

# Script

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Biopolitical Axis

Zoöpraxiscope: Cinema//Animal Time

Spectacle//shock

Shot//Cut

Render//Recycle

Motion//Capture

Sacrificial economy of the animal.

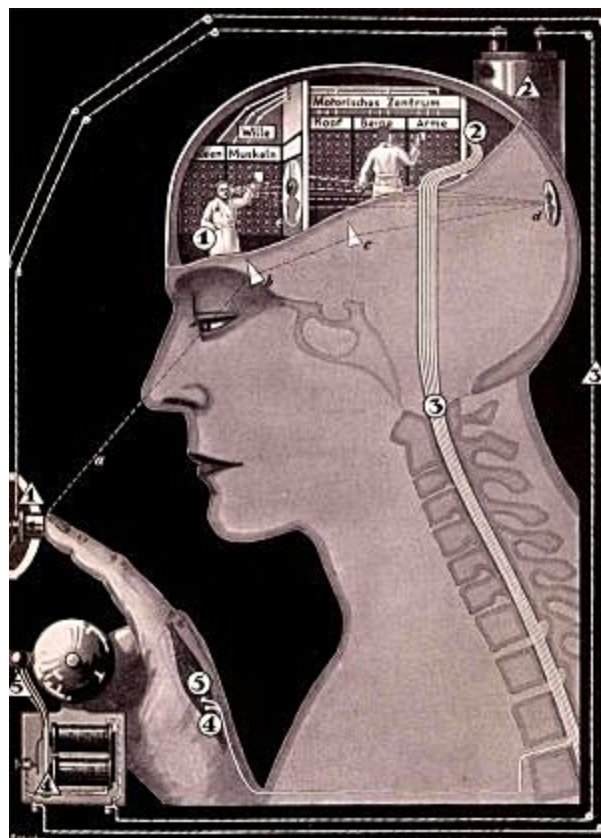
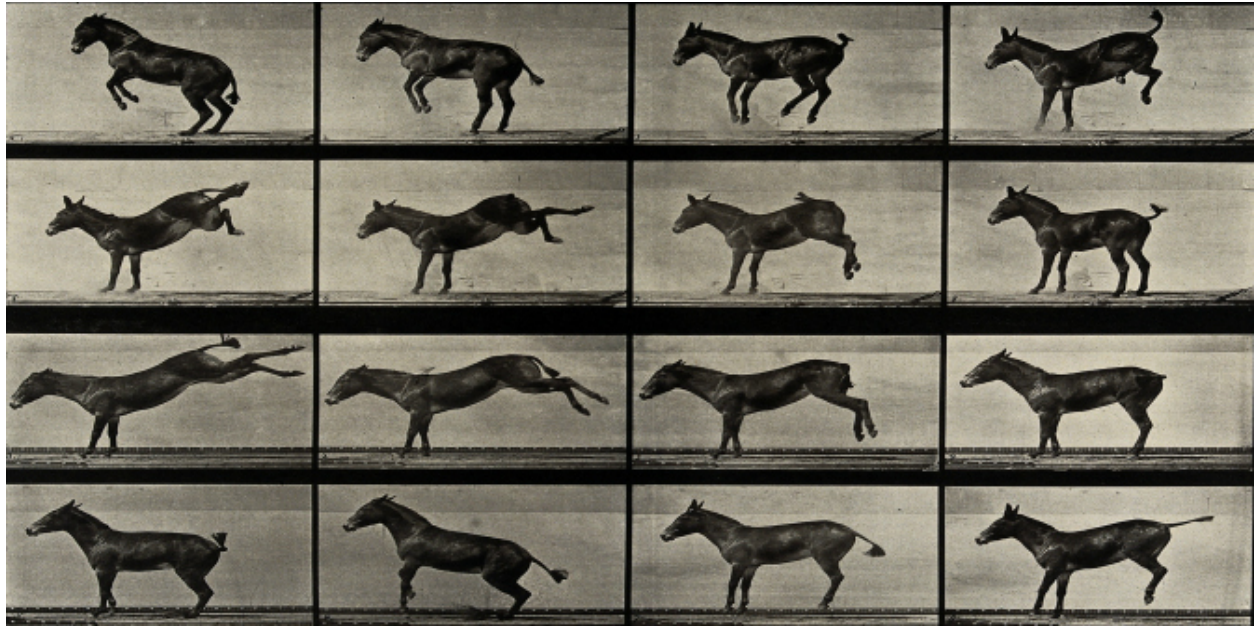
*Today, the slaughterhouse is cursed and quarantined like a boat carrying cholera. In fact, the victims of this curse are not butchers or animals, but the good people themselves, who, through this, are only able to bear their own ugliness... The curse (which terrifies only those who utter it) leads them to vegetate as far as possible from the slaughterhouses. They exile themselves, by way of antidote, in an amorphous world, where there is no longer anything terrible.*

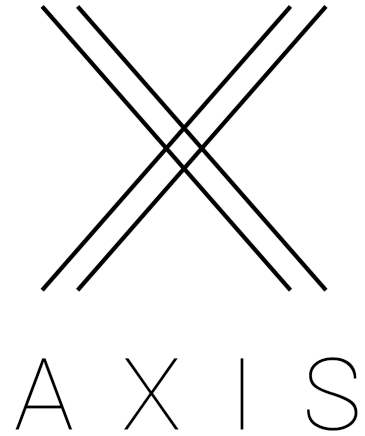
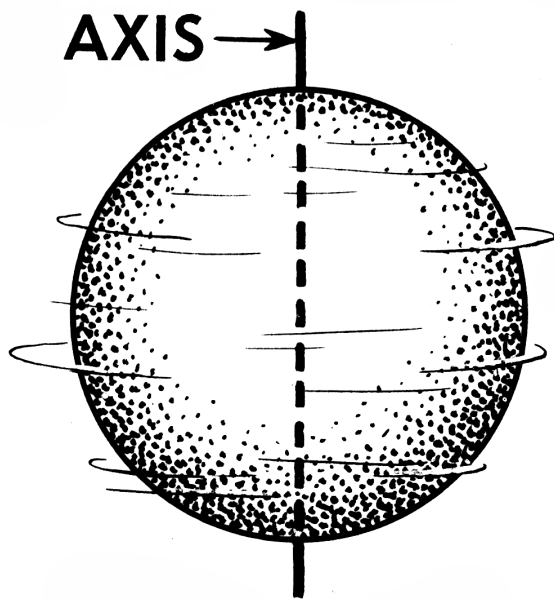
— Georges Bataille, *Slaughterhouse*.

