

In Alfred Russel Wallace's Shadow: His Forgotten Assistant, Charles Allen (1839–1892)

KEES ROOKMAAKER AND JOHN VAN WYHE*

The famous naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace took a young Englishman named Charles Martin Allen with him to the Malay Archipelago in 1854. Allen has remained a shadowy figure and until now almost nothing was known about his life. Wallace trained Allen to collect and prepare natural history specimens of birds and insects. Allen worked for Wallace first in Singapore, the Malay Peninsula and Sarawak (1854–6) and later in the Moluccas and New Guinea (1860–2). In the intervening years Allen was employed by the Borneo Company Ltd and was mentioned in letters by Rajah James Brooke. The considerable extent to which Allen contributed to Wallace's collecting in the Malay Archipelago has also been unappreciated. When Wallace returned home in 1862 Allen first worked in the Carimons, and—after his marriage in 1863—in the Malay Peninsula and Singapore. He worked for John Fisher, developing mines at Chindrass in Malaya and then settled as manager of the Perseverance Estate in Geylang, Singapore. Allen and his eight children became respected members of the community into the twentieth century.

Introduction

Almost nothing has been published about Charles Martin Allen, the assistant of the famous naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), who is known for his travels in the Malay Archipelago between 1854 and 1862 and his Ternate Essay leading to the first public statements about the theory of evolution.¹ In his autobiography, Wallace introduced Allen as

... a London boy, the son of a carpenter who had done a little work for my sister, and whose parents were willing for him to go with me to learn to be a collector. He was sixteen years old, but quite undersized for his age, so that no one would have taken him for more than thirteen or fourteen. He remained with me about a year and a half, and learned to shoot and to catch insects pretty well, but not to prepare them properly. He was rather of a religious turn, and when I left Borneo he decided to stay with the bishop and become a teacher. After a year or two, however, he returned to Singapore, and got employment on some plantations. About five years later

* Kees Rookmaaker (PhD) is a historian of the biological sciences and Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Biological Sciences at the National University of Singapore. John van Wyhe (BA, MA, PhD (Cantab)) is a historian of science and Senior Lecturer in the Departments of Biological Sciences & History and a Fellow of Tembusu College at the National University of Singapore.

¹ Van Wyhe and Rookmaaker (2012).

he joined me in the Moluccas [in Ambon Island] as a collector. He had grown to be a fine young man, over six feet. When I returned home he remained in Singapore, married, and had a family. He died some fifteen years since.²

Wallace mentioned that Charles had expressed a wish to become a collector.³ Wallace's sister Frances (Fanny) (1812–93) married Thomas Sims (1826–1910), a photographer in London.⁴ In 1852 Thomas and Fanny lived at 44 Upper Albany Street, near Regent's Park in London and it is likely that Allen's family lived in the same district.⁵

Although Wallace stated that Allen was 'sixteen years old' in 1854, his birth certificate shows he was in fact fourteen on departure from England. The commonness of the name Allen has made it difficult to locate him. However, the birth of Charles Martin Allen on 9 June 1839 was registered in the District of Saint Pancras, sub-district of Regent's Park. The entry identifies his father as John Allen, a wheelwright, and his mother as Elizabeth Mary Allen (née Alavoine) of 21 Mary Street, Hampstead. According to the UK census of 1851, the family had moved to 42 Little Albany Street North, Regent's Park, St. Pancras, recording John Allen born in 1810, Elizabeth Alavoine in 1811, while Charles had a brother James born in 1837. As his father was a working man, Charles would have had a simple upbringing. He was, however, literate and must have been to school, probably in the Regent's Park district of London.

The details of Allen's life in this paper have been reconstructed using four short obituaries published in Singapore newspapers after his death in 1892, most probably supplied by members of his family (*see* Appendix). No family papers, correspondence or photographs have been found.

Through the offices of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in London, Wallace obtained free passage on a naval ship. During the exchange of letters about the Admiralty's assistance, Henry Norton Shaw (d.1868), RGS Secretary, wrote to Lord John Wodehouse (1826–1902) at the Foreign Office on 16 February 1854:

With reference to your Lordships letter of yesterday stating that H.M. Government would defray the expense of Mr Wallace's passage to Australia in one of the Mail Packets, I have to inform your Lordship that Mr Wallace will at once accept Lord Clarendon's kind offer, which he hopes will include his servant lad, who was by permission of the Lords of the Admiralty allowed to accompany him on board HMS 'Frolic' and 'Juno'. ... Mr Wallace would therefore feel greatly obliged if through your Lordships kind consideration he might be granted as soon as practicable a passage with his assistant direct to Singapore instead of to Australia.⁶

² Wallace (1905, I: 340).

³ *Ibid.*: 176.

⁴ Wood (1871).

⁵ Wallace (1905, I: 263, 313).

⁶ Letter by H. N. Shaw to J. Wodehouse, 16 Feb. 1854. (Copied in letterbook, RGS).

The 'servant lad' and 'assistant' in this letter of course both refer to Charles Allen. The destination was successfully changed from Australia to Singapore, and the ship from a naval vessel to a commercial liner.

The Admiralty organized the passage of both Wallace (first class) and Allen (presumably second class) in a steamer of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O). They travelled on the *Euxine* (Captain E. Cooper), a slow paddle steamer built in 1847 to accommodate 80 first-class and 18 second-class passengers. Leaving Southampton on Saturday 4 March 1854 with about 70 passengers on board,⁷ they passed Gibraltar on 10 March, and Malta a few days later to reach Alexandria on 20 March.⁸ Wallace and Allen toured the city riding on donkeys:

Now then behold your friend mounted upon a jackass in the streets of Alexandria, a boy behind holding by his tail and whipping him up, Charles (who had been lost sight of in the crowd) upon another, and my guide upon a third, and off we go among a crowd of Jews and Greeks, Turks and Arabs, and veiled women and yelling donkey-boys to see the city.⁹

After crossing the Egyptian desert via Cairo to Suez, they transferred to the *Bengal*, leaving port on 26 March 1854. They stopped for a day in Aden and reached Point de Galle in Ceylon about 9 April.¹⁰ A third P&O steamer, the *Pottinger*, took them to Singapore: 'The Peninsular and Oriental Company's steam ship *Pottinger*, Captain Stead, arrived here yesterday at 8 P.M., having left Bombay April 3rd, Galle the 10th, and Penang the 17th instant.'¹¹ The list of passengers included Wallace, but not Allen, presumably because he travelled as a servant. Allen would never emerge from the shadow of his more capable and famous employer.

At first, Wallace was unhappy with Charles's abilities and habits. He wrote to his mother (Mary Anne née Greenell) from Singapore on 30 April 1854 that 'Charles gets on pretty well in health, and catches a few insects; but he is very untidy, as you may imagine by his clothes being all torn to pieces by the time we arrived here. He will no doubt improve and will soon be useful'.¹² When camping in the jungle near Malacca in July 1854, Wallace again wrote to his mother:

So far both I and Charles have enjoyed excellent health. He can now shoot pretty well, and is so fond of it that I can hardly get him to do anything else. He will soon be very useful, if I can cure him of his incorrigible carelessness. At present I cannot trust him to do the smallest thing without watching that he does it properly, so that I might generally as well do it myself.¹³

⁷ *Times*, 6 March 1854.

⁸ *Times*, 25 March 1854, 4 April 1854.

⁹ Wallace to George Silk, 26 March 1854, NHM-WP1/3/27, partly in Marchant (1916, I: 45).

¹⁰ Wallace (1905, I: 335).

¹¹ *Straits Times*, 19 April 1854.

¹² NHM-WP1/3/28; Wallace (1901; 1905, I: 48).

¹³ NHM-WP1/3/30; Marchant (1916, I: 49).

Wallace wrote to his mother again from Singapore on 30 September 1854:

If it were not for the expense, I would send Charles home. I think I could not have chanced upon a more untidy or careless boy. After 5 months I have still to tell him to put things away after he has been using them as the first week. He is very strong & able to do any thing, but can be trusted to do nothing out of my sight.¹⁴

Allen's work improved by 1856 when he left Wallace, who had come to trust him well enough with zoological specimens to hire him to collect independently. In fact, Wallace mentioned to Samuel Stevens (1817–99), his agent in London, that English names of insects were 'necessary for the use of my boy Charley, who is now a rather expert collector'.¹⁵

To Singapore and Borneo with Wallace

Allen accompanied Wallace for the next few years, helping to collect insects and birds in Singapore (Bukit Timah and Pulau Ubin) in May–June 1854, on a trip to Mount Ophir on the Malay Peninsula in July–August 1854, again in Singapore in September–October 1854, and in Sarawak from 1 November 1854. During their long sojourn in Borneo they first stayed in Rajah James Brooke's bungalow in Kuching and explored the Sarawak River valley as far as Bau and Bidi. In March 1855 they moved to Simunjan, where they met Robert Coulson, the supervising engineer of the coal mines which had recently been opened. Here they built a small 'temporary hut' for their 1½-year stay.¹⁶

One day at Simunjan, young Charley (as Wallace called him) alerted Wallace that a orang utan or *mias* had been seen nearby. The incident is recorded by Wallace, quoting a few words by Charles Allen:

One afternoon I had just come home from an Entomologizing excursion & was preparing for a bathe when Charley rushed in, out of breath with running & excitement & exclaimed by jerks. 'Get the gun sir—be quick—such a large mias—oh!'—'Where' said I, 'Close by'—he can't get away.' So the gun was got out & one barrel being ready loaded with ball I started off calling upon two Dyaks who happened to be in the house at the time to accompany me & ordering Charles to bring all the ammunition after me as quick as possible.¹⁷

On 12 March 1855 Wallace mentioned that Allen had caught for him a beetle, 'a specimen of the rare & handsome *Macronota diardi* [now *Coilodera diardi*], the second specimen I had obtained'.¹⁸ There is daily breakdown of the insect specimens collected by Allen between 4 August and 18 October 1855, totalling for all

¹⁴ NHM-WP1/3/32; partly in Marchant (1916, 1: 51).

¹⁵ Wallace (1855).

¹⁶ Helms in Marchant (1916, I: 38).

¹⁷ *Notebook 4* in Linnean Society of London; similar text in Wallace (1869, I: 72).

¹⁸ *Notebook 4*.

orders 6198 individuals, which averaged (as no collecting was done on Sundays) to just over a hundred per day.¹⁹

In November 1856 Allen took the collections to Kuching by ship, while Wallace went off to explore the Sadong River, arriving on 6 December. They stayed in Rajah James Brooke's bungalow 'Peninjau' on Bukit Serambu.²⁰ In his *Notebook 2/3*, Wallace has a breakdown of daily catches at Peninjau from 13 to 20 December and again from 31 December to 18 January 1856.²¹ During the first period he collected 368 moths while Allen took 114 insects, while during the second period there is only a tally of 1018 moths found by Wallace. This suggests that Allen stayed in town after Christmas 1855.

Employment in Borneo

When Wallace returned to Singapore in February 1856 Allen opted to stay in Sarawak. Wallace wrote to his sister Fanny:

Charles has left me. He has staid [sic] with the Bishop at Sarawak who wants teachers & is going to try to educate him for me. I offered to take him on with me paying him a fair price for all the insects &c. he collected, but he preferred to stay. I hardly know whether to be glad or sorry he has left. It saves me a great deal of trouble & annoyance & I feel it quite a relief to be without him. On the other hand it is a considerable loss for me, as he had just begun to be valuable in collecting. I must now try & teach a China boy to collect & pin insects.²²

In his book he said that 'Charles Allen preferred staying at the Mission-house and afterward obtained employment in Sarawak and in Singapore, till he again joined me four years later at Ambon, in the Moluccas.'²³

In the small European community in Kuching of the 1850s Wallace would have known Francis Thomas McDougall (1817–86), the first Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak 1849–1868, and his wife Harriette (1817–86). McDougall had built a mission house and a church, and established a school. There is no mention of Charles being part of the mission work in the personal recollections published by Harriette or in the bishop's memoirs.²⁴ However, they must have known Wallace and most probably met, as on one occasion at a dinner party, 'Captain Brooke's [Charles Brooke, 1829–1917] insect treasures were produced, for a visit from Mr. Wallace the naturalist had given rise to a rage for collecting, and some Dyak shields were examined adorned by locks of human hair taken in warfare.'²⁵

Letters exchanged between Wallace and Rajah James Brooke (1803–68) show that they were on friendly terms.²⁶ The Rajah's biographer recalled that:

¹⁹ *Notebook 4*: 3b.

