



The Evolution of Chimpanzee Sanctuaries in the United States

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Abstract

Chimpanzees are native only to the jungles of equatorial Africa, but for the last hundred years, they have also lived in captivity in the United States, most commonly in biomedical research laboratories, but also at Air Force bases for experiments for the space program, at accredited and unaccredited zoos, at circuses, as performers in Hollywood and even in private homes and backyards as pets. But that has been gradually evolving over the last few decades, as more and more chimpanzees move to newly-established chimpanzee sanctuaries. That transition was already underway even before the announcement by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) last year that it will retire all of its remaining chimpanzees from labs to sanctuaries. By thoroughly examining the evolution of these sanctuaries leading up to that seminal decision, along with the many challenges they face, including money, medical care, conflicting philosophies on the treatment of animals and the pitfalls that have led other sanctuaries to the brink of ruin, we can take away a better understanding of why chimpanzee sanctuaries are needed and why caretakers of other animal species are now looking to the chimpanzee sanctuary movement as a model to show how animals can be cared for in retirement.

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Introduction

In the five hundred years since furry, black, human-like creatures climbing from tree to tree in the jungles of Africa were first breathlessly described by early European explorers to people back home, chimpanzees have alternately fascinated and repelled humans. They are so close to us, yet so different, a window to our past that maybe we don't want to open – or maybe we do (Corbey 51). Like everything else that has developed between humans and chimpanzees in the intervening years, the interconnected relationship between the two species was complicated from the beginning, as the seafarers gazed into the trees and echoed the longtime questions of natives: Were these animals part human?

Despite hundreds of years of fascination, however, until a British secretary named Jane Goodall moved to Tanzania to study chimpanzees in the 1960s, the public knew surprisingly little about these wild creatures – despite the fact that researchers were already studying them up close in biomedical laboratories in the United States. Native only to Africa, where millions of chimpanzees once thrived in jungles that until the last several decades were mostly beyond human reach, the public's primary perceptions of chimpanzees aside from Goodall's *National Geographic* specials has come through zoos, movies and television shows.

Even before it was known that humans share nearly 99 percent of their DNA with chimpanzees (Gibbons), people in the United States, more than any other country, have been continually tantalized by the boundary between humans and chimpanzees and have kept them in captivity in seemingly every possible way, raising them as pets like children, dressing them in suits and ties for Super Bowl commercials, watching them perform at zoos and circuses and, ultimately, retiring them to newly-established chimpanzee sanctuaries (Gruen, "Captivity"; Siebert, "Planet"). At the same time, this

country and its scientists have been the last holdout against freeing chimps from labs (de Waal, “Research”).

No matter where we encounter them, chimps have consistently transfixed us – so close and seemingly so human, yet so different. Goodall was the very definition of a wide-eyed, untrained observer, but within months of landing in the forest at what is now Gombe National Park in Tanzania, she rocked the scientific world with her observations that chimps could make and use tools. The tool use, using sticks to fish termites out of a termite mound, was not only widespread within the Gombe wild chimps’ complex social group of thirty to forty individuals, but it was a culture that had been passed down through generations of chimpanzees, extending far beyond their 45-year lifespan (Goodall, “TED”).¹ Closer genetically to humans than to monkeys, chimpanzees stand out among other great apes for their complex social groups and the far-reaching ranges they use to forage for food in the forest. Goodall was not yet a scientist herself, and she didn’t hesitate to relate that chimps have complex personalities, societies and brains. This unsettled the scientific establishment, where a belief in human superiority had mostly gone unquestioned (Goodall, “TED”). On the controversy that sprang up over her research, Goodall said, “When I was at school, we were defined as ‘man the toolmaker.’ So when Louis Leakey, my mentor, heard this news, he said, ‘Ah, we must now redefine man, redefine tool or define chimpanzees as humans’” (“TED”).

Thus Goodall’s tool discovery began an ongoing soul-searching process among humans, who were forced to redefine their own species. That original finding went beyond just chimpanzees to tear down the wall that had always separated humans from other animals, taking what had been seen as a gaping divide down to a “wuzzy line that is getting even wuzzier,” in Goodall’s words (“TED”). The original accounts from African natives of furry “men” in the forest trees led to speculation of possible

¹ Chimpanzees live roughly forty-five or fifty years in the wild, but into their sixties or in rare cases even past seventy in captivity (Naff).

chimp-human hybrids that had persisted through centuries (Gorner; Corbey 51). After hundreds of years of speculation on the similarities between the two species, and as research studies began to definitively show the similarities, the differences and the intelligence of chimpanzees, some biomedical chimp researchers preferred to ignore those findings while still publicly stating that chimps were so close to humans that they were necessary for experiments (Teleki). When the United States Congress adapted the Animal Welfare Act in 1985 so that researchers experimenting on primates had to care for their “psychological well-being,” some scientists wrote letters to legislators saying that chimpanzees have no inner thoughts and no well-being to psychologically help. But while laboratory chimps were hidden from public view, Goodall’s decades of research and *National Geographic* documentaries continued to show that chimpanzees kiss, hug, hold hands, pat each other on the back and fight just like humans do, and for the same reasons. And Goodall has been a prominent advocate for chimps internationally, telling audiences, “These beings have voices that mean something” (Goodall, “TED”).

At the same time that the daily lives of wild chimpanzees were chronicled by Goodall for the first time, chimpanzees were increasingly brought into homes in the United States to serve as surrogate children, experimented on in laboratories or trained to tap dance for television shows. But despite those efforts to make them either more or less human, captive chimpanzees were still chimpanzees. As the first American scientist to study them, Robert Yerkes, once said, they were “almost human,” but still not quite there. They are so close genetically that they can give blood transfusions to humans, and they can serve as a “shadowy window into our own species history,” which some scientists see as an unwanted threat to a human superiority that they would prefer is never questioned (Gruen, “Captivity”; Goodall, “TED”). Gazing “through a window” at the antics and relationships of wild chimpanzees has helped humans understand more about ourselves and our place in the world, and how we came to be. But behind every study is the unsettling idea that chimpanzees might just as soon be studying us, too: psychologist David Premack, who taught language to nine chimpanzees in a lab, wrote in his book *The*

Mind of an Ape, “Far from averting its eyes, the chimpanzee appears to be asking the very questions about us which we ask about it as we gaze into its eyes” (Peterson 13).

Goodall, Yerkes and countless others – including foster parents who actually brought chimpanzees into their homes to raise as surrogate children, a phenomenon we will explore in depth later – are just a few in a long succession of people who have gazed into the eyes of chimps and come away with questions that spurred a lifetime of seeking answers. Explaining why he devoted his life to studying chimpanzees after originally planning to study early humans, primatologist Geza Teleki, who studied under Goodall, described the life-changing moment that he sat on a ridge at Gombe watching a sunset. Two male chimps climbed the ridge from opposite sides of the forest, greeted each other and sat next to him to watch, too. After the sunset, they all got up and went their separate ways for the night. “On that singular eve, which also marked the twilight of my youth, I had seen my species inside the skin of another,” Teleki wrote (296).

But while chimpanzees in the wild might have taught us more about animals and ourselves than any other creature, they are an endangered species. The future of humanity’s closest genetic relative is in serious doubt. In the last hundred years, chimp populations have declined from more than a million to an estimated 150,000 remaining chimpanzees. Since Goodall first rowed across Lake Tanganyika to arrive in Gombe, civil wars, disease, hunting, logging and even increasing demands for the materials used in cell phones have led to mining and deforestation that is destroying the ecosystem that chimpanzees have lived in for hundreds of thousands of years. Gombe itself has not been unscathed by the changes, although no one would be able to detect the human encroachment occurring right outside

the gates of Gombe National Park by the meticulous field notes of researchers working there today, which echo the same behaviors that Goodall once carefully chronicled in her own field logs.²

Unlike their counterparts in Africa, chimpanzees in the United States come from highly varied backgrounds – laboratories, the space program, sign language studies, human homes and backyards, zoos, roadside zoos, circuses, or sometimes nearly all of the above. Yet, as those living situations inevitably come crashing down, all these chimps come together in sanctuaries. Even as wild populations diminish, chimpanzees' ultimate fate in the United States is circling away from labs and tutus to better mimic those origins, with more naturalistic surroundings in sanctuaries and the growing recognition that a life in a cage is no life for a chimp.

That recognition did not come quickly or easily, however. The journey took decades, and the challenges continue even as medical research on chimpanzees is ending. By thoroughly examining the evolution of chimpanzee sanctuaries – why they are needed, how they came to exist, how they differ from unaccredited sanctuaries and, finally, the many challenges they face, including conflicting sanctuary philosophies on the treatment of animals, money, medical care, and avoiding the common sanctuary pitfall of taking in too many animals – we can take away a better understanding of why these sanctuaries are needed and why caretakers of other animal species are now looking to the chimpanzee sanctuary movement as a model for how other animals can be cared for in retirement.

² I helped digitize Gombe field notes when the Jane Goodall Archives and the Jane Goodall Institute Research Center moved from the University of Minnesota to Duke University.

Chapter 1: Who They Are, and Where They Came From

Six years ago, animal behaviorist Stephen Ross, researcher of chimpanzees' behavior in captivity and chairman of the Chimpanzee Species Survival Plan, decided to find out how many captive chimpanzees actually live in the United States, and, by extension, the world — four out of five captive chimpanzees live in the United States (Teleki). The Humane Society of the United States had previously made rough estimates of several thousand American chimpanzees, but until Ross undertook his project, no one had an exact census or accurate state-by-state, geographic locations of where chimps actually are (Gruen, "Captivity" 68).

Ross documented nearly two thousand individual chimpanzees in the United States (ChimpCare). The numbers are evidence that although the percentage of chimpanzees in biomedical research laboratories is decreasing, most of them still live in labs today. Over the last few years, the census trajectories show more and more chimpanzees moving to accredited sanctuaries, but significant numbers still live in accredited and unaccredited backyard and roadside zoos, private homes and breeding operations that masquerade as sanctuaries (Mullen). Ross' nonprofit organization Project ChimpCARE points out on its website that very little communication exists among these disparate types of chimpanzee owners, but all these communities eventually come together to form a pipeline to sanctuaries as their existing chimpanzees grow older and less valuable for research, companionship or entertainment (ChimpCare).

After Ross and his Lincoln Park Zoo colleague Vivian Vreeman completed their census of all the chimpanzees in the country, they mapped the chimps' locations on the website ChimpCare.org. As of June 2016, their website reports that 1,646 chimps live in the United States, including 675 in public or private biomedical research labs, 539 in accredited sanctuaries, 266 in accredited zoos, 113 in unaccredited roadside zoos or petting zoos, thirteen used as actors and forty that belong to breeders

and private owners (ChimpCare; Mullen). Since private owners in many states do not necessarily register their chimpanzees, Ross has said from the beginning of his project that full documentation of numbers and their locations is difficult, but the numbers give an idea of where chimpanzees actually are. And though the numbers may not seem that high, there are roughly three times the number of captive chimps in the United States as there are chimpanzees left in the wild in Tanzania, where primatologist Jane Goodall conducted her pioneering studies of the chimpanzees of Gombe (Gruen, "Captivity" 67).

Medical Research

Since Ross started the chimpanzee census, its numbers definitively show the transfer of chimpanzees over time from laboratories to sanctuaries, but labs are still the most likely place in the United States to find a chimpanzee. As of September 2013, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) owned or supported about 670 chimpanzees, down from a peak of approximately 1,500 in the mid-1990s, including a hundred it still owns that are retired to Chimp Haven, the federally-funded national sanctuary in Keithsville, LA (Greenfieldboyce). Including chimps not owned by the NIH, in May 2016 the Humane Society estimated that seven hundred chimpanzees still live in the five remaining chimpanzee research centers (Pacelle, "Private").

Yerkes

Having just looked at how many chimpanzees exist in the United States, let us now turn our attention to how wild animals, native only to Africa, ended up in American laboratories in the first place. Chimpanzees had been shipped from Africa to the West for anatomical studies since the 1600s, where some Europeans even adopted them as pets, fascinated by their human-like qualities (Corbey 51). But researchers first conducted behavioral studies on chimpanzees a hundred years ago, almost by accident.

The first scientists to use primates as a model for animal and human behavior were German psychologist Wolfgang Köhler and American psychologist Robert Yerkes. Köhler, of the University of Berlin, was serving as the director of a primate research facility maintained by the Prussian Academy of Sciences on the Canary Islands just as World War I broke out, which stranded him with a chimpanzee colony (Gould). Previous behavioral studies on animals had focused on more common species, and Köhler found in the four years of his chimp studies that the nine chimpanzees in the Prussian lab appeared to have intellectual abilities – what he called “insight” – and higher-level cognition more comparable to humans than other animals (Gould; Tomasello 4). In one famous study captured on film, Köhler hung bananas from the ceiling, and the chimps, after growing frustrated that they could not simply jump up to the bananas, started using their toys to reach the food (Gould; Tomasello). The chimps did not all try the same solutions; some stacked crates up to the bananas, while another tried to shimmy up a pole (Gould). Another chimp used a crate to reach higher and then used the pole to knock down the bananas (Gould).

Independently from Köhler, Yerkes had developed his own definitions of insight in studies in the United States of other primates, including orangutans (Hilgard 398). Fascinated by chimpanzees and their intelligence, the American psychologist hoped to study the Prussian chimps himself, but World War I temporarily stopped his primate studies altogether (399). After studying a chimpanzee colony in Cuba in the 1920s, Yerkes bought what he believed to be two chimpanzees, Chim and Panzee, and brought them to his New Hampshire farm to study (399). At that time, exporting chimpanzees from Africa for research, zoos or for pets was seen as routine, even though by all accounts, baby chimpanzees exported for research had to be ripped away, clinging to their mothers in the African jungle (Westoll 45). Unwilling to give up their babies, their mothers were shot and killed by poachers. One primatologist estimates that each of these poaching incidents led, on average, to the deaths of up to nine other chimps in addition to the mother chimpanzee, since the mother’s community would fight for the infant

chimp (45). To get around that, poachers would poison the other members of the community so that the young chimp could be taken (Teleki, "U.S. Seeks"). Geza Teleki, who studied the Gombe chimps alongside Goodall and fought chimpanzee poaching for years as the head of Outamba-Kilimi National Park in Sierra Leone, estimated that of the chimps seized from the wild, five to ten would die of disease or in transit for each one that survived (Gorner).

Chim and Panzee died within a year, but an undeterred Yerkes purchased two more pairs of chimps to study from the same breeder (Hilgard 399-400). As documented by Lori Gruen on the website *The First 100 Chimps*, Bill, Dwina, Pan and Wendy thus became the first four of thousands of chimpanzees eventually used for laboratory research in the United States ("100"; R. Yerkes). Yerkes later learned that Chim had not been a chimp at all, but a bonobo (de Waal, "Bonobo" 7). As Yerkes became the first of many American researchers to import chimpanzees from Africa to the United States to use in studies, he formally set up a lab to study chimps in Orange Park, FL, the Yale Laboratories of Primate Biology, under the sponsorship of Yale University, the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation (Yerkes; Hilgard 389). The center's opening fulfilled a longtime dream of Yerkes, who had called in 1916 in the journal *Science* for the establishment of an American primate research center after he could not access the Prussian lab on the Canary Islands (Yerkes). During Yerkes' tenure, the lab reached a population of ninety chimpanzees, including thirteen donated from Cuba and sixteen as gifts from the Pasteur Institute in France (Hilgard; Yerkes).

Chimpanzees were strong and adaptive to surviving laboratory life, so once they were in American labs, breeding programs thrived (Gruen, "Captivity"). At first, Yerkes and his associates' studies focused on the cognition of various primates, including chimpanzees. Researchers examined how apes used spatial memory to find hidden food and how chimpanzees solve certain tasks (Tomasello 4). Yerkes associates from that time were also the first researchers to attempt to raise chimpanzees in

human families, “cross-fostering” studies that became increasingly popular during the 1960s and 1970s (for a deeper exploration of this phenomenon, see the “Language Apes” section).

But the center’s researchers cast aside cognitive studies as the post-war establishment of the NIH, the new availability of federal funding for medical research in the United States, and the push to discover a polio vaccine increasingly spurred scientists to study the causes and effects of diseases in humans using animals, especially primates (Gruen, “Captivity”; Yerkes). As a consequence, beginning in the 1940s, other Yerkes researchers began using the chimpanzees they already had on hand for more invasive biomedical research, studying human disease. Recognizing this new trend in 1960, Congress established formal funding and designated a series of National Primate Research Centers across the country. Yale renamed the research center the Yerkes Laboratories of Primate Biology in honor of its founder after his 1941 retirement, but the research on chimps that Yerkes pioneered was really just beginning (Hilgard). As Yerkes’ lab thrived, it moved to Emory University in Atlanta, GA, where it became the Yerkes National Primate Research Center, one of the largest biomedical facilities with chimpanzees in the country and one of the five still in operation today (Yerkes).

Space Program

Around the same time that scientists began using chimps for more medical studies, the United States military also turned to chimpanzees to mimic the effects of spaceflight on human astronauts. To test whether spaceflight was possible for living beings, the United States Air Force sent flies, mice, monkeys and dogs into space, with varying success. A series of rhesus macaque monkeys were sent to space and returned to Earth alive, only to die on landing. Since chimpanzees are larger, stronger and more intelligent than monkeys, the Air Force thought that chimps could better simulate the effects of space travel on the human body (Wolfe 154). The military began experiments by importing sixty-five infant chimpanzees from Africa (154). The method of acquiring baby chimpanzees destined for space

was no different than for research – they were taken from their mothers in the jungle, the younger the better (Westoll 45).

