"A Monkey in Every Home"

Henry Trefflich, Colonial Networks, and the American Commercial Animal Trade

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Abstract

This article explores the career of Henry Trefflich, America's most prolific twentieth-century animal merchant, by using previously unexamined historical media sources and Trefflich's autobiographical writing. Trefflich's outsized role within the twentieth-century global animal trade permits a uniquely penetrating view into a business rife with animal suffering and the exploitation of the Global South. Trefflich used European colonial networks in Africa and Asia for animal supply, relying heavily upon poorly-paid local labourers to carry out highly dangerous hunts. Scrutinising Trefflich's supply chain also reveals animal resistance and agency – many animals captured by his company vigorously resisted confinement and relocation. Finally, I analyse Trefflich's role in catalysing mass exotic pet ownership in mid-century America. Trefflich was the era's foremost advocate of exotic pet ownership and its primary supplier as he sought to realise his store motto: "a monkey in every home."

Barrie Ryne Blatchford, "A Monkey in Every Home": Henry Trefflich, Colonial Networks, and the American Commercial Animal Trade, in: Colonial Dimensions of the Global Wildlife Trade, hrsg. von C. Andratschke et al., Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net-ART-Books, 2024 (Veröffentlichungen des Netzwerks Provenienzforschung in Niedersachsen, Band 6), S. 120–145. https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.1415.c20436

Introduction

In 1948, the journalist Leslie Lieber profiled New York City's pre-eminent animal dealer Henry Trefflich for the *Washington Evening Star*.[1] Dubbing Trefflich the "baboon tycoon," Lieber gushed about the expansion of Trefflich's unorthodox business in the decade and a half of its existence.[2] Headquartered on Fulton Street in downtown Manhattan, Trefflich sold a wide variety of animals to circuses, zoos, and the general public. His primary product, however, was primates, which he sold in immense quantities to meet the mid-century American biomedical establishment's ravenous need for research specimens. Upon Trefflich's death in 1978, the *New York Times* reported that Trefflich had imported a staggering 1.5 million monkeys to America, giving real weight to Lieber's flippant comment that Trefflich's store was "anthropoid Ellis Island."[3] Although his business fortunes would wax and wane over the rest of his life, by the close of the Second World War Trefflich had enduringly established himself as the largest and most famous animal dealer in the nation – a status he revelled in. As Trefflich told Lieber in 1948, immodestly but not inaccurately: "Today, I am considered the Monkey King."[4]

Oddly enough given the magnitude of his business, Henry Trefflich has received little attention from historians. The few works to take on aspects of the American animal trade either do not mention him, or discuss him only in passing.[5] This article remedies this scholarly void by piecing together Trefflich's career from previously unexamined historical media sources as well as Trefflich's autobiographical writing. What emerges is much greater than the story of merely one man or one business. Trefflich's life and work offer a rare glimpse into the shadowy, poorly-understood historical trade in animals. Trefflich's outsized role within the global animal trade of the 20th century – and his large contemporary media footprint – allows for a uniquely penetrating view into a business that was rife with animal suffering and the exploitation of the Global South. In so doing, I illuminate Trefflich's use of European colonies in Africa to facilitate his business. I also explore Trefflich's relationships to, and understanding of, the African and Asian labour that he employed. Sadly, this aspect of his business improved little on the exploitative practices of 19th-century American animal dealers.

The extent of Trefflich's business and celebrity, moreover, permits an unusually granular analysis of the experience – and resistance – of some animals to their capture, confinement, and relocation to and within America.

Individual animals themselves are usually mute in animal history, but because Trefflich often featured in the media for misadventures his animals endured in transit or at his New York City store, much about the animal experience of transport and confinement can be recovered. Trefflich suffered, for instance, many animal escapes from his Manhattan store, usually from unhappy monkeys. Large mammals also occasionally refused to cooperate in transport. Trefflich had grave difficulty in flying elephants from Asia after he separated a bonded pair, as we shall see. Finally, Trefflich's business even provoked the creation of unprecedented federal animal welfare laws, despite his objections. After a 1948 shipment of monkeys and elephants to Boston – consigned to but not overseen by Trefflich – ended with large-scale animal mortality owing to the crew's neglect, Congress intervened to outlaw "other than humane" conditions for animals in international shipments arriving in America. Thus, Congress closed a loophole which had left international animal shipments unregulated, whereas domestic animals had been protected – at least on paper – since 1873's 28-Hour Law, one of the first salient victories of the nascent American animal protection movement.[6]

I conclude by briefly assessing Trefflich's impact on evolving American mores toward exotic petkeeping.[7] Exact numbers are difficult to come by, but individual exotic pet ownership of creatures like monkeys, lions, tigers, and snakes seemingly reached new levels of mass popularity in America after the Second World War – the legacy of which still endures, despite the ardent disapproval of modern animal rights groups.[8] Trefflich played a major role in spearheading this trend. He was a vocal defender of Americans' right to exotic species ownership against legal prohibitions. Trefflich was equally important on the supply side. He boasted to the press of selling big cats to private households.[9] He was also quick to recommend monkeys for pet-seekers, not just research labs. After all, Trefflich's long-standing corporate motto – anticipating Bill Gates' famous slogan by many years – was "a monkey in every home."[10]

The Early American Commercial Animal Trade: The Reiche Brothers and the Exploitation of Humans and Animals

The expansion of European colonial empires, and the excitement generated by Euro-American encounters with animals that they had never seen before, produced a sizeable market for exotic animals in Europe and North America by the middle of the 19th century.[11] Meanwhile, increases in shipping speed and volume meant mass shipments of animals were much more viable, although significant mortality and morbidity always attended the animal trade. Caged tropical birds, primarily parrots, emerged around the mid-19th century as popular house pets on both sides of the Atlantic. In both America and Europe, zoos, menageries, circuses, and roadside attractions sprung up in the second half of the 19th century too, dazzling the public with the megafauna of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[12]

America's commercial animal trade was dominated from the start by Germans and German trading and imperial networks. The first American animal dealing firm of size was that of Charles and Henry Reiche, which enjoyed great success in selling tropical birds – usually canaries – sourced from their European base in Alfeld, Germany.[13] In America, the Reiches were primarily based in New York City and came to exert significant influence in the city as their capital grew. As early as 1853, Charles claimed to have sold 20,000 birds since the early-1840s founding of his American business, a tally that associates contended had risen to around half a million by 1875.[14] By the 1870s, the Reiches had expanded well beyond birds. The Reiches' firm was the major supplier as well as one of the public owners of the Great New-York Aquarium, founded in 1876 and shuttered in 1881 due to persistent disagreements among the principal owners.[15] The closure of the Aquarium did not spell the end of the Reiches' business, though. In the 1880s, the Reiches would go on supplying American menageries, circuses, and zoos with all manner of animals – elephants, big cats, snakes, giraffes, and more – often to the delight of New Yorkers who watched the animals debark and then march to Hoboken, New Jersey, where the Reiches maintained a game farm to store their creatures.[16]

The Reiches procured many of their non-avian animals from what they called "Nubia," likely modern-day Ethiopia and Sudan.[17] Animal acquisitions from this area allowed the Reiches to launch ambitious new endeavours – for example, the Reiches acquired ostriches from "Nubia" in order to set up