²⁰ Wallace (1869, I: 131); Cranbrook et al. (2005).

²¹ *Notebook 2/3* (page facing p. 1).

²² Wallace to Frances Sims, 29 Feb. 1856, NHM-WP1/3/37.

²³ Wallace (1869, I: 97).

²⁴ McDougall (1854, 1882); Bunyon (1889).

²⁵ Bunyon (1889: 133).

²⁶ Runciman (2010: 119).

We had at this time in Sarawak, the famous naturalist, traveller, and philosopher, Mr Alfred Wallace, who was then elaborating in his mind the theory which was simultaneously worked out by Darwin—the theory of the origin of species; and if he could not convince us that our ugly neighbours, the orang-outangs, were our ancestors, he pleased, delighted, and instructed us by his clever and inexhaustible flow of talk—really good talk. The Rajah was pleased to have so clever a man with him, as it excited his mind, and brought out his brilliant ideas. No man could judge by seeing him in society. It was necessary to get him at his cottage at Paninjow, with his clever visitor Wallace, or with his nephew Charles, the present Rajah, who was full of the crudest notions, the result of much undigested reading.²⁷

There would have been no particular reason for Brooke to have noticed Allen during one of his visits to Wallace, but he certainly knew him. He even included some news about him in a letter to Wallace dated Sarawak, 4 July 1856: ‘Your youngster Charles—now Martin is at Linga with Chambers—they say he is not clever at books and when here he appeared damped & disheartened.’²⁸ On 5 November 1856 he wrote to Wallace from Singapore with more news:

Charles alias Martin alias Allen was miserable at the mission—the constraint was more than he could bear, which might have been foreseen had his previous life been considered before putting him into theological harness. He came to government employ though I had nothing for him to do, but I dare say he will get on in the employ of the Company who will work now acquainted with the language.²⁹

Allen obviously only stayed briefly at the mission and went to help Rev. Chambers (1824–93), who had arrived in Sarawak in 1851 and temporarily worked on the Linga River where he erected a church at Banting.³⁰

Next Allen went to work for the Borneo Company Ltd. which, since its establishment in 1856, had explored mining concessions at Simunjan and elsewhere in Sarawak. The local office of the company was run by a Danish merchant, Ludvig Verner Helms, who had contacts with the trading-house of MacEwen & Co. Singapore.³¹ Helms became acquainted with Wallace in Sarawak and visited him at the mines to discuss natural history.³² He also recalled later in life that:

When Wallace left Sarawak after his fifteen months’ residence in the country, he left his young assistant, Charles Allen, there. He entered my service, and remained some time after the formation of the Borneo Company. Later, he again joined Wallace, and then went to New Guinea, doing valuable collecting and exploring work. He finally settled in Singapore, where I met him in

²⁷ St John (1879: 274).

²⁸ James Brooke to Wallace, 4 July 1856, British Library, London, Add 46441.

²⁹ James Brooke to Wallace, 5 November 1856, British Library, London, Add 46441.

³⁰ McDougall (1882: 41).

³¹ Cox & Metcalfe (1998).

³² Marchant (1916, I: 38).

1899. He had married and was doing well; but died not long after my interview with him. He had come to the East with Wallace as a lad of 16, and had been his faithful companion and assistant during years of arduous work.³³

The date 1899 must be incorrect as Allen had died in 1892.

Wallace was fortunate to miss the revolt of March 1857 by Chinese miners who overran the town of Kuching and forced Rajah Brooke and many of the Europeans to flee. Although Allen's whereabouts are unknown, this may have affected his work with the mission and have initiated his move to the Borneo Company. Neither is it known how long he stayed with them, or where he was stationed. It is likely, though, that his employment gave him first-hand practical experience in mining exploration and administration. He may well have stayed in their employ until Wallace asked for his assistance again three years later. There must have been written communications between Wallace and Allen to effect this, but no letters have ever come to light.

Second Collecting Trip on Behalf of Wallace, 1860–1862

Allen joined Wallace again at the end of January 1860 in Passo on Ambon Island.³⁴ Wallace had made him an offer, which probably involved an agreement that Allen was to collect insects, birds and other animals for a predetermined amount. Allen, therefore, travelled and worked independently from Wallace for the next two years, with all collections transferred to Wallace. His itinerary and activities in 1860–2 were reconstructed by Baker³⁵ using the scanty documentation available in Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago*, his shorter papers on the fauna of islands where Allen alone collected, Wallace's notebooks³⁶ as well as brief records in the accessions registers of the Natural History Museum, London (NHM). In Wallace's *Notebook 5* (in NHM) there are details of financial transactions between him and Allen (Fig. 1). These accounts are only partly dated, but they were apparently entered in chronological sequence.³⁷ This has led to a few alternatives to the routes and dates of Allen's journeys proposed by Baker.³⁸ The same notebook contains details of the collections made by Allen and the amounts paid for them.

Wallace included the route of Allen's travels in his large map of the Malay Archipelago.³⁹ His own routes are shown in a dark line, while 'M^r. Allen's routes shown thus' with a thinner grey line. The map is, however, far from a complete or reliable record of Allen's independent travels. It shows a route from Ambon to Seram and Misool (both southern and northern areas), but from there to Ternate the

³³ Helms in Marchant (1916, I: 38).

³⁴ Wallace (1869, I: 303).

³⁵ Baker (2001).

³⁶ Pearson (2005).

³⁷ *Notebook 5*, pp. 30–1, 36–7, 40–1.

³⁸ Baker (2001).

³⁹ Wallace (1869, I: facing p. vii).

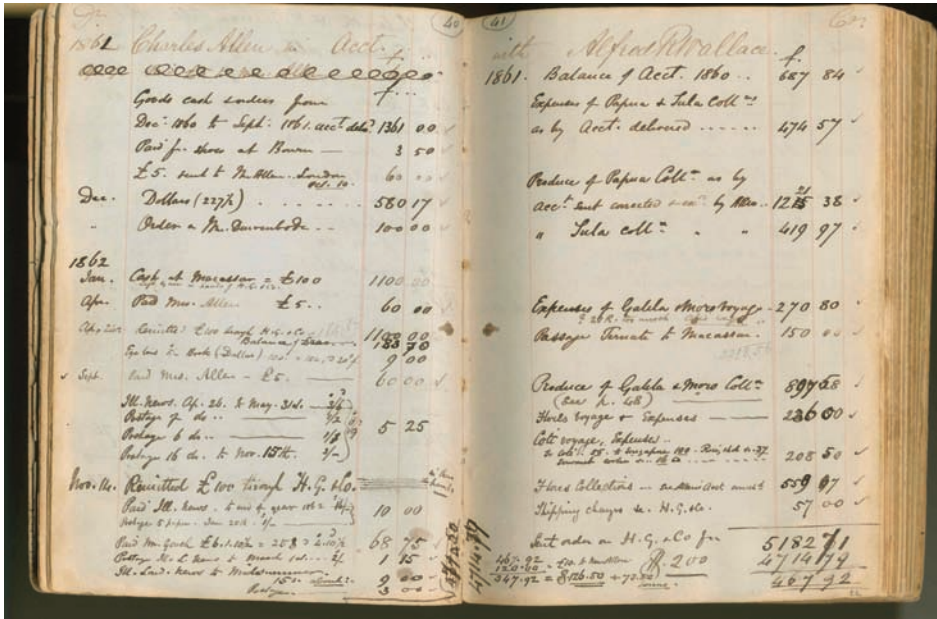


FIG. 1. A page from A.R. Wallace’s *Notebook 5* (pp. 40–1) showing an example of the accounts kept of Allen’s collecting trip in 1860–2. (Photo courtesy of the Natural History Museum, London.)

line is partly obscured by Wallace’s own travels. The next stages to Halmahera and Morotai are absent (unless it is the much darker line drawn there), as is Allen’s journey to New Guinea. In the interior of Vogelkop Peninsula of New Guinea a line is drawn from the words ‘Mr. Allen’ to the Sula islands, without a branch to Buru. There is a line again from Sula to Ternate (partly obscured), but later travels to Flores, Solor, Macassar, Borneo and Singapore are absent.

According to the available records explained below, Allen made the following travels in 1860–2 on behalf of Wallace:

1860	January	Ambon
	February–September	Seram and Misool
	October	Ternate
	November–December	Halmahera and Morotai Island
	December	Ternate
1861	January–June	New Guinea
	June	Buru
	July–August	Sula Islands
	September	Ternate
	October–December	Flores and Solor
1862	January	Makassar
	January–February	Borneo
	February	Singapore

Ambon

When Wallace left Ambon on 24 February 1860 Allen was ready to set out to Misool, where Wallace hoped Allen would be able to procure skins of birds of paradise.⁴⁰ He had found him two assistants: 'An Ambon Christian named Theodorus Matakena, who had been for some time with me, and had learned to skin birds very well, agreed to go with Allen, as well as a very quiet and industrious lad named Cornelius, whom I had brought from Menado.'⁴¹ Wallace paid one of these (named Hiodones, possibly a surname, in the accounts) wages for the first eight months (80 guilders) followed by a ninth month in Ternate (8 guilders).⁴² The second assistant does not appear in the accounts. On 14 February 1860 Wallace had written to Stevens in London to order 'three cheap small double-barrelled guns' to be sent 'overland to Ternate, to be ready for my next year's campaign to New Guinea. They are absolutely necessary for me, as I have now with me Charles Allen, who went out with me, and we must have a double quantity of tools to work with.'⁴³

Seram and Misool

Allen spent about eight months on Misool, a small island between Seram and New Guinea from February to September 1860. According to the accounts, Allen travelled from Ambon to Wahai on Seram (cost 15 guilders) and onwards to Misool (25 guilders).⁴⁴ A house was rented in Misool for 4 guilders (duration unknown). There are further entries for passage from Misool to Wahai (10 guilders), from Wahai to Waigama on Misool (25 guilders) and from Waigama to Ternate (30 guilders). An entry of 'boys passage to Ambon' was deleted, but it is likely that the two assistants returned to Ambon from Ternate in 1860.

From late February 1860 Allen stayed at Lelintah (Silinta) on the south coast of Misool for about 4½ months.⁴⁵ After he wrote to Wallace that he was sick and short of supplies, the latter made arrangements to meet him in June 1860. However, bad weather prevented him landing on Misool between 17 June (leaving Seram) and 5 July (arriving on Waigeo). About the same time, Allen travelled in the opposite direction to Wahai to look for Wallace, only to find that he had already left. Allen probably reached Seram around 1 July 1860, and stayed for 2½ months (July–September 1860). He then went back to Misool, staying for two weeks on the north coast (near Waigama), and took the last prao of the season to Ternate, where he probably arrived in mid-October 1860.⁴⁶

Carl von Rosenberg (1817–88), a German naturalist, was stranded at Lelintah from 3–9 July 1860 due to adverse weather conditions. Although he aimed to enrich his natural history collections there, he found the wildlife depleted after Allen's thorough collecting activities:

⁴⁰ Wallace (1862b).

