Shared experiences of Alfred Russel Wallace and Hermann von Rosenberg in exploring the ornithology of New Guinea and the Aru Islands in 1858–1860



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Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) and Carl Benjamin Hermann, Baron von Rosenberg (1817–1888) were naturalists with similar goals in their exploration of the Malay Archipelago. Their collaborations have not been the subject of any previous study. They first met in May 1858 on the coast of Dorey, the northwestern part of New Guinea. Together they discovered two birds new to science, the Dusky Lory Pseudeos fuscata (Blyth, 1858) and the Fairy Lorikeet Charmosynopsis pulchella (G.R. Gray, 1859). Wallace did not propose new names himself, while the Chalcopsitta leucopygialis Rosenberg, 1859 (nomen nudum) and Charmosyna pectoralis Rosenberg, 1862 lost their priority. Wallace visited Aru Island for six months in 1857, where he collected 113 bird species as enumerated in his private notebook, now transcribed in extract for the first time. Wallace's collections from Dorey were examined by George Robert Gray (1808–1872) in 1858 after they were received by the Natural History Museum in London. When Rosenberg was working out the distribution of various birds in the archipelago in 1862, he had not yet visited the Aru Islands. His list of 86 bird species from Aru was contributed by Wallace, most probably during their discussions when they met in Ceram in November or December 1859. The historical narrative provides two rare instances where Wallace's presence was acknowledged by fellow naturalists in the field, and at the same time gives insight in the cooperation and potential scientific rivalry of the period.

Key words: collecting, new species, ornithology, George Robert Gray, Wallace's notebook, Malay Archipelago

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The English naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823– 1913) travelled in the Malay Archipelago in 1854–1862 to collect specimens of natural history to sell and to study (Van Wyhe 2012, 2013, van Wyhe & Rookmaaker 2013, Glaubrecht 2013). Researching his travels, it became apparent that there are remarkably few instances in print when he was mentioned by his contemporaries while in the Malay Archipelago. One of those men was the naturalist-ornithologist-administrator Rosenberg, who shared many objectives with Wallace.

Carl Benjamin Hermann, Baron von Rosenberg (1817–1888) (hereafter Rosenberg), born in Darmstadt,

Germany, lived and worked in the Malay Archipelago in 1835–1871 (Wijnmalen 1889). He wrote about his experiences in a book of 1878 with the same title (in German) as the famous 'Malay Archipelago' of Wallace of 1869. Wallace and Rosenberg met twice, first in New Guinea in 1858, again on Ceram at the end of 1859. Wallace (1869, II:80, 132, 319) referred to Rosenberg as "a brother naturalist" and a friend. Likewise, Rosenberg (1878: 302, 332, 362, 363, 369, 376, 382, 440, 525) repeatedly mentioned Wallace as "mein Freund". The extent of their ornithological interactions is here explored, first during their explorations in New Guinea where they discovered two new species of lories at the same time, then regarding Rosenberg's list of the birds of Aru, to settle whether Wallace could be regarded as the actual author.

Wallace meets Rosenberg in New Guinea

When Wallace left the harbour of the Moluccan island of Ternate on 26 March 1858 on his way to the western tip of New Guinea, he was aware that he could expect a visit from an official expedition organized by the Dutch government which aimed to explore the northern coasts of the island (Wallace 1860). The preparations for that venture were already well advanced during his visit to Amboyna at the end of 1857, where he heard that it was to be led by the Resident of Banda, Hendrik Daniel Adriaan van der Goes (1805-1871). The government steamer 'Etna', accompanied by a smaller barque 'Atie Atul Barie' (or 'Attiatul Barri') would reach the coast near Dorey (Manokwari) in N.W. New Guinea on 3 May 1858, carrying several officers and at least 400 troops. The officers included Georg Roijer (1817-1871), Captain of the 'Etna' who later edited the reports about the expedition, Frederik Gerard Beckman (1816–1868), captain of the infantry, Johan Hendrik Croockewit (1823-1880) charged with natural science investigations and Rosenberg attached to the expedition in the capacity of draughtsman.

Wallace and his small party of assistants reached New Guinea on the schooner 'Esther Helena' on 11 April 1858. He was welcomed by two German missionaries, Carl Wilhelm Ottow (1827-1862) and Johann Gottlob Geissler (1830-1870), who had settled on the island of Mansinam in 1855 (Ottow & Ottow 2004) and published some ethnological observations (Ottow & Geissler 1859). Wallace decided to build a hut on the beach on the mainland, close to a small river, hoping to be able to collect insects and birds in the forest, as well as to trade with the natives. Birds-of-paradise (Paradisaeidae) were the greatest prize, which would help to fund Wallace's journeys. The French naturalist René Primevère Lesson (1794-1849), the first European naturalist to observe the mysterious birds alive during the voyage of 'La Coquille' (1822-1825) had acquired many there. This was an important reason drawing Wallace so far to reach Dorey.

Although Dorey was then largely unknown and unspoilt, Wallace's stay was less lonely than expected. A barque, the 'Ydroesi', sent to supply coal to the 'Etna', was there on his arrival but soon left on 16 April 1858. After few weeks of relative peace, the 'Etna' arrived on 3 May, expecting to load coal for the onward journey. Finding the 'Ydroesi' gone, they had to stay until 17 June before they solved their problem. Also on board was the Prince of Tidore, Ahmad Saifuddin Alting (d. 1865), and his retinue. Wallace (1869, II:317) would complain that the latter's presence would consume most of the specimens and food produced by the local people in the area.

