakol Wicoh'an at sanctuaries in South Dakota and Ohio, followed by an examination of the role of Hinduism at sanctuaries in Pennsylvania, Florida, West Virginia, New York, and California. Finally, I will analyze the role of Veganism as a new religious movement

and how it influences a bovine bias at animal sanctuaries in New Jersey, Texas, and Vermont.

CHAPTER 4

RESTORING PTE OYATE

To Tatanka Oyate, the Buffalo Nation, who live in the north, in the place of the pines, and of life, and breath, so that they may come to look upon us favourably. I pray to them with this pipe so that I may gain knowledge.

(Plenty Wolf, *Yuwipi*, 1982)[370]

Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the role of Lakol Wicoh'an (Lakota religion) in offering sanctuary to North America's very own indigenous bovine, the *Bison bison* – known interchangeably throughout the country as either the North American bison or the buffalo. However, as wildlife specialist Milo J. Schult explains in his work *Where Buffalo Roam* "the bison is not a buffalo," but is instead more closely related to the European wisent, otherwise known as *Bison bonasus*, which lives today on limited reserves in Poland and Russia.[371] The term buffalo has its roots in early European colonialism, with French explorer and founder of Quebec City, Samuel de Champlain, being the first person to use the French term *buffles*, a cognate of the Latin *bufalus*, meaning 'wild ox,' to describe the bison in 1616.[372] Ever since, as Schult laments, the name has "remained in common usage."[373]

[370] Plenty Wolf, cited by William K. Powers, *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 61.
[371] Milo J. Schult, *Where Buffalo Roam* (Interior: Badlands Natural History Association, 1979), 2.
[372] Henry P. Biggar, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, vol 3. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1929), 105.
[373] Schult (1979), 3.

Though the term bison is more accurate, I would argue that it is also problematic to use, because it is once again a European term that originated to describe a different animal from a different continent – derived from the Old German *wisant* and later from the Latin *bisōn*, meaning 'large wild ox' or 'auroch.' For in using such Eurocentric 'colonial' terminology the original name given to the animal is silenced, and with it the significance of its meaning and use. Consequently, in order to avoid both confusion and further colonial silencing, and thus in the process to show respect to the Lakota Sioux tradition that I am examining, I have decided to use neither of these aforementioned terms in this chapter – for neither buffalo nor bison are what Butler would call "stable notions,"[374] and to continue using them is to accept or simply blindly ignore what Butler has also referred to as "certain habitual and violent presumptions."[375] Instead, I will try as much as possible to apply the original terms used by the Sioux – *tatanka* (bull) and *pte* (cow) – unless quoting other sources that specifically use either of the other aforementioned terms.

The terms tatanka (bull) and pte (cow) come from the Siouan language Lakota (*Lakȟótiyapi*), also referred to as Lakhota, Teton or Teton Sioux. Originally, the Lakota Sioux used the term pte to refer not only to the cows but also the bulls, because, as Sebastian Braun highlights in his work *Buffalo Inc.*, it is in fact the cow who actually leads the herd. [376] The term tatanka was however only used in reference to the strongest bull of the herd. However, nowadays the term tatanka is used more

[374] Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 1990), ix.
[375] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), viii.
[376] Sebastian Braun, *Buffalo Inc: American Indians and Economic Development* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 158.

often as the collective name for the animal, most probably, as Braun further argues, "because U.S. culture places values on buffalo bulls, the idea that the Lakota word for buffalo is tatanka has become popular knowledge."[377] As such, the overwhelming influence of a dominant patriarchal colonial culture has had an effect on the Lakota Sioux appreciation of their most revered animal, adopting androcentric language to replace terminology that had previously, and more accurately, reflected the nature of the species, whereby the herd is led by the cow (pte). As Lakota Sioux elder Birgil Kills Straight demonstrates, "we call them in our language 'Tatanka,' which means 'He Who Owns Us' [because] we cannot say that we own the buffalo because he owns us."[378] Such an example appropriately illustrates the shifting linguistic gendering of the Sioux language, which in itself reflects the the patrilocal and patrilineal shift in Lakota tradition. I will however try my best throughout this chapter to use the original term pte (cow), which Braun delineates is in the fact the more inclusive term used for "both smaller and younger bulls and cows."[379]

This example also clearly highlights the profound deference the Lakota Sioux have for the pte. It is not simply viewed as a wild animal, as the European terms buffalo and bison connote. Instead, the animal is understood to be not just intrinsic to the 'Lakota Way of Life' (Lakol Wicoh'an), but that Lakol Wicoh'an is dependent upon it. This is so much so that it is implied that the bovine has power over the Lakota Sioux in that it enables them to exist, and that the Lakota Sioux are aware and reverent of such a reliance. In such a way, it is also implied that the Lakota Sioux

[377] Ibid.
[378] Birgil Kills Straight, "What is Tatanka?" in *Tanka Fund*: http://www.tankafund.org/history-of-tatanka
[379] Braun (2008), 158.

cannot, or at least would not, exist without the pte. As Birgil Kills Straight further illustrates: "the four leggeds came before the two leggeds. They are our older brother, we came from them. Before them, we were the root people. We came from them. We are the same thing. That is why we are spiritually related to them."[380]

Over the course of this chapter I will examine how such an interpretation of the pte as spiritual brethren, guardians, and ultimate benefactors of Lakol Wicoh'an has influenced several communities to create sanctuaries specifically for them. In doing so, I will highlight that the bovine benefactors, i.e. the Lakota, are not only trying to protect their ultimate benefactor, i.e. the pte, but that they are also trying to preserve and thus promote a way of life that is intrinsically interwoven with the pte. Before examining specific sanctuaries I will therefore first contextualize why and how the Lakota Sioux have venerated the pte, acknowledging that explicit environmental factors have helped ground and thus "position," following Haraway, this particular form of bovine vernation.[381] I will then explain how this special relationship and veneration has been disrupted and denied by colonial forces before presenting a detailed analysis of two very different examples of bovine sanctuaries centered around the pte that have been influenced by Lakol Wicoh'an: Buffalo Hump Sanctuary in South Dakota and White Buffalo Sanctuary in Ohio.

In my analysis of these two sanctuaries I will highlight that even though both have been influenced by Lakol Wicoh'an to protect the pte that they in fact represent two opposing cultural flows: indigenous restoration versus colonial appropriation.

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[380] Ibid.

[381] Donna Haraway, ""Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1988), 587.

One has been established by the descendent of a famous Sioux chief on Pine Ridge Reservation in order to preserve and thus restore an extremely threatened way of life, whilst the other has been founded by a white woman claiming Native American heritage and promoting a hybrid New Age/Native American philosophy. As their mission statements contrast, Buffalo Hump Sanctuary states specifically that their aim is the "restoration of the sacred *Tatanka Oyate*,"[382] whilst the White Buffalo Sanctuary states somewhat abstrusely without coherent explanation that their mission is "to promote healthy white bison population growth," because "the white bison are here to remind us to change our ways and reclaim our spirit."[383]

No explanation is given on the White Buffalo Sanctuary website for why the "white buffalo" in particular is more sacred, and nor are the terms pte or tatanka, or any other reference to Lakol Wicoh'an even mentioned. Instead, one is left to presume that the benefactors of this sanctuary have either randomly selected the "white bison" as their "symbol of peace,"[384] or that they have been subliminally conditioned to presume that white must equate to purity and thus divinity. To answer this mystery fully demands a more detailed analysis of this particular bovine sanctuary, which I will endeavor to offer later in this study. In the next part of this chapter I will however at least offer an explanation for why the 'white bison' has become such a sacred symbol for the Lakota Sioux in my overall analysis of why and how the pte plays such an important role in Lakol Wicoh'an.

[382] Henry Red Cloud, "Buffalo Hump Sanctuary," in *Village Earth*: http://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliates/buffalo-hump-sanctuary
[383] Cynthia Hart-Button, "About Us," in *White Bison Association*: https://whitebisonassociation.com/
[384] Ibid.

Positioning Pte Veneration

To fully comprehend the significant role that pte play in Lakol Wicoh'an, and thus to explain why members of the Lakota Sioux would offer them sanctuary over all other animals, it is first necessary to contextualize how such veneration has been intrinsically connected to an appreciation of the pte, which Elizabeth Lawrence delineates as an invaluable "source of life," providing "not only meat for sustenance, but skins for tipis, fur for robes, and virtually all materials for the tools and objects necessary for everyday living."[385] As such David Dary argues in his work *The Buffalo Book* that "it is very doubtful that any other animal in the world has ever matched the buffalo in providing so many commodities of prime importance to any one people," listing the "number of non-food uses" as "high as eighty-seven."[386] In such a way, the pte has become a "sacred animal,"[387] as Lawrence denotes, because of, as Braun further explains, its "economic significance,"[388] which Fred Voget emphasizes, provided "the necessities without which life would be hazardous and wearisome."[389]

Ken Zontek therefore asserts in his comprehensive overview of the *Buffalo Nation* that "it's difficult to think of another group of humans who have become so intertwined with a wild animal species that it pervaded its culture."[390] Likewise, Tom McHugh has similarly observed in his work *The Time of the Buffalo* that "seldom before in the history of mankind has one species shaped the life of a people as totally

[385] Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, "The Symbolic Role of Animals in the Plains Indian Sun Dance," in *Society and Animals* Volume 1, Number 1, (1993), 21-22.
[386] David Dary, *The Buffalo Book: The Full Saga of the American Animal* (Chicago: The Swallow Press Inc., 1974), 55.
[387] Lawrence (1993), 28.
[388] Braun (2008), 35.
[389] Fred Voget, *The Shoshone Crow Sun Dance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 307.
[390] Ken Zontek, *Buffalo Nation: American Indian Efforts to Restore the Bison* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xiv.

as the American buffalo influenced the ways of the Plains Indians."[391] To wit, Lakota Chief Arvol Looking Horse has claimed that "in my body, in my blood runs the spirit of the buffalo," and that as such, "we are the buffalo people,"[392] and that therefore "if there is no buffalo, then life as we know it will cease to exist."[393] Such a claim sounds extreme, and yet as Zontek further explains, it is in fact an accurate reflection of the Lakota Sioux's "complete dependence on the bison" fostered by the extreme conditions confronted on the grassland environment of the Great Plains, which, "without the presence of the bison, posed a nearly inhospitable environment to human groups."[394] Therefore, as Zontek emphasizes, the pte were not just an important source of food and materials, they were the critical source which "made the plains hospitable."[395]

Even though, as Zontek additionally expounds, the pte did in fact inhabit many different landscapes from "coast to coast,"[396] creating what Dale Guthrie has dubbed the "Great Bison belt" of North America,[397] they predominantly migrated farther north where there was greater moisture and subsequently more fertile grasslands. For humans, like the Lakota Sioux, such grasslands offered little nourishment beyond that of wild game, and therefore the pte were crucial to their survival, because, as Zontek delineates, they were able "to convert unusable (to humans) forage into digestible nutrients – that is, bison beef."[398] Such beef, as Zontek iterates, could provide "about

[391] Tom McHugh, *The Time of the Buffalo* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1972), 110.
[392] Arvol Looking Horse, "Guest Address," *Bison Conference* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 7 April 2000).
[393] Quoted in Winona LaDuke, "Buffalo Nation," in *Sierra Magazine*, April/May 2000: https://vault.sierraclub.org/sierra/200005/buffalonation.asp
[394] Zontek (2007), 9.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid, 7.
[397] Dale Guthrie, "Bison and Man in North America," in *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* I, no. I (June 1980): 68.
[398] Zontek (2007), 9.

635 calories per pound," and considering that pte "carcasses yield on average 550 pounds for a bull, 400 pounds for a cow, 110-165 for subadults, and 50 pounds for calves," it meant that they became an indispensable source of food.[399] Therefore, wherever the pte roamed, the Sioux were sure to follow, pursuing what Zontek has described as a form of "risky free range husbandry."[400] As former Lakota Chief One Horn exemplified in his response in 1865 to the question as to whether his Minneconjou tribe would settle by the Missouri River: "when the buffalo come to the river, we come close to it. When the buffaloes go off, we go off after them."[401]

Zontek further argues that such an inseparable and dependent relationship is so deeply ingrained within the Lakota Sioux tradition that it is believed that humans only came to exist because the pte could sustain them, and as such, he emphasizes that it is believed that the human and pte relationship "extends back to time immemorial, to creation itself," whereby humans and pte have not only always lived side-by-side, but that humans were also created by the pte.[402] As Lakota Sioux pte enthusiast and conservationist C. Wolf Smoke asserts, "we evolved from the bison, we used to be bison."[403] Likewise, Zontek details that the Lakota Sioux creation story stresses that humans evolved from a "blood clot" on the pte's back, and was then adopted as a sibling by the Pte Oyate (Bison People or Nation).[404] Moreover, as David Martinez further elucidates in his essay "The Soul of the Indian: Lakota Philosophy and the

[399] Ibid, 10.
[400] Ibid, 9.
[401] One Horn, cited by Board of Commissioners, *Proceedings of a Board of Commissioners to Negotiate a Treaty or Treaties with the Hostile Indians of the Upper Missouri* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 34.
[402] Zontek (2007), 3.
[403] C. Wolf Smoke, "Bison Love Their Children Too," *Bison Conference* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 7 April 2000).
[404] Zontek (2007), 3.

Vision Quest," it is believed that these ancestors once lived below the earth, where they communicated in "the language of the spirits," but on leaving to live on the earth's surface they forgot this language and "invented a new tongue for themselves that other creatures could not understand."[405] Therefore, one of the Pte Oyate's wisest men, Tatanka (which also means buffalo bull), followed the others to the surface in order to help them remember the language of the spirits. As Martinez further explains, Tatanka manifested on the earth as a "shaggy buffalo," and acted as a direct link between the transformed Ikce Oyate (Lakota People or Nation) and their ancestors, the Pte Oyate.[406]

In such a way, Joseph Epes Brown emphasizes that the Lakota Sioux do not perceive the pte as "animals" or "others," but rather their "closest relatives,"[407] like a "brother,"[408] as renowned Lakota *wičháša wakȟáŋ* (shaman) John Fire Lame Deer has stressed. Furthermore, because of such an "intimate rapport," McHugh argues that the pte has become "a cherished symbol,"[409] and, as Brown further adds, is even revered as "chief… over all animals of the surface of the earth."[410] Moreover, Brown emphasizes that they have also been defined as teachers, whereby "the values of generosity, creativity, and strength seem not to be projected onto the bison but to emanate from it."[411] For example, Lawrence underlines that the pte are even believed to "voluntarily give themselves to be killed for the benefit of human beings."[412] As

[405] David Martinez, "The Soul of the Indian: Lakota Philosophy and the Vision Quest," in *Wicazo SA Review Journal* (Fall 2004), 86.
[406] Ibid, 85-86.
[407] Joseph Epes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967), 95.
[408] John Fire Lame Deer, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 130.
[409] McHugh (1972), 110.
[410] Joseph Epes Brown, *Animals of the Soul: Sacred Animals of the Oglala Sioux* (Rockport: Element, 1992), 55.
[411] Ibid, xii.
[412] Lawrence (1993), 33.

such, the pte are assigned their own agency,[413] and are even deemed to possess their own religion, from which humans have been inspired. Johnson Hughes actually argues that "the buffalo evidently had a religion, for they were seen to purify their children by washing them and made offerings of hair when they rubbed against trees."[414]

This complicates the common argument that humans always anthropomorphize animals, in that human traits such as "generosity, creativity, and strength,"[415] which Brown delineates as often being affiliated with the pte, would be deemed as projected onto the pte rather than being understood as intrinsic characteristics of the pte. Instead, according to the Lakota Sioux, it is the pte that is teaching humans how to be. As Fred DuBray, the founding president of the Inter Tribal Bison Council (ITCB) explains,[416] "these animals were our professors. That was our university out there, out on the plains and that's where we learned from, we observed, watched. You look at the family ties the buffalo has, the social structure, the social order, it's very similar to the Lakota structure."[417] The pte therefore represented so much more than just "economic significance;" rather, as Brown emphasizes, they were deemed teachers, playing a central role affirming that "the natural world may offer vital, creative input to society whose members are predisposed to receive

[413] This belief that an animal would willing give its life to humans is in fact a common discourse in Native American cultures – another example is the Hopi belief that deer willing sacrifice their lives for them.
[414] Johnson Donald Hughes, *American Indian Ecology* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1983), 325.
[415] Brown (1967), xii.
[416] The ITCB, formed in 1992, is a consortium of 63 Native American tribes spanning 20 states with the aim of restoring the pte to reservation lands. It manages over 20,000 buffalo on approximately 1,000,000 acres of Tribal land.
[417] Fred DuBray, "Ethno-Ecological Considerations in Bison Management," in *Proceedings, North American Public Bison Herds Symposium* (Lacrosse: Unpublished document in possession of the author, 1993), 394-5.

it."[418] As Ella Deloria, famed anthropologist of Sioux descendancy, and also known as *Aŋpétu Wašté Wiŋ* (Beautiful Woman), has so pertinently surmised, the pte played such a central role that "he was, therefore, the chief of all spirits serving the mediums for deriving supernatural good… he was the embodiment of sacrifice that others must live. He came when they were starving; he set them the example of hospitality; he was host to the whole nation."[419]

The "Buffalo Spirit" is consequently considered as the "Master Guardian" of the spirit world (according to Deloria),[420] with the ability to abide "with all people in the regions under the world" as well as roaming "throughout all the domain of the earth," as described by James Walker in his discussion of the Sun Dance in 1917.[421] Furthermore, as Walker has observed, the Buffalo Spirit is believed to control "the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters."[422] There are therefore whole ceremonies, dances, and cults especially dedicated to the spirit of the pte in order to encourage prosperity and good fortune. For example, as William Powers observes in his 1975 ethnography, the members of the Buffalo Cult, *Tatang ihanblapi*, which literally means "they dream of buffalo bulls," dress up as tatanka and mimic their characteristics, stamping about "camp bellowing like buffaloes."[423]

Likewise, as Lawrence argues, "themes relating to the buffalo consistently occur throughout"[424] sun dance ceremonies with participants imitating "the pawing of a buffalo bull in rage or defiance" in order to "manifest a defiant bravery… equal to

[418] Brown (1967), 82.
[419] Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 62.
[420] Ibid, 52.
[421] James Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, XVI, Part II (1917), 84.
[422] Ibid.
[423] William Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 58.
[424] Lawrence (1993), 22.

that of the buffalo bull."[425] Furthermore, McHugh explains that during such sun dance ceremonies "sacred buffalo tongues" are consumed, "the consecrated hide of a buffalo bull" adorns the center pole, and "buffalo skulls" are placed at the altar.[426] Brown therefore argues that the pte skull is a particularly important symbol of death and is used as an integral part of the ceremony as a pertinent reminder "that a cycle has been completed."[427] Likewise, Lawrence further argues that alongside representing death, this ritual use of the pte skull (*bucrania*) also epitomizes, the "theme of rebirth" and "the concept of universal regeneration."[428]

Moreover, as Lawrence further argues, in most traditions "the origin of the sun dance is traced to the buffalo," who gave the "instructions as how to carry out the dance."[429] In fact, as she further contends, the inception of almost all ceremonies "involves a visionary encounter between a person and a buffalo emissary with supernatural power."[430] In the Lakota tradition it was *Pte Ska Win* (White Buffalo Calf Woman) who brought forth *Cannunpa Wakan* (the sacred pipe), through which, as Paula Gunn Allen delineates, all "ceremonies and rituals of the Lakota are empowered."[431] The pipe, packed with *Kinnikinnik* (a smooth blend of tobacco mixed with the dried inner bark of the red alder tree), is smoked at every ceremony that is important to the Lakota because, as Martinez emphasizes, it is "regarded as an instrument that can connect the heart of the smoker with the power of wakan [sacred]

[425] Ibid, 104.
[426] McHugh (1972), 112.
[427] Brown (1967), 98-99.
[428] Lawrence (1993), 28.
[429] Ibid, 22.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 16.

beings."[432] Therefore, without it, as William Powers further argues, "it is impossible to make contact with the benevolent spirits that live beneath the earth, on the surface of the earth, or between the earth and sky."[433]

In such a way, without the *Pte Ska Win* (White Buffalo Calf Woman) there would be no *Cannunpa Wakan* (the sacred pipe), and consequently no contact with the spirit world, because, as Raymond DeMallie argues in his essay "Lakota Belief and Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," smoking the *Cannunpa Wakan* is perceived as the only way to have a "direct link to wakan."[434] Lakol Wicoh'an is therefore founded upon the central role of this pte emissary, enabling all communication with benevolent spirits, be it for healing, guidance, or protection. Powers further highlights that the *Pte Ska Win* also plays an important role in the *Išnati awicalowan* (girl's puberty ritual), which not only marks the "onset of a girl's menstruation… [but] also establishes her relationship with the sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman."[435] Powers delineates that the ritual is therefore also known as the "Buffalo Ceremony" and is attended by "the buffalo supernaturals" who willingly seek to secure and "guard over" the girl's "chastity and fecundity."[436]

In the same way that the Buffalo Ceremony acts as a rite of passage for young women, Martinez demarcates that *Haŋblečeya* (vision quest) has also traditionally acted as a rite of passage for young men.[437] Once again, here the buffalo is central as

[432] Martinez (2004), 88.
[433] William Powers, *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982), 30.
[434] Raymond DeMallie, "Lakota Belief and Ritual in the Nineteenth Century," in *Sioux Indian Religion*, ed. Raymond DeMallie and Douglas Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 31.
[435] Powers (1975), 101.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Martinez (2004), 81.

the young men partake in the initiatory smoking of the sacred pipe, which Martinez describes sealing "their relationship before *Wakan Tanka*"[438] – often translated, as Langdon Gilkey points out, as the "sacred" or the "wonder and mystery of nature" through which the divine can be realized.[439] The rite of passage, Martinez argues, aims to engage the young men in an "inextricable relationship" with "the land in mythological terms,"[440] ensuring both the "revivification of themselves and their home"[441] as well as learning about their own personal, individual calling among the community. As such, the vision quest is not only an important ritual to prepare young men to become hunters and scouts, but also to decipher if they are to become medicine or holy men. As former Lakota Chief Luther Standing Bear (1868-1939) explains, "most young men at some time in their lives tried to become medicine men. They purified themselves and held vigil hoping for direct communion with spirit powers, but in this few succeeded."[442]

Visions are however not exclusive to young men. As renowned Lakota *wičháša wakȟáŋ* (shaman) Black Elk (1862-1950), cited by Brown, confirms, "every man can cry for a vision."[443] Likewise, DeMallie argues that traditionally visions were an "opportunity to contribute to and resynthesize the general body of knowledge that constituted Lakota belief."[444] Furthermore, Martinez emphasizes that beyond partaking in visions in order to reconnect "with the earth, sacred beings, and timeless

[438] Ibid, 88.
[439] Langdon Gilkey, *Nature, Reality, and the Sacred: The Nexus of Science and Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 203.
[440] Martinez (2004), 80.
[441] Ibid, 87.
[442] Standing Bear (1978), 39.
[443] Brown (1992), 44.
[444] DeMallie (1987), 34.

Lakota values,"[445] the Lakota Sioux have also traditionally used visions to resolve, for example, "a community crisis."[446] Nevertheless, Lee Irwin argues that regardless of the purpose behind the crying for a vision, all visions share a similar "holistic structure that moves through visionary space-time from present moment to present moment and from place to place in an unbroken flow."[447] Moreover, as Brown repeatedly emphasizes, animals play a significant role in vision quests to both guide and mark "a shift to another level of understanding."[448]

The pte have therefore played such an important part in the Lakol Wicoh'an because, as New Age writer David Carson argues, of this very "sacred bond [that has] existed between humans and buffalo."[449] Such a "sacred bond" Carson emphasizes is also a reflection of the Lakota understanding that "everything in the world [is] alive with spirit" and "humans [are] just one part of this great web of life," and thus "not superior to it."[450] This interconnectedness is symbolized by the medicine wheel and the sacred hoop, which not only denote the Lakota acknowledgement of the cyclical patterns in nature and life, but, as fellow New Age writer Bobby Lake-Thom expounds, also the appreciation that "we are all part of nature,"[451] reflecting the Lakota philosophy *Mitakuye Oyasin* – "I am related to all that is" – a relationship which esteemed ecotheologian Thomas Berry has described as a "communion with

[445] Martinez (2004), 98.
[446] Ibid, 84.
[447] Lee Irwin, *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 121.
[448] Brown (1992), 56.
[449] David Carson, *Find Your Spirit Animals: Nature, Guidance, Strength, and Healing from Your Inner Self* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2011), 12-13.
[450] Ibid, 12.
[451] Bobby Lake-Thom, *Spirits of the Earth: A Guide to Native American Nature Symbols, Stories, and Ceremonies* (New York: Plume, 1997), 1-2.

the natural world."[452] Or, as Black Elk has explained, "we know that we are related and are one with all things of the heavens and the earth, and we know all things that move are people as we."[453]

Therefore, as David Martinez argues in his work on Lakota philosophy, Lakol Wicoh'an promotes a "fundamentally different relationship" with nature in comparison to one endorsed by their contemporary "Western counterparts."[454] It is a relationship which is founded upon all things in nature being "kindred and brought together" by *Wakan Tanka* – which Luther Standing Bear has defined as the "great unifying life force that [flows] in and through all things."[455] As such, because the pte is regarded by the Lakota Sioux as "the most important of all four-legged animals," Brown emphasizes that it therefore became a pertinent symbol to succinctly represent this unifying life force, "the universe," and "the totality of all manifested forms."[456] As nineteenth century ethnologist James Owen Dorsey observed, according to the Lakota Sioux, "the buffalo and the earth are regarded as one."[457] And as such, according to Lawrence, the Lakota Sioux also regard the pte as a deity, whereby the "Buffalo God" is defined as "the God of generosity,"[458] because he is deemed the ultimate benefactor and "the all providing one,"[459] as argued by contemporary Lakota writer/spiritualist Ed McGaa. As such, Larry Zimmerman suggests in his chronicle of

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[452] Thomas Berry, *The Dream of the Earth* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 189.
[453] Black Elk, cited by Joseph Epps Brown (1967), 97.
[454] David Martinez, "The Soul of the Indian: Lakota Philosophy and the Vision Quest," in *Wicazo SA Review Journal* (Fall 2004), 83.
[455] Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 193.
[456] Brown (1967), 6.
[457] James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," in *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 11 (1894), 534.
[458] Lawrence (1993), 22-23.
[459] Ed McGaa, *Nature's Way: Native Wisdom for Living in Balance with the Earth* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 226.

Native North America that among the Sioux worshipping "was believed to guarantee a plentiful supply of buffalo in the coming years,"[460] and is intrinsically linked to an appreciation and respect for what McGaa calls "the bounty of Mother Earth,"[461] whereby the abundance of the pte is deemed a "special Gift from the Great Spirit,"[462] and symbolized, as G. A. Dorsey has emphasized, the potential of a utopian vision of the "new" world to come in which both humans and pte would eternally flourish side-by-side.[463]

Plight of the Pte

Such a utopian vision of a "new" world was, however, violently disrupted and denied by the European alleged "discovery" and subsequent "conquest" of the American continents in the late fifteenth century, whereby the principle motivation, as Zimmerman expounds, "was rarely a curiosity to explore new lands and cultures," but instead "the prospect of extending European markets and resources."[464] As Zimmerman pertinently surmises, Europeans "came with the eyes of conquerors,"[465] with the intention of shaping the Americas as a "new world" in their image, believing, as the U.S. Supreme Court deduced in 1823, that "discovery gave the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy either by purchase or by conquest."[466] In the process, Zimmerman highlights that Native Americans were "completely

[460] Larry Zimmerman, *Native North America: Belief and Ritual – Spirits of Earth and Sky* (London: Duncan Baird Publishers, 1996), 112.
[461] McGaa (2004), 226.
[462] Ibid.
[463] G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne: I, Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum Publication, 1905), 48.
[464] Zimmerman (1996), 29.
[465] Ibid.
[466] *Johnson and Graham's Lessee vs. McIntosh*, 21, U.S., 543.

dispossessed" of their right to their land,[467] because it was believed, as exemplified by Captain J. Lee Humfreville of the United States 9th Calvary in his now problematic 1887 account *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Indians* that they "had no idea of the ownership of land, either individually or collectively,"[468] even though, as Norman B. Wood emphasizes, they explicitly expressed that they were the original "owners of this land"[469] and that prior to this "very arrogant perception" of discovery, as Oren Lyons argues, they "were free nations here with a real understanding of government and community."[470]

Alongside this colonial philosophy of when you "planted flags [you] laid claim to the land itself," Zimmerman stresses that Europeans also excused their right to appropriate land from Native Americans by painting a picture of them as "deprived" and "degraded… people whose evolution was less advanced than that of whites."[471] As Captain J. Lee Humfreville epitomizes in his particularly racist account:

> All Indians were obscene to a degree unknown to any other people. They seemed to have no conception of vulgarity, obscenity, or decency… Morality, as we understand it, was unknown among them. Having no conception of right and wrong, murder was not considered a crime… all Indians are lazy and thievish, work being considered degrading… vindictiveness and ferocity… is a part of Indian nature.[472]

Government policy and public discourse therefore justified that Europeans, and subsequently their white American descendants too, had not only the right to take land

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[467] Zimmerman (1996), 20.
[468] J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Indians* (Hartford: Hartford Publishing Co., 1887), 52-53.
[469] Norman B. Wood, *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs* (Aurora: American Indian Historical Publishing Co., 1906), 247.
[470] Oren Lyons, *Justice for Natives: Searching for Common Ground* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 158.
[471] Zimmerman (1996), 29-30.
[472] Humfreville (1887), 370.

away from what Francis Parkman has described as a race of "man, wolf, and devil all in one,"[473] but also, as Clergyman George E. Ellis preached, that "the Indians must be made to feel he is in the grasp of a superior."[474] And if he did not oblige, as Parkman argues, he was "deserving" of extermination.[475] Thus followed, as the *Sacramento Paper* printed in 1855, "the war of extermination of the Indians," whereby the fate of the Indian is fixed. He must be annihilated by the advance of the white man."[476] Likewise, such sentiments were similarly championed by one of the United States' greatest heroes and icons of independence, former President Thomas Jefferson, who wrote in 1807 to his Secretary of War that if any Native Americans resisted U.S. expansion, they should be "exterminated" and that though "in war, they will kill some of us; we shall destroy all of them."[477] Six years later, and five years after his presidency, Jefferson said that it would indeed be preferable to "extirpate them from the earth."[478]

In other words, U.S. policy towards Native Americans, as voiced by one of its most respected presidents and forefathers of democracy, was to uproot and destroy them all in order to make way for U.S. expansionism, and its trademark profit driven capitalist ideology.[479] This policy incited its military leaders to herald, as Colonel

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[473] Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War After Canada* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), ix.
[474] Quoted in Alex Alvarez, *Native America and the Question of Genocide* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 45.
[475] Parkman (1915), 48.
[476] Quoted in Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847 to 1865 in which are Described Some of the Things that Happened to Some of the Indians of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 36.
[477] Quoted in Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust Denial in the Americas – 1492 to the Present* (San Francisco: City Light Books, 1997), 150.
[478] Quoted in Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 65.
[479] Steve Talbot, *Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1981), 3.

John Chivington exemplifies, that "it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians,"[480] because, as General Philip Sheridan determined in 1867, "the only good Indians I ever saw were dead."[481] In such a way, even when women and children were massacred and dismembered at the hands of the U.S. army, like at Sand Creek on November 2nd 1864, such actions were described by yet another respected former leader, President Theodore Roosevelt, "as righteous and beneficial a deed as ever took place on the frontier."[482] And because of such a "righteous" endorsement, massacres were perpetuated throughout the continent, culminating in, as Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer document, the extensive "murder, rape, and enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush."[483]

As Alex Alvarez further expounds upon in his work *Native America and the Question of Genocide*, such slaughter proliferated across California, from the Clear Lake Massacre of 1850 when 135 Pomo men, women, and children were killed in a matter hours by the U.S. Army, in what one witness described as "a perfect slaughter pen," to the Smith River Massacre of 1853 when 450 Tolowa were murdered, and whereby "the infants that survived the butchery had weights tied to them and thrown into the river"[484] – with towns offering rewards for "proof of dead Native Americans" and some local communities forming their own militias with the "sole function" to

[480] Quoted in Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 142-143.
[481] Quoted in Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), 166.
[482] Quoted in Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 79.
[483] Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer, *Exterminate Them! Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 1.
[484] Alvarez (2016), 109.

"hunt down and kill any Indians they came across."[485] Jerry Stanley further details that on one particularly notorious hunt a militia killed 188 Wiyots on Humboldt Island, and was described by a witness as "a scene of atrocity and horror unparalleled not only in our country, but even in history" – beholding "babies with brains oozing out of their skulls, cut and hacked with axes," and a "two year old child with its ear and scalp torn from the side of its little head."[486]

With federal and local government backing, these massacres were enthusiastically pursued and supported as "a war of extermination," which California Governor Peter Burnett promised, in 1851, would "continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct."[487] And by 1900, such a promise had almost been realized, with the Native American population in California having plunged drastically from an estimated 150,000 in 1848 to 16,000 by 1900, leading many historians, such as Benjamin Madley, to conclude that at least in the State of California Americans were guilty of genocide.[488] Others would, however, argue that a larger net needs to be considered in regards to such accusations, with Alex Alvarez, James Wilson, and Adam Jones all recently writing convincing arguments to consider the entire European colonial conquest of the Americas as the most "extensive and destructive genocide of all time."[489] Even if we can't sufficiently prove, as Ward Churchill claims, that "a hemisphere population estimated to have been as great as

[485] Ibid, 110.
[486] Jerry Stanley, *Digger: The Tragic Fate of the California Indians from the Missions to the Gold Rush* (New York: Crown Books, 1997), 68-69.
[487] Peter Burnett, "Message to the California State Legisture," in *California State Senate Journal*, January 7th 1851, 15.
[488] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 1.
[489] Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2006), 70.

125 million was reduced by something over 90 percent"[490] – because as James Wilson argues, "the evidence is maddeningly sparse, incomplete, and open to wildly differing interpretations"[491] – we do have however the documented evidence, as David Stannard asserts, of "a holocaust of mass violence,"[492] approved and vigorously enforced by both European colonial powers and then U.S. Government officials. It is also important to clarify here that a large of majority of the 90% were wiped out by disease, with historians of epidemiology crediting the powerful role of new diseases as causing an epidemic devastation – as exemplified in Alfred Crosby's 1993 work, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*.

The Lakota Sioux were, however, able to avoid such aggression during the entirety of what historians have labelled, the "colonial period" – a label which Edward Spicer has refuted as "wholly misleading," because for much of this "period" many tribes and nations, like the Lakota Sioux, were not living as "politically subordinated and culturally dominated people."[493] Instead, as Spicer further iterates, they "remained as political bodies" and "autonomous groups," making "successive alliances with one another and with various of the Europeans."[494] For instance, the Lakota Sioux did have various interactions with both the Spanish in the sixteenth century and the French in the early eighteenth century, and yet their geographic location, as Spicer emphasizes, isolated on the northern plains, meant that they were "able to maintain control of their own destiny" and avoid "the two-centuries-long duel

[490] Churchill (1997), 1.
[491] James Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep: A History of North America* (New York: Grove Press, 1998), 19.
[492] David E. Stannard, "Preface," in Churchill (1997), xvi.
[493] Spicer (1969), 12.
[494] Ibid, 11.

that had involved all the Indians east of the Mississippi."[495] Spicer additionally points out that though these earlier interactions were not aggressive, they did "alter their lives greatly" however,[496] with the introduction of first horses and then guns transforming their traditional community based 'cliff-and-drive' method of hunting the pte to the more individualistic 'horse-and-chase' method. Guy Gibbon argues that such a drastic change to a culture of "individual merit and ownership of horses and slain bison" caused an "economic shift from a preoccupation with subsistence to production-for-exchange,"[497] and also meant, as Dary emphasizes, that they could more efficiently hunt the pte, and thus contribute to the nineteenth wholesale "slaughter" of the bison.[498] As Dary further explains:

> With the horse the Indians prospered for a time. They were able to kill more buffalo and raise their standard of living. Indian populations increased. But more Indians required more buffalo meat. And as contact with the white man grew, the Indian began to kill more buffalo to obtain robes to trade for the white man's goods.[499]

Such contact amplified at the beginning of the nineteenth century after the U.S. purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. This 828,000 square miles of territory included vast portions of the Great Plains that Zontek documents the Sioux nations had called home for "time immemorial."[500] And thus begun the infamous land grabbing of what Spicer has dubbed the "settler invasion,"[501] or as Gibbon has

[495] Ibid, 83.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Guy Gibbon, *The Sioux: The Dakota and the Lakota Nations* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 90.
[498] Dary (1974), 68.
[499] Ibid.
[500] Zontek (2007), 1.
[501] Spicer (1969), 83.

described as "the Euro-American colonization front [that] washed westward,"[502] and with it an appetite for not only land, but capital in all its forms – in particular the wholesale exploitation of what famous American painter and writer George Catlin once described as the "almost countless herds" of the Pte Oyate (Buffalo Nation).[503] The American frontier movement therefore sowed, as Schult describes, the seed for "the destruction of the bison herds" with an ever increasing human population desperate to make a profit from the fur trade.[504] So much so, that in a period of less than a hundred years, an animal that was known for its abundance and had thrived for many a millennia on the North American Great Plains, had been almost hunted to extinction. As Schult further highlights:

> From 60 million in 1800, the herds were rapidly slaughtered so that by 1870, not more than 5.5 million remained. And by 1879, only stragglers were found along the old trails. One estimate indicates that by 1889 less than 1100 bison remained in the United States and Canada. The bison had fallen victim to a rapid and rather unorganized westward expansion.[505]

The decimation of the great Pte Oyate (Buffalo Nation) in many ways reflected this unorganized western expansion, which Martin S. Garretson describes as the "senseless slaughter and awful waste of a valuable and harmless animal purely for personal gain or to satisfy a blood lust to kill."[506] This was nowhere more shockingly exemplified than in Thomas Dixon's 1870 drunken boast that he would set "a record

[502] Gibbon (2003), 105.
[503] George Catlin, quoted in Zontek (2007), 16.
[504] Schult (1979), 4.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Martin S. Garretson, "The American Bison: The story of its extermination as a wild species and its restoration under Federal protection," in *Journal of Mammalogy*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 14 May 1939, 261.

for buffalo killing which would last for all time."[507] Subsequently, he left Dodge City with a rifle in hand, and according to witnesses, managed to kill 120 pte in less than 40 minutes.[508] Such "wanton cruelty" and "miscalled sport," as described by the nineteenth century magazine *Forest and Stream*,[509] proliferated across the plains and reached its nadir, as Gibbon iterates, after the Civil War with "fresh waves of Americans surging westward,"[510] first on overland trails and then via the completed cross-country railway service, when the Union and Central Pacific railroads were linked up in 1869.

The 'iron horses,' as the Natives often called the trains chugging across their landscape, proved to have a devastating impact on the Pte Oyate (Buffalo Nation). Firstly, as Zimmerman points out, they allowed passengers to hunt pte indiscriminately from the comfort of the train's carriages, with vacations being sold specifically with the promise of hunting pte as a "traveller's sport."[511] Secondly, they could also more efficiently ship pte hides to market, turning what was once an unorganized frontier industry into a clinical system of ruthless exploitation. Ward Churchill delineates that during the years 1872 to 1874 "a total of 4,373,730 hides were shipped east by rail,"[512] confirming infamous pte hunter J. Wright Mooar's claim that "buffalo hunting was a business and not a sport; it required capital, management, and work, lots of hard work, more work than anything else."[513] Colin F.

[507] Quoted in Dary (1974), 107.
[508] *Hutchinson Herald*, February 26, 1928.
[509] *Forest and Stream*, February 1873.
[510] Gibbon (2003), 114.
[511] Zimmerman (1996), 29.
[512] Churchill (1997), 282.
[513] Quoted in Paul H. Carlson, *The Buffalo Soldier Tragedy of 1877* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 21.

Taylor argues in his work *Buckskin & Buffalo* that by the end of the nineteenth century all this hard work had affectively torn "the heart [out] of the very heartland of the Great Plains."[514]

And with the beating heart of the pte being severed from the landscape, the seemingly never-ending supply of blood that once coursed through the Lakota and many other Native American veins clogged up and ceased to flow. The demise of the Pte Oyate therefore acted like a death knell for the Icke Oyate (Lakota People or Nation) – a "virtual apocalypse,"[515] as described by Zontek, with established patterns of inter-tribal trade broken; religious, ceremonial, and social organization destroyed; and their main source of food abruptly exhausted. As celebrated Lakota resistance fighter and hero of Little Big Horn, Sitting Bull, reflected after taking part in the last major pte hunt in October 1883, "a cold wind blew across the prairie when the last buffalo fell… a death-wind for my people."[516]

Sitting Bull had fought alongside other prominent Lakota leaders, such as Spotted Elk, Crazy Horse, and Red Cloud, in an attempt to salvage land and sovereignty on the Great Plains in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were fighting for their freedom against an encroaching imperialist ideology that wanted to not only dispossess their right to land and nationhood, but also culture and religion. As unashamedly articulated by Vice President John C. Calhoun in 1820:

> It is impossible, with their customs, that they should exist as independent communities in the midst of civilized society. They are

[514] Colin F. Taylor, *Buckskin & Buffalo: The Artistry of the Plains Indians* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1998), 7.
[515] Zontek (2007), 27.
[516] Quoted in Dary (1974), 93.

> not, in fact, an independent people… nor ought they to be so considered. They should be taken under our guardianship; and our opinions, and not theirs, ought to prevail.[517]

The U.S. Government therefore sought to suppress Native Americans in any way they could in order to dispossess them of their land.[518] This entailed violent removal, massacres, intentional spreading of diseases, trading and encouraging the consumption of alcohol, and a form of "religious persecution," which Native American advocate and former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, has described as "so implacable and so variously implemented" that "it may be that the world has never witnessed before."[519] For it was, as he continued to explain, "a leading aim of the United States to destroy the Plains Indian's societies through destroying their religions."[520] And what better way, as Peter Matthiessen points out in his celebrated work *In The Spirit of Crazy Horse*, for the U.S. Government to destroy Lakol Wicoh'an than to "set about the extermination of the sacred buffalo."[521] As such, General Philip Sheridan ordered in 1873 the intentional annihilation of all pte in order to "destroy the commissary" of the Great Plains,[522] insidiously instructing, "let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo is exterminated, as it is the only way to bring lasting peace and allow civilization to advance."[523]

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[517] Quoted in *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, No. 162, 200-201.
[518] And as such, fulfil the promise of "Manifest Destiny."
[519] John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas* (NY: W. W. Norton, 1947), 133.
[520] Ibid.
[521] Peter Matthiessen, *In The Spirit of Crazy Horse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 16.
[522] Quoted in Paul Andrew Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 246.
[523] Quoted in W. T. Hornaday, *The Extermination of the American Bison* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1889), 496.