⁴¹ Wallace (1869, I: 476).

⁴² *Notebook 5*: 31.

⁴³ Wallace (1860).

⁴⁴ *Notebook 5*: 32.

⁴⁵ Wallace (1869, II: 384).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 382.

Naturally I used my involuntary stay as much as possible to enrich my natural history collections and to obtain information on people and places. The zoological results were rather limited, since a taxidermist of my friend Wallace had been for two months at Lelinta for the same purpose and had combed the whole neighbourhood so thoroughly that little remained to shoot or to catch.⁴⁷

Rosenberg is vague about meeting Allen in Silinta, and it could well be that he was informed about Allen's stay without actually contacting him. If Rosenberg did meet Allen at the time, Allen must have left very soon afterwards to look for Wallace in Seram.

Allen collected mammals, birds, beetles, butterflies and land shells for Wallace.⁴⁸ On Seram he collected 789 butterflies and moths, 783 beetles, 609 miscellaneous insects and 168 birds; on Misool 1083 butterflies and moths, 5245 beetles, 2596 miscellaneous insects, 503 birds and 188 land shells. He also found (place unstated) 3 pairs of eggs, 1 cassowary egg, 24 mammals and 8 birds of paradise. The total amount of Allen's earnings was 1382.04 guilders.

Wallace sent specimens collected by Allen on Misool and Seram to England in January 1861, in the same consignment as his own collections from Seram and Waigiou, together totalling 13,651 items. The birds obtained by Allen on Misool (representing 100 species) were described by G. R. Gray.⁴⁹ Mees listed a specimen of *Gallinago megala* in NHM labelled as collected on Misool in 1860 by Wallace.⁵⁰

Ternate

Allen arrived in Ternate around mid-October 1860.⁵¹ When Wallace reached the island on 5 November, he asked Allen to explore the neighbouring island of Halmahera (Gilolo), leaving Ternate again on 3 January 1861 bound for Timor.

Halmahera and Morotai

From Ternate Allen travelled through Halmahera, taking a route from Jailolo, along the east coast northward to Galela, where he crossed the strait to Morotai (Morty) Island. His trip lasted 'two or three months',⁵² which must have been between November 1860 and March 1861.⁵³ In Wallace's accounts kept for Allen, there are several entries dated between 17 and 29 December 1860, including the last one of a large cash advance of 350 guilders.⁵⁴ Allen must have been on Ternate at the time, and therefore could have gone to Halmahera either for a month in November–December, or for a rather more extended period in January–February 1861 after Wallace's departure.

⁴⁷ Translated from Rosenberg (1878: 376).

⁴⁸ *Notebook 5*.

⁴⁹ Gray (1861).

⁵⁰ Mees (1980).

⁵¹ Wallace (1869, II: 385).

⁵² *Ibid.*: 14.

⁵³ Baker (2001: 293).

⁵⁴ *Notebook 5*: 36.

A shorter journey to Halmahera in 1860 can be inferred from a letter written by Wallace to Stevens on 7 December 1860, saying that 'C. Allen starts in a week or two for N. Guinea—to the true locality for the rarer Birds of Paradise, and I trust he may be successful.'⁵⁵ If that was the plan, maybe Wallace wrote while Allen was expected back in the middle of December to prepare for his New Guinea trip. This timeline is supported by the diary of German missionary Johann Gottlob Geissler (1830–70), who left Ternate bound for New Guinea during the last days of 1860, in the company of an unnamed naturalist.⁵⁶ While Allen would have been pleased to have been described as a naturalist, this appears to confirm that he reached Salawatti in the company of Geissler in January 1861.

Wallace did not include any Halmahera (Gilolo) specimens in his shipment to Stevens sent in January 1861; these were included in the next consignment of July 1861.⁵⁷ Wallace mentions 'large collections of birds and insects' obtained on separate occasions in Halmahera by Allen and his other assistant called Ali.⁵⁸ Baker stated that *Notebook 5* does not specify the collections made in Gilolo and Morty, assuming that they were combined with animals obtained in New Guinea.⁵⁹ He overlooked the list of 'C. Allen's Galela & Moro Coll.', where Galela is a town in northeastern Halmahera and Moro short for Morotai Island.⁶⁰ The Halmahera collections consisted of 463 birds and 2 eggs, 9 mammals (7 bats, 1 cuscus, 1 pig's head), 315 butterflies, 110 moths, 4022 beetles, 1460 miscellaneous insects and 36 land shells. The total amount paid for these collections was calculated by Wallace as 897.58 guilders.

Allen collected both sexes of the rare butterfly *Iphia sulphurea*, which were later mentioned by Wallace.⁶¹ Smith listed Hymenoptera from Gilolo and Morty.⁶² Birds collected by Allen were included in shipments to England on 20 July 1861 and in November 1861. Some birds from these localities were described for the first time by Wallace:⁶³ *Loriculus amabilis*, *Tanyptera doris*, *Acrocephalus insularis*, *Butalis hypogrammica*, *Criniger simplex*, *Tropidorhynchus fuscicapillus* and *Erythrura modesta*. J. E. Gray named a new species of bat *Cynopterus albiventer* from Morty.⁶⁴

New Guinea and Buru

Allen must have reached New Guinea in the company of the missionary Geissler in early January 1861. His stay in the country could have lasted about five months before he proceeded to Sula *via* Buru (Bourru) Island. Wallace recorded a number

⁵⁵ Wallace (1861).

⁵⁶ Haga (1884: 157).

⁵⁷ Baker (2001: 294).

⁵⁸ Wallace (1869, II: 14).

⁵⁹ Baker (2001: 293).

⁶⁰ *Notebook 5*: 48.

⁶¹ Wallace (1863c).

⁶² Smith (1865).

⁶³ Wallace (1862a).

⁶⁴ Gray (1863).

of financial transactions dated 19 June 1861 at Bourru⁶⁵ as well as a list of Allen's 'Papuan Collection received at Bouru' dated June 1861.⁶⁶ Wallace was in Buru from 4 May to 21 June 1861; there he stayed in Waypoti for most of the time. In his manuscript list of birds collected at Buru, he mentioned on 10 June 'Ch. at Cajeli!' (having just arrived from New Guinea), on 11 June 'Ch. Allen came pm', on 14 June 'C. Allen returned am' and on 21 June 'Charles left'.⁶⁷ Clearly, Allen travelled direct from New Guinea to Buru, where Wallace had waited for him before moving back to Ternate for the last time (26 June–4 July). This explains how Wallace was able to include both Allen's Gilolo collection and his New Guinea collection (delivered at Buru) in his shipment sent from Surabaya (Java) on 20 July 1861.

Allen used Wallace's prao fitted out at Goram for his journey to New Guinea.⁶⁸ Accompanied by a (probably native) lieutenant and two soldiers provided by the Sultan of Tidore, he first landed at Salawatti (Salwatty), an island off the western extremity of New Guinea. He then moved to Sorong on the west coast of the Vogelkop Peninsula and tried to penetrate into the interior of the peninsula in search of birds of paradise.

Notebook 5 has two slightly different lists of Allen's 'Papuan' (p. 35) or Salwatty and New Guinean (p. 39) collections. Apparently the first list was provided by Allen, while the second one shows calculations made by Wallace. According to the latter, the collection consisted of 468 birds, 22 birds of paradise, 11 mammals, 843 butterflies, 4166 beetles, 2313 miscellaneous insects and 419 land shells. The total earnings of Allen for his efforts were calculated at 1221.38 guilders.

Wallace sent these collections to England as part of his consignment mailed from Surabaya on 20 July 1861, listed as 'N.Guinea Birds & Mammals'. The British Museum purchased from Stevens first 85 Lepidoptera and Coleoptera and later 346 Hymenoptera, Diptera and Hemiptera collected on 'New Guinea and Salwatty'.⁶⁹ Diptera from these localities were described by Walker⁷⁰ and Hymenoptera by Smith.⁷¹

Allen clearly had trouble obtaining birds of paradise,⁷² but he was able to collect 10 specimens of '*Seleucidis alba*' (the Twelve-wired Bird of Paradise, *Seleucidis melanoleuca*) as well as 12 examples of '*Paradisaea papuana*' (Lesser Bird of Paradise, *Paradisaea minor*) and *P. regia* (King Bird of Paradise, *Cicinnurus regius*). A few birds from other groups were described by Wallace: 'The birds now brought before the Society were collected by my assistant, Mr. Allen, on his last voyage.'⁷³ These included five species thought to be new, but two of these had actually previously

⁶⁵ *Notebook 5*: 36.

⁶⁶ *Notebook 5*: 35.

⁶⁷ *Notebook 5*: 48, 49, 52.

⁶⁸ Wallace (1869, II: 420).

⁶⁹ Baker (2001: 295).

⁷⁰ Walker (1865a, 1865b).

⁷¹ Smith (1865).

⁷² Wallace (1869, II: 421).

⁷³ Wallace (1862c).



FIG. 2. The Orange-bellied Fruit Dove (*Ptilinopus iozonus humeralis*), first described by A. R. Wallace in 1862 from a specimen collected by Charles Allen in New Guinea. (From *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* 1862, pl. XIX, drawn and engraved by Joseph Wolf, 1820–99.)

been named: Red-fronted Lorikeet *Charmosyna rubronotata* (Wallace, 1862), Blue-black Kingfisher *Todiramphus nigrocyaneus* (Wallace, 1862), Broad-billed Fairy-wren *Malurus grayi* (Wallace, 1862) besides the Golden Myna *Mino anais* (Lesson, 1839) [*Gracula pectoralis*] and Orange-bellied Fruit-Dove *Ptilinopus iozonus* (G.R. Gray, 1858) [*Ptilinopus humeralis*] (Fig. 2).

Sula Islands

After his visit to New Guinea Allen ‘went to the Sula Islands, and made a very interesting collection’.⁷⁴ Allen travelled from New Guinea to Buru and onwards to the Sula Islands without passing Ternate according to the map showing Allen’s routes.⁷⁵ The dates of Allen’s visit are again uncertain. Wallace mentioned that ‘I arranged with my assistant, Mr. Allen, to go there [Sula] for two months. Owing to bad weather, ill health, and the usual troubles about boats, men, and provisions, he obtained but a very small collection, made on the southern and eastern islands. Only forty-eight species of birds were obtained, yet out of these there were seven new species.’⁷⁶ Baker suggested that the period of two months was August and

⁷⁴ Wallace (1869, II: 385).

⁷⁵ Wallace (1869).

⁷⁶ Wallace (1863a: 333).

September 1861 upon his return from New Guinea.⁷⁷ It is more likely that it was July and August, after having left Wallace in Buru on 21 June 1861.

According to Wallace's list of the *Sula* collections,⁷⁸ Allen collected 353 birds, 558 beetles, 332 butterflies and moths, 487 miscellaneous insects and 35 land shells; for these he was paid a total of 419.97 guilders.

Allen worked on the southern and eastern *Sula* Islands [Sanana and Magole islands]. His specimens were included in Wallace's shipment of 1 October 1861 from Batavia. The Hymenoptera were described by Smith together with specimens from other locations.⁷⁹ The British Museum purchased birds of *Sula* from Stevens in December 1861 (28 specimens), including ten species not previously represented in their holdings: *Loriculus sclateri*, *Psitteuteles flavoviridis*, *Oriolus frontalis*, *Criniger longirostris*, *Pitta crassirostris*, *Pelargopsis melanorhynchus*, *Chibia pectoralis*, *Artamus monachus*, *Hypotaenidia sulcirostris* and *Rallina minahassa*.⁸⁰

Ternate

Three entries in Wallace's accounts appear to show that Allen passed Ternate after his stay in the *Sula* Islands. In *Notebook 5* (p. 37) Wallace wrote in the margin that 'Allen returned Ternate 1 September 1861', a rare instance where place and date are clearly combined. There is an entry of an advance of 'cash of Mr. Jungmichel' [without locality] dated 1 September and one for a 'passage Ternate to Macassar' costing 150 guilders without date.⁸¹ Wallace had obviously left the financial transactions to a trusted person in Ternate, Johann Alexander Jungmichel (b.1823), the son of the deceased vicar.