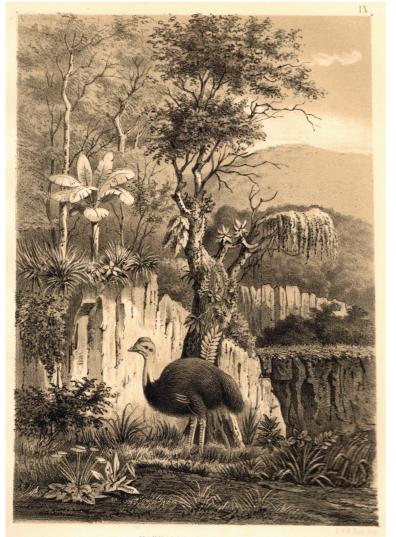
Wallace could have counted his blessings in having some Western company in these strange lands, but in fact he did not like the competition in the trade with the locals who occasionally brought interesting specimens to the shore to sell. He seems to have interacted with the officers of the 'Etna' only on a few occasions (Wallace 1869, II:312, 318, 323). Among those was "my friend Mr. Rosenberg, whose acquaintance I had made at New Guinea" (Wallace 1869, II:80).

There are only a few contemporary references to meeting Wallace while in the Malay Archipelago, either in print or in correspondence. It is therefore a rare find that the captain of the 'Etna' expedition refers to the English naturalist twice. In his first (private) account of the journey, Roijer (1861: 393-394) mentions Wallace quite favourably (in translation): "Near Doreh we found an Englishman, Russell Wallace, who had settled there temporarily. He said that he had been sent out by the British Museum to collect specimens of natural history. He had been traveling in that capacity for some time. I had met him earlier on Amboina and lately in Ternate. There are many types of beautiful Birds-ofparadise in this region. Mr Wallace was accompanied by some personnel, usually consisting of Javanese, who hunted for him, and who mounted the birds under his supervision quite according to the rules of the art. Considering this, he will certainly return with a collection as has never been seen in Europe. The birds which are obtained by trade with the Papuans are usually very badly preserved." (For the original Dutch, see endnote 1.)

Note that Roijer used 'Russell' as Wallace's first name (not Alfred). Second that he said that Wallace had brought some people with him, which were "usually" Javanese and skilled in bird preservation. In his own works, Wallace noted that he was accompanied by his main assistant and hunter called Ali from Sarawak, a Ternate lad called Jumaat (Friday), a helper called Lahagi, and a Javanese cook called Loisa (Wallace 1869, II:299, van Wyhe 2018). His first assistant, Charles Allen (1839–1892), was no longer part of his team but was collecting independently and would visit New Guinea later (Rookmaaker & van Wyhe 2012).

In the official account of the 'Etna' Expedition published the following year, Roijer (1862: 78) gave similar information, but with an unexpected twist (in translation): "Considering what we have said before, it has not escaped our attention that we met at Doreh an Englishman called Russell Wallace, who said that he had visited several countries in the east during the past years in order to catch and collect birds, butterflies and insects. He arrived in Doreh in the middle of March on a ship from Ternate and had settled there on the mainland, close to the kampongs, and told us that he planned to stay until August to return to Ternate. And without judging if the desire to explore the natural history is the only reason for the visit to Doreh by Mr Russell Wallace, we thought that we should not keep silent about his presence at Doreh." (For the original Dutch, see endnote 2.)

The mute allegation that Wallace was more than just a collector was never acted upon (van Wyhe 2013: 228).



KAZUARIS IN HET BOSCH

Their ornithological explorations of New Guinea

Rosenberg (1863b: 222) himself said that he was attached to the 'Etna' expedition officially as draughtsman, while spending much time in collecting ornithological information (Figure 1). Wallace (1869, II:319) added that Rosenberg was assisted by two men to shoot and skin birds, and that he also had the chance to purchase a few rare skins from the natives. When Rosenberg (1862a) published his first general narrative about his experiences in Dorey (New Guinea), he never mentioned the presence of an English naturalist. He explained in this paper that there were four separate small villages on the beach (Lonfabie, Ajambowrie, Knawie and Rohdi) and that he never ventured further inland than just an hour's walk from the coast where there was a forest with enormous trees.

> This first account of New Guinea by Rosenberg (1862a) included a summary list of animals of different classes which were encountered. Birds are listed (pp. 312-314), but with very little detail, often identified by genus name only. The next year, Rosenberg (1863b) published a comprehensive and detailed enumeration of 302 numbered species, mostly found at Dorey, but also including birds from Waigiou, Salawati, Misool after personal observations, and from Jobie-Jobie (Japen Island) and Aru after observations contributed by both Clément Adrien Vincendon-Dumoulin (1811-1858) and Wallace. This contribution was published in Dutch in the course of 1863, and in a German translation in 1864.