Caedere

**1** chop, hew, cut out/down/to pieces **2** slaughter **3** sodomize **4** strike, smite, murder

## Biopolitical Axis



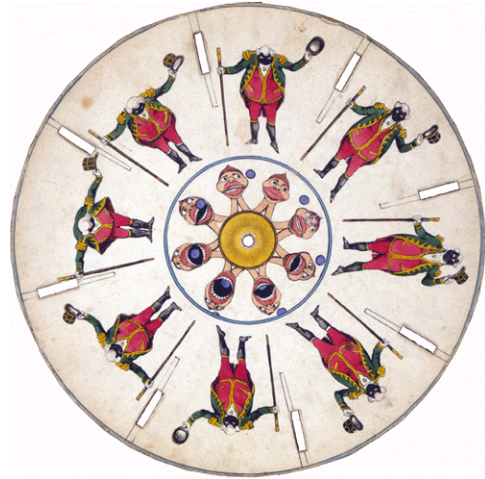
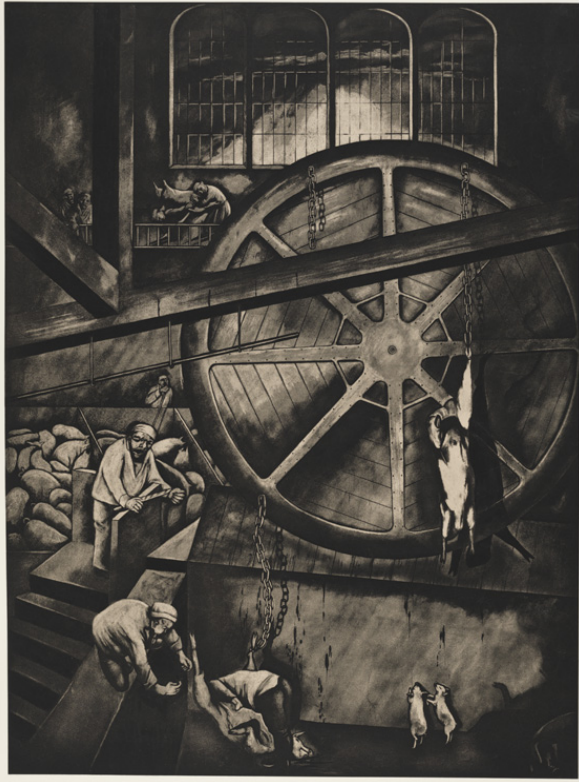


maybe railroad?

## Zoöpraxiscope: Cinema//Animal Time









**Spectacle//shock**

**Shot//Cut**

**Render//Recycle**

**Motion//Capture**

***Sacrificial economy of the animal.***



The ontologies and histories of animal life and the moving image are deeply interlocked.

Animals are ubiquitous in moving images: early expedition film, wildlife documentaries, mainstream fiction cinema, animation, art cinema, avant-garde film.

### ***Material conditions of animal life.***

How onscreen animals both affirm and trouble the anthropocentric conditions of moving image practices? the changing sensibilities and relations between humans and non-human animals.

**The assembly line was first used** the meat-packing industries of Chicago and Cincinnati during the 1870s.

### **Proto-cinematic Experience: The Slaughterhouse Tours**

**Technologies:** monorail trolleys to move suspended carcasses past a line of stationary workers, each of whom did one specific task.

a **"dis-assembly" line**, since each worker butchered a piece of a diminishing animal.

**triangulation** slaughterhouses to both the automobile industry and modern cinema

Henry Ford's assembly line was modeled closely on the "disassembly" process of nineteenth-century abattoirs. Ford's visit to a Chicago meatpacking plant as one incident around which the relations of Fordism can be reopened to and through an analysis of the animal capital of automobiles and of slaughter.

**analysis of contemporary advertisements** that represent that the automobile as an organic part of the landscape. As cars displace animals as the primary form of transportation, they take on the "animal signifier" to the point that they are symbolically equated with nature, even as their increased production leads to the mass destruction of nature itself (117).

**the unconscious** in the Freudian tradition, animals have been identified as a subterrain of primordial drives pacing in "an unaging and undiminishing state,"

**Wendy Brown's formulation of the unconscious as material history** one must "understand the unconscious as material history and history as the unconscious,

as the necessarily repressed that can be rendered visible in sites of contradiction or incomplete elision.”

### **the unconscious as a terrain of recessive and excessive material history**

**an “irony of history”:** Taylorism was aimed at maximizing production while it was also applied in the Nazi process of extermination. But we must learn to see the process of taking life, essential to founding and maintaining of sovereign power, as also fundamental to modern biopolitics and the industrial economy.

Across the river from Chicago’s White City, in dark Packingtown, lay the spectacle of animal disassembly, **the material “negative” of the mimetic reproduction of life promised by the new technological media on the other side. The mimetic media were, for a brief historical instant, dangerously contiguous with their material unconscious.**

### **developing counter-hegemonic genealogies for animal subjects**

lavishly accorded mythological and rhetorical existence yet strictly denied historical being. animals as “perpetual motion machines” that “live unhistorically”

**the material unconscious of capitalist modernity:** the denied, disavowed historicity of animals and of animal rendering.

**the material space of animal disassembly in a logic of spectacle → cinematic culture.**

**The quality of cinema can arguably be glimpsed in the animal disassembly lines of Chicago’s stockyards:** where animals were not only produced as meat but also consumed as spectacle.

Under the rafters of the vertical abattoir there rolled a moving line that not only served as a technological prototype for automotive and other mass modes of production but also excited new modes of visual consumption.

### **to assert the *materiality* of animal life**

The essential ingredient in early film production was gelatin made from animal tissue.

Etymology

The variety of ways that we kill animals seems without limit. Animals can be boiled, cooked, crushed, electrocuted, ensnared, exterminated, harpooned,

hooked, hunted, injected with chemicals, netted, poached, poisoned, run over, shot, slit, speared, strangled, stuck, suffocated, trapped and vivisected.

Euphemisms rule here. Varying according to such factors as the social class of the hunters and the species of the hunted, many hunting discourses, for example, describe the dead bodies of 'game' as the 'catch', 'bag', 'yield', 'take' and 'harvest'. Specialty hunting often requires specialty language. Among the euphemisms for the killing of foxes, for example, hunters refer to the imminent killing or the moment of killing of their quarry as 'to account for', 'bowl over', 'break up', 'bring to book', 'chop', 'deal with', 'punish', 'crush' and 'roll over'. Heads of killed foxes are named 'masks', their paws 'pads' and their tails 'brushes'. Animals dissected and killed during 'scientific experimentation' and 'vivisection' become 'sacrifices', 'subjects', 'objects' and 'products'. Animals killed by the military are referred to as 'collateral damage'. Animals are 'humanely' killed and 'put to sleep' and 'euthanised' in 'shelters' under the guise of 'pest control' and 'nuisance avoidance'.

But new tastes were cultivated. New regimes were invented and power applied at new sites of human dominion. Most importantly, animals in hugely increasing numbers were reared in or moved to invisible sites for their transformation into edibles. As a site reserved exclusively for the killing of animals for food, the abattoir was introduced in the Napoleonic era during a reorganization of slaughtering and butchery that banned private slaughterhouses and mandated that they be erected far from urban centres (Vialles 1998: 15, 22-26). The intention behind this relocation was that, in the transformation of living beings into edible commodities, there should be a disassociation between, on the one hand, the killing of animals ('slaughter') and, on the other, the carving up of their bodies and the draining of their blood ('butchery').

The twelfth-century English word 'slaughter', third, originally referred to the killing of both humans and animals, often on a large scale and with blood aplenty (Old Norse slather, Icelandic slátr). Slaughtery appears in fourteenth-century Middle English. About a century later it was expressed in English law as a description of the site for 'the killing of beasts ... had and done in the Butchery' (1487, Act 4 Hen. V11, c.3), as also were slaughter-pit, -place, -room, -shop and -yard.