All efforts to convince the U.S. Government to abandon the extermination of Pte Oyate were outrightly disregarded, and, if anything, encouraged them to pursue such tactics even more aggressively, knowing that their decision to destroy the pte was indeed successfully accomplishing its goal of eliminating Native American competition from the Great Plains. As former Lakota Chief Red Cloud explained in his last recorded speech in 1903:

> We told them (government officials) that the supernatural powers of Taku Wakan, had given to the Lakota, the buffalo for food and clothing. We told them that where the buffalo ranged, that was our country. We told them that the country of the buffalo was the country was the country of the Lakota. We told them that the buffalo must have their country and the Lakota must have the buffalo.[524]

With the U.S. Government ignoring such pleas, Brown emphasizes that the Lakota and other Native Americans of the Great Plains were forced into a war to save the buffalo,[525] which was as much about saving the Pte Oyate from absolute annihilation as it was to ensure a future for all Native Americans of the Great Plains, for it was understood, as Braun iterates, that "the fate of the buffalo and the fate of the Lakota" were intrinsically "intertwined."[526] After successfully fighting and arguably winning initial wars in the late 1860s, often coined Red Clouds Wars, the Lakota were forced into submission after the Great Sioux War of 1876. With their pte exterminated, their land taken, and their leaders either decimated, subdued or missing, the Lakota had little choice left – either face execution, or live as captives on concentrated reservations. Even in surrendering, many of the Lakota's faced risk of

[524] Quoted in James R. Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 138-139.
[525] Brown (1970), 235.
[526] Braun (2008), 44.

assassination. First, Crazy Horse was stabbed in the back at Fort Robinson, Nebraska in September 1877, and then both Sitting Bull and Spotted Elk were killed in December 1890. Sitting Bull was shot in the head by Indian Agency Police at Standing Rock Reservation, while Spotted Elk was one of 300 brutally mowed-down with rapid-fire Hotchkiss-designed M1875 mountain guns by the U.S. Army at the Wounded Knee Massacre on their way to Pine Ridge Reservation. In what would be the last massacre of the Indian Wars, in mere seconds, as Edward S. Goffrey recounts, "there was not a living thing" standing, with "warriors, squaws, children, ponies, and dogs" unceremoniously slain.[527] Furthermore, as Hugh McGinnis details, for those who escaped this initial carnage, they "had been chased as far as two miles from the original scene of encounter and cut down without mercy by the troopers."[528]

It was here in the blood and the mud that the once great Icke Oyate was violently brought to their knees and their dream of freedom and dignity died along with their vision of a utopian world whereby humans and pte would eternally flourish side-by-side. As Black Elk, who was one of the few survivors of the massacre, has since reflected:

> I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream ... the

[527] Edward S. Godfrey, "Cavalry Fire Discipline," in *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 19 (1896): 259.
[528] Hugh McGinnis, "I Took Part in the Wounded Knee Massacre," in *Real West Magazine*, January 1966.

> nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.[529]

Zontek highlights that like the pte, few of the great Lakota leaders survived the "near extermination of the buffalo nation."[530] For those that did, like Chief Red Cloud, Spicer argues that the rest of their lives were spent "confused," "ignored," and "undermined" on either Pine Ridge or Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, where "dissatisfaction was intense, and many were suffering."[531] Rations were insufficient, alcoholism was rife, indigenous religion was suppressed, hair was cut at gunpoint, vernacular language was silenced, families were scattered, and children were forced into Christian schooling (most of the time sent to boarding schools), where their "tribal" culture was beaten out of them and replaced, as Spicer further argues, with "the more individualistic aspects of American culture."[532] And even if anyone tried to leave the reservation, the options were sparse, and the animosity and threat from local police was excessive. And regardless, as Spicer emphasizes, "the buffalo were extinct," so "hunting was no use."[533]

Therefore, by the turn of the twentieth century the once great Pte Oyate and Icke Oyate had both been simultaneously reduced to abject shells of their glorious past. For those pte and Lakota that did survive the incessant torture and massacres of the nineteenth century, who saw their once great nations destroyed, they were now seen, as Braun expounds, as joint "survivors of genocidal politics at the hands of the

[529] Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1961), 281.
[530] Zontek (2007), 27.
[531] Spicer (1969), 86.
[532] Ibid, 111.
[533] Ibid, 86.

government."[534] Two nations that had thrived side-by-side for centuries, now shared a "tragic historical experience" that would prove to only deepen their "bond" and encourage, as Braun further argues, each species to take on more "responsibility… to look out for the other."[535] For as Chief Arvol Long Horn has proclaimed, "if there is no buffalo, then life as we know it will cease to exist."[536]

Protecting the Pte

Protecting and rehabilitating the pte is therefore deemed crucial for the restoration of both the Pte Oyate and the Icke Oyate, and in the process, the survival of Lakol Wicoh'an – a religious tradition that pays specific homage to the central role of pte in Lakota life. For, as has already been emphasized, "without buffalo, it is unlikely that these Indians could have survived the rigours of the plains,"[537] and therefore, justifiably, as Fred DuBray identifies, the pte became an important symbol of "strength," "unity," and "health."[538] As such, being denied access to the pte subsequently drove the Lakota and many other Native American nations into submission, forcing them to live alien, static, and undignified lives on designated tribal lands. Restoring the pte is therefore tied to not only salvaging Lakota autonomy and independence from colonial imperialism, but also to reengaging in traditional

[534] Braun (2008), 44.
[535] Ibid.
[536] Arvol Looking Horse, cited by Winona LaDuke, "Buffalo Nation," in *Sierra Magazine*, April/May 2000: https://vault.sierraclub.org/sierra/200005/buffalonation.asp
[537] McHugh (1972), 7.
[538] Fred DuBray, quoted by Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 1999), 160.

cultural symbolism, spirituality, practices, and philosophy. As DuBray further reiterates:

> What the buffalo means to me is life itself. And our culture itself. When we talk about restoring buffalo itself, we're not just talking about restoring animals to the land, we're talking about restoring social structure, culture, and even political structure.[539]

However, when the pte were first reintroduced at Pine Ridge Reservation in 1934, the Lakota were denied absolute authority over how to manage them, and were instead, as David A. Nesheim emphasizes, restricted by "the paternalism of the Office of Indian Affairs' policies," which limited their "freedom of action, requiring all decisions regarding the bison herd to be channelled through the Office's chain of command."[540] Furthermore, Dave Carter highlights, they were categorically forbidden to engage in "spiritual ceremonies linking bison to the native peoples."[541] In fact, prior to the passing of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act on August 11th 1978, Native Americans were prohibited by law to practice many aspects of their religious traditions, including engaging with their sacred Pte Oyate. Therefore, ironically, in July 1944, after ten years of failed attempts to have the pte ownership transferred from the federal government to the Pine Ridge tribal council, it was decided that it was preferable to have no pte at all, especially when "the buffalo herd does not contribute materially to the best economic development of the tribe."[542] Instead, the council argued that it would be better if the "area be utilized as a part of

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[539] Ibid.
[540] David A. Nesheim, "Profit, Preservation, and Shifting Definitions of Bison in America," in *Environmental History* Vol. 17, No. 3 (July 2012), 559.
[541] Dave Carter, "The Early Days: Rancher's Role in Bison Restoration," in *National Bison Association*: https://bisoncentral.com/genetic-item/the-early-days-ranchers-role-in-bison-restoration/
[542] Quoted in Akim Reinhardt, *Ruling Pine Ridge: Oglala Lakota Politics from the IRA to Wounded Knee* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2009), 93.

the livestock breeding program," which would generate more revenue for the reservation.[543]

The 1970s, however, saw a dramatic change in the Icke Oyate's autonomy to interact with the Pte Oyate. As well as passing the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978, the U.S. Government also finally relinquished their absolute authority over tribal lands by signing into law the Indian Self-Determination Act in 1974. This was the first time in 98 years that the Lakota Sioux could self-govern and decide for itself how and where it wanted to coexist with the Pte Oyate. Therefore, once the pte were reintroduced back onto Pine Ridge Resevation in the early 1970s, after a quarter century absence, their numbers rapidly grew alongside the growing market for pte products. In particular pte meat had become more popular after successive associations had formed to support pte ranchers and to promote pte as a healthier alternative to beef: National Buffalo Association (1966), American Buffalo Association (1975),[544] and more recently, North American Bison Cooperative (1993) with its product TenderBison, which it promotes as "a healthy, lean, and deliciously rich source of protein with less fat and more nutrients than other red meats, poultry, and fish."[545]

The reintroduction of the pte onto Pine Ridge was therefore considered not only as intrinsic to revitalizing Lakota traditions, but also as a much needed opportunity to

[543] Ibid.
[544] In 1995 the American Buffalo Association and the National Buffalo Association merged to become the National Bison Association – a non-profit association of more than 1,100 producers, processors, marketers and bison enthusiasts in all 50 states and 10 foreign countries, with the mission to celebrate the heritage of American bison and to create a sustainable future for our industry.
[545] Quoted in "*All Natural, No Hormones Ever, No Antibiotics," in TenderBison:* http://tenderbison.com/nutrition/

boost both the health and the economy of the reservation. And as the pte herds grew alongside a flourishing market for its meat, several organizations formed to help facilitate tribal bison operations, offering business education, management planning, and a support network to connect all the independent pte ranchers. On a national level the Inter-Tribal Bison Council (ITBC) has been serving as an umbrella organization since it was founded by DuBray in 1992, a year after he had formed his own pte operation, Pte Ha Ka, Inc. (The Real Bison) on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, 200 miles directly northeast from Pine Ridge. As it stands, it serves 63 Native American tribes spanning 20 states and manages over 20,000 buffalo on approximately 1,000,000 acres of tribal land. Likewise, yet more locally, the Northern Plains Bison Education Network (NPBEN) – a group of 10 tribal colleges based on the upper Great Plains – was founded in 1994 to develop courses on pte agriculture, pte range management, prairie restoration, and pte nutrition. In both cases, these umbrella networks were formed under the conviction that with sufficient support and education pte restoration could be achieved. As the NPBEN director Louis LaRose explains: "we believe we can help give Indian people all the cultural and academic tools to make buffalo restoration successful on Indian reservations."[546]

On Pine Ridge itself an actual descendent of Chief Red Cloud helped form the Lakota Buffalo Caretakers Cooperative (LBCC), in 2007, in order "to create unity amongst Lakota Tiwahe bison ranchers," and thus become "a common voice in support of one another" in their mission "to develop markets and to help out and

[546] Quoted in David Cournoyer, "Tribes Find a Future in the Past," in *High Country News*, Issue 159, August 2nd 1999: https://www.hcn.org/issues/159/5151

encourage more Lakotas to raise buffalo on the reservation."[547] Chief Red Cloud's great-great grandson, Henry Red Cloud, initiated the cooperative, joining his own pte ranch called Buffalo Hump Sanctuary (2000) with two other operations on the reservation: Knife Chief Buffalo Nation Society (1997) and Black Feathers Buffalo Ranch (1994). As well as supporting and encouraging the return of pte to Pine Ridge, they also act as a channel for reservation residents to distribute their pasture-raised and field-harvested pte to an international market. Furthermore, the LLBC also seeks to promote and readily make accessible the fresh bison meat as a nutritious protein within the reservation itself, and have "recently created the Tatanka Talo Fund to help the elderly members of the reservation by distributing fresh meat to them." [548] For example, in January 2012 the Tatanka Talo Fund "delivered 200 lbs of grass-fed and field-harvested bison meat to Cohen Memorial Home, an Elderly program in Pine Ridge and 300 lbs of meat to Meals for Elderly."[549]

On the surface, therefore, it would seem that Buffalo Hump Sanctuary is more about re-establishing a healthy and prosperous Lakota community through the rearing, distribution, and consumption of pte products, in particular meat, than it is focused on offering protection to the sacred pte. And then again, can the two be separated? For is it not the pte's role as the prodigious benefactor of the Great Plains that has made it so sacred? As already highlighted earlier in this chapter, what has made the Pte Oyate so important and thus sacred to the Icke Oyate is the fact that it has enabled its people to

[547] Quoted in "Feature Story," in *Manataka American Indian Council*, February 1st 2010: https://www.manataka.org/page1026.html
[548] "Henry Red Cloud wins 2011 Glynwood Harvest Award," in *Village Earth*: https://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliate-network/henry-red-cloud-wins-2011-glynwood-harvest-award/
[549] "Knife Chief Delivers Bison Meat to Elders on Pine Ridge," in *Village Earth*: http://hosted.verticalresponse.com/527973/3badf5e694/TEST/TEST/

not only survive, but also thrive on what would otherwise be inhospitable conditions. As such, it is the Lakota Sioux's "complete dependence on the bison,"[550] as Zontek has stated, that makes the pte, and subsequently its meat, so sacred. Therefore, offering sanctuary to the pte in order to profit, benefit, and nourish from them is in fact a visceral attempt to reengage with Lakol Wicoh'an, which, as Lawrence has emphasized, has always been centered upon an appreciation and reliance of the pte as a "sacred animal"[551] because it is a "source of life."[552]

Furthermore, it is clear from Buffalo Hump Sanctuary's various mission statements that its bovine benefactors do not distinguish the juxtaposition in offering the sacred pte sanctuary in order to eat them. For, as they state, their aim is "the restoration of the sacred *Tatanka Oyate* – Buffalo Nation – to Pine Ridge Reservation and the northern plains,"[553] as well as "building a successful bison ranching operation that would better support their family economically and culturally."[554] In fact, though seemingly contradictory, it can be argued that they are one and the same statement – because restoring a thriving Pte Oyate helps to re-establish a healthy and prosperous Icke Oyate. Their fates are "so intertwined,"[555] as Zontek has highlighted, that the two have become indistinguishable; so much so, that offering the pte sanctuary can also be interpreted as offering sanctuary to the Icke Oyate and their Lakol Wicoh'an as well. For as contemporary Chief Arvol Looking Horse so eloquently emphasizes, "in my

[550] Zontek (2007), 9.
[551] Lawrence (1993), 28.
[552] Ibid, 21-22.
[553] Henry Red Cloud, "Buffalo Hump Sanctuary," in *Village Earth*: http://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliates/buffalo-hump-sanctuary
[554] "Henry Red Cloud wins 2011 Glynwood Harvest Award," in *Village Earth*: https://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliate-network/henry-red-cloud-wins-2011-glynwood-harvest-award/
[555] Zontek (2007), xiv.

body, in my blood runs the spirit of the buffalo," and as such, "we are the buffalo people."[556]

Therefore, for the Icke Oyate to reclaim their Lakol Wicoh'an they need to reengage and return to a life reliant upon the Pte Oyate. And in order to achieve this, they first need to restore the Pte Oyate to the reservations by offering sanctuary and encouraging residents to build a more intimate rapport with the pte. Buffalo Hump Sanctuary achieves this by not only creating a space on the reservation reserved specifically for the pte, but also through raising awareness about the pte within the community, as already highlighted in their work with the LLBC and the Tantaka Talo Fund. Furthermore, they have also worked together with the non-profit Village Earth, an organization based in Colorado that "helps communities reconnect with resources that promote human well-being through empowerment and community self-reliance,"[557] to initiate the "Adopt a Buffalo" program. This program raises funds "to help purchase buffalo for families on the reservation who wanted to sustainably utilize their lands,"[558] hence encouraging more families on the reservation to take on greater responsibility with the restoration of the pte. So far the program has "enabled the release of over 100 head of buffalo onto the reservation, helping native bison ranchers to start or expand their ranching operations."[559]

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[556] Arvol Looking Horse, "Guest Address," *Bison Conference* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 7 April 2000).
[557] "Henry Red Cloud wins 2011 Glynwood Harvest Award," in *Village Earth*: https://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliate-network/henry-red-cloud-wins-2011-glynwood-harvest-award/
[558] Kayla Gahagan, "Restoring buffalo and resisting drought on the Pine Ridge reservation," in *Aljazeera America*, March 21st 2014: http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/3/21/restoring-buffaloandresistingdroughtonthereservation.html
[559] "Henry Red Cloud wins 2011 Glynwood Harvest Award," in *Village Earth*: https://www.villageearth.org/global-affiliate-network/henry-red-cloud-wins-2011-glynwood-harvest-award/

Moreover, by reintroducing the pte to the reservation Buffalo Hump Sanctuary hopes to reclaim the land that "for generations had been leased out to non-indigenous people and businesses" – in fact, ever since Chief Red Cloud died in 1903 "lands on Pine Ridge Reservation passed into the hands of private owners,"[560] so by 1916, of the "2.5 million acres the tribe had once owned, only 150,000 acres remained."[561] Henry Red Cloud therefore claims that by reintroducing the pte, reclaiming land, and reinstating *tiyóspaye* (the Lakota philosophy of community as an extended family) that Buffalo Hump Sanctuary is fulfilling his great-great grandfather's prophecy called, as Lawrence Sullivan has documented, "the Prophecy of the Seventh Generation, when their religious and spiritual hopes and practices will flourish without constraint and without end."[562] The prophecy envisions that it will take several generations for the Lakota to adapt and thus learn to coexist with the white settlers, and that in time the Lakota will once again reclaim sovereignty over their lives and lands. As such, Henry Red Cloud sees it as his duty as a member of the fifth generation to help his grandchildren – the seventh generation – to realize this prophecy.

In fact, Buffalo Hump Sanctuary is just one initiative among many projects that Henry Red Cloud has started on Pine Ridge in order to actualize his great-great grandfather's prophecy. He is also at the forefront of introducing renewable energy and green technology to the reservation, in an effort to inspire his community that "they can live sustainably and show them that by embracing clean, renewable energy

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[560] Ibid.
[561] Joe Starita, *The Dull Knifes of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995), 187.
[562] Lawrence Sullivan, *Native Religions and Cultures of North America: Anthropology of the Sacred* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 19.

applications there is a way to get back to a traditional relationship with Mother Earth."[563] He has thus far founded the Lakota Solar Enterprises (LSE) – a Native owned and operated renewable energy company; the Red Cloud Renewable Energy Center (RCREC) – an "educational facility where tribes from all over the nation can receive hands-on training on renewable energy applications;"[564] and the Sacred Earth Lodge – an eco-friendly conference and workshop center.

Not only are these efforts having a profound influence to establish self-autonomy within the community, they are also being recognized both nationally and internationally, with Henry Red Cloud being showered with accolades and being repeatedly asked to guest speak at conferences, universities, TV shows, and film documentaries, such as Naomi Klein's *This Changes Everything* (2015). Among these accolades include the Innovative Idea Champion (Corporation for Enterprise), 2009; the Nuclear Free Future Award, 2010; the Annual Innovation Award (Interstate Renewable Energy Council), 2010; the World Energy Globe Award, 2012; the Charles Greeley Abbot Award (American Solar Energy Society), 2013; the Berea College Service Award, 2014; the Oglala Lakota Service Award, 2014; the White House Champion of Change for Solar Deployment, 2014; and the Most Creative People Award (Fast Company), 2015. Furthermore, in 2011 Henry Red Cloud won the Glynwood Harvest Award for his work in restoring pte to Pine Ridge. A work which he values as vital for uniting, healing, and thus empowering the Lakota

[563] "Henry Red Cloud," in *Lakota Solar Enterprises*: http://www.lakotasolarenterprises.com/henry-red-cloud/
[564] "Our Work," in *Lakota Solar Enterprises*: http://www.lakotasolarenterprises.com/our-work/

community to realize the Prophecy of the Seventh Generation. As he commented on heralding the release of 15 pte onto Pine Ridge in July 2004:

> These buffalo will teach our children that we are returning to health and vitality. Buffalo can heal us. We can heal each other. At the dawn of the 21st Century, we stand here, seven generations since Chief Red Cloud's capture, to make a powerful statement: We are strong. The Lakota people – families and individuals – have a strong future together.[565]

Buffalo Hump Sanctuary's mission however is not limited to restoring the pte to Pine Ridge; it also includes the complete restoration of the pte to "the northern plains." As such, the aim is to restore the Pte Oyate independent of the Lakota community and the reservations on which they live, and in the process make the Great Plains once again a sanctuary for free roaming pte herds. Henry Red Cloud is therefore slowly trying to establish sanctuary for the pte from a micro to a macro scale, from his ranch and reservation to the northern Great Plains. And in doing so, he joins a growing Inter-tribal and national movement to re-establish the pte to its natural habitat – in the recognition that the pte is intrinsic to the indigenous ecology of the plains. Such groups as the Oglala Lakota Sioux Parks and Recreation Department (1976), the Intertribal Agriculture Council (1987), the Buffalo Commons (1987), the Indian Land Tenure (1990), the Buffalo Field Campaign (1994), the American Prairie Preserve (2004), the Native American Natural Foods (2006), the National Tribal Land Association (2011), and the Tanka Fund (2012) are all working tirelessly in an effort to reintroduce the keystone species to the plains in order to "foster biodiversity" and

[565] Quoted in Gary Wockner, "Buffalo Dreams at Pine Ridge," *News From Indian Country*, July 12th 2004: http://garywockner.com/fullstory.html

thus bring "the endangered prairie ecosystem back to life."[566] As the president for Native American Natural Foods Mark Tilsen explains: "when buffalo live on the grasslands, the prairie becomes reborn. Plant diversity and predators come back; the prairie comes to life."[567] Such effects as already apparent in the places where the pte have been reintroduced. As wildlife biologist for the Oglala Lakota Parks and Recreation Department Richard Sherman points out: "it doesn't seem to take too long to heal the land. It's happening right here in our buffalo pasture."[568]

The pte are therefore "sacred" to the health and ecology of the Great Plains, and the Great Plains are a sanctuary for the pte. Without the pte, the Great Plains lose their biodiversity, their richness, and their ability to support life. And yet, with the reintroduction of the pte, the Great Plains can once again become a sanctuary for life. As Ernest Callenbach argues in his 1997 work *Bring the Buffalo Back! A Sustainable Future for America's Great Plains*, "the ecological virtues of bison are exceptional,"[569] for what would be better for the American heartland than the "remarkable match between bison and their ancestral grassland home."[570] The effort to reintroduce the pte to the Great Plains can therefore be interpreted as a form of "operational" religious practice, whereby the restoration of the Pte Oyate is beneficial and "commensurate with the other units with which they interact to form food webs, biotic communities, and ecosystems."[571]

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[566] "Supporting the Return of the Buffalo," in *Tanka Fund*: http://www.tankafund.org/about
[567] Ibid.
[568] Quoted in Winona LaDuke, "Buffalo Nation," in *Sierra Magazine*, April/May 2000: https://vault.sierraclub.org/sierra/200005/buffalonation.asp
[569] Ernest Callenbach, *Bring the Buffalo Back! A Sustainable Future for America's Great Plains* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6.
[570] Ibid, 25.
[571] Roy Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 494.

Such an interpretation of religion as serving an "operational" ecological purpose was first theorized by Roy Rapport in his 1967 article *Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People*, where he argues that ritual behavior was "employed by an aggregate of organisms in adjusting to its environment."[572] Rapport suggests that ritual behavior plays an "operational" role within an ecosystem, and this can be understood as an integral part of a "naturally constituted law," rather than being just a "culturally constructed meaning."[573] Here Rappaport delineates the difference between the "operational" and "cognized" models of the environment. In comparison to the "operational" model, whereby ritual is performed as a basic mechanism of human adaptation, the "cognized" model demands categorization of ritual and phenomena "into meaningful categories by a population."[574] In such a way, "cultures sometimes serve their own components, such as economic or political institutions, at the expense of men and ecosystems," such that "cultural adaptations, like all adaptations can, and perhaps usually eventually do, become maladaptive."[575]

However, in the case of restoring the Pte Oyate to the Great Plains the Lakota are positively effecting the ecosystems, and thus, their religious convictions of the sacredness of the pte are having an "adaptive" rather than a "maladaptive" impact. Rappaport called such a positive, operational, and adaptive interaction between religion and ecosystems, the "cybernetics of the holy,"[576] where religious beliefs and

[572] Roy Rappaport, "Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People" in Ethnology 6(1), (1967), 18.
[573] Roy Rappaport (1968), 241.
[574] Roy Rappaport, "Adaptive Structure and Its Disorders" in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. Roy A. Rappaport ed. (Richmond: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 6.
[575] Roy Rappaport, "Culture, and Ecological Anthropology" in *Man, Culture, and Society*, Harry L. Shapiro, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 249.
[576] Roy Rappaport (1979), 161.

practices act as "ultimate sacred postulates" and "cosmological axioms" in regulating and adapting to the world and its environments.[577] In his last work, published posthumously, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Rapport argues that human populations need to reconnect with the "cybernetics of the holy" in salvaging the Earth and its environment. He argues, as Brian Hoey surmises in his article, "From sweet potatoes to God Almighty: Roy Rappaport on being a hedgehog", that "the regulatory hierarchy depends upon sanctification."[578] Without the "cybernetics of the holy" a desacrilization of the world occurs, which ultimately leads to the exploitation and degradation of its resources.

Such desacralization and maladaptation was pertinently represented in the decimation of the Pte Oyate, in which a capitalist and imperialist agenda steeped in a religious conviction of Manifest Destiny permitted the slaughter of a species. On the other hand, the restoration of the Pte Oyate to the Great Plains represents an example of regulation through sanctification, exemplifying, as McGaa has described in his work on *Native Wisdom for Living in Balance with the Earth*, a form of "conservation as a spiritual matter."[579] In such a way, as Dan O'Brien has described in the transformation of his farm to a pte ranch in South Dakota, that through such conservation and restoration, the pte become "the salvation of the land."[580] And perhaps, as Callenbach further argues, the pte are not just the salvation for the Great Plains, but also the fate of the United States. For, beyond being intrinsically connected to the fate of the Icke Oyate, "the fate of the bison may well prove emblematic of the

[577] Ibid.
[578] Brian Hoey, "From sweet potatoes to God Almighty: Roy Rappaport on being a hedgehog" in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2007, 592.
[579] McGaa (2004), 252.
[580] Dan O'Brien, *Buffalo for the Broken Heart: Restoring Life to a Black Hills Ranch* (New York: Random House, 2002), 87.

future of the nation."[581] Not only for tackling environmental degradation and ecological restoration, but also for healing "a painful gap in our national memory."[582] And as such, offering sanctuary to the Pte Oyate is as much about offering salvation to the Icke Oyate and the Great Plains, as it is a means to salvation for the U.S. to remedy past atrocities.

Appropriating the Pte

It is therefore not surprising that considering how the fate of the bison may well prove emblematic of the future of the nation that the pte has become so ubiquitously appropriated as an emblem for environmental and national associations. Over the last 100 years the U.S. government has adopted the image of the pte for many of its departments and national parks, despite the fact that it had previously participated in its wholesale extermination – from the 1929 adoption of the pte as the emblem for the U.S. Department of the Interior to the 2016 National Bison Legacy Act that heralded the pte as the national mammal of the U.S. On its way to becoming adopted as the national mammal, the pte has additionally also been selected as the emblem for the National Park Service, for Yellowstone National Park, for Wyoming's state flag, and for Indiana's state seal.

However, perhaps the controversial appropriation of the pte has been as an emblem on U.S. currency, whereby the animal that suffered at the hands of U.S. capitalistic opportunism would end up becoming the face of U.S. capital. Initially, the

[581] Callenbach (1997), 1.
[582] Ibid.

pte appeared on a 10 dollar note, in 1901, to commemorate the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, and then more numerously on what was coined the "buffalo nickel," from 1913 to 1938. On one side of the nickel was the head of a non-descript Native American, and on the other the whole body of a pte. Such a design disturbingly echoed General Philip Sheridan's suggestion to "strike a medal with a dead buffalo pictured on one side and a discouraged Indian on the other," and present it to the buffalo hunters.[583] The buffalo nickel's designer, James Earl Fraser, however did not reference Sheridan as an influence, explaining that his main "objective was to produce a coin which was truly American, and that could not be confused with the currency of any other country," and in his search he "found no motif within the boundaries of the United States so distinctive as the American buffalo."[584] Even though this explanation is not as unsettling as it would be if Sheridan had been the main inspiration behind the design, it is still hugely problematic because in stating that nothing is more distinctively American than the pte Fraser implies that white Americans can simply, as C. Richard King denotes, "absorb indigeneity, laying claim to indigenous people's rightful inheritance."[585] Furthermore, beyond appropriating the pte as distinctly American, when the only genuine American claim to the pte should be exploitation and decimation, the other side of the coin suggests something even more sinister – the appropriation of the Indian head as a logo, which King argues "to be akin to a trophy taken and reintroduced into circulation to secure citizenship, celebrate racial superiority, and fashion identity."[586]

[583] Quoted in John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo: An Untold Story of the Southwest Plains* (New York: Citadel Press, 1976), 163.
[584] Quoted in Dary (1974), 279.
[585] C. Richard King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2016), 25.
[586] Ibid.

Therefore, alongside the colonization and appropriation of Native American land and resources, the settler population and its government subsequently also sought to appropriate the image of the Native American as theirs to exploit, market, and franchise. This is pertinently demonstrated by the severed head on the buffalo nickel that has also found its way as an emblem and mascot for a proliferation of U.S. professional and college based sports teams, such as the Washington Redskins, the Cleveland Indians, and the Chicago Blackhawks. Additionally, there are an estimated 2,000 secondary schools that have also appropriated Native American imagery/iconography for their mascots.[587] Beyond sport and schools, there are copious examples of cultural appropriation of Native American beliefs and iconography in popular music, movies, fashion, festivals, crafts, and tourism. And even more ominous and threatening is the appropriation of Native American identity and practices, which Suzanne Owen has emphasized in her work on *The Appropriation of Native American Spirituality* as being "based largely on Lakota models and include the vision quest, the sweat lodge ceremony, and traditional uses of the pipe."[588] Such an appropriation of Lakol Wicoh'an not only trivializes the specificity of indigenous cultural knowledge, but also denies the Lakota ownership and sovereignty over their own tradition. Furthermore, a form of "pan-Indianism" is promoted as a perennial Native American spirituality, silencing and belittling the diversity that thrives among the existing 567 federally recognized Native American nations. In the process, as Lisa Aldred so succinctly argues in her article, "Plastic

[587] Hayley Munguia, "The 2,128 Mascots Native American Mascots People Aren't Talking About," in *Five Thirty Eight*: https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-2128-native-american-mascots-people-arent-talking-about/

[588] Suzanne Owen, *The Appropriation of Native American Spirituality* (New York: Continuum, 2008), 15.

Shamans and Astroturf Sun Dances," "Native Americans' spiritual traditions then become products to be playfully sampled through consumption, ignoring Native Americans themselves as three-dimensional people set within historical, socioeconomic, and political relations of oppression."[589]

Understandably, as Aldred further iterates, "many Native Americans have been offended by the mockery these bastardized versions make of their sacred ceremonies,"[590] to such an extent that in 1993 the National Congress of Indians issued "a declaration of war against wannabees, hucksters, cultists, commercial profiteers, and self-styled New Age Shamans."[591] And later the same year, 500 representatives of 40 Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota nations unanimously passed a "declaration of war against exploiters of Lakota spirituality."[592] Even Henry Red Cloud has been so troubled by this growing appropriation of Lakol Wicoh'an that in 2016 he decided to tour both the U.S. and Europe to confront these issues. At the meetings he handed out a self-penned pamphlet called the *The Quiet Revolution of the 7th Generation*, in which he accuses individuals as "basically stealing the culture and the spirituality… without any respect," and "charging vasts amount of money."[593] It is, he asserts, "an insult to the native people."[594]

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[589] Lisa Aldred, "Plastic Shamans and Astroturf Sundances: New Age commercialization of Native American spirituality," in *American Indian Quarterly*, Summer 2000, 24(3): 339.
[590] Ibid, 333.
[591] Quoted in Christopher Shaw, "A Theft of Spirit?" in *New Age Journal*, July/August 1995: 86.
[592] Wilmer Stampede Mesteth, Darrell Standing Elk, and Phyllis Swift Hawk, "Declaration of War Against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality," in *American Indian Cultural Support*: http://www.aics.org/war.html
[593] Henry Red Cloud and Medicine Turtle, *The Quiet Revolution of the 7th Generation* (2016), 6.
[594] Ibid, 8.

It is in this accused group of individuals that we find our next bovine benefactor.[595] Cynthia Hart-Button, otherwise known as Little Golden Bear, established the White Buffalo Sanctuary in 2008 in Bend, Oregan, after adopting a white buffalo herd from a ranch in Arizona, which she had been working at since 2000. She has since moved the sanctuary to a 208 acres property in Amesville, Ohio, where she also leads eclectic shamanic workshops with fellow "plastic shamans" Harriet McMahon and Kari Noren-Hoshal. For instance, for the last two years they have taught elements of Andean Shamanism, Western Astrology, and Lakol Wicoh'an at a four day retreat called Spirit Quest. In addition to portraying herself as a shaman who is "gifted with second sight," Hart-Button also identifies as a "teacher of spiritual journeys," a "messenger," a "medical intuitive," a "psychic," and "the Caretaker of the White Buffalo Herd."[596]

Undoubtedly, she is the living manifestation of the "self-styled New Age Shaman" that both the National Congress of Indians and the Lakota community have declared a war against. She is a white woman, who practices her own version of Lakol Wicoh'an, claiming authenticity by stating she has Native American roots, with her father revealing on his deathbed in 1988 that he was in fact descended from the Lakota and his name was traditionally Uriah White Buffalo. She even claims to be the great-great granddaughter of Chief Sitting Bull, even though a "Smithsonian study found that Ernie LaPointe, his siblings, his children and grandchildren are the only

[595] As exemplified on the *New Age Fraud* website, in which a Lakota individual complains: "I have had several people come to me with this women named Cynthia Hart-Button. I have heard some of the insane things she has been doing. And she claims to be adopted into the Lakota. That does not make you a medicine women. When you are adopted in all that means is you have more family. Just because you are adopted in doesn't give you the right the set up altars or claim to have powers and say we gave it to you. I think I am going to pay this women a visit. Why is it every other race is benefiting off our culture but our own people?" http://www.newagefraud.org/smf/index.php?action=search2

[596] Cynthia Hart-Button, "About Us," in *White Buffalo Association*: https://whitebisonassociation.com/

known lineal descendants of Sitting Bull."[597] And yet, even though she cannot support her claim with any evidence, she continues to validate her teachings and workshops by making such grand statements.

In her recently published autobiography, *The Light Within: My Journey Home to the White Buffalo* (2018), Little Golden Bear further describes how her father revealed to her on his deathbed that her mission in life was to become the "Caretaker of the White Buffalo." Thirty years later, after several vision quests, near death experiences, and living alone "in a cave in the Washington Cascade Mountains with her pack of domesticated wolves," she has realized her father's prophecy.[598] She now runs a sanctuary specifically for the white pte, because, as her website asserts, they are a "very important symbol of peace," and they are here "to remind us that we need to change our ways and reclaim our spirit."[599] And yet, the website does not make any reference to Lakol Wicoh'an nor explain why these specific animals are in particular "symbols of peace" so that "in this time of amnesia," they "are here with a message."[600] Furthermore, the message they purportedly have to share is so clichéd and removed from the original message of the White Buffalo Calf Woman. Rather than bringing the tool of the sacred pipe to teach the Icke Oyate how to communicate with Wakan Tanka, Hart-Button claims the white pte are here with the message, "your home is where your heart is."[601]

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[597] Sara Kincaid, "Smithsonian Traces Sitting Bull's Descendants," in *Indian Country News*, December 1st 2007: http://www.indiancountrynews.com/index.php/news/education-life/1979-smithsonian-traces-sitting-bulls-descendants

[598] Cynthia Hart-Button, *The Light Within: My Journey Home to the White Buffalo* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018), 1.

[599] Cynthia Hart-Button, "Mission Statement," in *White Buffalo Association*: https://whitebisonassociation.com/

[600] Ibid.

[601] Ibid.

Despite these issues of cultural appropriation, false claims, and trivialized interpretations of Lakol Wicoh'an, it is evident that Hart-Button does believe that the white pte are sacred and has thus established a sanctuary especially for them – both in order to protect them and to learn from them. However, without prior knowledge of Lakol Wicoh'an it is hard to distinguish why the "white" pte in particular, rather than the "black" pte, or any other animal for that matter, should be deemed to be so much more special and sacred. Moreover, even in ruminating through the website one is left none the wiser about any Native American influences.

And yet, once again, despite this lack clarity, there is, however, little doubt that Hart-Button perceives this specific bovine to be more sacred and thus more deserving of sanctuary than any other animal. Therefore, beyond accusations of cultural appropriation and nonsensical New Age affiliations, it is evident that the pte is revered, and that Hart-Button is practicing her own, unique form of bovine veneration and restoration, influenced by Lakol Wicoh'an. And as such, it can be argued that such bovine veneration exemplifies the birth of a new religious expression, being formed by the coming together of various "confluences of cultural-organic flows."[602] Regardless of Hart-Button's claim to authenticity, she is offering sanctuary to animals that she perceives to be sacred. And thus, her own experiences and appreciation of Lakol Wicoh'an have coalesced to form a hybridized form of bovine veneration, which has inspired her to offer sanctuary to the white pte.

Likewise, a growing environmental appreciation of restoring the Pte Oyate to the Great Plains has been inspired by the coalescing of ecological concerns and the

[602] Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 97.

Lakol Wicoh'an acknowledgement of the sacred significance of their prodigious bovine benefactor. Furthermore, Lakol Wicoh'an has inspired environmentalists to appreciate the pte as more than just some keystone species, but instead a nation of autonomous beings deserving of their own right to exist. As the Buffalo Field Campaign highlights in their mission statement: "We envision a world in which buffalo and all other native wildlife are allowed to exist for their own sake, are given priority on public lands, and herds are allowed to maintain self-regulating, sustainable populations."[603] In such a way, Lakol Wicoh'an is influencing not just the establishment of individual sanctuaries for the pte, but also the ethics and motivations for large-scale restoration of the Pte Oyate on the Great Plains, whereby their original habitat is being envisioned and transformed into a 139,000 square miles ecological sanctuary, called the "Buffalo Commons," for the restoration and well-being of all indigenous life.[604]

[603] "Mission – Vision – Values," in *Buffalo Field Campaign*: http://www.buffalofieldcampaign.org/who-we-are/mission-vision-values
[604] Deborah E. Popper and Frank J. Popper, "Great Plains: From Dust to Dust," in *Planning* 53 (1987): 12.

CHAPTER 5

HARE HARE HOLY COW

My religion teaches me that I should by personal conduct instill into the minds of those who might hold different views, the conviction that cow-killing is a sin and that, therefore, it ought to be abandoned… My ambition is no less than to see the principle of cow protection established throughout the world.

(Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 1925)[605]

Introduction

In this chapter I will shift my focus from the analysis of one particular Native American religious tradition, Lakol Wicoh'an, and its influence in offering sanctuary to a specific indigenous bovine, the pte (*Bison bison*), to a much broader examination of a sprawling, diasporic world religion and its international impact in inspiring veneration and protection for the everyday milking cow (*Bos taurus* and *Bos indicus*). Hinduism, as this "all-encompassing, pluralistic" religion is often referred to,[606] is the third largest religion in the world, with 15% of the world population identifying as Hindu, including "more than eight hundred million of India's over one billion people" and an estimated 1.5 million people in the U.S.[607] I will highlight in this chapter that even though Hinduism is by its very nature pluralistic and polycentric that it has built a unifying identity in-and-around bovine veneration, and that it has promoted this core tenet internationally, impacting not only the tradition from within, in how devotees practice and proselytize their religion, but also how the tradition has been viewed and

[605] Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 29-1-1925, 38.
[606] Brian K. Smith, "Questioning Authority: Construction and Deconstruction of Hinduism," in *Defining Hinduism: A Reader*, ed. J. E. Llewellyn (New York: Routledge, 2005), 115.
[607] Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Survey of Hinduism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 1.

studied from the outside. As I have already highlighted in a previous chapter this is so much the case that when I mention that I study bovine veneration, people automatically presume that I must be studying Hinduism.

Such an assumption is not entirely presumptuous, as Hinduism is the largest religion in the world to overtly practice a distinctive form of bovine veneration, with multiple deities, consorts, and myths represented by the bovine. Furthermore, as exemplified in the quote at the start of this chapter, multiple key Hindu figureheads of the twentieth century, such as Mahatma Karamchand Gandhi, Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, and Swami Srila Prabhupada, have explicitly championed and promoted bovine veneration and protection as integral to their particular understanding of Hinduism. It is therefore not surprising that when I mention bovine veneration that people will automatically presume that I am referring to Hinduism. And in fact, 70% of the time I am, because of the 17 animal sanctuaries that are specifically dedicated to the bovine in the U.S. at least 12 have been directly influenced by one or multiple branches of Hinduism.[608]

In this chapter I will therefore examine how these 12 bovine sanctuaries have been influenced by multiple branches of Hinduism, emphasizing that, as with the sanctuaries inspired by Lakol Wicoh'an, the bovine is being offered sanctuary because it is deemed the ultimate benefactor. And yet, in juxtaposition to the sanctuaries inspired by Lakol Wicoh'an, in these particular cases the bovines are not revered for their meat, but instead their milk. Therefore, though the bovine is offered protection from being slaughtered, it is not being guaranteed absolute sanctuary from

[608] See Figure 10, Appendix B, p. 331.

exploitation. Additionally, at Hindu inspired sanctuaries it would seem that offering sanctuary is in fact a gendered process, with only the female milking cow and not the non-milking male bull or ox being offered sanctuary. As a part of my analysis of each of these 8 bovine sanctuaries I will be exploring whether this is the case.

Furthermore, in contrast to the Lakota Sioux objection to the cultural appropriation of Lakol Wicoh'an, and as epitomized by Cynthia Hart-Button and her White Buffalo Sanctuary, I will highlight that there is a visceral promotion and proselytization of Hindu religious beliefs and practices, in particular centered around offering the holy cow sanctuary. Such visceral proselytizing has already been illustrated in the aforementioned quote from Gandhi in his self-penned and edited journal *Young India*, which he ran from 1919-1931, where he emphasizes that his "ambition is no less than to see the principle of cow protection established throughout the world."[609] Furthermore, in the same journal, he made the even bolder claim that "cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow… Hindus will be judged not by their tilaks, not by the correct chanting of mantras, not by their pilgrimages, not by their most punctilious observances of caste rules, but their ability to protect the cow."[610]

In order to contextualize my analysis of Hindu inspired bovine sanctuaries I will therefore first question how and when the cow became such a prominent figure within Hinduism to inspire Mahatma Gandhi to make such a proclamation. I will then examine ways in which the cow became a central figure in mid-to-late twentieth century Hindu proselytizing projects, and how such proselytizing projects worked

[609] Gandhi, *Young India*, 29-1-1925, 38.
[610] Gandhi, *Young India*, 6-10-1921, 36.

reciprocally with the already established allure of the East in the U.S., especially within the 1960s counterculture movement. I will then split my analysis of the 12 bovine sanctuaries into three separate sections: sanctuaries directly connected to the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), a group also commonly known as "Hare Krishnas" or the "Hare Krishna;" sanctuaries established by other Hindu groups or individuals other than ISKCON; and sanctuaries that have been founded by non-Hindus, but are evidently influenced by Hinduism, without necessarily being affiliated to any specific Hindu group or belief system.