> Wallace was greatly disappointed with the results of his three months sojourn in New Guinea, as seen in the letter written to his agent Samuel Stevens in London on 2 September 1858 after his return to Ternate (van Wyhe & Rookmaaker 2013: 168–174). He lamented that two specimens of Arfak Astrapia *Astrapia nigra* were sold

> **Figure 1.** "Kazuaris in het bosch" (Cassowary in the forest). Plate illustrating the text on Rosenberg's journey to the Geelvinksbaai published in 1875 (Rosenberg 1875, pl. IX). The plate is signed below right by the printer Pieter Willem Marinus Trap (1821–1905).

to a German gentleman on the Dutch steamer before he even knew about them, which is an obvious reference to Rosenberg. The listing of birds collected at Dorey in April and June 1858 reflects these experiences. For all his time spent on the island and all his efforts, there were only 88 species, totalling 94 "private specimens" (for his own collection) and 223 duplicates. There were just a few Birds-of-paradise, and mostly females. This list is included in his 'Notebook 2/3' (Wallace [1857], pp. 77b-81b), a complicated manuscript, obviously only meant to incorporate his first findings, which we transcribed and annotated along with all of Wallace's notebooks and journals from the Malay Archipelago five years ago, but remains unpublished due to our inability to receive reproduction permission from the Wallace Estate established and controlled by Dr George Beccaloni.

Two new parrots from New Guinea

Wallace and Rosenberg met in New Guinea in 1858 and became friendly, despite some scientific rivalry. Rosenberg was clear about his cooperation with Wallace in the discovery of two new species of parrots, the Fairy Lorikeet Charmosynopsis pulchella and the Dusky Lory Pseudeos fuscata (Figure 2, 3). In his survey of East Indian parrots written in his house on the south coast of Ceram in July 1861, published in 1862 in German, Rosenberg (1862b: 64) explained that he found these two new species "gleichzeitig mit dem englischen Zoologen R.A. Wallace" in the high forest behind the village Lonfobie. Rosenberg listed the Fairy Lorikeet as (no. 3) "Charmosyna pectoralis mihi" and the Dusky Lory as (no. 6) "Eos leucopygialis mihi", adding some particulars of their appearance. Largely the same information was included in Rosenberg's account of the ornithology of New Guinea, finished in Amboyna in July 1862, and published in Dutch in 1863 (Rosenberg 1863b: 223, 224). This time he listed the two birds as (no. 4) "Charmosyna pectoralis mihi" and (no. 10) "Chalcopsitta leucopygialis mihi". Again he stressed in both cases that these two species were discovered simultaneously by Wallace and himself. Hence both names were validly published in 1862 and repeated in 1863.

On his part, Wallace (manuscript 1873, p.77b), in his listing in 'Notebook 2/3', described these two parrots as follows. The elements in this list for each species are a consecutive entry number, number of specimens (males and females), names, description, with no. 4 Dusky Lory and no. 11 Fairy Lorikeet:

4 (3.15) Chalcopsitta sp. Eos. bill red, lower cheeks & chin bare pale cinnabar red, iris narrow same 6.

cere feet & claws black. tongue fibrous. σ yel. & bk. [yellow and black] \circ red & bk. ? var. – σ generally yellow \circ red, but some adult σ red also.

11 (1.4) Charmosyna n.s. Trichoglossus ? – iris narrow yel., bill or. [orange] red tip blackish, feet yellow, – tongue fibrous.

According to Wallace (1864: 291), the specimens of the Dusky Lory "were obtained from one flock, which visited Dorey for a few days only during my residence there."

While Wallace didn't mention any help, the wording used by Rosenberg is unclear and could mean that these birds were collected both by Wallace and by himself independently when they were in Dorey in 1858, or that they made the discoveries while out hunting together in the forests near the beach of Dorey. It is noticeable that Rosenberg twice stressed that he was one of the discoverers of these species, also shown by his use of the indication "mihi" when he proposed new names. He may have felt that he needed to claim some of the credit for the discovery of these parrots, because his involvement was not acknowledged in the descriptions based on Wallace's material.

The fate of Rosenberg's specimens from Dorey collected in 1858 is not known. In his synopsis of parrots based on the collections in the Natural History Museum in Leiden, Schlegel (1864: 122,130) included *"Lorius fuscatus"* and an unnamed species resembling *Lorius papuensis* discovered by Rosenberg and Wallace, however without any examples actually collected by Rosenberg. The two lories are not listed among almost 4000 specimens attributed to Rosenberg still preserved in Naturalis in Leiden (https://bioportal.naturalis.nl/).

Wallace sent his collections made during his visit to Dorey in a shipment which left Ternate in October 1858 and reached London in February-April 1859 (Baker 2001). A total of 74 bird specimens were bought by the British Museum (now the Natural History Museum, NHM) and were accessioned on 8 April 1859 (register numbers 1859.4.8.1-74), to which in 1873 another male specimen was added from Wallace's private collection (NHMUK1873.5.12.1469). The assistant keeper of zoology in charge of the ornithological collections, George Robert Gray (1808-1872) was just compiling the list of Psittacidae, and on the last page with "Additions" he quickly included two species from "New Guinea (Havre-Dorey). From Mr. Wallace's Collection": Charmosyna pulchella and Eos torrida (Gray 1859a:102). These printed additions must therefore date from April 1859 or soon after. Later that same year, Gray (1859b) also included these two species (nos. 55, 59) in his list of birds obtained by Wallace in Dorey.