### **Killing euphemisms**

Besides invisibilised slaughterhouses, several other strategies have helped to hide the messy business of killing animals for food. For example, no longer do



cookbooks recommend in grotesque detail the techniques for softening and slow roasting of the flesh, while alive, of eels, grotesque detail the techniques for softening and slow roasting of the flesh, while alive, of eels, geese, ducks, and pigs. Fishes, hares, pigs and rabbits are far less often served at table with their heads and other recognizable features still attached. Ears, eyeballs, feet, tails, liver, heart, tongue and kidneys are less often considered delicacies. Other sops to squeamish sensibilities include the abeyance of any vernacular deemed too coarse and uncouth or too close to the bone. The advent of modernity ushered in the renaming of offending plants and animals, for example. For plants, exit: 'black maidenhair', 'pissabed', 'mare's fart', 'priest's ballocks' and 'prick madam' (Thomas 1983: 83-85). For rendered animals, enter: 'beef', 'mutton', 'veal', 'pork', 'poultry', 'bacon', 'sausage', 'pâté' and 'terrine'.

Consider the dreadful din: cattle bellowing, sheep bleating, pigs squealing, ducks hissing and geese honking. Aggravating this fearsome cacophony were horses who neighed and whinnied, stray dogs who barked, whimpered and whined and cats who screeched. All these animals deposited a mass of fecal matter as they were driven along London's narrow thoroughfares. For a moment, also imagine how this unappetizing smell was exacerbated by heavy rains, for example, or when the terrified animals were made frantic by reckless drovers or by stray dogs (Anonymous 1849; Beirne 2013: 151).

Proto-cinematic Experience: The Slaughterhouse Tours

"Guided tours of the yards and packinghouses were 'as popular as a ride in the Ferris wheel and far more interesting'" in the opinion of many visitors.

**Tours as protocinematic:** the disassembled animal can be said to constitute the material negative of cinema's mimetic effects.

**organized "stations" of animal disassembly** "Live Hog Pens," "Beef Dressing," "Oleomargarine Factory"

Over one million people paid a visit to the bovine city, or the Chicago stockyards, in 1893, the year of the exposition. (Louise Carroll Wade)

venture into the bloody outer attraction of the neighboring "bovine city," where an unprecedented technology of animal sacrifice—the moving dis-assembly line—was also on display.

**the business of slaughterhouse touring** in 1903 Swift and Company published a Visitor's Reference Book that it distributed to tour-goers "as a Souvenir of a visit to the plant of Swift & Company at Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., and as a reminder of the modern methods and activities of the American Meat Packing Industry."

**Marketing** Swift and Company's "Arrow S" trademark

The booklet also reveals, however, **that touring slaughter was at the same time a risky business**, one that meatpackers needed to mimetically manage in order for the affective surplus of animal disassembly to be converted into capital rather than into political agitation of the sort inspired by Sinclair's novel.

affective sights, sounds, and smells generated by the Swift and Company's slaughter of "twenty -five hundred cattle, seven thousand hogs and seven thousand sheep per day"

**Need to carefully and mimetically manage** human-animal identification from triggering metabolic revolt in tour -goers

Smells causing them to sicken rather than salivate at the prospect of meat

**political exception to the rationalized slaughter of animals.**

managing against the potential for affect to revert into counterproductive forms of metabolic and political revolt

**Mimetic Management:** The tour is recapitulated **through the eyes of a little white girl** no older than six or seven years of age.

**a cursor** pointing to and eagerly pulling her family through each station.

**She inhabits the space of slaughter as if it is second nature**

**At Station 2, "Beginning Hog Dressing,"** as happy in the presence of what is underway on the other side of the rail as she would be in a park feeding ducks.

**In the "Beef Cooler,"** she gestures expansively at a row of dangling beef carcasses beside which she stands in intimate quarters.

**A model citizen** who visits sites of national pride and feels utterly secure inside the nation's economic space

"the infantile citizen's faith in the nation." (Lauren Berlant)

**She shows by example**—through her utter lack of alarm and her casual, cheery demeanor—that the scene of slaughter is perfectly natural and nonthreatening.

**the little girl thus functions as an affect meter at each station.**

Displaying nothing but confidence and curiosity, she communicates that animal disassembly is the furthest thing from traumatic, both for the animals undergoing it and for the humans watching it.

**she models the proper response to slaughter** → more difficult to recognize as pathological or sadistic when embodied by a little girl.

**The message that tours of slaughter are not disturbing, that there is no reason to be haunted by the sights seen.** . . Swift and Company state that they are providing it as a “reminder of the sights of the Stock Yards,” one enabling visitors “to see those sights again in memory.”

**Recursively training tour-goers** the booklet was designed to be administered at the end of the tour after the meatpacker had cashed in on an interest in animal death but before the affect excited by the spectacle of slaughter could cause upset in its twin economy (depended on a literal consumption of meat products).

how they should be affected by and recollect slaughter

And later....

“Everyone is invited to visit Swift & Company's packing plants. We are particularly glad to have people visit our Radio Studio and go through the Chicago plant. The studio ( connected by direct wire with Station WLS) is separated by a glass partition from the new Visitors Reception Room, which has been placed on the top floor of a ninestory building. Those who visit the Chicago plant not only see the artists and speakers when they broadcast, but also can sit in comfort and listen to the program which comes to them in the Visitors Room. From this vantage point, visitors also have a splendid bird's-eye view of the stock yards and packing plants.”

Biopolitical Axis

The forced insertion of these animals into capitalist production and exchange must have caused . . . Of the numerous ways in which human-animal interaction was transformed by modernity, none is more significant than the new intensive rearing regimes.

Spatially and linguistically, the strategy of these regimes has been, from the first, to conceal and to deceive the fact that they produce food from animals' flesh and

transform their skins into clothing and other by-products such as fat used for candles and for glue.

Spatially, a two-pronged strategy of invisibilisation has been at work in the development of slaughterhouse regimes: one external, the other internal. On the one hand, the massive scale of the animal killing has been and is deftly hidden from the citizenry. Tanneries, fish cleaners and slaughterhouses have been moved to rural areas or their sounds and odours otherwise masked in order to satisfy the pained sensibilities of polite and educated society. On the other hand, because of the division of labour within slaughterhouses, then and now, it appears that only a tiny fraction of workers participate in or even see the actual moment of an animal's death: 'killing at a distance' (Pachirat 2011: 138-139; and see Fitzgerald and Taylor, 2014).

Mass slaughter of animals thus became a fixture of the modern metropolis. Slaughterhouses also play an important role in biopolitics because their modernization is directly related to concerns about public health and hygiene. The gradual concealment of animal slaughter in the nineteenth century and its separation from the marketplace insulated the consumer from one of the most fundamental forms of socially acceptable violence.

it is within the windowless walls of Western slaughter-factories that all those apparently outmoded forms of a capitalism of enclosure are perhaps most explicitly maintained right alongside, and meshing with, the most futural informatic and control networks, exemplified both by the working practices of agribusiness transnationals and by the genetically engineered animals of biotechnology, be they oversized blind hens or so-called "pharm" animals biologically modified so as to produce helpful pharmaceuticals along with their more usual bodily fluids.