Ternate may have been the nearest place where Allen could easily obtain passage to other parts of the archipelago. He would have taken the monthly steamer from Ternate via Menado to Makassar, leaving Ternate around 10 September 1861. He may well have packed all his collections in boxes and sent them on the same steamer to Batavia via Surabaya to be delivered to Wallace when he reached the Javanese capital. The *Sula* collections were largely included in Wallace's consignment sent from Batavia on 1 October 1861.

Flores and Solor

Wallace said that Allen's 'next journey was to Flores and Solor, where he obtained some valuable materials',⁸² but the route is not shown on his map. Allen would have spent 'two months'⁸³ or 'nearly four months'⁸⁴ or 'some months' in Flores, which he found very similar in character to Timor and equally unproductive of

⁷⁷ Baker (2001: 295).

⁷⁸ *Notebook 5*: 38.

⁷⁹ Smith (1865).

⁸⁰ Baker (2001: 296).

⁸¹ *Notebook 5*: 36.

⁸² Wallace (1869, II: 385).

⁸³ Wallace (1905: 395).

⁸⁴ Wallace (1863b: 480).

insects'.⁸⁵ Flores was reached relatively easily from Makassar. It is likely that Allen's visit to Flores and Solor must be dated between late September or early October and mid-December 1861.

There is no evidence on which localities in Flores Allen visited. Mees speculates that he probably worked in the eastern part of the island near Larantuka.⁸⁶ Wallace could not be more specific; he wrote to Weber that 'he had no further information which region of Flores was visited by Ch. Allen' [translated].⁸⁷

There is no breakdown of Allen's collections in Flores in *Notebook 5*. An entry in the accounts for the cost of the Flores collections calculated at 559.67 guilders says 'see Allen's account'. Probably Wallace accepted Allen's calculations, but did not copy the details into his own records. Wallace listed 86 species of birds obtained by Allen in Flores.⁸⁸ According to Mees,⁸⁹ a few of these records are doubtful, being either based on misidentification or on specimens erroneously labelled as having been obtained on Flores. He mentions the case of *Munia ferruginea* (= *Lonchura malacca ferruginosa*) confined to Java and of *Trichoglossus euteles* known from Timor and islands between Lomblen and Nila. Mees cautions to consider critically any species recorded from Flores by Allen only, if unconfirmed by subsequent collectors. The British Museum obtained 23 birds from Flores in a mixed batch bought from Stevens in December 1863, including new specimens *Rhipidura diluta*, *Pachycephala fulvotincta*, *Taeniopygia insularis*, *Sporaeginthus flaviventris*, *Zosterops aureifrons*, *Dicaeum ignifer*, *Osmotreron floris* and *Accipiter sylvestris*.⁹⁰

Borneo

Wallace had arranged for Allen to visit Coti (Koti) on the Mahakam River on the east coast of Borneo before proceeding to Surabaya (Java) and Sumba Island.⁹¹ There is an entry in the accounts for 'cash at Macassar' dated January 1862.⁹² Allen would have travelled from Flores via Makassar to Borneo, where he may have arrived in early January 1862. He was 'seized with a terrible fever on his arrival at Coti, and after lying there for some weeks, was taken to Singapore in a very bad condition'.⁹³ The accounts list the costs of travel to Coti (55 guilders) and to Singapore (100 guilders), but there is no entry for any collections made in Borneo. Probably Allen was too sick to achieve anything in natural history.

⁸⁵ Wallace (1873: 288).

⁸⁶ Mees (2006: 10).

⁸⁷ Weber (1890: vii).

⁸⁸ Wallace (1863b).

⁸⁹ Mees (2006).

⁹⁰ Baker (2001).

⁹¹ Wallace (1869, II: 385).

⁹² *Notebook 5*: 40.

⁹³ Wallace (1869, II: 385).

Singapore

There is no indication that Wallace expected to see Allen before he returned home. They probably only met on four occasions during Allen's two years' activity as an independent collector: January 1860 in Ambon, November and December 1860 in Ternate, and June 1861 in Buru.

There is an obituary in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (19 July 1904) which reveals, for the first time, that during the final years of his stay Wallace was befriended by John Fisher, a businessman in Singapore. The obituary claimed that Wallace was a frequent guest of Fisher, and it seems likely that he also spoke favourably of Allen to secure him employment.

Allen reached Singapore after Wallace had departed for England on 8 February 1862. It is likely that any remaining collections were shipped by Allen to Wallace in the early part of the year. Wallace and Allen never met again. They may have kept in touch, even if only occasionally, because in his memoirs Wallace mentioned that Allen married, had a family and even that he had died.⁹⁴

Wallace stated a total number of 125,660 specimens resulted from his stay in the Malay Archipelago.⁹⁵ The extent of Allen's collections during 1860–2 are recorded in *Notebook 5*, except those obtained in Flores for which no breakdown has been found (Table 1). It shows that Allen collected over 28,438 insects, birds, mammals and shells during this period. Allen's collections were, of course, integrated into those made by Wallace, but clearly amounted to about a quarter of the total. Nevertheless, his involvement was only cursorily mentioned in Wallace's books. All specimens still preserved in British museums are credited to Wallace, never to Allen. Baker showed that Allen was involved in labelling specimens meant for Wallace's private collection, and two examples of labels in his hand, with single letters only, are illustrated.⁹⁶ Both Baker and Mees suggest that Wallace did not acknowledge the full extent of Allen's contributions to the collecting enterprise.⁹⁷ For instance, 'there is an *Accipiter fasciatus wallacii*, occurring on Flores [collected by Allen], and numerous other species bear Wallace's name', while Allen 'has not been honoured a single time in such a manner'.⁹⁸ However, this was probably to be expected at the time, in a situation where Wallace was the main collector and Allen the paid assistant. Joseph Conrad's character Stein, a philosopher-naturalist-administrator in the East Indies of the novel *Lord Jim* (1900), was partly modelled on Allen's life,⁹⁹ while Allen appeared under his own name in the short story *Freyja of the Seven Isles* of 1912, together with other persons mentioned by Wallace.¹⁰⁰

The financial accounts kept by Wallace in favour of Allen¹⁰¹ show that Wallace paid a total of 4480.64 guilders for specimens and 702.07 guilders for travel

⁹⁴ Wallace (1905, I: 340).

⁹⁵ Wallace (1869, I: xiv).

⁹⁶ Baker (1995: 169, 183).

⁹⁷ Baker (2001); Mees (2006).

⁹⁸ Mees (2006: 10).

⁹⁹ Sherry (1966: 143).

¹⁰⁰ Resink (1961).

¹⁰¹ *Notebook 5*: 30–1, 36–7, 40–1.

expenses, making a total of 5182.71 guilders (Table 1). Compared to other conversions in the account, this translates to about \$1800 or £500 at the time. To put this in context, Wallace (on 14 February 1864) advised Lyell that a (British) mining engineer in Borneo at the time would expect to be paid about £65 monthly. Allen received part of his payment during the time of his travels (presumably for personal expenses), while some money was transferred to 'Mrs. Allen', presumably Charles's mother. At the end of the journey, Allen was paid another \$200 or about £70. He was, therefore, reasonably well rewarded, but it did not leave him any savings to set himself up in business.

TABLE 1. Specimens Collected by Charles Allen on Behalf of A. R. Wallace, 1860–1862

<i>Place/Type</i>	<i>Coleoptera</i>	<i>Lepidoptera</i>	<i>Misc. Insects</i>	<i>Birds</i>	<i>Mammals</i>	<i>Shells</i>	<i>Amount (guilders)</i>
Ambon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Misool	5245	1083	2596	511	24	188	1382.04
Seram	783	789	609	168	–	–	
Halmahera	4022	425	1460	463	9	36	897.58
New Guinea	4166	843	2313	490	11	419	1221.38
Sula	558	332	487	353	–	35	419.97
Flores	?	?	?	?	?	?	559.67
Borneo	–	–	–	–	–	–	
TOTAL	>14.774	>3472	>7465	>1985	>44	>678	4480.64

Marriage and Tin Mining in Carimons, 1862–1865

In the obituary published in the *Daily Advertiser* (8 July 1892) it is stated that on Allen's return to Singapore, 'His next visit was to the Carimons, whither he proceeded with a 'Mr. Hartmann' in connection with tin mining business.' Pulau Karimon Besar, an island about 20 miles west of Singapore, was at the time part of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). It had only a small indigenous population; its main asset was tin ore. In 1854 the potential for tin mining on the island was surveyed by Arend Nicolaas van den Berg, a businessman on the neighbouring island of Sumatra.¹⁰² He negotiated a concession with the ruler of Riau, Raja Mohammed Yusuf, ratified by the Dutch authorities in 1860, resulting in the registration of the Karimon Tinmijnen Maatschappij in Amsterdam. The first manager arrived in Singapore in April 1862 to recruit the (mainly Chinese) workforce, before proceeding to Karimon to build houses and a pier, to construct roads, to dam the rivers and cut some of the forest. Four mines were soon operational and provided employment for some 50 men.¹⁰³ The manager was identified as H. L. J. Haakman, 'directeur-administrateur der Karimon-tinmijnen-maatschappij, te Karimon' in a

¹⁰² Hoëvell (1855).

¹⁰³ Anon. (1863); Netscher (1863).

list of new members of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.¹⁰⁴ 'Hartmann' in the newspaper report of 1892 clearly should have read 'Haakman'. There is no mention of Charles Allen in any of these documents. It is likely that his experience with the Borneo Company mines in Sarawak provided him with an introduction to Haakman, who recruited Allen as an assistant, or maybe to oversee the shipments to Singapore.

Charles Martin Allen, '25 years old and a bachelor', was married on 24 December 1863 to Christina Elizabeth Kulkens, one year his senior, daughter of Gerardus Peter Kulkens. Allen was listed as 'Superintendent of Tin Mine' in the Carimons. Charles and Christina may have met there. Judging from her maiden name she may have been of Dutch (or possibly German) descent. The ceremony at St. Andrews Cathedral in Singapore was performed by the chaplain, Rev. Charles James Waterhouse, and witnessed by Willem Hooglandt and his brother Jan Daniel Hooglandt. Willem Hooglandt was the owner of a general business in Singapore, and it is possible that Allen became acquainted with him as an agent for the mining business in Carimon.

Charles and Christina had eight children, who were all registered or baptised in St. Andrews Cathedral (Table 2). Allen's stated occupation and abode at the times of the christenings are given in Table 3.

It is unknown how long Allen stayed on the Carimons. He was still listed as a resident on the island when his first child was baptised in June 1864, but by the end of 1865 he had moved to Singapore. Allen (and his family) probably stayed in Carimon for about three years, from around May 1862 to the middle of 1865.

TABLE 2. The Children of Charles Martin Allen and Christina Elizabeth née Kulkens, according to records maintained by the Anglican Church in Singapore

<i>Name</i>	<i>M/F</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Date of Baptism</i>	<i>Pastor</i>	<i>Note</i>
1. Elizabeth Christina	F	1864	6 May	4 June	(a)	
2. Amelia	F	1865	21 October	28 November	(a)	
3. John	M	1867	6 May	31 May	(a)	privately baptised
4. Charles Henry	M	1868	3 July	2 September	(a)	
5. Edith	F	1870	27 March	8 June	(b)	
6. James Henry	M	1873	9 June	29 July	(c)	
7. William Martin	M	1878	15 February	29 Jan 1879	(d)	privately baptised
8. Annie Beatrice	F	1880	13 August	30 August	(c)	

(a) Rev. Charles James Waterhouse (1844–90), Chaplain 1863–9

(b) John Alleyne Beckles (1841–78), College Chaplain from 1868

(c) George Frederick Hose (1838–1922), later Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak 1881–1909

(d) William Henry Gomes (1827–1902), Chaplain at St. Andrews School

¹⁰⁴ Anon. (1864: 123).