Figure 2. "The Fair Lory. Charmosynopsis pulchella. 1. Male. 2. Female. Published by R.H. Foster." Plate LV in the 'Monograph of the Lories' by St.George Jackson Mivart (1827–1900). The drawing is attributed to John Gerrard Keulemans (1842–1912).

The first description of *Charmosyna pulchella* by Gray (1859a) was based on two syntypes from Dorey collected by A.R. Wallace, registered as NHMUK 1859.4.8.41-42 (Warren 1966: 235). Rosenberg never cited the description by Gray (1859a) but stressed that these new species were discovered by both Wallace and himself. However, his publications appeared too late to show that he was among the first ornithologists to recognize this new species (Schlegel 1864: 130). The *Charmosyna pectoralis* Rosenberg, 1862 is considered a junior synonym of the Fairy Lorikeet, *Charmosynopsis pulchella* (G.R. Gray, 1859).

The second species *Eos torrida* described by Gray (1859a) was based on four syntypes collected by A.R. Wallace in Dorey, registered in the British Museum as NHMUK 1859.4.8.37-40 (Warren 1966:297). These specimens are still present, together with another two received by the Museum in Wallace's private collection in 1873, and a further two from Gould's collection of 1881. Rosenberg also recognized that this was a hitherto unknown species but his description was again



Figure 3. "The Dusky Lory. Eos fuscata. Published by R.H. Foster." Mivart, 'Monograph of the Lories' (1896, pl. XV) drawn by John Gerrard Keulemans (1842–1912).

delayed. Speaking at the meeting of the Natuurkundige Vereniging held at Batavia on 25 November 1858 about his travels to New Guinea, he mentioned that he found "eene voor de wetenschap nieuwe *Chalcopsitta (Chalc. leucopygialis* mihi)" [a new type of *Chalcopsitta (Chalc. leucopygialis* mihi)].

The minutes of this meeting were printed in the 'Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië' (Rosenberg 1859:364), which was available on 27 January 1859 (Kottelat 2011: 29, date for vol. 16 no.5). Again, in the second part of his extensive account of travels to New Guinea published in 1862, Rosenberg referred to the new parrot: "Op de hoogere gronden, waar de door mij bezochte boschtuinen liggen, leeft in het donkere, uit reusachtige boomen bestaande bosch, een bruinkleurige, nog onbeschreven *Chalcopsitta (Chalcop. leucopijgialis* mihi)" [On the higher grounds where I visited the forest gardens, there lives, in the dark forest full of enormous trees, a brown-coloured undescribed *Chalcopsitta (Chalcop. leucopijgialis* mihi)]" with a slightly different spelling of the

specific name (Rosenberg 1862a:313). In both these instances, he failed to add a description of their characters and therefore these names are *nomina nuda* (hence now considered invalid for purposes of nomenclature). The full description of the Dusky Lory followed later that year (Rosenberg 1862b: 64, 1863b: 224).

Clearly Rosenberg's first notice published on 27 January 1859 preceded the 'Additions' by Gray published in or after April 1859. Even if there could be a debate on whether Rosenberg's name predated that proposed by Gray, the Dusky Lory had in fact already been named. In Calcutta (Kolkata), Edward Blyth (1810–1873) had been working on a collection of various animals donated to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from the menagerie kept by the Mahtab Chand Ray (1820-1879), 9th Maharaja of Burdwan, West Bengal. Blyth (1858:279) included a new parrot which he named "Eos fuscata, nobis, n.s.?" The type specimen should have been part of the transfers to the Indian Museum and later to the Zoological Survey of India, but it is not listed by Sakthivel et al. (2011) and therefore it is presumed lost. Wallace (1864:291) recognized that Eos torrida Gray, 1859 was synonymous with Eos fuscata Blyth, 1858. The names Chalcopsitta leucopygialis Rosenberg, 1859 and Chalcopsitta leucopijgialis Rosenberg, 1862, and Eos torrida G.R. Gray, 1859 are junior synonyms of the species now known as the Dusky Lory, Pseudeos fuscata (Blyth, 1858).

Three lists of birds from Aru

Rosenberg had been appointed as the Superintendent of Ceram Island and worked there from 26 April 1859 to 17 December 1861 (Rosenberg 1878: 282). Wallace (1869, II:80) met him there in November or December 1859 during his explorations of the island, and the two naturalists would have had many observations to share and discuss.

When Rosenberg (1863b: 222) reviewed what was known about the ornithology of New Guinea, he included data of species known from the Aru Islands. This information he obtained from "mijnen vriend den verdienstelijken Engelschen zooloog R.A. Wallace" [my friend the commendable English zoologist R.A. Wallace].

The same comment is made for a list of ten species of parrots in Rosenberg (1862b) which has a slightly different nomenclature and is not further investigated here. When Rosenberg compiled these papers in 1862, he had not yet visited Aru, hence his list of 86 birds known from Aru most probably had been entirely based on the work of Wallace. It is therefore important to establish when Rosenberg obtained this information: in Dorey in 1858, in Ceram in 1859, or maybe later in correspondence – although no letters between the two men are known (Beccaloni 2023).