America's first commercial ostrich farm in Sylvan Lake, Florida, in 1883.[18] But the Reiches' activity in this area also revealed the sordid, often racialised, exploitation at the heart of the animal trade – a recurring theme in Trefflich's era, too. Reiche employee Chris Schauman, who led hunting trips in Africa, described a typical hunting expedition and voyage to the *Chicago Tribune* in 1882. Implying that he relied on unfree and unpaid labour, Schauman said that he obtained the services of sixty "natives" from "the sheiks or Arab chiefs of the place" in exchange for animal skins and elephant tusks.[19] The skins and tusks were then acquired when "plenty of animals are killed" – in addition to those taken alive for the company – by the white men with "native" assistance.[20] A lengthy 1878 account of the Reiches' operations in Africa is even more explicit about the racial hierarchy that prevailed there. White hunters lived in relative luxury while "distinctions of caste" relative to the "half-civilized natives" were "strictly maintained."[21] Many participating "natives" received payment in precious metals or animal products, but some received nothing. A white hunter employed by the Reiches, Paul Luhn, revealed that while paid "natives" did the brunt of the work of capturing and caring for the animals, "the menial duties [of camp life] are performed by Nubian slaves."[22]

The young animals captured alive for transport to Europe and America had to first march across forbidding desert climes to reach the nearest seaport, a gruelling odyssey that could take up to thirty or forty days.[23] Paul Luhn testified that here, too, the Reiches relied upon enslaved labour to feed and care for the animals.[24] After marching across the desert, an arduous sea voyage to America awaited, but not all creatures even made it that far. Schauman recounted that during his 1882 expedition, a lion cage broke on the dock, and the beast escaped into the Red Sea, where it was shot.[25] Schauman said most of the other animals handled the voyage well, but "the monkeys were seasick, however. They always are, and you never saw such miserable-looking objects in all your life."[26]

As their profile rose in the 1880s, the Reiches stirred up New Yorkers with publicity-seeking behaviour, much like Trefflich would in his heyday, though the Reiches were tawdrier. In 1884, the firm trumpeted to local newspapers that it had discovered live woolly mammoths in the forests of the Malay Peninsula. Met with scepticism by reporters who wondered how such colossal beasts could have previously eluded attention, Charles Reiche claimed that his discovery was made in the "Malay mountains," a remote area never before explored by "intelligent people from civilized lands."[27] The two mammals

brought to America, however, were surely just a hirsute pair of elephants, not the last survivors of the extinct pachyderm.[28] That did not stop the Reiches from displaying "Quedah" – the only "Mysterious Malay Mountain Mammoth" that long survived in America – with the travelling Van Amburgh Circus. Quedah received top billing in advertisements, as the Reiches contended that Quedah was "the Rarest Animal Alive," descendant of "prehistoric monsters" that cohabited with "the Pterodactyl," and the first of his kind discovered since "the deluge."[29]

The Reiches' interest in anthropological-evolutionary "discovery" could be even sleazier. In 1879, the Reiches displayed indigenous American people at the Great New-York Aquarium. The Reiches wanted, according to the *New-York Tribune*, to showcase "real full-blooded Indians belonging to an uncivilized tribe." For this, they had captured nine Iroquois and two Comanches, whom the Reiches eventually sent to Europe to be exhibited there.[30] Even uglier behaviour followed. In 1887, the Reiche firm obtained what the *New York Times* called "two queer African babies" courtesy of a trip Hermann Reiche – son of Henry – made to London.[31] In these "wild children from Africa," as Hermann Reiche put it, the *New York Times* hoped for living evidence for "the Missing Link" in human evolution.[32] Here the Reiches hoped to indulge in a sad trope of the "ethnographic" exhibition genre common to zoological display in this era: portraying supposedly less-advanced humans as evolutionary forebears.[33]

The Reiches' odious schemes, however, would be dashed by the physical and psychological rigors of their harsh trade, an especially poignant reminder of the physical and emotional trauma inflicted by the industry. Hermann bought the two male children, plus a third female child who died in London, from a South African hunter, Hunter Wilhelm, who claimed to have purchased the children from a previously uncontacted African people located on the Zambesi River. Wilhelm's story was that these three children were the offspring of a woman from the people he had met and a man of an unknown "fierce tribe of powerful hairy men."[34] After Hermann Reiche acquired the three children, he crassly named them She, He, and It, and shipped them to New York City. Only "He" and "It" made it alive to America, upon which Reiche sought "a good, reliable, colored woman" for a nurse and kept the one-year-old children in cages.[35] Soon after, "It" died, having sustained severe organ damage from unknown causes.[36] The *Times* described his death in vile, yet telling, terms: "It has been gathered unto his forefathers, *whoever or whatever they were* [emphasis mine]... but business is not suspended, and the traffic in

animals still goes on."[37] The fate of "He" – described by the *Times* as "inconsolable" over the death of "It" – is not known to me, but this person does not appear to have been exploited as an evolutionary curiosity hereafter.

Charles and Henry Reiche also passed away in the mid-1880s, but the epicenter of the American animal trade remained in New York City and in the hands of Germans or German-descended Americans. The Reiche business stayed in the family for a while, but eventually the competing Ruhe family firm, with its American headquarters also based in New York City, bought it in 1910.[38] The concern of Carl Hagenbeck – like Ruhe and Reiche, also a German company – rivalled the Reiches in supplying America with animals in the 19th century and remained prominent in the early years of the 20th.[39] Early 20th century New York City also saw the rise of Henry Bartels, another animal dealer of German extraction. Bartels' firm lasted until the early 1930s, but has left little historical trace. It is possibly most relevant, though, for playing a pivotal role in the early career of the young Henry Trefflich.

The Rise of the "Monkey King": Trefflich's Primate Provisioning and Global Business Network

Henry Trefflich was born in a zoo in Hamburg, Germany, in 1908.[40] The zoo was Fockelman's Tiergarten, to be precise, where Trefflich's father served as the zoo's manager. Trefflich's father was also in the animal trade in a "free lance" capacity, as his son put it, making frequent expeditions to Asia and Africa to amass creatures for Europe's burgeoning zoos and private menageries.[41] Thus born into the business, Trefflich would follow in his father's footsteps and then some, but not in Germany. As a fifteen-year-old, Trefflich parlayed working on the steamship *Thuringia* into illegally entering the United States, jumping ship upon *Thuringia*'s arrival in New York City.[42] After a few years working in a restaurant, he was persuaded by his mother to return to Germany in order to try to enter the United States legally—otherwise, he could never obtain citizenship and might be deported back to an increasingly volatile Germany. Although that process was complicated by Trefflich's earlier skulduggery, he was eventually permitted to enter the US legally in October 1928. He resided there until his death fifty years later.[43]

Once back on U.S. soil, Trefflich soon after set about emulating his father's "free lance" hunter-supplier role. Henry accompanied his father on an

animal-collecting expedition to Calcutta in 1930 and the two hatched plans to form a father-son exotic-animal-gathering business based in New York City, but fate intervened. Trefflich senior fell ill and died the following year. Meanwhile, Henry Trefflich returned to New York City, picked up a commission from the Bartels company to obtain animals in India, and returned to Calcutta to fulfil it. Unfortunately, Bartels folded while Trefflich was gone – perhaps a victim of the Great Depression – stranding Trefflich in Calcutta without pay for the animals he had secured. Trefflich spent a "dismal year" in Calcutta staying with a friend of his late father's before he could raise the money to get back to New York City. Once there, it seems, Trefflich reflected on his experience and decided that he would continue animal-collecting, but only for himself.[44]