Unlike the last chapter, I will not be using a specific indigenous term to refer to the bovine, but will instead use various terms interchangeably. This is primarily for two reasons. Firstly, as already highlighted, the veneration of the bovine has been promoted internationally by Hindu movements without propagating original Hindi or Sanskrit terminology. Though there is no explicit explanation for why this may be the case, it would seem most logical and advantageous to use the language of the people that you wish to proselytize to. As Juliana Finucane argues in her work on Hindu proselytization in Singapore, how effectively a new "worldview stamps itself onto a person" is dependent on how "naturally" the proselytizing language is to people.[611] As she further iterates, the infusion of a proselytizing language "into everyday conversation among members and, especially, between members and non-members, suggests a way of imagining the world in which everyday interactions can be understood" according to the proselytizing perspective.[612] Therefore, the term most

[611] Juliana Finucane, "Proselytizing. Peacework, and Public Relations: Soka Gakkai's Commitment to Interreligious Harmony in Singapore," in *Proselytizing and the Limits of Religious Pluralism in Contemporary Asia*, eds. Juliana Finucane and R. Michael Feener (New York: Springer, 2014), 118.
[612] Ibid.

often used on Hindu websites, pamphlets, and other forms of proselytizing literature within the U.S. is the word which the large majority of Americans most attribute to the bovine – the simple and yet much celebrated one syllable, three letter word, 'cow' – be it for male or female bovine. Yet, rather than being just referred to as a cow, these sources normally attach the all-important adjective 'holy' to signify the proselytizer's perspective. And as such, after half a century of successful proselytizing, the concept of the 'sacred cow' has become an idiom within many Western cultures, in particular the U.S.

Secondly, I will use multiple indigenous terms as they come up to reflect the multiplicity and sheer preponderance of the bovine within Hindu culture and thus language; as pertinently demonstrated on the online *Sanskrit Dictionary*, which offers 1005 results for the term 'cow' in Sanskrit.[613] Not only does such an impressive number of terms poignantly illustrate how important the cow is to Hindu culture, it also highlights the difficultly in pinpointing one specific term to use throughout this chapter. To do so would not only be inaccurate, but also utterly redundant. Therefore, beyond using the terms cow, bull, and bovine, I will also use multiple Sanskrit names and terms when appropriate.

[613] Sourced from *Sanskrit Dictionary*, April 18th 2018: http://www.sanskritdictionary.com/?iencoding=iast&q=cow&lang=sans&action=Search

Dhenu Diaspora

To start with, for example, as I position the Hindu veneration of the bovine in connection to a specific appreciation of bovine milk, it seems only appropriate to use one of the most common terms used in Sanskrit for the 'milking cow' – *dhenu*.[614] In this section I will begin by examining the multiple incarnations of dhenu before highlighting how she became adopted as a unified symbol of Hinduism in the late nineteenth century in retaliation against British colonial subjugation. I will then chart how Hindu nationalism further propagated the veneration of dhenu as a symbol of an independent India; unique and in juxtaposition to other cultures and nations that viewed and abused dhenu merely as an animal to be utilized and exploited for human gain. Finally, I will offer an overview of Hindu diaspora to the U.S., whereby the veneration of dhenu was introduced to an already lactose-friendly populous.

In fact, before the arrival of Europeans to the Americas the only instance of humans consuming milk was reported in Cusco, in the Peruvian Andes. And in this instance, it was not bovine milk but llama milk. Furthermore, as documented in 1614 by Spanish soldier Alonso González de Nájera, such milk was only consumed "in times of famine," because the llama produced so little milk.[615] As he further observed, they can in fact "get no less milk from a llama than they can blood from its head without doing it harm."[616] A milking cow and the consumption of bovine milk was therefore a completely foreign concept in the Americas before Europeans arrived.

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[614] As already highlighted in the introduction, there are over 1000 terms for 'cow' in Sanskrit, and though *dhenu* is the most common term for 'milking cow,' the most generic term for 'cow' in Sanskrit is *go*. For the purpose of this section, and in recognition of the specific veneration of the bovine in connection to its milk, I have decided to use the term *dhenu*, the term for 'milking cow.'
[615] Alonso González de Nájera, *Disappointment and Reparation of the War of the Kingdom of Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 1971), 30.
[616] Ibid.

Even to this day, Native Americans struggle to digest dairy products, because many Native Americans are still lactose intolerant. As reported by the American Indian Health and Diet Project (AIHDP), at least "75 percent of American Indian adults have lactose intolerance… a food intolerance to the sugar lactose that is found in milk products."[617]

Dhenu is therefore not an indigenous animal to the Americas, and can be regarded instead as an invasive species that was introduced by Europeans when they themselves invaded North and South America. And like any other invasive species, such as the emerald ash borer or the particularly aggressive English ivy, the introduction of the ruminating dhenu has brought havoc to local ecosystems. Alongside destroying much of the indigenous habitat, they are also implicitly at fault for the eradication of their bovine relative on the Great Plains – the Pte Oyate – whose demise was as much motivated in order to limit indigenous autonomy and strength, as it was linked to appropriating land to facilitate settler economic growth, which included dhenu husbandry. It is therefore particularly symbolic that unlike the Pte Oyate's ability to nourish and support the indigenous people of the plains that the life giving milk of the invasive dhenu in contrast offers nothing but insufferable discomfort for most Plains Native Americans in the form of diarrhea, nausea, vomiting, bloating, abdominal cramps, and flatulence.

And yet, even though the dhenu was introduced to the Americas by European explorers and immigrants from as far back as 1493 – with Christopher Columbus introducing longhorn cattle in Santo Domingo, and then in 1521 with Ponce de Leon

[617] Devon Abbott Mihesuah, "Health Problems: Lactose Intolerance," in American Indian Health and Diet Project: http://www.aihd.ku.edu/health/lactose_intolerant.html

bringing Spanish cattle to Florida[618] – it took another 300 years for an explicit Hindu form of dhenu veneration to reach the North American continent. For although Europeans had a long and rich history of various forms of bovine veneration, as has already been alluded to in the previous chapter on deconstructing "bovine veneration," by 1493 however such cow-centric traditions had been effectively silenced by the hegemony of Christian monotheism in Greco-Roman European cultures. One savior and one god had replaced the multiple deities that had been formerly venerated for sustaining life on earth. Such a monotheistic interpretation of life had no room for forms of bovine veneration, which was in fact unequivocally admonished as "the sin of the calf," as Youn Ho Chung emphasizes in his examination of motives informing the negative stance toward the golden calf in the Bible, in which the golden calf is repeatedly denounced using "polemic narrative,"[619] including a threat from God to "annihilate" anyone who continued to pursue such bovine veneration.[620]

Therefore, Europeans did not introduce any particular narrative of dhenu veneration to the Americas. Instead, it arrived with the initial Hindu diaspora to the Caribbean in 1838, alongside a multiplicity of other religious beliefs, practices, scriptures, and deities. They brought with them a religious tradition that represented an antithesis to European Christian monotheism, championing instead a "proliferation of polythetic polytheisms,"[621] which were not bound to a monolithic interpretation of

[618] Brooks Blevins, *Cattle in the Cotton Fields: A History of Cattle Raising in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 1.
[619] Youn Ho Chung, *The Sin of the Calf: The Rise of the Bible's Negative Attitude Toward the Golden Calf* (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 206.
[620] Exodus 32: 10.
[621] Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History*, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009), 43.

the sacred. Dhenu veneration was therefore completely permissible in a tradition that had "no single central quality," and which well-known Indologist Wendy Doniger, has compared to a "Zen diagram."[622] Unlike a Venn diagram, which is a chart made of intersecting circles, the Zen diagram has no central ring, reflecting the "no single central quality that all Hindus must have, the emptiness in the center, like the still center of the storm."[623]

Julius Lipner has offered another insightful analogy, comparing Hinduism's pluralistic nature to the 250 year old Great Banyan tree (*Ficus bengalhensis*) located in *Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Indian Botanic Garden Howrah*, near Kolkata.[624] It is the largest known tree on Earth, occupying an area of about 14500 square meters with a canopy circumference of a kilometer and 3300 aerial roots reaching down to the ground.[625] These roots each look like individual tree trunks and yet they are merely roots from the original tree. Lipner argues that like these roots the multitude of beliefs and practices that define Hinduism interweave and intertwine to create "macrocosmically one through microcosmically many, a polycentric phenomenon imbued with the same life-sap."[626]

Lipner therefore suggests that every one of these trunks represents a quality that is important, and yet not integral, to Hinduism: the caste system, Sanātana Dharma, the Véda, the Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā, the Purānas, darśan, saṃsāra, the yugas, the pantheon of deities and their respective sects, idol worship, püjā, satî, yoga,

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[622] Ibid, 28-29.
[623] Ibid, 29.
[624] Julius J. Lipner, "Ancient Banyan: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Hinduness," in *Defining Hinduism: A Reader*, ed. J. E. Llewellyn (New York: Routledge, 2005), 30-31.
[625] A. V. S. S. Sambamurty, *Taxonomy of Angiosperms,* (New Delhi: I. K. International Publishing House Pvt. Limited, 2005) 206.
[626] Lipner (2005) 31.

meditation, gurus, Brahmins, renunciation, self-cultivation, vegetarianism as an ideal, ahiṃsā, mokṣa, karma, bhakti, tantra, pilgrimages, Kumbha Mēlā and the multitude of other festivals, celebrations, and holidays. As such, Lipner surmises that none of these traits is most central to what constitutes Hinduism, but all are equally relevant and centrifugal. In such a way, Lipner argues that Hinduism has no central core or keystone, but is instead supported by a myriad of pillars and buttresses. Likewise, the Great Banyan of Kolkata has no central core or keystone; its main trunk was removed in 1925 after being damaged by two large cyclones, in 1884 and 1886, leaving a colonial colony of thousands of integrated trunks, rather than one single tree.[627] In this way, the Great Banyan appearing more like a tangled jungle of trees rather than one uniformed botanical entity, reflects what Lipner describes as the "*complexus* of oscillating tensions" characteristic of Hinduism and its "multifaceted unity."[628] It does not need a central belief, god or scripture to be united. Therefore, Lipner argues that Hinduism is perfectly represented by the Great Banyan, which Krishnendu Bandyopadhyay describes in his article "Mother of all trees" for *Times of India*, as living "in perfect vigor even without its main trunk."[629]

Similarly, there is not just one form of dhenu veneration within Hinduism, but multiple incarnations: be it the deity Kamadhenu (yielder of the milk of all desire), Homadhenu (yielder of the milk of all oblations), Prithvi, Surabhi, Laksmi, Matrika, Nandini, Sabala, Kapila, Vrishabha, Ushas, Rohini, Sushila, or Yogishvari. All these incarnations of dhenu have one thing in common – as Lisa Kemmerer argues in her

[627] Krishnendu Bandyopadhyay, "Mother of all trees," in *Times of India*, 26 July 2011: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-07-26/flora-fauna/29816139_1_single-tree-tree-one-entire-tree
[628] Lipner (2005) 31.
[629] Krishnendu Bandyopadhyay, (2011).

comprehensive work on *Animals and World Religion*, they are all venerated because "they exemplify munificence and mother's love,"[630] in that they symbolize, as Madeleine Biardeau points out, "the source of all prosperity… from whom all that is desired is drawn."[631] As such, as Kemmerer further emphasizes, a common idiom in Hinduism is "mother-cow-love" as ideal love, because dhenu not only does "care for their young tenderly, but can also provide life-sustaining milk when a mother cannot breast-feed her offspring."[632] She is therefore also often depicted as the earth-mother in the forms of Prithvi and Surabhi, with for example in the *Satpatha Brahmana* her body being compared to the sky, her "udder the cloud, (her) teat the lightning and (her) shower (of milk) the rain."[633] Furthermore, beyond her munificence's earning her a comparison to the life sustaining properties of the earth, she has also been likened to the universe in the form of Ushas (the goddess of dawn), and has even been deemed the abode for the whole pantheon of Hindu deities, with not only each part of her body representing a specific deity, but also the belief, as Deryck O. Lodrick highlights in essay "On Religion and Milk Bovines in an Urban Indian Setting," that all "330 million Hindu gods live in every atom of the cow's body."[634]

In such a way, as Lodrick further points out, alongside her milk being considered sacred, all five of her products (panchagavya) – milk, curds, ghee, urine and dung – are also deemed "purificatory and medicinal."[635] Additionally, there is a heaven which is dedicated specifically to her called *gokala*; she is worshipped on

[630] Lisa Kemmerer, *Animals and World Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 58.
[631] Madeleine Biardeau, "Kamadhenu: The Mythical Cow, Symbol of Prosperity," in *Asian mythologies*, ed. Yves Bonnefoy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 99.
[632] Kemmerer (2012), 59.
[633] *Satpatha Brahmana*, IX.3.3.15-17.
[634] Deryck O. Lodrick, "On Religion and Milk Bovines in an Urban Indian Setting," in *Current Anthropology* 20 (March 1979): 242.
[635] Ibid, 83.

specific days of the year – the first day of Vaishakha and Mattu Pongal; gifting a cow (*godana*), as Lodrick emphasizes, is considered "an act of great religious merit;"[636] touching a cow, as Lance Nelson underlines, is deemed a "source of good fortune;"[637] one's ancestral name is called *gotra* (cow pen); the gateway to a temple is called *gopuram*; oblations from dhenu are a perquisite for all sacrifices and pujas; and as Biardeau highlights, dhenu is considered the symbol of the Brahman's (Hindu priest) powers and wealth – "since the prosperity of the world springs from the oblation of clarified butter."[638] As such, Biarduea makes the observation that "it is commonly said that a Brahman without a cow is not a Brahman."[639]

Moreover, beyond being considered a deity in her own right, as an indispensable provider of nourishment and oblations to religious ceremonies, and also as an abode for the whole pantheon of Hindu deities, dhenu has often been associated as a consort to multiple other deities in the Hindu pantheon. In particular worth mentioning are her intimate associations with the three central deities of Hinduism – otherwise known as the Trimurti, the divine trinity: Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Shiva the destroyer – who also manifest as Dattatreya, the Lord of Yoga, when they unite as one avatar. Not only is Dattatreya always accompanied with Kamadhenu,[640] as Antonion Rigopoulos points out, and Shiva likewise always associated with Nandini and her male counterpart Nandi, but the seventh incarnation

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[636] Ibid.
[637] Lance Nelson, "Cows, Elephants, Dogs, and Other Lesser Embodiments of Atman: Reflections of Hindu Attitudes toward Nonhuman Animals," in *A Communion of Subjects: Animals in Religion, Science, and Ethics*, eds. Paul Waldau and Kimberly Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 180.
[638] Biardeau (1993), 99.
[639] Ibid.
[640] Antonion Rigopoulos, *Dattatreya: The Immortal Guru, Yogin, and Avatara – A Study of the Transformative and Inclusive Character of a Multi-faceted Hindu Deity* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994), xiv.

of Vishnu, Lord Krishna, is also known as Gopati, Gopala and Govinda (the lord of cattle, the protector of cows and the cow herder). Furthermore, as A. L. Basham emphasizes in his work *The Sacred Cow: The Evolution of Classical Hinduism*, he is described having "intense love for gopis" (cow maids), in particular Radha, otherwise known as the goddess of love, or simply Gopi.[641]

As such, Dhenu veneration is not an isolated phenomenon, but can be found being practiced and preached throughout history – from ancient Vedic texts to contemporary Hindu nationalist rhetoric. As Nanditha Krishna concludes in her comprehensive work on sacred animals in India, "the references to the sanctity of the cow are endless,"[642] being referenced alone 723 times in the *Rig Veda*, 87 times in the *Yajur Veda*, 170 times in the *Sama Veda*, and 331 times in the *Atharvana Veda* – a grand total of 1331 times in just the four Vedas.[643] Such a proliferation of references and forms of veneration highlight what Tilok Chandra Majupura asserts in his study of sacred animals of Nepal and India that "the cow is the most sacred animal of the Hindus."[644] In fact, as Nanditha Krishna further emphasizes, "the cow is so sacred in Indian culture that the term *sacred cow* signifies an idea or institution unreasonably held to be above criticism."[645]

Such veneration of "the great provider" has therefore encouraged an extensive history of cow protection, because, as J. L. Brockington argues, they are "regarded as

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[641] A. L. Basham, *The Sacred Cow: The Evolution of Classical Hinduism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 107.
[642] Nanditha Krishna, *The Sacred Animals of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2010), 75.
[643] V. V. Prakasa Rao, "Cows are Sacred; Scriptures Extol them; Hindus Must Protect Them," in *Save Temples*: http://www.savetemples.org/2012/04/29/cows-are-sacred-scriptures-extol-them-hindus-must-protect-them-part-1/
[644] Tilok Chandra Majupura, *Sacred Animals of Nepal and India – with Reference to Gods and Goddesses of Hinduism and Buddhism* (Gwalior: M. Devi, 1991), 79.
[645] Krishna (2010), 77.

too sacred to be killed."[646] For example, in the *Rig Veda* dhenu are also referred to as "aghnya" – ""the one not to be killed under any circumstances" – because it is deemed the "grossest ignorance" to consume her milk and then slaughter her:

> *gobhiḥ prīṇita-matsaram*
> one who, being fully satisfied by milk, is desirous of killing the cow is in the grossest ignorance. [647]

Furthermore, dhenu is also referred to in the *Rig Veda* as "ahi" and "aditi" – "the one that must not be slaughtered" and "the one that ought not to be cut into pieces." As such, there is a history of cow protection in Hinduism that dates back over 3000 years to the most ancient Indian collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns, where cows are not necessarily offered sanctuary but are at least singled out not to be harmed and thus spared being slaughtered. Moreover, as Lodrick highlights, *gosthas* – the pastures where dhenu grazed and lived, or more literally, the "standing place for cows" – were consecrated in the Vedas and held in the same reverence and respect as burial grounds and temples.[648] For example, the *Yajur Veda* instructs that it is forbidden to "enter a burial ground, water, temple, a cow pen, [or] a place where Brahmanas [sit] without having cleaned one's feet."[649]

The first reference to offering dhenu sanctuary appears much later, in the *Arthasastra*, written around 400 BCE – 200 CE, where the duties of a *godyaksa* (superintendent of cows) is described as looking after "useless and abandoned herds"

[646] J. L. Brockington, *The Sacred Thread: Hinduism in its Continuity and Diversity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 205.
[647] *Rig Veda*, 9.46.4.
[648] Lodrick (1981), 54.
[649] *Yajur Veda*, 10.1.12.

of "afflicted cattle, crippled cattle, (and) cattle that cannot be milked."[650] Such a sanctuary was coined a *goshala*, which literally means a cow shelter, and though the term is used for the first time in this context in the *Arthasastra*, it actually first appeared many years earlier in the 6th century BCE in the fifth Jain Agama, the *Bhagavati Sutra*. In this case, the term is used as the first name of the leader of the Ajivika sect, Goshala Mankhaliputta, who received the name because he was in fact born in a cow shed – and has nothing to do with offering dhenu sanctuary.[651]

Beyond textual evidence however, as Peter van der Veer attests, the first recorded historical case of a goshala and offering dhenu sanctuary appears much later, in the sixteenth century CE,[652] and this seems to be an isolated case rather than a reflection of a much larger cow protection movement, which today, as Pankaj Jain documents, has spurned more than 3000 goshalas across India, with 670 in Rajasthan alone.[653] Nelson argues that such protection of dhenu on a national scale has its roots as much in nineteenth century nationalist Hindu movements as it does in traditional bovine veneration, in so far as the dhenu became a prominent symbol of "Hindu Nationhood,"[654] in contrast to Islam, Christianity, and British colonialism. As Mukandi Lal emphasizes in his 1967 essay on the "Cow Cult in India," in which he argues that "the cow became the emblem of Indianness… a differentiating factor

[650] *Arthasastra*, 2.29.
[651] Lodrick (1981), 246.
[652] Peter van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 90.
[653] Pankaj Jain, *Dharma and Ecology of Hindu Communities: Sustenance and Sustainability* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2011), 99.
[654] Nelson (2006), 180.

between nationalists and non-nationalists," in particular during the period of British colonial rule in India.[655]

Ever since the British first set foot on the Indian Subcontinent, in 1612, first as the British East India Company and then as the British Raj, they begun imposing a monolithic lens onto the multiple different religious traditions in India, as they were, as Heinrich von Stietencron argues, predominantly unable "to conceive of such religious liberality as would give members of the same society the freedom, by individual choice, to practice the religion they liked."[656] The imposed umbrella term which the British chose for this collective monolithic tradition was "Hinduism" – a term, which Andrew Nicholson asserts in his work *Unifying Hinduism*, derived from Persian and used initially by "Muslims to describe a regional or ethnic identity" for "the people living near the Indus, or Sindhu, river."[657] As Heinrich von Stietencron similarly argues "Hinduism is a relatively recent one. Not only is the term modern… but also the whole concept of oneness of Hindu religion was introduced by missionaries and scholars from the West." [658] Furthermore, he asserts that "historically, the concept of Hindu religious unity is questionable when applied to any period prior to the nineteenth century."[659] The origins of Hindu identity is therefore a highly contested subject. On one side there is the argument laid out by Guna in his

[655] Mukandi Lal, "Cow Cult in India," in *Cow Slaughter: Horns of Dilemma*, ed. A. B. Shah (New Delhi: Lalani Publishing House, 1967), 32.
[656] Heinrich von Stietencron, "Hinduism: On the Proper Use of a Deceptive Term," in *Hinduism Reconsidered*, ed. Gunther D. Sontheimer and Hermann Kulke (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1991), 14-15.
[657] Andrew J. Nicholson, *Unifying India: Philosophy and Identity in Indian Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 196.
[658] Heinrich von Stietencron, "Religious Configurations in Pre-Muslim India and the Modern Concept of Hinduism," in *Representing Hinduism: The Construction of Religious Traditions and National Identity*, eds. Vasudha Dalmia and Heinrich von Stietencron (New Delhi: Sage, 1995), 51.
[659] Ibid.

work *Asiastic Mode: A Socio-Cultural Perspective* that it "is a colorless, odourless, and formless artificial construction", which originates from British orientalism,[660] and that any claim to its authenticity, as postcolonial theorist Richard King asserts, is "a highly imaginative act of historical reconstruction."[661] On the other end of the extreme there exists the argument that Hinduism is a "timeless truth,"[662] with Hindu nationalists, such as Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, ardently claiming that it denotes a religious tradition that has always existed and represents "a person who regards this land of Bharat Varsha [that is, India], from the Indus to the Seas, as his Father-Land as well as his Holy-Land, that is the cradle of his religion."[663]

Somewhere lying in the middle between these two interpretations is the compromise asserted by Nicholson, in which he argues that "the idea of Hindu unity is neither a timeless truth nor a fiction invented by the British,"[664] but rather "a continuing process as different groups struggle to define a Hindu essence and to tame the unruly excess of beliefs and practices today grouped together as Hindu."[665] Lal asserts therefore that dhenu became an increasingly important signifier of what constituted a traditional "Hindu essence" in juxtaposition to the "beef-eating" Muslims and Christians, especially during the 19th century when "beef-eating became a Christian's normal and almost necessary sign of conversion," and thus "an emblem of being modern and civilized."[666] Likewise, Doniger emphasizes that Hindu

[660] Guna, *Asiastic Mode: A Socio-Cultural Perspective* (Delhi: Bookwell Publications, 1984) 124-125.
[661] Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'*, (New York: Routledge, 1999), 110.
[662] Nicholson (2010), 2.
[663] Brian K. Smith, "Questioning Authority: Construction and Deconstruction of Hinduism," in *Defining Hinduism: A Reader*, ed. J. E. Llewellyn (New York: Routledge, 2005), 103.
[664] Nicholson (2010), 2.
[665] Ibid, 204.
[666] Lal (1967), 32.

nationalists therefore asserted that to be Hindu was not to eat beef, and argued that historical and textual evidence supported such a claim that "the ancient Indians never ate beef until the Muslims brought this custom to India."[667] Many scholars and Hindus alike have disputed this claim, arguing, as Doniger has highlighted in her highly controversial work *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (2009), that there exists "abundant proof that Hindus did eat beef in the ancient period."[668] Yet, regardless of this proof, as Doniger further argues, Hindu nationalists embraced their non-beef eating history as if it were intrinsic to their identity and survival, and in the process "violently attacked, physically and in the press" those who contradicted this position.[669] Not only did Doniger's aforementioned book cause public outrage among Hindu nationalists, leading to public burnings of the book, it's publisher also decided in 2015 to stop publishing it specifically in India because of these protests, stating that they as "a publishing company (have) the same obligation as any other organization to respect the laws of the land in which it operates, however intolerant and restrictive those laws may be."[670]

Similarly, D. N. Jha, the author of *The Myth of the Holy Cow* (2001), also faced considerable backlash in India, including having "a police escort twenty-four hours a day for several years after his book was published,"[671] for arguing that "the holiness of the cow is a myth and that its flesh was very much a part of the early Indian non-vegetarian food regimen."[672] Rather than being a timeless tradition, he asserts that

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[667] Doniger (2009), 657.
[668] Ibid.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Penguin Publishers cited by Adina Applebaum, "10 Modern Day Book Burnings," in *The Airship: Surveying Literature, Art and Culture an Altitude of 5000 while Travelling at 53 Miles per Hour*: http://airshipdaily.com/blog/03032014-modern-day-book-burning
[671] Doniger (2009), 657.
[672] D. N. Jha, *The Myth of the Holy Cow* (New York: Verso, 2001), ix.

such a restrictive veneration of dhenu is in fact a "characteristic trait of modern day non-existent monolithic Hinduism bandied together by the Hinudtva forces"[673] – the term "Hindutva" was originally conceived as both a term and an ideology by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in 1923, and has become the predominant form of Hindu nationalism in India. Likewise, A. B. Shah has argued in the introduction to an edited volume of essays on beef-eating and Hinduness called *Cow Slaughter: Horns of Dilemma* (1967) that "those Hindus who today claim the support of religion in favor of their demand for a ban on cow-slaughter are either ignorant or knowingly dishonest."[674] Furthermore, "if they want to justify their demand, the only course open to them is to say that they are opposed to cow-slaughter regardless of what their history says and that, being a majority community, they are going to see it accepted by the rest of the country."[675]

However, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the veneration and protection of dhenu became more and more associated with Hinduness, irrespective of whether or not such an association had any textual or historical viability. Dhenu's popularity as an emblem among Hindu nationalists not surprisingly concurred with the increasing influence of "Western imperial modernity," which, as der Veer delineates, encouraged a monolithic understanding of nationhood, progress, and liberation.[676] In juxtaposition to these alluring ideals on self-autonomy, independence, and empowerment was the very reality of having less and less autonomy at the hands of Western imperialism, with the British East Trade Company successfully winning

[673] Ibid, 146.
[674] Shah (1967), 10.
[675] Ibid.
[676] Peter van der Veer, *The Modern Spirit of Asia: The Spiritual and Secular in China and India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1.

war after war, up until they had all but taken control of the Indian subcontinent by 1853, after the annexation of the Berar province. As Thomas Metcalf documents, by 1857 a culmination of increased colonial bureaucracy and fears of religious assimilation, with the signing of the 1856 General Service Enlistment Act, which would enforce Indians to fight overseas for the British East Trade Company, and the increased presence of Christian missionaries in India,[677] led to India's First War of Independence. However, as Krishna argues, the spark that acted as the tipping point for the rebellion was in fact "prompted by the British colonizers asking the Hindu sepoys (soldiers) to bite a bullet that was, it was believed, greased with the fat from cows."[678] As Kim Wagner adds in his work *The Great Fear of 1857*, "having one's ritual purity defiled was no trifling matter."[679]

Though the British came out the victors of this war, and the whole Indian subcontinent par consequence became officially annexed as a part of the British crown and empire straight after, in June 1858, it was also a landmark moment for the veneration of dhenu as an emblem of a newly realized monolithic Hindu nation. The figuratively tipping of the sacred cow therefore not only stirred controversy and sparked a rebellion, it also initiated a shared sense of identity centered around dhenu, or as Barbara and Thomas Metcalf explain, "the complex of cow-related activities became part of a shared experience that defined what was taken as the moral community of the nation."[680] From the 1860s onward, multiple religious and political

[677] Thomas Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857–1870* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990), 48.
[678] Krishna (2010), 77.
[679] Kim Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 29.
[680] Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 153.

movements were established with dhenu veneration and protection as a core tenet: the Sikh Kuka (Namdhari) sect in Punjab, who protested against cow-slaughter in Amritsar, culminating with the killing of multiple Muslim butchers in 1871;[681] the Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati, promoted, as Doniger delineates, the "issue of cow protection" as its "banner" in its attempt to reclaim "a degraded form of Vedic religion;"[682] Saraswati also wrote the treatise *Gokarunanidhi* (Ocean of Mercy for the Cow) in 1881 and formed Gaurakshini Sabha, the first committee for cow protection, in 1882; the reinvigoration of Gaudiya Vaisnavism (religious group devoted to the cowherd god Krishna), otherwise known as the Chaitanya Movement, under Kedernath Datta, whose disciple Srila Prabhupada would later form ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) in New York in 1966.

Doniger points out that a further decree in 1888 by a British court in Allahabad ruling that "a cow was not a sacred object," and therefore Muslims could not be held "to have insulted the religion of the Hindus," incited even more protest and protection for dhenu, whereby Hindus felt increasingly that it was their duty to save "cows from assaults of Muslim butchers."[683] The most violent retaliation, as Metcalf and Metcalf document, occurred in 1893, when more than 100 people were killed during the Bakr'Id Festival riots, in which Hindus attacked Muslims for sacrificing dhenu during their festivities.[684] It was at this point, as Doniger iterates, that dhenu therefore became not only a source for a shared Hindu experience and identity, but also

[681] Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Somerset: John Wiley & Sons, 2004), 261.
[682] Doniger (2009), 622-623.
[683] Doniger (2009), 623.
[684] Metcalf and Metcalf (2001), 153.

became"a lightning rod for communal violence from then until the present day" – with riots and lynchings spurred by a devotion for dhenu continuing into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[685] In fact, as Radha Sarkar details in his article "Sacred Slaughter: An Analysis of Historical, Communal, and Constitutional Aspects of Beef Bans in India," in the last four years, since the election of the Hindu nationalist party Bharatija Janata Party (BJP) to central government in 2014, there has been an "unprecedented" rise in "cow vigilantism,"[686] with thousands of local groups forming across the country in order to protect dhenu, and in the process, as Prem Shankar Jha highlights, terrorizing Muslim populations they accuse of "illegally" participating in the beef-trade.[687]

Such violence and murder in order to protect dhenu clearly contradict the core tenets to which are traditionally attributed to dhenu: love, generosity, nurture, and life-giving. As Mahatma Gandhi emphasized in 1921, "I would not kill a human being for protection of a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious."[688] As he further elaborated, "just as I respect the cow, so do I respect my fellow-men... if I were overfull of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not take my brother's. This, I hold, is the law of our religion."[689] As such, even though Gandhi believed that "the central fact of Hinduism is cow protection,"[690]

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[685] Doniger (2009), 623.
[686] Radha Sarkar, "Sacred Slaughter: An Analysis of Historical, Communal, and Constitutional Aspects of Beef Bans in India," in *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 17(4), 2016: 329.
[687] Prem Shankar Jha, "Cow vigilantes who are threatening Modi's grip on power," in *Chatham House: The Royal Institute of International Affairs* (October/November 2016): https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/twt/cowboys-and-indians
[688] Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 18-5-1921, 156.
[689] Mahatma Gandhi, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. Dennis Dalton (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1996), 111-112.
[690] Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 6-10-1921, 36.

and that he would "defend its worship against the whole world,"[691] he wholeheartedly refused to violently impose such beliefs onto others. As Doniger emphasizes, for Gandhi, "his attitude to cows was… an essential component of his version of nonviolence (*ahimsa*)," and he "used the image of calf love (*vatsalya*), the love of and for the mother cow… as a key symbol of his imagined Indian nation."[692] An Indian nation he successfully helped achieve independence from British colonial rule on 3 June 1947 using nonviolence. And yet, six months later, Gandhi was assassinated by an offshoot of the Hindu nationalist group, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), because he was accused of not being violent enough in establishing a more Hindutva nation.

The RSS, like many other Hindu nationalist groups in India during the twentieth century, as Dina Nath Mishra emphasizes in her work *RSS: Myth and Reality*, sought to "strengthen" the majority Hindu community in a newly realized Indian nation,[693] rather than accept Gandhi's vision of India as "the land not only of the Hindus, but also of the Musalmans, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians, and the Jews."[694] They therefore vehemently disagreed with Gandhi's multi-faith vision of a secular Indian state and his stance that "Hindu law cannot be imposed on the non-Hindus."[695] Instead, as former chief of the RSS, Madhav Golwalkar, explained in his 1939 nationalist manifesto, *We, or, Our Nationhood Defined*:

[691] Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India*, 1-1-1925, 8.
[692] Doniger (2009), 626.
[693] Dina Nath Mishra, *RSS: Myth and Reality* (Chennai: Vikas Publishing House, 1980), 24.
[694] Mahatma Gandhi quoted by Shah (1967), 14.
[695] Ibid.

> The non-Hindu people of Hindustan must either adopt Hindu culture and language, must learn and respect and hold in reverence the Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but of those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture… in a word they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — not even citizens' rights.[696]

Included in this vision of an exclusive Hindu state was the implementation of a national prohibition against cow-slaughter. Golwalkar later explained that he wanted "to use the cow to bring out Indianness" and that he "saw that the cow has the potential to unify the country – [because] she symbolizes the culture of Bharat."[697] Therefore, when Hindus were finally allowed to immigrate to the U.S. in 1965, after the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Services Act, which overturned discriminatory immigration policies against people of color, they brought with them over a hundred years of revitalized dhenu veneration, which had become as intrinsically affiliated with their national politics just as it was a distinguishing trait of their religion. A religion which Doniger has described as traditionally characterized by its "proliferation of polythetic polytheisms,"[698] and was as such not bound by a "single central quality,"[699] had become increasingly monolithic in its identification with dhenu veneration and protection.

The 1960s Hindu diaspora in the U.S. was therefore also the moment that dhenu veneration and protection was introduced to the U.S. – a cultural phenomenon that completely countered the normative understanding of the milking cow. And such an

[696] Madhav Golwalkar, *We, or, Our Nationhood Defined* (Nagpur: Bahrat Prakasham, 1939), 55-56.
[697] Madhav Golwalkar quoted in Verghese Kurien, *I Had a Dream Too* (Mumbai: Roli Books Pvt Limited, 2005), 184.
[698] Doniger (2009), 43.
[699] Ibid, 28-29.

alternative appreciation of dhenu was met with open arms by a burgeoning countercultural movement in the U.S. that had already embraced and exoticized, as Barry Miles asserts, "all things occult, spiritual, and mystical," in particular "Oriental religion and philosophy."[700]

Proselytizing Prithvi

The cultural revolution of the 1960s in the U.S. was a haven for alternative perspectives, and was thus a magnet for foreign religions, ideologies, and philosophies that promoted concurrent themes on peace, love, community, liminality, and sexual liberation. Hinduism had already been fetishized and incorporated into the Western pantheon of appropriated 'spiritual' beliefs, by such nineteenth century spiritualists as Helena Blavatsky and Rudolph Steiner, who borrowed heavily from Hindu mysticism to craft their own interpretations of the 'new age' – a term that Blavatsky first introduced in her 1888 work *The Secret Doctrine*. Subsequent visits and lectures by Swami Vivekananda in 1893, Swami Rama Tirtha in 1902, and Paramahansa Yogananda in 1920, helped familiarize an American populous to actual Hindu gurus with significant following in India. These early twentieth century exposures to Hinduism laid the groundwork for a growing appetite for the mystic east, encouraging many young Americans to travel to India in search of spiritual enlightenment.

[700] Barry Miles, *Hippie* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2005), 372.

This frantic search for enlightenment poignantly resonates with the *Atharva Veda* story of King Prithu manically chasing Prithvi, mother earth in the form of a white cow, because "there was a famine" and "the earth was withholding all of her food."[701] In a similar vein, I would argue that the West has turned to India to "yield [spiritual] nourishment" for its spiritually famished populous.[702] The allusive sacred cow has therefore been chased across India by hungry spiritualists, avant-garde thinkers, and academics alike, such as Aldous Huxley, in 1926, and Carl Jung, in 1937, with their appetite for Prithvi's holy milk leading them to desperately seek guidance and enlightenment from any guru who might be willing to "yield" secrets untold. This is nowhere more pertinently represented than in Paul Brunton's 1934 work *A Search in Secret India*, which describes his journey travelling through India, seeking enlightenment and finally finding a Hindu sage, Ramana Maharshi, whom he describes as one of the "last of India's spiritual supermen."[703] And yet, in India, along with its "proliferation of polythetic polytheisms,"[704] there is also an abundance of "spiritual supermen" who claim to know the truth and the path to enlightenment. Be it sages, yogis, swamis, rishis, gurus, sadhus, babas, or brahmans, all have a secret to yield to whomever is willing to invest the time and, perhaps more importantly, the money.

Prior to the Immigration and Nationality Services Act the only way for Americans to meet such a proliferation of "spiritual supermen" was through travelling to India, which demanded more expenditure than most could afford. However, after

[701] *Atharva Veda* 8.10.22-29.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Paul Brunton, *A Search in Secret India* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1994), 301.
[704] Doniger (2009), 43.

1965 such "spiritual supermen" were now allowed to travel to the U.S. to proselytize Hindu mysticism and spirituality to a wide-eyed youth culture that was already countering the cultural norms expected of them. Hinduism not only had teachings that concurred with their own growing counterculture ideologies, such as peace (*ahimsa*), communes (*ashrams*), sexual liberation (*tantra* and *kama sutra*), and liminality (*sanyassa*), but even a mystical explanation for one of the most symbolic attributes of the Hippie era – growing long hair. As Paramahansa Yogananda explains in his now world famous *Autobiography of a Yogi*, "the spinal cord is like an upturned tree, with man's hair as its roots, and afferent and efferent nerves as branches,"[705] and "like an upturned plant, man similarly absorbs through his hair electric currents helpful to the body."[706] Furthermore, Hinduism was the incarnation of the psychedelic, the far-out, and the colorful, with deities with multiple arms and animal heads, and a spiritual pot smoking practice attributed to the god of destruction, Lord Shiva.

Additionally, many of the Hippie movement's prominent figures started courting these Hindu "spiritual supermen" as soon as they arrived in the U.S., with The Beatles and The Beach Boys practicing transcendental meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Santana pursuing 'inner-peace' meditation with Sri Chinmoy, and The Who trying sexual and spiritual liberation techniques with Bagwan Shree Rajneesh (Osho). Even the crowning jewel of the Hippie movement, the 1969 Woodstock Music Festival, opened with a speech by Swami Satchidananda, where he told a crowd of 500, 000 young Americans, "music is a celestial sound and it is the sound

[705] Paramahansa Yogananda, *Autobiography of a Yogi* (Kolkata: Yogoda Satsanga Society of India, 2006), 169.
[706] Paramahansa Yogananda, *Man's Eternal Quest: Collected Talks and Essays on Realizing God in Daily Life* (Kolkata: Yogoda Satsanga Society of India, 2005), 252.

that controls the whole universe, not atomic vibrations," before encouraging them all to chant the "Hari Om" mantra.[707]

"Hari," which is Sanskrit for the supreme and normally used in reference to Lord Vishnu, would become a staple sound of the Hindu Diaspora in the U.S. with Swami Srila Prabhupada's International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) followers being "hard to miss," as Miles recounts, chanting "the Hare Krishna mantra down the high street."[708] Furthermore, ISKCON found global attention once George Harrison of The Beatles, disillusioned with the teachings of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, found instead a profound practice and devotion to the Hare Krishna movement. As Harrison fondly recollects: "I feel at home with Krishna… I think that's something that has been there from a previous birth. So it was a door opening to me at the time, but it was also like a jigsaw puzzle and I needed all these little pieces to help make the complete picture."[709]

The allure of ISKCON was not only that it heralded all the charismatic and 'exoticized' traits of Hinduism (i.e. as constructed popularly in the American counterculture movement), but that it taught that meditation and yoga were integral components of a practice based around devotion (bhakti). Such devotion was encouraged through chanting the "Hare Krishna" mantra, which though repetitive did in fact "vibe" with the musically minded youth culture of the 1960s. As Harrison notes, "once you get chanting, things start to happen transcendentally."[710] On one

[707] Swami Satchidananda, "Woodstock Guru," in *Sri Swama Satchidananda*: http://swamisatchidananda.org/woodstock-guru/
[708] Miles (2005), 372.
[709] George Harrison, quoted in Geoffrey Giuliano, *Dark Horse: The Secret Life of George Harrison* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1989), 95.
[710] Ibid, 99.

occasion he recollects how he sang "the mantra for days" with John Lennon, while "sailing through the Greek Islands together… like six hours we sang, because we couldn't stop once we got going. As soon as we stopped it was like the lights went out… we both felt absolutely exalted. It was a very happy time for us."[711]

Therefore, ISKCON was successful because it provided a spiritual practice that resonated with the 1960s youth culture as well as offering an alternative perspective on life that galvanized, as Tamal Krishna Goswami and Ravi M. Gupta argue, "their disaffection with establishment society – its politics, economy, and social structures."[712] Furthermore, as Steven J. Rosen asserts in his work *Holy Cow: The Hare Krishna Contribution to Vegetarianism and Animal Rights*, much of the movement's success can be attributed to the fact that the Krishna's were "a familiar sight in most cities," parading "through the streets in distinctively Indian dress, chanting and singing," as well as showing up "at rock concerts, baseball games, airports, and other public venues distributing their books."[713] In such a way, ISKCON was more effective because it was more visible and because it zealously attempted to proselytize. Such proselytization has always been at the heart of ISKCON, with its founder Swami Srila Prabhupada being instructed by his guru, Srila Bhaktisiddhanta Saraswati Thakur, to bring Krishna Consciousness to the West.[714] Therefore, as

[711] Ibid, 100.
[712] Tamal Krishna Goswami and Ravi M. Gupta, "Krishna and Culture: What happens when the Lord of Vrindavana moves to New York City," in *Gurus in America*, eds. Thomas A. Forsthoefel and Cynthia Ann Humes (New York: SUNY Press, 2005), 92.
[713] Steven J. Rosen, *Holy Cow: The Hare Krishna Contribution to Vegetarianism and Animal Rights* (New York: Lantern Books, 2004), 1.
[714] Ibid, 3.