There are two sources about the ornithological collections made by Wallace in Aru during his visit from 8 January to 2 July 1857 (van Wyhe & Rookmaaker 2013:296). Wallace's most immediate observations are found in his 'Notebook 2/3', which he used to assess the birds and other animals in the order in which he found and examined them during his journeys. While the pages of this notebook kept in the Natural History Museum of London are digitally available, the exact transcription and interpretation is a painstakingly complicated exercise because Wallace added data whenever he found new material. For his stay in Aru, Wallace (1857, pp. 56b-62b) listed 113 species of birds according to our assessment found in Table S1. After Wallace's collection had been received in London, Gray (1858) examined the birds and listed 108 species from Aru (plus 11 only known from the Ké islands), including 40 new ones (32 still recognized).

The list of 113 birds in Wallace's 'Notebook 2/3' was a work in progress and the text reflects the different stages. Apparently, Wallace numbered the specimens as they came on his table in the field and provisionally named them at the time. In some cases these names were replaced or supplemented after he had seen the publication by Gray (1858), most likely during his travels in the Malay Archipelago, but possibly also after his return home in 1862. Rosenberg (1863b) listed 93 species, but there are seven species claimed for Aru by Wallace here stated to be from New Guinea only. When we compare these three lists of birds found in the Aru Islands (Wallace 1857, Gray 1858, Rosenberg 1863b), it is immediately evident that they are not identical (Table S1).

In 56 cases Rosenberg and Wallace used exactly the same generic and specific name combination. Rosenberg certainly did not follow Gray's enumeration, in fact he never mentioned its existence, but he did use some of the new names first proposed there. This leads to the tentative conclusion that Wallace discussed the Aru list with Rosenberg after 1858. Maybe the two fellow ornithologists compared their notes when they were sitting on the veranda of Rosenberg's house in Ceram in November or December 1859, but we will never know exactly.

It is tempting to suggest that these notes on Aru birds contained in Rosenberg (1863b) could be counted among Wallace's publications, among the S-numbers introduced by Charles Smith (2018). However, there are no direct quotes and the details are too dispersed through the text to consider it a Wallace publication. These details of Wallace's presence in the Malay Archipelago by someone who met him and worked with him, help to enrich our knowledge of such an interesting figure in the history of science and in the progress of ornithology.

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SAMENVATTING

Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913) en Carl Benjamin Hermann baron von Rosenberg (1817-1888) waren natuuronderzoekers met vergelijkbare doelen bij hun verkenning van de Maleise Archipel. Hun relaties zijn niet eerder onderzocht. Ze ontmoetten elkaar voor het eerst in mei 1858 aan de kust van Dorey, het noordwestelijke deel van Nieuw-Guinea. Samen ontdekten ze twee vogels die nieuw waren voor de wetenschap, de Witruglori Pseudeos fuscata (Blyth, 1858) en de Zwartstuitlori Charmosynopsis pulchella (G.R. Gray, 1859). Wallace stelde zelf geen nieuwe namen voor, terwijl de Chalcopsitta leucopygialis Rosenberg, 1859 (nomen nudum) en Charmosyna pectoralis Rosenberg, 1862 voor de Witruglori hun prioriteit verloren. Wallace bezocht de Aroe-eilanden in 1857 gedurende zes maanden, waar hij 113 vogelsoorten verzamelde, zoals opgesomd in zijn privé-notitieboekje, dat nu voor het eerst in uittreksel is getranscribeerd. De collecties van Wallace van Dorey werden in 1858 onderzocht door George Robert Gray (1808–1872) nadat ze waren ontvangen in het Natural History Museum in Londen. Toen Rosenberg in 1862 de verspreiding van verschillende vogels in de archipel aan het uitwerken was, had hij de Aroe-eilanden nog niet bezocht. Zijn lijst van 86 vogelsoorten uit Aroe was gebaseerd op observaties van Wallace, hoogstwaarschijnlijk besproken tijdens hun discussies op Ceram in november of december 1859. Dit waren twee zeldzame gevallen waarin de aanwezigheid van Wallace werd opgemerkt door collega-natuuronderzoekers in het veld, en tegelijkertijd geeft het inzicht in de samenwerkingen en potentiële wetenschappelijke rivaliteit van die periode.

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ENDNOTES

Endnote 1. Roijer (1861: 393-4): "In de nabijheid van Doreh troffen wij eenen Engelschman Russell Wallace genaamd, aan, die zich daar tijdelijk ophield, en volgens zijn zeggen door het British Museum was uitgezonden, om voorwerpen uit de natuurlijke historie te verzamelen. Reeds geruimen tijd was hij als zoodanig reizende. Ook had ik reeds vroeger te Amboina en later te Ternate kennis met hem gemaakt. Vooral voor schoon gevederde vogels zijn Nieuw-Guinea en de daaromtrent gelegene eilanden Salawattie en Waigoei belangrijke plaatsen. In den ganschen Indischen archipel is het onmogelijk eenig oord aan te treffen, waar grootere verscheidenheid van prachtig gevederde vogels wordt gevonden. De Heer Wallace had een personeel, meestal uit Javanen bestaande, mede gebragt, die steeds voor hem jaagden, en de geschoten vogels, onder zijn opzigt, geheel volgens de regels van de kunst opzetteden. Dit in aanmerking nemende, kan het niet missen, of hij zal van dáár eene verzameling medebrengen, zoo als vroeger in Europa nog nooit is gezien. De vogels toch, welke men gewoon is van de Papoes in te ruilen, en die bij hen een voornaam handelsartikel uitmaken, zijn veelal zoo slecht geconditionneerd, dat er later niets van te maken is."