Exact details of the early days of Trefflich's animal-dealing business are mysterious, but he was established at 215 Fulton Street in downtown Manhattan by at latest 1934.[45] From the beginning, Trefflich capitalised on the surging biomedical demand for small primates, usually rhesus monkeys, as research subjects for American polio vaccine trials. As early as 1935, Trefflich was acquiring monkeys for various American researchers and institutions, and this trade was the abiding engine of his business.[46] Indeed, by early 1936, local press had already dubbed him "Manhattan's monkey magnate."[47] Trefflich, however, sold a wide variety of animals even then. He sold birds, dogs, and cats to pet aficionados and stocked zoos and circuses with charismatic megafauna.[48] Yet small primates were his perennial seller – in 1967, Trefflich estimated that he had grossed 25 million dollars over the life of his business from their sale alone.[49]

Although candid about his youthful adventures in animal collecting in his 1967 autobiography, Trefflich offered few details about the supply side of his business in the decades after he went into business for himself. Trefflich was also careful to omit the violence often involved in animal capture, or to downplay the harrowing harms caused by intercontinental animal transport. Despite Trefflich's silence and the problem of fragmentary sources, though, Trefflich's reliance on pre-existing European colonial networks and norms to source his animals, particularly in Africa, is clear. In fact, Trefflich's methods in some cases seem little evolved from those of the Reiche brothers. Much as they did, Trefflich contracted with white hunters who would then assemble groups of "natives" to hunt key animals. In this way, Trefflich relied heavily on the labour of Africans and Asians, though they got little credit or remuneration and faced the greatest danger.

Trefflich's relationship with the hunter Philip Carroll is a case in point. Trefflich employed Carroll in the 1940s to mine French-controlled Equatorial Africa

for gorillas. Carroll was a major source of smaller monkeys, too.[50] Carroll was a white American, but his activities had the approval of the Free French colonial government. As the *New York Daily News* reported in 1942 in commenting on Carroll's (Trefflich-funded) capture and importation of eight baby gorillas to America,

> *prior to the entry of these animals, it took practically an international treaty to permit capture and shipment of a gorilla. Since the Free French have taken over that section of the Dark Continent, however, …* [they have] *loosened up a little in the interests of trade and good will.*[51]

Indeed, Trefflich's fauna-ransacking rarely met with the objection of colonial governments, although post-colonial national governments would sometimes object.[52]

Carroll's (Fig. 1) hunting techniques were bloody, dangerous, and completely reliant on African labourers. Reporter Charles Neville of the *El Paso Times* narrated a 1941 "jungle trek" in which Carroll assembled 400 "natives" – seemingly from the Teke people – to capture gorillas. The natives bore the brunt of the danger. Neville reports that three men had their skulls shattered by an enraged and encircled gorilla, a rampage ended only by Carroll's gunshots. Six other men were "gravely injured" by the beast. The endeavour was a success in Carroll's eyes, though. He obtained the eight baby gorillas referred to above and dispatched them to Trefflich. If Carroll's African helpers were compensated, it is unrecorded by Neville and unmentioned by Carroll, although Neville hints that their payment came in the form of gorilla carcasses and adult gorilla captives – the expedition captured 49 living gorillas in all.[53]

Trefflich's business had a number of key hubs around the world. He derived many of the one and a half million small monkeys he sold from India and Pakistan, although he zealously guarded the exact locations and the details of his arrangement with locals lest competitors undercut him.[54] He dispatched his collectors, like the charismatic New Jerseyite Genevieve "Jungle Jenny" Cuprys, to barter for animals in the "Chinese bazaars" of Singapore.[55] He also created a formal branch office in Freetown, Sierra Leone. This branch was run by Alieu Sesay, who was African, although I know nothing else about his background. While Trefflich mentions Sesay in his autobiography, and even includes a photograph of him, Trefflich does not discuss the financial or logistical details of their relationship.[56] Some

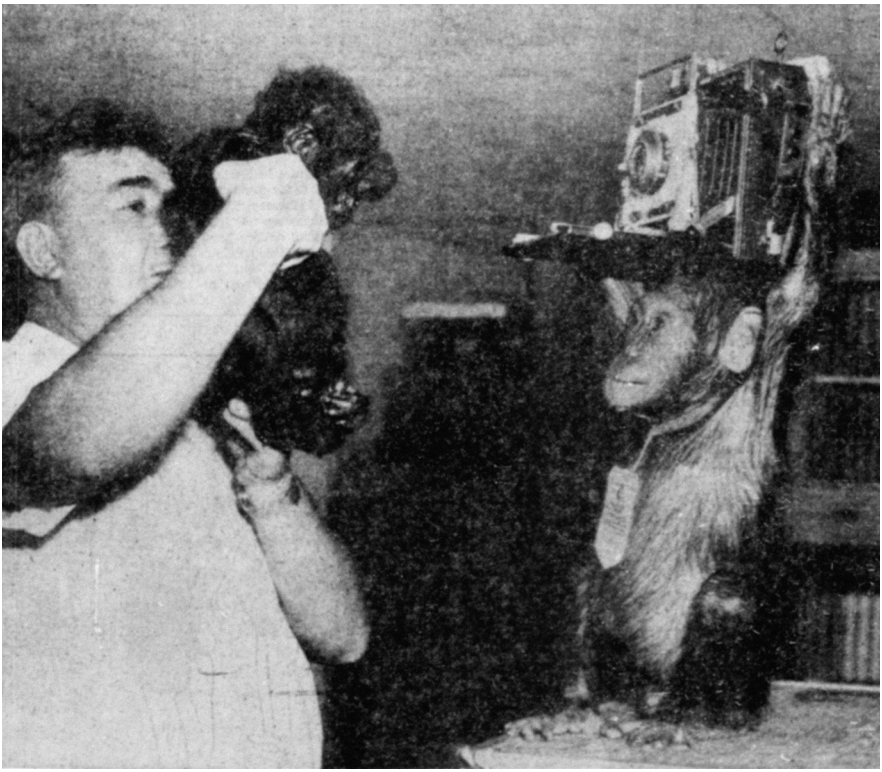

Figure 1 | Philip Carroll and "Pancho" photograph each other at Trefflich's store, 1949. The reality of capturing such animals was much less whimsical. Source: "Camera Monkey from Cameroon," in: *Southern Illinoisian*, 11 July 1949, p. 24. © Out of copyright

clue, however, might be derived from remarks that Trefflich made on the post-World War II increase in animal prices. Trefflich lamented the trend as early as 1946, when he blamed unwary American soldiers stationed in Asia for driving up costs by overpaying "natives" for exotic animals, thus altering the merchants' sense of their products' worth.[57] Trefflich thought similar processes were at work in other facets of the industry. In 1951, he complained that Africans could no longer be employed on the cheap: "The natives who trap the animals are getting smart, too smart. They've heard of the labour movement. It used to be that you could get a big gorilla for a song ... now you have to pay $2,000."[58]

Transport Trouble: Life, Death, and Resistance in the American Animal Trade

The power asymmetries between humans in the animal trade were large and long-standing, and they conformed to the dynamics of Western colonialism. The industry's greatest power differential, however, has always been between human and non-human. Animals unlucky enough to encounter the commercial animal trade faced grim prospects. If they survived capture unharmed – a major uncertainty – they were then subjected to confinement and transportation, often in wretched conditions. Animals were often poorly fed during transport, exposed to harsh weather, or roughly jostled about, leading to injuries and fatalities.[59] Many creatures suffered emotionally, too. Mammals are social, and separation from their kin can send them into depression or worse. Primates frequently suffer from depression upon being captured – some refuse all food and perish.[60] Juvenile animals, of course, are at even greater physical and emotional peril from separation.