Once in the United States, even the chimpanzees not groomed for actual spaceflight were subjected to experiments at Holloman Air Force Base in New Mexico that mimicked conditions of a trip into space, including high speeds and extreme G-forces in centrifuges and flights in fighter jets. The chimpanzees, comparable in development to a human toddler, were strapped to chairs and taught to press levers and buttons in a sequence, and punished by electric shocks if they pulled or pressed the wrong lever or button. Some of the experiments killed them instantly (Wolfe 155-6; Westoll 46).

The Air Force took its top six chimpanzee astronaut candidates, or “chimponauts” as they came to be known, to Cape Canaveral in early 1961 for final spaceflight preparations. Of the first chimponauts, only the three finalists’ names survive to history: Ham (also known as Number 61), Enos (Number 85) and Minnie (Wolfe 243). Ham’s successful 16-minute flight paved the way for the suborbital flights of human pioneers soon to follow: the first person in space, the Soviet Union’s Yuri Gagarin, as well as the first two Americans in space, Alan Shepard and Gus Grissom. In the view of the military, chimpanzees served as mere understudies to the marquee event, humanity’s first foray into space (100). The first group of American astronauts, the Mercury Seven, had years of training as the best test pilots in the military, but the chimps performed the same tasks in space that they did.

After Ham returned from space, he appeared to be smiling widely as he was photographed back on the ground in the arms of his handler (178). The public widely interpreted his seemingly gleeful expression as an obvious sign of his happiness at finally making it into space after years of training (178). However, Ham’s “smile” was what Goodall, the world’s foremost expert on chimpanzees, calls a “fear grimace,” an expression that looks like a smile but is actually a sign of extreme fear and distress in chimpanzees. In filmmaker David Cassidy’s 2003 documentary *One Small Step: The Story of the Space*

Chimps, Goodall said the look on Ham's face after he returned to Earth was the most extreme fear she has ever seen on the face of any chimpanzee (Cassidy).

The second chimpanaut, Enos, went up in November 1961 for a much longer, three-hour flight, during which he orbited Earth several times – the dress rehearsal for the same flight later taken by John Glenn in the *Friendship 7*. Enos performed flawlessly on his orbital flight, despite a malfunction that shocked him even if he pulled the correct lever. Human astronauts were typically greeted as heroes when they returned, but their chimp forebears received no fanfare and poor treatment, as outlined by the chimpanzee sanctuary Save the Chimps on its website: “A week [after returning from space], John Glenn received a well-deserved ticker-tape parade, while Enos was sent back to his cage at HAFB and died less than a year later of dysentery” (“Space”).

Laboratories

Inspired by the idea that chimpanzees are so genetically close to humans that they had to be the best possible stand-in for the most important and invasive medical studies, Congress established a network of eight regional primate research centers throughout the country in 1960 (Cohen, “Almost” 451). When the United States signed on to the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species in Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) in 1973, researchers could no longer legally import chimpanzees from the wild. Domestically, in 1976 the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) listed all chimpanzees as “threatened” under the Endangered Species Act (National Archives, “Oct. 19 1976”). A further change in 1990 added wild chimps to the endangered species list but did not include captive chimps, which allowed research on them to continue (United States, “U.S. Fish”; Fears, “Fish”). With the direct pipeline of chimps from Africa severed under the Endangered Species Act, many research centers expanded their private breeding programs to ensure a steady supply of research subjects, and the NIH began its own breeding program in the wake of the AIDS epidemic in 1986 (“U.S. Seeks”; Cohen,

“Almost” 451). Despite the ban on importation, poachers continued to decimate wild populations by taking infant chimpanzees, and chimpanzee advocates like Teleki believed the United States remained the largest market for wild-caught chimpanzees as recently as 1988 (Dumanowski; Gorner).

Over the years, Goodall and other animal advocates have provided the public with ample evidence about what life in laboratories is like for chimpanzees, and they say it has not gotten better even as new rules have been adopted, such as regulations on promoting the psychological welfare of primates (Project R&R, “Primate”; Cohen, “Almost,” 305; Teleki). In the view of chimpanzee advocates, the typical lab cage of 5’x5’x7’ is not just cramped but cruel; adult chimpanzees are usually four to five feet tall, so those in a standard cage can barely stand up straight (Blum 26). In their criticisms of laboratory conditions, advocates also note that every time the NIH has considered increasing the required lab cage size, researchers fought against it as unnecessary and scientifically unjustified (26). But for these social animals, the isolation of never touching the skin of another chimpanzee— or even so much as a human lab technician—can be psychologically devastating, especially for the chimpanzees who have spent their entire lives in labs without ever going outdoors (Woods).

Historically, primate research centers have rarely allowed cameras to film their conditions, but New York University’s now-closed Laboratory for Experimental Medicine and Surgery in Primates (LEMSIP) was an exception when other labs enforced a closed-door policy. A well-established, well-respected research center before it closed in 1997, LEMSIP was also a typical chimpanzee laboratory: steel cages hung from the ceiling in rows that swayed as chimpanzees walked back and forth inside their cages, which were barren except for a hanging tire or a ball (Project R&R, “Appendices” 7). Amid growing concern and awareness about the social isolation that lab chimpanzees experience since LEMSIP shut its doors, conditions have improved at some laboratories such that some chimps are housed with another chimp, in larger cages or in groups of four to six companions, with access to a

quarter-acre outdoor enclosure (Myers). Chimpanzees that are infected with serious diseases are still housed alone, however (Wise, "Chapter"). As of 2013, indoor-outdoor access, more space and social groups are now required by the NIH for chimpanzees housed in its research centers, but at the time the report was released, no research center met the new guidelines (Gorman, "Agency").

Baby chimps bred in labs were almost immediately taken from their mothers, a psychological trauma they can have difficulty ever recovering from. Animal advocates appreciated the efforts of LEMSIP veterinarian James Mahoney, who tried to provide comfort to the chimps under his care by setting up a nursery staffed with human volunteers who took care of baby chimps, a small measure that allowed the infant chimps a better life than they would have otherwise experienced growing up alone in a cage (Blum 210).

In addition to the social difficulties these chimpanzees experience, laboratories are monotonous places to live. The standard food, a dry monkey chow, is similar to dog biscuits and for reasons of standardization, may be the only food that lab chimps ever eat. It meets all nutritional requirements under the law for chimp food, but one great ape researcher notes that it tastes more like cardboard (Woods). For some chimps born in a lab, it may be the only food they have ever known; the lack of variety or good food is even more of an adjustment for chimpanzees that came from homes where they had been pets, raised on human food (Fauna, "Billy"). For animals that, if they lived in the wild, would roam, build nests in a new place every night and vary the fruits and vegetables they eat with the seasons, life in a lab is an unnaturally sterile existence.

Duke University evolutionary anthropologist Brian Hare worked with chimpanzees at Yerkes for five years while he went to college at Emory, both in the medical research facility and the more expansive outdoor field station. As recounted in the book *Bonobo Handshake* written by his wife and fellow researcher, Vanessa Woods, the daily cruelties of the Yerkes chimps' lives in the medical lab were

almost unbearable to witness for anyone who cared about the welfare of the chimps, and Hare almost immediately requested a transfer to Yerkes' indoor-outdoor chimp field station in Lawrenceville, GA. Although Hare went in with Goodall-like dreams of hugging chimpanzees in the wild, the harsher daily reality in the Yerkes lab was row after row of cages where feces-throwing chimps could only see each other and never touch. Their only personal encounters came from humans donning full protective gear, including masks and goggles (Woods). When it was time to give the chimps shots, the bars of their "crush cages" were moved completely back, trapping them against the wall (Woods). Years later, Hare was struck by the ease with which a medical researcher talked about ordering the removal of the spleen of one of his favorite chimps as part of a medical study after the chimp was transferred to New Iberia Research Center (NIRC) in Louisiana. At Yerkes, Woods writes that a head veterinarian nicknamed "Dr. Death" by lab workers actively prevented any suggestion that could break the monotony of the chimps' lives, in order to ensure they stayed healthy for future studies. Honey was banned as a treat because it could carry botulism, and ropes were banned as toys in chimps' cages because they could hurt themselves (Woods).

Like humans, chimpanzees can survive decades of living in terrible conditions, but not without showing signs of rebellion or depression. In a profile in *The First 100 Chimps* of Wendy, the fourth chimp used in research by Yerkes, Gruen writes that Yerkes medical records note that Wendy banded together with other chimps to collectively revolt against certain medical procedures ("100" Wendy). In two separate incidents, LEMSIP chimpanzee Billy Jo chewed off his thumbs when he woke up from anesthesia after invasive procedures with no human around. He also chewed off his index finger in a third incident (Fauna, "Billy"). In decades of studying chimpanzees in the wild in Tanzania, neither Goodall nor her researchers ever saw a chimpanzee chew off its own finger (Goodall, "Chimpanzees"). Just like some zoo animals, it is not uncommon for laboratory chimpanzees to rock back and forth in their cages with anxiety (Fauna, "Billy"). The life of a chimpanzee in a laboratory is a more solitary

existence than their counterparts in the wild, but this is especially true of chimpanzees infected with HIV; although chimpanzees do not display symptoms of the disease, they are kept isolated because they can still pass it on to their caretakers and other chimpanzees. Journalist Deborah Blum writes in her book *Monkey Wars*, “A chimpanzee can live out its lifetime, apparently healthy, yet an AIDS carrier, boxed up alone” (210).

The Failure of Chimps as an AIDS Model

Although research on chimpanzees was useful in the development of the Hepatitis B vaccine, ultimately chimpanzees never lived up to researchers’ initial expectations that their similarity to humans’ DNA would make them key test subjects for human cures and vaccines. Scientists were especially disappointed in chimps’ failure as an animal model for AIDS: at the beginning of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, pioneering AIDS researcher Robert Gallo announced that if he only had five hundred chimpanzees to research on, he could develop an HIV vaccine (Blum 209). Perhaps due to such early, outspoken enthusiasm, the failure of chimpanzees to develop AIDS in the same manner humans do was not immediately recognized by the NIH. In the 1980s, the agency began a breeding colony to produce chimps to infect with AIDS, at a cost of between \$60,000 and \$100,000 each (212). Two years into the breeding program, researchers found that, unlike chimpanzees, rhesus macaque monkeys displayed symptoms of the disease the same way humans do (Cohen, “Almost” 451). Almost immediately, researchers turned to macaques as their preferred animal to study (451). Still, the NIH took a decade to institute a ban on chimpanzee breeding. Two years after the 1995 ban, a member of a working group put together by the National Research Council to examine chimpanzee research said the group found that a “huge number” of chimps “were just sitting there” (451). However, since chimpanzees cost so much to maintain, they still ate up a large portion of AIDS funding – in 1995, one-

third of the NIH's \$40 million primate research center budget was concentrated in AIDS research, and much of that funded chimp breeding and experimentation (Blum 209).

The Worst Abuses Come to Light

By 1970, humans had gone to the moon and back and were clearly able to survive the conditions of space travel, so the Air Force no longer needed chimpanzees. The 141 remaining space chimpanzees – including the offspring of those originally taken from the wild – remained Air Force property but moved around to various research institutions as they were leased out for invasive biomedical research. The Air Force sold the chimpanzees it still kept at Holloman Air Force Base to The Coulston Foundation, which achieved notoriety in the 1990s as the chimpanzee research laboratory with the worst living conditions in the country. The New Mexico laboratory was both the largest captive chimpanzee colony in the nation, with 650 chimpanzees, and the one most cited for violations of the Animal Welfare Act (AWA). In addition to biomedical research similar to that performed at other labs, founder Frederick Coulston turned to chimpanzees for the same toxicology research he had once performed on human prisoners. At least eighteen Coulston chimpanzees died due to substandard care, with causes of death ranging from water deprivation, excessive temperatures when locked out of the facility for days and surgeries performed by inexperienced veterinarians (Burgess 331). Coulston told reporters that he did not intend to stop with chimpanzee research: he would like to have a colony of five thousand to raise “like cattle” as organ donors for humans (331).

When the Air Force decided to get out of chimpanzee research entirely in 1997, Congress mandated that the military branch give the chimpanzees to the organization that best provided for their welfare. However, the Air Force put its colony of 140 chimps up for bid rather than retire them to a sanctuary—and Coulston was the winning bidder. Despite The Coulston Foundation's repeated citations for major safety violations that killed chimpanzees, the company bought half the NIH's chimp population

and took over the colony at Holloman Air Force Base. In the view of Carole Noon, a former chimpanzee researcher, the laboratory's open federal case for negligent chimpanzee deaths and multiple AWA violations should have ruled it out as a home for space chimps. Noon decided to start her own chimpanzee sanctuary and sue for custody of the chimps on grounds that the Air Force violated the will of Congress since Coulston conditions were worse than any other primate research laboratory in the country (Burgess 333). Several years later, Noon received twenty-one of the chimps in an out-of-court settlement. She moved the chimpanzees to her new sanctuary, the Centre for Captive Chimpanzee Care in Fort Pierce, FL, which became Save the Chimps, now the world's largest chimpanzee sanctuary. When Coulston went out of business a few years later after the NIH declined to renew chimp research contracts with his laboratory, Noon purchased the laboratory and its chimpanzees, eventually moving them, truckload by truckload, across the country to her new sanctuary.

When the Air Force closed out its chimpanzee colony and divested it to Coulston, it justified the decision by saying that despite an open case related to chimpanzee deaths, the laboratory's record of inspections from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was on par with other chimpanzee laboratories in the United States (Burgess 333). In the view of animal advocates, Coulston had the worst conditions of any lab; however, they did not view the conditions at other laboratories as much of an improvement. Years after Coulston closed, the Humane Society found that conditions for chimps had not improved as much as advocates hoped, even after laboratories underwent renovations to improve conditions. The Humane Society's nine-month 2009 undercover investigation of NIRC in Louisiana led to allegations of 338 violations of federal law and policy, ranging from care that did not meet federal standards to illegal breeding (Cohen, "Almost," 305; McConnaughey, "Chimp Haven").

Language Apes

With plenty of chimpanzees left over from the height of the space program to go around in the 1960s, researchers less interested in disease and space travel and more interested in language and behavior again began to look at chimpanzees as stand-ins for humans. These researchers thought that by studying how chimpanzees learn, they could discover the origins of how humans learn, too. In a series of experiments stemming from this idea in the 1960s and 1970s, psychologists and language researchers placed infant chimpanzees in human homes, guided by the idea that chimps raised as if they are human could learn language just like a human child could; the experiments could also simultaneously demonstrate whether the development of language is influenced more by genetics or environment (Leitten 148).

In one of the first of these cross-fostering experiments in the late 1960s, psychologists Allen and Beatrix Gardner taught American Sign Language (ASL) to Washoe, a ten-month-old chimpanzee they acquired from the Air Force and kept in a trailer behind their house in Washoe County, NV (Gruen, "Animals," 10; Hess 39). Washoe was the first chimp to master sign language, learning hundreds of words and signs. She surprised researchers with how she adapted the words for things she knew to make up new words for things she did not – for example, when she saw a swan, she signed "water bird" (Blum 4). She also taught sign language to her adopted son Loulis. By viewing cameras in her living quarters, her caretaker, researcher Roger Fouts, found that Washoe and her fellow chimps communicated to each other through sign language even when humans were not around. The chimps would argue, curse at each other and comfort each other using their signs (4). Fouts also saw them using finger signs with stuffed animals, which he interpreted as the chimpanzees' imaginations at work (4). Washoe would spontaneously string words together into sentences, starting with "Give me tickle" (13).

In keeping with the freewheeling spirit of the 1960s, across America, people were choosing to raise chimpanzees as children in their homes, and researchers were encouraging it. Raising chimpanzees as children in human families stretched the academic and scientific limits of some universities, but some of the largest cross-fostering experiments happened not just in New York City but in more conservative areas, like Oklahoma, where the University of Oklahoma was a hub of cross-fostering (Hess 36-7). Oklahoma researcher Maurice Temerlin and his wife, Jane, raised their “daughter,” captive-born Lucy, in their home from the time she was two days old. Ultimately, Maurice Temerlin wrote in his book *Lucy: Growing Up Human: A Chimpanzee Daughter in a Psychotherapist’s Family*, “Though Lucy taught us much and gave us great love and enriched our lives and our growth as people, it was a horrible thing to do to her” (208).

But what Temerlin termed “One Day in the Life of Lucy Temerlin” wasn’t bad by human standards: she woke up after eight hours of sleep on a king-size Simmons Beautyrest mattress, made a nest on the floor with sofa cushions and perused *Time*, *Newsweek* and *National Geographic*, followed by oatmeal and a glass of grape Tang (209). After playtime by herself in her room, Lucy took a break during a two-hour language lesson with her tutors, Fouts or his graduate student, Sue Savage-Rumbaugh, to casually make everyone tea (“Lucy”). For lunch, she would eat eggs, yogurt and an orange, and when Jane Temerlin arrived home at night, the whole family had gin and tonics. Impatient for dinner, Lucy would find her own food in the fridge, then fall asleep on the sofa, curled under a blanket (Temerlin 209).