Endnote 2. Roijer (1862: 78): "Onder den indruk van het voorafgaande, is het onze aandacht niet ontgaan, dat wij te Doreh hebben aangetroffen eenen Engelschman met name Russell Wallace, die volgens zijne mededeelingen reeds sedert eenige jaren verschillende landen in het Oostelijk halfrond zou hebben bezocht, om zich onledig te houden met het vangen en verzamelen van vogelen, vlinders en insecten. Omstreeks den helft van Maart met een schip van Ternate op Doreh aangekomen en sedert dien tijd aldaar aan den wal gevestigd, in de nabijheid der kampongs, verhaalde hij ons, voornemens te zijn tot Augustus te Doreh te verblijven en alsdan naar Ternate terug te keeren. En zonder te beoordelen, of de zucht voor de natuurlijke historie de eenige drijfveer is van het bezoek op Doreh des heeren Russell Wallace, hebben wij echter gemeend zijn aanwezen te Doreh niet met stilzwijgen te moeten voorbijgaan."

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Table S1. Listings of birds known from Aru as found in A.R. Wallace's unpublished notebook (Ntbk 2/3), G.R. Gray (1858) and C.H.B. Rosenberg (1863), with the most likely current scientific name for the (sub)species found in the Aru Islands, Indonesia. The nomenclature of current names follows the 'Handbook of the Birds of the World' (Billerman *et al.* 2022), online version, accessed August 2023.

Wallace Ntbk 2/3 [1857]	Gray 1858	Rosenberg 1863b	Current Name
Cuncuma leucogaster Gm.	Cuncuma leucogaster	(not in Rosenberg)	Haliaeetus leucogaster (Gmelin, 1788)
Haliastur leucosternus Gould	Haliastur leucosternus, var.	(not in Rosenberg)	Haliastur indus (Boddaert, 1783)
Baza stenozona n.s. G.R.G.	Baza stenozona [new species]	Baza stenozona Gr.	Aviceda subcristata stenozona (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Accipiter poliocephalus n.s. G.R.G.	Accipiter poliocephalus [new species]	Accipiter poliocephalus Gr.	Accipiter poliocephalus (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Podargus ocellatus Q & G.	Podargus ocellatus	Podargus ocellatus Q.G.	Podargus ocellatus Quoy & Gaimard, 1832
Caprimulgus macrourus	Caprimulgus macrurus	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Caprimulgus macrurus schlegelii A.B. Meyer, 1874
Macropteryx mystaceus.	Macropteryx mystaceus	(not in Rosenberg)	Hemiprocne mystacea confirmata Stresemann, 1914
Collocalia hypoleuca n.s. G.R.G.	Collocalia hypoleuca [new species]	Callocalia hypoleuca Gr.	Collocalia esculenta (Linnaeus, 1758)
Hirundo nigricans Viell.	Hirundo nigricans	Herse nigricans Bp.	Petrochelidon nigricans (Vieillot, 1817)
Eurystomus pacificus Lath.	Eurystomus pacificus	Eurytomus pacificus Gr.	Eurystomus orientalis pacificus (Latham, 1802)
Dacelo gaudichaudi ?	Dacelo gaudichaudi	Dacelo gaudichaudi Q.G.	Dacelo gaudichaud Quoy & Gaimard, 1824
Dacelo tyro n.s.	Dacelo tyro (Pl. 133) [new species]	Dacelo tyro Gr.	Dacelo tyro G.R. Gray, 1858
Dacelo sp.	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Dacelo
Dacelo sp.? Young.	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Dacelo
Todiramphus collaris	Halcyon collaris	Todyramphus collaris Sw.	Todiramphus sordidus (Gould, 1842)
Todiramphus sordida ?	Halcyon sordida, var.	Todyramphus sordida Gld.	Todiramphus sordidus (Gould, 1842)
Todiramphus sancta	Halcyon sancta	Todyramphus sancta	Todiramphus sanctus (Vigors & Horsfield, 1827)
Tanysiptera hydrocharis n.s.	Tanysiptera hydrocharis [new species]	Tanysiptera hydrocharis Gr.	Tanysiptera hydrocharis G.R. Gray, 1858
Syma torotoro Less.	Syma torotoro	Syma torotoro Less.	Syma torotoro Lesson, 1827
Ceyx pusilla Temm.	Ceyx pusilla	(not in Rosenberg)	Ceyx pusillus Temminck, 1836
Ceyx solitaria Temm.	Ceyx solitaria	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Ceyx solitarius Temminck, 1836
Alcyone azurea Less.	Alcyone azurea, var.	Alcyone azurea Less.	Ceyx azureus lessonii (Cassin, 1850)
Cinnyris frenata Mull.	Nectarinia frenata	Cinnyris frenata Mll.	Cinnyris jugularis frenatus (S. Müller, 1843)
Cinnyris	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Cinnyris
Cinnyris aspasia Less.	Nectarinia aspasia	Cinnyris aspasia Less.	Leptocoma aspasia aspasioides (G.R. Gray, 1861)
Arachnothera novaeguineae Less.	Arachnothera novae guineae	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Toxorhamphus novaeguineae flaviventris (Rothschild & Hartert, 1911)