Krishna and Gupta emphasize, when he arrived in New York in 1965 "his mission was one of cultural conquest."[715]

A major component of this proselytization was spreading Lord Krishna's affinity and love for the holy cow, who, as already aforementioned, was also known as Gopati, Gopala, and Govinda (the lord of cattle, the protector of cows and the cow herder). As Rosen reiterates, "the interrelationship between Krishna and His cows is extraordinary."[716] Firstly, Krishna is described as a cowherd living in Goloka (cow heaven/planet) with his transcendental cows called surabhi.[717] He is then incarnated on Earth as a cowherd, whereby as a child he is described as constantly stealing butter from the gopis (cow maids) and playing amongst the cows, whilst also acting as a cowherd for the young calves. By the age of six he is already looking after adult cows, and affectionately hugging and playing with them. He even instructs that he "can be worshiped within the Cows by offerings of grass and other suitable grains and paraphernalia for the pleasure and health of the Cows, and one may worship Me within the Vaishnavas by offering loving friendship to them and honoring them in all respects."[718]

As such, Swami Srila Prabhupada implored his followers to "protect the cow" and not "be ungrateful," because that was "Krishna's advice."[719] For, as he further explained, "milking the cow means drawing the principles of religion in liquid form."

[715] Krishna and Gupta (2005), 91.
[716] Rosen (2004), 43.
[717] *Srimad Bhagavatam* 8.8.2.
[718] *Srimad Bhagavatam* 11.11.43.
[719] Swami Srila Prabhupada quoted by Suresvara Dasa, "Religion You Can Drink," in *Back to Godhead: The Magazine of the Hare Krishna Movement*, Vol. 20, No. 1, January 1985, 26.

[720] In other words, as Suresvara Dasa expounds in his article, "Religion You Can Drink," cow's milk is "the milk of Krishna's kindness."[721] And yet, as Swami Srila Prabhupada lamented, "from infancy, we are drinking the cow's milk, and in return we cut her throat, that is barbaric, less than animal. Even an animal respects its mother. But the *civilized* men are doing just that – killing mother cow."[722] He further compared the current treatment of the cow as a "symptom of the Age of Kali" – a 432,000 period of quarrel and strife – whereby such "sinful acts are responsible for all the troubles in present society."[723] Consequently, he argued that:

> Protection of cows is the single-most important principle towards saving the whole world from both moral and spiritual degradation. Simply by protection of cows all the wonderful benefits of religiosity and piety will be automatically achieved without any separate endeavor. This is because cows are as beloved to the Supreme Personality of Godhead, Lord Krishna, as even saintly brahmanas.[724]

Therefore, alongside opening temples in cities across the U.S. in order to better facilitate Hindu proselytization efforts to major urban populations, like he successfully did in New York City in 1966 and San Francisco in 1967, Swami Srila Prabhupada's other immediate aim was to establish goshalas across the country in order to protect Krishna's holy cows. The first goshala was opened a year later in 1968 on the grounds of the first intentional ISKCON religious community founded by two of his early disciples, Kirtanananda Swami and Hayagriva Das, in Marshall County, West Virginia. This community named itself New Vrindaban, after the birthplace of Lord Krishna in India, under the instructions of Swami Srila Prabhupada

[720] Swami Srila Prabhupada, *Srimad Bhagavatam* (The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1972), 1.17.3 purport.
[721] Dasa (1985), 26.
[722] Swami Srila Prabhupada (1985), 26.
[723] Swami Srila Prabhupada (1972), 1.17.3 purport.
[724] Ibid, 4.21.38 purport.

to find "a nice piece of land, resembling Vrindaban," that would become "a new place of pilgrimage for you Western devotees,"[725] where they could embrace, as Rosen points out, "the ancient Vaishnava way of life in which simple living and high thinking was the motto."[726] Therefore, in order to realize this simple way of life, Swami Srila Pabhupada advised that New Vrindaban must avoid "modern technologies" and "have sufficient land for raising crops and pasture for the cows," because "Krishna taught us to give all protection to the cows; therefore the special feature of New Vrindaban will be cow protection."[727]

Since its founding, New Vrindaban has therefore placed a particular emphasis upon creating a sanctuary (*goshala*) for cows, with their website confirming that "protecting cows is one of the most important activities of the New Vrindaban Community."[728] It further proudly asserts that it is "the longest running cow protection program in the Western world,"[729] offering 1,500 acres of land to "hundreds of cows."[730] Beyond offering protection however, there is also a clear religious role that the cows play within the community – performing a symbiotic service of devotion and production, in that by serving the cows devotees are offered an opportunity to show the same love and care that their Lord Krishna did as a cowherder, while at the same time the cows produce milk that is both used as a sacred offering (*puja*) during ceremonies, as well as providing an important food source for the community. As their website elaborates in more detail:

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[725] Swami Srila Prabhupada quoted by Hayagriva Dasa, *The Hare Krishna Explosion: The Birth of Krishna Consciousness in America (1966-1969)* (Santa Fe: Palace Press, 1986), 155.
[726] Rosen (2004), 55.
[727] Swami Srila Prabhupada (1986), 158-159.
[728] Cited from "Cow Protection," in *New Vrindaban*: http://www.newvrindaban.com/cow-protection/
[729] Ibid.
[730] Rosen (2004), 54.

> Since 1969, the New Vrindaban Community has been protecting and serving her resident cows with a similar standard to what Lord Krishna himself practiced five thousand years ago. Lovingly cared for through their happy life, they are provided everything they need. In return, They generously provide creamy milk, which is offered daily to the Lord in the temple. The same devotee hands that dress and decorate the Deity, also brush and care for the temple cows.[731]

Such service is called *goseva* – which literally translates as "service to the cows" – and at New Vrindaban, in addition to the specific aforementioned service which the community's devotees perform, there has also been a "Go Seva Program" set up, which invites individuals and families from outside the community to participate and learn more about why the cow is sacred and thus should be protected and served. Therefore, since its conception, as Rosen delineates, the New Vrindaban cow sanctuary has been made "open to the public" in order to provide "an educational forum for guests, with literature, films, and seminars on the practical and theological aspects of cow protection," as well as offering tours "of the facilities," where visitors are "invited to taste samples of ice cream and milk sweets that come from the well-protected cows."[732]

Following the success of New Vrindaban's goshala, Swami Srila Prabhupada founded a second ISKCON cow sanctuary called Gita Nagari Yoga Farm on 660 acres of land in Port Royal, Pennsylvania, in 1974,[733] with the intention of creating, as Rosen further details, "a sacred place of pilgrimage devoted to cow protection and agriculture."[734] In such a way, whilst New Vrindaban was more focused upon building an intentional community for ISKCON devotees that included a goseva

[731] Cited from "Cow Protection," in *New Vrindaban*: http://www.newvrindaban.com/cow-protection/
[732] Rosen (2004), 55.
[733] Gita Nagari literally translates as "the village where the Bhagavad Gita is sung and lived."
[734] Rosen (2004), 54.

program, Gita Nagari Yoga Farm's primary goal was to create a "cow-lover's dream come true," where cows were not just protected, but their products were used to help run the sanctuary, with cow dung being converted to methane gas to generate electricity and dairy products being sold to help financially support the running of the sanctuary.[735] Furthermore, alongside the cow, the less venerated and normally forgotten oxen were also protected and utilized in order to "plow the fields for grain."[736]

An offshoot of Gita Nagaria Yoga Farm, the International Society of Cow Protection (ISCOWP), formed by two former residents of the Port Royal goshala in 1990, Balabhadra (William Dove) and Chayadevi Dasi (Irene Dove), has made, as Rosen outlines, it their "primary concern" to train oxen in order "to replace farm machinery and thereby show that the slaughter of these animals is not only cruel but a waste of resources."[737] ISCOWP has therefore found a purpose for oxen that makes them relevant and worthy of protection, even though they cannot produce milk. For what makes the cow traditionally holy and deserving of protection is her milk and the sweetness of her butter, which originally motivated young Krishna to steal from the gopis. In fact, Balabhadra argues that "in practice the first principle of cow protection, surprisingly, is ox employment."[738] As he further elaborates:

[735] Ibid, 55.
[736] Cited in "Adopt A Cow Program," in *Gita Nagari Farm*: http://www.gitanagari.org/cow-protection/adopt-a-cow
[737] Rosen (2004), 58.
[738] William E. Dove quoted by Chris Fici, "The Sacred Art and Duty of Cow Protection," in *Huffington Post*, January 6th 2014: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/chris-fici/the-sacred-art-and-duty-o_b_4513534.html

> There is a mistake made when only the cow is considered, because typically, her main usefulness is seen as milk production… a better system would be rearranging the components. First, breed cows not to provide milk with calves as a by-product, but to provide a team of oxen for every family farm with milk as the by-product. There will be neither excess milk nor excess calves. The oxen will be out in the pastures eating simply, and naturally fertilizing the soil, saving the farmer the cost of the tractor, fuel, and fertilizer.[739]

And yet, such utilization is not asserting that the ox should be offered sanctuary because it is holy, but rather because it plays a functional role in setting-up sanctuaries for cows and in presenting an "alternative to agricultural practices that support and depend upon the meat industry and industrialized, petroleum-powered machinery."[740] In the story of Hinduism and its multiple branches, such as ISKCON, the ox is therefore as holy as its affiliation to the sacred cow, and is often referred to as the "brother" of the cow, as exemplified on the ISCOWP website.[741] Moreover, even in the name, ISCOWP, the ox is overshadowed by the more celebrated cow, even though the "primary concern" of the organization is to train oxen. Likewise, initiatives such as "Adopt A Cow" program, established by Gita Nagari Yoga Farm in 1984, and become a 'Cow Guardian' initiated by Alachua Hare Krishna Temple in 1988,[742] once again highlight the overwhelming dominance of the cow in both consideration and lexicon. And yet again, therein lies the juxtaposition – that in common English lexicon the term "cow" is the proverbial plural used to refer to both male and female of the species, and that in these aforementioned examples, both the female and male bovine are being considered. Even if this is the case, the bias is so

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[739] Ibid.
[740] Rosen (2004), 58.
[741] William E. Dove, "How Did ISCOWP Start?" in *International Society of Cow Protection*: http://iscowp.org/history/
[742] Alachua Hare Krishna Temple was established by ISKCON in 1988 in Gainesville, Florida, and has been running a goshala since its conception for 30 years.

deeply ingrained that people cannot see it. For example, what other animals are referred to in the English lexicon using a specific gendered practice? The examples are hard to come by, if they exist at all. Additionally, many animals, for example crocodiles, elephants, camels, dolphins, and alpacas, are also referred to as cows and bulls in regards to gendered specificity. And yet, when Gita Nagari Yoga Farm promote their "Adopt A Cow" program they are not referring to any of these animals. Furthermore, on the Gita Nagari Yoga Farm website they make a specific distinction between cows and oxen, stating that they consider their "cows and oxen to be beloved family members with as much personality and value as their human counterparts."[743]

So is Gita Nagari Yoga Farm only offering the public one option for adoption – i.e. to adopt female cattle – or is either male or female being offered? On their website the only four animals being presently offered up for adoption are called Aubrey, Bhakti, Sahadeva, and Draupidi – all of which are female names. Therefore, the evidence suggests that "Adopt A Cow" literally pertains to only adopting female cattle, meaning either that the sanctuary has more cows rather than oxen up for adoption or that it is only the female of the species that is deemed worthy of adoption. Either way, the message is clear – the cow is believed to be the more sacred than the ox. In the case of the New Vrindaban goshala, which similarly runs an "Adopt A Cow" program, and yet once again does not specify which cows are up for adoption, such a message is pertinently highlighted in the ratio of cows to oxen at the sanctuary, whereby 69% of its residents are cows.[744] Furthermore, on the adoption page of its website it categorically refers to all cows up for adoption using feminine pronouns:

[743] Cited in "Meet Our Cows," in *Gita Nagari Eco Farm*: https://gnecofarm.org/meet-our-cows/
[744] See Figure 11, Appendix B, p. 331.

> as an animal a cow is very lovable, simple and gentle, [so] what we can do to serve her is we can buy grain for her, feed her every time we get an opportunity and we can donate the cow to an institution where they are treated with utmost care.[745]

Such preferential treatment undoubtedly befits the ongoing rhetoric of bovine veneration within Hindu traditions, which this chapter has already extensively delineated as being explicitly focused on and revolving around the reverence of the cow and her ability to produce holy milk. ISKCON, as a specific branch of Hinduism, has contributed considerably in advancing this particular form of bovine veneration in the U.S. and has directly inspired the foundation of at least eight bovine sanctuaries – along with New Vrindaban in 1968; Gita Nagari Yoga Farm, in 1974; Alachua Hare Krishna Temple, in 1988; ISCOWP also opened a sanctuary in North Carolina in 1991 before moving to Gainesville, Florida, in 2016; Prabhupada Village founded a goshala in Sandy Ridge, North Carolina, in 1992; a new goshala called Eco-Vrindaban was opened at New Vrindaban, in 1998; Sri Krishna Balaram Temple started a goshala in Sunnyvale, Californina in 2013; and Mira's Cow Sanctuary was established only last year (2017), in Silicon Valley, California.[746]

[745] Cited in "Adopt A Cow," in *New Vrindaban*: http://www.newvrindaban.com/adopt-a-cow/
[746] ISKCON has arguably established many more smaller and private goshalas in the U.S. and yet as it stands they still have not been registered. As a part of my ongoing research is to continue tracking down and recording how many more goshalas ISKCON has established.

Swami Srila Prabhupada's efforts to proselytize cow protection in the U.S. has therefore successfully culminated in the establishment of at least eight goshalas, and though it cannot be quantitatively proven, I would argue that there is little doubt that such proselytization efforts have also helped inspire many other Americans to establish sanctuaries for animals across the country in the past fifty years, ever since New Vrindaban was founded. Likewise, Swami Srila Prabhupada's efforts have helped pave the way for other Hindus to proselytize and practice cow protection in the U.S. For example, the foundation of AZGoshala, in 2010 in Queen Creek, Arizona, is directly attributed to another charismatic Hindu swami from India, Sri Ganapati Sachchidananda Swami, who claims to be the incarnation of the deity Dattatreya – the Lord of Yoga and intrinsically affiliated to Kamadhenu, the mother of all cows.

Therefore, unlike the ISKCON inspired goshalas, AZGoshala is not centered on devotion to Lord Krishna, and is instead modelled on the specific teachings of an incarnation of Lord Dattatreya, as exemplified in the goshala he founded at his own personal ashram in Mysore, India, called Surabhivana (literally: shelter for cows). Here, Sri Ganapati Sachchidananda Swami teaches that "the cow possesses all divine energies of creation," and that consequently, "man's attitude towards the cow decides his future."[747] As such, it is believed that "Sri Swamiji is helping save the planet by letting us experience first-hand how to care for cows."[748] The AZGoshala website echoes a similar message, emphasizing that "the cow is a symbol of the Earth, the

[747] Cited in "Welcome to SGS Datta Kamadhenu," in *Avadhoota Datta Peetham*: https://www.dattapeetham.org/sgsdattakamadhenu
[748] Ibid.

nourish-er, the ever-giving, undemanding giver," and thus "represents life and the sustenance of life."[749] Alas, they stress that regardless of such intrinsic worth the "Earth's most gentle animals are threatened by cruelty, selfishness, and greed of human beings."[750] Their mission is to therefore "protect these animals and foster kindness in the hearts of people,"[751] because they "believe that kindness to animals leads to kindness to humans and hence a peaceful world."[752]

The AZGoshala website also highlights another intriguing pattern that is developing in conjunction with the Hindu diaspora and the goshala movement within the U.S. – that more and more goshalas are predominantly being run and are specifically serving the Hindu immigrant community. This is apparent on the AZGoshala website by not only its language, which reflects an idiomatic form of "Indian English," but also the photos on display, which significantly depict people who appear to be Indians or are of Indian descent. Furthermore, the goshala promotes multiple Hindu festivals and feasts without in-depth descriptions or explanations, as if assuming that those reading the website would already know about them.

Such a pattern has also been noticed in the ISKCON movement, whereby "the vast majority of Hare Krishna's believers in America are no longer white Americans."[753] Instead, as Julie Zauzmer reflects in her article for *The Washington Post*, "After 50 years, Hare Krishnas are no longer white hippies who proselytize in

[749] Cited in "Hindus Don't Worship Cows," in *AZGoshala*: http://www.azgoshala.org/activities/hindusdontworshipcows/
[750] Cited in "Cow Protection," in *AZGoshala*: http://www.azgoshala.org/#aboutus
[751] Ibid.
[752] Cited in "Mission," in *AZGoshala*: http://www.azgoshala.org/#aboutus
[753] Julie Zauzmer, "After 50 years, Hare Krishnas are no longer white hippies who proselytize in airports," in *The Washington Post*, October 27th 2016: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/10/27/after-50-years-hare-krishna-believers-are-no-longer-berobed-white-hippies-who-drum-up-donations-in-airports/?utm_term=.a8042a4c48f4

airports," as the vast majority of ISKCON's base are immigrants "who hold down regular jobs and drive to temples to worship, rather than live in communes."[754] As she further explains, this has been a direct consequence of "waves of migration to the United States from India over the past two decadees," with immigrants soon discovering "that Hare Krishna temples and centers were often easier to find in American cities" than other Hindu temples.[755] E. Burke Rochford, Jr. argues in his work *Hare Krishna Transformed* that such a change in demographics has slowly transformed ISKCON's "religious culture and overall identity" as it has become "subject to Hinduization."[756]

Even though such "Hinduization" has gradually transformed ISKCON's message and purpose in the U.S., and moreover explicitly contradicts, as Rochford, Jr. explains, Swami Srila Prabhupada instruction that he did not want ISKCON centers to become treated like any other "Hindu temple,"[757] it brought "economic stability" to the organization, with the immigrant Hindu community becoming the main source of "financial contributions."[758] In the same way that such a reliance has kept ISKCON's cow sanctuaries afloat, other cow sanctuaries have likewise found themselves depending upon such contributions – even when they express absolutely no affiliation to Hinduism. For example, the founder of The Cow Sanctuary in Bridgeton, New Jersey, Helga Traceiter, [759] informed me that she often received visitors from the local Indian community who would offer her donations, even though Helga and her

[754] Ibid.
[755] Ibid.
[756] E. Burke Rochford, Jr., *Hare Krishna Transformed* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 9.
[757] Ibid, 182.
[758] Ibid, 186.
[759] I will be analysing this sanctuary and its founder in more detail in the next chapter when I examine Veganism as a religion and its role in inspiring the establishment of bovine sanctuaries across the U.S.

sanctuary are not at all associated with any branch of Hinduism. For these Hindu visitors, however, this supposedly did not matter, because as long as they were helping Helga do her work, they were in themselves also contributing to "goseva."

Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, also heavily relies upon contributions from its local Indian community, which includes the world famous institute for the study of Advaita Vedanta,[760] Arsha Vidya Gurukulam, in Saylorsburg, Pennsylvania. Before his death, the founder of Arsha Vidya Gurukulam, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, even publicly declared his support for Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary and its founder Dr. Sankara Sastri, whom he described as "a remarkable man" that he "admired" and deserved "support."[761] He further asserted that "I want this place to grow and multiply, being emulated by others," because these cows "are the masters."[762] Additionally, he "not only donated a cow but is sharing the financial cost in looking after it."[763]

Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary also seeks to profit from its local Hindu community by selling its "organic dried cow dung patties" for $6 per pound, which it specifically promotes to be religiously used for Agni Hotra and Homa ceremonies.[764] As it further elaborates:

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[760] Advaita Vedanta (literally: the way of non-duality) is a specific school of Hindu philosophy, which teaches that spiritual liberation can be realized in this life through an awareness/knowledge of the non-duality between one self and the ultimate/higher self (Atman), whereby one experiences one's true self/identity as Atman.
[761] Swami Dayananda Saraswati, "Message of Grace from Paramapoojya Swami Dayananda Saraswati ji Maharaj," in Dr. Sankar Sastri, *Holy Cow: The Mother Divine* (Bangor: Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary Inc., 2004), 1.
[762] Ibid.
[763] Dr. Bhanumathi Haran, "Introduction," in Sastri (2014), 13.
[764] Cited in "Agni Hotra and Homa," in *Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary*: http://www.cowprotection.com/Homa.html

> Agni Hotra and Homa is the ancient Vedic fire sacrifice which is deeply embedded in the Vedic tradition. The Vedas describe many wonderful blessings which may be obtained through sacrificing cow ghee, milk and curd as well as grains and other items to Agni. With the exception of tulasi wood which is very difficult to obtain, there is no better fuel than pure cow dung for this purpose, and your purchase has the added benefit of helping to support the cows![765]

When I first visited Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary last year, Dr. Sastri told me that the profits from these "dung" sales in fact functioned as an extremely important financial contribution that he relied upon to help keep the sanctuary running. For, as he repeatedly emphasized, it costs a lot of money and manpower to run a 90 acre sanctuary with 21 hungry cows. He therefore relies substantially on donations and volunteer labor, which he gets all year round by advertising his sanctuary with WWOOF-USA (Worldwide Opportunities on Organic Farms) – an organization which links volunteers with organic farms, whereby in exchange for labor, the volunteer receives education and free room and board. Indeed, every time that I have visited Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary I have met a volunteer from a different corner of the world, be it Israel, Jamaica, or France.

According to Dr. Sastri, such a continuous flow of labor is both refreshing and much needed, because without them, he would be all alone on the sanctuary. This is perhaps one of the most defining qualities of this particular Hindu-inspired cow sanctuary – that it is run solely by one devout 77 year old Hindu practitioner, who, after working 30 years as a professor and dean of engineering at New York City College of Technology, decided to make cow protection his "retirement project,"[766] because, as his friend and associate Dr. Bhanumathi Haran explains, "his life's

[765] Ibid.
[766] Sastri (2004), 3.

ambition has [always] been the upkeep of the cows."[767] Fulfilling such an ambition takes a lot of hard work and demands that he "spends every moment of his life with the cows," but it is also obvious to anyone who meets him at the sanctuary that such a commitment and intimacy also brings Dr. Sastri much joy and fulfilment.[768] As Dr. Haran further comments, "he dances and sings loudly with the cows, without shame," as if embodying the playfulness of his deific role model of cowherding, Lord Krishna.[769]

Dr. Sastri is therefore a fitting example of how Hindu immigration has brought a specific form of bovine veneration to the U.S., with its conviction that a "special affection for the cow" is an outward expression of a "reverence for life."[770] Such a conviction is manifested in the establishment of goshalas across the country, with their resident cows being named after Hindu deities, as well as more common Sanskrit terms for their most beloved bovine. At Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary, for example, where the name of the sanctuary in itself even refers to the Hindu goddess of luck and fortune, and who is often worshipped in conjunction with Lord Vishnu, the cows have such names as Durga (the ultimate incarnation of the feminine divine), Bharati (a goddess of knowledge), Sita (a goddess of prosperity and the consort of Lord Rama), and Radha (a goddess of wealth and the consort to Lord Krishna). Furthermore, there are even cows named after the ultimate cow goddess, Kamadhenu, and her daughter, Nandini. There is therefore no doubt that Hinduism has had a major influence on Dr.

[767] Haran (2004), 7.
[768] Ibid, 11.
[769] Ibid.
[770] Sastri (2004), 46.

Sastri, who both figuratively and literally embodies what it means to be the keeper of Kamadhenu.

New Age Nandini

Whilst Dr. Sastri and his Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary may substantially epitomize Hindu teachings on bovine veneration, the next two examples of Hindu-inspired bovine sanctuaries offer more culturally appropriated, New Age interpretations. The first example is Universal Fields Soma Gosala, in Living Manor, New York, which unequivocally states on its website that they have been inspired by Hinduism, with their goal being to apply "ancient principles of cow-care derived from the Vedic tradition of India in caring for a herd of nine cows in the Catskill Mountains."[771] The website, along with the sanctuary's name clearly signifies this influence. Furthermore, its cowshed is named "Maharishi Vastu barn" and three of the cows mentioned on the website are called Lakshmi, Choti Tara (little star), and Tala Rama (Rama's world).[772] And yet, beyond mentioning these names and stating that they adhere to "Vedic principles" there is no explanation nor in-depth elaboration of what these names mean nor what is meant by "Vedic principles."[773]

One potential reason for why the website does not elaborate or explain its use of names and "Vedic principles" was related to me in reference to another cow-based non-profit, the Sukha Gomukha Fund, which raises money specifically for cow

[771] Cited in "Mission Statement," in *Universal Fields*: http://www.universalfields.org/about.html
[772] Cited in "Soma Gosala Organic Dairy Cows," in *Universal Fields*: http://www.universalfields.org/index.html
[773] Ibid.

protection, but also, as their website explains, "to spread awareness, invoke action, and raise funds to promote the widespread adoption of the idea that if people take care of all conscious species, human beings will experience a much greater quality of life with much less modern-day disease, anxiety, stress, depression, and war."[774] Its founder, Will Mead, expressed to me that he believed that the non-profit's name, which is Sanskrit for "happy cow face," was potentially hindering their outreach, because, though the name may attract people from the Hindu or yoga community, it may also alienate a larger U.S. demographic. In such a way they were considering changing their name in order to be more approachable to the mainstream, non-Hindu public. This could also be the case for Universal Fields, in that the less information the better in order to avoid alienating potential donations from the non-Hindu community. Such is further suggested by the fact that they have also initiated a sister non-profit called The Cow Foundation, whose website makes absolutely no reference to any Vedic or Hindu influences, stating that their "primary activity" is "to promote the humane care of cows by providing knowledge and practical support for their compassionate care."[775]

The last example of a bovine sanctuary in the U.S., which denotes any affiliation to a Hindu tradition, is called the Sacred Cows Sanctuary in Georgia. The only reference to Hinduism on the website is the use of the common Hindu greeting, "Namaste," which when literally translated means, "I bow to you," and a quote from the internationally famous hugging guru, Amritanandamayi, which makes no allusion at all to cows, but instead states, "compassion: the one-word solution to all the

[774] Cited in "Welcome," in *Sukha Gomukha*: http://www.sukhagomukha.org/
[775] Cited in "About Us," in *The Cow Foundation*: https://thecowsfoundation.org/about-us/

world's problems."[776] Nowhere however on the website does it explicitly explain why cows in particular should be perceived as sacred, should be called sacred, or should be offered sanctuary. Instead, it is just a given, whereby bovine veneration is called "cow ministry" and Namaste is sandwiched between "blessings" and "shalom."[777]

Such an appropriation of Hindu ideas and terminology is also significantly demonstrated in many of the other 455 animal sanctuaries that I have researched thus far for this study. Beyond the Sacred Cows Sanctuary in Georgia, the other two particularly palpable examples are Indraloka Animal Sanctuary, in Mehoopany, Pennsylvania, and Farmaste Animal Sanctuary, in Lindstom, Minnesota. Neither of these sanctuaries have been specifically established for the bovine, but both are examples of animal sanctuaries that use the bovine as an emblem for their logo. The Farmaste Animal Sanctuary evidently combines the terms Farm and Namaste to create their compound name "Farmaste." And, yet, a reoccurring pattern appears: no explanation or contextualization of appropriation is offered on their website. Likewise, the Indraloka Animal Sanctuary website makes no reference to Hinduism, even though their name is distinctly based upon a Hindu concept.[778] The website does offer an overtly simplified translation for Indraloka as "heaven on earth," but does not even mention which language it is translated from, nor what tradition it is attributed to.[779] Moreover, the term's origin is further diluted by the added detail that the sanctuary's founder is also called Indra, implying that this "heaven on earth" was

[776] Cited in *Sacred Cows Sanctuary*: http://www.sacred-cows-sanctuary.org/
[777] Ibid.
[778] Indra loka, otherwise known as Amaravati, is a heaven attributed to Lord Indra in Hindu mythology, and is described in rich detail in Book III of the Mahabharata as a place of celestial gardens, fragrant groves, and perpetual festivities (Vana Parva: Indralokagamana: Section XLII).
[779] Cited in "About Us," in *Indraloka Animal Sanctuary*: http://www.indraloka.org/

either discovered by her, created by her, or belongs to her.[780] Or, maybe, she just thought it was a cool and memorable name.

Regardless, these aforementioned examples still highlight how Hindu traditions continue to influence the animal sanctuary movement, be it explicitly or implicitly, in appreciation or in appropriation. Furthermore, no tradition has done more to inspire the establishment of sanctuaries specifically for the bovine than has Hinduism. The Hindu veneration of the milk-giving dhenu has led to the foundation of over half the bovine sanctuaries in the U.S., and has undoubtedly had a major influence in increasing the public awareness of how exploited this animal is in order to facilitate a national obsession for meat and dairy. In the next chapter, however, I will examine how a totally different dietary tradition, Veganism, which forbids all animal products, including the all-holy sacred milk, has influenced the foundation of new type of sanctuary, where the bovine is not venerated, but is instead offered absolute autonomy and liberation from all forms of human exploitation and anthropomorphism – be it for production, symbolism, or veneration.

[780] Cited in "Meet the Team," in *Indraloka Animal Sanctuary*: http://www.indraloka.org/about/meet-the-team/

CHAPTER 6

VEGAN VISIONARIES

Before I became vegan, I didn't know much about cows. I had only seen one once; after all, I was a city girl. When I visited a farmed animal sanctuary, I was amazed at how beautiful, serene and at peace these once abused but now fortunate animals were. Getting up close and personal with a cow and touching her was an emotional experience for me. As I gently stroked her head with my hand, I looked into the cow's eyes and apologized for my past behavior of eating meat and dairy and for not appreciating her rightful place on this planet alongside me. Today I not only appreciate cows but I love them.

(Rhea Parsons, *One Green Planet*, 2017)[781]

Introduction

In this next chapter I will present an examination of the role of Veganism in the establishment of two specific bovine sanctuaries in New Jersey and Texas, as well as its influencing the foundation of multiple other farm sanctuaries across the U.S., where the bovine is not only offered sanctuary but is also used as the main emblem in their logos.[782] In fact, of the 50 animal sanctuaries that use the bovine as an emblem, and are not specifically established for the bovine, at least 42% refer to Veganism on their website, and another 40% categorically highlight Veganism as pivotal to their sanctuary's mission or vision.[783] Veganism has therefore had an intrinsic role in the establishment of 43 animal sanctuaries in the U.S. in which the bovine is either offered preferential treatment or purposefully singled out as a symbol of the

[781] Rhea Parsons, "10 Things I Love About Cows," in *One Green Planet*, 3rd June 2017: http://www.onegreenplanet.org/animalsandnature/things-to-love-about-cows/
[782] Throughout this chapter I will write both Vegan and Veganism with an upper case letter to reflect and respect the argument that the dietary tradition can be considered a form of religion.
[783] See Figure 12 in Appendix B, p. 332.

sanctuary. However, unlike Hinduism and Lakol Wicoh'an, Veganism is not often interpreted as a religious tradition but more as an alternative dietary tradition that avoids all animal products, even though, as these sanctuaries' websites pertinently exemplify, Veganism is also referred to as a "living,"[784] a "lifestyle,"[785] a "lifelong commitment,"[786] a "journey,"[787] and even an "evolution,"[788] with online advice about how to "go Vegan."[789]

To start my analysis I will therefore first contextualize how Veganism can be interpreted as a New Religious Movement (NRM), and how a denial of such an affiliation is more a reflection of the popular misgiving for the term religion, and thus the common misunderstanding of what constitutes religion, rather than it is a sign that Veganism does not warrant such an affiliation. Therefore, alongside examining how Veganism can be interpreted as a NRM, I will also present an overview of a much broader definition of religion in juxtaposition to the often more limited theistic parameters that have led to the misconstrued perspective that religion must equate to a belief in deism. As such, I will present multiple reasons why Veganism can be interpreted as a form of religion, highlighting that it is not only a dietary practice, but also a lifestyle, whereby becoming and being a Vegan entails significant changes and

[784] Cited in "Vegan Living," in *Lasa Sanctuary*: https://www.lasasanctuary.org/
[785] Cited in "About the Founders," in *Farm of the Free Animal Sanctuary*: https://www.farmofthefree.org/
[786] Cited in "About Moonstone Farm," in *Moonstone Farm Sanctuary*: http://moonstonefarmsanctuary.blogspot.com/p/about-moonstone-farm.html
[787] Cited in "How To Get Started on Your Vegan Journey," in *Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary*: https://oliverandfriends.org/vegan-information/
[788] Cited in "Welcome!" in *VINE Sanctuary*: http://vine.bravebirds.org/
[789] Cited in "Go Vegan," in *Full Circle Farm Sanctuary*: https://www.fullcirclefarmsanctuary.org/go-vegan.html

demands upon one's life that include adopting and advocating unique non-speciesist beliefs, ethics, and codes of conduct.

Additionally, I will demarcate that Veganism, like many other religions, propagates a soteriological message, with its claim that a plant-based diet can lead to medicinal and environmental salvation. Thus, in the process, Veganism presents its very own promise and vision of how to achieve "heaven on earth,"[790] whereby humans are healthier, the environment is better protected, and an animals are treated with more compassion. And in such way, I will highlight that Vegan-inspired animal sanctuaries seek to exemplify this utopic vision by demonstrating how humans and animals can live side-by-side without exploitation, subjugation, and anthropocentric reductionism. Therefore, animals are not offered sanctuary because they are deemed specifically holy or sacred in regards to their significance to humans. Instead, they are offered sanctuary because their lives, and their right to lead autonomous and emancipated lives, are deemed sacred.

I will therefore emphasize that, unlike the bovine sanctuaries inspired by Hinduism and Lakol Wicoh'an, the motivation here to offer the bovine sanctuary is not because it is venerated as a source of life, nor revered as a benefactor in any shape or form. In fact, only the human performs the role of the benefactor without projecting any expectation of a symbiotic relationship. This is in marked juxtaposition with the other case studies that have already been examined in this dissertation, where bovine meat and milk were a major factor in establishing sanctuaries specifically for them. In the two case studies that I will be examining in this chapter, The Cow Sanctuary and

[790] Cited in "About Us," in *Indraloka Animal Sanctuary*: http://www.indraloka.org/

The Rowdy Girl Sanctuary, the motivation to dedicate sanctuaries specifically to the bovine has been significantly influenced by personal experiences with the bovine before the benefactors "went Vegan," with an indication that it was in fact these experiences that led to the benefactors "going Vegan."

These two examples also raise the question of how gender interconnects with offering the bovine freedom from production, whereby in both examples the sanctuaries were established by a woman with an intention to liberate the bovine from subjugation. In the final part of this chapter, I will therefore analyze the gendered affiliation between seeking to offer the bovine freedom from being forced to produce and serve humankind, and the emancipation of women from the embodied expectation to be sexual, pubertal, virginal, emotional, parental, and maternal in order to satisfy and sustain mankind. For in the same way that women's liberation and equity has arisen as a counterculture to the dominant patriarchal system, becoming Vegan and offering the bovine sanctuary stands in stark juxtaposition to the hegemonic dietary tradition and treatment of the bovine.

I will subsequently highlight that the vast majority of Vegan inspired animal sanctuaries have been in fact established by women,[791] echoing not only Greta Gaard's critique of the antiquated gender essentialist Ecofeminist argument that women are more inherently inclined towards an "ethic of responsibility and care,"[792] but also Rosemary Radford Ruether's more progressive intersectional Ecofeminist argument that "women must see that there can be no liberation for them and no solution to the ecological crisis within a society whose fundamental model of

[791] See Figure 13 in Appendix B, p. 332.
[792] Gaard (1993), 2.

relationships continues to be one of domination."[793] As such, Gaard argues that "no attempt to liberate women [or any other oppressed group] will be successful without an equal attempt to liberate nature."[794] For as pattrice jones,[795] the founder of Veganism is the Next Evolution (VINE), has likewise rationalized, "denigration of the female and denigration of nonhuman animals are just different aspects of the same algebra of ascendency."[796]

Veganism as a Religion

As previously cited in the introduction to this dissertation, pattrice jones' absolute disassociation with religion as playing a role in offering animals sanctuary at VINE was the initial spark for my research here. She argued in her lecture on "Eco-Logic for Effective Activism" that being a Vegan is not just about refusing to eat animals,[797] but is also about protecting their rights as nonhuman beings, and in the process actively "trying to solve," while also "imagining and testing interventions."[798] When I suggested to her that such an understanding of Veganism reminded me Emile Durkheim's definition of religion as "a system of ideas by means of which people represent to themselves the society of which they are members,"[799] she shook her

[793] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *New Woman/New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation* (New York: Seabury, 1975), 204.
[794] Greta Gaard, "Living Interconnection with Animals and Nature," in *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*, ed. Greta Gaard (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993, 1.
[795] pattrice jones prefers to use lower case letters to write her name – a request I respect and uphold throughout this chapter.
[796] pattrice jones, "Flower Power" in *Confronting Animal Exploitation: Grassroot Essays on Liberation and Veganism*, eds. Kim Socha and Sarahjane Blum (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2013), 264.
[797] pattrice jones, "Eco-Logic for Effective Activism." Presented on March 9th 2015 at Temple University, Philadelphia.
[798] pattrice jones, "Everybody Is Somebody," in *Bravebirds*: http://blog.bravebirds.org/archives/2479
[799] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1915), 44.

head and vehemently replied, that “religion plays no role at VINE – if anything religion is forbidden as it perpetuates essentialist ideas and practices.” I was slightly taken aback by this answer, because it seemed contradictory. On one hand jones stated that essentialist ideas and practices were forbidden at VINE, while on the other hand VINE propagated a Vegan activist message that seemingly presented its own essentialist understanding of ideas and practices. This unresolved contradiction whet my appetite to start further research, which three years later has culminated in this dissertation on how religion plays a role in bovine sanctuaries across the U.S.

The first question I had to resolve was why can’t Veganism be viewed as a religion? Or, in what ways does Veganism counter being defined as a religion? And why would a feminist activist be so appalled by the notion that anything she does or believes in could be paralleled to a form of religion? To start answering these questions it is first important to consider what the traditional understanding of religion is, and how such an interpretation could inspire such intense animosity. To begin with, let’s review jones’ criticism of religion as promoting “essentialist ideas and practices.” For many, religion perpetuates the deterministic notion of absolute truth, pure essence, and ideal form, whereby everything, including human nature, is deemed as unchangeable and eternal. Such essentialism counters progressive new movements, such as Veganism, that do not adhere to the presupposed normatives that many religions endorse. As such, religion can be accused of promoting archaic standards and behaviors which do not cohere with contemporary values – be it the emancipation of women, gender and sexual fluidity, or advocating for animal rights.

Therefore, for someone like jones, who identifies as a woman, a lesbian, a feminist, and as an animal activist, the traditional understanding of religion is synonymous with hierarchical and patriarchal rule, in which the dominant traditions have dogmatically sanctioned and forcibly asserted that man is above woman, and that anything but the heteronormative is abnormal and unacceptable. Many religions have indeed endorsed misogynistic doctrines and beliefs that inherently oppress women, disseminating, as Saint Clement of Alexandria exemplifies, that by "the very consciousness of their own nature must evoke feelings of shame,"[800] for they are deemed not only below men, but also, as Tertullian observed, as "a temple built over a sewer… the devil's doorway,"[801] and, as Saint John Chrysostom has remarked, as "the advance post of hell."[802] According to many traditions, women are the original sinner and the propagators of desire, and therefore, as Saint John Chrysostom further decried, "among all the savage beasts none is found to be so harmful as woman."[803]

Nowhere is this more vividly and disturbingly depicted than in the *The Buddhist Monastic Code*, in which men are warned against having sex with women, for in doing so they would "fall into a plane of deprivation, a bad destination, a lower realm, hell."[804] It is therefore instructed that "it would be better that your penis be stuck into the mouth of a poisonous snake than into a woman's vagina. It would be better that your penis be stuck into the mouth of a black viper than into a woman's vagina. It

[800] Saint Clement of Alexandria, "Pedagogues," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.2*, Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe eds. (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), 33.
[801] Tertullian, *On the dress of women*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, Ferdinand Cavallera ed. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1912), 70:59.
[802] Saint John Chrysostom. *Discourse 2* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 54:589.
[803] Ibid.
[804] Translated by Geoffrey DeGraff, "Introduction: Dhamma-Vinaya," in *The Buddhist Monastic Code* (Valley Center: Metta Forest Monastery, 1994), 14.

would be better that your penis be stuck into a pit of burning embers, blazing and glowing, than into a woman's vagina."[805] Such misogyny, like a poison, has tainted and tarnished many world religions, with women being described as "leather bags" of "foul filth,"[806] who are incapable of attaining the same heights of spiritual enlightenment as men, for as the 4th century *Bodhisattvabhumi* iterates, "women are by nature full of defilement and of weak intelligence."[807] Or, as celebrated Christian theologian Saint Augustine of Hippo chauvinistically explained, women were "not the image of God, but as far as man is concerned, he is by himself the image of God."[808]

Thusly, it comes across as though religion is only about the sanctity of man, being born in the image of God, while women, if they do play a part, embody essentialist ideals of either the lustful sinner (Mary Magdalene) or the chaste virgin (Mother Mary). Therefore, it is not surprising, as Sigmund Freud asserts, that religion reflects a "universal obsession neurosis of humanity" in regards to our "relation to the father" – whereby, "the root of religious authority" lies in our "parental complex."[809] Religion can therefore be deemed a reflection of an unwell society, or as Richard Dawkins argues, religion is a virus – a form of informational epidemiology, spreading poisonous and hence harmful beliefs and practices throughout society, turning the once healthy into "faith-sufferers."[810]

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[805] Ibid.
[806] Translated by Ven. Cheng Kuan, "Chapter 26," in *Sutra of Forty-Two Chapters* (Taipei: Vairocana Publishing Company Ltd., 2005), 28.
[807] Cited in Janice Dean Willis, *On Knowing Reality: The Tattvartha Chapter of Asanga's Bodhisattvabhumi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 69.
[808] Saint Augustine, *De Trinitatae*, Stephen Mckenna trans. (Washington: The Catholic University Press, 1963), 12:17.
[809] Sigmund Freud, *Leonardo da Vinci* (London: Kegan Paul, 1932), 103.
[810] Richard Dawkins, "Viruses of the Mind," in *Dennett and His Critics: Demystifying Mind*, Bo Dahlbom ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 21.