Those who reach their final destination often obtain cruel rewards for their perseverance. The primates Henry Trefflich imported for medical research could look forward to a life confined to cages, subject to painful, isolating, or even fatal experiments.[61] Although some primate experiments have undeniably produced major advances in medicine and scientific knowledge, many creatures perished in repetitive or unnecessary experiments that accomplished very little.[62] Circus and zoo life, the destination for many more animals, could also be abysmal, although the potential for a pleasant existence was certainly greater. The same could be said for those animals sold into private pet ownership. Whatever the destination, animals resisted their entrapment, confinement, and transport. Their unwillingness to be reduced to inert objects highlighted their individuality while creating constant problems for Trefflich and his employees.

From the earliest days of Trefflich's establishment in lower Manhattan, animal escapes periodically enlivened the surrounding neighbourhood (Fig. 2). Usually the culprits were primates. "Jocko" – a rhesus macaque monkey – scrambled up a 15-story building in fall 1934 after fleeing Trefflich's attempts to have him sent to California.[63] He was eventually nabbed by the police after re-entering the building through a window the authorities had left ajar. A year later, "Mike" – another rhesus – went on the lam for five days, swinging from building to building in "death-defying leaps," the press reported.[64]

Figure 2 | Trefflich smokes a cigar with Joseph the chimpanzee, 1942. Perhaps this was one reason why chimpanzees sought escape, although Trefflich insisted that Joseph was already addicted to nicotine before he captured him. Source: *Akron Beacon Journal*, 13 December 1942, p. 113.

Finally apprehended by Trefflich himself, the *New York Times* reported that the captured Mike "still had happy memories of his escapade ... occasionally he shook the bars of his cage, hoping for another taste of liberty."[65]

Many other monkeys would pursue similar liberty from Trefflich's store, but he was not the only New Yorker with this problem. The exotic animal hunter and film star Frank Buck, based on Long Island, suffered the escape of 100 monkeys from his menagerie in the summer of 1935.[66] These roamed the south shore of Long Island for days – ironically, Trefflich assured the media that his monkeys would never do the same as he gathered a shipment of 448 monkeys from India shortly after Buck's misadventure.[67] His promise was empty. In 1936, Trefflich lost control of three monkeys while "sorting them for delivery" at Boston's seaport. Two were eventually recovered but

one could not be enticed down from the rafters of a nearby building – Trefflich, reportedly "disgusted," said the monkey was free to whoever would have him.[68] The year after, the fire department had to be called to retrieve a Trefflich monkey from the eaves of a Manhattan post office.[69] The frequent escapes tried the patience of city authorities and Trefflich alike. In 1938, four rhesus monkeys got loose and ambled into the Washington Market grocery store. A police officer tore his pants in pursuit of the simians, the repair of which Trefflich had to reimburse. Finally, three of the monkeys were corralled but the fourth was wilier, tossing purloined bananas at pursuers. When the police finally apprehended the final monkey, Trefflich crankily proclaimed that "the police could shoot the banana-thrower." The police declined, handing the primate over to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals instead.[70]

Monkey escapes were a perennial occupational hazard for Trefflich, but perhaps the most significant one of all came on 11 May 1946.[71] Nearly 100 rhesus macaque monkeys slipped their bonds and romped through downtown Manhattan, drawing a large crowd and snarling traffic as the creatures made what the press called "their bold bid for liberty."[72] The exodus came after an employee opened the cage in order to free a baby monkey that had become ensnared in wire netting. Two days later, Trefflich told the media that 20 monkeys were still unaccounted for.[73] In the intervening period, most had been corralled, but some had met their deaths. One monkey mistimed a leap from the 12th floor of a building and fell to the pavement, dying instantly.[74] Trefflich was hauled into court to answer for the escape and for a monkey bite sustained by a boy during the commotion.[75] Luckily for Trefflich, the charges against him were dismissed six days later.[76] Ultimately, Trefflich averred that the media coverage of the mass escape had catalysed his business – around one hundred prospective pet owners wrote to Trefflich in the days after the escape to express their desire to own a rhesus macaque.[77] The last of the escaped monkeys was not recaptured until August.[78] Other species also proved problematic. Frighteningly, Trefflich claimed to have lost seven pythons in a 1950 move from 215 Fulton Street to 228 Fulton Street –they were never seen again.[79] Bears were often uncooperative, too. In 1937, a Himalayan black bear cub destined for Trefflich's store broke free of his bonds and jumped ship in the Suez Canal.[80] Loose for six days, the cub's original ship carried on without him. The cub was later recaptured by what Trefflich called the "canal guard" and put on another ship to New York City, though. On arrival, Trefflich maintained the cub – now dubbed "Suez" – in his store but was anxious to give

him away. Trefflich thought the cub was "trouble," remarking "I wish I had never seen him."[81] Although I do not know Suez's ultimate fate, Trefflich was trying to give him away free of charge to the Bronx Zoo.[82] Nearly 15 years later, Trefflich would again experience a bear escape but this time in front of his store, when a small Malaysian sun bear broke out of her cage and cavorted around the neighbourhood.[83] No one was injured before Trefflich recaptured her with the help of his staff.

One of Trefflich's poignant misadventures with elephants is perhaps most illustrative of the individuality and agency that animals can express, even in confinement.[84] In 1954, Trefflich imported a pair of baby female elephants from India by plane. The animals, although bonded, were meant for different zoos – one would stay in New York City, the other would go to Little Rock, Arkansas. But the 1,000-pound elephants had other ideas. Separated from her friend and placed on a plane, the Little Rock-bound elephant became distressed. Trefflich reported that the beast "got pretty rough," jeopardising the safety of the flight. The plane turned back, and both elephants were then brought to America on the same flight, which quelled their distress. There they resided together in Brooklyn's Prospect Park, showing their attachment by frequently entwining their trunks. Trefflich was unmoved, though. He was determined to press ahead with the separation, telling the press that "they'll love her in Little Rock," and blithely dismissing the potential for similar problems in transport from Brooklyn to Little Rock.[85]

Elephants were a minute portion of the animals that passed through Trefflich's network – he claimed in 1967 to have imported 98 in total – but they proved especially hard to force into the regimens of the animal trade.[86] In 1949, six baby female elephants at Idlewild Airport (now JFK) refused to deplane for five hours, resisting even the coaxing of Jungle Jenny before deciding to cooperate only when they became hungry.[87] Far more serious consequences attended Trefflich's mishandling of "Dumbo" (Fig. 3), the youngest elephant ever brought to America at just five months old (courtesy, again, of Philip Carroll).[88] Upon Dumbo's arrival at Idlewild in July 1949, Trefflich made the dubious decision to pack Dumbo into the backseat of his sedan – trunk trailing out the window – and drove him into the city.[89] Intended for St. Louis' zoo, the unfortunate Dumbo died later that night of pneumonia, despite Trefflich's best efforts to save him through the use of antibiotics and oxygen.[90] Some members of the media plausibly speculated that Dumbo's pneumonia was caused by his breezy ride through New York.[91]

Figure 3 | The ill-fated Dumbo. "$5,000 Baby Catches Pneumonia".
Source: *New York Daily News*, 10 July 1949, p. 51. © New York Daily News

Thus far, I have mostly concentrated on transportation mishaps that occurred after animals had arrived in New York City, but the journey to America's shores could be even more dangerous. Once hunters and trappers engaged by Trefflich, like Philip Carroll, had obtained animals and brought them to a port – with all the morbidity and mortality that capture and transport had already exacted – long plane or ship journeys awaited. Trefflich sometimes accompanied his animals on planes to America, but for the most part, unaffiliated airline and shipping companies performed the labour of loading, unloading, and caring for animals in transit. Often, these voyages experienced massive loss of life. In 1936, for instance, Trefflich lost 100 out of 600 rhesus monkeys during the 47-day oceanic journey from Calcutta to Boston.[92] The monkeys were contained in 27 cages placed on deck and covered in a canvas to protect them from the elements. If they were evenly distributed, there would have been 22 monkeys in each cage, a recipe for disease and infighting.