TABLE 3. Charles Allen's Occupation and Place of Residence in Baptismal Records

1864	Superintendent of tin mines	Carimons
1865	Superintendent of sugar estate	Singapore
1867	Superintendent of tin mines	Kallang
1868	Mining engineer	Singapore
1870	Engineer	Singapore
1873	Mining engineer	Singapore
1879	Planter	Singapore
1880	Planter	Singapore

Residence in Singapore, 1865–1872

Three main sources provide information about Allen's professional and family life in Singapore: the newspaper obituaries on his death in 1892 (*see* Appendix); the baptismal records of his children (Table 3) and listings in the various editions of the *Straits* (or *Singapore*) *Directory* from 1869 onwards (Table 4).

As conditions on the Carimons were difficult for Allen's wife and baby, they decided to move to Singapore and stayed there for the rest of their lives. Allen continued to work in the mining industry and also managed an agricultural estate on the outskirts of the city. His working life was largely in the employ of John Fisher, who ran a number of businesses in Singapore and on the Malay Peninsula.

John Fisher (1821–1904) was christened on 9 September 1821 in Matlock, Derby, U.K. (father: John Fisher, mother: Ellen). His presence in Singapore was apparently first recorded in the *Straits Times* of 16 April 1859 when he advertised the work of the Telok Blangah Steam Engineering Works. Between 1864 and 1886 the *Straits Directory* lists him as an engineer and owner of a number of businesses, including the Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph, Singapore Rice Mills, Perseverance Estate, and as director of the Galena Mining Company Limited (Table 5). He was also said to be one of the initiators of a scheme to build a dock at Tanjong Pagar.¹⁰⁵ Fisher retired to England in 1887, settling near his native Matlock, where he constructed a country mansion in Strathmore which he named Chindrass.¹⁰⁶ Amelia Ferrall, his wife, died there on 28 April 1889.¹⁰⁷ The UK census of 1891 recorded Fisher (retired mechanical and civil engineer) living in the house, together with Margaret A. Skinner (b.1864, probably his niece) of Singapore and Elizabeth Rower of Whittington. The UK census of 1901 repeats this information, recording Fisher 'living on own means' and Miss Skinner as a 'boarder'. Fisher died in early July 1904, at which time the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* could state:

One bright spot in the life of John Fisher was his great friendship for the friend of Darwin, Wallace the naturalist, who in later years acquired such

¹⁰⁵ Anon. (1896).

¹⁰⁶ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 29 July 1904.

¹⁰⁷ *Straits Times*, 29 May 1889.

world-wide fame. Wallace was for some time the guest of Mr Fisher in Singapore, and received much substantial assistance from him at a difficult period in his residence in the East.¹⁰⁸

The friendship between Wallace and Fisher is again mentioned in a spurious obituary published in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* on 2 April 1906, some six years before Wallace died. It also mentions that 'The late Mr Charles Allen, whose many friends yet in Singapore will remember, used often to speak of his friend Wallace, of whom Mr Allen's family hold some interesting reminiscences, connected with his residence in Singapore.' Surely Wallace introduced Allen to Fisher, even if only by word of mouth.

Allen was employed in a number of John Fisher's companies. According to the *Straits Directories*, he was manager of the Singapore, Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph (1881), manager of the Singapore Rice Mills (1882), and engineer or manager of Perseverance Estate (1869–71, 1879, 1882–92) (Table 4). He was also involved in the running of the Chindrass mines.

At the time of the christening of his second daughter in November 1865, Allen is stated to be 'Superintendent of sugar estate' in Singapore. This was the Perseverance Estate, at that time owned by John Fisher. He is listed in a similar capacity at the estate in the *Straits Directories* of 1869, 1870 and 1871, which leads to the assumption that the estate was his permanent residence. It may be noted that in the list of 'principal inhabitants' of the *Straits Directories*, Allen's name was first found in 1869, four years after he took up residence in the town.

Allen was listed as a mining engineer in the records of the christenings of his children born in 1867, 1868, 1870 and 1873 (Table 3). In his obituary in the *Straits Times*, he was said to have been 'collector and magistrate at Klang 25 years ago', i.e. from 1867. In the same year the baptismal records put him in Kallang in charge of a tin mine. The official position in Klang is unlikely as the area was largely unpoliced at a time when Tunku Kudin was fighting.

¹⁰⁸ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 19 July 1904.

TABLE 4. References to C. M. Allen in the *Straits Directories* 1869–1895* and Indications of the Ownership and Management of Perseverance Estate

<i>Date</i>	<i>Listings for Allen, C. M.</i>	<i>Listings for Perseverance Estate</i>
1869	Tanah Merah Road, p. 50	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: Charles Martin Allen
1870	Tanah Merah Road, p. 56	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: Charles Martin Allen
1871	Tanah Merah Road, p. 56	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: Charles Martin Allen
1872	(Klang)	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: W.C. Fisher
1873	(Klang)	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: W.C. Fisher
1874	(Chindrass) Chindrass Mining Co., manager: Charles Martin Allen	Proprietor: John Fisher Engineer: W.C. Fisher
1875	Manager Chindrass Mining Company (Chindrass)	not listed
1876	directory never issued [<i>see</i> Preface of 1877 edition]	
1877	not listed	Proprietor: L. H. Assmus [name unusual, possibly error]
1878	not listed	Proprietor: J. Fisher
1879	Essential oil manufacturer, Gaylang	Proprietor: J. Fisher
1880	not listed	Proprietor: J. Fisher
1881	Manager, Singapore, T. Pagar, N. Harbour Telegraph Co., and manager Perseverance Estate, Gaylang	Proprietor: J. Fisher
1882	Manager, Singapore Rice Mills, Perseverance Estate	Proprietor: J. Fisher Manager: C. M. Allen
1883	Manager, Perseverance Estate	Proprietor: J. Fisher Manager: C. M. Allen
1884	Manager, Perseverance Estate	Proprietor: J. Fisher Manager: C. M. Allen

<i>Date</i>	<i>Listings for Allen, C. M.</i>	<i>Listings for Perseverance Estate</i>
1885	Manager, Perseverance Estate	Proprietor: J. Fisher Manager: C. M. Allen
1886	Manager, Perseverance Estate	Proprietor: J. Fisher Manager: C. M. Allen
1887	Manager, Perseverance Estate, Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen
1888	Proprietor and Manager, Perseverance Estate, Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen
1889	Proprietor and Manager, Perseverance Estate, Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen Assistant Manager: C. Allen
1890	Proprietor and Manager, Perseverance Estate, Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen Assistant Manager: C. H. Allen
1891	Proprietor and Manager, Perseverance Estate, Gaylang on the Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen Assistant Manager: C. H. Allen
1892	Proprietor and Manager, Perseverance Estate, Gaylang on the Changei Road	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen Assistant Manager: C. H. Allen
1893	not listed	Proprietor: C. M. Allen Manager: C. M. Allen Assistant Manager: C. H. Allen
1894	not listed	Proprietor: Mrs. C. M. Allen, executrix of the estate of the late C. M. Allen Manager: C. H. Allen Assistant Manager: J. Allen

* The directory was an annual publication issued by different publishers as the *Straits Calendar and Directory* from 1865 to 1875, the *Singapore Directory for the Straits Settlements* 1877–9 and the *Singapore and Straits Directory* 1880–94. Titles varied slightly over the years (see bibliography). No volume is known for 1876.

TABLE 5. John Fisher in the *Straits Directories*, 1864–1894

<i>Year</i>	<i>Directory of residents (Fisher, J. or John)</i>	<i>Business associated with Fisher</i>
1864	Engineer, Russia Park, New Harbour	
1865	Engineer, High Street	
1866	Engineer	Proprietor [with J. Cameron], Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph
1867	Engineer (Europe)	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph
1868	Engineer, Tanah Merah Road	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph
1869	Tanah Merah Road	Perseverance Estate, Essential Oils
1870	Tanah Merah Road	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph Perseverance Estate
1871	Tanah Merah Road	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph Perseverance Estate
1872	Tanah Merah Road	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph Director (one of four) Chindrass Mining Co. Perseverance Estate
1873	Tanah Merah Road	Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph Perseverance Estate
1874	Tanah Merah Road	Director of Galena Mining Company (Limited) Singapore and New Harbour Telegraph Perseverance Estate Director of Galena Mining Company (Limited)
1875	no address	Proprietor of Telegraph Office
1876	directory not issued	
1877	Engineer, Clarendon Hotel	Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company
1878	not listed	Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company Perseverance Estate
1879	Engineer (Europe)	Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company Perseverance Estate
1880	Proprietor, Perseverance Estate, Changhie Road	Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company Perseverance Estate
1881	not listed	Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company Perseverance Estate
1882	Proprietor Singapore Rice Mills	Singapore Rice Mills Perseverance Estate
1883	not listed	Perseverance Estate
1884	not listed	Perseverance Estate
1885	not listed	Perseverance Estate
1886	not listed	Perseverance Estate
1887	not listed	no entry

Mining in the Malay Peninsula, 1872–1875

According to the obituary in the *Straits Times*, Allen ‘explored the Malay Peninsula in the years 1870 to 1872 for Mr. Fisher, who, as a result, commenced the Galena Co., and the Chindrass Gold Co.’. He may have helped to run these mines for a number of years in the early 1870s as the *Straits Directory* lists him in Klang or Chindrass for 1873, 1874 and 1875. His family may have remained at the Perseverance Estate during this period.

In August 1872 Fisher issued a prospectus of a proposed Galena Mining Company (Limited) founded to ‘work the Galena mines situated in the Districts of Jallor and Raman, in the province of Singora, a dependency of Siam [Champaun District, Thailand], and other mines, to purchase ore, etc. The capital of the company is \$200,000, in 2000 shares of \$100 each’ with a concession granted to Fisher for ten years.¹⁰⁹ On 25 June 1874 A. Davidson, ‘Secretary of the Company, Singapore’ noted a recent visit to the mines by Fisher.¹¹⁰ The Galena Mining Company, with Fisher as one of the chairmen, was advertised in the *Colonial Directory* for 1875. Allen does not seem to have ever worked in these mines, but could possibly have accompanied Fisher on his 1874 trip.

However, Allen remained interested in the Galena mines in Thailand. As late as 1890 a gold mining concession for the Province of Lingi, south of Singora, was signed in favour of ‘Mr. Kim Ching, the Siamese Consul in Singapore, who is in this concession in partnership with Mr. C. M. Allen of Perseverance Estate, Singapore. ... Mr. C. M. Allen has worked about 14 years to obtain his concession.’¹¹¹ How much benefit Allen ever obtained from this enterprise is unknown.

In 1871 John Fisher, accompanied by Sultan Ali of Johore, visited ancient gold deposits at Mount Ophir (Gunung Ledang), but the quantity of gold was insufficient. They proceeded to the old Chindrass mine near Niallis (Nialas, Kampung Nyalas) on the western side of Mount Ophir. Impressed by the potential of this site, Fisher negotiated a concession at this locality with the Sultan of Selangor.¹¹² In 1875 the government surveyor, Dominic Daniel Daly (1844–89), visited the location:

From a place called Klubi I surveyed a track, all through dense jungle, that led to the Chindrass gold mines, near Mount Ophir. Here the Malays still wash out gold-dust excavated from gravel deposits; and they sink short shafts, out of which they get small blocks of stone, which they rudely crush with pestle and mortar, and wash out at a neighbouring stream. The deepest shaft was only 100 feet, and a lode has not yet been discovered.¹¹³

The location of Chindrass is shown on Daly’s map (Fig. 3).