Karl Marx has likewise interpreted religion as a form of disease – yet rather than a virus religion works like an addictive drug, an "opium for the people," like an "illusory sun which revolves around man."[811] Rather than "protest against real suffering," humans indulge in fantasy to escape the pains of life.[812] As such, Jean-Paul Sartre argues that it is only with the demise of religion that humankind can be free and truly live authentic lives, for as it stands religion represents oppression, or as Immanuel Kant has described it, "religion comprises of nothing but laws."[813] Laws that promote archaic customs that contradict contemporary standards – and, as Ludwig Feuerbach contends, it is only through the elimination of such contradictions that the human race can be reborn.[814] Feuerbach therefore surmises that "religion is the childlike condition of humanity," whereby "religion is man's earliest form of self-knowledge."[815] Likewise Lucien Lévy-Bruhl contends that religion is an obsession of the "primitive mind," who "passively without reaction" connects all phenomenon to "an occult and invisible power."[816]

Therefore, it is possible, that for some religion not only signifies oppressive and archaic beliefs that contradict contemporary standards, but also reflects, as Rodney Stark and Roger Finke surmise, a "childlike" interpretation of all phenomenon, which it immediately equates to the "supernatural,"[817] in what Max Müller describes as "an

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[811] Karl Marx, *Marx and Engels Complete Works*, Vol. 1. (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975), 175.
[812] Ibid.
[813] Kant, Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1960), 156.
[814] Ludwig Feuerbach, cited in Marcel Xhaufflaire, *Feuerbach et la theologie de la Secularisation*, trans. M. Neusch, Paris: Cogiratio fidei 45, 1970, 259.
[815] Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 13.
[816] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La Mentalité primitive* (Paris: Alcan, 1947), 17-18.
[817] Rodney Stark and Roger Finke. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 89.

effort to conceive the inconceivable."[818] Such "an aspiration toward the infinite,"[819] as Müller also frames religion, or as William James explains, an attempt to relate to a "greater Self" or whatever one "may consider the divine,"[820] emphatically draws a "distinction between the empirical," as Roland Robertson delineates, "and a super-empirical transcendent reality."[821] Such a distinction ultimately reduces the empirical to be of less worth, drawing a line between what is considered profane in comparison to what is deemed to be sacred.[822]

As such, when one typically thinks of religion one automatically thinks of this distinction between the sacred and the profane, whereby all beliefs and practices are directed, as James C. Livingston explains, "toward what is perceived to be of sacred and transforming powers."[823] Likewise, one typically relates religion to, as James Maritneau asserts, a "belief in an ever-living God,"[824] or as Herbert Spencer states, "the belief in the omnipresence of something that goes beyond the intellect."[825] To put

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[818] Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1873), 18.
[819] Ibid.
[820] William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 115.
[821] Roland Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 47.
[822] This is noticeably stressed in *The New Testament*, which repeatedly denounces the corporeal in relation to the incorporeal: "Love not the world, neither the things [that are] in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (1 John 2:15-17), "know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God" (James 4:4), "for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live" (Romans 8:13), and "he that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal" (John 12:25). All quotes taken from *New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: The King James Version*, (Nashville: The Gideon International, 1985).
[823] James C. Livingston, *Anatomy of the Sacred: An Introduction to Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 47.
[824] James Martineau, *A Study of Religion: Its Sources and Contents Vol.1*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 15.
[825] Herbert Spencer, *First Principles* (New York: D. Appleton, 1860), 37.

it more simply, religion is often aligned with "a belief in spiritual beings"[826] that are deemed "superhuman beings."[827]

There are therefore many reasons why a Vegan may feel either animosity or a disconnection from religion. Veganism does not focus on either a belief in a god or any spiritual beings. Likewise, it does not promote an "idea of an eternal principle."[828] Furthermore, Vegans celebrate what many religions would perceive as profane – i.e. animals, food, physical health, the body, the environment, the Earth, and equality between not only humans but all species on the planet. However, this does not mean that Veganism is not a religion. Instead, it highlights that the traditional definitions of what constitute religion do not necessarily cohere with a definition of what constitutes Veganism. If we were however to look at additional and more liberal interpretations of religion, we would find that there is a stronger case to argue that Veganism can be interpreted as a religion.

For example, if we take a look at both the *Miriam Webster Online Dictionary* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* we would find several other definitions of religion that do not include the supernatural, spirits, gods, or the notion of an eternal principle. Instead, religion is defined as "an interest, a belief, or an activity that is very important to a person or group,"[829] "to do something religiously, i.e. held to with

[826] Edward B. Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Society* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1871), 229.
[827] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, M. Taylor ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269-270.
[828] Dorothy Nelkin, "Less Selfish than Sacred?: Genes and the Religious Impulse in Evolutionary Psychology," in *Alas, Poor Darwin*, Hillary Rose and Stephen Rose eds. (New York: Harmony Books, 2000), 18.
[829] Cited in "Definition of Religion," in *Miriam Webster Online Dictionary*: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/religion

ardour and faith,"[830] "devotion to some principle,"[831] and "obligation of an oath."[832] In these definitions of religion the emphasis is upon having strong convictions and beliefs that connect one to a group or community. As such, religion is presented as a somewhat "ubiquitous" phenomenon, as Gary Laderman concludes[833] and not something that is limited to beliefs and practices relative to sacred things. Rather, as Clifford Geertz asserts, religion can refer to any beliefs or practices that "establish powerful, persuasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in people."[834]

As such, Rebecca Alpert argues that "religion does not stand apart from other aspects of society," but is instead "intertwined with politics, economics, and aspects of popular culture, like sport," or in this case, dietary habits, like Veganism.[835] She therefore argues that any belief, behavior, or belonging can be perceived as a religion.[836] In such a way, religion is not only "ubiquitous," it is also personal and conditional, as Edmond Opitz argues, upon the individual's "fundamental way" of approaching, understanding, and evaluating "all subjects."[837] Therefore, what is religion and what is deemed sacred is relative to both the individual and the community with which one seeks to identify. In the same way that David Chidester argues that baseball, Coca-Cola, and rock 'n' roll are sacred features of "religion in American popular culture," and can be identified as "religious institutions" in their

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[830] Ibid.
[831] Cited in *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (1980), 2481.
[832] Ibid.
[833] Gary Laderman, *Sacred Matters: Celebrity Worship, Sexual Ecstasies, the Living Dead, and Other Signs of Religious Life in the United States* (New York: The New Press, 2009), xiii.
[834] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, M. Banton, ed. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), 4.
[835] Rebecca Alpert, *Religion and Sports: An Introduction and Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 8.
[836] Ibid, 6.
[837] Edmond Opitz, "Perspectives on Religion and Capitalism" in *The Freeman* (Dec.): 1981, 740.

own right, so can the same argument be made for interpreting Veganism as a "religious institution."[838]

For, if we should adopt such a functionalist interpretation of religion, then it can be argued, as David Loy does, that religion is anything that "grounds us" in relation to the world and highlights "our role in the world."[839] This is something that Veganism not only facilitates but also encourages through its emphasis on reconsidering our hierarchical relationship with other species on this planet. Furthermore, like religion, Veganism connects individuals to an "essential wholeness" through "a group of related values," with a focus on what Robert Monk calls "a pivotal value,"[840] what Alpert delineates as "ultimately meaningful in life,"[841] and what Paul Tillich has defined as "an ultimate concern."[842] In Veganism such an "ultimate concern" presents itself as the need to recognize animals "as sentient beings," as Brenda Davis and Vesanto Melina explain.[843] This means that an intrinsic part of "becoming Vegan is about taking a stand against injustice"[844] and pursuing a lifestyle that seeks to improve life on Earth. In such a way, Veganism reflects Aloysius Pieris' definition of religion as "a revolutionary urge," or "a psycho-social impulse to generate new humanity."[845]

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[838] David Chidester, "The Church of Baseball, the Fetish of Coca-Cola, and the Potlatch of Rock 'n' Roll: Theoretical Models for the Study of Religion in American Popular Culture," in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64:4 (1996): 743.
[839] David Loy, "The Religion of the Market," in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65:2 (1997): 275.
[840] Robert Monk et al, *Exploring Religious Meaning* (Upper Saddle River: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 17.
[841] Rebecca Alpert and Jacob Staub, *Exploring Judaism: A Reconstructionist Approach* (New York: The Reconstructionist Press, 1985), 11.
[842] Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture,* Robert C. Kimball ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 8.
[843] Brenda Davis and Vesanto Melina, *Becoming Vegan: The Complete Reference to Plant-based Nutrition* (Summertown: Book Publishing Company, 2014), 1.
[844] Ibid.
[845] Aloysius Pieris, "The place of non-Christian religions and cultures in the evolution of a Third-World Theology," in *CTC Bulletin,* 3(2) August 1982, 43.

Likewise, in the same fashion, Veganism coheres with John Yinger's definition of religion as "a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people struggle with the ultimate problem of human life."[846]

The question of what is "the ultimate problem" or the "ultimate concern" is arguably relative, depending upon the individual and the society from which they have been influenced. And yet, it can also be argued that a universal "ultimate concern" is the imminence of death, and thus as Bronislaw Malinowski argues, religion is "the affirmation that death is not real," and "that man has a soul and is immortal."[847] Similarly, Peter Berger asserts that religion "in all its manifestations… constitutes an immense projection of human meanings into the empty vastness of the universe."[848] As such, the "ultimate concern" is connected to what Leonard Swidler identifies as "an explanation of the meaning of life and how to live accordingly,"[849] when we are confronted, as Thomas Berry argues, with "the majesty and fearsomeness of the universe"[850] and the inevitable reality of our impending demise. Yet, for a movement or tradition to be labelled a religion it does not necessitate that it must cohere to either concerns. Rather, it can be, as Max Weber delineates, any "inner compulsion to understand the world as a meaningful cosmos"[851] – for example, as Davis and Melina further delineate, "a philosophy that promotes reverence for life and

[846] J. Milton Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1970), 6.
[847] Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, vol. IV (1931), 634.
[848] Peter Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970), 100.
[849] Leonard Swidler, "Toward a Universal Declaration of a Global Ethic," in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Idealogies* No. 7 (Spring 2004), 19.
[850] Thomas Berry, *The Sacred Universe: Earth, Spirituality, and Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 82.
[851] Max Weber, *Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 117.

compassion for all living beings and rejects the notion that animals are resources to be exploited."[852]

Furthermore, in the same way that many religions offer salvation through their beliefs and practices in regards to their "ultimate concern," Veganism also offers a form of salvation, whereby a "meaningful life" pertains to all species living in harmony, rather than most species being treated as resources for human consumption. Additionally, abstaining from eating all animal products not only encourages peace and harmony and offers salvation to those species most inflicted, it also presents a potential answer to the exponential environmental degradation of the Earth and its resources. Recent research has highlighted the horrific consequences of such large scale livestock farming on the stability and welfare of the environment: it is the leading cause of species extinction, ocean dead zones, water pollution, and habitat destruction;[853] it is responsible for producing more greenhouse gas emissions than all transportation combined;[854] livestock and their byproducts account for at least 32,000 million tons of carbon dioxide (CO2);[855] livestock is responsible for 53% of all emissions of nitrous oxide – a greenhouse gas 298 times more destructive than carbon dioxide;[856] growing feed crops for livestock consuming 55% of water in the US;[857]

[852] Davis and Melina (2014), 3.
[853] Cited in "The Problem," in *United States Environmental Protection Agency*: https://www.epa.gov/nutrientpollution/problem
[854] Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn, *The Sustainability Secret: Rethinking our Diet to Transform the World* (San Rafael: Earth Aware Editions, 2015), 5.
[855] Robert Goodland and Jeff Anhang, "Livestock and Climate Change: What if the key actors in climate change are… cows, pigs, and chickens?" in *World Watch Magazine* vol. 22: 6 (2009), 11.
[856] Andersen and Kuhn (2015), 5.
[857] Cited in "More Clean Water," in *Center for Science in the Public Interest*: http://www.cspinet.org/EatingGreen/pdf/arguments4.pdf

this means animal agriculture uses a staggering 34 trillion gallons of water annually.[858]

Therefore, each day a person who eats a Vegan diet is not only tackling the issue of the ethical treatment of animals they are also saving 1,100 gallons of water, 45 pounds of grain, 30 sq ft of forested land, 20 lbs CO2 equivalent, and one animal's life.[859] Furthermore, the land required to feed one Vegan for one year equates to 1/6th acre; for one vegetarian, 3 times as much as a Vegan; and for a meat eater, 18x as much as a Vegan.[860] A person who follows a Vegan diet produces 50% less carbon dioxide, 1/11th oil, 1/13th water, and 1/18th land compared to a meat-eater for their food.[861] In comparison one hamburger requires 660 gallons of water to produce – the equivalent of 2 months' worth of showers – and it takes up to 2,500 gallons of water are needed to produce 1 pound of beef.[862]

There is then also the argument that eating a Vegan diet can save humankind from many of the world's deadliest diseases. As Michael Greger argues in his recent bestseller, *How Not To Die: Discover the Foods Scientifically Proven to Prevent and Reverse Disease*, "most deaths in the United States are preventable, and they are related to what we eat.,"[863] whereby the endemic of chronic diseases can been

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[858] David Pimentel, Bonnie Berger, David DFiliberto, Michelle Newton, Benjamin Wolfe, Elizabeth Karabinakis, Steven Clack, Elaine Poon, Elizabeh Abbett, and Sudha Nandagopal, "Water Resources: Agricultural and Environmental Issues," in *Bioscience* vol. 54:10 (2004), 910.
[859] Richard A. Oppenlander, *Less Meat, and Taking Baby Steps Won't Work*. (Minneapolis: Langdon Street, 2013), xiv.
[860] Cited in "Our food our future," in *Earthsave*: http://www.earthsave.org/pdf/ofof2006.pdf
[861] Peter Scarborough, Paul Appleby, Anja Mizdrak, Adam Briggs, Ruth Travis, Kathryn Bradbury, and Timothy Key. "Dietary greenhouse gas emissions of meat-eaters, fish-eaters, vegetarians, and vegans in the UK," in *Climate Change* vol. 125: 2 (2014), 179.
[862] Cited in "Environmental Impact," in *Earth Working Group*: http://www.ewg.org/meateatersguide/interactive-graphic/water/
[863] Michael Greger, *How Not to Die: Discover the Foods Scientifically Proven to Prevent and Reverse Disease* (New York: Flatiron Books, 2015), 1.

ascribed to "the near universal shift toward a diet dominated by animal-sourced and processed foods – in other words, more meat, dairy, eggs, oils, soda, sugar, and refined grains."[864] His research has uncovered that a change to an exclusively plant-based diet can prevent many human diseases, including heart disease, lung diseases, brain diseases, digestive cancers, diabetes, high blood pressure, kidney disease, prostate cancer, Parkinson's disease, depression, and as such, suicidal tendencies.[865]

Veganism can therefore be deemed a religion in that it offers the tantalizing promise of salvation – for animals, for our environment, and for our health. As such, Veganism offers the potential of a "divine Reality," [866] what Shakti Marquis has referred to as the "Vegan Paradise Principle," in which she argues that "a higher intelligence or simply Mother Earth created this world to be a vegan paradise and that it actually was a vegan paradise at one time."[867] Veganism can therefore promote the potential of a "high-order meaning" that is also "grounded in identity" and the "unification of self with other."[868] Subsequently, Veganism reflects the religious quality of "belonging," or, as Chidester frames it: activities that promote "forming community, focusing desire, and facilitating change."[869] For, what signifies a religion more than identifying as being a part of a community, to which one not only belongs, but also feels intrinsically bound? As Maya Gottfried exemplifies in her book *Vegan Love: Dating and Partnering for the Cruelty-Free Gal*, that "the commitment to go

[864] Ibid, 5.
[865] Ibid, vii-viii.
[866] Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1946), 9.
[867] Shakti Marquis, *Vegan Paradise: A New Worldview To Save Our Bodies, Minds, and Souls – and Life on Earth* (Morrisville: Lulu Publishing, 2010), 35.
[868] Roy Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 71.
[869] David Chidester, *Authentic Fakes: Religion and American Popular Culture* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2005), 5.

Vegan" also impacts one's social life,[870] in particular "dating as a Vegan," whereby after a while she just avoided "those who couldn't embrace" her Veganism.[871]

However, Chidester does make the distinction between what he classifies as "authentic fake" religions and authentic traditions, or "implicit religion" versus explicit religion.[872] Likewise, Edward Bailey has written extensively on the ubiquity of "implicit religion in contemporary culture," whereby he disputes the secular/religious binary.[873] Instead, he argues that anything that entails "commitment" should be defined as an "implicit religion," in comparison to "explicit religion," which would denote what we would conventionally identify as world religious traditions – i.e. Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.[874] If we should use such a simplistic and dualistic breakdown of what constitutes religion, then Veganism would be more befitting of the "implicit religion" category. Similarly, Veganism could be identified as a "loose religion," in comparison to that which should be considered a "tight religion."[875] In this particular case, Brennan Hill, Paul Knitter, and William Madges argue that a "loose religion" is "whatever matters most for a person."[876] And yet, their classification for what constitutes "tight religion" could also arguably be used to define Veganism as a "model of behavior" that encourages the individual "to transcend their own limited egos in concern for other realities/persons."[877] For is not the very incentive behind Veganism to disrupt our

[870] Maya Gottfried, *Vegan Love: Dating and Partnering for the Cruelty-Free Gal – with Fashion, Makeup, and Wedding Tips* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2017), 2.
[871] Ibid, 12.
[872] Ibid.
[873] Edward Bailey, *Implicit Religion in Contemporary Society* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1997), 7.
[874] Ibid, 8.
[875] Brennan Hill, Paul Knitter, and William Madges, *Faith, Religion & Theology: A Contemporary Introduction* (Mystic: Twenty-third Publications, 1990), 158-159.
[876] Ibid, 158.
[877] Ibid.

exploitative relationship with all other species and thus transcend it to form a more harmonious reality?

Furthermore, if we should consider religion to be a "confluence of organic flows" as Thomas Tweed defines it,[878] or to be "analogous to superorganisms" – i.e. they are "ultimately biological" – as Edward Wilson emphasizes,[879] then Veganism can certainly be considered a religion, as religion is interwoven into the very fabric of existence: "they have a life cycle. They are born, they compete, they reproduce, and in the fullness of time, most die. In each of these phases religions reflect the human organisms that nourish them."[880] Veganism, like any other form of religious identity and movement, is subsequently an expression of human existence – competing for attention and survival, in what Pierre Bourdieu has further described, as an attempt "to modify, in a deep and lasting fashion, the practice and world-view of lay people."[881]

Lastly, if we should simply consider religion as a "social construct," in that it derives its "objective and subjective reality from human beings who produce it in their ongoing lives,"[882] then once again there is an argument to suggest that Veganism is a religion – for, like religion, it is merely a "social construct encompassing beliefs and practices which enable people, individually and collectively, to make some sense

[878] Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 54.
[879] Edward Wilson, "Making Religion," in *God is Love: Essays from Portland Magazine*, Brian Doyle ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Books, 2003), 124.
[880] Ibid.
[881] Pierre Bourdieu, "Legitimation and Structured Interests in Weber's Sociology of Religion," in *Max Weber: Rationality and Modernity*, Sam Whimster and Scott Lash eds. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 127.
[882] Berger (1970), 48.

of the Great Questions of life and death."[883] Furthermore, as Michel Foucault argues, if we consider everything as a "social construct," even identifying the concept of "man" as "an invention of recent date,"[884] then, on what ground would we dispute that Veganism as a religion? What would distinguish Veganism as religion rather than just another "invention"? For, even though Richard King argues that "religion is a culturally specific construction with a particular genealogy of its own," and that its "conceptual framework" is "unmistakably theological and Christian in orientation," he also admits that there is room to argue that "Marxism and nationalism can be understood as modern forms of religion." [885] Therefore, in a similar light, Veganism can also be argued to be a modern form of religion in "an apparently secularized society."[886]

Likewise, what distinguishes Hinduism or Lakol Wicoh'an as religions in comparison to Veganism? Firstly, it is important to clarify that neither tradition originally used the term religion to define themselves, but instead the term "way." In Hinduism the name "Sanatana dharma" is interchangeably used, which, when translated, means "natural, ancient, and eternal way," and as already highlighted in a previous chapter, Lakol Wicoh'an literally means "the way of the Lakota." The term 'religion' has therefore been projected onto these traditions by the colonial project in order to systematically categorize everything in relationship to Eurocentric imperialism. Secondly, the omission of the term religion in both traditions highlights

[883] D. B. Barrett, *The New Believers: A Survey of Sects, Cults, and Alternative Religions* (London: Routledge, 2001), 25.
[884] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970), 387.
[885] Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 40-41.
[886] Ibid, 41.

the fact that there is not a dualistic understanding of life as sacred and profane, but rather, as Martin Brokenleg argues in the case of Lakol Wicoh'an, "that our way of life is God given is so essential that we have no word to distinguish religion from daily living… everything – from common courtesies to complex religious actions – is a part of Lakol Wicoh'an."[887]

If religion is therefore defined as a "way of life," then undoubtedly Veganism can be interpreted as a religion, because, as already highlighted, on multiple sanctuary websites it is referred to as a "living," a "lifestyle," and a "lifelong commitment. Furthermore, on The Vegan Society website it defines Veganism as a "philosophy and a way of living."[888] And although there are not specific groups that call themselves Religious Vegans, there are groups that have adopted titles such as Spiritual Vegans or Ethical Vegans. However, as Nancy Tatom Ammerman explains, stating that one is "spiritual but not religious" actually "implicitly sees spirituality as the replacement or residue left behind by religion."[889] Likewise, as Robert Fuller outlines, spirituality still acknowledges the potential of divine presence and even an inner connection with God.[890] As such, James Gollnick argues that there is a strong argument to assert that spirituality can be viewed as either a form of implicit religion or even a religion in disguise.[891] Therefore, when such groups as Vegan Spirituality advertise themselves

[887] Martin Brokenleg, "A Native American Perspective: That People May Live," in *Preaching Justice: Ethnic and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Christine Marie Smith (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishing, 2008), 34.
[888] Cited in "History," in *The Vegan Society*: https://www.vegansociety.com/go-vegan/definition-veganism
[889] Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Sacred Stories, Spiritual Tribes: Finding Religion in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3.
[890] Robert Fuller, *Spiritual But Not Religious: Understanding Unchurched America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 75-76.
[891] James Gollnick, "Is Implicit Religion Spirituality in Disguise?" in *Implicit Religion* vol. 6: 2 & 3 (2003), 158.

on their website as a form of Veganism that promotes "a spiritual practice with yoga, meditation, a vegan lunch, speaker presentation, group discussion, and animal blessing/community ritual,"[892] one is left questioning in what way this does not align with being religious.

Similarly, there are many Vegans who identify with the label "Ethical Veganism," in that they "often see themselves in solidarity with one another in the struggle against cruelty and violence."[893] Lori Gruen and Robert Jones describe such "a lifestyle as an expression of their commitment to ending the suffering that accompanies the commodification of sentient beings."[894] As highlighted earlier, Bailey would argue that such a "commitment" would signify the rudiments of what constitutes an implicit religion.[895] Furthermore, in what ways does being ethical differ from being religious? If ethics connotes certain beliefs and behaviors, then, as both Alpert and Chidester have argued, this would also reflect being religious. Also, the fact that Vegans identify as one group "in solidarity with one another" to fight a common goal in order to realize a better reality sounds remarkably like how John Dewey defines religion as "any activity pursued on behalf of an ideal end against obstacles and in spite of threats of personal loss because of its general and enduring value."[896]

Furthermore, it is not as though Vegans are not charged with being "religious" – i.e. Vegans are often charged with being "preachy," thinking that they are "better

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[892] Cited in "Explore Veganism as a Spiritual Practice," in *Vegan Spirituality*: http://veganspirituality.com/groups.html
[893] Lori Gruen and Robert Jones, "Veganism as an Inspiration," in *The Moral Complexities of Eating Meat*, Ben Bramble and Bob Fischer eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 155.
[894] Ibid.
[895] Bailey (1997), 7.
[896] John Dewey, *A Common Faith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 27.

than and morally superior to non-Vegans," and exhibiting "a kind of self-righteous zealotry" that has earned them the name, "Vegan police."[897] Additionally, such religious zeal has been particularly exemplified by groups such as Vegananarchy, Boycott Veganism, Engaged Veganism, Hardline Vegans, and SxE (Straight Edge) Vegans, which Gabriel Smith has described as promoting a "militant vegan lifestyle."[898] Some Vegans even embrace the charge of being labelled religious, and call themselves "Vegangelicals."[899] As Kathy Rudy explains, "we had the conviction of converts to a religion we thought could save our immortal souls. We came what I now call Vegangelicals."[900] Likewise, Will Tuttle, the co-founder of Veganpalooza, the largest online Vegan event in history, has also acknowledged that his Vegan identity could be defined as being religious:

> Veganism manifests as faithful devotion to the acknowledged truth that all life is sacred and interconnected, and that all living beings are deserving of kindness and respect… it is a practice, a moral statement, a way of living, an aspiration, and also, in some ways, a religion as well.[901]

There is therefore a compelling case to make: Veganism can be defined as a religion, and Vegans can be defined as perpetuating religious zeal and ideals. This chapter has thus far outlined that there are many different interpretations of what constitutes religion, and yet, by and large, most of these interpretations do correlate to what constitutes as Veganism. Even legally some have argued that Veganism should

[897] Gruen and Jones (2016), 155.
[898] Gabriel Smith, "White Mutants of Straight Edge: The Avant-Garde of Abstinence," in *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 44: 3, (2011): 643.
[899] Kathy Rudy, *Loving Animals: Toward a New Animal Advocacy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 76.
[900] Ibid.
[901] Will Tuttle, "Is Veganism a Religion?" in *Defence of Animals*: http://www.idausa.org/veganism-religion/

be viewed as a religion, especially in regards to religious discrimination. As Donna Page argues, "the word religion, as used in employment discrimination statutes, should be interpreted broadly to include moral and ethical beliefs that are held with the strength of traditional religious beliefs."[902] If we should implement such a definition, then "Vegan beliefs can be protected as religious beliefs."[903] To support her argument, she presents a detailed analysis of a recent California appellate court case, *Friedman v. Southern California Permanente Medical Group*, as an example of how a court deals with defining a non-traditional religious claim in regards to Veganism. This particular case produced the verdict that "Veganism, in certain circumstances, should be considered a religious belief under federal law."[904]

Likewise, Lisa Johnson argues in her article "The Religion of Ethical Veganism" that the majority of the Vegans she surveyed possessed "beliefs concordant with the definition of religion according to federal statutes, federal judicial tests, and regulatory law."[905] As such, Johnson argues that Veganism should be legally "recognized" and thus "protected" as a religion under U.S. law.[906] The question is therefore not whether Veganism can be defined as a religion – for as this chapter has so far extensively outlined, Veganism can be considered a religion theoretically, practically, personally, and now legally – but more whether or not such a classification should be imposed upon those identifying as Vegan. For, beyond legal benefits, who would truly benefit from such a reclassification? As Richard King

[902] Donna Page, "Veganism and Sincerely Held 'Religious' Beliefs in the Workplace: No Protection without Definitions," in *U. PA Journal of Labor and Employment Law* vol. 7:2 (2005), 365.
[903] Ibid.
[904] Ibid.
[905] Lisa Johnson, "The Religion of Ethical Veganism," in *Journal of Animal Ethics*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 2015), 31.
[906] Ibid.

argues, perhaps it is the scholar of religion who would most benefit, for if Veganism, like he argues in regards to Marxism or nationalism, "can be understood as modern forms of religion then there remains a potentially important role for the scholar of religion in an apparently secularized society."[907]

And, there is no doubt, that in incorporating a definition of Veganism as a religion that my project has been significantly enriched. For, as I shall highlight in the next section of this chapter, by interpreting Veganism as a NRM I have comprehensively broadened my area of study. Not only does Veganism add a compelling third category to my examination of the role of religion in the formation of bovine sanctuaries, with two bovine benefactors claiming Veganism as their main inspiration, but I have also the potential to now examine a further 41 animal sanctuaries which have claimed an affiliation to Veganism as well as adopting the bovine as a pivotal emblem for their logos.

[907] King (1999), 41.

Emblematic Bovines

One of the most compelling juxtapositions that I have unearthed in my research is the pivotal role the bovine plays as an emblem for Vegan animal sanctuaries. For, why should the bovine in particular be emblematic of, or for, Vegan animal sanctuaries? Surely, a dietary tradition that specifically seeks to avoid not just meat but all animal products would have little reason to favor or venerate the bovine over any other animal? And, yet, as I will detail in this section, the evidence highlights that they do, with 41 Vegan animal sanctuaries making the bovine a pivotal emblem for their logos.[908] In this section I will offer a detailed examination of a selection of these Vegan animal sanctuary logos in cross reference to their websites, and in some cases, books written by their benefactors.

The first sanctuary that I will examine is not only the most famous Vegan animal sanctuary in the U.S., but is perhaps also the most famous animal sanctuary in the world – Farm Sanctuary. This is largely due to the major media coverage it received when celebratory comedian and political commentator Jon Stewart announced to the world in 2015 that he was going to retire from the multi Emmy awarded *The Daily Show*, which he had hosted for sixteen years, in order to support his wife, Tracey Stewart, to develop the fourth Farm Sanctuary in Colts Neck, New Jersey.[909] Such media spotlight added to the sanctuary's already established acclaim as the "nation's largest and most effective farm animal rescue and protection organization."[910] In addition to it being the first animal sanctuary franchise, with four

[908] See Figure 12 in Appendix B, p. 332.
[909] Nicole Sturges, "Jon Stewart and other stars rescue Animals with Farm Sanctuary," in *Parade*, 23rd June 2017: https://parade.com/581054/nicolabridges/jon-stewart-and-other-stars-rescue-animals-with-farm-sanctuary/
[910] Cited in "About Farm Sanctuary," in *Farm Sanctuary*: https://www.farmsanctuary.org/about-us/

to its name,[911] its co-founder, Gene Baur, has also become a celebrity in his own right, having published four books and being called "the conscience of the food movement" by *Time Magazine*,[912] as well as being named in Oprah Winfrey's 2016 top "100 Supersouls."[913]

The Farm Sanctuary logo has therefore become synonymous with the animal sanctuary movement, with its side-profile depiction of a curious bovine, seemingly greeting, or genuflecting toward, a chicken. Under the image appear the words, "a compassionate world begins with you," asserting not only the motto of the sanctuary, but also an inclination of the use of the bovine as an emblem of compassion – endorsing the interpretation of the bovine as genuflecting in the image. For as Baur iterates in his 2008 work *Farm Sanctuary: Changing Hearts and Minds about Animals and Food*, "cattle move with the earth's rhythms in a way that's hard to describe. At times, I've even heard them breathe sympathetically with people who are in a state of heightened emotion."[914] Furthermore, a link on the Farm Sanctuary website to an article called "Thinking Cows: A Review of Cognition, Emotion, and the Social Lives of Domestic Cows," written for its *The Someone Project* (a study of farm animal behavior, emotion, and intelligence), emphasizes that "cows depend on

[911] The four Farm Sanctuaries are located in Acton (CA), Orland (CA), Watkins Glen (NJ), and Colts Neck (NJ) – see Appendix II: p. 263-274.
[912] Bryan Walsh, "The Morality of Mealtime," in *Time Magazine*, 30th March 2011: http://content.time.com/time/health/article/0,8599,2062252,00.html
[913] Cited in "Gene Baur," in *Supersoul: Everybody has a Soul Story*: http://www.supersoul.tv/supersoul-100/soul-givers/gene-baur
[914] Gene Baur, *Farm Sanctuary: Changing Hearts and Minds about Animals and Food* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 61.

each other extensively for emotional support" and their "demonstration of emotional contagion suggests how tuned in they are to one another's feelings."[915]

Such "emotional contagion," or compassion, is succinctly highlighted in the article's description of Farm Sanctuary's resident cowherd's response to when one of their own, Cinci, was about to die:

> The deep emotional connection between Cinci and the herd was heartbreakingly evident when veterinarians diagnosed Cinci with untreatable spinal cancer. During her final day, the herd gathered around Cinci — some licking her face and back to provide tactile reassurance — with each individual member approaching to say goodbye. Cows depend on each other for emotional support, and the powerful friendships that Cinci made testify to social depth and caring.[916]

Such compassion was also observed in another of the Farm Sanctuary's resident bovine: Maya, the first bovine brought to the sanctuary in 1986. Susie Coston, the sanctuary's director, has described Maya as the "teacher of so many lessons," because she showed the sanctuary team the depth of emotions bovines can display, from grief and pain to joy and love.[917] As she fondly recollects:

> Maya jumped right into the role of adoptive mother and lovingly cared for these calves who, like herself, had been taken from their biological mothers shortly after they were born… for more than a decade, I learned how much she continued to love those calves she was given the responsibility to care for… She remained the loyal, unconditionally loving mother of each of those magnificent steers, all of whom grew to be well over a ton and well over six feet tall. And they loved and respected her throughout their lives.[918]

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[915] Christina M. Colvin, Kristin Allen, and Lori Marino, "Thinking Cows: A Review of Cognition, Emotion, and the Social Lives of Domestic Cows," in *The Someone Project* (Kanab: Kimmela Center for Animal Advocacy Inc., 2017), 11-12.
[916] Ibid, 3.
[917] Susie Coston, "Maya Cow: Teacher of so Many Lesson," in *Animals of Farm Sanctuary*: http://www.animalsoffarmsanctuary.com/post/145279608401/maya-cow-teacher-of-so-many-lessons-twenty-eight
[918] Ibid.

And yet her love for one of these particular steers, Opie, was so profound that when he was euthanized in 2008 she died of grief: she "started to just let go… she was no longer interested in going out to pasture and remained close to the barn. She had no symptoms that pointed to disease, but more that pointed to depression."[919] Eight months later and Maya died, "she had lost her spark."[920]

These stories highlight not only the emotional depth of the bovine, but also their sincere effect on the benefactors who tend to them and have chosen them as the emblem for their sanctuaries. As Coston further iterates, such a range of emotions "made me love and respect this cow, and all cattle, even more than I already did."[921] Such compassion is similarly reflected in the next two animal sanctuary logos for Sweet Farm Sanctuary and The Barnyard Sanctuary. In both logos the cow is depicted as the only animal looking straight back at us, as if emphasizing a higher level of recognition or awareness. Furthermore, in the bovine is depicted with animals on standing on its back (chicken and geese), as though alluding to the bovine's capacity for compassion, taking on other animals' burdens as if it is its own to bear. Even more symbolic is the cat looking up to the bovine in the Sweet Farm logo, plausibly portraying the benefactors own respect and benevolence for their resident bovine guardians and teachers. Neither of the sanctuary's websites, however, provide any other insight into why the bovine may be more revered so that it deserves such a pivotal role in their logos.

In fact, none of the websites for the 15 Vegan animal sanctuaries I am examining explain the meaning or symbolism of the bovine in their logos. Instead, I

[919] Ibid.
[920] Ibid.
[921] Ibid.

have been forced to read between the lines and rummage through other links and sources to interpret these matters. Moreover, I have chosen to interpret the logos at face value, presuming that the use of the bovine as an emblem must be emblematic of something that the sanctuary seeks to promote or evoke. For, why else would the sanctuary use the bovine as an emblem? For, even if the sanctuary was not trying to promote the notion that the bovine represents their integral message of compassion, the animal would have still been presumably chosen to symbolize something else – be that the bovine is a common image of the excessively exploited, and therefore needs sanctuary, or that the bovine in particular is protected at Vegan animal sanctuaries because it is here, and only here, that their milk is not consumed. Instead, the bovine is guaranteed sanctuary to exist without any expectation or reprisal.

And, yet, in the next example, the use of the bovine is profoundly resonant with not only the name of the sanctuary itself, The Gentle Barn,[922] but also with the overall message presented on their website: "teaching people kindness and compassion to animals, each other and our planet."[923] The logo depicts this message with an image of a young child reaching out a hand to a bovine – and in sharing this "gentle" moment and space, the bovine is equated to the child's gentleness, and at the same time childlike innocence, with neither being capable pf premeditated spite or harm. As such, the bovine conveys the image of innocence that was once lost but can be regained, for it was once within all of us when we were children, before we were corrupted and tainted. Such an interpretation resonates with a recent blog written by the sanctuary's benefactor, Ellie Laks, where she states that when humans spend time

[922] The Gentle Barn has also successfully created a sanctuary franchise with three sanctuaries to its name: Santa Clarita (CA), Ditmer (MO), and Knoxville (TN).
[923] Cited on the website's homepage, *The Gentle Barn*: https://www.gentlebarn.org/

with animals, "we can be ourselves, and they always mirror back to us that we are loveable," and, in such a way, "animals are vital to our lives because when we are with them, we connect to the love inside of ourselves."[924] She therefore concludes that "hugging cows makes everything good again."[925]

Such a reverence for the vital role that animals play to teach us about compassion and love is further exemplified in Laks' appreciation of one of her resident bovines, whom she named Buddha. She describes this bovine in her autobiography. *My Gentle Barn*, as "a true ambassador for the animals, modelling just how intelligent and sensitive farm animals," and perhaps even more profoundly, how through "accepting love from a cow" that we "could accept love from other human beings, and just maybe one day learn to love" ourselves.[926] For as she further reveals:

> I'd never felt anything quite like it. Encircled by her neck, I was captured in a cow hug, and her warmth seeped deep in my body. But there was something else, too, some energy that felt both foreign and as familiar as my own breath. In that moment I felt so at peace, so totally accepted by this animal.[927]

Laks therefore decided to turn her sanctuary into a place of healing, where she would "introduce this hug to others," to "the people who needed it the most… at-risk kids," because "hugging Buddha was soft and slow and still – the antithesis of any touch they'd ever received."[928] At The Gentle Barn the bovine therefore not only symbolizes love and compassion, but also performs a vital role as a teacher of love. The logo therefore succinctly reflects this all important role and belief within

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[924] Ellie Laks, "The Love Inside Us," in *The Gentle Barn*: https://www.gentlebarn.org/blog/2018/05/03/the-love-inside-us/
[925] Ibid.
[926] Ellie Laks, *My Gentle Barn: Creating a Sanctuary where Animals Heal and Children Learn to Hope* (New York: Harmony Books, 2014), 86-87.
[927] Ibid, 86.
[928] Ibid.

Veganism that humans and animals are "all on a level playing field, none more important than another."[929] And, at the same time, if we shed ourselves of our speciesist superciliousness, then maybe animals, in particular the bovine, might also teach us how to love. For, what is more important to Veganism than this all-encompassing love? As Ruby Roth articulates in her children's book *Vegan is Love*, "to be Vegan means to care deeply about how our choices help or harm animals, how we create peace or suffering in the world. Our choices are powerful. Vegan is love."[930]

Such a conviction that Veganism is not only about "promoting a plant-based diet,"[931] but is also focused on a message of love, is likewise depicted on ASHA Sanctuary's offshoot educational outreach program's logo, whereby the last two letters of the term buffalo and the first two letters of the term vegan are conjoined to form the principle message of The Buffalo Vegan Society: love, or what the society's website also calls, a "compassionate ethic."[932] The use of the buffalo (pte) in the society's logo may refer to the general assertion that all bovines embody such a "compassionate ethic," but in doing further research it seems that it is more a play on the name of the city, Buffalo, where the society is located.

ASHA Sanctuary does however explicitly use another bovine for two of its logos – one for the sanctuary itself, where the bovine is depicted with a dog, and one for its celebrity bovine, "Albert," whom not only dominates the website homepage

[929] Jenny Brown, *The Lucky Ones: My Passionate Fight for Farm Animals* (New York: Avery, 2012), 10.
[930] Ruby Roth, *Vegan is Love: Having Heart and Taking Action* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2012), 2.
[931] Cited in "About Us," in *The Buffalo Vegan Society*: http://www.buffaloveg.org/
[932] Cited in "About Us," in *The Buffalo Vegan Society*: http://www.buffaloveg.org/

with videos and messages, such as "Albert wants you to take the 7 day veg pledge" and "Albert's Super Kitchen,"[933] but is also offered his very own Facebook account, called "Albert the Super Cow."[934] Such a promotion of the bovine at ASHA Sanctuary pertinently reflects how Laks has similarly used Buddha the bovine at The Gentle Barn as "a true ambassador for the animals.[935] And in the case of Albert the bovine, he is also literally given a voice, whereby on his Facebook account he not only reflects upon his daily experiences, but is also prone to disseminating the benefits of a Vegan lifestyle. As he exemplifies in his Facebook account biography:

> I want you to think about all the millions of baby calves who were not as lucky. They're taken away from their mothers all the time because the dairy industry has to keep the mothers constantly pregnant to produce milk. So they have no use for calves like me when we are born. We are killed right away or sent to auction for someone else to do the dirty work. You can help end this mean treatment of us by dropping dairy products and trying out all the other delicious non-dairy products out there. So that means, giving Veganism a go. It's pretty easy. I'm a vegan. And look how strong and happy I am![936]

At ASHA Sanctuary therefore the role of speaking "for those who cannot speak for themselves,"[937] is in fact performed by the resident "Super Cow." Similarly, Maya Gottfried gives a voice to Maya, the famed cow at the Farm Sanctuary, in her children's book *Our Farm: By the Animals of Farm Sanctuary*. Here, Maya the Cow calls herself "Grandma Moo," and offers "wisdom," as well as showing absolute compassion and love to "the little calf" in the tale.[938] Perhaps it is this conviction that

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[933] Cited on the homepage of *ASHA Sanctuary*: http://www.ashasanctuary.com/
[934] Cited on the homepage of *Albert the Super Cow*: https://www.facebook.com/pg/albertthesupercow/about/?ref=page_internal
[935] Laks (2014), 86.
[936] Cited in "Biography," in *Albert the Super Cow*: https://www.facebook.com/pg/albertthesupercow/about/?ref=page_internal
[937] Maya Gottfried, *Our Farm: By the Animals of Farm Sanctuary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 33.
[938] Ibid, 4.

the bovine is inherently compassionate, and can teach us "a wise old thing or two,"[939] that explains why the benefactors of Skylands Animal Sanctuary, Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary, and Moonstone Farm Sanctuary have similarly made the bovine the one and only emblem for their sanctuary logos and their website homepages. For, once again, there is no specific explanation on their websites for why the bovine should be selected as the only animal depicted alongside such messages as "a place for them, a place for hope;"[940] "ask not what the animals can do for you… ask what you can do for the animals;"[941] and "it takes nothing from a human to be kind to an animal."[942] And, once again, in each case, it is as though the sanctuary is echoing Laks' understanding of the bovine as "a true ambassador for the animals," in that it models "just how intelligent and sensitive farm animals" are.[943] For what else are we left to presume when Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary place a picture of a bovine next to a mission statement that emphasizes a desire to inspire "change in the way society views and treats 'farm' animals" and "to help people see that animals traditionally viewed as 'food' are just as unique, intelligent, and sensitive as dogs and cats"?[944] That the bovine best represents an animal whose intelligence and compassion has been completely ignored to accommodate our dietary needs? That the bovine is therefore the most pertinent and credible animal to use in order to challenge society's speciesist cognitive dissonance? Or is there another explanation for why the

[939] Ibid.
[940] Cited on the homepage of *Skylands Animal Sanctuary and Rescue*: http://skylandssanctuary.org/
[941] Cited on the homepage of *Moonstone Farm Sanctuary*: http://moonstonefarmsanctuary.blogspot.com/p/about-moonstone-farm.html
[942] Cited on the home page of *Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary*: https://oliverandfriends.org/
[943] Laks (2014), 86.
[944] Cited on the homepage of *Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary*: https://oliverandfriends.org/

bovine should be deemed a more appropriate emblem? Is there something about them that provokes more human empathy and thus some potential to inspire change?