Wallace Ntbk 2/3 [1857]	Gray 1858	Rosenberg 1863b	Current Name
Diceum ignicollis n.s.	Dicaeum ignicolle [new species]	Dicaeum ignicolle Gr.	Dicaeum keiense ignicolle G.R. Gray, 1858
Prionochilus niger Less.	Prionichilus niger	Dicaeum nigrum Less.	Melanocharis nigra chloroptera Salvadori, 1876
Myzomela nigrita	Myzomela nigrita [new species]	Myzomela nigrita Gr.	Myzomela nigrita G.R. Gray, 1858
Myzomela erythrocephala Gould	Myzomela erythrocephala	Myzomela erythrocephala Mll.	Myzomela erythrocephala infuscata W.A. Forbes, 1879
Glyciphyla modesta n.s. ?	Glyciphila modesta [new species]	Glyciphilla modesta Gr.	Ramsayornis modestus (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Ptilotis sp.	Glyciphila ocularis	Glyciphila ocularis Gld.	Lichmera indistincta nupta (Stresemann, 1912)
Tropidorhynchus chrysotis Les.	Ptilotis filigera	Ptilotis filigera Gld.	Xanthotis flaviventer saturatior (Rothschild & Hartert, 1903)
<i>Ptilotis</i> sp.	Ptilotis similis	Ptilotis similis Hombr.	<i>Microptilotis analogus longirostris</i> (Ogilvie-Grant, 1911)
<i>Ptilotis</i> sp.	Ptilotis megarhynchus [new species]	Ptilotis megarhynchus Gr.	Melilestes megarhynchus (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Ptilotis sp.	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Meliphagidae
Tropidorhynchus novaguineae	Tropidorhynchus novae guineae	Tropidorhynchus novae guineae Mll.	Philemon buceroides aruensis (A.B. Meyer, 1884)
Gerygone chrysogaster	Gerygone chrysogaster [new species]	Gerygone chrysogaster Gr.	Gerygone chrysogaster G.R. Gray, 1858
Gerygone palpebrosa Wall. [added in 1865]	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Gerygone palpebrosa Wallace, 1865
Alcippe monachal	Alcippe monacha [new species]	Alcippe monacha Gr.	Crateroscelis murina monacha (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Brachiurus novaeguineae ?	Pitta novae guineae	(not in Rosenberg)	Pitta sordida novaeguineae Müller & Schlegel, 1845
Brachiurus macklotti Temm.	Pitta mackloti	(not in Rosenberg)	Erythropitta macklotii (Temminck, 1834)
Mimeta ? Mulleri	Oriolus mülleri	Mimeta mulleri Bp.	<i>Oriolus flavocinctus muelleri</i> (Bonaparte, 1850)
Geocichla	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Geokichla
Rhipidura chalybeocephala Garnot	Rhipidura atripennis [new species]	Rhipidura atripennis Gr.	Rhipidura leucophrys melaleuca (Quoy & Gaimard, 1832)
Rhipidura maculipectus n.s.	Rhipidura maculipectus [new species]	Rhipidura maculipennis Gr.	Rhipidura maculipectus G.R. Gray, 1858
Rhipidura sp.	Rhipidura hyperythra [new species]	Rhipidura hyperythra Gr.	Rhipidura hyperythra G.R. Gray, 1858
(not in Wallace)	Machaerirhynchus xanthogenys [new species]	Myiagra xanthogenys Gr.	Machaerirhynchus flaviventer xanthogenys G.R. Gray, 1858
Myiagra latirostris Gould ?	Myiagra latirostris	Myiagra latirostris Gld.	Myiagra ruficollis mimikae Ogilvie-Grant, 1911
(not in Wallace)	Piezorhynchus rufolateralis [new species]	Piezorhynchus rufolateralis Gr.	Myiagra alecto rufolateralis (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Malurus ?	Todopsis cyanocephala (Pl. 134)	Todopsis caerulescens Bp.	Malurus cyanocephalus bonapartii (G.R. Gray, 1859)
Arses telescophthalma Garn. & Less.	Monarcha telescophthalma	Arses thelescopthalmus Less.	Arses telescopthalmus aruensis Sharpe, 1879
Arses chrysomela Garn.&Less.	Monarcha chrysomela	Arses chrysomelas Less.	Carterornis chrysomela aruensis (Salvadori, 1874)
Monarchus inornata ?	Monarcha inornata	Monarcha inornata Gr.	Monarcha cinerascens inornatus (Lesson, 1828)