Another cross-fostered chimp, Nim Chimpsky, was part of a study at Columbia University that came to serve as a benchmark of the dubious ethics of the cross-fostering studies. Nim bounced from house to house and teacher to teacher, never finding one home like Lucy did. For the most part, the participants in these experiments were “blissfully unaware of the complexities we were creating,” in

Maurice Temerlin's words ("Lucy"). Like every other cross-fostered chimp along the way, Lucy and Nim both became something not human and not chimpanzee, a gray area that Savage-Rumbaugh said no one involved knew how to negotiate ("Lucy"). They weren't human, but they weren't a chimp in the ways that mattered most: Lucy became frightened of the first fellow chimp she ever met ("Lucy"). The humans involved simply didn't realize that raising a chimpanzee to be more human results in the chimps' all-too-human devastation when it inevitably acts like a chimp and is rejected for it; the chimp then experiences some of the same emotions a human child would if it were rejected by the only caretakers it had ever known. At the beginning of Temerlin's book, he says that one of the key questions going into his experiment with Lucy was, "Would she learn to love us and perhaps have human emotions as well?" At the end, he writes that they realized they couldn't keep Lucy, but they didn't know what to do with her, either (Temerlin 216; "Lucy").

Although raising a chimp like a child in your house might seem like a fun idea, what was overlooked was that since chimps can live nearly as long as humans, raising a chimpanzee meant either a lifetime commitment or, at some point, a heartbreaking rejection. One cross-fostering parent, writer Hester Mundis, bought a little chimp, Boris, in a New York pet store and raised him in her Manhattan apartment for three years in the mid-1960s before sending him to the Chester Zoo in Great Britain (Chester). As an indication of how long chimps can live even once they are no longer part of the family, Mundis and her family visited her "son" Boris many times over the years, most recently in 2015 (Chester). Boris' life story turned out so well that he later became a children's book, but most chimps weren't as lucky (Mundis). When the time came to parent a chimpanzee rather than a human, cross-fostering parents often took their cast-off "sons" and "daughters" to the lab, or a roadside zoo, or whoever or wherever would take them. Temerlin notes that at the time he raised Lucy, nearly every other cross-fostering study had ended when the chimp either died young or was returned to the lab they came from (208). Humans suffered in cross-fostering, too. In a relatively common scenario, a

chimp that later ended up at LEMSIP, Donna Rae, was raised alongside her human “sister”; both girls wore the same clothes, ate peanut butter and jelly sandwiches and learned how to ride bicycles at the same time, inseparable but inevitably separated once Donna Rae became the chimp she always was and was sold to LEMSIP for research (Fauna, “Donna”).

Because of the circuitous route some chimpanzees took to zoos or sanctuaries, their full experience living as a human may not become evident until they start trying to use sign language with their caretakers, as Nim Chimpsky did at Black Beauty Ranch (Hess 288). Other lab chimpanzees, their backgrounds unknown, have signed to signal their distress at their living situation (Humane Society, “Undercover”).

This line of scientific inquiry mostly came to a halt in the late 1970s after Columbia professor Herbert Terrace, who had overseen Nim’s cross-fostering, published his research in the journal *Science*. After examining videos of Nim at work, Terrace changed his mind about the chimp’s purported language abilities and grew to believe that the signing chimpanzee had never developed language on his own, as Terrace and his graduate assistants had assumed. Terrace wrote that Nim’s language responses had been unintentionally prompted by the human assistants who had worked with him, in the same way the horse Clever Hans was once thought to be able to count until it was proven that he was reacting to unintentional cues from his owner (Terrace 891).

Rather than try cross-fostering, David Premack of the University of Pennsylvania and a few other researchers took the burgeoning field of ape language studies and adapted it to a lab setting. Premack argued in his 1983 book, *The Mind of an Ape*, that chimpanzees can learn language, even if they don’t speak it themselves (13). One of Premack’s nine study subjects, Sarah, became the first chimpanzee proven to use her own invented language, with plastic shapes (13).

Along with Premack, two other centers in the US also studied the cognition of chimpanzees in labs. Most famously, Georgia State University primatologists Savage-Rumbaugh – Lucy’s former language tutor – and Duane Rumbaugh taught monkeys and bonobos how to speak using lexigrams on keyboards and laminated charts. Savage-Rumbaugh’s work brought worldwide acclaim to herself and the bonobos she studied, siblings Kanzi and Panbanisha. Psychologist Sarah Boysen also conducted cognitive studies on chimpanzees for two decades at the Chimpanzee Center at Ohio State University.

A Move Away from Invasive Research

Beginning in the 1990s, as laboratory conditions like those at Yerkes, LEMSIP and Coulston received more attention, invasive research on chimpanzees grew increasingly controversial, expensive and viewed by the public as less beneficial. A 2008 poll conducted by the National Science Foundation found 56 percent of Americans were opposed to research that causes pain or injury to dogs and chimpanzees, compared to 35 percent opposed in 1985 and 42 percent opposed in the early 1990s (National Science). In the time between the two polls, Goodall had changed her focus from wild chimpanzees to advocating for captive chimpanzees, which she now believes do not belong in laboratories at all. Polls to gauge support for a possible ban on all chimpanzee research have found that the public favors a ban, two to one (Project R&R, “Public”).

Over the last decade, the lab population of chimps decreased from a peak of 1,500 to the 670 currently listed by the ChimpCARE census, as the NIH decreased breeding operations, older chimps died and, most importantly, chimps began moving to sanctuaries as the NIH, Air Force and NASA all signaled a slowdown of their primate research. An early indication that chimpanzee research was on the decline came when NYU closed LEMSIP in 1997. A decade later, Ohio State University closed Boysen’s Chimpanzee Center (McGrath). In its letter to Boysen, the university pointed out her failure to win federal research grants for her nine chimpanzees: “Clearly, the situation reflects a national trend of

research agencies away from sponsorship of local primate colonies such as ours, making the prospect for future support for research or for facilities operations questionable” (McGrath).

The United States is currently the only developed country that experiments on chimps and one of only two countries in the world that still performs chimpanzee research, along with Gabon in Africa (Scientific). It is the only government that still conducts chimpanzee research on a large scale (Cohen, “Almost” 451). For decades, efforts have been underway by American animal welfare groups to convince the NIH to ban invasive research on chimps, following a pattern established by anti-vivisection groups in Europe that campaigned for decades to disband that continent’s last chimpanzee colony in the Netherlands: undercover videos publicizing conditions in laboratories provoked public outrage, the scientific validity of chimpanzee experiments were steadily questioned, public opinion turned and eventually, the relevant officials and researchers agreed (British).

As a direct result of that shift in public opinion, what Gruen calls a “staggering” series of announcements and changes from the federal government over the last several years have signaled the near-end of chimpanzee research laboratories and a corresponding rise in retirement sanctuaries (“Captive” 68). First, a report commissioned by the NIH from the Committee on the Use of Chimpanzees in Biomedical and Behavioral Research, an advisory council from the Institutes of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences, concluded in December 2011 that although biomedical research on chimpanzees had once been valuable, most current NIH-funded research was medically unnecessary and should be ended (NIH, “Council”; Wadman, “Faces”). The NIH immediately stopped taking new grant applications for work on chimpanzees after that initial study, and a final report in January 2013 from the NIH Council of Councils, a working group of scientists, recommended implementing nearly all the recommendations in the Institutes of Medicine report, agreeing that nearly all chimp research should end and the four hundred government-owned chimpanzees should be retired to a sanctuary,

with the exception of fifty kept for future research needs (Wadman, “Faces”; NIH, “Council”). In 2015, NIH Director Francis Collins announced that the recommended stable of fifty chimps for future research would not be kept because “there was no justification” for that recommendation (Fears, “NIH”).

In its report, the Institutes of Medicine said all research chimpanzees should be kept in “ethologically appropriate physical and social environments”; the Council of Councils defined this as “environments that not only *allow*, but importantly, *promote* the full range of natural chimpanzee behaviors” (NIH, “Council”). The NIH group also required that all chimpanzees kept in labs must be housed with other chimpanzees, preferably with at least six others, and have access to the outdoors and a climbing apparatus of at least thirty feet – conditions no laboratory meets (Gorman, “Agency”).

Only chimps actually owned by the NIH have to be sent to sanctuaries, but at the time the NIH also funded research on four hundred chimpanzees owned by the Texas Biomedical Institute. In response to the NIH’s announcement, Texas Biomed issued a statement that it disagrees with the agency’s recommendations completely. The research center contended that chimpanzees are necessary for medical advances and that the conditions at its lab are better for chimps than sanctuaries (Texas). Other research centers soon saw the writing on the wall, however. After the Institutes of Medicine report, NIRC declined to submit another application for funding to continue supporting its stable of chimps, and Collins declared the 110 NIRC chimps “permanently ineligible” for research in 2012 (Wadman, “Faces”).

A key regulatory decision that allowed chimpanzee research to continue in the United States came even as chimpanzees struggled to survive in the wild and the FWS reclassified wild chimpanzees as endangered in 1990. Despite the ongoing threat to the species as a whole and 52,000 Americans who wrote letters urging the agency to classify all chimpanzees as endangered, the FWS continued to classify captive chimpanzees only as threatened, not endangered like their wild counterparts—an

unprecedented split listing that in the history of the agency has only existed for chimpanzees (Gorner; Dumanowski; Cohen, “U.S.”; Fears, “Fish”). Two years after a request by a coalition of animal protection organizations, the FWS reversed course in 2015 and revoked the split listing, assigning captive chimpanzees to the same endangered status as wild chimpanzees. Fish and Wildlife Service Director Dan Ashe acknowledged at the time of the announcement that the initial decision was not legal under the Endangered Species Act and was made primarily to allow the NIH to continue to fund laboratory research on chimps (Fears, “Fish”; United States, “U.S. Fish”; Gruen, “Captivity”). While that may have been the impetus behind the decision, the regulation allowed chimps to be bought, sold and traded for any purpose, unlike every other endangered animal (Gruen, “Captivity”).

The new endangered listing, which requires any chimpanzee research to obtain a permit from the FWS to go forward, went into effect in September 2015 (Fears, “Fish”; Pacelle, “Chimps”). Animal rights advocates argued that as a side effect, the new listing would ban the private use of chimpanzees for pets or entertainment, but the FWS decided that the change only bans the interstate sale of chimpanzees, not sales or chimpanzee ownership itself (Cohen, “U.S.”; United States, “Final”). At first it was unclear how the new endangered status affects chimpanzees in laboratories, but in an op-ed in *The New York Times*, NIRC scientist Peter Walsh said that lab research on chimps can now only focus on helping chimpanzees in the wild, not humans, and no laboratory has applied for an FWS permit under the new endangered listing due to the likelihood of protests (Walsh).

Zoos

Of the 1,646 chimpanzees Project ChimpCARE estimates live in captivity as of June 2016, 266 are in accredited zoos, under the management of the Species Survival Program, or SSP, which is led by Ross (ChimpCare). In the past, even accredited zoos commonly obtained chimpanzees the same way research labs did: taking them from their mothers in the wild. When that practice was outlawed in the 1970s, the

American Association of Zoos and Aquariums (AZA) began the SSP, essentially a breeding program that breeds and moves chimpanzees around based on species needs and genetic lines. The listing of captive chimpanzees as endangered does not affect the SSP since the program falls under an exception that allows captivity that advances the survival of the endangered species as a whole. The AZA was one of the organizations in the coalition that requested the relisting (Reardon; National Archives, “June 12, 2015”).

Currently, Lion Country Safari in Florida has the largest group of chimpanzees in the country with nineteen, followed by the Los Angeles Zoo with eighteen, the North Carolina Zoo with sixteen, the Houston Zoo with fifteen and the Kansas City Zoo with fourteen (ChimpCare). Just like sanctuaries, zoos will sometimes take in chimpanzee pets or performers surrendered by their owners (Freeman).

Chimpanzees can have a semblance of a normal chimp life in zoo exhibits, although depending on the zoo facilities, sanctuaries typically provide more room and freedom. In the past, chimp exhibits would commonly consist of a simple indoor area without access to the outside, with only a few chimpanzees together. More recently, the Species Survival Program recommends that zoos have no less than seven, and preferably a dozen, chimps in their exhibits (Bull). Many zoos with fewer chimps have closed their exhibits and sent their chimpanzees to other zoos, and some zoos will send older chimpanzees to a sanctuary, but the AZA does not require it (Bull). The AZA offers specific guidelines on care for chimpanzees, but journalist Brian Palmer wrote that AZA critics contend that the standards “are set not by the needs of the animals but by what the top zoos are realistically capable of providing... In their view, accreditation is more an assurance of non-awfulness than a mark of excellence” (Palmer).

Accredited zoos meeting the standards can vary widely, from the more natural surroundings of the North Carolina Zoo to the concrete boxes with limited outdoor access at the Oregon Zoo (Reed). Even the North Carolina Zoo, which is widely considered to have some of the best habitats in the country for chimps, has a relatively small space for its sixteen chimpanzees to spend their time. Chicken wire on all

the trees means the chimps cannot climb in their exhibit, and they are brought in at night to sleep in cages.

Unaccredited zoos, often referred to as “roadside zoos,” usually have worse conditions than accredited zoos – it is not uncommon to see them described by journalists as “ramshackle,” while PETA terms them “highway hellholes” and “deadly destinations” (PETA, “Highway”). Like accredited zoos, backyard zoos also breed their animals, but typically without controlling for genetics. Especially popular in Florida, many roadside zoos allow visitors to get their photo taken with a chimp (Frostic). Florida has fifty-five operations licensed to exhibit chimpanzees, which includes both the more notorious operations and mainstream ones like Busch Gardens and Disney World (LaPeter).

Pets

In the United States, private ownership of most species of great apes—gorillas, orangutans and bonobos—is illegal (Mullen). Since they have historically been used in laboratories, however, chimpanzees can be bought and sold as pets or performers, just another part of the trade of exotic animals in the same way that lions and tigers are. Many states ban chimpanzees and other native-to-the-wild animals as pets under exotic animal laws, but others allow the private possession of any wild animal. In states that allow exotics, anyone can own a chimpanzee legally as long as they have the proper permits and pay \$25,000 to \$50,000 to buy one from a breeder or another private owner.

The Humane Society and other animal welfare groups have so far unsuccessfully fought to ban the exotic pet trade at the federal level and on a state-to-state basis through the Captive Primate Safety Act (Carroll). But exotic animal bans including chimpanzees, lions and tigers have gained traction at the federal and state levels after a pair of high-profile incidents in recent years. In 2009 in Connecticut, Travis the pet chimpanzee brutally attacked Charla Nash, a friend of his owner, and was killed by police.

Nash became one of the world's first face transplant recipients at the Cleveland Clinic (Newman; Carroll). In Ohio in 2011, a suicidal owner of a private menagerie released more than fifty exotic animals, including lions, tigers, wolves and monkeys, from his property in Zanesville, OH, before he killed himself. Sheriff's deputies shot and killed all but six of the animals (McGinn). Before the Zanesville incident, Ohio had some of the loosest exotic animal laws in the nation, but it now has strict permitting requirements banning the sale, ownership and breeding of exotic animals (Humane Society, "Where"; A. Johnson).

Like chimps in labs and zoos, performing chimps and pets are also taken from their mothers shortly after birth, usually as part of a breeding operation. To make matters very confusing, breeders might advertise themselves as sanctuaries, like the Missouri Primate Foundation in Festus, MO, near St. Louis, which according to ChimpCARE's census is one of the largest facilities in the nation that breeds chimpanzees (ChimpCare). The facility bills itself as a nonprofit sanctuary and rescue operation that keeps adult chimpanzees out of laboratories (Siebert, "Wauchula" 111). Owner Connie Braun Casey has bred and sold more baby chimpanzees than almost anyone else, in at least one case taking one from its mother just one month after birth (PETA, "Urge"). However, Casey might have halted chimpanzee breeding in light of bad publicity since Travis was born at the Missouri Primate Foundation (PETA, "Urge"). Casey sold Travis as a baby to owner Sandra Herold and her husband. Travis' mother, Suzy, was killed in 2001 by the Caseys' neighbor when she escaped their backyard. In court documents related to the neighbor's subsequent animal cruelty trial, Casey said she got into the chimp business in 1975 when she paid \$12,000 for a male chimpanzee, Coco, and \$16,000 for a female, Bridget. In the filings, she estimated that since 1981, she had sold fifteen to twenty chimps for \$40,000 to \$50,000 each (Byers). Maryland resident Judie Harrison told *The New York Daily News* about the ease she had buying her first chimp, eight-month-old Mikey, from the Caseys in 2002: the entire process took a five-minute phone call, a trip to St. Louis with \$45,000 cash in hand and less paperwork than it would take to adopt a puppy (Schapiro, "All"). Chimpanzees can also be purchased online, at auctions like the Lolli Brothers auction in

Missouri or through *The Animal Finder's Guide*, a listing of exotic animals (Wozniacka). The going rate in 2010 for an infant chimpanzee could be \$50,000 for a male and \$65,000 for a female, with prices ranging from \$35,000 to \$60,000 (Mullen; Gruen, "Captivity" 69).

Unless state or local laws require them, private chimp owners have no minimum standards of care they have to provide for their chimps, and private facilities for chimps can range from elaborate zoo-like cages to dark corners of a garage, with no real way to tell how many chimps live in private homes (69). Estimates of how many chimps were in private homes once ranged from just a few to hundreds, but numbers are more accurate than ever due to the Project ChimpCARE census (68). Barring an escape or other incident that publicizes a chimp, in practice a solitary chimp locked up in a garage can be invisible to the public (68).