Such loss of life was routine and unregulated. Unlike interstate shipments of animals, no US law mandated humane standards in international animal shipping. But Trefflich inadvertently caused that to change. On 25 December 1946, a shipment commissioned by Trefflich of 300 monkeys and 6 elephants arrived in Boston's harbour.[93] The animals had suffered atrociously. Dozens of the monkeys were deceased, as were half of the elephants. The monkeys' food was contaminated by parasites, and the animals had not been protected from the elements. Frigid sea water had washed over the deck into the cages,

chilling and killing the animals.[94] Members of the Animal Rescue League of Boston intervened to help unload the ship and to care for the remaining animals. Soon Congress took up the matter, likely as a result of pressure from animal welfare advocates. In summer 1948, legislators heard of the horrors of this shipment and many others, soliciting testimony from zoo people, animal welfare advocates, and, of course, Henry Trefflich himself.

Trefflich painted himself as virtuous and dismissed the need for regulation in a letter to the American Humane Association which was read into the congressional record at the Senate hearings regarding the matter. Although Trefflich conceded that it was "very disagreeable" to witness the elephants' condition, he said only 42 of 300 monkeys had died, refuting testimony from an animal welfare advocate who gave a death toll of one-third. While Trefflich believed that "something should be done" about situations like the elephants had experienced, he did not think that the government should intervene, because new legislation would only hurt "legitimate animal dealers" like himself. He asked Congress rhetorically, "How is possible that the average animal dealer could want to be cruel to animals, when this is our business, and only the best healthy animals will sell?" Trefflich went on to claim that the death rate in his monkey shipments was typically "only" 5–10%, and that he paid bonuses to caretaking sailors for safe delivery.[95] He was, he assured Congress, doing "everything possible ... to insure the well-being and good health of these monkeys," comments which seemed to sidestep the fact that Trefflich's control over the shipping companies with which he contracted was minimal.[96]

Trefflich's protests failed to convince Congress, deluged as it was by tales of animal misery in international shipment and letters supporting punitive laws. A letter from the director of the San Francisco Zoological Gardens stated that one shipment of birds saw only 111 survive out of 750 shipped.[97] The Curator of Mammals of Philadelphia's Zoo, Frederick Ulmer, told Congress that what had happened to the elephants that landed at Boston was "perfectly horrible" but "not an isolated case." Ships regularly sailed from tropical climes to wintery ones, and their masters often left their animals above deck with no protection from the changing seasons or storms. This was due to neglect, malice, or ignorance, habits of mind also present in crewmen. Ulmer told Congress that "few seamen have any regard for animals" and that they dislike the additional burden imposed on them by living cargo. Ulmer recounted that one seaman told him – "with fiendish glee" – of soaking caged rhesus monkeys with water from a fire hose, "battering them about the cage

and half-drowning them in the process." Many died.[98] A letter from the Western Pennsylvania Humane Society likened the "pitiful conditions" of animals in international transport to the slave trade and urged Congress to take action against such cruelty "as a policy and as an example in our ambition to build a better world."[99] Congress ultimately passed amendments to the Lacey Act to prohibit inhumane treatment in international animal shipments and to provide for criminal penalties for violators.[100]

Trefflich's preference may have been ignored by Congress, but his self-defence was not meritless. He did try to limit animal mortality and morbidity in transport, such as in pioneering airplane transport of animals after the Second World War. While not without hazard, this quicker mode of travel generally resulted in lower mortality. For example, Trefflich crowed about a 1949 monkey shipment from southeast Asia – "the largest air shipment of animals ever made" – which saw only 30 deaths of the 700 on board, or less than 5 %.[101] Trefflich professed to love his animals, too, although he tried not to become attached to the "merchandise."[102] His profit motive also surely incentivised him to try to maximise animal survival in transit. Trefflich was, however, also somewhat insulated by insurance from the untimely deaths of his animals. Although a reconstruction of exactly how much insurance buffered Trefflich's losses cannot be made with the extant sources, one story is instructive. In 1955, a fire ravaged Trefflich's Manhattan store, killing four gorillas, four orangutans, and four chimpanzees, all from French Equatorial Africa.[103] Trefflich estimated their value at $39,000, telling the media that the loss was fully covered by insurance. On the whole, Trefflich surely cared about many of his animals, and he tried to mitigate the dangers they faced. But they were, ultimately, just merchandise.

Conclusion: Henry Trefflich and the Rise of American Exotic Pet Ownership

Supplying primates to American science was the backbone of Trefflich's business and a major part of his legacy.[104] But he was equally enthusiastic about peddling primates – and other exotic animals – as pets. Trefflich was the most vocal and charismatic proponent of exotic pet ownership of his era and asserted that monkeys were the ideal solution to empty nest syndrome, advising that "when a boy or girl goes away to college is a good time to get a monkey to take his place."[105]

He alleged that "caring for a chimp is just like rearing a baby" – after all, "they only cost about $500 or $1,000 and you don't have to educate them."[106] Trefflich thought other animals were excellent companions, too. "Extroverts," he bizarrely insisted in 1947, could get "quite attached" to a python.[107] Meanwhile, he professed to have sold ocelots to women as a matching accessory for their fur coats, and leopard cubs to women "who have feline instincts."[108]

Such madcap statements were more than marketing hype. Trefflich furiously defended exotic pet owners when they faced censure. In 1949, Manhattan chef Jack Crawford ran afoul of Section 22 of New York City's sanitary code. This edict outlawed the keeping of "lions, bears, wolves, foxes, snakes, or other animals of similar vicious propensities" within the city.[109] Crawford had five monkeys in his apartment, sparking debate over their viciousness. Trefflich testified for the defence that monkeys were "mischievous rather than vicious," and offered (in vain) to demonstrate his point by bringing a chimpanzee into the courtroom.[110] Crawford was given a five-day suspended workhouse sentence, which prompted Trefflich to indignant rhetorical heights outside the courtroom. He thundered to the "people of New York City" that

> *you have lost your parrots and other hook-billed birds, and now they are taking away your monkeys. The next thing that you know they will be taking away your dogs and cats. I appeal to the people to protest at once to the proper authorities!*[111]

Trefflich's fears that government would curtail exotic pet ownership were not irrational, but for most of his lifetime, few prohibitions existed. Trefflich continued to sell his products to enthusiastic private buyers – in 1950, he estimated that he sold 100 monkeys per month as pets.[112] Two decades later, Trefflich reported his pride in "sell[ing] lion and tiger cubs to private homes every day of the week."[113]

One tends to be scornful when considering the exotic pet-buyers of mid-century America, a period the journalist Bryan Christy has called "the gilded age" of the American pet industry, when rules and scruples were few.[114] Yet no comprehensive history of American exotic pet ownership exists.[115] My study of Trefflich's career, however, indicates that complex motives and experiences defined American exotic pet ownership. Exotic pet-buyers were sometimes frivolous, to be sure, but many were committed and caring owners. Jack Crawford, rather than surrender his monkeys, relocated them to a Brooklyn apartment owned by a woman who said she would rather be jailed than surrender the monkeys.[116] Crawford's lawyer, when Crawford was later

threatened with the reactivation of his suspended sentence, told the court that, "to this man, the loss of these animals will be a tragedy."[117]