If not, why should only pictures of the bovine be chosen for the "Vegan Information" page on the Oliver and Friend's Farm Sanctuary website? Where are the other animals? Why are there only photos of humans interacting with the bovine? An alternative explanation could be that Veganism directly benefits the bovine more so than any other farm animal. For how does a pig or a sheep directly benefit from a Vegan inspired sanctuary more so than one founded on vegetarian principles? In such a way, "going Vegan" normally refers to giving up additional animal products, rather than meat alone, with the assumption that most Vegans have already weaned themselves off meat before becoming Vegans, and are now "committing" themselves to an even stricter dietary practice – a dietary practice which directly benefits the bovine, because, as the previous chapter has already emphasized, when vegetarians offer sanctuary to the bovine it does not mean that they are completely free from exploitation. Veganism however does guarantee this, for when people state that they are Vegan or they are "going Vegan" the one big omission from their diet is dairy – and such an omission is considered a substantial sacrifice for individuals raised in both Europe and the U.S., where dairy addiction and obsession is pertinently highlighted in the excess of dairy products that clutter the supermarkets.[945]

And yet, of the 195 dairy brands that are sold in the U.S. only 3 actually reference the bovine – yoghurt brands Brown Cow and Dreaming Cow, and the internationally well-known cheese Laughing Cow. This means that the bovine's role

[945] See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 in Appendix B, p.333-336.

is silenced and hidden in the names of over 98% of dairy brands – as if revealing to the public who is truly the dairy queen would somehow deter overconsumption.[946] In such a way, "going Vegan" also refers to the dramatic unveiling of the animal behind these dairy products, and therefore, in the process, becoming aware of the rights and the plight of the bovine in the dairy industry. As online Vegan blogger and founder of One Green Planet Rhea Parsons admits: "before I became Vegan, I didn't know much about cows. I had only seen one once; after all, I was a city girl… today I not only appreciate cows but I love them."[947]

Bovine Benevolence

It is therefore possible that the bovine has become such a pivotal emblem for many Vegan animal sanctuaries because becoming a Vegan not only entails finally recognizing the plight of the bovine, but also ultimately truly appreciating the beauty of the bovine. And in appreciating this bovine beauty, it is likewise possible to initiate a form of bovine benevolence for these "big, beautiful cows."[948] Such has been the case for Helga Tacreiter, the founder of The Cow Sanctuary, who "grew to love them when [she] worked farms, milking and feeding these peaceful creatures and getting to know their distinct individual personalities."[949] Tacreiter's love for the bovine is like nothing I have ever witnessed before. Over the period of the last three years I have visited her sanctuary several times, and each time I have been left bereft of words to describe the profundity of her bovine benevolence. She really is the living the

[946] See Figure 6 in Appendix B, p. 327.
[947] Rhea Parsons, "10 Things I Love About Cows," in *One Green Planet*: http://www.onegreenplanet.org/animalsandnature/things-to-love-about-cows/
[948] Helga Tacreiter, "The Story of the Cowches," http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/
[949] Ibid.

manifestation of "a cow's best friend,"[950] creating a "slice of bovine heaven" in the heart of New Jersey's thriving livestock country.[951]

Tacreiter has been running The Cow Sanctuary, a 72-acre farm located in Bridgetown, NJ, for over 30 years. The first residents were six calves she rescued in 1988 after a storm had killed the rest of their herd, and gradually over the years she has offered sanctuary to over 20 bovine, as well as also opening her home to emus, goats, cats, dogs, horses, ponies, donkeys, mules, ducks, geese, chicken, possums, and pigs. In the case of the possums and the pigs, she has literally invited them in to stay with her, with homemade possum hutches sporadically situated throughout her house, and a mat on the floor next to where she sleeps for her resident pet pig, who follows her where ever she goes. Since 2005 she has been working and living alone at the sanctuary, and has come quite accustomed to a life that is completely revolved around the animals in her care. However, she seems not in the least lonely or overwhelmed by her solitary and evidently labor-intensive lifestyle. Instead, she perceives herself to be "really lucky."[952] As she positively reflected in an interview for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, "I get to do something that makes me want to spring out of bed in the morning and gives meaning to my life."[953]

And such meaning is etched in every encounter one shares with Tacreiter on her sanctuary, as she dutifully performs her role for her animal friends, some of whom are partially blind, deaf, crippled, bed-ridden, and in some cases dying slowly of old age.

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[950] Todd Norden, "A Cow's Best Friend: Compassion leads to Art," in *The Bridgeton Journal*, 18th August 2001: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/TheBridgetonJournal-2001-p1.html
[951] Joseph A. Gambardello, "It's a Slice of Bovine Heaven," in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12th October 2003: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/PhillyInquirer-p1.html
[952] Cited in Joseph A. Gambardello, "It's a Slice of Bovine Heaven," in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12th October 2003: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/PhillyInquirer-p1.html
[953] Ibid.

It is this inevitable fate that has been the hardest part for her over the last 30 years. As she laments on the sanctuary's website:

> The biggest change, though, has been the life-cycle. It was easy when they were all sweet young calves, to say that I'd do everything in my power to give them a safe and happy life, until they died naturally, of old age. Old age was a lifetime away. I didn't know how long a cow's lifetime was. It turns out that cows live about as long as dogs do. They pass away in their late teens. Which, as anyone who has loved a dog, or a cow, will tell you, is far far too short a time. But that's how it is. And they did have a safe and happy life, filled with love.[954]

Over the last thirty years many of her beloved bovines have therefore passed away – including all six of her first bovine residents. And yet, unlike the other animals at the sanctuary, each bovine is promised their own grave on the sanctuary property, marked with rose bushes, where "the living grace peacefully among them."[955] When she showed me the bovine cemetery a couple of the rose bushes had grown exponentially larger than the others, to which Tacreiter commented was a reflection of how much love these particular bovines had accrued in life. She then wistfully smelt the roses and sighed.

Such preferential affection for the bovine is pertinently reflected in not only the name of the sanctuary, which clearly demarcates that this is first and foremost a bovine sanctuary, but also in the logo for the sanctuary, which simply depicts a bovine, resting with its hooves tucked under its body, and with a little heart floating above its head. However, perhaps nowhere is this love for the bovine more exemplified than in her "cowch" project, in which she makes real life-sized cow shaped couches for people to buy in order to help fund the running of the sanctuary.

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[954] Helga Tacreiter, "The Sanctuary Residents," in *The Cow Sanctuary*: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/sanctuary.html
[955] Ibid.

The inspiration for such a novel idea came from her own personal appreciation for cuddling her resident bovines – a notion so touching, and yet unfamiliar to so many of us. For how often does one hear of bovine-snuggling as a past time? Yet, this is exactly what Tacreiter does – as I can attest, having witnessed her do it with my very own eyes. And it was whilst she was snuggling her "companion cattle" that she had her uncanny idea:[956]

> The answer came to me as I lay in the straw snuggling with my cow family: I'd make life-size stuffed cows for others to snuggle the way I snuggled with my real cows.[957]

She has since made over a 1000 cowches and has drawn an incredible amount of inquisitive, and at the same time remarkably positive, media attention for her particularly unique bovine-inspired fundraising enterprise, with articles written about her in *The New York Times*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *People Magazine*. She has also received awards from such organizations as *People for Ethical Treatment of Animals*, has bonded with fellow animal advocate and former Beatle Paul McCartney,[958] and has even been called "something of a Margaret Meade of the bovine world."[959] And what higher accolade can one be presented with? For as former President Jimmy Carter asserted at the posthumous ceremony to award her a Presidential Medal of Freedom, Margaret Mead not only "mastered her discipline, but

[956] Lisa Suhay, "Cowches to Graze at Home: From Raising Cattle to Life-Size Pillows," in *The New York Times*, 16th July 2006: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/NYTimes-p1.html
[957] Helga Tacreiter, "The Story of the Cowches," http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/
[958] Todd Norden, "A Cow's Best Friend: Compassion leads to Art," in *The Bridgeton Journal*, 18th August 2001: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/TheBridgetonJournal-2001-p1.html
[959] Joseph A. Gambardello, "It's a Slice of Bovine Heaven," in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12th October 2003: http://www.thecowsanctuary.org/media/PhillyInquirer-p1.html

she also transcended it. Intrepid, independent, plain spoken, fearless, she remains a model for the young and a teacher from whom all may learn."[960]

Similarly, Renee King-Sonnen and her Rowdy Girl Sanctuary have also received considerable press attention since she convinced her husband in 2015 to convert their cattle ranch into a Vegan bovine sanctuary, in Angleton, Texas. Not only has her transformational story been covered by nearly every possible Vegan magazine and website, but she has also appeared on national news channels, such as *CBS News* and *ABC News*. What makes her story so compelling is that she not only successfully convinced her husband to convert their cattle ranch into a bovine sanctuary, which is in itself impressive, especially in the heart of Texas, but she has also in the process spoken openly about her own personal transformation. As this candid reflection from the sanctuary's website emphatically demonstrates:

> I didn't always see the world the way I do now. Back in 2012 and before, I used to have very different views and beliefs, not just about the animals most people see as commodities and as food, but about other people, too. My political views used to be very different than they are today. I used to have very different views about LGBTQ issues than I do today. My former views were rooted in the biased and hateful traditions that surrounded me as I grew up and I regret having been influenced by them. I used to eat innocent animals. Now I do not. I used to fear innocent people. Now I do not. Today I stand here in absolute solidarity and affirmation of people of every race, gender, and sexual orientation.[961]

King-Sonnen's personal transformation and motivation to establish a Vegan bovine sanctuary started with her move to her new husband's ranch in 2009, after

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[960] President Jimmy Carter, "Presidential Medal of Freedom Announcement of Award to Margaret Mead," in *the American Presidency Project*, January 19, 1979: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=32524

[961] Renee King-Sonnen, "Renee's Vegan Transformation," in *Rowdy Girl Sanctuary*: https://rowdygirlsanctuary.org/renees-vegan-transformation/

living previously in blissful suburban ignorance of livestock farming and all that it entailed. However, once she moved to the ranch she became gradually unsettled by the reality of animal husbandry, and when her husband encouraged her to take on more responsibility for a baby calf called Rowdy Girl, whom she later named the sanctuary after, everything fell apart. As she later reflected "the experience of watching them leave, the mamas wailing for a week and the absence of their souls in the pasture haunted me… I could not stand to watch the babies leave their mamas even one more time to go to the sale barn for slaughter… and that I had to do something to prevent that from ever happening again."[962]

In the midst of these traumatic experiences King-Sonnen started to fervently watch documentaries on animal rights, such as "Carnism," "Cowspiracy," "Earthlings," and "Peaceable Kingdom," and, once she discovered Veganism, it was like a light switch was turned on inside her, and she couldn't switch it back off. As she later recounted:

> It has changed me at my core. It has made me question so much about myself and come to some very different conclusions about how I see the world and live my life. Veganism opened my eyes and caused me to widen my circle of compassion to include all animals—human and nonhuman. I want to fight for justice for animals of all species and people of all races, genders, and sexual orientations.[963]

Rowdy Girl Sanctuary therefore acts as an exemplary case study of how the Vegan tradition can directly influence an individual to want to become a bovine benefactor. It has the potential to open someone's eyes to see the world differently, as

[962] Renee King-Sonnen, "The Rowdy Girl Story," in *Rowdy Girl Sanctuary*: https://rowdygirlsanctuary.org/rowdygirl-story/
[963] Renee King-Sonnen, "Renee's Vegan Transformation," in *Rowdy Girl Sanctuary*: https://rowdygirlsanctuary.org/renees-vegan-transformation/

well as inspiring them to change and to act with a new appreciation of compassion for all living things. As King-Sonnen further explains, "I am the change I want to see in the world. I am choosing love, each and every day. Love continues to transform me to help me do our work—and there is much work to do for our fellow humans and nonhumans."[964]

Bovine Emancipation

Rowdy Girl Sanctuary and The Cow Sanctuary also reflect a common trend within the Vegan animal sanctuary movement – they were established by women. In fact, of the 43 sanctuaries that I have examined for this chapter 56% (23) were founded by women, in comparison to 7% (3) established by men, whilst the other 37% (17) were founded by a man/woman partnership – be they married, in a civil relationship, or simply business partners.[965] Such an emphatic gender variance is also reflected in the overall statistics for Vegans in the U.S. with 74% of the 1.62 million Vegan population being purportedly women.[966] Such statistics would seem to suggest that there exists a gendered response to animal liberation, and in this case, bovine emancipation – raising the question, why are women seemingly more empathetic to the rights and plight of other species?

Prominent Ecofeminists, such as Carolyn Merchant, have argued that such empathy is intrinsically connected to a woman's maternal instincts, so that they are

[964] Ibid.
[965] See Figure 13 in Appendix B, p. 332.
[966] Cited in "How Many Former Vegetarians and Vegans are there," in *Faunalytics*: https://faunalytics.org/how-many-former-vegetarians-and-vegans-are-there/

naturally inclined towards an "ethic of earthcare."[967] Likewise, leading figures of the Goddess revival movement, such as Carol P. Christ, have similarly affiliated such gendered empathy to a natural female affinity with the Earth's cycles and "between women's cycles of menstruation, birth, and menopause, and the life and death cycles of the universe," whereby "the female body is viewed as the direct incarnation of waxing and waning, life and death cycles in the universe."[968] And, yet, such notions are extraordinarily problematic, for as Greta Gaard argues, they promote "an exclusively essentialist equation of women with nature."[969] Instead, as Mary Mellor succinctly asserts, it is less likely that women are "closer to nature because of some elemental physiological or spiritual affinity," but more "because of social circumstances in which they find themselves."[970] In other words, if women are more inclined to becoming Vegan or offering animals sanctuary because they feel "naturally" more empathetic, then this is a socially conditioned and constructed predisposition, rather than an intrinsic trait.

Another explanation for why women seem to show more empathy towards animals is because they literally can empathize – not intrinsically, but experientially. Women have been and still are subjected to all forms of objectification and abuse in a patriarchal system of vehement misogynistic oppression. As such, a woman's experience of subjugation and exploitation perhaps makes them more acutely aware of the intersections of oppression, and the need to liberate anyone who is likewise

[967] Carolyn Merchant, *Earthcare: Women and the Environment* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 16.
[968] Carol P. Christ, "Why Women Need the Goddess," in *Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader*, eds. Carol Christ and Judith Plaskow (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1979), 283-284.
[969] Greta Gaard, "Ecofeminism Revisited: Rejecting Essentialism and Replacing Species in a Material Feminist Environmentalism," in *Feminist Formations*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 31.
[970] Mary Mellor, "Feminism and Environmental Ethics: A Materialist Perspective," in Ethics and the Environment Vol. 5, No. 1 (2000), 114.

manacled to an abusive dominion. Therefore, tackling speciesism is tackling oppression – as all forms of oppression are interconnected and have stemmed from a male-dominated, classist, racist, sexist, and speciesist normative. In the process, there is a blurring of the human/animal boundary, whereby the inherent dualism and anthronormative interpretation of a human supremacist reality is challenged – and in the case of the animal sanctuary movement, such a reality is not just challenged, it is actively replaced with a new vision of a more egalitarian world.

Offering the bovine sanctuary and freedom from being forced to produce and serve humankind, therefore, echoes women's similar struggle for emancipation from the embodied expectation to satisfy and sustain the demands of men. And, in such a way, there is a recognition that all forms of oppression are based upon an assumption of superiority, whereby differences are used to separate and excuse violent suppression and exploitation, and that to tackle such oppression, such superiority needs to be dismantled. As such, these animal sanctuaries demonstrate both an explicit and implicit effort to "unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement to envision a radical reshaping of the basic socioeconomic relations and the underlying values of this (male-dominated, suppressive, and exploitative) society."[971]

Such an awareness of the intersections of oppression and the need for a united front to challenge all forms of subjugation is coherently voiced on the VINE Sanctuary website, where it categorically states that it has been established with the "understanding of the interconnection of all life and the intersection of all forms of

[971] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *New Woman/New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation* (New York: Seabury, 1975), 204.

oppression."[972] Furthermore, it explains that its name – VINE – literally pertains to the plant, which "enacts and represents the power of nature and the interconnectedness of all things."[973] At the same time, VINE serves as an acronym for "Veganism is the Next Evolution," because its founders believe that "veganism represents an essential next step for anybody who understands that the intersection of oppressions of which social justice activists so often speak exists within and is supported by the matrix of beliefs and practices that promote and excuse the exploitation of animals and the despoliation of the environment."[974]

Vegan sanctuaries such as VINE therefore envision their work as tantamount to creating "heaven on earth," or as the Farm Sanctuary has been referred to as a "blueprint for what some would call a utopian call to faith,"[975] and as "close to the Garden of Eden as we have seen in our lifetime."[976] And, in this utopia animals are free and happy, liberated from exploitation and degradation. This is the world that the Vegan inspired animal sanctuaries are so desperately trying to create, because, as Gene Baur laments, "in an ideal world there would be no need for Farm Sanctuary."[977]

And at heart of this utopian vision is the emancipation of the bovine, who has become so emblematic of the movement's "ethic of compassion" and yet at the same time a constant reminder of humankind's speciesist tendancies. For as famed animal activist, Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, longingly reflects, "one day, far in the future,

[972] Cited in "Welcome," in *VINE Sanctuary*: http://vine.bravebirds.org/
[973] Cited in "Why Vine?" in *VINE Sanctuary*: http://vine.bravebirds.org/about-us/
[974] Ibid.
[975] Dr. Michael Tobias, cited in Baur (2008), iii.
[976] Tom Regan, cited in Baur (2008), iii.
[977] Baur (2008), xvii.

people will marvel that we took the lives of these gentle and beautiful animals to satisfy our greed and gluttony. And one day a family much like mine will drive by and cows much like these will be grazing on a hillside, and those cows will be admired rather than eaten by humans."[978]

[978] Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, *The Pig Who Sang to the Moon: The Emotional World of Farm Animals* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004), 160.

CHAPTER 7

A BOVINE RUMINATION

I admit that you need one thing above all in order to practise the requisite art of reading, a thing which today people have been so good at forgetting… you almost need to be a cow for this one thing and certainly not a 'modern man': it is rumination.

(Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, 1887)[979]

After five years of studying various forms of bovine veneration, of which two years have been specifically spent conducting research on the role of religion in offering the bovine sanctuary, it is now time for me to ruminate over all that I have learned, discovered, and, most importantly, concluded from these countless hours of staring unceasingly into "the eyes of the ancient cow, in ancient slowness chewing."[980] And, in the same way that the esteemed philosopher of perspectivism Friedrich Nietzsche once recommended that we adopt the ruminating skills of a cow to master the art of reading, and by implication the multiple inclinations of the written word, I will likewise mimic the ruminant's physiology, with its four stomachs to ferment, regurgitate, chew, and finally digest its cud, to divide this rumination into four parts to effectively assimilate and process all my findings: an examination of bovine sanctuaries as recurring visions of utopia; an analysis of the themes of juxtaposition, counterculture, and the disruption of the normative; a reconsideration of methodologies and the focus of future research; and finally, an assessment of my

[979] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality* (Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1887), 8.
[980] Jay Griffiths, *A Sideways Look at Time* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1999), 50.

dissertation's contribution to the academy, with particular emphasis to how my work adds to current research on animals and religion.

In these four sections, or stomachs, as in keeping with the ruminant analogy, I will not only aim to connect recurrent themes and threads that have appeared throughout my dissertation, but also present anomalies, issues, and further questions that still need to be addressed and examined, either within the parameters of this study, or as potential research prompts for future projects. Moreover, I also want to emphasize that though I can resolutely confirm that religion does play a role in the formation of the 17 bovine sanctuaries I have studied in the U.S., and that shared patterns do exist within the case studies I have researched, that I am also wary of making sweeping comparisons and generalizations in order to install "one code that translates all meaning perfectly."[981]

My training in feminist and postmodern critical theory, in particular the work of Donna Haraway, has taught me that even though my aim is to highlight the possibility of "transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities" in my research,[982] it does not, and arguably should not, translate into "a common language,"[983] nor does it promote a "model of the organic,"[984] whereby I might assert that all bovine sanctuaries share a particular goal, or are influenced by a specific motivation. Instead, as I hope my case studies demonstrate, each of the religious traditions that I have studied have uniquely influenced the establishment of bovine

[981] Donna Haraway. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. (New York: Routledge, 1991), 176.
[982] Ibid, 154.
[983] Ibid, 181.
[984] Ibid, 151.

sanctuaries in the U.S. In each case, these religious traditions provide different explanations for why the bovine should be offered sanctuary, and wholeheartedly present alternative interpretations for what is meant and included in offering sanctuary to the bovine. For, as Haraway's work has further emphasized in her theory on "situated knowledge," each tradition is shaped by its own specific positionality, whereby the understanding of why and how the bovine should be offered sanctuary is completely dependent upon how the bovines "materialize" and are thus "drawn" in each religious tradition.[985]

Bovine Utopias

This is not to say, however, that patterns or familiar themes have not appeared in my research. In each case study it is the bovine which has been offered preferential treatment, has had sanctuaries established specifically for it, whereby religion has played a significant role, and in each case I have unearthed a common interpretation of the bovine sanctuary as a vision or a step towards a utopian future, be it cultural, ecological, or celestial. In other words, the bovine sanctuary either symbolizes an understanding of utopia, or functions as a means towards realizing and even reclaiming utopia. And, in such a way, the bovine is being specifically singled out as fundamental to these interpretations and realizations of utopia, either in performing a preeminent role and responsibility, or in showcasing a new way for humans to relate and to interact with other nonhumans and their environment.

[985] Donna Haraway, ""Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1988), 595.

For the Lakota Sioux, offering the bison (pte) sanctuary is intrinsically linked to a reclaimation their own cultural and economic autonomy and way of life (Lakol Wicoh'an). The pte is therefore integral to the Lakota vision of a better world in which the Lakota Nation (Icke Oyate) can once again thrive and exist beyond the suffocating fetters of U.S. imperialism. The future success of the Icke Oyate has therefore become dependent upon the restoration of the Bison Nation (Pte Oyate) – so much so that their fates have become inexplicably intertwined, and the act of offering the pte sanctuary can likewise be interpreted as offering sanctuary to the Icke Oyate. For, as contemporary Lakota Chief Arvol Looking Horse has emphasized, "in my body, in my blood runs the spirit of the buffalo," and as such, "we are the buffalo people."[986]

Offering the pte sanctuary is therefore a visceral attempt to reclaim what was once deemed a utopian way of life, in which the pte and the Lakota thrived together, side-by-side, before the European and subsequent American colonial onslaught, that included not only the decimation of the Icke Oyate, but also the comprehensive eradication of the Pte Oyate. The restoration of the Pte Oyate is consequently also deemed vital to re-establishing ecological balance and thus health to the ravished and scorched Great Plains. For, without the pte, the Great Plains lose their biodiversity, their richness, and their ability to support life. And, yet, with the reintroduction of the pte, the Great Plains can once again become a sanctuary and thus utopia for life. As Ernest Callenbach has passionately argued in his 1997 work *Bring the Buffalo Back! A Sustainable Future for America's Great Plains*, "the ecological virtues of bison are

[986] Arvol Looking Horse, "Guest Address," *Bison Conference* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 7 April 2000).

exceptional,"[987] for what would be better for the American heartland than the "remarkable match between bison and their ancestral grassland home."[988]

The Lakota therefore deem the restoration of the Pte Oyate as not only central to the Lakota vision of a cultural utopia, but also to the American environmental movement's interpretation of an ecological utopia, in that it acknowledges that the health of the Great Plains is tantamount to the health of the whole American continent, and the health of the Great Plains is dependent upon the health of its keystone species – the pte. In such a way, Lakol Wicoh'an is influencing not just the establishment of individual sanctuaries for the pte, but also the ethics and motivations for large-scale restoration of the Pte Oyate on the Great Plains, whereby their original habitat is being envisioned and transformed into a 139,000 square miles ecological sanctuary, called the "Buffalo Commons," for the restoration and well-being of all indigenous life: be it human, animal, or plant.[989] As the president for Native American Natural Foods, Mark Tilsen, reiterates: "when buffalo live on the grasslands, the prairie becomes reborn. Plant diversity and predators come back; the prairie comes to life."[990]

Furthermore, Lakol Wicoh'an has inspired the environmental movement to appreciate the pte as more than just a keystone species, but instead as a nation of autonomous beings deserving of their own right to exist. As the Buffalo Field Campaign highlights in its mission statement: "we envision a world in which buffalo

[987] Ernest Callenbach, *Bring the Buffalo Back! A Sustainable Future for America's Great Plains* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6.
[988] Ibid, 25.
[989] Deborah E. Popper and Frank J. Popper, "Great Plains: From Dust to Dust," in *Planning* 53 (1987): 12.
[990] Cited in "Supporting the Return of the Buffalo," in *Tanka Fund*: http://www.tankafund.org/about

and all other native wildlife are allowed to exist for their own sake, are given priority on public lands, and herds are allowed to maintain self-regulating, sustainable populations."[991] Such a vision is also shared in the Vegan animal sanctuary movement, whereby beyond offering the bovine protection from subjugation and exploitation at the hands of the livestock and dairy industry, the goal is also to promote an alternative vision of bovine intelligence, compassion, and autonomy. And as such, propagate a utopian vision of holistic non-duality, whereby all species are given autonomy and equity to thrive beyond anthropocentric and anthropomorphic projections of worth, based upon predisposed "situated" interpretations of utility, meaning, and intelligence.

Offering the bovine sanctuary and thus emancipation is intrinsic to the Vegan understanding that a better world can be achieved if the intersections of oppression are not just discussed and challenged, but wholeheartedly dismantled through adopting a Vegan diet and lifestyle. And, in the process, physically embrace and embody the change that is deemed necessary to emancipate humans and nonhumans alike. As Renee King-Sonnen of Rowdy Girl Sanctuary exemplifies, "I am the change I want to see in the world. I am choosing love, each and every day. Love continues to transform me to help me do our work—and there is much work to do for our fellow humans and nonhumans."[992] In other words, as pattrice jones of VINE Sanctuary argues, "Veganism is the next evolution" and the "essential next step" for anybody who seriously seeks to exist in a world without systematic oppression.[993] Furthermore,

[991] "Mission – Vision – Values," in *Buffalo Field Campaign*: http://www.buffalofieldcampaign.org/who-we-are/mission-vision-values
[992] Renee King-Sonnen, "Renee's Vegan Transformation," in *Rowdy Girl Sanctuary*: https://rowdygirlsanctuary.org/renees-vegan-transformation/
[993] Cited in "Why Vine?" in *VINE Sanctuary*: http://vine.bravebirds.org/about-us/

as King-Sonnen's quote demonstrates, Veganism is not just about dismantling such oppressive paradigms but also embodying an "ethics of compassion," by which Vegans believe that their lifestyle is the personification of love.

In such a way, Vegan-inspired bovine sanctuaries act and function as examples of such a utopian vision of compassion and egalitarianism, whereby the bovine is deemed "a true ambassador for the animals," in that it models "just how intelligent and sensitive farm animals" are.[994] And, yet, like the Lakota inspired bovine sanctuaries, these sanctuaries are not seen as the answer, but instead the necessary "steps" that need to be taken on the way towards the manifestation of a utopian, non-speciesist reality. As Jenny Brown, of Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary, asserts, "I look forward to the day when I have to shut our doors because there are no more farms animals to rescue, when animal cruelty is an embarrassment of the past," and yet, "I have no illusions that I will see this change overnight."[995]

Furthermore, Vegan-inspired bovine sanctuaries are also challenging not just the cruelty perpetuated by the livestock and dairy industries, but also the environmental degradation caused by such rampant over exploitation, with recent research demonstrating that both industries are the leading cause of species extinction, ocean dead zones, water pollution, and habitat destruction,[996] as well as being responsible for producing more greenhouse gas emissions than all transportation

[994] Ellie Laks, *My Gentle Barn: Creating a Sanctuary where Animals Heal and Children Learn to Hope* (New York: Harmony Books, 2014), 86.
[995] Jenny Brown, *The Lucky Ones: My Passionate Fight for Farm Animals* (New York: Avery, 2012), 227.
[996] Cited in "The Problem," in *United States Environmental Protection Agency*: https://www.epa.gov/nutrientpollution/problem

combined,[997] alongside consuming up to 55% of the overall water usage in the U.S.[998] Becoming a Vegan and offering the bovine sanctuary therefore challenge the demand for and exploitation of the bovine, which ultimately results in categorical environmental despoliation – and thus, in the process, both exemplify an alternative lifestyle and treatment of the bovine that befits a vision of an ecological utopia without such excessive pollution, animal cruelty, and over-exploitation. Moreover, if treated appropriately, as Judith Schwartz writes in her bovine inspired environmental manifesto, *Cows Save the Planet*, then the bovine has the potential to help build, preserve, and fertilize soil.[999] And, healthy soil is not just a preference for supporting life, it is absolutely essential, as Charles Kellogg, Mark Baldwin, and James Thorpe concluded in their now landmark 1938 study on the importance of soil, in which they determine that "all life depends upon soil," and in fact, "there can be no life without soil and no soil without life."[1000]

Such soteriological bovine sentiments are also pertinently exemplified in Hindu-inspired bovine sanctuaries, with not only a reference to protecting oxen in order to improve the health of soil, as demonstrated by William Dove at ISCOWP Sanctuary, but more significantly, as ISKCON's founder Swami Srila Prabhupada argues, in the belief that the protection of cows is "the single-most important principle towards saving the whole world from both moral and spiritual degradation."[1001] In the majority

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[997] Kip Andersen and Keegan Kuhn, *The Sustainability Secret: Rethinking our Diet to Transform the World* (San Rafael: Earth Aware Editions, 2015), 5.
[998] Cited in "More Clean Water," in *Center for Science in the Public Interest*: http://www.cspinet.org/EatingGreen/pdf/arguments4.pdf
[999] Judith Schwartz, *Cows Save the Planet: And Other Improbable Ways of Restoring Soil to Heal the Earth* (White River Junction: Chelsea Sea Publishing, 2013), 1.
[1000] Mark Baldwin, Charles Kellogg, and James Thorpe, "Soil Classification: Soil and Men," in *U.S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1938, 979.
[1001] Swami Srila Prabhupada, *Srimad Bhagavatam* (The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1972), 4.21.38 purport.

of Hindu-inspired bovine sanctuaries in the U.S., such significance is attached to the bovine's special relationship to Lord Krishna, whose love for the bovine is replicated through the establishment of bovine sanctuaries. Moreover, these sanctuaries also act as manifestations of a celestial utopian ideal in that they aim to replicate the "cow heaven" (goloka) from which Lord Krishna originated and then founded on earth in Vrindaban, India. Such an attempt to celestial replication and manifestation is aptly demonstrated in the designated name of the first bovine sanctuary founded in the U.S. in 1968, which was appropriately called New Vrindaban.

Therefore, in Hindu-inspired bovine sanctuaries there is an attempt to manifest and replicate a celestial understanding of utopia on earth, whereby the bovine is not just protected but venerated as a manifestation of the divine. It is also an attempt to reclaim, once again, a romanticized notion of a utopian past, in which a god manifested in the flesh in the form of a cowherder, thus promoting and cementing the affiliation between the celestial and the bovine. In such a way, the bovine is not just symbolic of the celestial, but integral to humans experiencing the celestial and realizing utopia on earth.

Churning Countercultures

Alongside this recurring theme of "bovine utopias," another prominent theme that has presented itself throughout my research has been "juxtapositions" – be they in the form of contradictions, countercultures, anomalies, or disruptions. The most profound juxtapositions are alluded to in the name of this study: bovine benefactories. Firstly, the compound term benefactories appositely juxtaposes the contradicting practices of the benefactor offering sanctuary to the bovine, in contrast to the meat/dairy factories where the bovine is processed for production and consumption. Secondly, the benefactor interprets the bovine as worth protecting and in many cases venerating, whilst at the factories the bovine is deemed merely as capital to be profited off. Thirdly, the benefactor offers not just sanctuary from such exploitation, but also autonomy, most often a name, fresh food, normally grass, and certainly the freedom to roam outside. However, at the factories the bovine is offered no autonomy, given a number instead of a name, fed processed food that is pumped with antibiotics and hormones, as well as GMO corns which their bodies were never designed to digest, and they are constricted within walls, with artificial lights, and metal grates instead of grass. The juxtaposition of these two different bovine realities could not be starker. Furthermore, the very existence of bovine sanctuaries in a culture obsessed with dairy and beef production and consumption is not just a juxtaposition, but also an anomaly, because for the vast majority of bovine in the U.S. the only reality they will

ever know is the one of torture, mass incarceration, exploitation, and a life span a mere fraction of their natural life expectancy.[1002]

Another juxtaposition framed in the title of this study, and reflected in the bovine sanctuaries that I have examined, is the shifting, contradicting role of the benefactor. Traditionally, the bovine has been both venerated and later exploited as the benefactor, providing humans with nutrition and other raw materials for tools, clothing, fuel, and many others amenities. However, in the bovine sanctuaries, this role is often complicated by the motivation of the sanctuary founders, who suddenly takes on the role of the benefactor for the bovine, offering sanctuary, protection, autonomy, and what can be called a more natural lifestyle – and yet, here once again is another contradiction, because what is a natural lifestyle for an animal that has been historically domesticated and thus for so long has been removed from what can be called a natural way of life. And yet again, here lies another juxtaposition, because this cannot be said for the bison (pte), who up until recently had never been domesticated, but was in fact deemed the epitome of the American Wild West. This marks the first of many juxtapositions and contradictions within the bovine sanctuaries themselves – not only when comparing the motivations and practices between the different traditions, but also when comparing sanctuaries within each tradition as well.

Firstly, only at the Vegan inspired sanctuaries are the bovines completely retired from their role as benefactors, with no expectation to produce any commodity,

[1002] The life expectancy for the bovine is 18-25 years, however for most bovine their lives are abruptly ended after 3-16 weeks for veal production, 18-36 months for beef, and 4 years for cows who are deemed too old to be milked.

whilst in comparison, at the Lakota-inspired sanctuaries the bovine is offered protection in promise of its meat, and at the Hindu-inspired sanctuaries in exchange for milk and other products, such as dung. As such, at both the Hindu and Lakota bovine sanctuaries both the human and the bovine perform the role of benefactor, whereas at the Vegan sanctuaries only the human performs such a role. Furthermore, such benefactor roles also highlight the differences in dietary traditions, with the Lakota being distinctly omnivores, with a high dependency upon bovine meat; Hindus being vegetarians, with a high level of dairy consumption; and Vegans, intentionally avoiding all animal products. Additionally, such dietary traditions also underscore the juxtaposing motivations of the different bovine sanctuaries, with an emphasis shifting from offering the bovine sanctuary in order to preserve self-autonomy at the Lakota sanctuaries, to establishing sanctuaries in order to offer autonomy to the bovine at Vegan sanctuaries. Likewise, whereas the Vegan sanctuaries purposefully try to avoid all exploitation, including projecting anthropomorphic meaning and symbolism upon the bovine, both the Lakota and Hindu sanctuaries adorn the bovine with a fanfare of religious affinities and responsibilities. And, as such, a stark juxtaposition can be made between offering autonomy versus projecting anthropomorphic value, encouraging emancipation, versus continuous exploitation, and challenging speciesism versus propagating speciesism.

Finally, the last juxtaposition that stands out when comparing bovine sanctuaries from these three religious traditions is the marked difference between native and invasive, or indigenous versus colonial, and, perhaps even more pertinent, traditional versus new. The Lakota are offering sanctuary in order to preserve and restore religion and sovereignty, which had been denied them by the colonial and

imperialist project, which gradually introduced a diaspora of traditions to the Americas, including Hinduism, and eventually Veganism.[1003] As such, whilst Lakol Wicoh'an is an indigenoius tradition of the Americas, neither Hinduism nor Veganism are. Likewise, within the case studies themselves, there is a stark juxtaposition made between the traditional and restoration versus imitation and appropriation, and, as such, reclamation of the traditional is juxtaposed against the reinterpretation of the traditional, which in the process, obscures and disrupts the traditional, and culminates in creating something entirely new.

In each case, however, it can be concluded that all bovine sanctuaries, regardless of tradition or motivation, represent disruption of the normative in that they all stand in juxtaposition to the hegemonic culture in the U.S. In such a way, all bovine sanctuaries not only exemplify contemporary American counterculture, but they also all have their roots in the churning progressivism of the 1960s counterculture movement, which not only embraced new cultures from abroad, but also gave voice to the silenced and denigrated, as well as celebrating the liminal and the alternative. From such disruptions cracks appeared in the seemingly unbreakable hegemonic culture, encouraging a momentum of movements that demanded change and reconsideration of what should be deemed normal or natural – be it social, political, or environmental. And it was from questioning these norms that animal rights and animal sanctuaries were born, alongside a reconsideration of the past and present treatment of the much maligned bovine.

[1003] Even though it can be now argued that Veganism is in itself as much an American dietary/religious tradition as it is a diasporic tradition, it actually had its origins in England, with Donald Watson the Vegan Society in 1944.

Methodological Ruminations

In many ways this dissertation is in itself a form of disruption in that it focuses on a liminal, understudied topic in the U.S., examining subjects who are in themselves attempting to disrupt the hegemonic, whilst at the same time adopting a methodology which is relatively new and undervalued as a form of academic research. Utilizing cyber ethnography has been incredibly helpful in order to research a vast range of sources and subjects, whereby I have been able to access a wealth of invaluable information and first-person narratives from websites, blogs, and social media accounts. In total, I have been able to study over 400 animal sanctuary websites, and countless other sources, in conducting preliminary research on the role of religion in the establishment of bovine sanctuaries throughout the U.S. Though not comprehensive or exhaustive, such access has been considerable and lays strong foundations for more detailed ethnographic fieldwork moving forward.

Therefore, before publishing this study, I do recognize that I need to conduct more thorough ethnographic fieldwork, which goes beyond visiting bovine sanctuaries to merely interview and study human benefactors, but also delves into asking questions about the bovine benefactors as well. In doing so, I hope to contribute to the growing interdisciplinary field of Human Animal Studies (HAS), which seeks to go beyond using the traditional anthropocentric lens to be more inclusive of other species' experience and perceive human-animal relationships. As such, the human is decentered from the analysis and a more holistic interpretation is proffered, acknowledging the places in which animals exist in a human-social context, rather than manipulating the analysis of animals to excuse a speciesist perspective of

reality, whereby, as Steven Wise iterates in his 2004 work *Animal Rights: One Step at a Time*, "the discrimination against or exploitation of animal species by human beings [is] based on an assumption of mankind's superiority."[1004]

Such a move to offer the animal a more central role in academic research is nowhere more apparent than in the recent development of multispecies ethnography – where academic analysis is solely focused on giving voice and subjectivity to the nonhuman. This endeavor recognizes nonhumans as different and yet autonomous, and furthermore of equal worth to that of the human – placing a fresh emphasis on the nonhuman agency. Multispecies ethnography has also aimed to bring more attention to less studied nonhuman subjects – such as insects, fungi, and microbes. Eduardo Kohn describes such a multispecies approach in his article "How Dogs Dream: Amazonian Natures and Politics of Transspecies Engagement" as an "anthropology of life" – "an anthropology that is just confined to the human but is concerned with the effects of our entanglements with other kinds of living selves."[1005] There now exist many ethnographic studies that have nonhumans as the subject of the research, such as microbes in Heather Paxson's article "Post-Pasteurian Cultures: The Microbiopolitics of Raw-Milk Cheese in the United States" (2008); insects in Hugh Raffles' *Insectopedia* (2010); and mushrooms in Anna Tsing's article "Unruly Edges: Mushrooms as Companion Species" (2012).

A major component of multispecies ethnography and HAS in general is the acknowledgement that there are many interpretations of a "lived experience," and that

[1004] Steven Wise, *Animal Rights: One Step at a Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26.
[1005] Eduardo Kohn, "How Dogs Dream: Amazonian Natures and Politics of Transspecies Engagement," in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007): 4.

within every "lived experience" is a perspective, motivation, and consequential action. Such an autonomous lived experience can also be described as "intelligence" – i.e. to exist one reflects an example of intelligent life. HAS therefore asserts that each nonhuman animal deserves to be recognized as intelligent because through its existence it learns how to exist. Each nonhuman has its own lived experience which it navigates with its own form of intelligence. Be it a mammal, a fish, a mushroom, an insect, a plant, or a microbe – each can be deemed intelligent relative to their own experience and navigation of life. For example in his 2005 work *Mycelium Running* Paul Stamets argues that mycelium, which the root network of mushrooms, should be viewed as an intelligent life form that exists in a dialogical relationship with its environment.[1006] Likewise Virginia Morell argues in her 2013work *Animal Wise* that every animal she has studied should be viewed as intelligent – be it an ant or a fish. In her chapter on "Ant Teachers" she challenges the preconception held against insects, specifically that their hive-mind mentality reflects a lack of autonomy to independent autonomy and intelligence. She argues that in fact ants not only think but do in fact act independently tailored to specific goals seeking to be accomplished.[1007]

From the microscopic to the macroscopic HAS challenges the normative understanding of intelligent life, and seeks to promote a deeper appreciation of all life forms. Moving forward with my research, I will likewise seek to adopt a more holistic multispecies methodology to studying the relationship between bovines and their human benefactors at animal sanctuaries across the United States. Instead of seeing

[1006] Paul Stamets, *Mycelium Running: How Mushrooms Can Help Save the World* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2005), 10.
[1007] Virginia Morell, *Animal Wise: How We Know Animals Think and Feel* (New York: Broadway Books, 2013), 47.

only the human component, in my research I will also seek to review the nonhuman angle as well, asking further questions such as, can cows truly experience autonomy within cow sanctuaries? Are they aware of their new found freedom? Do the motivations of the bovine benefactors disrupt the bovines from achieving and realizing autonomy?