The chimpanzees in commercials and movies are cuddly and affectionate babies, which makes it easy for viewers to imagine they make good pets (69). Chimp owners are mostly unprepared for lifetime ownership of chimps and – thinking of the adorable little chimps they see on television – may not ever consider what will happen once the chimpanzee grows up, or they may believe their chimpanzee will be the exception to the rule (69-70). Chimps raised by humans can grow attached to their owners, who often treat them like a child, but when the chimpanzee grows up, those feelings can translate to possessiveness and destructive behavior (70). When baby chimp Toby arrived at Bea and Curtis Shepperson's home in Mechanicsville, VA, the Sheppersons dressed the six-week-old, seven-pound chimpanzee in clothes and fed him with a bottle, just as the Temerlins once did with Lucy (Calos; "Lucy"). Human-raised chimpanzees wear clothes and imitate the people they grow up with, eating with a knife and fork, cooking, drinking alcohol or driving cars (Blum 12; Booth). Travis drank wine from a stemmed glass, used the computer, bathed and dressed himself. He rarely left the Herolds' side, even posing for photographs with their towing company customers when he went to work with them

(Newman). This convincing imitation of human behavior leads not just owners but outsiders to view chimpanzees in the home as cute, benevolent and harmless. In 1971, when the California city where St. James and LaDonna Davis lived tried to take away their four-year-old chimpanzee, Moe, the judge ruled in the Davises' favor, saying, "From what I've observed of Moe outside and in the courtroom, he doesn't have the traits of a wild animal, and is, in fact, somewhat better behaved than some people" (Booth).

At best, chimp owners can continue to treat their pets like a human child up to eight years, when chimps become physically impossible for a human to control. By that age and without meaning to, adult chimpanzees can begin to act extremely aggressively toward their owners, even ones they love (Gruen, "Captivity" 70). Adult chimps can grow to more than five feet tall and weigh between 100 and 200 pounds, with a strength traditionally estimated as five times that of humans ("Lucy"). In a typical pattern, the chimp will grow resentful of discipline. It will feel confined inside and resent its owner going to work or leaving the house. It will tear the house apart—and due to its strength, it can easily inflict more severe property damage than a human could (JGI).

Even pet chimpanzees loved as a member of the family usually end up in a cage, typically following an incident in which a family member feels threatened by the chimp's strength (Gruen, "Captivity" 70). That is what happened to Moe and Toby: once better behaved than some humans, they ended up in backyard cages after they began acting like the chimpanzees they were (Booth). Bea Shepperson no longer got too close to the chimpanzee she once dressed and hand-fed with a bottle, and Toby and her other five chimpanzees ended up at the Houston Zoo. Sandra Herold did continue to sleep and live alongside her 200-pound, fourteen-year-old chimpanzee Travis, as she had for most of his life, but his bed was inside a cage (Newman). Owners may try to delay the cage with shock collars or removing teeth or thumbs, which takes away the animals' ability to literally climb the walls of the house (JGI). On its website, Save the Chimps addresses the tragic end many pet chimpanzees will meet. Even if

they are sent to a sanctuary or a zoo like Boris and Toby, they are some of the most difficult chimpanzees to resocialize because they miss their human companions and still feel part human: “No matter where they end up, a pet chimp who is suddenly asked to leave their life with their human family is often confused and unhappy. It is heartbreaking to watch former pet chimps struggle to figure out where they fit in this world” (Gruen, “Captivity” 70; Save the Chimps, “Pets”).

Entertainment

Since Cheeta the chimp starred in the *Tarzan* movies in the 1930s, audiences have enjoyed chimpanzees acting in movies, commercials and television shows. Today, a person walking down the greeting card aisle in any store will see many chimpanzees, grinning widely, but the “smiling” chimpanzees seen in commercials and cards are actually displaying the fear grimace, the same fearful expression Ham made after he returned from space (Spruetz).

These chimpanzee actors must be babies, for the same reasons pet chimpanzees are usually adopted at a young age: adults would be too difficult to handle, would not cooperate and are simply not as adorable as babies. Like pets, future chimp actors experience the psychological damage of being taken from their mothers at breeding operations. This traumatic experience also makes them more likely to submit to the will of their trainer later (Chimps Inc., “Chimpanzees”). Some chimpanzees kept beyond three or four years have had their teeth knocked out with a crowbar to prevent them from biting their trainers (Fauna, “Billy”).

In 2003, Sarah Baeckler Davis, a primatologist who had worked under Fouts, went undercover at a prominent Hollywood animal training company, Sid Yost’s Amazing Animal Actors, which had four chimpanzees among its cast of animals. Baeckler Davis volunteered at the company for fourteen months and said she witnessed violent abuse of chimpanzees every day she went into work, including punching,

kicking and torture using a sawed-off broom that Yost called the “ugly stick.” The Animal Legal Defense Fund and Baeckler Davis sued Yost, who agreed to relinquish his remaining chimpanzees and never work with primates again. His remaining chimpanzees, he promised, would be sent to a sanctuary. Although animal activists knew about specific incidents of abuse several decades earlier in Hollywood, Baeckler Davis’ undercover investigation was confirmation of what they had long suspected: modern conditions for chimpanzee actors had not improved since then. When a chimpanzee later escaped from Amazing Animal Actors, the ALDF learned that Yost had violated the terms of the settlement by keeping chimpanzees anyway (Sternberg).

Circuses can be exempt from state laws that require registration of exotic animals with local law enforcement agencies. Like chimps used as pets and other forms of entertainment, chimps in circuses are bred for the purpose. The Rosaire Circus in Florida hosts the “Chimpfabulous” troupe of four horseback-riding chimpanzees that travel around the South for parade and festival appearances. The Rosaire’s Big Cat Habitat and Gulf Coast Sanctuary had a lone chimpanzee, Ricky, until they added a baby chimpanzee, Chance, who was sold by the family that bought him from a breeder in Missouri (Birnkranz 17). The unaccredited sanctuary is a descendant of the traveling Rosaire Circus and is run by Kay Rosaire, while her sister Pam Rosaire-Zopp still trains chimps to perform as the last traveling chimpanzee act in the United States (Castoro). The Rosaire’s admit that circuses are a dying art, which is why they are branching out into the sanctuary and leasing their animals out for entertainment, provoking protests by animal-rights organizations when they taught Chance to roller skate to appear alongside Leonardo DiCaprio in the 2013 movie *The Wolf of Wall Street*. To train Chance for the movie, Rosaire-Zopp punished him if he didn’t listen to her through time-outs, which she called the “worst thing for a chimp, to force him to sit still in a chair alone until he listens” (Birnkranz 17). This tactic of withholding affection was criticized by Bob Ingersoll, who worked with Nim at the University of Oklahoma (17-18). Chimps don’t naturally withhold affection from each other because they get over

disagreements quickly, he said, so the technique could cause “lasting psychological damage” to a young chimpanzee (18).

Where Do They Go?

An idealist might hold that these chimpanzees, all deprived of what would be a more natural existence in the wild, should be sent back to the jungle they are missing out on. But chimpanzees raised by humans do not automatically know what they need to survive in the wild, as shown in the tragic coda to Lucy’s story. When the backyard cage at the Temerlins’ house ultimately proved unsuitable to hold an adult Lucy, the Temerlins sent her to the African jungle in the company of one of Maurice Temerlin’s graduate students. By then, however, Lucy was too human to want any existence in the wild. As Temerlin wrote in his book, Lucy did not ever “long for a jungle life she has never known” (208). The chimpanzee had once happily read magazines and prepared tea for visitors, and thrown into the wild, she refused to leave the side of the human who had been sent to oversee her transition. The student had to build a cage for herself to keep Lucy away and encourage her to associate with chimpanzees instead. After years of attempted transition to the wild, Lucy was left to fend for herself and died at the hands of a poacher. Some speculate that, excited to see a human again, Lucy may have even approached the poacher herself (“Lucy”). Lucy’s story serves as a cautionary tale against the idea that just throwing captive-born chimpanzees into the wild would solve the problem of keeping them captive.

That is where sanctuaries come in. Each chimpanzee comes to a sanctuary with a unique life story and psychological profile. They clearly cannot successfully return to the wild. They may lack the social skills necessary to live together, but they also cannot stand to live alone. So all of these animals have to come together and figure out how to live among chimps that do bizarre things, like trying to wrap themselves in clothes or to use sign language. When five-year-old Washoe moved into the University of Oklahoma’s Institute for Primate Studies alongside twenty-five other chimpanzees, she did

not know what the strange creatures surrounding her were — she had never seen another chimpanzee in her life. Unlike other chimpanzees undergoing that difficult transition, Washoe could speak to people about it through sign language. Once, when Washoe was surrounded by screaming chimpanzees, her caretaker Fouts asked her what the other creatures were. She replied, “Black bugs” (Blum 16). After never interacting with or touching other chimpanzees, this odd experience of meeting fellow “black bugs” for the first time is one many lab- or human-raised chimpanzees have experienced.

Whether they arrive from human homes, Hollywood, research labs or zoos, they are all equally troubled, caught between the worlds of humans and chimps. And they all come together in retirement at sanctuaries.

Chapter 2: Why Sanctuaries?

For decades, private owners and trainers who found themselves with chimpanzees too old and too chimp-like to be pets or performers anymore knew a place guaranteed to take — and pay — for unwanted chimpanzees: laboratories could always use fresh chimps. Although it may seem incongruous that owners who thought of their chimps as pets and even raised them in a house would drop them off to an unknown fate in a laboratory, many owners did just that — the Fauna Foundation’s Gloria Grow tells the story of one of the chimps that ended up at her sanctuary, Donna Rae, whose owner held her hand as they walked into LEMSIP; the chimp was later infected with HIV during studies at the lab (IPPL; Fauna, “Donna”).

If chimp owners preferred to avoid laboratories, zoos — with their pipeline to wild chimps in Africa cut off as unethical — were seen as guaranteed homes for unwanted chimps. However, as concerns and awareness grew about overcrowded chimp exhibits and small social groups, even zoos began to downsize their number of chimpanzees and close exhibits rather than spend millions of dollars to upgrade tiny, outdated habitats (Knight). One of the few exceptions has been Ross’ own Lincoln Park Zoo in Chicago, which remodeled its chimpanzee exhibit to the tune of \$26 million (Lincoln). Aside from space issues, zoos also began turning away pet and entertainment chimps since they tended to be more anti-social and difficult to handle (Siebert, “Planet”).

At the peak of the NIH breeding program in the 1980s, when researchers still shared the widespread belief that chimps must be the key to studying AIDS, these same scientists did not forecast that elderly chimpanzees would need long-term care— after all, they assumed the chimps would die of complications from AIDS long before they reached retirement age (U.S. Senate, “Chimpanzee”). Chimpanzees in captivity can live for a long time: Lion Country Safari’s Little Mama, at seventy-five, is thought to be the oldest living chimpanzee in captivity, if not the world (Naff). A former skater in the Ice

Capades, Little Mama is a few decades older than the average age a chimpanzee lives to in the wild. Since laboratory researchers typically prefer and use younger, healthier chimpanzees for their protocols, and since “practically no biomedical experiments involving chimpanzees are immediately terminal,” chimpanzees’ long lives guarantee that unused, elderly chimps are “warehoused,” spending decades in cages even while they are never actually used in experiments (Dyke). The husbandry required to care for a chimpanzee too old for experiments is expensive, time-consuming and uses research dollars that could otherwise be spent directly on active research: as of 1997, the NIH had already spent \$7.3 million caring for elderly chimpanzees (Dyke; Koebner). To many animal advocates and, increasingly, the public, it just made sense that these older chimpanzees should be retired somewhere outside of a lab.

Older chimps clearly needed somewhere to go that was not a lab or a zoo. Growing recognition of this conundrum among not just animal advocates but researchers sparked the emergence of a sanctuary movement in the United States and a recognition that something had to be done. The problem was not without precedent: when European and African countries drew down their chimpanzee research programs and examined what to do with their chimpanzees, they considered and rejected many ideas, including euthanasia, selling the animals as pets or to zoos or reintroducing them to the wild (Lonsdorf 335). Experiments in freeing laboratory chimpanzees showed mixed results—on one level, the experiments were successful because they proved chimpanzees could somewhat adapt to the wild, even after being hand-reared by humans, but it took years of food provisioning and full-time training by humans to get them there (338). However, as in the case of Lucy, some of the released chimpanzees did not last long due to poaching and other hazards particular to the wild— in one experiment that released thirty-seven captive chimpanzees to the wild, eighteen of the released chimps were attacked by wild chimpanzees, ten fatally, including the deaths of nine of the ten released male chimpanzees (339). When the National Research Council studied the surplus chimpanzee problem in

1997, its committee members cited the high death rates of wild release as a reason not to pursue this option (NRC, “Committee” 31).

In both Europe and Africa, officials and researchers settled on sanctuaries as the answer, agreeing sanctuaries could give chimpanzees a higher quality of life: Goodall has said chimps in sanctuaries and zoos with naturalistic exhibits, like Lion Country Safari, display more of the behaviors she saw studying chimpanzees in the wild— behaviors that laboratory chimpanzees never display (Wallace). Sending surplus chimps to sanctuaries was rare, but did have a short history of success in the United States. Prior to the AIDS epidemic, when chimpanzees were not as desired by the NIH, LEMSIP founder and director Jan Moor-Jankowski became perhaps the first person to formulate plans for a retirement sanctuary, for his own laboratory’s chimpanzees. At the conclusion of a 1974 experiment, the NIH ordered Moor-Jankowski to euthanize eight of his chimpanzee research subjects. Instead, Moor-Jankowski sent the chimpanzees to Lion Country Safari in Loxahatchee, FL near West Palm Beach, which advertises itself as the country’s first cageless zoo (Naff). Opened in 1967, the drive-through zoo features naturalistic habitats that are designed to make visitors feel like they are on safari in Africa. Lion Country had a “Monkey Island” it was not using and offered to care for LEMSIP’s chimps for free. When Goodall visited the zoo in 1985, she said, “I’m hoping if people [who run laboratories] see the way chimps live in settings like Lion Country, they’ll try to emulate them” (Goodavage, “Expert”).

Since “retiring” a chimpanzee had never been tried, it was widely thought that lab chimps would never be able to socially adapt to life in a group of other chimpanzees, or in a natural setting at all. Anthropologist Tony Pfeiffer tried to answer that question by studying the original group of chimps sent from LEMSIP to Lion Country. One of the key questions that scientists at the time were asking was whether the chimpanzees, whose bodies used to their antiseptic lives indoors in a lab, would contract infections and die shortly after they began to live outdoors and around other chimpanzees. Pfeiffer

protected the Lion Country chimps from any severe side effects of the transition with vaccinations, and no chimps died after they arrived in Florida (Mitgang). A few decades after that original sanctuary experiment at Lion Country Safari, San Antonio primate sanctuary Primarily Primates became the second such experiment when it also accepted twelve chimpanzees from a Pennsylvania lab, the Buckshire Corporation. Once again, these chimpanzees, the Buckshire 12 — including the famous “humanzee” Oliver — thrived when they reached their new home (Shreeve).

In 1995, amid growing concern among researchers that chimpanzees were not performing up to expectations as a model for humans in AIDS studies, the NIH initiated a five-year moratorium on breeding for chimps it owned or supported, which was eventually extended and continues today (Altevogt). Researchers grew increasingly concerned about the excess supply of aging chimps, and in 1997, the NIH commissioned a committee of scientists from the National Research Council to produce a report on the issue (NRC, “Committee”). The committee members agreed, “... (T)he combination of an increase in chimpanzee numbers and less-extensive research use than was expected has created a surplus of chimpanzees and a substantial management problem...” (vii). The report outlined the NIH’s various options and concluded that sanctuaries should be the long-term solution to the NIH’s surplus chimpanzee problem, instead of the cheapest and most immediate prospect, euthanization (United States Senate, “Chimpanzee”). A research facility that imposed a policy of euthanizing healthy chimpanzees, the NRC suggested, would lose employee morale and face the prospect of resignations in protest, along with public outcry. Although paying for lifetime care at sanctuaries would be far more expensive than euthanization, the scientists on the committee agreed it was a better option for both “practical as well as theoretical reasons” (United States Senate, “Chimpanzee”). To see the life chimpanzees might live at sanctuaries, members of the committee visited some of the leading sanctuaries at that time, Primarily Primates and Wildlife Waystation in Los Angeles County, CA (NRC, “Committee”).

Not all of the committee agreed that sanctuaries were worthwhile, however. Sarah Williams-Blangero, a researcher at one of the country's leading primate centers, the Southwest Foundation for Biomedical Research in San Antonio (now known as Texas Biomedical Research Institute, or Texas Biomed) wrote in a dissenting chapter:

It is not appropriate to use NIH funds in support of animals permanently transferred to private sanctuary housing since there is no potential return on research dollars invested in chimpanzees permanently removed from the research pool... euthanasia allows resources that would be used to preserve animals of limited value to be devoted to maintenance and propagation of valuable animals (90-1).

In the end, however, Williams-Blangero was the only committee member who thought euthanasia was the answer, and the committee as a whole concluded:

We believe that our recommendations are sound, justifiable, cost-effective—although not inexpensive—and ethically responsible. We anticipate that they will meet with the approval of scientists, chimpanzee-colony directors, animal protectionists, the public, and members of Congress. We also strongly believe that NIH must work hard to achieve that breadth of approval... The concept of sanctuaries capable for providing for the long-term care and well-being of chimpanzees that are no longer needed for research and breeding should become an integral component of the strategic plan to achieve the best and most cost-effective solutions to the current dilemma (ix, 4).