The Chindrass Gold Mining Company was launched in Singapore in March 1871 and enough shares had been taken up by August to commence operations.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ *Straits Times*, 3 August 1872.

¹¹⁰ *Straits Times*, 4 July 1874; *Straits Overland Journal*, 11 July 1874.

¹¹¹ *Straits Times Weekly Issue*, 28 January 1890.

¹¹² Anon. (1873).

¹¹³ Daly (1882: 399).

¹¹⁴ *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 12 August 1871.



FIG. 3. Part of the map published by Dominic Daniel Daly in 1882 (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*), showing the position of the Chindras gold mines in relation to the town of Malacca and Mt Ophir.

Work started in 1872, and in May 1872 ‘Mr. Allen, the Engineer, reports the shaft had been sunk to a depth of 22 feet and that about 3 feet lower the quartz would be reached. The machinery was in course of erection and would soon be completed.’¹¹⁵ This first shaft was later known as the first (Allen’s) shaft and remained the most promising location for gold. A new manager arrived from Australia in October 1872 and supervised the construction of a second (Smith’s) shaft and the installation of a new stamping battery with engine and boiler which had been brought from England.¹¹⁶

Allen may have left Chindras at the end of 1872 when the newly appointed Australian engineer arrived. An unnamed journalist visited the mines in July 1873 and met the acting-manager Charles Burton Buckley (1844–1912), author of *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*, and a board member of the company. He mentioned water in the shaft due to a failure of the sounding drum, and coolies threatening to go on strike. Despite this, he was hopeful for the future as the manager ‘Mr. Stormont evidently is thoroughly up to his work, and I believe that the Chindras Gold Mining Company have at length got the right man in the right place.’¹¹⁷ Therèse Yelverton also went to the mines, but did not allude to the presence of Allen: ‘There is little doubt that the whole of Mount Ophir is studded

¹¹⁵ *Straits Times*, 11 May 1872.

¹¹⁶ Buckley (1874).

¹¹⁷ *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 13 July 1873.

with gold.¹¹⁸ The problems with water in the shafts, insufficient machinery and poor staff morale continued and only slightly improved in May 1874 when 30 tons of quartz had been crushed, yielding about 1¼ ounces to the ton.¹¹⁹

On 7 August 1874 Allen and Buckley were among passengers arriving in Malacca from Singapore.¹²⁰ They went to Chindrass to obtain information for the board and shareholders in Singapore. There was certainly cause for concern regarding the profitability of the works. To explain the current situation, Allen wrote a letter to the editor of the *Straits Times*, which is so far the only known writing of his own composition. It is, therefore, copied here in full.

Having been, from the commencement of the Chindrass Mines, at different times connected with them, I at the present time consider it my duty, for the information of the shareholders, to say a few words concerning the last four months' working and its future prospects. In June last the reef was struck in the lower cross out in Allen's shaft, unfortunately only 3 in. thick. It was then quite evident to any one acquainted with the locality, as the reef in former times has been worked out on both sides of the shaft, that sufficient gold could not be got out of it to pay the heavy expenses of the Mines, and could not lead to the development of the reef, as to test it lower down Smith's shaft would have to be worked at a great expense. When Allen's shaft proved a failure on the lower level, the Managing Director ought to have profited by the experience of the old Malay workings, and have commenced something that might eventually pay and would hold out some prospects to the shareholders, and enable them to have worked the quartz obtained at a profit, instead of putting on all the expenses and staff of the Company in extracting a few ounces of gold, which cost at least four times its value, in order to say they were getting gold.

As the August Gold account published, although it was looked in August, took three months to obtain the quartz, it was extracted from. Gunn's Shaft is merely an old shaft I cleared out amongst the old working, and can lead to nothing permanent, but might yield a good quantity of quartz in conjunction with other works, so that the unproductive expense does not come too heavy on it.

And Chindrass will not pay till less money is laid out on the unproductive stuff, and considerable more in the judicious development of the reef; and being a new country, too much care cannot be taken in exploring the run of the reef, and one or two shafts ought to be sunk clear of the old workings, on contract if possible.

C.M. Allen, Late Manager of the Chindrass Mines, Singapore, 26th Oct., 1874.¹²¹

After one of Allen's visits to Chindrass (in 1873 or 1874), he met the American traveller James Martin Peebles (1822–1922):

¹¹⁸ Yelverton (1873).

¹¹⁹ Buckley (1874).

¹²⁰ *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 22 August 1874.

¹²¹ Allen (1874).

This region is famous for minerals—iron, copper, tin, and gold. Malacca and Siam are said to be the greatest tin countries in the world. I met several times 'Charlie Allen', the young man who accompanied Mr. Wallace during his prolonged explorations in the East Indies. He had just come down from the Chindrass gold-mines in Malacca. These are forty-five miles from the old city of Malacca, and fifteen from Mount Ophir. They promise 'rich', as Californians say. 'Oh for American energy to work them!' exclaimed Mr. Allen.¹²²

After Allen's letter of concern a new manager, Thomas W. Wildbore, took over and considered Chindrass 'a first class mining property'.¹²³ It was soon rumoured, however, that the new manager was less effective than expected. An open letter by 'shareholders' was written to 'protest against the employment of a highly paid manager to direct the works and allowing him to be absent from the mine for long periods', being found more often 'in the town of Malacca where he has nothing to do' than in the mines.¹²⁴ A meeting of shareholders called for March 1875 pressed for the removal of the ineffective manager and possibly find a more locally based replacement.¹²⁵ Maybe to show the legitimacy of the Chindrass Mining Company to the shareholders, there was (for the only time) a prominent listing of the company in the *Straits Directory* of 1875, listing C. M. Allen as engineer in charge of the mines. Maybe he was sent there again in 1875 to salvage the mines. It was too late, however, and after years of mismanagement or possibly just bad luck with personnel and machinery, the shareholders were unable to extend benefit of the doubt to the operations, forcing the directors to liquidate the company: 'We believe the Supreme Court has appointed Mr. Cumming, of Harrison & Co., official liquidator to wind up the affairs of the Chindrass Mining Company.'¹²⁶ This process took long enough for an anonymous shareholder to write to the editor of the *Straits Observer* (7 July 1876) asking what dividends were to be paid. It is unknown if any benefit of the mines ever reached John Fisher, but it is remarkable that he named his new home in England 'Chindrass House'. Would it suggest that part of Fisher's fortune derived from early works at the mine?

Employment in Singapore, 1875–1892

Singapore, Tanjong Pagar, and New Harbour Telegraph Company

In the early 1860s John Fisher and Richard Riley proposed to operate a new telegraph line between Singapore and Malacca. While this venture did not receive the necessary permission from the government, a local telegraph line was operational in 1863 between Raffles Place in the city and New Harbour. There was a small shed in the square, as well as one in the harbour, where messages could be sent

¹²² Peebles (1875: 196).

¹²³ *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 2 Dec 1874.

¹²⁴ *Straits Observer*, 15 February 1875.

¹²⁵ *Straits Observer*, 1 March 1875.

¹²⁶ *Straits Observer*, 11 February 1876.

and received. The line was disabled by a thunderstorm in 1873.¹²⁷ They applied for permission to install a second line to North Boat Quay.¹²⁸ Another extension to Tanjong Pagar became operational around 1876 when the name of the company changed accordingly (Table 5). Charles Allen is listed in the *Straits Directory* of 1881 as manager of the telegraph.

Singapore Rice Mills

In the *Straits Directory* of 1882 John Fisher is listed as proprietor and Charles Allen as manager of the Singapore Rice Mills, which was located in Kampong Malacca, in the area around Clarke Quay. Apparently this was a short-lived venture as Fisher was no longer associated with it the next year.

Manager of Perseverance Estate, 1876–1892

The histories of the short-lived Galena and Chindrass mining companies show that Allen must have returned to Singapore around 1876. He is not listed among the residents of the town in the *Straits Directory* of 1877 or 1878, but it is impossible to know how accurate these listings were. In 1878 Allen is said to be ‘Essential oil manufacturer, Gaylang’, which places him again in Perseverance Estate (Table 4). Allen’s wandering days were over and he seems to have settled more permanently in the grounds of the estate.

Perseverance Estate was located in Geylang, in the eastern part of Singapore island, then about three miles out of the town centre (Fig. 4). During most of the nineteenth century this would have been a rural

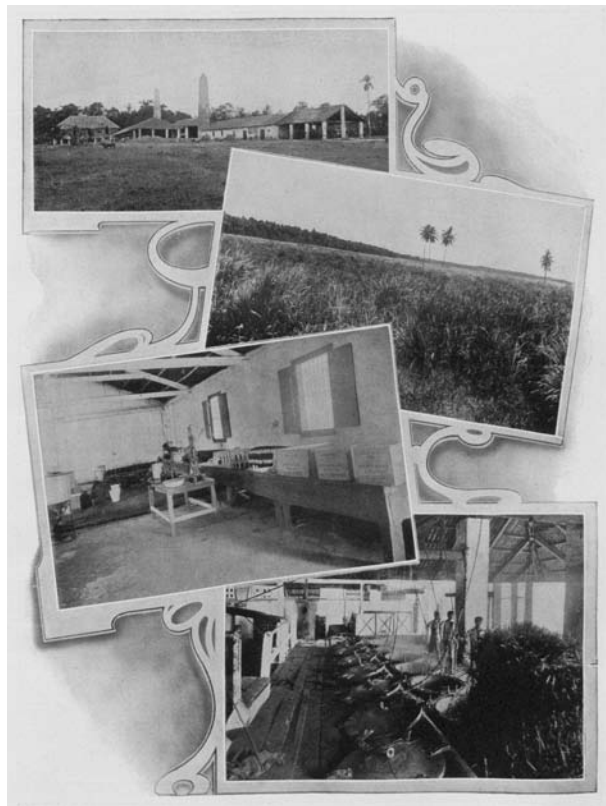


FIG. 4. Perseverance Estate in Geylang, c.1900. This collage is taken from Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, 1908, p. 665.

¹²⁷ Colburn (1868); Makepeace et al. (1921, I: 167).

¹²⁸ *Straits Times*, 14 March 1863.

and undeveloped location. Before 1860 the estate was owned by José d'Almeida & Sons and only sugar was cultivated on all of its 1000 acres.¹²⁹ In 1860 it was purchased by Sevid Ahmat 'for a trifle'¹³⁰ and handed over to John Fisher, who started to grow lemongrass on some parts of the estate. He developed a method to extract and mix essential oils, the manufacture of which was first 'tried on a small scale in 1865, and has been so successful that an aggregate of 200 lb. of various essential oils is now produced daily'.¹³¹ Fisher advertised his citronella oil during industrial exhibitions at Nagpore, India (1863 and 1865) and Melbourne, Australia. A journalist writing about the production of essential oils for the *Straits Times* in 1900 went to visit Allen's son:

I took a three and a half mile drive out to it—away past Singapore town, and then to Gaylang with its coconut groves, till the open country began to be visible; when a sight of three tall chimneys at once arrested my attention and indicated the most likely spot to look for the whereabouts of Mr Allen. I had the good fortune to find him at home—a quiet residence fronting the road, with out-offices and so-forth, behind which lay the factory.¹³²

Charles Allen managed the Perseverance Estate during much of his later life, and he raised his children there. When John Fisher retired in 1887, Allen is said to have bought the estate, or maybe he took over the lease. Hence, in the *Straits Directories* for 1887 and subsequent years, C. M. Allen is listed as the owner of Perseverance Estate. One would imagine that this made him quite happy, to have a stable occupation and to be a considerable landowner in Singapore. He continued to grow sugar and lemongrass, as well as produce essential oils following methods pioneered by Fisher. After his death the estate was managed first by his son Charles Henry, who had been his assistant since 1890, and from 1901 by a younger son, James Henry. The business did not last. A fire in February 1901 destroyed a large tract of citronella grass worth \$3000.¹³³ In January 1902 machinery and household items were auctioned by H. A. Crane, advertised as a distress sale 'in the cause of Syed Mohamed bin Ahmed Alsagoff, Landlord, v. Miss E. Allen, tenant.' This appears to show that the estate was then (and maybe had been for some time) owned by Alsagoff and that it was Allen's first daughter Elisabeth who was living in the house.¹³⁴

Perseverance Estate was auctioned in the saleroom of Powell & Co. on Tuesday 11 September 1906, including 'tenants lease, machinery and appurtenances, tools, carts, cattle, growing crops of citronella & lemon grass, &c.'. It was stated that the property was 'demised to the Vendors (Syed Omar bin Mohamed al Sagoff and Hogan and Co. Ltd) for a term of five years from 31st May, 1902 subject to a

¹²⁹ Wright (1908: 664).