Others were just as passionate. In the mid-1950s, ocelot enthusiasts founded the Long Island Ocelot Club (LIOC) to promote best practices in keeping the small South American wild cats.[118] Despite its New York origin, the Club soon enrolled a national membership of dedicated ocelot owners – by 1975, it had 1,700 members nationwide.[119] These members were quick to defend persecuted peers. When the Environmental Protection Agency seized three ocelots from a New Jersey family and placed them in a zoo – the family did not have a permit to keep endangered species, as the recent Endangered Species Act had mandated – LIOC rallied to their defence, talking up the ocelot's docility and merits as a pet to the media. The family, meanwhile, was genuinely distraught, protesting that the cats "were members of the family," and worrying about their health in the cold confines of a zoo cage.[120]

By the 1970s, laws protecting endangered species and bolstering animal protections slapped new constraints on animal importers like Trefflich and exotic pet owners. This trend has roughly, albeit unevenly, continued to the present, although American states vary widely in which animals can be kept by private citizens and in what manner. Nonetheless, American exotic pet ownership was already big business by the early 1970s – one highly critical 1972 article by a former Congressional aide estimated that Americans spent 20 to 30 million dollars annually on exotic pets.[121] Trefflich, however, was by then struggling to capitalise on this industry which he had done so much to champion. The construction of the World Trade Center complex displaced Trefflich's store in the late 1960s, and – despite relocation – Trefflich's once lucrative business declined badly by the early 1970s, prompting his retirement. For historians like Daniel Bender, the sunset of Trefflich's store also represented the end of an era in the animal trade.[122] It had become less acceptable to peddle exotic animals as more attention focused on their abysmal rates of attrition during the journey from wild to captive. Feeling that pressure, zoos increasingly turned to captive breeding. Greater awareness of the depletion, and potential extinction, of charismatic megafauna also galvanised backlash against the animal importers and the criminal smuggling networks often on the other side of the American animal trade.

Yet the American exotic animal trade has hardly ceased, despite shifting mores toward animals and a tighter regulatory environment. Animal dealers still import tens of thousands of primates into the U.S. every year to serve the medical research industry.[123] While many zoos and aquaria have backed away from obtaining rare species, especially those which are palpably unhappy in

captivity, they still do acquire animals, particularly fish and marine mammals which are difficult to breed in captivity. Meanwhile, the exotic animal trade continues, often in illicit form. American customs authorities annually seize millions of dollars of animal appendages destined for varied uses ranging from clothing to potions of dubious medicinal validity.[124] Moreover, charismatic species like tigers and lions still find their way legally, or otherwise, into and around the U.S. to tickle the fancies of the nation's exotic animal aficionados.[125]

In fact, in this last point there lies a final, unlikely connection to Trefflich: He is only two degrees of separation from the notorious Joe Exotic of Netflix infamy. In the latter years of Trefflich's business, he employed Joan Byron-Marasek, who would later rise to national notoriety as the "Tiger Lady" of New Jersey when one of her prized beasts escaped her compound in 1999.[126] The State of New Jersey subsequently won a lengthy court battle to shut down Byron-Marasek's tiger-hoarding, seizing her animals in 2003.[127] The felines were then transported to an animal rescue in San Antonio with the state suing for the expense. In 2010, three of the animals were relocated to the Florida big cat sanctuary of Carole Baskin, who, of course, was later the target of Joe Exotic's murderous ire.[128]

All told, the often-squalid worldwide trade in animals continues, even if its main participants now shun rather than court the spotlight. Much remains mysterious about it, just as there remains much that we do not know about Americans' historical relationships to exotic animals. Having focused here on the supply side of the animal trade, I hope scholars will soon take up the demand side in greater depth. What ideological justifications enabled exotic pet ownership, both historically and currently? How did exotic pet ownership inflect or reflect class, gender, and racial stratifications? Henry Trefflich's oft-repeated slogan – "a monkey in every home" – may not have come true, but he certainly got monkeys into many homes. We should know more about those homes and their more-than-human families.

1 Although humans are also animals, I stick to the human/animal binary throughout this text for the sake of avoiding cumbersome language like "nonhuman animals." But I do not wish to imply that I view humanity as superior to, or separate from, the rest of animal life.
2 Lieber, Leslie: "King of the Monkeys", in: *Washington Evening Star*, 11 January 1948, p. 10, 14.
3 McFadden, Robert: "Henry H. F. Trefflich, Importer of Animals, Dies at 70", in: *New York Times*, 9 July 1978, p. 2.
4 Lieber (1948), *King of the Monkeys*.
5 In general, much more research remains to be done on the American animal trade. Daniel Bender's excellent recent book focuses on zoos' acquisition of animals yet only touches on Trefflich briefly. See Bender, Daniel E. (2016): *The Animal Game. Searching for Wildness at the American Zoo*, Cambridge, p. 307–310. Amelia Brackett's article on the polio trials briefly discusses Trefflich's correspondence with Albert Sabin but does not discuss Trefflich's business in depth. See Brackett, Amelia (2013): "And Those That Are Missing. The Role and Experience of Dr Sabin's Chimpanzees in the Polio Crusade of the 1950s", in: *Chicago Journal of History*, vol. 2, p. 43–45. Trefflich also comes up in passing in Hanson, Elizabeth (2002): *Animal Attractions. Nature on Display in American Zoos*, Princeton, p. 79.
6 Later government inquiry into overseas animal shipments featured animal welfare advocates making explicit reference to the 28-Hour Law as model and venerated historical accomplishment. See U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (1948): *Requiring Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, 80th Congress, 2nd Session, S. Rep., p. 11.
7 "Exotic" species are an admittedly fuzzy category over time and space. Generally, 20th-century Americans understood exotic pets as anything outside domesticated animals like dogs, cats, and, later, small mammals like hamsters.
8 Trefflich's business records seem to have not been preserved judging from my conversations with one of his descendants. Government statistics on exotic animal imports to the U.S. are helpful, but highly incomplete. On the modern endurance of "exotic" animal petkeeping in the U.S., one can watch the deranged "Joe Exotic" on the Netflix series "Tiger King," or consider that the largest tiger population of any modern country resides in America. On America's 10,000 tigers, see Popescu, Adam: "How Did America End Up with the World's Largest Tiger Population?", in: *The Guardian*, 21 September 2021, on: *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/21/tiger-trafficking-america, accessed 23 April 2023.
9 "Pythons Advocated as Pets by Dealer Who Should Know", in: *Wilmington Morning Star*, 11 May 1947, p. 7B.
10 Gates, of course, famously said that Microsoft's early goal was "a computer on every desk, in every home." It is safe to say that he was more successful than Trefflich in his ambitions. See Bae, Hannah: "Bill Gates' 40th Anniversary Email. Goal Was 'a Computer on Every Desk'", in: *CNN Business,* 6 April 2015, on: *CNN Business*, https://money.cnn.com/2015/04/05/technology/bill-gates-email-microsoft-40-anniversary/index.html, accessed 19 May 2022.
11 Of course, European interest in, and encounters with, the fauna of other continents and regions predated the 19th century. Nevertheless, the 19th century featured a major uptick in the accessibility of, and consumer demand for, animals Europeans and Americans deemed exotic.
12 The unique animals of the Australasian continent seem to have been less frequently acquired and displayed in this period.
13 Hoes, Charlotte M. (2022): "Live Cargo, Dead Ends. The German Wildlife Trade in Global Perspective," in: *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, vol. 70, p. 70, note 13. The Reiches have been little investigated by historians, but arise also in: Grier, Katherine C. (2003): "Buying Your Friends. The Pet Business and American Consumer Culture," in: Susan Strasser (Ed.): *Commodifying Everything. Relationships of the Market*, New York, p. 47–48; and Flint, Richard W. (1997): "American

Showmen and European Dealers. Commerce in Wild Animals in Nineteenth-Century America", in: R. J. Hoage, William A. Deiss (Eds): *New Worlds, New Animals. From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore, p. 101–105.