The ability of pioneering groups of lab chimps to adapt to their new, distinctly different environment at Lion Country Safari and Primarily Primates proved the sanctuary experiment could work and paved the way for the current mass exodus of chimpanzees from labs to sanctuaries. After short-lived LEMSIP research subject Nim Chimpsky's retirement to Black Beauty Ranch in Texas in the early

1990s, Moor-Jankowski raised money from private donors to improve the lab's chimpanzee housing and also expand LEMSIP into Texas with a retirement facility for the laboratory's aging chimpanzees. NYU blocked both plans, however, and soon after closed LEMSIP altogether (In Defense; Revkin, "Chimp"; Revkin, "Animal"). When LEMSIP veterinarian James Mahoney learned that the lab was closing and all its chimpanzees would fall under the control of the dreaded Coulston Foundation, he tried to smuggle out as many of the lab's hundreds of chimpanzees as he could, to whatever sanctuary spots he could find. A group of fifty chimpanzees went to the first taker, Wildlife Waystation, a large wildlife sanctuary that had never had chimpanzees (Mahoney 204). Owner Martine Collette was the only sanctuary director with space available for chimps and stepped up to offer lifetime care, Mahoney later told *The Los Angeles Times*: "This was a tremendous service to the animals and to the country, because she [Collette] was the only one in the U.S. who would do it" (Peabody, "State").

Mahoney's experience contrasts sharply with today, when chimpanzee sanctuaries across the country say they will do whatever it takes to take in the hundreds of remaining NIH chimpanzees. Since taking care of a chimpanzee can be a six-decade commitment, few animal sanctuaries in 1997 had the experience, money or ability to care for dozens of chimpanzees, especially on short notice. Mahoney said at the time, "Everyone wants to see these animals put into retirement, but there are very few doing anything to make it happen" (Satzman, "Waystation"). Experts agreed there were simply not enough existing animal sanctuary spots to take all the primates that labs wanted to give away, and few existing sanctuaries would risk taking chimps because of the financial and insurance liabilities involved (Satzman, "Too"). Despite these obstacles, Mahoney successfully smuggled more than a hundred chimpanzees and more than a hundred monkeys out of LEMSIP's facility in upstate New York before Coulston took it over.

In the process, he directly inspired one sanctuary to get off the ground. Captivated by the chimps she met up close while visiting the Chimpanzee and Human Communication Institute run by

Fouts at Central Washington University, Gloria Grow knew she wanted to start her own chimp sanctuary at her farm in Quebec, Canada. Encouraged by Goodall and Mahoney, Grow visited LEMSIP and ended up taking fifteen chimpanzees back with her to Canada to start the “Fauna Foundation.” In addition to Wildlife Waystation and the newly-established Fauna, the sanctuaries Mahoney recruited as end points for his unique version of the Underground Railroad included Black Beauty Ranch, Primarily Primates, Wildlife Animal Orphanage in San Antonio and the Primate Rescue Center in Thomasville, KY, which until then only had monkeys. In all, Mahoney admits he essentially stole \$2 million of chimpanzees and \$200,000 worth of monkeys from LEMSIP, but no one at NYU ever said a word to him about it, and he kept his job at NYU Medical School (Quinn). Mahoney’s efforts became very public a year after the LEMSIP closure when they were featured in a National Geographic special with Goodall called *Chimp Rescue* – this is also where the public got its first look into LEMSIP.

Before LEMSIP closed, some primatologists had talked about opening the world’s first sanctuary strictly for chimpanzees, but none of these projects were up and running when Mahoney needed immediate homes for his chimps. Chimpanzee advocates did recognize the problem, however, and several nascent efforts emerged to open the continent’s first all-chimpanzee sanctuary. In 1995, the same year Mahoney dispersed the LEMSIP chimpanzees, Texas Biomed primate behaviorists Linda Brent and Amy Fultz founded a nonprofit chimpanzee organization they called “Chimp Haven” with Linda Koebner, a primatologist who had written a book about her efforts to help Moor-Jankowski retire chimps to Lion Country Safari. Brent first began working with chimpanzees as an undergraduate student at Ohio State, where she volunteered in Boysen’s cognition laboratory (Weary). She later studied infant chimpanzees at Gombe National Park with Goodall’s research team and for seventeen years was what she called the “entertainment director” at Texas Biomed (Siebert, “Planet”). At a time when no sanctuaries specifically set up to accommodate chimps existed, they brought primatologists and chimpanzee behaviorists together to study what to do with the growing number of excess research

chimps and perhaps build their own sanctuary specifically for them (Siebert, "Planet"). Although Chimp Haven's founders did not yet have a physical sanctuary and could not yet take chimpanzees when Mahoney needed to disperse them, Koebner collaborated with him to find the chimps space at animal sanctuaries already in existence (Naff).

Around the same time, Florida primatologist Carole Noon set up partnerships with animal protection organizations and began thinking about starting her own all-chimpanzee sanctuary under the name Center for Captive Chimpanzee Care (Animal People, "NIH"). She had trained at the Zambian sanctuary Chimfunshi Wildlife Orphanage in 1989, and she thought that the idea of large, open spaces for chimpanzees could translate to the United States (AP, "Big"). Noon found significant allies within the chimpanzee community, with Goodall and Fouts serving on her board (Roberts 4). In 1997, Noon bid on the 141 "surplus inventory" chimpanzees from the Air Force, but the Air Force instead chose to send 111 of the chimps to The Coulston Foundation and thirty to Primarily Primates, noting that Noon did not yet have a physical facility (Bell; Burgess 331). Determined to save at least some of the Air Force chimpanzees from The Coulston Foundation, Noon sued for the chimpanzees while simultaneously raising money to eventually build her own sanctuary, helped by the support of a dozen members of Congress who said they would hold public hearings on the matter (Burgess 333). Billionaire philanthropist Jon Stryker, who had long been interested in great apes, learned about Noon's quest and gave her a \$7 million grant through a new foundation he set up, the Arcus Foundation. With that seed money, Noon could buy property for her sanctuary in Fort Pierce, FL and pursue her lawsuit against the Air Force. In a settlement reached a year later, the Air Force gave Noon twenty-one of the space chimps previously destined for Coulston, and overnight, the Center for Captive Chimpanzee Care, later known as Save the Chimps, became the world's first all-chimpanzee sanctuary. Simultaneously, Primarily Primates founder Wallace Swett collaborated with Connecticut-based animal protection organization Friends of

Animals on a plan that would convert islands in Ghana into sanctuaries, but that project fell through in 1999 (Animal People, “NIH”).

A few years later, the recommendations in the NRC report and the growing number of aging chimpanzees still in the care of laboratories prompted passage of federal legislation called the Chimpanzee Health Improvement Maintenance and Protection Act, or CHIMP Act, which prohibited euthanasia to solve the problem of the growing number of aging chimpanzees still in the care of laboratories and instead mandated that they be sent to a sanctuary for retirement (Cohen, “Almost”). The bill collected wide support from the scientific and academic communities, as well as animal advocates and the general public. Passed by both houses of Congress in 2000 during the waning days of Bill Clinton’s presidency, the bill established a place for warehoused NIH chimpanzees to go: a federal sanctuary system that could house up to nine hundred chimpanzees, starting with a single sanctuary chosen through a competitive process that would operate through a public-private partnership – the sanctuary itself would be a private, nonprofit organization, but it would receive federal funding up to \$30 million (Siebert, “Planet”). The plans closely followed recommendations made by a scientific advisory committee of animal advocates including Goodall and Fouts (Koebner). Under the law, the national sanctuary would be responsible for privately raising funds for 10 percent of its infrastructure and 25 percent of the ongoing cost of caring for the chimpanzees (United States Senate, “Chimpanzee”).

Chimp researchers knew that continuing to keep chimps no longer being used in research diverted funds from their actual medical research, so they supported the bill, with one caveat: they wanted an option to bring chimps back from sanctuaries for research at some point in the future (Berreby). Despite their support, they also suspected an ulterior motive in animal advocates’ campaign for the legislation. As plans for the federal sanctuary system were underway in 2008, Yerkes director Stuart Zola told *The New York Times*: “I see the retirement community idea as simply another ploy by

the animal-rights community to reach their eventual goal of abolishing the use of animals in research. I'm not opposed to it. But I think it is being driven by an animal-rights point of view" (Stolberg).

In a stunning turn of events from the battles between Coulston and animal-rights advocates throughout the 1990s, Coulston went bankrupt in 2003 after the NIH declined to renew its research contracts, citing numerous violations of the Animal Welfare Act. Noon used a \$3.7 million grant from the Arcus Foundation to buy Coulston's laboratory and all of his property, and in return, he donated all his chimpanzees to her (Bell). Although other chimpanzee sanctuaries opened in the intervening years, the Coulston chimps ensured that Save the Chimps remained the world's largest chimpanzee sanctuary.

To sanctuary advocates, the fall of The Coulston Foundation was encouraging, a symbolic victory that indicated that the future of chimpanzees might not be in labs after all. With its takeover of the laboratory it had once fought against, Save the Chimps was only the first in a string of sanctuaries that opened across the country in the next few years. Chimps sitting in labs often had nothing to do, and at one time, they had nowhere to go. But now, for the first time, sanctuaries offered an alternative life for those who could get there.

And despite the initial concerns from critics, who predicted that chimpanzee sanctuaries would never work, the reality of chimpanzee retirement played out just as Noon and Brent had envisioned it. When Chimp Haven finally opened, the fitting first arrivals were Rita and Teresa, both former space chimps who had originally been taken from the wild more than four decades earlier. When they first started to step into an outdoor habitat for the first time since they were taken from Africa in the 1960s, they stared up at the sky, not quite sure what to make of it all (Siebert, "Planet"). But nevertheless, they stepped out onto the grass and began exploring. As more and more chimpanzees were released to sanctuaries and thrived there, the initial skepticism around sanctuaries faded to a distant memory.

Chapter 3: Sanctuaries

At its broadest, a sanctuary is defined as an organization that houses animals, but does not buy, sell or breed them.³ The word's very definition means a "refuge, asylum, shelter, haven, place of safety," from the Latin word "sanctus," or "safety." It is often the last option for an animal no longer useful for the purpose it was bred for (Erden 2). All sanctuaries have a commitment to rescue abused, abandoned or neglected animals (Tilson 226). Most sanctuaries are nonprofit organizations and, unlike zoos that are often funded by tax dollars, most receive no public funds. Most sanctuaries are not open to the public, but some may, especially those that rely on fees and donations to remain open (Black Pine).

The higher goal of a chimpanzee sanctuary, quite simply, is to provide a habitat as close to the wild as possible for animals who have never known that freedom – living in groups with other chimpanzees, building nests in different places to sleep at night and "foraging" for food. Those are the primary ways chimps in the wild spend their time, and it is how many chimps in sanctuaries are also able to live their lives. Chimp Haven's website says it offers its retirees "peace, freedom of choice and opportunities to just be chimpanzees" (Chimp Haven, "Website").

One person's sanctuary, however, is another person's "small, cement cage in a cavernous dark shed," as shown in the ongoing conflict over what a sanctuary is and the disparate points of view of a chimpanzee owner and a journalist regarding the living situation of Tommy, a chimpanzee living alone on a used trailer lot in Gloversville, NY. In 2013, Tommy made international news when he became the first petitioner in a series of landmark lawsuits filed by the nonprofit Nonhuman Rights Project, or NhRP, which is petitioning for the release of Tommy and other chimps from captivity as a way to get

³ Although it is a debate within the wider sanctuary community, most reputable sanctuaries also do not use their animals for any type of commercial gain (Tilson 218).

chimpanzees declared legal persons in the United States, in lawsuits modeled after those once filed on behalf of human slaves (Goddard).

The dispute over Tommy is only the latest of many disagreements in the last few decades on how chimpanzees should be housed – with everyone from Frederick Coulston to private owners to operators of roadside zoos publicly stating that their chimps are kept in wonderful conditions, while animal advocates have disagreed. I saw the phenomenal difference in the quality of life chimps can have when I visited two Florida primate sanctuaries, just a few hours apart: the 120-acre Center for Great Apes in Wauchula, FL, which has thirty chimpanzees, and the unaccredited 12.5-acre Suncoast Primate Sanctuary in Palm Harbor, FL, which has twenty (Helfand, “Victim”; ChimpCare). Since Florida weather mimics chimpanzees’ natural tropical habitat, chimpanzee sanctuaries, accredited and non-accredited, have thrived there.

Sanctuaries have established accrediting organizations so they can distinguish themselves from pseudo-sanctuaries, or what PETA refers to as “scamtuaries,” operations similar to roadside zoos that breed and profit from animals while using “sanctuary” in their name, giving the appearance of being a nonprofit sanctuary (Tilson 218; Black Pine). In the eyes of accredited sanctuaries and animal welfare organizations, some of the worst offenders among these “sanctuaries” with chimpanzees are Suncoast and the Rosaires’ sanctuary, Big Cat Habitat and Gulf Coast Sanctuary, also in Florida. Even with “Sanctuary” in its name, Suncoast Primate Sanctuary is viewed as little better in the eyes of accredited sanctuaries than when it was known as Noell’s Chimp Farm, an infamous exhibition that was eventually shut down by federal regulators for, among other reasons, the poor quality of its rusty ape cages. The literature of Chimpanzee Sanctuary Northwest states that Suncoast Primate Sanctuary is a “substandard roadside zoo that puts its residents on display” (CSNW, “Post #1”).

The North American Primate Sanctuary Alliance (NAPSA)-accredited Center for Great Apes, in Wauchula, FL, is operated by Patti Ragan, a former teacher and Miami Metrozoo docent (Mendelsohn). She started the sanctuary in Miami in 1993 and bought the property in Wauchula in 1997, after growing interested in orangutans during trips she took to Borneo through the environmental organization Earthwatch in the 1980s. The sanctuary, nestled along the Peace River in central Florida, has expanded from fifty acres to 120 acres and from fourteen chimpanzees and orangutans in 2004 to thirty chimpanzees and fifteen orangutans by the time I visited in 2014 (Baeckler Davis 7).

Years after Suncoast was shut down by the USDA, it was reopened under “new” management by the founder’s daughter as a nonprofit organization. Although I was joined during my visit to Suncoast by plenty of visitors and tourists who did not know that history or that anything was amiss, visiting the two sanctuaries back-to-back clearly showed that a Suncoast chimp leads a lower-quality life than a chimp at the Center for Great Apes. One of the major contrasts is the cages. The enclosures at CGA are expansive. The best thing that can be said about the Suncoast chimp cages, which Suncoast fundraised for and built new following the federal shutdown of the Chimp Farm, is that they meet federal regulations, albeit barely. At only 10’x10’, the new cages are still a small space for a chimp. The chimps are grouped side-by-side in their own section of the facility in a Great Ape Habitat, but they are mostly caged and housed separately instead of in social groups. A few of them are housed together, which the Noells would encourage at the Chimp Farm when they wanted a chimpanzee couple to breed (Swart). Because of this, PETA calls Suncoast’s cages “unnatural” and “substandard” and still refers to the reopened facility as a “scamtuary” (Helfand, “PETA”; O’Connor). Just like at Coulston and Yerkes, the Suncoast chimps can see, but not touch each other. Their cages consist of a concrete floor and back wall, with chain link on the front and sides so that visitors can see the chimps and volunteers and fellow chimps can interact with them through the bars. In front of each cage is a small yard, separated by a shorter chain link fence from their neighbors and from the public. Although Suncoast is surrounded by tall, lush trees that are

prominently featured on its website and in videos the sanctuary has posted online, none of the trees actually cover any of the cages, so the chimps and other animals have no shade and no way to escape the Florida sun on blazing afternoons like the one I visited. The day of my visit, the temperature was hot, humid and unforgiving, even though it was October. The chimpanzee cages at the sanctuary look virtually the same as they did when a visitor took videos of the chimpanzees' enclosures and posted them to YouTube in 2010 (GrandpaBobsVideos, "Chimpanzee" and "Ruby"). In fact, reading an account of a *Washington Post* travel writer who visited the Chimp Farm in 1999 right before it closed, the Suncoast of today sounds similar to his experience; he mentions that the Chimp Farm encouraged visitors to throw monkey kibble at the chimps, who did not want to interact with visitors (Stoltz). Both still happen today.

In contradistinction to Suncoast, the Center for Great Apes is unique among chimpanzee sanctuaries in four key ways: it is the only orangutan sanctuary in the country, it houses some of the most famous chimpanzee and orangutan movie stars, it pioneered the "Primadome" style of chimpanzee housing that Primarily Primates and some zoos have now copied and, finally, one of its chimpanzees, Knuckles, has cerebral palsy (Baeckler Davis 7). The Primadome is a domed outdoor habitat with climbing structures inside and clear caging through which chimpanzees can see and feel the outside air. CGA has thirteen of the enclosures (7). More than a mile of elevated walkways snake through CGA's forest canopy, connecting the chimps and orangutans to different interior and exterior habitats, depending on the day, their mood and the weather (7). The chimps and orangutans, however, never cross paths themselves, since they originate from different parts of the world and could give each other diseases that the other would not have immunity from. Although CGA has many chimps and orangutans who are movie stars and were once used in entertainment, its most famous resident is undoubtedly Michael Jackson's chimp, Bubbles.