'cinema becomes one of a number of modern biopolitical apparatuses that do not only control (and process) nonhuman bodies, but constitute animals as bodies, and lives, to-be-dominated',

**Biopolitical aims** pursued through early tours of the stockyards → persuading a nation to desire meat as a regular part of its diet.

**Triangulation:** Development of Motion Pictures--Animal Slaughter--Capital

The direct historical links between the emergence of modern visual media and the slaughter of animals show how **life and death are embedded in technologies and economies of production, consumption and destruction**

**The media transmission of shock:** research conducted on animals and the spectacle of industrialized slaughter grapples with the cultural politics of visibility and invisibility

**Positions** poststructuralist approaches reduce animals to linguistic and cultural signifiers

Environmentalists fetishize the sensuous existence of immediate physicality at the expense of socioeconomic, cultural, and political analysis.

**Dual Logic** the simultaneous “capitalization of nature” and “naturalization of capital,”

how the socioeconomic system feeds off of natural systems while at the same integrating the signs of nature into its cultural logic.

dual exploitation in which the same industries that destroy animal bodies for profit use their symbolic representation as **advertising**.

**Marx and the Killing Floor** mystical abstraction of commodity fetishism traced back to its source in the exploitative social relations enacted at the site of production

**systematic link** between the trinket purchased in the market to the violence of the factory floor of the slaughterhouse: to the reality of animal life as part of the global foods and services industries.

**pop culture representations of animals** the material histories of violence that lie beneath the veneer of “ironic postmodern distance” such representations

How these dynamics relate to the material project of animal domination?

the extraction of scientific knowledge or ‘entertainment capital’ through the orchestration of animal performance, and, frequently, the violence of such a process.

However, operating in tandem with the strategic invisibility of animals in slaughterhouses is the increasing elusiveness of their deaths in various discourses of lethality.



to understand the apparent conflict or conflation of orders which today both organises and produces nonhuman bodies, and at the same time to demonstrate some of the ways our society of security remains both supported and constrained by an increasingly marginalised disciplinary mode of production.

while the archetypal Taylorist and Fordist techniques of disciplinary control remain clearly visible within the slaughter-factory, **a new order of power** has nonetheless embedded itself within them.

### **Killing Sites: The power of sight**

In the mid-late twentieth century, most slaughterhouses were moved out of urban centres and into remote rural areas (Fitzgerald).

The public animal slaughtering facilities constructed outside of city centers in both the US and Western Europe were designed and sited to reduce contemplation and questioning of them by workers and consumers.

**They were and still are nondescript** — designed to look like any other factory. **a “place that is no-place.”** In Villaes’s (1994).

**Guilt** The geography and architecture of slaughterhouses served then, as they do now, to avoid a “collective cultural guilt”

**Prohibition** Factory farms regularly prohibit visitors and film crews, and ‘ag-gag’ laws in the United States seek to criminalize undercover documentation. Laboratories are kept behind very strict security.

Such sites of animal slaughter and torture require **‘geographic zones of isolation and confinement’** (Timothy Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight*, 9)

Such ‘perceptual frames’ normally **‘exclude the lives of animals from the field of the precarious, the grievable and the violated’** (Anat Pick, 96).

-- to subjectivize the masses of tortured animals becomes a formidable challenge: ‘(t)he realities of mass domination of animals are unframed so as to become imperceptible’ (ibid., 96).

**transformed by capitalist production and exchange**, whose requirements led to new and large-scale regimes such as those in London’s eighteenth century West Smithfield market and Chicago’s nineteenth-century Union Stockyards.

in modern culture, animals are marginalized by the workings of capital. This marginalization means that we can no longer see animals and so they can no longer look back at us.

Their massive expansion was encouraged by mass consumerism.

represents the consummation of mechanical speed with commercial utilities. Minutes lost are figured as weight and money lost. Nothing is wasted, neither time nor offal: not a hair, not a bone, not a drop of blood escapes. It is the ultimate manifestation of swift and incalculable economy.

**Disassociation** The technological genius of these new regimes lay in their simple disassociation between the rearing and the killing of animals.

**Invisibility** The ancient traditions of animal sacrifice and the everyday practices of killing and eating animals were now subject to a reorganization, a making-invisible of animal death. In many respects slaughterhouses today remain as they always have been: bloody, messy, noisy and stinking. Over time, however, they have become all but invisible, tending to be built far from human populations at sites that are both unseen and unknown. As part of this process of invisibilisation, their phenomenal growth has been accompanied by the invention of a vocabulary of euphemisms designed to obscure their aim and characteristics.

Meat consumption was sanitized and animal slaughter became part of the unconscious of modern urban societies. The disappearance of animal slaughter from public life, along with the massive increase in levels of animal destruction and consumption, serves as an important case study of the reorganization of perceptions of violence in modern societies.

Berger suggests that animal imagery compensates for a lost engagement with animals.

### **History (mostly of Union Stock Yards)**

**Pride** For Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, probably the most famous and arguably the most controversial Prefect of Paris, they were "one of the most considerable works accomplished by [his] administration."

**Paris** The opening of Le Marché et Les Abattoirs de La Villette completed the centralization of slaughter. Trains delivered livestock right to the markets, where animals were traded and sent right to the slaughterhouse. Once animals entered the abattoirs, there was only one possible way out—as a carcass en route to a

meat market. La Villette, at least for the animals, was a one-directional enterprise. The facility stood as an icon to the **rationalization of space**.

**"hog butcher for the world." Chicago** Carl Sandburg

Hog Butcher for the World,

Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat,

Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler;

Stormy, husky, brawling,

City of the Big Shoulders:

They tell me you are wicked and I believe them, for I have seen your painted women under the gas lamps luring the farm boys.

And they tell me you are crooked and I answer: Yes, it is true I have seen the gunman kill and go free to kill again.

And they tell me you are brutal and my reply is: On the faces of women and children I have seen the marks of wanton hunger.

And having answered so I turn once more to those who sneer at this my city, and I give them back the sneer and say to them:

Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning.

Flinging magnetic curses amid the toil of piling job on job, here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little soft cities;

Fierce as a dog with tongue lapping for action, cunning as a savage pitted against the wilderness,

Bareheaded,

Shoveling,

Wrecking,

Planning,

Building, breaking, rebuilding,

Under the smoke, dust all over his mouth, laughing with white teeth,

Under the terrible burden of destiny laughing as a young man laughs,

Laughing even as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle,  
Bragging and laughing that under his wrist is the pulse, and under his ribs the  
heart of the people,

Laughing!

Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth, half-naked, sweating,  
proud to be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads  
and Freight Handler to the Nation.

**Disassembly** However, the most important of these inventions was the two-story  
disassembly line. Invented in Cincinnati but perfected in Chicago.