14 On Charles' claim, see Reiche, Charles ([1853] 1871): *The Bird Fancier's Companion. Tenth Edition*, New York and Boston, p. viii. On the half a million figure, see Reiche's associate Charles Holden (1875): *Holden's Book on Birds,* Boston, p. 111–112.

15 The Aquarium was stocked with many rare sea animals, including the manatee, see "A Visitor from Brazil", in: *New York Times*, October 31 1886, p. 3.

16 "Northern Africa. Rare and Curious Animals that are Destined to Recruit the Travelling Shows", in: *Chicago Tribune*, 4 June 1882, p. 6; "A Huge Passenger. Removal of Sampson, the Elephant, from Hoboken to Utica", in: *New York Times*, 7 April 1882, p. 8.

17 Charlotte Hoes identifies this region as modern-day Sudan and Egypt, which is also possible. See: Hoes (2022), *Live Cargo, Dead Ends*, p. 71.

18 Ostrich feathers were at the time highly valuable for use in women's hats. See "Hunting Ostriches. Peculiarities of the Monster Bird", in: *Detroit Free Press*, 7 February 1882, p. 3. One article attests that the Reiche brothers had an ostrich farm out of their Hoboken base as early as 1878, but it is the only one that I have seen asserting that. See "Ostrich Farming", in: *Daily American*, 8 November 1882, p. 2. On the Sylvan Lake ostrich farm and its 1883 founding, see "The Florida Ostrich Farm. How the Great Birds Are Doing at Sylvan Lake", in: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, courtesy of the *New York Telegram*, 5 August 1884, p. 7.

19 "Northern Africa", in: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 June 1882, p. 6.

20 Ibid.

21 "Hunting Beasts in Africa", in: *San Marcos Free Press*, 26 October 1878, p. 7.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 It was presumably shot by the Reiches' hunters, although the shooter was unspecified.

26 "Northern Africa", in: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 June 1882, p. 6.

27 "Science to be Surprised. Monsters Supposed to be Extinct Said to be Alive", in: *New York Times*, 18 September 1884, p. 8.

28 Sceptical press coverage drew this conclusion, too. Ibid., p. 8.

29 "Van Amburgh, Charles Reiche & Brother's New Railroad Shows!", in: *Yonkers Statesman*, 1 May 1885, p. 2.

30 "Indian Life and Customs", in: *New-York Tribune*, 15 April 1879, p. 8. On the Reiches' exhibition of the native American peoples in Europe, see the leaflet "Einige kurze Notizen über die hier anwesenden Indianer" at the Municipal Archive in Alfeld, Germany.

31 "Two Queer African Babies. A Chance to Identify the Missing Link", in: *New York Times*, 28 August 1887, p. 9.

32 Ibid.

33 For scholarly work on zoos as sites for debased contemporary interpretations of evolutionary theory, see Kjaergaard, Peter C. (2011): "Hurrah for the Missing Link!" A History of Apes, Ancestors and a Crucial Piece of Evidence, in: *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* vol. 65, no. 1; Rothfels, Nigel (1996): "Aztecs, Aborigines, and Ape-People. Science and Freaks in Germany, 1850–1900", in: Rosemary Garland-Thomson (Ed.): *Freakery. Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, New York, p. 158–172; Hochadel, Oliver (2010): "Darwin in the Monkey Cage. The Zoological Garden as a Medium of Evolutionary Theory", in: Dorothee Brantz (Ed.): *Beastly Natures. Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville, VA, p. 81–107.

34 "Two Queer African Babies. A Chance to Identify the Missing Link", in: *New York Times*, 28 August 1887, p. 9.

35 Ibid.
36 "He is Left Alone", in: *New York Times*, 7 September 1887, p. 8.
37 Ibid.
38 Hoes (2022), *Live Cargo, Dead Ends*, p. 72, note 22.
39 On the dominance of the Hagenbeck, Reiche, and Ruhe companies around this time, see Ibid., p. 71–72.
40 See Trefflich, Henry; Anthony, Edward (1967): *Jungle for Sale*, New York, p. 218.
41 Ibid, p. 258.
42 Ibid, p. 233–238.
43 Ibid, p. 239–241.
44 See here and following ibid, p. 244–283.
45 "Macaque Monkey is New York Runaway", in: *Wausau Daily Herald*, 11 September 1934, p. 5.
46 Trefflich was also becoming well-versed in monkey escapes, too, and he gave the press some insight into his techniques for recapturing monkeys, see "Run 'Em Ragged and They Quit, Monk Advice", in: *Kingston Daily Freeman*, 24 August 1935, p. 5.
47 Ross, George: "In New York", in: *Salisbury Times*, 24 February 1936, p. 3.
48 There is no standard definition of "charismatic megafauna," but generally this refers to large mammals like lions, tigers, elephants, great apes, and others that have captivated Euro-Americans in particular, and dominate discussions about preventing species extinctions.
49 Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, p. ix.
50 On Carroll's role supplying some of the valuable rhesus monkeys that Trefflich sold to polio researchers, see Brackett (2013), *And Those That Are Missing*, p. 43–45.
51 Sullivan, Robert: "Dream of Love. US Ape Population has Increased, but Only by Importation", in: *New York Daily News*, 9 August 1942, p. 59.
52 India's post-colonial government would occasionally object to the quantity of monkeys being imported out of the country and to their treatment. See, for example Rosenthal, A. M.: "Red Tape Tangles India's Monkeys", in: *New York Times*, 2 March 1958, p. 26.
53 All information in this paragraph from: Neville, Charles: "Murder in the Jungle", in: *El Paso Times*, 5 October 1941, p. 47. I do not know how many expeditions Carroll made for Trefflich, but likely quite a few. At the end of the decade, their business relationship remained active, see "Trefflich Imports Gorillas", in: *The Town Talk*, 23 July 1949, p. 9.
54 Eventually, it seems, American laboratories were able to set up their own arrangements with Indian sources, thus breaking Trefflich's "near monopoly" by the late 1950s. See Michelmore, Peter: "It's Pathetic but It's Important. The Multi-Million-Dollar Monkey Business", in: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1959, p. 76. Michelmore also comments on Trefflich's secrecy.
55 "Women the World Over", in: *Kansas City Star*, 11 June 1948, p. 29.
56 Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, photo insert between pages 184 and 185.
57 "Bring 'Em Back Alive Business Is in Bad Shape", in: *Dayton Daily News*, 10 August 1946, p. 2.
58 Pett, Saul: "Inflation in the Animal Kingdom", in: *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 9 September 1951, p. 62.
59 Cramming multitudes of different animals together in packed cargo holds or in networks of cages at various waystations is a recipe for the proliferation of zoonotic diseases, too. There is ample evidence that shipping conditions have long been abysmal, but, for example, the *New York Times* reported in 1958 that 3-to-8-pound monkeys used to be shipped from India to America with ten of them in each crate. See Rosenthal (1958), *Red Tape Tangles India's Monkeys*.
60 Rothfels, Nigel (2002): *Savages and Beasts. The Birth of the Modern Zoo*, Baltimore, p. 1–3; Bender (2016), *The Animal Game*, p. 146.
61 Trefflich was very proud of supplying monkeys to the polio vaccine trials. But if he dwelled on the suffering of the monkeys involved, I have seen no evidence. See Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, p. 4.