The chimpanzees I saw there were a severe contrast to the bored, hot, lonesome chimpanzees I saw playing with their own feces in the concrete cells at Suncoast. The difference between the two places – both Florida nonprofit organizations that claim to give sanctuary to the animals they house – could not have been any starker. Under the forest canopy at the Center for Great Apes, Bubbles and the other chimpanzees and orangutans had access to ten heated and cooled nighthouses when they wanted to leave their Primadomes. The Suncoast chimps stared blankly at me, just another visitor in a long line passing by, but the CGA apes were fascinated by the new visitor driving by on the sanctuary’s golf cart – they were especially interested in my gold sandals.

One way that an observer might be able to tell, sight unseen, if a sanctuary is more of a Suncoast-style sanctuary or a Center for Great Apes is by looking at the sanctuary’s accreditation status. The Global Federation of Animal Sanctuaries (GFAS), which accredits animal sanctuaries worldwide, was founded in 2007 from the former accrediting organization The Association of Sanctuaries, or TAOS, by sanctuary owners who wanted a way to separate legitimate sanctuaries from roadside zoos. Through site visits, GFAS certifies sanctuaries based on commitment to humane and responsible animal care, governing authority, finances, guidelines on animal acquisition, education and outreach, staffing, facilities, safety and security and veterinary and general animal care (GFAS, “Standards”). Sanctuaries can be either verified, a process that only examines their physical sanctuary, or they can be accredited, a deeper process that also looks into their organization, staff and finances. The Association for Assessment and Accreditation of Laboratory Animal Care, International, or AAALAC, focuses on labs but also accredits Chimp Haven (Chimp Haven, “5-Year”). Still, sanctuary accreditation is a new phenomenon in the chimpanzee rescue world – Save the Chimps only gained GFAS accreditation in 2012, a decade into its operation (Save the Chimps, “Global”). Most sanctuaries that are now officially accredited shared the basic guidelines and philosophies of sanctuaries even prior to the existence of an accrediting organization.

NAPSA was founded by seven chimpanzee sanctuaries as a way to provide concrete evidence of how chimps are cared for, to combat perceptions in the public eye that a roadside zoo is also a sanctuary and to separate reputable sanctuaries from more exploitative ones that also call themselves sanctuaries (Fleury). It is modeled after the Pan African Sanctuary Alliance, an expansive alliance founded in 2000 that unites twenty-two sanctuaries in twelve countries across Africa in quality and standards of care (Muldoon, "Pan"). Altogether, 85 percent of chimpanzees in North American sanctuaries are in NAPSA member sanctuaries, and in an affidavit for the NhRP, former NAPSA Executive Director Sarah Baeckler Davis – who once worked undercover exposing the use of chimps in the entertainment industry – said that NAPSA sanctuaries represent the "gold standard" in chimpanzee care (Baeckler Davis 3). She wrote that each of the seven founding NAPSA sanctuaries are the continent's leading sanctuaries: They house chimps in social groups of no less than seven, provide naturalistic outdoor environments and give chimps extensive enrichment, space and opportunity for their common behaviors like climbing, nesting, grooming and running. The organization does not allow its members to buy or sell chimpanzees, use them in entertainment, or allow visitors to physically touch animals or view them unescorted (Fleury; NAPSA, "Membership"). They care for them with large staffs and adhere to "strict and comprehensive" GFAS standards (Baeckler Davis 38). Although it is difficult to quantify the importance of freedom of choice to an individual chimpanzee, studies have shown that choosing their own fate makes chimps happier (Gruen, "Captivity" 60-1).

NAPSA requires that its members be accredited by GFAS, which currently provides the only international sanctuary accreditation standards. To differentiate true sanctuaries from pseudo-sanctuaries, GFAS requires that accredited sanctuaries do not benefit commercially from their animals, do not remove the animals from their housing to exhibit them, do not allow the public to touch their animals, prevent breeding through some type of birth control program and are open to the public only for guided tours with an educational component (Baeckler Davis 10).

One of the key differences between a sanctuary like the Center for Great Apes and a primarily volunteer-run sanctuary like Suncoast is that at a more professional sanctuary, staff members can provide constant and consistent daily care for the chimpanzees. Having just been at the Center for Great Apes – where I saw staffers enthusiastically celebrating the fourteenth birthday of a special-needs chimp with cerebral palsy, Knuckles – the aspect of Suncoast that struck me the most was the lack of enrichment or interaction, chimp, human or otherwise, for the chimps there. The chimpanzees looked bored, with nothing to do and nothing to keep them occupied. Plastic round tubes salvaged from former slides at McDonald’s playplaces hang from the cages’ ceilings, but the chimpanzees I saw that simmering fall day did not seem remotely interested in playing with those or with the occasional hammock they were given, made out of firehoses (Thompson). Outreach director Debbie Cobb defended the sanctuary from PETA criticism after a 2010 chimp escape by saying that volunteers provide daily enrichment, including games and finger painting, and I could find many accounts online of Suncoast volunteers who said they spent a lot of time interacting with the chimpanzees (Helfand, “PETA”). But on the day I was there, I did not see any volunteers beyond the woman at the front gate who took admission fees.

The primary dividing line between a reputable and non-reputable sanctuary, though, may not be its conditions or philosophies but whether a sanctuary has an intentional breeding program – and both Suncoast and Big Cat Habitat violate that central code of the sanctuary community. The keystone of the sanctuary philosophy is that even the best sanctuary does not equal a life in the wild for a chimpanzee, so intentionally bringing new chimpanzees into a life in captivity is unethical (CSNW, “FAQs”). Yet since Suncoast and Big Cat Habitat have co-opted the “sanctuary” name, visitors believe the animals they see are rescues and don’t realize they are breeding new chimps, violating this first rule of sanctuaries. In media coverage, newspapers and television stations regularly refer to both Suncoast and Big Cat Habitat as animal sanctuaries or havens.

That philosophy is also a key dividing line between sanctuaries and zoos. Lion Country Safari, for example, has provided dozens of rescued laboratory chimps with literal sanctuary from life in the lab, but it is still a zoo, a for-profit business that displays its animals to the public and allowed them to breed to produce animals for future display. Although at one time it was the best hope for rescued chimpanzees and has been lauded by Goodall and others who work on behalf of chimps, Lion Country has also adopted many practices that firmly place it in the zoo category: it has sold chimpanzees and allows them to breed, even in the case of a former lab chimpanzee that had a history of rejecting her newborns (Green 124; Tawa). One such newborn, Zoe, was loaned to the Los Angeles Zoo at three months of age. Lion Country Safari does, however, improve on both the cramped habitats and practices of many zoos that move babies around through the Species Survival Plan, or take away and hand-rear infants whose mothers reject them, as is common among captive chimpanzee mothers. The anthropologist who lived on Monkey Island integrating the first group of lab chimps to Lion Country in the 1970s said that, unlike at the laboratory, Lion Country chimpanzees would stay together in family groups, including any babies (Mitgang).

As part of my trip to Florida, I also visited Save the Chimps, seeing Jaybee and some of the other laboratory chimps that came from Coulston up close at the world's largest chimpanzee sanctuary. After Carole Noon purchased the Coulston laboratory and property and received the chimpanzees that lived there as a bonus, she spent \$500,000 of her seed money for Save the Chimps to remodel the cages in New Mexico and make them more livable and spacious prior to moving the chimpanzees to Florida. From 2002 to 2011 the Coulston chimps undertook "The Great Migration" from New Mexico to Florida, twelve cross-country trips for up to ten chimps at a time in a custom-made trailer with windows so the chimps could look out during the journey (Ferguson 12-13). In all, 261 chimpanzees now live on Save the Chimps' 195 acres in Fort Pierce, FL, ranging in age from six years old to more than fifty (Weber). Most are from Coulston, but some are pets given up to the sanctuary – in my visit to Save the Chimps, I saw

their most recent rescues, J.R. from a roadside zoo in Charlotte, NC, and Terry, who had lived by himself for decades at the Las Vegas Zoo until all the workers quit in protest and the zoo closed.

Although it is modeled on the African sanctuary where Noon conducted her doctoral research, Chimfunshi Nature Preserve, Save the Chimps is unlike any other sanctuary and was designed by Noon from the ground up as a unique “chimp city” with no cages (Ferguson 91). Instead, twelve three- to five-acre islands are separated by seventeen-foot moats – chimpanzees typically do not swim, so the moats are a sufficient enough barrier to prevent them ever escaping (Baeckler Davis 9; Hile). On the islands, the chimps live in large family groups and spend their days hanging out on what looks like a jungle gym made out of wooden planks, similar to a boat dock (Hile). The sanctuary was built on the site of a former orange grove, and it is dotted with palm trees, but for the most part the trees have been cleared to make way for golf course-like grasses and wide expanses for the chimps to roam. The sanctuary employs fifty-seven staff members (Baeckler Davis 9). Each of the islands, housing the sanctuary’s different social groups of up to twenty-five chimpanzees at a time, connects through a causeway to a building where the chimps eat and can sleep inside (Hile). The climate-controlled buildings are also hurricane-resistant (Baeckler Davis 9). After Noon died of cancer in 2009, former Yerkes primatologist Jen Feuerstein took over as the sanctuary’s executive director. Following Noon’s death, GFAS named its Award for Sanctuary Excellence after her (GFAS, “Annual”).

Save the Chimps was the first all-chimpanzee sanctuary to open, but it was followed by others, including Chimp Haven, which the NIH selected to serve as the National Chimpanzee Sanctuary System when it was still just an idea with no physical location (NIH, “Funding”). As founder Linda Brent actively searched, with federal funding in hand, for a location in Southern climates closer to chimpanzees’ natural tropical habitats in Africa, Caddo Parish, LA, near Shreveport, donated two hundred acres of land to house the sanctuary and its chimps in Keithville, LA. Unlike every other sanctuary that started with a

few chimps and worked up to more, Brent knew that, as the National Chimpanzee Sanctuary, Chimp Haven had to open with enough space for two hundred chimps (Animal, "Chimp").

Brent and the board members that established Chimp Haven set it up to be the model chimpanzee sanctuary, and a publicity brochure from its opening called it "what chimpanzees dream of" (Chimp Haven, "Board"; Siebert, "Planet"). In the eyes of Gruen, Chimp Haven is the closest a chimpanzee in the United States can get to a natural African habitat (Gruen, "Captivity" 73). An aerial view of the sanctuary shows three clearings in a forest, designating the chimps' outdoor space. In a simulation of wild chimpanzees' natural ranging habits, chimps at Chimp Haven have opportunities every day to explore several acres of Louisiana scrub pine, patrolling their territory just as they would in the wild. In the morning, they typically venture into the forest in groups for patrols, just like wild chimpanzees (Keim; Goodall). The sanctuary's enclosures range in size from a quarter of an acre to five acres and include three four- to five-acre habitats and two open-air play yards surrounded by concrete walls, ten outdoor playgrounds and seven outdoor runs, all with climbing structures, some forested (McConnaughey, "Chimp Haven"; Baeckler Davis 8; Villagran). And in a direct imitation of what their wild counterparts always do, at night Chimp Haven chimps can build nests in the forest (Keim).

Of the 193 chimps currently at Chimp Haven, most are retired from federal research, although fourteen are former pets or otherwise privately owned (Villagran; Baeckler Davis 8; AP, "Chimp"; Burris). In 2005, the sanctuary received its first two residents, former space chimps Rita and Teresa, who had been caught from the wild. Since then, it has taken in waves of chimpanzees from NIH laboratories, with many more expected – when the transfers from NIH labs are complete, the sanctuary will overtake Save the Chimps as the largest chimpanzee sanctuary (Greenfieldboyce; Baeckler Davis 8). As three hundred NIH chimps still wait in their labs to go to Chimp Haven, however, the sanctuary is running out of space for chimps. In its current habitats, Chimp Haven has room for fifty more chimpanzees, and a land-swap

deal with Caddo Parrish will give the sanctuary five more acres so it has enough buffer to build new housing for a hundred more NIH chimps (Burriss). The sanctuary has raised the full \$20 million it needs to construct the additional habitats to expand the sanctuary's capacity to three hundred chimpanzees, but the available space is still less than needed for the 415 chimpanzees the NIH promises to eventually release (Burriss; AP, "Chimp"). In 2013, Brent said half of the 113 NIH chimps from New Iberia would relocate from the lab within four months, with the rest planned to arrive within twelve to eighteen months after a \$2.3 million expansion of the chimp facilities (Finn). The Foundation for the National Institutes of Health, a nonprofit, is collaborating with Chimp Haven and the Humane Society to raise money for the expansion. Today, Chimp Haven runs on a \$4 million annual budget and forty staff members care for chimps, which live in sixty indoor heated bedrooms with bedding they can use to make their nests (Baeckler Davis 8). Just as the NIH announced that Dr. Brent's long quest was over and the vast majority of its research chimps would someday be released to Chimp Haven, Brent announced her retirement effective at the end of 2012 (Chimp Haven, "Welcome"). Her replacement as the head of Chimp Haven, Cathy Willis Spraez, has decades of experience running nonprofit organizations and expertise in fundraising, rather than a background in science.

Two smaller NAPSA-affiliated sanctuaries, Chimps Inc. and the Primate Rescue Center, got their start when the sanctuary founders considered buying chimpanzees as pets, but learned how problematic that was and started a sanctuary instead. In 1993, Chimps Inc. owner Lesley Day went to New York to buy a chimpanzee and was astonished at the substandard conditions in which the dealer kept chimps. Looking at an older chimpanzee, Day decided to rescue adult chimpanzees instead of buying a young one and spent the next two years setting up Chimps Inc. attached to her home in Bend, OR (Muldoon, "Chimps"; Baeckler Davis 8; Chimps Inc., "Our"). Now, Chimps Inc. has seven chimpanzees formerly used in entertainment or as pets and four paid caretakers, who care for the chimps with the help of volunteers and interns. The chimps have a one-acre yard outdoors and three outdoor habitats

where they can play and climb on the five-acre property, in addition to their main housing, a two-level indoor habitat of 2,200 square feet, which is connected to a second indoor area of another thousand square feet (Muldoon, “Chimps”; Baeckler Davis 8). All the indoor and outdoor areas are connected through a series of aerial tunnels, similar to the setup at the Center for Great Apes (Baeckler Davis 8).

Gloria Grow decided to start the Fauna Foundation on her farm in Canada after visiting a training session at Roger Fouts’ Chimpanzee and Human Communication Institute (CHCI) at Central Washington University in the early 1990s. After encountering Washoe and Fouts’ other chimps, Grow took one of the first sets of LEMSIP chimps, and Fauna was the first sanctuary to house HIV-positive chimps. Today, ten staff members care for the chimpanzees at the 200-acre sanctuary. In 2013, Fauna Foundation received the remaining chimpanzees from Fouts’ CHCI, Tatu and Washoe’s son Loulis, who had been left alone at CHCI after the deaths of three of their fellow chimps over the past decade (CBC). Their arrival brings the total chimps at Fauna to thirteen (Baeckler Davis 8). The chimps spend most of their time in a heated indoor, multi-level Chimp House modeled on CHCI that has climbing structures, nesting areas and glass walls and caging separating the chimp groups and humans from each other, with flexible caging that allows staff to move chimps around to different areas of the Chimp House, or the chimps to move around to private or group areas on their own (Baeckler Davis 9; Grow). Skywalks lead outside to three islands with climbing areas, ponds, vegetable gardens and trees, where the chimps can sleep outside if they choose, protected by moats and electric fencing (Baeckler Davis 9).

Chimpanzee Sanctuary Northwest (CSNW) is located on a 26-acre farm in Cle Elum, WA, near Seattle. Owner Keith LaChappelle started working toward opening the sanctuary after he read a 2003 magazine article about the last seven chimpanzees languishing in a Pennsylvania lab for private medical research by the Buckshire Corporation (Swift). Struck by the lab chimps’ plight, he decided to start his own sanctuary and take them in. The Buckshire Seven chimpanzees, now renamed the “Cle Elum Seven”

after their new hometown, are the only chimpanzees CSNW has taken in and have lived together in one social group since their arrival in 2008 (Baeckler Davis 7; Swift). Although they all came from a research background, Buckshire got many of them from the pet and entertainment industries, so the Cle Elum Seven have varied backgrounds (Baeckler Davis 8). The sanctuary now has a much larger budget than when it started, with seven staff members and over fifty combined staff members and volunteers (7, 2). The chimpanzees' outdoor habitat at CSNW has a removable cover to protect them from harsher weather, and is an outdoor multi-level habitat with climbing structures and platforms that looks like a greenhouse (7). The greenhouse connects to a two-acre open enclosure, which is double-fenced with electrical wire. The open-air yard has several more climbing structures and bamboo trees (7). CSNW also has a mobile veterinary clinic (7).

The Primate Rescue Center, located on thirty acres in central Kentucky, near Lexington, opened in 1989 as a home for rescued monkeys and, since 1997, has also housed chimpanzees (Kleppinger). In addition to forty monkeys, the PRC now houses eleven chimpanzees, with some from LEMSIP and some from a private owner in Georgia who gave up five chimpanzees, known as "The Dahlonga Five," when she began having health problems (Baeckler Davis 9; Primate, "Dahlonga"). The PRC chimpanzees live in one social group and are tended to by six staffers (Baeckler Davis 9). They live in eight heated indoor rooms, along with an indoor playroom and an outdoor habitat and playground with climbing areas (9).