It consisted of an overhead rail system by which animals were hoisted and moved  
through compartmentalized workstations, where one man would slit the animal's  
throat, another would tear off its hide, a third split the carcass, and on and on  
until the dressed carcass was hoisted into a rail car and sent on its way to  
consumers. With this process it took less than twenty-four hours from the  
moment an animal arrived until it was sold at the market, slaughtered, dressed,  
and shipped off as meat. This disassembly-style production enabled the stunning  
mechanization of slaughter, but it could not supplant manual labor completely.  
The individuality of animal bodies prevented the standardization of slaughter,  
which up to this day—despite technological sophistication—still often requires  
the human hand and its flexibility with a knife.

Slaughterhouses originated in the desire to render animals' flesh fit for human  
consumption. As killing sites, their humble origins were transformed by capitalist  
production and exchange, whose requirements led to new and large-scale  
regimes such as those in London's eighteenth-century West Smithfield market and  
Chicago's nineteenth-century Union Stockyards. The technological genius of  
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phenomenal growth has been accompanied by the invention of a vocabulary of  
euphemisms designed to obscure their aim and characteristics.

Since the stock yards opened in 1865 more than 500 million hogs have passed thru on their way from midwest farms to Chicago packing plants.

The Union Stock Yard was also at the forefront of mechanizing the industry.

In response to the growing population's increased demand for meat and the escalating volume of livestock entering the Stock Yards

the conveyor belt was introduced to increase production speed and efficiency.

this new conveyor system took control of the speed of production away from the workers and put it in the hands of managers

By the 1880s, animal slaughtering in the US had become an industrialized, mass-production industry (Pacyga 2008).

According to some (e.g., Patterson 2002), animal slaughtering became the first mass-production industry in the United States

They could also take guided tours of the Chicago stockyards.

Not only did the Union Stockyards embody the technological apparatuses of its time, but it also operated on the level of subjection and spectacle.

Just as the Roman forums had temples, civil buildings, engineering works and amphitheatres as spectacles, the stockyards were equally equipped.

At the Stockyards, the Dexter Park Horse Exchange and Pavilion had an amphitheater and was capable of seating 3,000 people.

The amphitheater was complete with a Sturtevant machine hot-air blast "for the most extreme weather."

These spectacles were later mobilized at the World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1893 where the public could see Muybridge's Zoopraxiscope, a photographic device showing animals in motion, along with Edison's Kinetoscope motion picture camera. all promising spontaneous visual capture of life in motion.

New technologies provided new modes of visual consumption where animals were not only produced as meat but also consumed as spectacle.

The use of gelatin extracted from the animal still acts as a central ingredient of photographic and film stocks.

The complicity of animal slaughter with cinematic consumption goes deeper still



- Protocinematic

Eadweard Muybridge horse: proto-cinematic sequencing

Etienne-Jules Marey's cat

Topsy

'Edison's electrical and cinematic execution of Topsy [...] makes visible the often overlooked fact that animal sacrifice constituted something of a founding symbolic and material gesture of early electrical and cinematic culture.'

--Electrocuting an Elephant (1903) Violence towards animals in film dates as far back as Thomas Edison's 1903 silent short, *Electrocuting an Elephant*. As the title soberly implies, the 90-second film shows the fatal electrocution of Topsy the elephant in Luna Park, Coney Island. Edison initially planned to hang the animal (seriously) before the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals intervened. An estimated 1,500 people witnessed the event, and Edison Studios made it available for a wider audience's viewing pleasure via their coin operated kinetoscopes.

Animals hoisted onto moving overhead tracks and sped down the disassembly line constituted one of North America's first "moving pictures." This moving picture was being consumed on guided tours of Chicago's Packingtown at the same time that Eadweard Muybridge's zoopraxiscope, a device that put still photographs into motion under the zoosign of animal life, was beginning to capture attention as a novel mimetic machine bringing Americans closer to the attainment of mass motion picture technologies.

How the technologies we use to make animals visible structure our relations to them and our conceptions of them. In thinking of animals in film it's important to recall, as Jonathan Burt reminds us, that film has its origins in attempts to capture animal images. The proto-cinema of Muybridge and Marey is filled with animal bodies. Muybridge's work began as an attempt to determine the position of a horse's legs in motion and Marey's work was in part an attempt to capture the bodily process of animals without vivisection. The key difference is that Marey's work abandoned vision and instead moved to creating what Lisa Cartwright has called graphical traces of animal bodies in motion while Muybridge remained focused on picturing animals. Rather than simply being a genre of film, animal film was the medium's impetus. Akira Mizuta Lippit takes up the centrality of animals

to an understanding of film in a different way in his book *Electric Animal*. Lippit argues that film, like all technology, is a site for the mourning of animals. Watching film is thus part of a complex working through of both our own and the animal's relation to mortality.

The mobility of animals presented technical and conceptual challenges to early film-makers, the solutions of which were an important factor in advancing photographic technology, accelerating the speed of both film and camera. The early filming of animals also marked one of the most significant and far-reaching changes in the history of animal representation, and has largely determined the way animals have been visualized in the twentieth century. (Jonathan Burt, *Animals in Film*)

### **Time Motion**

three early time -motion economies: animal disassembly, automotive assembly, and moving picture production.

the technological developments and challenges posed by the animal as a specific kind of moving object.

The on-screen transformation of animal bodies, and its corporeal dimensions, draw attention to time-motion connections between cinema and slaughterhouses. machine and animal, embodiment and disembodiment.

Marey's chronophotographic studies of animals in motion formed a precedent for Taylorist time-motion studies of industrial labor. But the visual recording of the previously invisible movements of living creatures was historically bound to their mass destruction. The often noted application of Taylorism in Henry Ford's production of automobiles tends to forget the fact that Ford modeled his assembly-line production on those used in abattoirs since the mid-nineteenth century. Nicole Shukin proposes that the new technologies of mass slaughter constituted an early instance of "moving pictures": The lineaments of cinema can arguably be glimpsed in the animal disassembly lines of Chicago's stockyards, where animals were not only produced as meat but also consumed as spectacle. Under the rafters of the vertical abattoir there rolled a moving line that not only served as a technological prototype for automobile and other mass modes of production but also excited new modes of visual consumption. (Shukin 92)

In the time-motion efficiencies on display in the vertical abattoirs of Packingtown, cattle were forced to walk up chutes to an elevated landing so that the gravitational pull of their own bodies would propel them down the disassembly line. Hogs, by contrast, were simply seized by their hind legs and hurtled along by means of an overhead rail. In the description of Durham and Company's disassembly line in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1905), provisions made in the architecture of mass slaughter for its recreational viewing make a significant appearance. The slaughter of cattle could be viewed "in one great room, like a circus amphitheater, with a gallery for all visitors running over the center."<sup>25</sup> As for "the hog's progress" (37), it could be viewed in a long, narrow room, with a gallery along it for visitors. At the head there was a great iron wheel, about twenty feet in circumference, with rings here and there along its edge. Upon both sides of this wheel there was a narrow space, into which came the hogs at the end of their journey;

If slaughter and cinema were linked by the shared time-motion logics organizing their visual unfolding and by their power to stimulate and capitalize on affect, the rise of cinematic culture was also literally—materially—contingent on mass slaughter. I turn now to develop the repressed material relationship between the rise of the cinematic image and what Akira Mizuta Lippit vaguely terms the "vanishing" of animals from modern life.<sup>50</sup> By implicating slaughter in the symbolic economy of cinema and cinema in the ulterior violence of animal disassembly, I resist Lippit's valorization of cinema as a salvaging apparatus that shelters or encrypts vanishing "animal traits" (196). For if motion pictures repress their resemblance to the protocinematic "moving picture" of animal disassembly, they even more actively render unconscious their material contingency on slaughter

## **Tours**

Slaughterhouse tours in a different way also created a subject invested in "physical displacement—for entertainment," a subject readied for cinematic experience through the viewing of the moving picture of animal disassembly.