¹³⁰ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 19 July 1904.

¹³¹ Flückiger (1879).

¹³² Anon. (1900).

¹³³ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 7 February 1901.

¹³⁴ *Straits Times*, 27 January 1902.

monthly rent of \$250'.¹³⁵ The outcome of the auction is unknown, but Hogan & Co. still owned half of the property worth no more than \$10,000 when that company went into liquidation a year later.¹³⁶ It is likely that the estate was abandoned around this time.¹³⁷ Nearby villagers soon used the vacant land to build houses and the population became predominantly Malay. It was called Geylang Serai—after Fisher's lemongrass (*serai* in Malay), and is the well-known Singapore district still called Geylang.

Allen's Death and His Children

Charles Martin Allen died on 7 July 1892 at his house on the Perseverance Estate. The cause of death is given in the church records as gout. He was buried that same day at 5.30 pm by William Herbert Cecil Dunkerley (1861–1922) in the Christian Cemetery. At the time he was well known enough to warrant obituaries in the *Straits Times* of 7 July 1892 and the *Daily Advertiser* of 8 July 1892 (see Appendix). His wife died six years later, on 28 October 1898.¹³⁸ The cemetery where they were both interred was most likely the Bukit Timah Cemetery, which was operational from 1865 to 1907.¹³⁹ The grounds were cleared in 1907 and most of the memorial stones were destroyed.

Allen's children attended the more prominent schools in town. It is known that one of his younger sons, James Henry, won a prize at the Raffles Institution.¹⁴⁰ Certainly some of the children did very well in later life (Table 6). His third daughter Edith married Regent Alfred John Bidwell (1869–1918), who—as the most important architect of the firm of Swan and Maclaren—was responsible for some of the more iconic buildings in old Singapore, including Stamford House, the Raffles Hotel, the Chesed-El Synagogue, Teutonia Club (now Goodwood Park Hotel) and Victoria Memorial Hall, besides several private residences.

His son William Martin married Agnes, a daughter of Joseph William Cashin, who made a considerable fortune in the legal opium business (Cashin Street, off North Bridge Road, was named after him). They lived in a large mansion on 74 Meyer Road, possibly partly designed by Bidwell.¹⁴¹ Little information could be found about the lives of three of Allen's sons, John, Charles Henry and James Henry. The first two both died in Singapore, but there is no record of their occupation after the sale of Perseverance Estate in 1907, and apparently neither of them married. About James Henry we only know that he helped to manage the Perseverance Estate for a short time in 1901–2. It is possible he was involved in this task earlier, as he may have been the 'J. Allen' listed as assistant manager of the estate in 1894 (Table 4).

¹³⁵ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 7 September 1906.

¹³⁶ *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 16 September 1907.

¹³⁷ Lee (1953: 55).

¹³⁸ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 29 October 1898.

¹³⁹ Harfield (1988).

¹⁴⁰ *Straits Times Weekly Issue*, 24 December 1889.

¹⁴¹ Lee (1953).

Allen's youngest daughter Annie Beatrice attended the French Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus, studied classical music in Paris and married Charles Walter Edwards on 26 April 1906, after the death of her parents (Fig. 5).

Yesterday afternoon in the presence of a large gathering of friends, there was celebrated at St Andrew's Cathedral the marriage of Mr Charles W. Edwards with Miss Annie Beatrice Allen, daughter of the late Mr C. Allen of Perseverance Estate. Mr. R.A.J. Bidwell, her brother-in-law, gave the charming bride away, the bridegroom was attended upon by Mr C.R. Williams and Mr A.J. Macdonald and the two pretty bridesmaids were the Misses Jeannie and Chrissie Gray, nieces of the bride. The Revd C. Iazard, Colonial Chaplain, performed the ceremony. The reception afterwards was held at 'Ondurman', the residence of Mr and Mrs Bidwell [on Dalvey Road, Tanglin]. The bridal party were photographed on the lawn, and thereafter Mr C. Dunlop gave the toast of the happy couple, suitably replied to by the bridegroom. Other toasts were the 'Bridesmaids' and the 'Host and Hostess', all duly honoured. The Town Band was in attendance and played a pretty selection of music. Later on the newly wedded couple drove off amidst showers of confetti and plentiful cheering, for Beting Kusa, where the honeymoon will be spent.¹⁴²

One of the descendants of Annie, her granddaughter Patricia Giudice, née Edwards, is the only relative we have been able to trace; she currently lives in Fremantle, Western Australia.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, she has no photographs or documents of the family dating back to the nineteenth century and believes that most were left behind when they had to evacuate from Singapore in 1942.

Having arrived in Singapore in 1854 as an unknown assistant to a famous naturalist and collector, Charles Martin Allen worked hard all his life. He raised a large family, who each in their own way played an important role in shaping the history of Singapore.



FIG. 5. Annie Beatrice, 8th child of Charles and Christina Allen, with her son Charles Patrick. (Photo courtesy of Patricia Giudice.)

¹⁴² *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 27 April 1906.

¹⁴³ Giudice (2011).

TABLE 6. Family of Charles Martin Allen and Christina Elizabeth (née Kulkens)

Charles Martin Allen (1838–1892) m.(24.12.1863) Christina Elizabeth Kulkens (1837–28.10.1898)

1 F Elizabeth Christina (6.5.1864–13.10.1934 [unmarried])

2 F Amelia (21.10.1865–8.1929) m. (23.2.1885) Joseph Gray (11.5.1853–23.8.1916)
Two children:
daughter: Chrissie, m. (21.9.1912) George Wald (d.2.1915, in mutiny 5th Light Infantry)
daughter: Louisa Jane, m. Swinfen Bromley Archdeacon (25.9.1868–18.12.1952 London)

3 M John (6.5.1867–14.12.1914) at Gaylang [unmarried]

4 M Charles Henry (3.7.1868–5.10.1910) at Gaylang [unmarried]

5 F Edith (27.3.1870–12.1949) m. (7.8.1897) Regent Alfred John Bidwell (1869–1918)
Three children:
son: Regent Svante Charles Allen Bidwell (b.12.7.1897), m. (11.1.1926) Dorothy Marshall Ranson in Urmston (Flixton), Lancashire, England
son: Roy Bidwell, planter in Johore
daughter: Gwendoline Edith, m. (31.8.1934) Thomas Munn Kinnear

6 M James Henry (9.6.1873–?) [unmarried?]

7 M William Martin (15.2.1878–? (after 1923)) m. (18.10.1913) Agnes Cashin

8 F Annie Beatrice (13.8.1880–2.4.1953 Singapore) m. (26.4.1906) Charles Walter Edwards (1873–10.4.1916)
to Australia in 1942, returned Singapore 2.1952
Six children:
son: Charles Patrick (1907 (Dublin)–15.2.1952 (Perth)) m. (25.7.1934) Lucy Amy Kirwan (6.10.1914–24.11.1937)
(first child: Patricia Robyna, born 4 June 1935)
daughter: Marguerite (19.7.1909 (Singapore)–17.9.1989 (England))
daughter: Kathleen, b. in Singapore, d. 5.1.1980 Australia
son: Laurie, b. in Singapore, d. in Kota Bharu
son: Thomas Norman (3.1911–10.5.1912 Singapore)
daughter: Clare (17.7.1916 (Singapore)–21.1.2001 (Australia))

Legend: b. = born; d. = died; m. = married. M = male, F = female

Acknowledgements

The Wallace Online project at the National University of Singapore has provided every opportunity for the research. Only one descendant of Charles Allen could be traced, through a fortuitous inclusion of her story on a website, and I am thankful to Patricia Giudice of Fremantle, Australia for sharing her recollections and her research into family history. She was a graceful host when KR visited her at home in September 2011. The baptismal records of Charles Allen were unearthed by Cathryn Hindle, Horsham. The registers of baptisms and burial ceremonies at St. Andrews Church were consulted with their permission at the National Archives, Singapore. We thank George Beccaloni for information on Wallace correspondence, and Judith Magee of the Natural History Museum, London, for help with an illustration. The librarians at NHM and the Linnean Society of London kindly provided access to Wallace's notebooks and journals.

Appendix

The following obituaries of Charles Martin Allen (1838–92) were found in newspapers published in Singapore.

The Straits Times, Singapore of 7 July 1892 (reprinted in *Straits Times Weekly Issue*, 13 July 1892)

Death of Mr. C.M. Allen

Mr. C.M. Allen of Perseverance Estate, Gaylang, died this morning, at 4.30. Mr. Allen came to the East in 1854 with Wallace author of 'The Malay Peninsula' and with him he went through Sarawak and Netherlands India. He afterwards took to tin mining and prospecting in the Carimons with Mr. Hartmann. He was Collector and Magistrate at Klang 25 years ago. He explored the Malay Peninsula in the years 1870 to 1872 for Mr. Fisher, who, as a result, commenced the Galena Co., and the Chindrass Gold Co. He succeeded Mr. Fisher at Perseverance Estate, Gaylang, ten years ago as proprietor, and he continued to manufacture his well known essential oils up to the day of his death. He was an unassuming man of great and varied intelligence, well versed in Native matters, of a kindly disposition and never putting himself forward. He was well liked by all who knew him. He leaves a grown up family of eight children, and a devoted wife to mourn his loss. His son Charles, who has for some time back managed the business will no doubt carry it on. The funeral takes place at 5.30 o'clock this afternoon.

Daily Advertiser, 7 July 1892

We regret to hear of the death, at the age of 54 years, of Mr. Charles M. Allen, which occurred at his residence, Perseverance Estate, Gaylang. His remains will be removed from his residence at 3.45 p.m. to-day to the Cemetery, and the interment will take place at 5.30.

Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 8 July 1892

Death. – On the 7th July, at his residence, Perseverance Estate, Gaylang, Charles Martin Allen, in his 54th year. Deeply regretted.

Daily Advertiser, Singapore, 8 July 1892

Yesterday, the grave closed over the remains of Mr. Charles M. Allen, of Perseverance Estate, his funeral being very largely attended by those who had been acquainted with him. Coming to the East in 1854 with Mr. Wallace, the author of the Malay Peninsula, Mr. Allen soon afterwards went with him on an exploration journey through Sarawak and Netherlands India. His next visit was to the Carimons, whither he proceeded with a Mr. Hartmann in connection with tin mining business. In 1867 he was appointed Collector and Magistrate at Klang, and from 1870 to 1872 he was, in company with Mr. Fisher, engaged in the exploration of the Malay Peninsula, the outcome of this being the formation of the Galena and Chindras Gold Companies. In 1882 he succeeded Mr Fisher in Perseverance Estate, and continued the manufacture of essential oils which had been carried on some time previously. With wide and varied experience, Mr. Allen was yet a man of a most unassuming character. He was of a kindly disposition, and judging of the attendance at his funeral, there can be no doubt that Mr. Allen leaves behind him not only many who mourn the loss of a genial friend, but also a large and bereaved family who had always found in him everything that can be found in a father. To Mr[s]. Allen and her family we offer our most unfeigned sympathy.