Co(w)tributions to the Field

Such questions reflect the core sentiments of HAS, in that the focus of HAS research is not only looking at the discriminatory treatment of animals in human societies, but also the quantification of the positive effects of human-animal relationships and interactions on either party – this includes, but is not limited to, the study of animal companionship, the symbolism of animals in art and literature, the study of animal domestication, the zoological gaze, and the social construction of animals and what it means to be an animal. I would therefore argue that my research can genuinely contribute to HAS, because beyond the fact that my study is focused on contemporary human-animal relations, it also offers an examination of the longstanding reciprocal relationship between bovines and humans, which has helped shape thousands of years of agrarian and pastoral nomadic cultures. My work therefore is not only examining a specific example of human-bovine relations in the form of the bovine sanctuary phenomenon, but is also addressing the deeply entrenched religious and cultural ramifications of such historical and contemporary human-bovine relations.

Furthermore, this work contributes extensively to the field of animals and religion. As it stands, this is the first study of its kind – no one else has researched or examined in such detail the role of religion in providing animals, not to mention bovines, sanctuary in the U.S. Likewise, no one has of yet, probed the question of what constitutes contemporary bovine veneration in the U.S. Beyond several studies on the Native American veneration of the bison, there has not been an extensive analysis of the cow protection movement or the multiple "implicit" forms of bovine veneration that I have presented in this study. Additionally, this is the first study that raises the question as to whether the cattle beef industry and the dairy cow industry can be observed through a gendered lens. In such a way, my work also contributes to the growing affiliation between the fields of Gender, Women, and Queer Studies with that of HAS.

Likewise, my work adds an important contribution to the question as to what constitutes as a sanctuary, providing an in-depth historical examination that connects the relationship between offering sanctuary to humans and to animals. This is perhaps never been more pertinent a question with the growing federal pressure to delimit the sanctuary movement in the U.S. with threats to cities and universities alike to cease offering sanctuary to undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, my contribution to this discussion is consolidated by my unique positionality as an Englishman studying contemporary U.S. cultural phenomena. I add an outsider's perspective of both current and historical events, whereby I can be detached from national biases and regional conformities. As such, I can add a 'fresh' outsider perspective in critiquing U.S. history and its atrocities. And, in such a vein, even though I am not the first to interpret the massacre of Native Americans at the hands of colonials and the U.S.

Government as a form of genocide, I am the first scholar to make the claim that the eradication of the bison species in itself should be interpreted as a form of explicit genocide of the Pte Oyate.

Finally, and probably most importantly, my research provides a commentary and an analysis of the burgeoning animal sanctuary movement, providing to date the most comprehensive and detailed list of animal sanctuaries in the U.S. Prior to my research the most comprehensive list consisted of no more than 150 sanctuaries – after three years of research I have recorded that there are at least 454 animal sanctuaries in the United States. Furthermore, I am positive that the real number is even more, and will undoubtedly only grow, because in the past 60 years the animal sanctuary movement has rapidly grown, with an exponential increase in the last ten years. Such data supports and vouches that my research is necessary and invaluable, because the animal sanctuary movement is a thriving contemporary practice, and has of yet not been significantly studied.

However, for this study to truly make a mark on the fields of HAS and animals and religion, I appreciate that I still have to take the plunge and invest countless hours immersed in multispecies ethnography. For, what better way to "ruminate" upon all my findings than "chewing the cud" in the field, whilst staring unceasingly into "the eyes of the ancient cow, in ancient slowness chewing."[1008]

[1008] Jay Griffiths, *A Sideways Look at Time* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher, 1999), 50.

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APPENDIX A

RAW DATA

Comprehensive List of Animal Sanctuaries in the United States

Alabama
Sampson's Sanctuary **EXOTIC**
Second Chance Animal Sanctuary (Hayden) **COMPANION**
Sanctuary Animal Rescue **COMPANION**
Sacred Way Sanctuary (Florence) **HORSE + BOVINE** 2014

Alaska
Alaska Wildlife Conservation Center **WILD**
Alaska Extended Life Animal Sanctuary (Nikiski) **COMPANION**
Alaska Rainforest Sanctuary (Ketchikan) **WILD**

Arizona
AZGoshala (Queen Creek) **BOVINE** 2010
Whisper's Sanctuary (Sierra Vista) **HORSE**
Ironwood Pig Sanctuary (Tuscon) **PIG**
The Oasis Sanctuary (Benson) **BIRD**
Healing Hearts Animal Sanctuary (Willcox) **FARM** 2005
The Hermitage No-Kill Cat Shelter & Sanctuary (Tuscon) **COMPANION**
Morning Starr Animal Sanctuary (Verde Valley) **COMPANION**
Hacienda de los Milagros (Chino Valley) **HORSE**
Friends for Life Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **COMPANION**
Aimee's Farm Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **FARM**
Tranquillity Trail Animal Sanctuary (Scottsdale) **COMPANION**
Keepers of the Wild Animal Sanctuary (Valentine) **WILD**
Circle L Ranch Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Prescott) **FARM**
Heritage Park Zoological Sanctuary (Prescott) **WILD**
Help Animals Lives Today (Kingman) **COMPANION**
Great Spirit Animal Sanctuary (Phoenix) **COMPANION**
Wild Hearts Rescue Ranch (Marana) **FARM**
New Dawn Sanctuary (Tonopah) **FARM**
Goats With Horns Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **FARM**
Forever Loved Pet Sanctuary (Scottsdale) **COMPANION**
The Ark Cat Sanctuary (Flagstaff) **COMPANION**
Save the Cats (Mesa) **COMPANION**
Saving One Life (Gilbert) **COMPANION**
HoofsnHorns Farm Sanctuary (Tucson) **FARM**

Arkansas
Riddle's Elephant and Wildlife Sanctuary **ELEPHANT**
Blue Moon Cat Sanctuary (Witter) **COMPANION**
Gail's Pets Second Chance (Oakland) **COMPANION**

California
Farm Sanctuary's Animal Acres (Acton, Southern California) **FARM + LOGO**
American Tortoise Rescue (Malibu) **COMPANION**
Association of Parrot C.A.R.E (Los Angeles) **PARROT**
Animal Place Sanctuary (Grass Valley, Northern California) **FARM + LOGO** 1989
Farm Sanctuary (Orland, Northern California) **FARM + LOGO**
Happy Hen Animal Sanctuary (San Luis Obispo, Central Coast) **CHICKEN**
Lockwood Animal Rescue Center (Frazier Park) **WOLF**
Heaven Can Wait Equine Sanctuary for Healing and Learning (San Miguel) **HORSE**
Flip Side Sanctuary (Sebastapol) **FARM + LOGO**
Harvest Home Animal Sanctuary (Stockton, Northern California) **FARM**
PreetiRang Sanctuary (Dixon, Northern California) **BOVINE** 2013
Mira's Cow Sanctuary (Northern California) **BOVINE** 2017
Sri Krishna Balaram Hasati Goshala (Sunnyvale) **BOVINE** 2013
Sweet Farm (Half Moon Bay) **FARM + LOGO** 2016
The Gentle Barn (Santa Clarita, Southern California) **FARM + LOGO**
Living Free Animal Sanctuary (Idyllwild-Pine Cove) **COMPANION**
PAWS Wildlife Sanctuaries (San Andreas) **EXOTIC**
PAWS Wildlife Sanctuaries (Galt) **EXOTIC**
Piece of Peace Animal Sanctuary (Marysville) **FARM**
Safe Haven Animal Sanctuary (San Jose) **COMPANION**
Wild Horse Sanctuary (Shingletown) **HORSE**
Wolf Mountain Sanctuary (Lucerne Valley) **WOLF**
Animal Messenger Sanctuary (Sebastopool) **FARM**
Tucker Wildlife Sanctuary (Silverado) **WILD**
Lions, Tigers and Bears Sanctuary (Alpine) **EXOTIC**
Fallbrook Animal Sanctuary (Fallbrook) **COMPANION**
Wildlife Waystation (Angeles National Forest) **WILD + EXOTIC**
Sale Ranch Sanctuary (Temecula) **FARM + COMPANION**
D.E.L.T.A Rescue (Glendale) **COMPANION**
Goatlandia Farm Sanctuary (Santa Rosa) **FARM**
C.A.R.E (Sherman Oaks) **COMPANION**
The Cat House on the Kings (Parlier) **COMPANION**
St. Bonnie's Sanctuary (Canyon Country) **COMPANION**

Colorado
Luvin Arms Animal Sanctuary (Lafayette) **FARM + LOGO** 2016
The Surf and Turf Animal Sanctuary (Larkspur) **FARM + LOGO** 2017
Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary (Deer Trail) **FARM**
Rescued Friends Animal Sanctuary (Fort Collins) **FARM**
Happy Haven Farm and Sanctuary (Byers) **FARM + COMPANION**
Denkai Animal Sanctuary (Yellow Jacket) **FARM + COMPANION**
Colorado Companion Animal Sanctuary **COMPANION**

Rooster Sanctuary at Danzig's Roost (Bennett) **CHICKEN**
Equine 808 Horse Rescue (Calhan) **HORSE**
The Wild Animal Sanctuary (Keenesburg) **EXOTIC**
W.O.L.F. Sanctuary (Laporte) **WOLF**
The Wolf Sanctuary (Bellvue) **WOLF**
Mission: Wolf (Westcliffe) **WOLF**

Connecticut
Ducks, Geese & Majestic Waterfowl Sanctuary (Lebanon) **BIRD**
Our Companions Animal Sanctuary (Manchester) **COMPANION**
Well's Valley Cat Sanctuary (Weston) **COMPANION**
Forgotten Angels Sanctuary (Griswold) **COMPANION**
The Last Post (Falls Village) **COMPANION**
Catherine Violet Hubbard Animal Sanctuary (Ashford) **COMPANION + FARM**
Locket's Meadow Animal Rescue & Sanctuary (Bethany) **FARM**

Delaware
Safe Haven No-Kill Animal Sanctuary (Georgetown) **COMPANION**

Florida
Kindred Spirits Sanctuary (Ocala) **FARM + LOGO** 2003
Rooterville (Melrose, Florida) **FARM + LOGO** 2004
Jungle Friends Primate Sanctuary (Gainesville) **PRIMATE**
Center For Great Apes (Wauchula) **PRIMATE**
Save The Chimps (Fort Pierce) **PRIMATE**
Zacksee Parrot Sanctuary (Tampa) **PARROT**
Luck Parrot Sanctuary (Naples) **PARROT**
E.A.R.S. Animal Sanctuary (Odessa) **COMPANION**
Swampcat Animal Sanctuary (Bristol) **COMPANION**
The London Sanctuary (St. Mary) **COMPANION**
Hooves, Paws and Claws Animal Sanctuary (Bradenton) **COMPANION**
Journey's End Animal Sanctuary (DeLand) **COMPANION** 1988
Second Chance Wildlife Sanctuary (Orlando) **FARM + EXOTIC**
Wooten's Animal Sanctuary (Ochopee) **EXOTIC**
EARS Sanctuary (Citra) **EXOTIC**
Catty Shack Ranch Animal Sanctuary (Jacksonville) **EXOTIC**
Big Cat Habitat and Gulf Coast Sanctuary (Sarasota) **EXOTIC**
Forest Animal Rescue (Ct. Silver Springs) **EXOTIC**
Wildlife Survival Sanctuary (Spring Hill) **EXOTIC**
Elmira's Wildlife Sanctuary (Wimauma) **EXOTIC**
Shy Wolf Sanctuary (Naples) **WOLF**
Owls Nest Sanctuary for Wildlife (Tampa bay) **WILD**
The Florida Wildlife Hospital and Sanctuary (Palm Shores) **WILD**
Useless Animal Sanctuary (Palataka) **FARM + LOGO**
Alachua Hare Krishna Temple (Gainesville) **BOVINE** 1988
International Society for Cow Protection (ISCOWP) (Gainesville) **BOVINE** 1990

Georgia
Full Circle Farm Sanctuary (Warm Springs, GA) **FARM + LOGO** 2016
A New Hope: Animal Sanctuary (Athens) **SMALL WILD + EXOTIC**
Project Chimps **PRIMATE**
Noah's Ark Animal Sanctuary (Locust Grove) **EXOTIC**
Sacred Cow Sanctuary **BOVINE**
Sweet Olive Farm Sanctuary (Winterville) **FARM** 2010
Farm of the Free Animal Sanctuary (Good Hope) **FARM + LOGO** 2012
Southern Paws Animal Sanctuary (Bainbridge) **COMPANION**
Miss Kitty Feline Sanctuary (Thomasville) **COMPANION** 2010
Bark Town Dog Rescue and Sanctuary (Jasper) **COMPANION**

Hawaii
East Maui Animal Refuge (Haiku) **FARM**
Leilani Farm Sanctuary (Haiku, HI) **FARM + COMPANION**
Pacific Primate Sanctuary (Maui) **PRIMATE**
Three Ring Ranch Sanctuary (Kailu-Konna) **EXOTIC**
Parrots in Paradise (Kealakekua) **PARROT**
Equine 808 Horse Rescue (Kunia) **HORSE**
Heaven Sent Animal Shelter (Honolulu County) **HORSE**
Lanai Cat Sanctuary (Lanai City) **COMPANION**
9th Life Hawaii (Maui) **COMPANION**
Rainbow Friends Animal Sanctuary (Kurtistown) **COMPANION** 1999
Hawaii Animal Sanctuary (Kailua) **COMPANION**

Idaho
Life-Time Friends Animal Sanctuary (Careywood) **COMPANION**
Heart of Idaho Animal Sanctuary (Challis) **FARM + COMPANION**
Idaho Farm Sanctuary (Boise) **FARM**
Earthfire Institute Wildlife Sanctuary (Teton Valley) **WILD**

Illinois
Mulberry Hill Farm Animal and Mindfulness Sanctuary (Capron) **FARM**
Wedrose Acres Animal Sanctuary (Gridley) **FARM**
E.A.R.T.H. Animal Sanctuary (Thawville) **FARM**
Stardust Animal Sanctuary (Richmond) **FARM + COMPANION**
A Little R & R Animal Sanctuary (Chicago) **COMPANION**
Happy Tails Animal Sanctuary (Woodstock) **COMPANION**
Noah's Ark Animal Sanctuary (Rockford) **COMPANION**
Fur Angel Animal Sanctuary (Chicago) **COMPANION**
AGC Animal Sanctuary (Lena) **WILD**

Indiana
Uplands Peak Sanctuary (Salem) **FARM + LOGO** 2012
Black Pine Animal Sanctuary (Albion) **EXOTIC**
Liberty Acres United Rescue (Richmond) **COMPANION**
Animal House Sanctuary (Huntington) **COMPANION**
EARP Sanctuary (Bloomington) **COMPANION**

Help Us Help Animals Sanctuary (Winchester) **COMPANION**
Our Lil' Bit of Heaven Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Poland) **COMPANION**
The Red Wolf Sanctuary (Rising Sun) **WOLF**

Iowa
Iowa Farm Sanctuary (Marengo) **FARM + LOGO**
Promise 4 Paws Dog Sanctuary (Missouri Valley) **COMPANION**
C & W Rustic Hollow Shelter (Nashua) **COMPANION**
Down by the Creek Companion Animal Sanctuary (Long Grove) **COMPANION**
Pet Sanctuary (Fairfield) **COMPANION**

Kansas
Cedar Cove Feline Conservatory (Louisburg) **EXOTIC**

Kentucky
Home at Last Animal Sanctuary (Salvisa) **FARM + COMPANION** 1997
Cloud 9 Farm Animal Sanctuary at Juniper Ridge Farm (Sadieville) **FARM**
Sylvia's Animal Sanctuary (Owingsville) **COMPANION**
New Hope Animal Sanctuary (Nicholasville) **COMPANION**
Wild Earth Farm and Sanctuary (Irvine) **FARM + COMPANION** 2013
Primate Rescue Center (Nicholasville) **PRIMATE**
Broadbent Wildlife Sanctuary (Guston) **WILD** 2002
Wolf Run Wildlife Reserve (Lexington) **WOLF + WILD** 2015

Louisiana
Clearwater Sanctuary (Covington) **WILD + COMPANION** 1989
Raven Wood Animal Sanctuary (Roseland) **COMPANION** 1994
Heavenly Dog Paws Sanctuary (Folsom) **COMPANION**
E. J. Donaldson Animal Sanctuary (Mount Hernon) **FARM + COMPANION** 2013
Wings of Hope Wildlife Sanctuary (Livingston) **BIRD**
Chimp Haven (Keithville) **PRIMATE** 1995
Louisiana Exotic Animal Resource Network (Elms Grove) **EXOTIC**
Yogie and Friends (Frierson) **EXCOTIC + COMPANION** 1999

Maine
Peace Ridge Sanctuary (Penobscot) **FARM + COMPANION** 2001
The Farm Animal Rescue of Maine (Berwick) **FARM**
P.A.W.S. of Penquis Animal Welfare Sanctuary (Milo) **COMPANION**
Ark Animal Sanctuary (Houlton) **COMPANION** 2009

Maryland
Poplar Spring Animal Sanctuary (Poolsville) **FARM** 1996
Whispering Rise Farm and Animal Sanctuary (Freeland) **FARM** 2013
Star Gazing Farm (Boyds) **FARM**
Burleigh Manor Animal Sanctuary (Ellicott City) **FARM**
Senior Dog Sanctuary (Severn) **COMPANION**
Rude Ranch Animal Rescue (Harwood) **COMPANION**

House with a Heart Senior Pet Sanctuary (Gaithersburg) **COMPANION** 2006
Sunshine's Friends Cat Rescue and Sanctuary (Jessup) **COMPANION**
MJ's Animal Sanctuary (Bowie) **COMPANION**
Defenders of Animal Rights (Phoenix) **COMPANION** 1975
Maryland Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Baltimore) **COMPANION** 2005
Frisky's Wildlife and Primate Sanctuary (Woodstock) **WILD + PRIMATE** 1970

Massachusetts
Maple Farm Sanctuary (Mendon) **FARM**
Sunny Meadow Sanctuary **FARM**
Winslow Farm Animal Sanctuary (Norton) **FARM** 1996
Here Today and Adopted Tomorrow Animal Sanctuary (Brimfield) **COMPANION** 2011

Michigan
Barn Sanctuary (Chelsea) **FARM & LOGO**
Sasha Farm (Manchester) **FARM + LOGO**
Grateful Acres Animal Sanctuary (Kalamazoo) **FARM**
Great Lakes Rabbit Sanctuary (Ann Arbor) **RABBIT**
Mackenzie's Animal Sanctuary (Grand Rapids) **COMPANION** 1999
Howling Timbers Animal Sanctuary (Muskegon) **EXOTIC** 2010
Alligator Sanctuary (Athens) **EXOTIC**
TLC Animal Sanctuary (Milford) **COMPANION** 2006
Jethros Place Animal Sanctuary (Ferndale) **COMPANION**
Hawkeye and friends Dog Sanctuary (Imlay City) **COMPANION**

Minnesota
Chicken Run Rescue (Minneapolis) **CHICKEN**
The Wildcat Sanctuary (Sandstone) **EXOTIC**
Spring Farm Sanctuary (Long Lake) **FARM** 2016
Farmaste Animal Sanctuary (Lindstrom) **FARM +LOGO**
Forever Home Animal Sanctuary (New Ulm) **COMPANION** 2006
Home at Last Animal Sanctuary (Forest Lake) **COMPANION**
Gentle Touch Animal Sanctuary (Minneapolis) **COMPANION** 2001
Furball Farms Animal Sanctuary (Lakeville) **COMPANION**
Contented Critters Animal Sanctuary (Makinen) **COMPANION**

Mississippi
Cedarhill Animal Sanctuary (Caledonia) **EXOTIC + COMPANION** 1993
St. Francis Animal Sanctuary (Tylertown) **COMPANION** 2009
Hope Animal Sanctuary (Grenada) **COMPANION** 1993
Mother's Grace Animal Sanctuary (Brandon) **COMPANION**

Missouri
M'Shoogy's Famous Emergency Animal Rescue (Savannah) **COMPANION**
Open Door Animal Sanctuay (Hope Springs) **COMPANION** 1975
Safe Harbor Animal Sanctuary (Jackson) **COMPANION**
Haven of the Ozarks Animal Sanctuary (Washburn) **COMPANION**

No Time to Spare Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Warrenton) **COMPANION** 2013
Blue Moon Sanctuary (Linn Creek) **COMPANION** 1999
D&D Farm Animal Sanctuary (Columbia) **FARM + EXOTIC**
National Tiger Sanctuary (Saddlebrooke) **EXOTIC** 2000
Crown Ridge Tiger Sanctuary (Ste. Genevieve) **EXOTIC**
World Bird Sanctuary (Valley Park) **BIRD** 1977
The Gentle Barn (Ditmer) **FARM + LOGO** 2017

Montana
New Dawn MT Farm Sanctuary (Stevensville) **FARM + LOGO**
Rolling Dog Ranch Animal Sanctuary (Ovando) **COMPANION**
Montana Large Animal Sanctuary & Rescue (Hot Springs) **EXOTIC + WILD** 1996
Wild About Cats Rescue and Sanctuary (Helena) **COMPANION**
Last Chance Cat Sanctuary (Billings) **COMPANION**
Montana Grizzly Encounter (Bozeman) **BEAR** 2004
Montana Horse Sanctuary (Simms) **HORSE** 2004
Yellowstone Wildlife Sanctuary (Red Lodge) **WILD** 1987

Nebraska
York Adopt a Pet (York) **COMPANION**
Hearts United for Animals (Auburn) **COMPANION**

Nevada
Animal Ark Wildlife Sanctuary (Reno) **EXOTIC**
Lion Habitat Ranch (Henderson) **EXOTIC** 1989
Safe Haven Wildlife Sanctuary (Imlay) **EXOTIC + WILD** 2000
Gilcrease Nature Sanctuary (Las Vegas) **BIRD +FARM** 1970
Cockadoodle Moo Farm Animal Sanctuary (Reno) **FARM**
Forget Me Not Animal Sanctuary (Las Vegas) **COMPANION** 2016
PAL Animal Sanctuary (Las Vegas) **COMPANION**
NSPCA Sanctuary (Las Vegas) **COMPANION**
Canine Rehabilitation Center and Sanctuary (Washoe Valley) **COMPANION** 2013
Happy Home Animal Sanctuary (Searchlight) **COMPANION** 1997

New Hampshire
Rolling Dog Farm (Lancaster) **COMPANION**
Tomten Farm and Sanctuary (Haverhill) **FARM**
Lie and Let Live Farm (Chichester) **HORSE**
Amazing Grace Farm Sanctuary (Sullivan) **FARM**

New Jersey
For the Animals Sanctuary (Blairstown) **FARMS & LOGO**
The Cow Sanctuary **BOVINE**
Funny Farm Rescue Animal Sanctuary (Mays Landing) **FARM**
Antler Ridge Wildlife Sanctuary (Newton) **SMALL WILD** 2000
Skylands Animal Sanctuary and Rescue (Wantage) **FARM**
The Oasis Animal Sanctuary (Franklinville) **FARM + COMPANION** 2001
The Barnyard Sanctuary (Blairstown) **FARM** 2011

Tamerlaine Farm Animal Sanctuary (Montague Township) **FARM** 2014
Animal Sanctuary Society (Mount Laurel) **COMPANION**
Seers Farms (Jackson) **COMPANION** 2008
Rancho Relaxo **FARM** 2012
Farm Sanctuary (Colts Neck) **FARM** 2018/9

New Mexico
Kindred Spirits Animal Sanctuary (Santa Fe) **FARM + COMPANION**
Old Windmill Trail Farm Animal Sanctuary (Cerrillos) **FARM**
Hearts and Soul Animal Sanctuary (Santa Fe) **COMPANION**
Safe Haven Animal Sanctuary (Las Cruces) **COMPANION**
Sunflower Sanctuary Animal Rescue (Tijeras) **COMPANION** 2008
Rancho de Chihuahua (Chimayo) **COMPANION**
Bringing the Worlds Animal Sanctuary (Santa Fe) **COMPANION**
Wild Spirit Wolf Sanctuary (Pinehill) **WOLF**

New York
Catskill Animal Sanctuary (Saugerties) **FARM** 2001
Farm Sanctuary (Watkins Glen) **FARM + LOGO**
Pets Alive Animal Sanctuary (Middletown) **COMPANION + FARM + LOGO** 1981
Woodstock Farm Animal Sanctuary (Woodstock) **FARM** 2004
Universal Fields – Soma Gosala (Livingston Manor) **BOVINE**
ASHA Sanctuary (Newfane) **FARM + LOGO** 2013
Abe Freeland Animal Sanctuary (Angelia) **FARM + WILD** 1989
Lakeview Animal Sanctuary (Pendleton) **FARM + COMPANION**
Spring Farm Cares Animal and Nature Sanctuary (Clinton) **FARM + COMPANION**
HeartsHerds Animal Sanctuary (Burskirk) **FARM + COMPANION**
Love and Hope Animal Sanctuary (Franklin) **COMPANION** 2005
Little Shelter Sanctuary (Huntington) **COMPANION**
Spirit Animal Sanctuary (Boonville) **COMPANION** 2004
MH Animal Aid (Beacon) **COMPANION** 1979
Hudson Valley Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Pleasantville) **FARM + EXOTIC**

North Carolina
Carolina Waterfowl Rescue (Indian Trail) **BIRD**
Piedmont Farm Animal Refuge (Pittsboro) **FARM** 2014
Prabhupada Village (Sandy Ridge) **BOVINE** 1992
Blind Spot Animal Sanctuary (Durham) **FARM**
Triangle Chance for All (Chapel Hill) **FARMS & LOGO**
Goat House Refuge (Pittsboro) **COMPANION** 2007
Blind Cat Rescue and Sanctuary (St. Pauls) **COMPANION** 2005
Faithful Friends Animal Sanctuary (Salisbury) **COMPANION**

Ohio
Happy Trails Farm Animal Sanctuary (Ravenna) **FARM & LOGO**
Sunrise Animal Sanctuary (Marysville) **FARM & LOGO**
Lasa Sanctuary (Jefferson) **BOVINE**

White Buffalo Sanctuary (Amesville) **BOVINE**
Noah's Lost Ark (Berlin Center) **EXOTIC** 1994
Alchemy Acres Animal Sanctuary (Salem) **COMPANION + WILD**
Saint Francis Animal Sanctuary (Vermillion) **COMPANION + FARM**
Another Chance Animal Sanctuary (Clyde) **COMPANION + FARM** 2009
Forever Amber Acres Animal Sanctuary (Medina) **COMAPNION** 2013
Southern Ohio Wolf Sanctuary **WOLF** 2014
The Ohio Pet Sanctuary (Cincinnati) **COMPANION** 2009
Sacred Hearts Animal Sanctuary (Winchester) **COMPANION**
Birds in Flight (Warren) **BIRD** 1992
Ohio Bird Sanctuary (Mansfield) **BIRD**
The Sanctuary for Senior Dogs (Cleveland) **COMPANION** 2002
Forever Safe Farm (Salem) **FARM + EXOTIC**

Oklahoma
Country Roads Animal Rescue (Oklahoma City) **COMPANION**
Free To Live Animal Sanctuary (Edmond) **COMPANION**
Real Rescue (Arcadia) **COMPANION** 2001
Second Chance Animal Sanctuary (Norman) **COMPANION**
Oliver and Friends Farm Sanctuary (Luther) **FARM + LOGO** 2016
Safari's Sanctuary (Broken Arrow) **EXOTIC** 1995
Safari Joe's Exotic Wildlife Sanctuary (Adair) **EXOTIC**
Rebel Oaks Sanctuary (Noble) **EXOTIC** 1993

Oregon
Green Acres Farm Sanctuary (Silverton) **FARM**
Wildcat Ridge Sanctuary (Scotts Mills) **EXOTIC**
Oregon Tiger Sanctuary (Eagle Point) **EXOTIC** 1991
White Wolf Sanctuary (Tidewater) **WOLF**
Chimps, Inc. (Bend) **PRIMATE**
Lighthouse Farm Sanctuary (Scio) **FARM & LOGO**
Out to Pasture Sanctuary (Estacada) **FARM**
Sanctuary One (Jacksonville) **FARM + COMPANION** 2008
Equamore Sanctuary (Ashland) **HORSE** 1991
Duchess Sanctuary (Oakland) **HORSE** 2008
Wildwood Farm Sanctuary (Newberg) **FARMS & LOGO**
Veganville (Seaside) **FARM & LOGO** 2016
Harmony Farm Sanctuary (Sisters) **FARM** 2015
Fawn Hills Animal Sanctuary (Eugene) **FARM**
Sacred Animal Sanctuary (Veneta) **FARM**

Pennsylvania
Chenoa Manor (Avondale) **FARM**
Farm Animal Rescue of Mifflinburg (Mifflingburg) **FARM**
The Farmhouse Sanctuary (Roaring Brook Twp) **FARM**
Godot Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Punxsutawney) **FARM + COMPANION**
Gita Nagari Yoga Farm (Port Royal) **BOVINE** 1974
Animal Care Sanctuary (East Smithfield) **COMPANION**

Animal Care Sanctuary (Wellsboro) **COMPANION**
Indraloka Farm Sanctuary (Mehoopany) **FARM + LOGO**
Lakshmi Cow Sanctuary (Stroudsburg) **BOVINE**
Twist of Fate Farm and Sanctuary (West Grove) **FARM**
East Coast Exotic Animal Rescue (Fairfield) **EXOTIC**
Hope Haven Farm Sanctuary (Pittsburgh) **FARM**
The Sanctuary at Haafsville (Breinigsville) **COMPANION**
Second Chance Animal Sanctuary (Tioga) **COMPANION**
Speranza Animal Rescue (Mechanicsburg) **COMPANION**
Wolf Sanctuary of PA (Lititz) **WOLF**
Almost Home Animal Sanctuary (Limekiln) **COMPANION**
Animals in Distress (Coopersburg) **COMPANION** 1999 (1977)
Mureille's Place (Wapwallopen) **COMPANION**
Animal Rescue (New Freedom) **COMPANION** 1976
Grey Paws Sanctuary (Pittsburgh) **COMPANION** 2014

Rhode Island
Norman Bird Sanctuary (Middletown) **BIRD**
West Place Animal Sanctuary (Tiverton) **FARM** 2007
The New England Exotic Wildlife Sanctuary (Hope Valley) **FARM + EXOTIC** 2007

South Carolina
Coastal Animal Rescue and Educational Sanctuary (Georgetown) **FARM + EXOTIC**
Cotton Branch Farm Animal Sanctuary (Leesville) **FARM + COMPANION** 2011
Hallie Hill Animal Sanctuary (Hollywood) **COMPANION** 1988
St. Francis Farm (Carlisle) **COMPANION** 2013
Whiskers Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Myrtle Beach) **COMPANION** 2009
Howlmore Animal Sanctuary (Columbia) **COMPANION** 2008
Bud's Friends Animal Sanctuary (Fountain Inn) **COMPANION**
PAWS Animal Wildlife Sanctuary (Waterloo) **WILD**

South Dakota
Buffalo Hump Sanctuary (Pine Ridge Reservation) **BOVINE**
Spirit of the Hills Wildlife Sanctuary (Spearfish) **EXOTIC**
Black Hills Wild Horse Sanctuary (Hot Springs) **HORSE**

Tennessee
The Gentle Barn (Knoxville) **FARM & LOGO**
The Pig Preserve (Jamestown) **PIG** 1985
Safe Harbor Equine and Livestock Sanctuary (Cottontown) **HORSE + FARM**
Freedom Farm Animal Sanctuary (Robertson) **COMPANION** 1999
Horse Creek Wildlife Sanctuary (Hardin County) **COMPANION** 1998
Safe Haven Puppy Sanctuary (Crossville) **COMPANION**
Freetown Sanctuary (Lebanon) **COMPANION**
Old Friends Senior Dog Sanctuary (Mount Juliet) **COMPANION**
Ark R.A.I.N. Wildlife Sanctuary (Brownsville) **EXOTIC**
The Elephant Sanctuary (Hohenwald) **ELEPHANT** 1995

Texas
International Exotic Animal Sanctuary (Boyd) **EXOTIC**
Black Beauty Ranch (Murchison) **EXOTIC**
Eden Animal Sanctuary (Spring Branch) **COMPANION**
Thunder Paws Animal Sanctuary (Dripping Springs) **COMPANION** 2000
Bat World Sanctuary (Weatherford) **BAT**
Primarily Primates (Bexar County) **PRIMATE**
SARA Sanctuary (Seguin) **FARM + COMPANION** 1996
Lone Star Sanctuary for Animals (Midland) **COMPANION**
Welcome Home Barnyard Sanctuary (Corpus Christi) **FARM**
Animal Angels (Jacksboro) **COMPANION** 1993
Stray Acres Sanctuary (Bertram) **COMPANION** 2012
ARF House (Sherman) **COMPANION** 1992
Pure Mutts Animal Sanctuary (Conroe) **COMPANION**
A Smart Rescue Sanctuary (Spring) **COMPANION** 2002
Paws Ranch Rescue and Animal Sanctuary (San Antonio) **COMPANION** 2010
Dreamtime Sanctuary (Elgin) **FARM** 1997
Rowdy Girl Sanctuary (Angleton) **BOVINE** 2015
Buffalo Roam Sanctuary (Sequin) **WILD**

Utah
Best Friends Animal Society (Kanab) **COMPANION**
Furry Friends Animal Sanctuary (Sanpete County) **COMPANION**
Ching Farm Rescue & Sanctuary (Riverton) **FARM & LOGO**
Avian Sanctuary and Protection (Lehi) **WILD + COMPANION**
Friends in Need Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Eagle Mountain) **COMPANION**
Sage Mountain (Park City) **FARM** 2013
Mount Peale Sanctuary (La Sal) **FARM + COMPANION**

Vermont
Vine Sanctuary (Springfield) **FARM & LOGO**
Mountain View Farm Animal Sanctuary (East Burke) **FARM & LOGO** 2003
Turtle Hill Farm Animal Sanctuary (Woodstock) **COMPANION + FARM** 2010
Finally Home Animal Sanctuary (Bakersfield) **COMPANION**
The Hooved Animal Sanctuary (White River Junction) **HORSE** 2004

Virginia
Peaceful Fields Sanctuary – Yoga Animalia Project (Winchester) **FARM & LOGO**
Rikki's Refuge Animal Sanctuary (Orange County) **FARM + COMPANION** 1998
Harmony Farm Sanctuary (Botetourt County) **FARM**
Porchlight Animal Sanctuary (Henrico) **FARM** 2019
Caring For Creatures (Fluvanna County) **COMPANION** 1988
Sanctuary Rescue (Midlothian) **COMPANION**
String of Pearls Animal Sanctuaries (Shenandoah County) **COMPANION** 2005
United Poultry Concerns (Machipongo) **CHICKEN**

The Central Virginia Parrot Sanctuary (Louisa) **PARROT** 2014
Dogue Hollow Wildlife Sanctuary (Lorton) **WILD**
Rockfish Wildlife Sanctuary (Nelson County) **WILD** 2004

Washington
Pasado's Safe Haven (Sultan) **FARM & LOGO** 1997
Pigs Peace Sanctuary (Stanwood) **PIG** 1994
Precious Life Animal Sanctuary (Edmonds) **FARM** 1999
Higher Ground Animal Sanctuary (Meade) **FARM** 1965
River's Wish Animal Sanctuary (Spokane County) **FARM & LOGO**
Purrfect Pals Cat Sanctuary (Arlington) **COMPANION** 1988
Colville Valley Animal Sanctuary (Colville) **COMPANION** 2002
Joplin's Sanctuary and Animal Rescue (Snohomish) **FARM + LOGO** 2011
Moonstone Farm Sanctuary (Oak Harbor) **FARM + LOGO**
Sara's Sanctuary (Redmond) **EXOTIC** 1998
Predators of the Heart (Anacortes) **EXOTIC** 1998
Wild Field Advocacy Center (North Shelton) **EXOTIC** 2006
Wolf Haven International (Tenino) **WOLF** 1982

West Virginia
Pigs Animal Sanctuary (Shepherdstown) **PIG + FARM** 1992
Eco-Vrindaban (New Vrindaban) **BOVINE** 1998
New Vrindaban (New Vrindaban) **BOVINE** 1969

Wisconsin
Autumn Farm Sanctuary (Cedarburg) **FARM**
Space of Love Criations Animal Sanctuary (Endeavor) **FARM**
Home for Life Sanctuary (Star Prairie) **COMPANION**
Happily Ever After Animal Sanctuary (Green Bay) **COMPANION** 2006
Orphan Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Neenah) **COMPANION** 2008
K&R Small Animal Sanctuary (Fox Valley) **COMPANION** 2009
Woof Gang Rescue Sanctuary (Racine) **COMPANION**
Yellow Brick Road Rescue and Sanctuary (Hales Corner) **COMPANION**
Rescued Tails Animal Sanctuary (Shell Lake) **COMPANION**
Safe Haven Pet Sanctuary (Green Bay) **COMPANION**
Heartland Farm Sanctuary (Madison) **FARM & LOGO** 2010
SoulSpace Farm Sanctuary (New Richmond) **BOVINE** 2015
Valley of the Kings Sanctuary (Sharon) **EXOTIC**

Wyoming
Kindness Ranch Animal Sanctuary (Hartville) **FARM + COMPANION** 2006
Deerwood Ranch Wild Horse Ecosanctuary (Laramie) **HORSE**

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

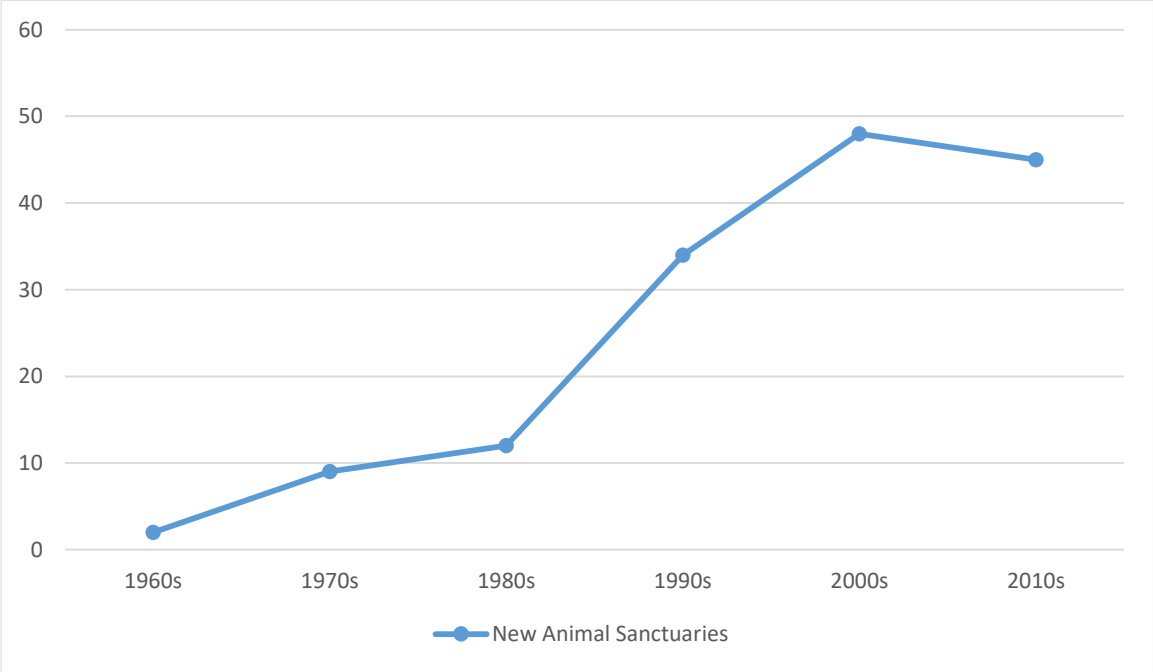

Figure 1. Line Chart of New Animal Sanctuary Statistics in the United Sates

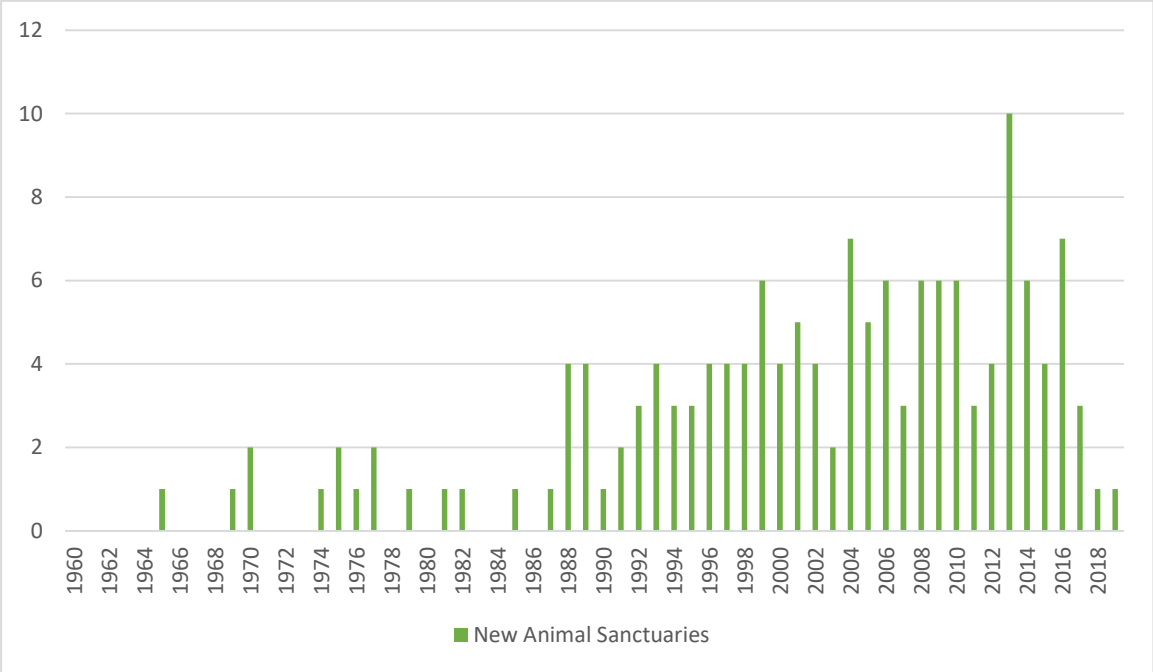

Figure 2. Bar Chart of New Animal Sanctuary Statistics in the United States

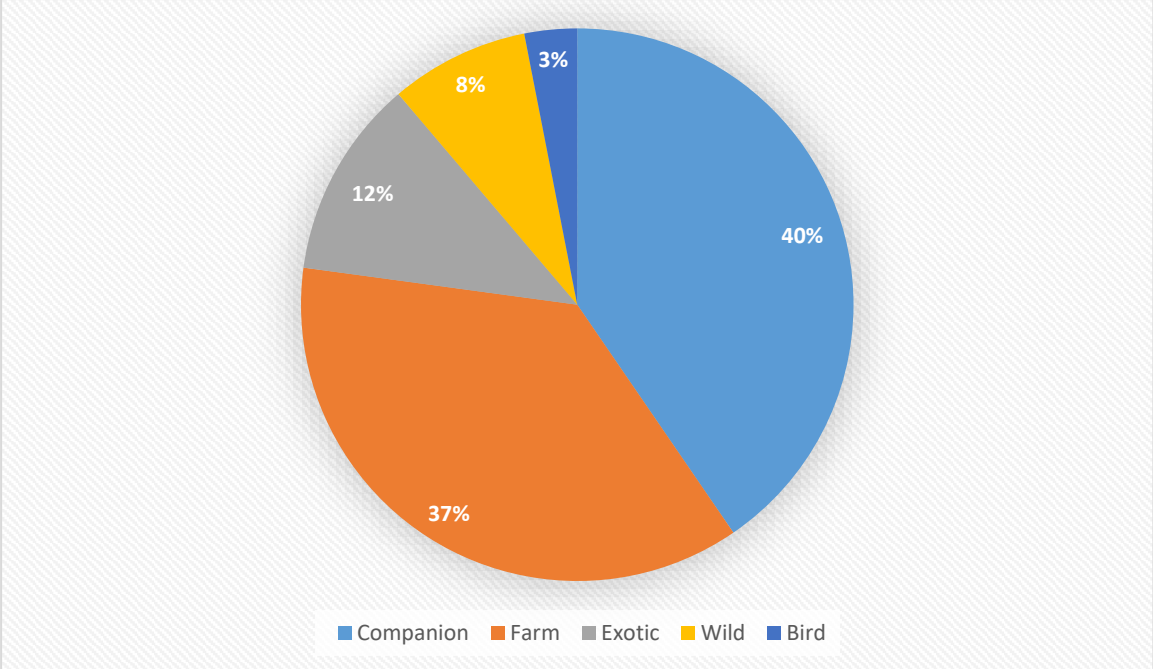

Figure 3. Animal Sanctuary Statistics in the United States:

- Companion Animal Sanctuaries: 184
- Farm Animal Sanctuaries: 166
- Exotic Animal Sanctuaries: 53
- Wild Animal Sanctuaries: 37
- Bird Sanctuaries: 14

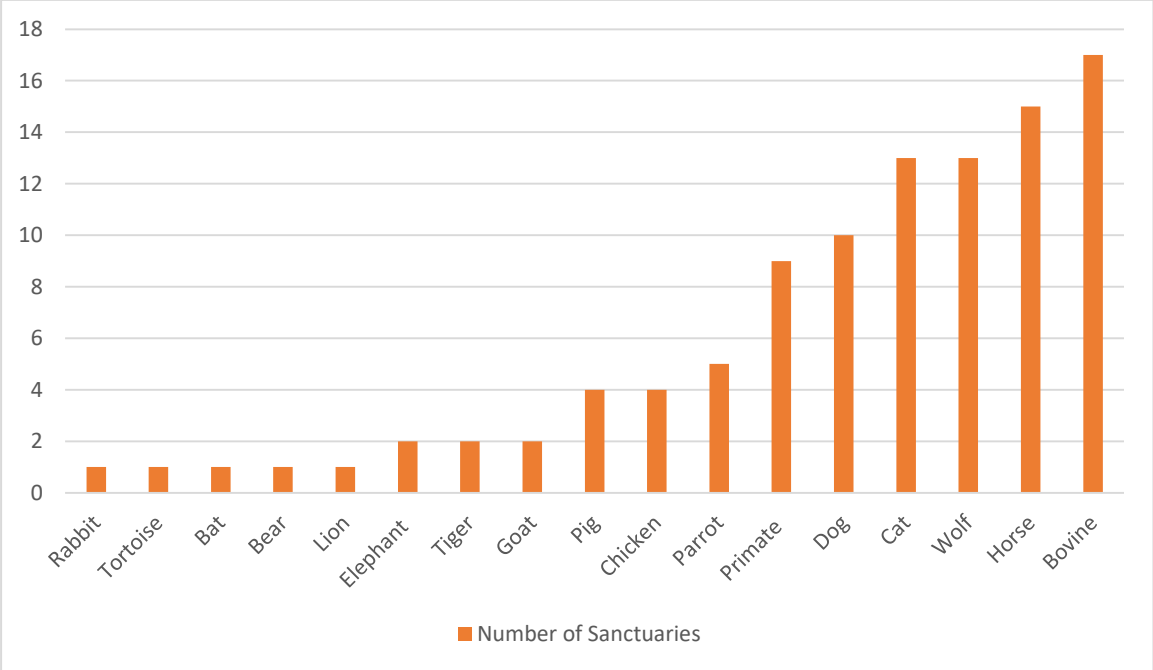

Figure 4. Specific Animal Sanctuary Statistics in the United States

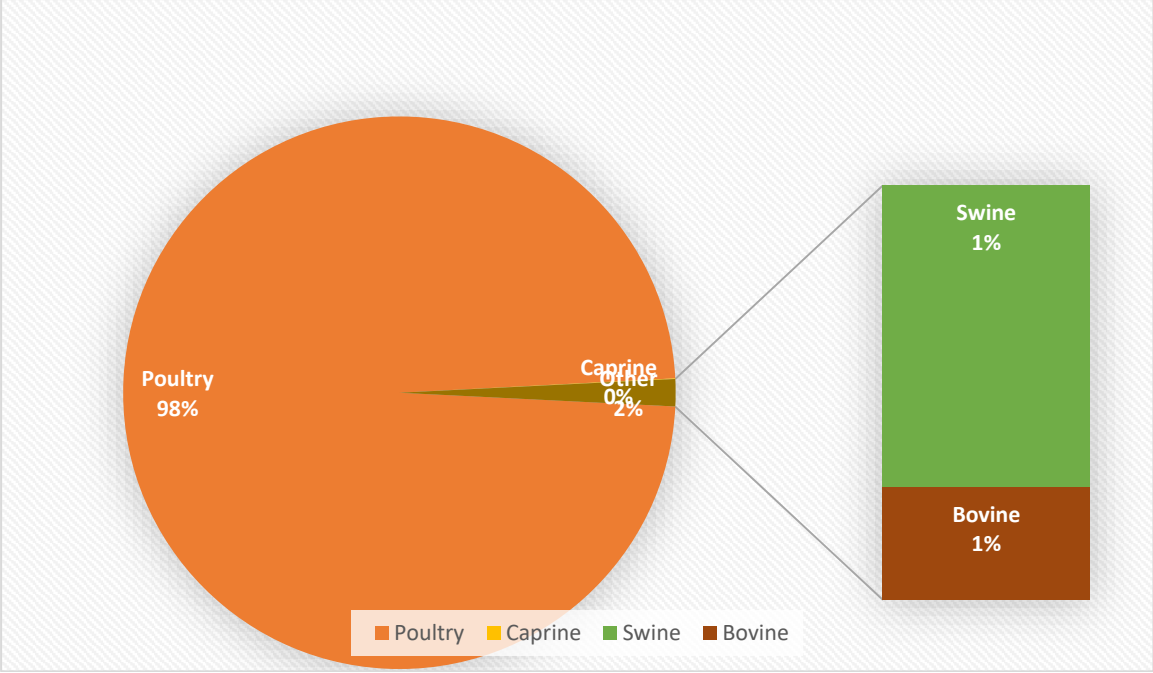

Figure 5. Percentage Breakdown of Animal Slaughter Statistics in the United States:

- Poultry: 9,323,315,000 (98%)
- Swine: 109,277,000
- Bovine: 40,951,000
- Caprine: 3,596,300

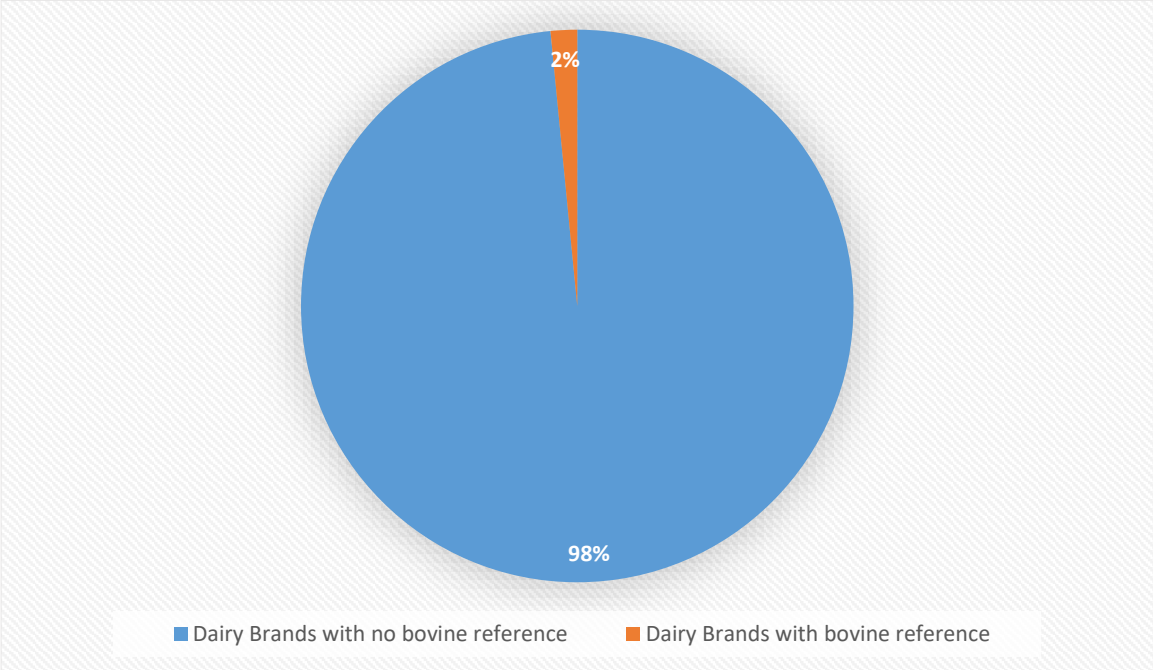

Figure 6. Dairy Brand Statistics in the United States:

- Dairy brands (cheese, yogurt and ice cream) with no bovine reference: 192
- Dairy brands (cheese, yogurt and ice cream) with bovine reference: 3

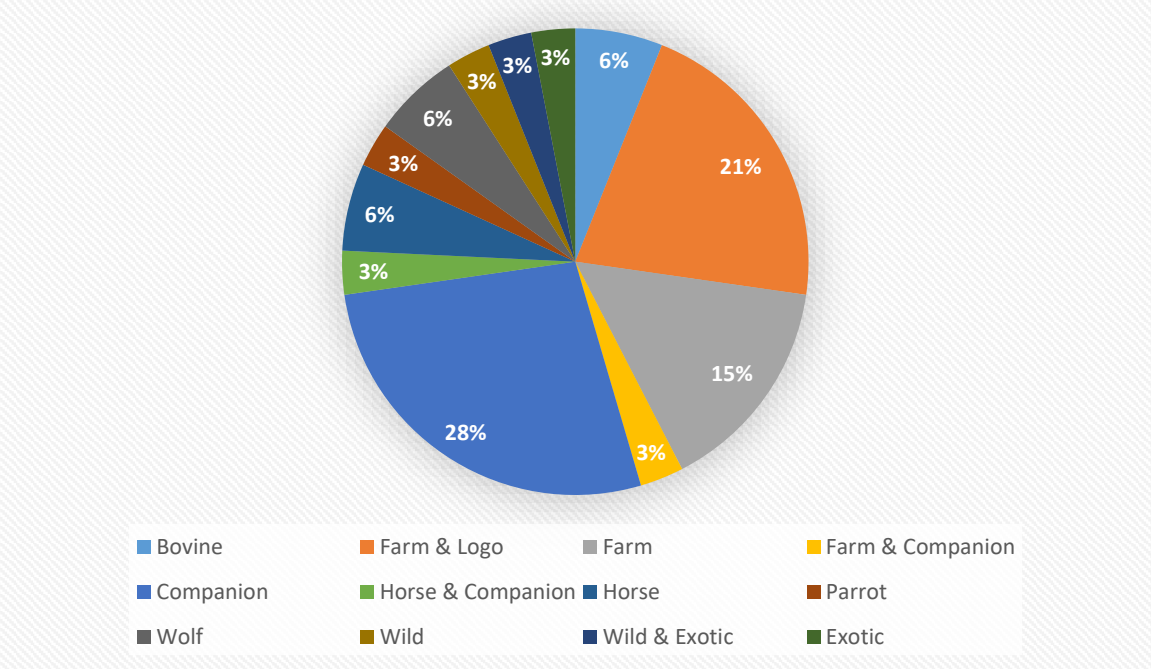

Figure 7. Animal Sanctuary Statistics in California:

- PreetiRang Sanctuary (Dixon, Northern California) **FARM**
- Mira's Cow Sanctuary (Northern California) **BOVINE**
- Sri Krishna Balaram Hasati Goshala (Sunnyvale) **BOVINE**
- Farm Sanctuary's Animal Acres (Acton, Southern California) **FARM + LOGO**
- Animal Place Sanctuary (Grass Valley, Northern California) **FARM + LOGO**
  Farm Sanctuary (Orland, Northern California) **FARM + LOGO**
- Sweet Farm (Half Moon Bay) **FARM + LOGO**
  The Gentle Barn (Santa Clarita, Southern California) **FARM + LOGO**
- Flip Side Sanctuary (Sebastapol) **FARM + LOGO**
  Piece of Peace Animal Sanctuary (Marysville) **FARM**
- Harvest Home Animal Sanctuary (Stockton, Northern California) **FARM**
  Happy Hen Animal Sanctuary (San Luis Obispo, Central Coast) **FARM**
- Animal Messenger Sanctuary (Sebastopool) **FARM**
- Goatlandia Farm Sanctuary (Santa Rosa) **FARM**
- Sale Ranch Sanctuary (Temecula) **FARM + COMPANION**
- Fallbrook Animal Sanctuary (Fallbrook) **COMPANION**
  Safe Haven Animal Sanctuary (San Jose) **COMPANION**
- Living Free Animal Sanctuary, Mountain Center (Idyllwild-Pine Cove) **COMPANION**
- PAWS Wildlife Sanctuaries (San Andreas) **COMPANION**
- PAWS Wildlife Sanctuaries (Galt) **COMPANION**
- American Tortoise Rescue (Malibu) **COMPANION**
- D.E.L.T.A Rescue (Glendale) **COMPANION**
- C.A.R.E (Sherman Oaks) **COMPANION**
- The Cat House on the Kings (Parlier) **COMPANION**
- St. Bonnie's Sanctuary (Canyon Country) **HORSE + COMPANION**
- Wild Horse Sanctuary (Shingletown) **HORSE**
- Heaven Can Wait Equine Sanctuary for Healing and Learning (San Miguel) **HORSE**
- Association of Parrot C.A.R.E (Los Angeles) **PARROT**
- Wolf Mountain Sanctuary (Lucerne Valley) **WOLF**
- Lockwood Animal Rescue Center (Frazier Park) **WOLF**
- Tucker Wildlife Sanctuary (Silverado) **WILD**
- Wildlife Waystation (Angeles National Forest) **WILD + EXOTIC**
- Lions, Tigers and Bears Sanctuary (Alpine) **EXOTIC**

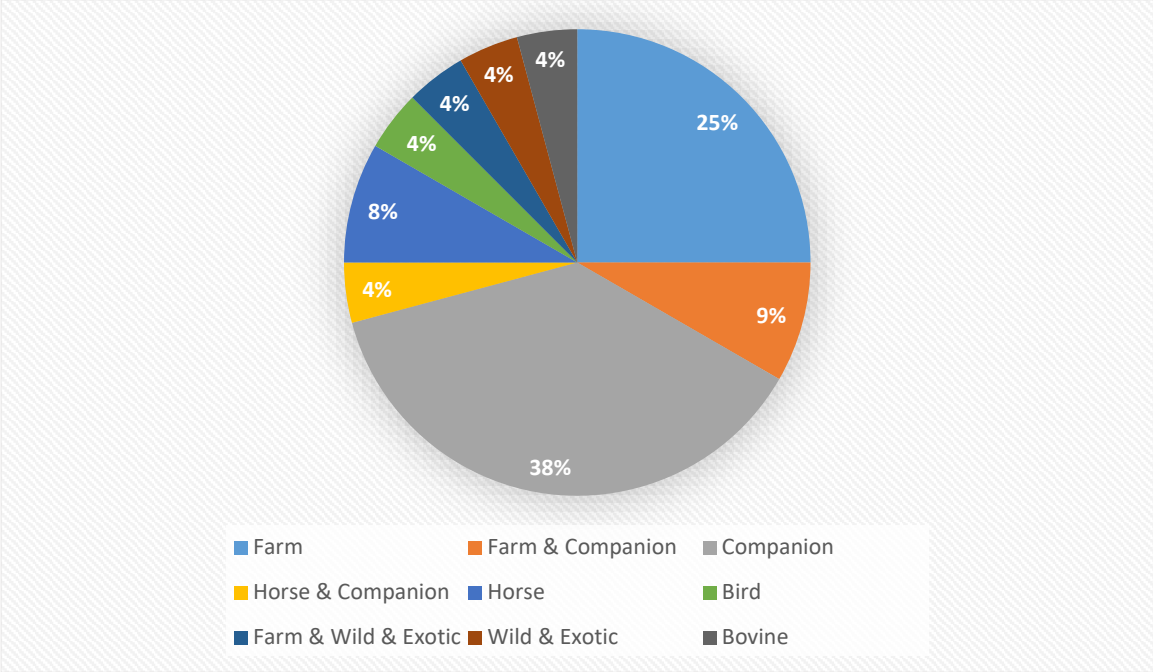

Figure 8. Animal Sanctuary Statistics in Arizona:

- AZGoshala (Queen Creek) **BOVINE**
- HoofsnHorns Farm Sanctuary (Tucson) **FARM**
- Aimee's Farm Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **FARM**
- Ironwood Pig Sanctuary (Tuscon) **FARM**
- Healing Hearts Animal Sanctuary (Willcox) **FARM**
- New Dawn Sanctuary (Tonopah) **FARM**
- Goats With Horns Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **FARM**
- Wild Hearts Rescue Ranch (Marana) **FARM + COMPANION**
- Circle L Ranch Animal Rescue and Sanctuary (Prescott) **FARM + COMPANION**
- Help Animals Lives Today (Kingman) **COMPANION**
- The Hermitage No-Kill Cat Shelter & Sanctuary (Tuscon) **COMPANION**
- Morning Starr Animal Sanctuary (Verde Valley) **COMPANION**
- Friends for Life Animal Sanctuary (Gilbert) **COMPANION**
- Tranquillity Trail Animal Sanctuary (Scottsdale) **COMPANION**
- Forever Loved Pet Sanctuary (Scottsdale) **COMPANION**
- The Ark Cat Sanctuary (Flagstaff) **COMPANION**
- Save the Cats (Mesa) **COMPANION**
- Saving One Life (Gilbert) **COMPANION**
- Great Spirit Animal Sanctuary (Phoenix) **HORSE + COMPANION**
- Hacienda de los Milagros (Chino Valley) **HORSE**
- Whisper's Sanctuary (Sierra Vista) **HORSE**
- The Oasis Sanctuary (Benson) **BIRD**
- Keepers of the Wild Animal Sanctuary (Valentine) **FARM + WILD + EXOTIC**
- Heritage Park Zoological Sanctuary (Prescott) **WILD + EXOTIC**

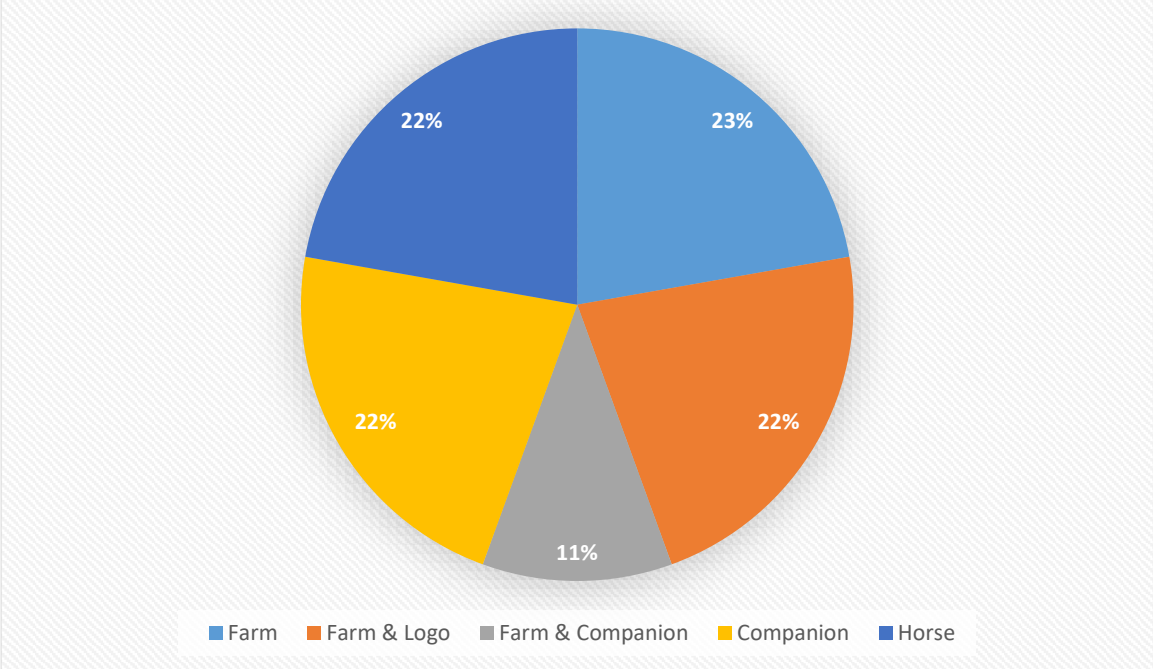

Figure 9. Animal Sanctuary Statistics in New Hampshire and Vermont:

- **New Hampshire**
- Amazing Grace Farm Sanctuary (Sullivan) **FARM**
- Tomten Farm and Sanctuary (Haverhill) **FARM**
- Rolling Dog Farm (Lancaster) **COMPANION**
- Lie and Let Live Farm (Chichester) **HORSE**

- **Vermont**
- Vine Sanctuary (Springfield) **FARM & LOGO**
- Mountain View Farm Animal Sanctuary (East Burke) **FARM & LOGO**
- Turtle Hill Farm Animal Sanctuary (Woodstock) **COMPANION + FARM**
- Finally Home Animal Sanctuary (Bakersfield) **COMPANION**
- The Hooved Animal Sanctuary (White River Junction) **HORSE**

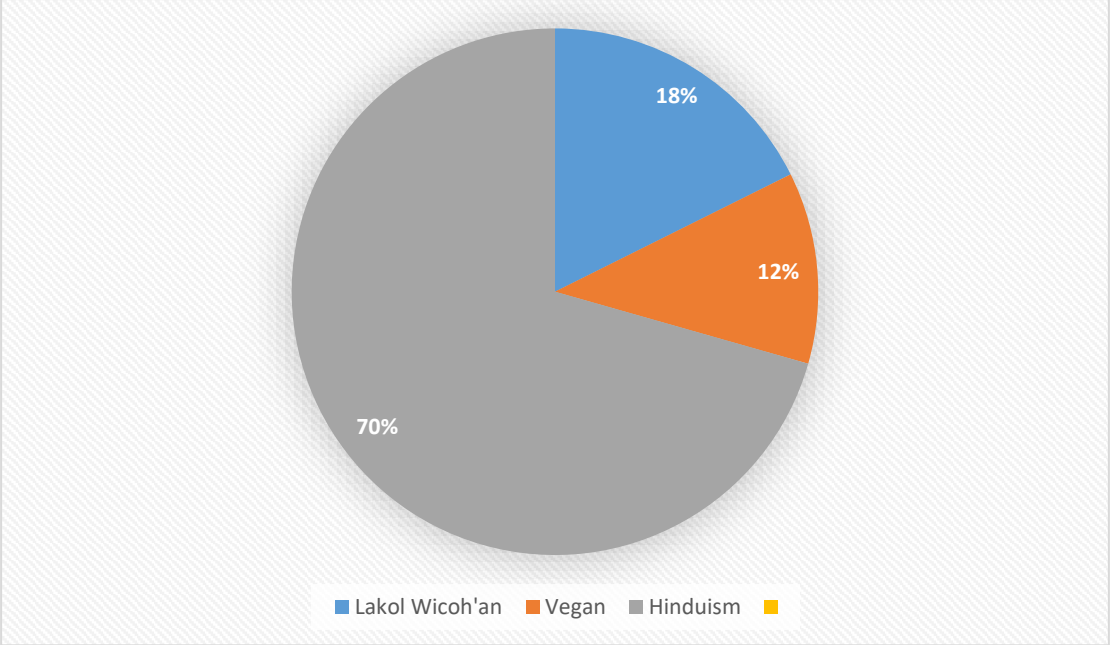

Figure 10. . Bovine Sanctuary Statistics in the United States:

- Hinduism: 12
- Lakol Wicoh'an: 3
- Veganism: 2

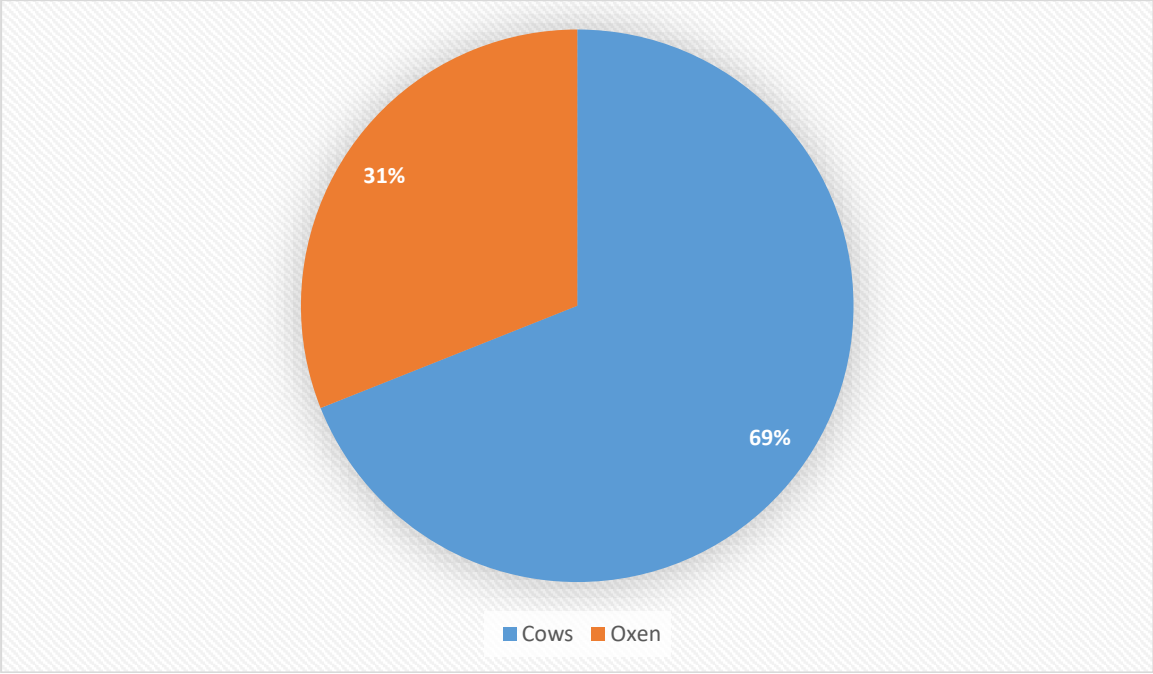

Figure 11. Bovine Statistics at New Vrindaban Goshala in West Virginia:

- 14 Milk Cows which 7 are currently milking
- 24 Retired Cow
- 2 Heifer Calves
- 18 Working & Retired Oxen

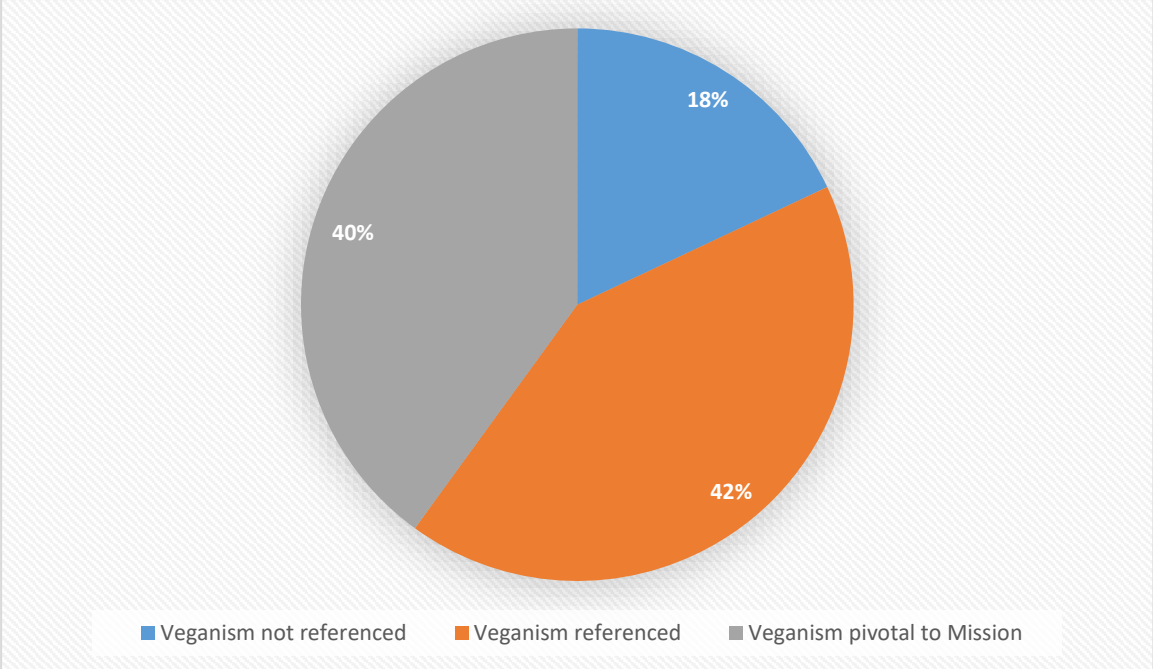

Figure 12. Veganism Statistics of Sanctuaries that use the Bovine as an Emblem:

- Veganism is pivotal: 20
- Veganism is referenced: 21
- Veganism is not referenced: 9

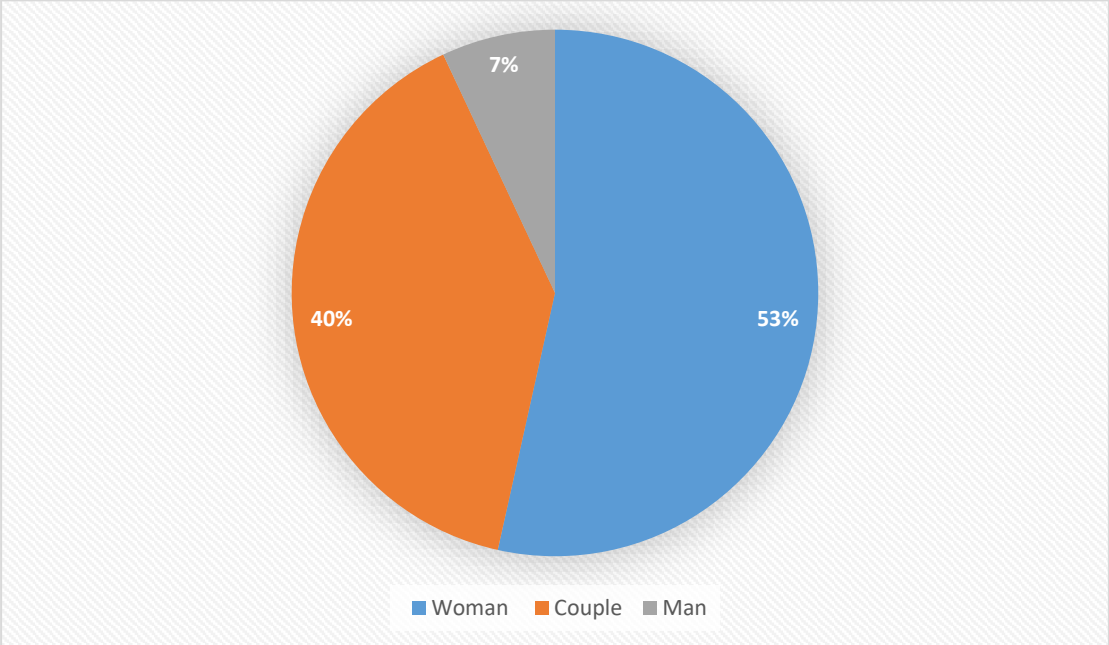

Figure 13. Benefactor Statistics at 43 Vegan Inspired Animal Sanctuaries:

- Woman benefactor: 23
- Couple benefactors: 17
- Man benefactor: 3

TABLES

Livestock	Est. Slaughter Statistics
Chickens	9,031,035,000
Turkeys	264,969,000
Hogs and Pigs	109,277,000
Cattle	34,451,000
Ducks	27,311,000
Other Cows	3,178,000
Sheep and Lambs	2,769,000
Dairy Cows	2,497,000
Goats	827,300
Calves	758,000
Bison	67,000

Table 1. Farm Animal Slaughter Statistics in the United States – rounded to nearest thousand; adapted and taken from the *2007 United States Animal Health Report*.

American cream cheeses • Bergenost • Cream cheese • Creole cream cheese • Cup cheese • Red Hawk cheese • Kunik cheese **American soft cheeses** • Brick cheese • Cheese curd • Colby cheese • Colby-Jack cheese • Farmer cheese • String cheese • Cougar Gold cheese	• Hoop cheese • Hannah • Humboldt Fog • Liederkranz cheese • Monterey Jack • Pepper jack cheese • Dry jack cheese • Pinconning cheese • Muenster cheese • Swiss cheese • Teleme cheese • Vermont cheddar **American hard cheeses** • American generic parmesan • Grana Padano	**American blue cheeses** • Blue Marble Jack Cheese • Maytag Blue cheese • Oregonzola • Point Reyes Original Blue • Rogue River Blue • Smokey Blue **Processed cheeses** • American cheese • Cheese Whiz • Government cheese • Nacho cheese • Pimento cheese • Provel cheese • Velveeta

Table 2. List of Popular American Cheeses

A

- Alta Dena Dairy
- Applegate Farms

B

- Babybel
- Bass Lake Cheese Factory
- Bear Flag
- Bel Gioioso
- Biazzo Dairy
- Boars Head
- Boursin
- Brewster Cheese

C

- Cabot
- Cacique
- Cappiello
- Capri
- Caroselle
- Cedargrove Family Farm
- Cheswick Cheese
- Clover-Stonetta Farms
- Coach Farm
- Cobb Hill Cheese
- Crystal Farms
- Cypress Grove Chevre

D

- Denhaye Dairy
- Dragone
- Dutch Farms

E

- El Pasado

F

- Fancy Brand
- Finlandia
- Fiscalani Farms
- Frigo

G

- Gardenia
- Glenview Farms
- Golden Cheese of California
- Grafton Village Cheeses
- Graham Farms Cheese
- Grande Cheese Company
- Great Midwest
- Greenbank Farm
- Guggisburg Cheese

H

- Hannaford
- Haolam
- Horizon Organic
- Joseph Farms

K

- Karoun Dairies
- Kerrygold
- Kraft
- Kutters

L

- Land O'Lakes
- Landmark
- Laughing Cow
- Lavaquita
- Leprino
- Lifetime Cheese
- Loleta
- Lorraine
- Lynne Dairy

M

- McCadam
- Migdal
- Miller's Cheese
- Morningland Organic Dairy
- Mount Sterling Cheese Cooperative

N

- New Holland

O

- Old Chatham
- Organic Dairyland
- Organic Valley

R

- Reny Picot
- Rumanio

S

- Saladena
- Sargento
- Shalom Farms – Gold Quality
- Sorrento
- Speciality Cheese Company
- Spring Hill Jersey Cheese
- Stella

T

- Tillamook Dairy Cooperative
- Trader Joe's
- Treasure Cave
- Trig's

V

- Vella Cheese
- Vermont Cheese

W

- Widmer Cheese Cellers
- Willow Maid

Y

- Yancey's Fancy

Table 3. List of Cheese Brands in the United States

A • Activa • Annie's Homegrown **B** • Berkley's Farms • Blue Hill • Brown Cow • Butterworks **C** • Cabot • Chobani • Clover • Coach Farm **D** • Dannon • Dreaming Cow **E** • Ellenos • The Epic Seed • Evolve Kefir Yogurt **F** • Fage	**G** • Greek Gods • Greek Pastures • Green Valley Organic **H** • Horizon Organic **I** • Icelandic Provisions **K** • Kalona Super Natural • Kemps **L** • LALA • Liberte **M** • Maple Hill Creamery • Mountain High • Mueller	**N** • Nancy's • Noosa **O** • Oikos • Organic Valley **P** • Pavel's Yogurt • Pequea Valley Farms • Powerful Yogurt **R** • Redwood Hill Farm **S** • Saint Benoit • Seven Stars Farm • Siggi's • SkyHill Farms • Smari Organic • Sophie • Stonyfield Organic • Straus Family Creamery	**T** • Tarte • Tillamook • Trimona **V** • Voskos **W** • Eallaby Organic • White Mountain **Y** • Yami • YoCrunch • Yoplait **Z** • Zen Monkey

Table 4. List of Yogurt Brands in the United States

A

- Abbott's Frozen Custard

B

- Baskin-Robbins
- Ben & Jerry's
- Blue Cell Creameries
- Blue Bunny
- Braum's
- Breyers
- Brigham's Nice Cream
- Bubblies

C

- Carvel
- Casper's Ice Cream
- Chapman's
- Choctál
- Cold Stone Creamery
- Colonial Ice Cream

D

- Dairy Queen
- Dippin' Dots
- Double Rainbow
- Dreyer's

E

- Edy's

F

- Fieldbrook Farms
- Freddy's Frozen Custard
- Friendly's

G

- Good Humor
- Graeter's

H

- Häagen-Dazs
- Halo Top
- Handel's Homemade Ice Cream
- Herrell's Ice Cream
- Hershey Creamery Co.

I

- It's-It Ice Cream

J

- J.P. Licks
- Jack and Jill Ice Cream
- Jeni's Splendid Ice Creams

K

- KaleidoScoops
- Klondike

L

- Lovin' Scoopful

M

- Marble Slab Creamery
- Mayfield Dairy
- Mr. Green Tea Ice Cream Co.

P

- Perry's Ice Cream
- Pierre's Ice Cream Co.
- Purity

S

- Salt & Straw
- Schwan's
- Sealtest
- Stroh's Ice Cream

T

- Talenti
- Tillamook
- Thrifty Ice Cream
- Turkey Hill

U

- United Dairy Farmers

W

- Western Family
- Whitey's Ice Cream

Y

- Yarnell Ice Cream Co.

Table 5. List of Ice Cream Brands in the United States

A

- A&W
- Ann's Snack Bar
- The Apple Pan

B

- Becks Prime
- Big Boy Restaurants
- Big Smoke Burger
- Big Spring Cafe
- Billy Goat Tavern
- Black Bar 'n' Burger
- Bobby's Burger Palace
- Bobcat Bite
- Bob's
- Boll Weevil
- Booches
- Braum's
- Burger Club
- BurgerFi
- Burger Fuel
- Burger Heaven
- Burger King
- Burger Machine
- Byron Hamburgers

C

- Carl's Jr.
- Carney's
- Cheeburger Cheeburger
- Cheeseburger in Paradise
- The Counter
- Culver's

D

- Dairy Queen
- Denny's Beer Barrel
- Druther's

E

- Eureka! Restaurant Group

F

- Fatburger
- Five Guys
- Fosters Freeze
- Fuddruckers

G

- Gourmet Burger Kitchen

H

- The Habit Burger Grill
- Halo Burger
- The Hamburger Wagon
- Hardee's
- Henry's Hamburgers
- Hot 'n Now
- Hungry Jack's

I

- In-N-Out Burger
- Iron Horse
- Islands

J

- J.G. Melon
- Jim's Restaurants
- Johnny Rockets
- Johnny's Charcoal Broiled Hamburgers

K

- Kewpee
- Krystal

L

- Louis' Lunch

M

- Mallie's Sports Grill & Bar
- McDonald's
- Meatheads Burgers & Fries
- Mooyah

O

- Original Tommy's

P

- Portillo's
- P. Terry's
- P. J. Clarke's

R

- Red Robin
- Red's Giant Hamburg
- Ruby's Diner
- Royal Castle

S

- Schoop's Hamburgers
- Shady Glen
- Shake Shack
- Smashburger
- Snuffy's Malt Shop
- Sonic Drive In
- Steak n' Shake
- Stewart's

T

- Ted Peters Famous Smoked Fish
- Ted's Restaurant
- Tom Wahl's

U

- Umami Burger

W

- Wendy's
- White Castle
- Wimpy
- Winstead's
- The Works

Z

- Zip's Drive In

Table 6. List of Hamburger Restaurants in the United States

	Dogs	Cats	Birds	Horses
Percent of households owning	36.5%	30.4%	3.1%	1.5%
Number of households owning	43,346,000	36,117,000	3,671,000	1,780,000
Average number owned per house	1.6	2.1	2.3	2.7
Total number in U.S.	69,926,000	74,059,000	8,300,000	4,856,000
Veterinary visits per household per year (mean)	2.6	1.6	0.3	1.9
Veterinary expenditure per household per year (mean)	$378	$191	$33	$373
Veterinary expenditure per animal (mean)	$227	$90	$14	$133

Table 7. Companion Animal Statistics in the United States, taken from the *2012 U.S. Pet Ownership & Demographics Sourcebook.*