In tours, however, physical displacement was itself displaced onto animals and the progress of their breakdown, while human tour-goers were positioned as stationary bodies whose integrity was threatened only vicariously, by virtue of a potential affective identification with the animals.

Both in the visual consumption of the rapid sequential logic of the moving line that they encouraged and in their stimulation of affect, slaughterhouse tours arguably also helped to lay the perceptual tracks for cinema.

“the unfolding of space through time that is cinema,” (Batchen) → the disassembly line as time -motion technology (and the slaughterhouse tour that paralleled its linear unfolding) realized a cinematic disposition prior to cinema proper.

The moving disassembly line mobilized the idea of “time itself as a continuous linear sequence of discrete moments,” while the tour positioned the visitor’s eye as a “tracking camera” (a2, aa7).

The discrete, numbered “stations” strung together into a moving sequence by the pace of slaughter and the eyes of the tour -goer were analogous to the “frames” reeled at high speed past a cinematic audience to produce an ocular semblance of seamless motion.

The technological mimicry of both moving lines thus suggests a complicity in their economies, although their material outcomes were radically divergent. The first propelled the dissolution of animal bodies into minute particles and substances; the second moved toward the resolution of image life. Tours of slaughterhouses can thus be read as protocinematic technologies, with this crucial twist.

the aesthetic logic shaping tours of disassembly lines is indeed strangely analogous to that framing the consumption of film.

--As Nolie Vialles writes, tours of slaughterhouses regularly disturb visitors who notice that the tour route “parallels the one -way path of the animals,” the path of no return.

This, arguably, is the threatening mimetic identification of human and animal that causes tour -goers in *The Jungle* to laugh nervously: “Perhaps some glimpse of all this was in the thoughts of our humble -minded Jurgis, as he turned to go on with the rest of the party, and muttered: ‘Dieve—but I’m glad I’m not a hog!’”

as Vialles adds, the parallel path of tour -goers and animals is dictated by the time -motion logic of the moving line—“seeing round an abattoir in the opposite direction would be like watching a film backwards; it would mean reconstituting the animal from the starting point of the carcass, and that would be at least equally disturbing.”

Tours of slaughterhouses, hints Vialles, follow the same insistent sequential sense as the cinematic reel, a logic that frames the impassive stages of deanimating animal life as an inexorable progression.

The submission that packinghouse tours demand to the irreversible direction of the moving line is also the submission on which cinema depends to achieve its mimetic effects. The animated effects accumulating from the time-motion momentum of cinema are ideologically complicit, following Vialles's suggestion, with the production of an animal carcass.

- Spectacle//Shock

Benjamin described how the big city dweller became immune to the shocks constantly directed at human perception by industrial technologies, rapid changes in the urban environment, and mass media.

Pavlov's experiments on dogs included electric shocks. Allan Young explains how the human subjects of shock treatment learned to associate pain with other environmental factors. Sensory stimuli associated with the memory of the shock later caused the victim to relive the distressing experience. The victim was thus conditioned to respond in two possible ways: by following routines that sought to avoid the upsetting stimuli, or assuming a completely passive attitude (psychic numbing). Young notes a third possible reaction which he links with posttraumatic stress disorder: victims seek out circumstances that repeat the original trauma. The distressing memory produces endorphins that tranquilize the subject, leading to addiction to repetitive behavior ("Suffering" 257–258). In this way the solicitation of attention through shock functions in a biopolitical economy of the image and produces a traumatized spectator-subject.

Evidently, Chicago's "great packing machine" capitalized not only on a rapid mass processing of animal material but on a booming interest in viewing the life and death passions of animals and laborers, intertwined ethnographic subjects of industrious capital.

In his analysis of American amusement culture around the turn of the century, Brown suggests that in thrill rides such as the Ferris wheel or roller coaster (modeled on industrial bucket wheels and coal carts), "the pleasure industry merely replicates, while controlling, the physiological trials of modernity."



Tours of slaughterhouses, already a popular sideline of Chicago's Packingtown as early as the 1860s, were designed to showcase the tremendous efficiency with which American culture managed its material nature. Slaughterhouse tourism also promised to fascinate and disturb tour-goers with the somatic sights, smells, and sounds—the “physiological trials”—of doomed animals and gorecovered laborers.

Brown's understanding of the supplementary economies of work and play in turn-of-the-century North American culture is borne out by the analogy Sinclair uses to convey an effect of the speed with which Packingtown's labor strove to keep pace with the continuous flow of animal bodies: “They worked with furious intensity, literally upon the run—at a pace with which there is nothing to be compared except a football game.”

Through the riveting view from “the stands,” as it were, the disassembly line doubled as spectacle, or sport. Chicago's stockyards, then, revolved not only around the rationalized reduction of animals to meat and the myriad commodities rendered from animal remains but around a supplementary economy of aesthetic consumption built into the line, with the kill floor doubling as a “circus amphitheater” where the raw footage of the “slaughtering machine” rushed at a staggering pace past visitors.

Moreover, tours of slaughterhouses involved much more than visual consumption of the commotion of slaughter. The stockyards were also an overwhelming olfactory and auditory theater, filled with the “sickening stench” of blood and the death cries of animals.<sup>30</sup> “The uproar was appalling, perilous to the eardrums,” writes Sinclair. “There were high squeals and low squeals, grunts, and wails of agony. . . . It was too much for some of the visitors—the men would look at each other, laughing nervously, and the women would stand with hands clenched, and the blood rushing to their faces, and the tears starting in their eyes” (35). A visceral, affective response to the raw footage of the moving disassembly line was part of the gripping experience offered by meatpackers. Rather than an undesirable effect, emotion and tears produced through exposure to the sensorium of slaughter were arguably integral to the spectacle of slaughter. If, according to its own material calculations, the machinery of mass slaughter had managed to capture “everything but the squeal,” thanks to the supplementary business of slaughterhouse touring even the squeal returned as capital.<sup>3a</sup> For the affect (nervousness, tears, fascination) produced through exposure to the surplus sights, sounds, and smells of animal death was captured and converted into

capital through the business of slaughterhouse tours (tours that Sinclair in turn textually rendered to sensational effect).

While animal death was generating an aesthetic surplus in the Chicago stockyards and being captured through the business of touring, mimetic technologies such as those represented by the zoopraxiscope and the Kinetoscope were pursuing a semblance of affective, immediate communication under the charismatic sign of animal life. While animals on the disassembly line were being consumed as visceral moving images, cinema was being fetishistically imbued with raw presence through the writings of modern film directors such as Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein. According to Lippit, Vertov and Eisenstein envisioned a “biology of the cinema” accruing not to cinema’s ability to achieve naturalistic effects (which Eisenstein abhorred), but rather to an affective immediacy achieved by the filmic ability to cut and paste parts into a montage whose startling juxtapositions would strike directly upon the viewer’s senses.