62 The experiments of the psychologist Harry Harlow seem particularly excessive. See Guerrini, Anita (2003): *Experimenting with Humans and Animals. From Galen to Animal Rights,* Baltimore, p. 129–131.
63 "Macaque Monkey is New York Runaway", in: *Wausau Daily Herald*, 11 September 1934, p. 5.
64 "Mike Back in Cage After Five-Day Frolic", in: *New York Times*, 24 July 1934, p. 19.
65 Ibid.
66 "100 Monkeys Remain Free on Long Island", in: *Baltimore Sun*, 24 August 1935, p. 2.
67 "448 Monkeys to Give Serum Arrive in NY", in: *New York Daily News*, 25 August 1935, p. 69.
68 "Monkey Hunt at Army Base", in: *Boston Globe*, 11 July 1936, p. 15.
69 "Park Row Monkey Leads a Mad Chase", in: *New York Times*, 23 May 1937, p. 1.
70 "Love and Bananas. Downfall of 4 Happy Monkeys", in: *New York Daily News*, 12 September 1938, p. 57.
71 For other simian-Trefflich hi-jinx, see "Monkey, Kitten Stage Big Show Resulting in Police Car Calls", in: *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 25 May 1942, p. 4; "Monkey Returns to Pet Shop", in: *New York Times*, 28 August 1944, p. 13; "Brooklyn Monkey-at-Large Again Outsmarts Trappers", in: *New York Daily News*, 11 February 1947, p. 23; "Monkey Will Be Shot if Ship Snares Fail", in: *New York Times*, 3 January 1952, p. 20.
72 "All Those (100) Monkeyshines Serious Business to Trefflich", in: *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, 13 May 1946, p. 1.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 "Monkey Spree Holds Owner", in: *New York Daily News*, 15 May 1946, p. 441.
76 "Court Dismisses Monkey Business", in: *New York Daily News*, 21 May 1946, p. 449.
77 "Monkey Keeper in Court. Reveals Orders for Pets Pour in After Case Is Put Off", in: *New York Times*, 15 May 1946, p. 22.
78 "Firemen Grab Madcap Monk of New York", in: *Charlotte Observer*, 29 August 1946, p. 19.
79 Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, p. 66.
80 Kihss, Peter: "Bear Tale", in: *New York World-Telegram*, reprinted in *Raleigh News and Observer*, 5 September 1937, p. 34.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 "Bear on the Loose Gives Pause to Crowd; Climbs Wall Into Loft Before Recapture", in: *New York Times*, 31 August 1951, p. 16.
84 By "agency," I simply mean the capacity to express – and to try to actuate – individual, independent desires.
85 "Little Rock's Elephant Will Surely Understand", in: *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 4 March 1954, p. 27. I do not know if there were any further issues when the final separation came.
86 Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, p. x.
87 "6 Baby Elephants Disrupt Idlewild", in: *New York Times*, 9 March 1949, p. 27.
88 "Elephant Rides in Auto, Dies", in: *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 10 July 1949, p. 1.
89 "$5,000 Baby Catches Pneumonia", in: *New York Daily News*, 10 July 1949, p. 51.
90 "Elephant Rides in Auto", as in note 88. Trefflich even summoned his personal physician, who injected Dumbo with penicillin and adrenalin. It was not enough. See "30-Inch Elephant Promised to Zoo Here Dies in NY", in: *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 10 July 1949, p. 3.
91 "Bimbo Wasn't So Dumb(o); Henry Was", in: *The Tennessean*, 10 July 1949, p. 9.
92 "Two New Born Rhesus Monkeys Among Nearly 500 Brought Here from India", in: *Boston Globe*, 13 August 1936, p. 18.
93 U.S. Congress (1948), *Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, p. 8, 12.
94 Ibid.

95 In 1963, Trefflich told Congress that his monkey attrition rate in international shipping averaged 17%, mostly caused by customs delays. These remarks might be unreliable as he had a vested interest in persuading Congress to drop tariffs on his animals. See U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance (1963): *Wild Birds and Wild Animals*, 88th Cong., 1st Session, S. Rep., p. 23.
96 All information here comes from Trefflich's letter of 5 March 1948, reprinted in U.S. Congress (1948), *Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, p. 32.
97 Baldwin, C. M. (1948): "San Francisco Zoological Gardens", in: U.S. Congress: *Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, p. 17.
98 Ulmer, Frederick (1948): "Philadelphia Zoo", in: U.S. Congress: *Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, p. 18–19.
99 Wentzel, W. F. H. (1948): "Western Pennsylvania Humane Society", in: U.S. Congress: *Humane Treatment of Animals and Birds*, p. 25.
100 The final bill was enacted on 29 June 1948 as 80 S. 1447 – Wild Animals and Birds Humane Transportation Regulations.
101 "Animal Cargo a Record", in: *New York Times*, 7 May 1949, p. 15.
102 On not getting attached to the "merchandise," see Trefflich; Anthony (1967), *Jungle for Sale*, p. 88.
103 "Fire Results in Trefflich Animal Deaths", in: *The Billboard*, 22 October 1955, p. 53.
104 In 1950, Trefflich estimated that 80% of his gross income, or $200,000 of $250,000, came from simian sales. See Albright, E. C. (1929): "King of the Monkeys", in: *Coronet,* vol. 29, no. 2, p. 106.
105 Lieber (1948), *King of the Monkeys*, p. 14.
106 *Pythons Advocated as Pets by Dealer Who Should Know* (1947), p. 7B; "Depressed? You Need a Chimp Around the House", in: *Des Moines Register*, 11 May 1947, p. 6.
107 *Pythons Advocated as Pets by Dealer Who Should Know* (1947), p. 7B.
108 Ibid.
109 Daly, Maureen: "Offbeat Pets of the City", in: *New York Times*, 16 June 1957, p. 203.
110 "Monkeys, the Law Says, Are Vicious as Lions. Owner of Five Little Pets Just Sheds Tears", in: *New York Times*, 22 September 1949, p. 33.
111 Ibid.
112 In the same article, he also puzzlingly claimed that he could "tell a chimp's IQ from the shape of his face. The smart ones have high foreheads and high cheekbones." See Albright (1929): *King of the Monkeys*, p. 105–106.
113 "Everyone Should Have a Monkey, Lion or at Least a Cat as a Pet", in: *Tacoma News Tribune*, 3 July 1968, p. 13.
114 Christy, Bryan (2008): *The Lizard King. The True Crimes and Passions of the World's Greatest Reptile Smugglers*, New York, p. 79.
115 Katherine Grier's excellent work on American petkeeping focuses on domestic pets, with the exception of tropical bird ownership. See Grier, Katherine (2006): *Pets in America. A History*, Chapel Hill.
116 *Monkeys, the Law Says, Are Vicious as Lions* (1949), p. 33.
117 I do not know how the story ends, but Crawford's suspended sentence was on the verge of being revoked because Crawford refused to surrender the animals and their relocation to Brooklyn still fell within the city limits. See "Monkeys or Liberty, Fancier Has a Choice", in: *New York Times*, 1 October 1949, p. 28.
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