The Influence of Humans

The needs of chimpanzees that came from homes where they were pets, trainers who used them for entertainment or labs that used them for research are varying and diverse. Experts have said that animals from each of these very diverse backgrounds have varying emotional and physiological needs when they arrive at a sanctuary (Erden 2). All of these chimps are shaped by their human owners or handlers in a variety of ways. Lab chimps come with their own sets of difficulties, but many animals

surrendered to sanctuaries have lived around humans and have done anything and everything that those humans did— eating on plates, wearing clothes or reading magazines.

That life with close human contact is a stark contrast to how safety is handled once the chimp transfers to a sanctuary or zoo. Most chimps, even in sanctuaries, are separated from their human caretakers at all times by cages or moats. After an adult male chimpanzee mauled a baby chimpanzee to death in front of Los Angeles Zoo visitors, the zoo explained that it does not allow its caretakers inside the exhibits with chimps at all, even to save an infant chimpanzee, due to the chimps' propensity for violence and unpredictability (Los Angeles).

This close contact can also serve as another indicator of whether a “sanctuary” is really a sanctuary, since that same core philosophy of separating caretakers and animals extends to sanctuaries. Some chimps may prefer to keep human contact, but a good sanctuary is defined as not putting the chimps on public display. The Primate Rescue Center writes on its website that “first and foremost” a “true sanctuary” enforces a policy that allows no contact between animals and workers, interns or volunteers (Dunnington). This contrasts sharply with the philosophy of roadside zoos like Suncoast, which was sued in 2011 by a volunteer who alleged in court documents that she had been attacked by an escaped chimp (Helfand, “Volunteer”).

Montana private owner Jeanne Rizzotto gave up her two chimps, Connor and Kramer, to Save the Chimps in 2010 and said at the time that she might move to Florida to be closer to them. But it would not be the same as when they were her pets, she told a newspaper, because “I won't ever be able to go in with them again to hug them” (Mullen). Save the Chimps clearly believes that Connor and Kramer are better off without Rizzotto visiting them on a regular basis or hugging them, but this view is an ongoing debate among the wider sanctuary community, since some animals may prefer the human interaction allowed by some of the unaccredited sanctuaries (Rudy). This year, Wildlife Waystation

came into conflict with a dozen longtime volunteers after the sanctuary implemented a policy change that does not allow volunteers to hold, walk or feed the animals (CBS). A ChimpCARE worker blogged about meeting Riley, a chimpanzee at the Houston Zoo who, unlike many zoo chimpanzees who ignore the humans who come to look at them, pushed himself up against the glass wall that separated him from zoo visitors and seemed to want to engage the human passersby in playing. Riley is especially fascinated with babies and children. Freeman said this could have been because Riley was a former performing chimp and new to the zoo (Freeman).

Not everyone strictly adheres to the view that humans and chimpanzees should be kept completely apart. Goodall, who got up close and personal with many of the wild chimpanzees she studied in Tanzania, has often said that scientific methods have changed since then, but she has not completely disapproved of zookeepers and sanctuary workers interacting with chimpanzees (Logan). When she visited Lion Country Safari in 1985, she praised “utterly and completely” the zoo’s primate curator, Marc Cusano, who regularly went to the chimpanzees’ islands to visit, getting hugged and groomed by the chimps (Goodavage, “Expert”).

Should retired chimps be foraging for food in trees, or riding bicycles? The issue of how “naturally” to treat what has become an unnatural animal splits many in the sanctuary community, with some animal advocates warning that allowing chimpanzees to behave the ways they were forced to in abusive situations is an abuse in itself (Roach). Translating this philosophy into action can be more difficult. Many people agree that Nim Chimpsky’s cross-fostered childhood seems abusive in many ways, but during his retirement at Black Beauty Ranch, Nim would request a cup of coffee every morning and be grumpy if he did not get it (Hess 312). If giving chimpanzees coffee is wrong, was it abusive to give Nim his cup of coffee even though he begged for it?

Sanctuary workers answer this in different ways. At first, Nim was the only chimpanzee at Black Beauty Ranch, and he immediately looked to the workers at the ranch to see if they knew American Sign Language, or ASL, and would speak to him. The ranch workers viewed sign language and the ape language experiments as a form of animal abuse, and none of them knew ASL. When Nim realized no one would talk to him, he became “sullen and dejected” (288). Chimpanzees are not supposed to be able to talk, but Nim could, and he wanted to. The same workers did give Nim the coffee he wanted.

A picture of Little Mama, thought to be the oldest chimpanzee alive, depicts both sides of the ongoing debate. Little Mama lives at Lion Country Safari on islands that do a relatively good job of mimicking the wild – however, once a year, Santa comes to the islands on a boat and throws out presents for the chimps, special treats that they only get once a year. In a picture from the 2014 Christmas celebration, 75-year-old Little Mama, on a grassy hill, open present by her side and purple feather boa in the background, reaches her arms out to Santa Claus, entreating him to throw her another present. Santa doesn’t deliver to the jungles of Africa, but Little Mama does not seem to be too concerned about authenticity as she enjoys Christmas with the Chimps (Randall). She clearly does not mind that Santa in a boat throwing Christmas presents to an island full of chimpanzees doesn’t happen in the African jungle.

On the other hand, some chimpanzees who have never experienced anything resembling any sort of “natural” chimpanzee life will adapt to a more natural lifestyle when given the chance, as Save the Chimps director Feuerstein said of her sanctuary’s chimpanzee, Jaybee, a former research chimp who spent years alone in a small cage: “He had nothing natural, never went outside, never even saw the sun. So to see him in a tree, munching on leaves, just like a wild chimp would, is pretty amazing” (Greenfieldboyce).

As seen with Suncoast Primate Sanctuary, any roadside zoo can say it's a sanctuary, and visitors unfamiliar with typical chimpanzee behavior will for the most part be none the wiser. Although Suncoast supporters may call its stark concrete blocks a sanctuary, however, its existence is why other chimpanzee sanctuaries developed NAPSA and its accreditation process as a way to officially distinguish themselves from the Suncoasts of the sanctuary world. Whether through the Primadomes of the Center for Great Apes or the moats and islands of Save the Chimps, NAPSA sanctuaries may emulate the African jungle in wildly different ways, but the result is still as close to the wild as chimps could possibly get while still living in the United States. And unlike the life they no doubt lived wherever they came from, chimps in sanctuary live for themselves, rather than the humans keeping them in captivity.

Chapter 4: Challenges

The cautionary tales of Suncoast Primate Sanctuary, Primarily Primates (PPI) and Wildlife Waystation show that although the fact that laboratory chimps are heading to sanctuary seems like the end of their story, it is really just the beginning. The sanctuaries they live in and the nonprofit organizations that run them have to be vigilant about maintaining standards even as they move a large number of chimpanzees all at one time, and not take in more than their space and money can handle, as PPI once did. Unlike PPI or Wildlife Waystation, chimpanzee sanctuaries have been set up from the start with an eye toward preventing many of these problems. Primarily Primates has made a comeback in its conditions, but is also the most notable example of a model sanctuary that eroded into an example of what not to do. Therefore, its rise and fall – and rise again – are instructive of some of the problems that typically plague sanctuaries and that can be avoided with pre-planning.

Many of the challenges inherent in running a sanctuary can be found in the stories of Primarily Primates and Wildlife Waystation, two of the oldest animal sanctuaries. A wooden sign in front of Primarily Primates identifies the organization as a “non-profit, non-exploitive animal sanctuary” (Cockrum). A decade ago, Primarily Primates (PPI) was the country’s largest primate sanctuary, one that animal protection organizations long considered a model and precedent for other sanctuaries. It was even mentioned in the Senate committee report recommending passage of the CHIMP Act (Burgess 331; Smith; United States Senate, “Chimpanzee”). At that time, the San Antonio sanctuary housed more than five hundred primates, including about sixty chimpanzees, hundreds of monkeys and an orangutan, along with hundreds of other animals (Smith). But by the end of 2006, the sanctuary’s seventy chimpanzees (along with many other animals) were seized in a receivership by the state of Texas due to

alleged animal cruelty. Texas declared PPI's executive director and founder exiled and its conditions were found by state officials to be "inherently unsafe" (Smith). However, by the end of 2014, the sanctuary was fully accredited by GFAS as a model sanctuary, now with 450 animals, including sixty-one chimpanzees (Cockrum).

Ohio State University administrators began making plans to end funding for Boysen's two-decade-old chimpanzee cognitive research studies in 2005, and they investigated several sanctuaries to retire the university's chimps, including PPI. The university described the 75-acre PPI facility as a "nationally recognized animal refuge." In contrast, Boysen's own lab in Ohio had not been updated since 1991 and, since it was only designed to house six young and adult chimpanzees, was growing too cramped and "increasingly stressful" for Boysen's nine adult chimpanzees (McGrath 2). After a site visit on behalf of Ohio State to PPI, Chimp Haven board member and veterinarian Thomas Butler wrote OSU officials that chimpanzees at Primarily Primates were well cared for and showed no behavioral or health problems (Smith). He said that larger enclosures would have to be built for the Ohio State group, but a temporary enclosure would serve the chimps well until construction could finish (Smith). Jane Goodall had also visited Primarily Primates in the years leading up to the transfer and had not raised any concerns about conditions at the sanctuary (Smith). Primarily Primates, Butler wrote in his letter, would give the chimps a "caring and comfortable environment that is far superior to that provided for them here at Ohio State" (McGrath 4).

However, soon after PPI took the Ohio State chimps, PETA sued the sanctuary over allegations of animal cruelty and financial mismanagement. Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott responded by seizing control of PPI and appointing a receiver, primatologist Lee Theisen-Watt, who temporarily directed the sanctuary instead of its founder, Wally Swett. Some of the more offensive conditions state officials described finding at the facility included no on-site veterinarian, animal waste flowing on the

grounds, rusted doors that prevented access by animal keepers, and insect and rodent infestation (Witt). Under the terms of the restoring agreement, Swett was barred from the organization, and a new board of directors took control as PPI merged with Friends of Animals.

In court, Theisen-Watt testified that the PPI sanctuary had once been wonderful for animals but had fallen victim to the “crazy cat lady syndrome,” taking in more animals than it could properly handle, especially larger primates like chimpanzees (Smith). During the legal wrangling over the Coulston Foundation chimps, Primarily Primates took thirty-four of the Air Force’s chimpanzees, doubling its chimp population overnight. NAPSA bylaws prevent its member sanctuaries from taking too many animals for them to physically handle (NAPSA, “Membership”). To prevent such situations in the future, the seventy-page GFAS standards for great ape care cover areas including financial governance, housing and physical facilities, nutritional guidelines, veterinary care, handling and acquisition of the animals, public contact and restrictions on methods of release into the wild (Baeckler Davis 10-11). Standards are higher for chimpanzee care than for that of other animals, since caring for them is more complex and expensive.

Since Wildlife Waystation opened in 1976 as one of the first animal sanctuaries in the country and as it later became the first sanctuary to house former research chimpanzees, animal advocates widely considered the Los Angeles County exotic wildlife refuge to be not just one of the largest but one of the “best-respected sanctuaries for captive wild animals in the U.S.,” as written in an editorial in an animal advocacy newsletter (Garcia; Animal, “Editorial”; Thermos, “Jungle”). The 161-acre sanctuary housed five hundred animals.

But beginning in 2000, Wildlife Waystation ran into a host of regulatory problems at the county, state and federal levels over the condition of its single, decaying chimpanzee cage, which housed two dozen chimpanzees, including sixteen from the first group smuggled out of LEMSIP – who now lived in a

cage *The Los Angeles Times* described as a “dilapidated barn” (Thermos, “Survival”). At the federal level, the USDA accused Wildlife Waystation of “willfully” violating the Animal Welfare Act, alleging that founder Martine Colette’s Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee had failed to conduct semi-annual inspections (USDA, “Consent”). Cramped cages and poor lighting made it difficult to accurately observe the chimpanzees, the agency added, and the sanctuary housed the chimps in “overcrowded and structurally-unsafe enclosures, resulting in the death of at least one chimpanzee that respondents had immobilized in an unsafe enclosure” (“Consent”). The outdoor habitats failed to protect the chimpanzees from rain, and the floors were cracked and worn (“Consent”). The rusty cages were not structurally sound enough to withstand the shaking and pulling of chimps (“Consent”). Colette denied the allegations and said that no animal had ever escaped from its cage (Garcia). After years of licensing woes, Beverly Hills philanthropist Robert Lorsch took over the facility from Colette, its founder (Thermos, “Jungle”). The USDA later dropped more claims after Lorsch won a lawsuit alleging years of unfair prosecution in lawsuits the agency had pursued against him for alleged AWA violations at the Wildlife Waystation (Dimond). To get its license back, the sanctuary replaced the chimp housing with a newer facility (Thermos, “Jungle”). In all, the refuge put \$1 million into upgrades of cages, water and fire protection (Thermos, “Survival”).

Veterinary Care

During Congressional debate on the CHIMP Act, supporters of the bill noted that chimpanzees would be provided with full medical care at sanctuaries (United States Senate, “Chimpanzee”). Texas officials accused Primarily Primates of “severe animal cruelty,” including allowing a former Air Force chimpanzee, Betty, to lie for days dying in her cage, swarmed by fire ants, due to lack of an on-site veterinarian (Smith). As raw sewage collected in a cesspool near chimpanzee enclosures, the animals were fed an inadequate all-monkey chow diet and lived in cages that consisted of little more than

concrete slabs with few enrichment opportunities (Smith). In essence, the attorney general's office alleged that the sanctuary, once well-respected, had devolved into a hoarding facility with filthy conditions (Smith). Conditions had gotten so bad that a University of Texas-Austin laboratory vet tech thought it might have become worse than the laboratories the chimpanzees originally came from (Sandberg). When Theisen-Watt took over PPI, the chimpanzee death rate at the sanctuary was 16 percent per year, including the deaths of OSU's chimpanzees Kermit and Bobby after transit from Ohio.

NAPSA sanctuaries have to meet guidelines on veterinary care in order to be members (Baeckler Davis 3). The Center for Great Apes has a permanent vet clinic on site which I was able to visit – it looks like a typical veterinary office, with a stretcher and assorted instruments (7). It is common for NAPSA sanctuaries to have an on-site veterinary clinic and staff veterinarians, and Chimp Haven has two vet clinics (8). Dr. Jocelyn Bezner is one of two full-time staff veterinarians at Save the Chimps (Bezner).

A staff veterinarian or a veterinarian who works closely with a sanctuary's chimp population is one of the keys to handling two of the largest medical concerns a sanctuary faces, birth control and caring for chimps with AIDS. Although several sanctuaries that are now NAPSA members have had slip-ups with birth control methods and vasectomies in their first years of existence – one Chimp Haven chimp with two vasectomies fathered a baby anyway – after some trial and error, protocols for how to handle chimp birth control and how to protect against failed vasectomies have become better-tested and known and are part of best practices for the existence of a reputable sanctuary (AP, "Chimp"). NAPSA member sanctuaries have to meet certain protocols on birth control in order to retain membership (Baeckler Davis 3).

Although now it is common for sanctuaries to house chimpanzees with AIDS and there have never been any health risks to humans from sanctuaries that do, AIDS was one of the initial concerns among skeptics who believed sanctuaries would never work in the first place. When the California

Department of Fish and Game closed Wildlife Waystation to the public in 2000 due to allegations of environmental violations, another reason the department gave was that some of the sanctuary's chimpanzees could have HIV or hepatitis (Peabody, "State"). Former LEMSIP veterinarian Mahoney, who sent the animals to the Wildlife Waystation instead of to the Coulston Foundation, confirmed that none of them had AIDS. A Wildlife Waystation veterinarian said one chimp had Hepatitis C, which can only be passed through an exchange of body fluids (Peabody, "State").

NAPSA member sanctuaries have to meet certain criteria for how to handle chimpanzees with infectious diseases (Baeckler Davis 3). Chimps with HIV are kept in a separate habitat from those without HIV (Lane). When Wildlife Animal Orphanage in San Antonio closed in 2011, Chimp Haven took in five chimps that had HIV that no other sanctuary would take (AP, "Chimp").

Cost

As recently as 2015 and before that in 2011, Wildlife Waystation's founder Colette warned that the Waystation could close altogether if conditions did not improve financially – a constant problem for some sanctuaries and an eventual death knell for others, most recently the Wild Animal Orphanage, which closed due to overcrowding and lack of funding (Manning).

By any measure, caring for chimps is expensive compared to other animals that find their way to sanctuaries. At Chimp Haven, the cost to support one chimpanzee for a year is \$13,000, which the sanctuary fully covers for fifteen chimpanzees formerly in private hands and the federal government pays three-fourths of for chimpanzees that are federally owned (McConnaughey, "Chimp Haven"). Project ChimpCARE estimates the cost to care for a chimpanzee can add up to \$750,000 over a chimpanzee's lifetime, or \$14,000 per year estimated by Save the Chimps, a lot of money for a nonprofit organization to raise but less than the actual cost the NIH spends on lifetime care for a chimp: \$1

million, or \$54 a day (C. Johnson; United States Senate, "Departments"). The cost-effectiveness of sanctuary care has been touted as one of the primary reasons to retire NIH chimps to sanctuaries. But the money still has to be raised somehow, and Jackie Bennett, deputy director of great apes and regional accreditation for GFAS, said in the Arcus Foundation's annual report in 2012, "The greatest challenge for any sanctuary is fundraising and diversifying funding streams" (Arcus, "2012").