As Bill Brown notes, film theorists such as Tom Gunning, who take up Eisenstein’s work to theorize early cinema as a “cinema of attractions,” emphasize cinema’s powers of “ ‘direct stimulation’ rather than [its] narrative logic.”

The interest in cinema’s powers to bypass discursive mediation in pursuit of a direct, affective immediacy was renewed later in the twentieth century by Michel Chion, who theorized the rendering of sound in cinema as no “mere imitation” or “replication” but as a visceral impact or sensory impression: “In fist - or sword - fight scenes, the sound does not attempt to reproduce the real noises of the situation, but to render the physical impact of the blow.”

Cinema’s “moving” effects, in this view, are associated with its ostensible ability to short -circuit linguistic, narrative, or discursive mediations and to communicate through “the rapid movement of affect from one entity to another.”

The intensity of animal death on the disassembly line—the animal sights, smells, and sounds given “immediately” to the visitor’s senses—is in this sense also the moving prototype of film as an affective technology. In both cases, however, what is rendered imperceptible are the discursive techniques and the capital investments mediating the animal attractions of slaughter and cinema.

Among other things, the visual -affective consumption of the moving picture of slaughter suggests that the “cinematic mode of production” theorized by Jonathan Beller, rather than historically distinguishing a postindustrial from an

industrial era of capitalism (as Beller suggests), already limns Fordist modes of production.

Theorizing the cinematic mode of production in relation to a postindustrial “attention economy,” Beller contends that a subject’s “kino -eye,” or film -eye, comes to constitute a “site of production itself.”

“Paying attention” to and consuming images functions as a form of social - affective labor within the political economy of the visual formulated by Beller.

The productivity of the kino -eye, he argues, consists in suturing together cinematic images, a postindustrial extension of the industrial labor of assembling material units that is necessary to realize images as capital.

For Beller, the cinematic mode of production emerges in the passage from modernity to postmodernity, a passage that many cultural Marxists describe in terms of a progression from formal to real subsumption and from material to immaterial labor.

Thinking of a passage or progression from one to the other arguably fails to account, however, for the coexistence of the two in the vertical abattoir and in its double rendering of animal capital. The labor of workers physically toiling on the disassembly line (not to mention the travails of the animals) was already shadowed by that of touring subjects whose interest in recreationally exposing themselves to and curiously consuming the sensorium of slaughter was crucial to its production as spectacle. While the labor of slaughter and the labor of consuming slaughter were (and still are) clearly divided along class, racial, and ethnic lines, a kino -eye can nevertheless already be glimpsed working alongside animal disassembly and reconstituting it as a moving image.

- Rendering

Slaughterhouses originated in the desire to render animals’ flesh fit for human consumption.

to render: ‘to reduce, convert or melt down (fat) by heating’; from Old French rendre, to give back. And indeed rendering does give back. Animal byproducts that would otherwise have been discarded have for centuries been rendered into fat which is an essential ingredient in the manufacture of soap, candles, glycerin, industrial fatty acids. More recently, animal protein meals have been produced as

feed supplements for companion and meat - producing animals, poultry, [and] fish, and fat is used as a biofuel.

—National Renderers Association Inc.,

“North American Rendering: The Source of  
Essential, High -Quality Products”

Rendering also connotes “the faculty to copy, imitate, make models,” as in the practice of rendering an object’s likeness in this or that medium. Yet rendering simultaneously denotes the industrial business of boiling down and recycling animal remains, with the aim of returning animal matter to another round in the marketplace. The animal disappears in its suspension. —No.lie Vialles, *Animal to Edible Gr*

The figure of the animal as a mimetic automaton capable of copying the same simple physical task over and over again is inadvertently accepted in Gramsci’s critique of an American industrialism that strips its labor of skill and intellectual agency, reducing it to the brute repetition of mechanical motions. Entwined in the covert figure of the animal automaton, moreover, is a figure of mimesis; the animal nature of mimesis and the mimetic nature of animals remain pivotal assumptions underpinning modern capitalism’s social and economic projects.

The material - semiotic network of automobility emerges, Automobility refers to the “moving” effects of cars and cinema, effects achieved by technologically as well as semiotically mimicking the seamless physiology of animals in motion. Yet it also refers to the unacknowledged material contingencies of car and cinematic culture on animal disassembly, sites where they literally depend on the remains of animal life and are implicated in the carnal business of animal slaughter and rendering. At the same time, industrial slaughter emerges not only as a space of production through a triangulated reading of automobility’s moving lines but also as a space of consumption and spectacle. The network of automobility culturally institutes talismanic tropes of animal life and materially drives the displacement and death of historical animals according to the double logic of rendering.

A steer weighing 1500 pounds dresses out approximately 825 pounds of beef; the remainder of the animal, consisting of hide, head, feet, blood, fat, casings, etc., along with the offal from hogs and sheep, furnishes material for the by-product plants. The head and feet go to the fertilizing and glue works. The horns

are cut off to be converted into combs, buttons, hairpins, and fertilizers; the hard shin bone, with the thigh and blade bones, is made into knife and toothbrush handles, pipe mouthpieces, buttons, and bone ornaments, and the waste into glue and fertilizer. The hoof is made into hair pins, buttons, yellow prussiate, and fertilizer. The feet, knuckles, hide clippings, sinews, small bones, etc., are made into glue, gelatine, ising glass, neat's-foot oil, tallow, grease, stearin, and fertilizer. The cattle tails go to the curled-hair works, bristles to the bristle works; the tallow and grease go to the soap works, and are converted into toilet and laundry soaps, washing powders, and all grades of glycerine. The pig's stomach and pancreas, the sheep's thyroid and other glands, go to the pharmaceutical laboratory, and are made into pepsin, pancreatin, dessicated thyroids, and other medicinal articles. The blood and the tankage (the residue left after extracting the grease and tallow from meat scraps), and all waste of a nitrogenous or phosphatic character, are taken to the fertilizer works and are converted into fertilizers of different analyses, albumen, stock and poultry food, etc. Phosphoric acid and phosphorus, bone black and black pigment, sulphate of ammonia, bone oil, and many other articles are also made from packing-house waste. The sheep pelts go to the wool pullery, where the wool is taken off, cleaned and braided for the woolen goods and felt manufacturers, and the pelts with the cattle hides go to the tanners. Hair waste is made into a hair felt for insulation purposes, or prepared for the plasterers.

dual meaning of “rendering” as both the act of representation or translation and the processing of animal flesh. Animals are rendered aesthetically at the same time that their bodies are physically rendered into commodities. This double entendre allows her to trace two parallel and co-implicated genealogies: the development of mimetic representation and of industrial slaughter. Against claims made by Frankfurt School theorists that capitalism disrupts or distorts an innate biological mimetic faculty, Shukin more skeptically argues that this celebratory “naturalization” of mimesis is complicit with methods by which the rendering industry naturalizes its own exploitation, for example by publishing promotional materials comparing its activities to the use of the “whole animal” by primitive tribes.

the double entendre of rendering describes the contradictory vectors of time - motion ideologies insofar as they simultaneously propel the material breakdown



and the semiotic reconstitution of animal life across the modern spaces of slaughter and cinema.