References

Manuscript sources

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia: Letter Wallace to Lyell, 14 February 1864.

British Library, London, Add 46441: Letter Rajah Brooke to Wallace, 4 July 1856; Letter Rajah Brooke to Wallace, 5 November 1856.

Linnean Society of London, Wallace notebooks (partly transcribed in Pearson 2005): MS178a, Journal 1 (1856–7); MS178b, Journal 2 (1857–8); MS178c, Journal 3 (1858–9); MS178d, Journal 4 (1859–61); Ms 180, Notebook 4 – ‘Species notebook’ (1855–60).

Natural History Museum, London, Wallace correspondence: WP1/3/27 Letter Wallace to George Silk, 26 March 1854; WP1/3/28 Letter Wallace to his mother, 30 April 1854; WP1/3/30 Letter Wallace to his mother, July 1854; WP1/3/32 Letter Wallace to his mother, 30 September 1854; WP1/3/37 Letter Wallace to his sister Fanny Silk, 20 February 1856.

_____, Wallace manuscripts (shelfmark Z MSS 89 O WAL): Notebook 2–3, Insects notes, birds (1855–60); Notebook 5, Register (1858–61).

Newspapers printed in Singapore, accessed online at <http://newspapers.nl.sg>

- Royal Geographical Society of London, Letterbook: Letter H. N. Shaw to J. Wodehouse, 16 February 1854.
- St. Andrews Cathedral, Singapore: Registers of baptisms and burials; accessed through microfilms in National Archives, Singapore (2011).
- St Pancras Archives, London: Birth certificate of Charles Martin Allen, 1839.
- UK Census 1851, 1891, 1901, accessed online at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/census-records.htm>

Printed sources

- Allen, Charles Martin (1874), [Letter to the Editor] 'Chindrass Mining Company, Limited', *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 5 November 1874, p. 5.
- Anonymous (1863), 'Tindelving op de Karimon-eilanden', *Koloniale Jaarboeken*, 3: 324.
- _____ (1864), *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 1 (Sept 1862 tot Dec. 1863), Batavia: Lange & Co.
- _____ (1873), 'Mineral Wealth of the East', *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 27 March 1873, p. 4.
- _____ (1896), *The Rise and Progress of the Tanjong Pagar Docks, Singapore*, Singapore Free Press.
- _____ (1900), 'The Citronella and Putch Oil Industries', *The Straits Times*, 28 August 1900, p. 3.
- Baker, D. B. (1995), 'Pfeiffer, Wallace, Allen and Smith: the Discovery of the Hymenoptera of the Malay Archipelago', *Archives of Natural History*, 23(2): 153–200.
- _____ (2001), 'Alfred Russel Wallace's Record of his Consignments to Samuel Stevens, 1854–1861', *Zoologische Mededelingen, Leiden*, 75(16): 251–341.
- Buckley, C. B. (1874), 'Chindrass Mining Company', *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 16 May 1874, p. 5.
- Bunyon, C. J. (1889), *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall, D.C.L., F.R.C.S., sometime Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, and of Harriette, his wife*. London, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Colburn, Z. (1868), 'Telegraphs to Australia', *Engineering, An Illustrated Weekly Journal*, 6: 262–3.
- Cox, H. and Metcalfe, S. (1998), 'The Borneo Company Limited: the Origins of a Nineteenth Century Networked Multinational', *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 4(4): 53–69.
- Cranbrook, Earl of; Hills, D. M.; McCarthy, C. J. and Prys-Jones, R. (2005), 'A.R. Wallace, Collector: Tracing his Vertebrate Specimens, part I', in Tuen, A.A. and Das, I. (eds.), *Wallace in Sarawak – 150 Years Later: An International Conference on Biogeography and Biodiversity*, Institute of Biodiversity and Environmental Conservation, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan, pp. 8–34.

- Daly, D. D. (1882), 'Surveys and Explorations in the Native States of the Malayan Peninsula, 1875–82', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, 4(7): 393–412, 1 map.
- Flückiger, F. A. (1879), *Pharmacographia; a History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin, met with in Great Britain and British India*, London: Macmillan.
- Giudice, P. (2011), 'My family, Singapore childhood & escape to Australia', Webpage: <http://www.malayanvolunteersgroup.org.uk/node/353>. Accessed 02.2012.
- Gray, G. R. (1861), 'Remarks on, and Descriptions of, New Species of Birds lately sent by Mr. A.R. Wallace, from Waigiou, Misool and Gagie Islands', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1861: 427–38, pls. 42–4.
- Gray, J. E. (1863), 'Description of some New Species of Mammalia', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1862: 261–3, pls. 33–5.
- Haga, A. (1884), *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche eilanden. Historische bijdrage, 1500–1883*, vol. 2, W.Bruining & Co., Batavia and M. Nijhoff, s'Hage.
- Harfield, A. (1988), *Early Cemeteries in Singapore*, Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia.
- Hoëvell, W. R. van (1855), 'De Karimon-Eilanden', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 17: 142–59, 238–52, pl. 1.
- Lee Kip Lin (1953), *The Singapore House 1819–1942*, Singapore: Times Editions.
- Makepeace, W., Brooke, G. E. and Braddell, R. St. J. (1921), *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, London: John Murray, 2 vols.
- Marchant, J. (ed.) (1916), *Alfred Russel Wallace: Letters and Reminiscences*, London: Cassell, 2 vols.
- McDougall, H. (1854), *Letters from Sarawak: Addressed to a Child*, London: Grant and Griffith.
- _____ (1882), *Sketches of our Life at Sarawak*, London, New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; E & J.B. Young and Co.
- Mees, G. F. (1980), 'Supplementary Notes on the Avifauna of Misool', *Zoologische Mededelingen, Leiden*, 55(1): 1–10.
- _____ (2006), 'The Avifauna of Flores (Lesser Sunda Islands)', *Zoologische Mededelingen, Leiden*, 80(3): 1–261.
- Netscher, E. (1863), 'Tinontginning op de Karimon-Eilanden', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, (N.S.) 1: 59–60.
- Pearson, M. B. (2005), *A.R. Wallace's Malay Archipelago Journals and Notebook*, London: Linnean Society of London.
- Peebles, J. M. (1875), *Around the World: or, Travels in Polynesia, China, India, Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and other 'Heathen' Countries*, Boston: Colby and Rich.
- Resink, G. (1961), 'Jozef Korzeniowskis voornaamste leetuur betreffende Indonesië', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 117(2): 209–37.
- Rosenberg, C. B. H. von (1878), *Der Malayische Archipel: Land und Leute in Schilderungen, gesammelt während eines dreissigjährigen Aufenthaltes in den Kolonien*, Leipzig: G. Weigel.

- Runciman, S. (2010), *The White Rajah: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946*, Cambridge: University Press.
- Saint John, S. B. (1879), *The Life of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak: From his Personal Papers and Correspondence*, Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons.
- Sherry, N. (1966), *Conrad's Eastern World*, Cambridge: University Press.
- Slotten, R. (2004), *The Heretic in Darwin's Court: the Life of Alfred Russel Wallace*, Columbia University Press.
- Smith, F. (1865), 'Descriptions of New Species of Hymenopterous Insects from the Islands of Sumatra, Sula, Gilolo, Salwatty and New Guinea, Collected by Mr. A.R. Wallace', *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society (Zoology)*, 8(30): 61–94, pl. 4.
- Straits Directories (1864–1866), *The Royal Almanac & Directory for the year 1864 [–1866]*. Compiled and arranged at the Straits Times Office, Singapore: H.F. Desker.
- _____ (1870–1871), *The Straits Calendar and Directory (including Sarawak and Labuan) for the year 1870 [–1871]*, Singapore: John Povanaris.
- _____ (1872), *The Straits Calendar and Directory (including Sarawak and Labuan) for the year 1872*, Singapore: Commercial Press.
- _____ (1873–1875), *The Straits Calendar and Directory (including Sarawak and Labuan) for the year 1873 [–1875]*, Singapore: John A. Vass.
- _____ (1875a), *The colonial directory of the Straits Settlements, including Sarawak, Labuan, Bangkok and Saigon, for 1875*, Singapore: Mission Press.
- _____ (1877–1879), *The Singapore Directory for the Straits Settlements, for the year 1877 [–1879]*, Singapore: T.J. Keaughran.
- _____ (1880–1881), *The Singapore and Straits Directory, for the year 1880 [–1881]*, Singapore: Mission Press.
- _____ (1882–1894), *The Singapore and Straits Directory, for the year 1882 [–1894]*, Singapore: Singapore and Straits Printing Office.
- Walker, F. (1865a), 'Descriptions of New Species of the Dipterous Insects of New Guinea', *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society (Zoology)*, 8(30): 102–30.
- _____ (1865b), 'Descriptions of some New Species of Dipterous Insects from the Island of Salwatty, near New Guinea', *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society (Zoology)*, 8(31/32): 130–6.
- Wallace, A. R. (1855), 'Letter to Samuel Stevens [dated 8 April 1855, Si Munjon Coal Works, Borneo]', *Zoologist*, 13(154): 4803–7.
- _____ (1860), 'Letters to Samuel Stevens [dated 26 November 1859, Awaiya, Ceram; 31 December 1859, Passo, Ambon; and 14 February 1860, Passo]', *Ibis*, 2(7): 305–6.
- _____ (1861), 'Letter to Samuel Stevens [dated 7 December 1860, Ternate]', *Ibis*, 3(10): 211–12.
- _____ (1862a), 'On some New Birds from the Northern Moluccas', *Ibis*, 4(16): 348–51.
- _____ (1862b), 'Narrative of Search after Birds of Paradise', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1862: 153–61.

- _____ (1862c), 'On some New and Rare Birds from New Guinea', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1862: 164–6, pls. 19–21.
- _____ (1863a), 'List of Birds from the Sula Islands (East of Celebes), with Descriptions of the New Species', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1862: 333–46, pls. 38–40.
- _____ (1863b), 'A List of the Birds inhabiting the Islands of Timor, Flores, and Lombock, with Descriptions of the New Species', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1863: 480–97, pl. 39.
- _____ (1863c), 'Notes on the Genus *Iphia*; with Descriptions of two New Species from the Moluccas', *Journal of Entomology*, 2(7): 1–5, pl. I.
- _____ (1869). *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-utan and the Bird of Paradise, a Narrative of Travel with Studies of Man and Nature* [1st printing], London: Macmillan & Co., 2 vols.
- _____ (1873), 'Introduction', in: Smith, F., 'A catalogue of the Aculeate Hymenoptera and Ichneumonidæ of India and the Eastern Archipelago', *Journal of the Linnean Society, Zoology*, 11: 285–302.
- _____ (1905), *My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions*, London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 2 vols.
- Weber, M. (1890), 'Einleitung', in: *Zoologische Ergebnisse einer Reise in Niederländisch Ost-Indien*, vol. 1. Leiden: E.J.Brill, pp. i–xi.
- Wood, R. D. (1971), 'J. B. Reade, F.R.S., and the Early History of Photography', *Annals of Science*, 27(1): 47–83.
- Wright, A. (1908), *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources*. London.
- Wyhe, J. van and Rookmaaker, L. C. (2012), 'A new theory to explain the receipt of Wallace's Ternate Essay by Darwin in 1858', *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, 105(1): 249–52.
- Yelverton, T. (1873), 'Foot-prints of Solomon', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine, San Francisco*, 11: 52–9.