Overall, accredited sanctuaries have risen to the challenge: Former NAPSA Executive Director Baeckler Davis attests that the organization's member sanctuaries have collectively spent more than \$38 million building housing for their chimps and raise more than \$8.7 million in private funds a year to cover their operating costs (Baeckler Davis 6). However, fundraising is a continual concern of most nonprofits, and chimpanzee sanctuaries are no different. When Chimp Haven Executive Director Cathy Willis Spraeetz accepted \$89,000 from the New Mexico Community Foundation's Chimpanzee Sanctuary Fund to pay for the cost of caring for the retired chimpanzees from New Mexico for one year, she told a reporter, "The biggest concern, the thing that keeps me up at night, is how am I going to raise enough money for all these hungry mouths to feed? It gives me peace of mind that at least in this interim period, we have it covered" (Villagran).

Sometimes sanctuaries encounter problems not in raising money, but managing and spending it. For example, when Primarily Primates took in the Buckshire 12, it raised \$180,000 in donations to build a chimp house, but the money was never spent to house a single chimpanzee (Sandberg). As Friends of Animals began to improve Primarily Primates, more money was part of the solution, with \$1.5 million raised in a year, which allowed FOA to double the staff size and hire a full-time veterinarian (Oregonian).

When Congress passed the CHIMP Act in 2000 to provide for the establishment of Chimp Haven as a federally-funded sanctuary, it set a cap of spending \$30 million on chimpanzee sanctuaries (Greenfieldboyce). Spending on chimpanzees' care in research laboratories had no cap, so the spending

rule only applied to sanctuaries. Both houses of Congress unanimously passed an amendment to the CHIMP Act that abolished the cap so as NIH-owned chimps are moved to Chimp Haven from labs, their funding can move with them (AP, “Chimps”). Although Chimp Haven is a federally established sanctuary, it only receives 75 percent of the cost of caring for the retired research chimpanzees, and the care of non-government chimpanzees, operation of the facility and education programs are done through private donations (Villagran).

Financial Governance

With new chimps still being born today that will no doubt eventually have to go into a sanctuary when their owners tire of them, chimpanzee sanctuaries will have to be around for a long time, which requires them to have stable and lasting financial structures (Gruen, “Captivity” 73). NAPSA member sanctuaries abide by the highest standards of financial accountability, and GFAS sanctuaries also have to meet financial criteria to be accredited by the international organization (Baeckler Davis 3; GFAS, “Standards”).

A key hurdle for any sanctuary is overcoming the death or retirement of a founder, who is usually the person with the passion and priorities to keep the sanctuary running at any cost. The importance of building a succession plan has already come into play in chimpanzee sanctuaries, most notably when Save the Chimps founder Carole Noon died and when Chimp Haven co-founder Linda Brent retired. During those transitions, the importance of an endowment and other financial considerations separate from the founder is a key to distinguishing legitimate sanctuaries from ones that will fail (Muldoon, “Chimps”). Recognizing the importance of planning ahead, the Arcus Foundation released a full-length “Building Sustainable Sanctuaries” guide on how sanctuary directors can ensure their organizations’ longevity even in the absence of key personnel, and GFAS has given presentations at the annual NAPSA conference on the subject (Arcus, “Building”). GFAS examines the governance and

sustainability of an organization when it certifies it, and nonprofit 501(c)3 status is a way to separate true sanctuaries from those that seek a profit from the animals (Erden). Noon's successor at Save the Chimps, Feuerstein, said of GFAS accreditation, "They take a look at our organizational sustainability, because we can provide wonderful care to the chimpanzees, but it doesn't really mean anything if we don't have a sustainable organizational infrastructure to carry us into the future" (Arcus, "2012").

Staff and Volunteers

When Texas took it over, Primarily Primates had a ratio of one caretaker per 114 animals, with only two people to feed and clean more than seventy chimpanzees (Sandberg). Although pseudo-sanctuaries like Suncoast also have guidelines mandating no direct contact with the chimps, their staff is entirely composed of volunteers and may not have the training or the motivation to always follow the rules – some of Suncoast's volunteers are even completing court-ordered community service (Torres).

With the overall rise in the exotic pet trade and the corresponding boom in sanctuaries, workers and visitors to exotic animal sanctuaries have experienced a corresponding rise in attacks (Wozniacka). One young Suncoast volunteer, Andrea Maturen, was attacked by a 75-pound female chimp, Shawn, who damaged Maturan's hand and bit her on the back of her head when Maturen was cleaning Shawn's cage and Shawn was able to open an adjoining cage door, climbing on her back and chasing her around the sanctuary (WBIR; Helfand, "PETA"). Maturen sued Suncoast, alleging that outreach coordinator Debbie Cobb and her husband, a sanctuary board member, did not call 911 after Maturen's attack and misled a sheriff's deputy who arrived at the scene to see about Maturen's injuries so they could drive Maturen to an urgent care facility rather than a hospital, which might be more likely to investigate how she was injured ("PETA"). Maturen's claims were supported by the deputy's police report ("PETA"). In the suit, Maturen alleges that the sanctuary created an unsafe situation for volunteers because it did not use a self-locking cage door to prevent a chimp escaping and did not have any precautions in place

in case of attacks, such as a panic button (“PETA”). The Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission noted that the sanctuary was not criminally liable for the attack since the volunteers themselves had failed to lock the connecting cage door (Helfand, “Victim”).

Over the last hundred years, labs, private owners like Tommy’s, and sanctuaries have managed to hide their shortcomings from public view. But with the rise of social media and the educational activities that most of the chimp sanctuaries conduct as part of their mission, perhaps it’s more difficult these days to hide the truth than it was in the days of Primarily Primates. Accrediting organizations like NAPSA and GFAS also keep a close eye on whether a sanctuary is overloading itself with too many animals at once, and provide a means to take in surplus animals if a sanctuary closes, as Wild Animal Orphanage suddenly did in 2011. Lion Country Safari trainer Terry Wolf said of retiring lab chimpanzees, “They give us their bodies to test on. We should give them a home afterwards” (Naff). But what that home is like for those who live in it is perhaps the bigger question than whether it exists in the first place.

Conclusion

As we discussed in the first chapter, chimpanzees have lived for nearly a hundred years in cages and captivity in the United States, each with a different story of how and why they got there. But whether they live in a laboratory, a roadside zoo or with a Hollywood breeder, these are changing times for chimps, and their chances of making it to a sanctuary appear brighter than ever following a series of landmark decisions that, together, add up to a sea change not just in the outlook for chimps and how they're viewed and treated by humans, but how humans view chimpanzees' role in the world (Gruen, "Captivity" 68).

By far the biggest victory in what Deborah Blum called "The Monkey Wars" came during the last few years as the nation reached a tipping point, long fought for by animal advocates, that necessitates the end of all chimpanzee research, NIH Director Francis Collins said in November 2015 (Walters). The dramatic turn of events began with a December 2011 report from the Institutes of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences that concluded that although biomedical research on chimpanzees had once been useful, it should end because most current NIH-funded chimp research is medically unnecessary (NIH, "Council"; Wadman, "Faces"). In 2013, NIH accepted the Institutes of Medicine's recommendation to end biomedical research on chimpanzees along with the funding for it, but was also prepared to follow the Institutes' recommendation to keep fifty chimps for future research. But with his announcement in 2015, Collins reversed that aspect of the decision, announcing that all government-owned chimpanzees would go to an accredited sanctuary and none would be kept in labs, which severs the possibility of ever restarting the chimpanzee research program again (Walters). As part of the NIH decision, the conditions recommended for chimps to live in are now such a high standard that no lab

currently meets them, a stark contrast to the past practice of creating federal mandates so that every laboratory could meet them, even if a chimpanzee couldn't stand up in its cage (Fears, "Fish").

A second federal agency also changed the way it regulates captive chimpanzees in 2013, in a ruling that could have an effect on not just medical research but private ownership of chimps. Despite chimpanzees' dwindling populations in the wild, until recently the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) continued to classify captive chimpanzees only as threatened instead of endangered like their wild counterparts, in an unprecedented split listing that in the history of the agency has only existed for chimpanzees (Dumanowski; Cohen, "U.S."; Fears, "Fish"). The FWS reversed course in 2013 and revoked the split listing, assigning captive chimpanzees to the same endangered status as wild chimpanzees. Fish and Wildlife Service Director Dan Ashe acknowledged at the time that the initial 1990 decision to split the listing was not legal under the Endangered Species Act and was primarily made to allow the NIH to continue to fund laboratory research on chimps (Fears, "Fish"; United States, "U.S."; Gruen, "Captivity").

No matter the logistics, chimps' move from labs to sanctuaries is what Humane Society President and CEO Wayne Pacelle calls one of the largest-scale animal-welfare projects ever taken (Pacelle, "Private"). As chimps transition out of the labs that some have called home for four or five decades, they will most likely transition to accredited sanctuaries, although part of that battle is still ongoing; a 2016 study from the United States Government Accountability Office found that no NIH chimps and only seven NIH-funded chimps were retired to Chimp Haven in 2015 (Fears, "NIH"). At least 24 chimpanzees have died in the three years since Collins announced they would be retired, awaiting transport to the Louisiana sanctuary ("NIH"). Part of the problem is that the CHIMP Act did not include funding to expand Chimp Haven, which currently only has space for fifty chimpanzees and has to rapidly expand to meet demand ("NIH").

To meet some of that demand, the Humane Society and other backers announced in May 2016 the opening of a new chimp sanctuary in Georgia, Project Chimps, which will retire all the chimps from New Iberia Research Center starting in late June (Pacelle, “Private”). The announcement was even more evidence of a dramatic turnaround in events in just a few years. NIRC was the target of an undercover investigation by the Humane Society in 2009, complete with video footage of screaming chimpanzees and one chimp using sign language to beg (Humane Society, “Undercover”). The Humane Society said the footage showed hundreds of violations of the Animal Welfare Act and that NIRC was illegally breeding its chimps despite a decade-long NIH ban on breeding (“Undercover”). Times change, however, and now NIRC is one of the first non-federal research centers to commit to sending all of its chimps to a sanctuary – one funded by the Humane Society along with NIRC (McConnaughey, “From”).

In Chimpanzee Sanctuary Northwest’s statement after the FWS announcement, the sanctuary’s Executive Director Jennifer Whitaker said she hoped the decision would be a turning point for chimpanzees (CSNW, “Chimpanzee”). But as later decisions came down that also erred on the side of keeping animals out of captivity and in a more natural habitat, it looked like the NIH’s decision on chimps might also be a turning point for all animals. The entire premise that chimpanzees could survive in a sanctuary, let alone thrive, was questioned from the start by some scientists. But over time, the techniques used by chimpanzee sanctuary founders – and the advocates like Pacelle and Goodall who made the issue a top priority – have been vindicated, as shown by how facilities holding other captive species are following in the footsteps of the sanctuary movement for chimps (Mirabella; National). It is now rare to find an elephant by itself in a zoo, Sea World is phasing out killer whale breeding and similar announcements seem to keep coming (Mirabella; National, “Aquarium”).

In the latest development, the National Aquarium said that it will be the first institution to take the unprecedented step of building a seaside sanctuary for its eight dolphins (Mirabella; National,

“Aquarium”). After the aquarium’s June 2016 announcement, marine biologist Sylvia Earle related the development to a series of other announcements, including the growth of chimpanzee sanctuaries:

This is a special time in history concerning evolving attitudes about treating all forms of life with dignity and respect—other humans very much included. The idea of providing sanctuaries for elephants, chimpanzees, big cats — and now dolphins — is a sign of a maturing ethic of caring unthinkable in past millennia, centuries and even decades (Mirabella; National, “Aquarium”).

The National Aquarium made its decision, CEO John Racanelli wrote in an op-ed in *The Baltimore Sun*, after years of seeing public opinions shift to oppose keeping large sea mammals in unnatural conditions, an echo of the previous shift in public attitudes toward chimps (Racanelli). Just as with chimpanzees, scientists were some of the last holdouts to believe that dolphins should continue to be held in captivity, even as their own research emerged that showed that, like chimpanzees, dolphins are some of the most intelligent creatures on Earth (Grimm).

Not all captive chimps live in laboratories, and there have been victories for these chimps, too, including the increasing use of computer animation and even human actors to represent chimps instead of hiring chimp actors. The public has also shown increasing awareness of the dangers of chimpanzee ownership after Travis’ 2009 attack on Charla Nash in Connecticut. In June 2016, a company called GreenScreen Animals that provides stock footage of actual animals for filmmakers to use in their movies rather than hiring animal actors introduced three-dimensional scans of chimpanzees into its stock footage library (Virtual). The move came as a direct result of growing concern over using great apes in entertainment, the company said in its announcement, and the chimp scanned for the images is one of the last available chimp actors, part of Steve Martin’s Working Wildlife group that the GreenScreen Animals president said is the last group of chimpanzees licensed to work in Hollywood, “and once they retire, that’s it” (Greenscreen).

For decades, chimpanzee sanctuary advocates have fought many of the same battles, and they gained a lasting victory in last year's NIH decision that chimpanzees should not ever be used in research. But while that fight seems to have been decisively won by opponents of chimp research, the end of that fight signaled the beginning of a new one, an old battle on a new front. The Yerkes National Primate Research Center is named after one of the original pioneers of chimpanzee research, and the research center is continuing to buck trends by retiring its chimpanzees not to sanctuaries but to zoos, including an unaccredited zoo in the United Kingdom. With Goodall as the notable exception, the arguments for and against the latest mass move of chimps echo the 2010 dispute about moving 186 chimps from New Mexico to a Texas research center, which marked the beginning of the backlash against chimpanzee research. In this latest battle, the Fish and Wildlife Service granted permits for Yerkes to export eight chimps to Wingham Wildlife Park in Kent, England, accepting that Yerkes' \$45,000 annual donation to a human-focused international nonprofit in areas around chimps' African habitats meets the FWS standard that an export of an endangered species has to advance the interests of the species in the wild (Gorman, "Lawsuit"). Goodall supports the move, but other leading primatologists have spoken against it as an unwanted precedent for how to interpret the chimps' new endangered listing. New England Anti-Vivisection Society (NEAVS) Executive Director Theodora Capaldo said the move was a "betrayal of the public trust," and NEAVS has filed two lawsuits to block the impending move ("Lawsuit").

As shown by my visits to chimpanzee sanctuaries in Florida, there are clear differences between NAPSA-accredited sanctuaries and roadside zoos that say they're sanctuaries, or what PETA calls "scamtuarries" – breeding operations that masquerade as sanctuaries. Although sanctuary advocates referred to the unaccredited Wingham as a roadside zoo, the chimp enclosure custom built for the Yerkes chimpanzees looks more like the Primadomes I saw at the Center for Great Apes than the single cells and solitary confinement I saw at Suncoast Primate Sanctuary. But sending chimps to an unaccredited zoo overseas rather than sanctuaries in the United States could set a damaging precedent,

primatologists and sanctuary advocates argue (Siegel). The ongoing dispute proves that although the total chimp population in captivity has declined over the years as they have died, the fight to keep them in – or out – of sanctuaries continues. Although the pattern of how the transition from laboratories to sanctuaries was established in the Netherlands, the latest difference of opinion proves that going forward, the path for American chimpanzee sanctuaries will also be unique, unlike that of any other country. As laboratory research, private pet ownership and Hollywood acting appears to be winding down for chimpanzees, the question of how to get these disparate groups into sanctuaries is more pressing than ever.

Somewhere in Florida this summer, a child will pose for a photo with a baby chimp at a roadside zoo on the way to Walt Disney World and think, “I wish I had one as a pet...” Despite growing awareness of the danger of keeping chimps as pets after Travis’ attack in Connecticut, pet chimpanzees and their families are still meeting the same, sad, all-too-typical fate they have since Lucy fetched tea for her guests and Donna Rae rode a bike with her human sister.

But unlike when Maurice Temerlin said he had no idea what to do with Lucy other than send her back to the wild, when the inevitable day comes that those pet chimpanzees are no longer wanted, they will have somewhere to go. Chimp researchers never considered how to care for elderly chimpanzees, cross-fostered chimp families never considered what to do when their “babies” grew up, shoppers never consider how the greeting card companies get a chimpanzee to smile for the camera. However, these topics are being talked about now more than ever, and throughout the country, sanctuaries are considering not just what happens when chimps grow up and grow old but how to extend the lifespan of the sanctuary itself and the broader sanctuary movement that will largely care for these chimps. Many of the accredited sanctuaries caring for chimps were started at the behest of one person who wanted to help chimps, and they are adapting and modernizing so that they can continue beyond the lifespan of

the founder, as both Save the Chimps and Chimp Haven have proven can be done. With labs like NIRC alleged to have continued to breed chimps even after the NIH ban on breeding, chimpanzee sanctuaries will be needed for decades into the future. Long after the labs are emptied out, the more mundane issues of how to pay for chimp care, build and maintain facilities, find good staff and keep the public's interest once the issue of chimps in labs has faded from public view will be an ongoing challenge.

Suncoast Primate Sanctuary proves that on paper any roadside zoo can say it's a sanctuary, with many visitors none the wiser. But the single thread that links all the NAPSA-affiliated sanctuaries – big or small, Northwest or Southeast, just chimps or monkeys and orangutans too – is that they abide by the key sanctuary philosophies and provide the most natural environment possible for their chimpanzees, a life that is a sanctuary from the lab and not just another extension of a caged, lonely, bored existence. Chimpanzees at these sanctuaries are not pets, entertainers, zoo exhibits or on display for admission fees. They are not for sale, and they are not going anywhere: They are in sanctuary.

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