Their time -motion organization is not the only point of complicity between the symbolic economies of slaughter and cinema, however.

Both moving lines are “moving” in a deeply affective as well as a technological sense.

The excitement and communication of affect is where the consumption of the moving picture of animal disassembly exceeds merely visual consumption of image frames and offers a conditioning in the “total” aesthetic experience which, shortly, would also be promised by cinema.

The physiological response—the nervousness, laughter, or tears provoked by tours of animal disassembly lines—would also be a feature of cinema -going. Recall, for instance, the legendary physiological impact of the Lumi.re Brothers’ *L’Arriv.e d’un train en gare de la Ciotat* (a895), which caused audiences to instinctively spring out of the way of the train mimetically barreling toward them on the screen.<sup>4a</sup>

#### Gelatin

These overt and visible links between animal death and film aesthetics mask a still more material yet less visible sacrificial economy at work.

Pointing to the use of gelatin in the production of celluloid film stock, Shukin demonstrates that film carries the material traces of animal slaughter, through a form of rendering that enacts ‘a transfer of life from animal body to technological media (a transfer exemplified by Topsy’s onscreen electrocution).

As cinema moves away from celluloid in the digital age, it distances itself from this literal link to the materiality of animal bodies, but traces of this deathly relation inevitably remain, haunting the history of film.

in the global-capitalist era “nature” is no longer external to human society, but is rather imminent to its processes, and has been transformed into an entirely recycled *second nature* (68).

The materiality of film stock production to trace the inconspicuous yet pivotal role that photographic gelatin—derived from the waste of industrial slaughter—has played in the development of moving pictures and mass imagery. Gelatin is

among those seemingly negligible but in fact significant points of entry into the material unconscious of culture. In my reading, it marks a “vanishing point” where moving images are both inconspicuously and viscerally contingent on mass animal disassembly, in contradiction with cinema’s framing semiotic of “animation.”

the visceral role of animal gelatin in photographic and film culture demands that one indeed be “unwilling to understand the seemingly inadvertent as genuinely unmotivated.”

- Slaughter Process:

the hogs are driven in continuous procession up the elevated runway entrance to the hog-killing department, and into a small pen. Here they are caught up by the hind leg by a large revolving wheel and started down the trolley past the butcher, who quickly dispatches them as they pass by a skillful thrust of a sharp knife in the throat. After a plunge in hot water to facilitate the removal of bristles and hair by the automatic-power scrapers, the hog, suspended from a sloping overhead trolley, passes by gravity through a double line of workmen, each having his special part of the task to attend to. The animal is thus rapidly cleaned, inspected, divided into halves, and run into the hanging-room, where it remains for seventy-two hours in low temperature for the animal heat to pass out before going on to the cutting-floor

From the hanging-floor the hog goes to the cutting-floor, where the loin is taken out, and where bacon, ham, back, sides, etc., are cut from the carcass and dropped into the storing cellars below, where many million pounds of product may be seen in cure at one time. This cutting and curing of the hog has become much diversified since the early days of the business. Hams, shoulders, sides, or barrel pork composed the selling list of thirty years ago; today the variety of cuts is bewildering to an outsider.

In the cattle-killing department, when the day's work begins, the animals are driven from the storage pen up the inclined runways to the small stall-like individual pens, where they are killed by the blow of a hammer upon the head, as indicated in the accompanying photographs. The carcasses are then suspended from overhead trolleys and bled, skinned, inspected, dressed, and weighed, after which they are placed in the chill-rooms, where they remain two or three days until all animal heat has been removed. Such as are intended for shipment as

dressed beef are loaded into refrigerator cars, in which a uniform temperature is maintained, and sent to the larger branch houses and distributing points, where deliveries are made to the local butchers usually at a lower price and with the meat in better condition than home-slaughtered beef.

- Film Form

**Cut** - An individual strip of film consisting of a single shot; the separation of two pieces of action as a "transition" (used when one says "cut from the shot of the boy to the shot of the girl"); a verb meaning to join shots together in the editing process; or an order to end a take ("cut!").

**Montage** - (dynamic editing, expressive montage, conditional montage) A method of putting shots together in such a way that dissimilar materials are juxtaposed to make a statement. A shot of a man followed by a shot of a peacock, for example, declares that the man is pompous. (See Editing.)

**Sequence** - A structural unit of a film using time, location, or some pattern to link together a number of scenes.

**SHOT:** A piece of film that has been exposed, without cuts or interruptions, in a single running of the camera. The shot is often regarded as the elemental division of a film. Shots may be categorized: 1) according to the apparent distance of the main subject from the camera (camera distance); 2) according to the angle of the camera in relation to the subject; 3) according to the content, nature or subject matter of (e.g., a reaction shot or a two-shot); 4) according the means accomplished physically (camera movement). what is being filmed by which the shot is 1. **DISTANCES:** 2. **ANGLES** 3. **CONTENT**

- Examples in films

### **White Wilderness**

In 1958 Walt Disney produced "White Wilderness," part of the studio's "True Life Adventure" series. "White Wilderness" featured a segment on lemmings, detailing their strange compulsion to commit mass suicide.

In 1958, Disney released the Academy Award-winning nature documentary entitled *White Wilderness*, which promised to take viewers on a journey through the arctic to discover the wondrous animals that lived there. One of the sections of the film was on the strangely suicidal lemming, a small, hamster-like rodent that lives near the arctic. However, when shooting the scene, Disney had one

problem: lemmings weren't native to the area they were filming in and they also aren't suicidal.

Instead of going to where the creatures actually lived and filming them like a nature documentary should, the filmmakers decided to import the lemmings to Alberta, Canada and then push them off of a cliff to capture them "committing suicide." As *Gizmodo* reports:

As such, the crew actually had to employ a snow-covered turntable to make it appear that they were "migrating" when they were really just running in circles. After the crew had a sufficient number of these migratory shots, the animals were herded over to the bank of a nearby river and unceremoniously chucked into the water, where they drowned. Thus the myth of suicidal lemmings was born.

Since then, the lemming myth has invaded pop culture with the release of video games, jokes and countless comics. It wasn't until a Canadian investigative journalist exposed the staged scene that anyone even gave it a second thought. According to *Gizmodo*:

It wasn't until 1982, when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's investigative journalism program *The Fifth Estate* ran an expose entitled *Cruel Camera* on Hollywood's sickening treatment of animals, that the story of the lemmings' demise reached the public. But, by that time, *White Wilderness* had already won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature—and the myth of the cliff-jumping lemmings was already set in stone.

Even though they were outed for their actions, it doesn't seem like Disney was ever truly held accountable, which is probably due to the fact that Hollywood back in the 1950s was a horrible place for any animal.

### **Andrei Rublev**

The horse's fate was already sealed, however, as it was sourced from a slaughterhouse for the production and was due to be shot the following day.

### **DALI BUNUEL**

The cloud slices the moon; the razor slices the eye. (Closer examination shows that the eye being sliced is that of an animal, presumably one of the dead donkeys seen later in the film.)

Film Notes

14:55 Muybridge

8:04 Cut

13:17 simpsons