Wallace Ntbk 2/3 [1857]	Gray 1858	Rosenberg 1863b	Current Name
Todirostrum ?	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Monarcha ?
Monarcha guttula	Monarcha guttula	Monarcha guttula	Symposiachrus guttula (Lesson, 1828)
(not in Wallace)	Monarcha griseogularis [new species]	Monarcha griseogularis Gr.	Symposiachrus guttula (Lesson)
Microeca flavovirescens	<i>Microeca ? flavovirescens</i> [new species]	Microeca flavovirescens Gr.	Microeca flavovirescens (G.R. Gray, 1858)
(not in Wallace)	(not in Gray)	Entomophila albigularis Gld.	Conopophila albogularis (Gould, 1843)
Flycatcher	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Muscicapidae
Pachycephala griseiceps	Pachycephala griseiceps [new species]	Pachycephala gryseiceps Gr.	Pachycephala griseiceps G.R. Gray, 1858
Pachycephala monacha n.g.	Pachycephala ? monacha [new species]	Pachycephala monacha Gr.	Pachycephala monacha G.R. Gray, 1858
Campephaga caeruleogrisea	Campephaga caeruleogrisea [new species]	Campehaga caeruleogrisea Gr.	Coracina caeruleogrisea (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Graucalus melanops Lath.	Campephaga melanops	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Coracina novaehollandiae melanops (Latham, 1802)
Campephaga sp.	Campephaga polygrammica [new species]	Campephaga polygrammica Gr.	Lalage leucomela polygrammica (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Campephaga hypoleuca	Campephaga hypoleuca	Graucalus hypoleucus Gr.	Coracina papuensis hypoleuca (Gould, 1848)
Campephaga cinnamomea ? Mull.	(not in Gray)	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Edolisoma melas (Lesson, 1828)
Artamus papuensis	Artamus papuensis	Artamus papuensis Temm.	Artamus leucorynchus leucopygialis Gould, 1842
Dicrourus assimilis n.s.	Dicrurus assimilis	Dicrourus assimilis Gr.	<i>Dicrurus bracteatus carbonarius</i> Bonaparte, 1850
(not in Wallace)	Rectes dichrous	(not in Rosenberg)	Pitohui uropygialis aruensis (Sharpe, 1877)
Rectes strepitans	Rectes strepitans	Rectes strepitans Puch.	Pseudorectes ferrugineus brevipennis (Hartert, 1896)
Myiolestes aruensis	<i>Myiolestes aruensis</i> [new species]	Myiolestes Aruensis Gr.	Colluricincla megarhyncha aruensis (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Cracticus personatus	Cracticus personatus	(not in Rosenberg)	Cracticus cassicus (Boddaert, 1783)
Cracticus sp. quoyi ?	Cracticus quoyi	Cracticus Quoyi Gld.	<i>Melloria quoyi alecto</i> (Schodde & Mason, 1999)
Corvus	Corvus orru	Corvus orru Mll.	Corvus orru Bonaparte, 1850
Paradisea apoda Linn.	Paradisea apoda var. wallaciana [new species]	Paradisea apoda Linn.	Paradisaea apoda Linnaeus, 1758
Paradisea regia Lin.	Paradisea regia	Cicinnurus regius	Cicinnurus regius (Linnaeus, 1758)
Phonygama atra Less.	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Phonigama viridis Less.	<i>Manucodia ater subalter</i> Rothschild & Hartert, 1929
Ptilonorhynchus melanotis n.s.	Ptilonorhynchus melanotis [new species]	Ptilonorhynchus melanotis Gr.	Ailuroedus melanotis (G.R. Gray, 1858)
(not in Wallace)	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Kitta buccoides Temm.	Ailuroedus buccoides (Temminck, 1836)
Calornis viridescens	Calornis viridescens	(not in Rosenberg)	Aplonis metallica (Temminck, 1824)
Gracula dumonti Less.	Gracula dumontii	Gracula dumonti Less.	Mino dumontii (Lesson, 1827)

Wallace Ntbk 2/3 [1857]	Gray 1858	Rosenberg 1863b	Current Name
Coriphilus placentis	Coriphilus placentis	(not in Rosenberg)	Hypocharmosyna placentis (Temminck, 1835)
Eclectus Linnaei	Eclectus linnaei	(not in Rosenberg)	Eclectus roratus aruensis G.R. Gray, 1858
Psittacodis polychloros	Eclectus polychloros var. aruensis [new species]	Eclectus polychloros Scp.	Eclectus roratus aruensis G.R. Gray, 1858
Chalcopsitta rubrifrons n.s.	Chalcopsitta rubrifrons (Pl. 135) [new species]	Eos rubifrons Gr.	Chalcopsitta scintillata rubrifrons G.R. Gray, 1858
Trichoglossus nigrogularis	Trichoglossus nigrogularis [new species]	Trychoglossus nigrigularis Gr.	Trichoglossus haematodus nigrogularis G.R. Gray, 1858
Trichoglossus n.s.	Trichoglossus coccineifrons [new species]	Trichoglossus coccineifrons	Considered invalid, possibly a hybrid
Geoffroyus aruensis	Psittacus aruensis [new species]	Geoffroyus aruensis Gr.	Geoffroyus geoffroyi aruensis (G.R. Gray, 1858)
Psittacula sp. diopthalma H.&G.	Psittacula diophthalma	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Cyclopsitta diophthalma aruensis (Schlegel, 1874)
Plyctolophus galerita	Cacatua triton	Plyctolophus triton Mll.	Cacatua galerita eleonora Finsch, 1863
Microglossus aterrimus	Microglossum aterrimum	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Probosciger aterrimus (Gmelin, 1788)
Centropus menebeki ?	Centropus menebiki	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Centropus menbeki aruensis (Salvadori, 1878)
Chrysococcyx	Cuculus assimilis	Cuculus assimilis Gr.	Cacomantis variolosus (Vigors & Horsfield, 1827)
Chrysococcyx sp.	Cuculus megarhynchus [new species]	Cuculus megarhynchus Gr.	Chrysococcyx megarhynchus (G.R. Gray, 1858)
(not in Wallace)	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Chrysococcyx lucidus Bp.	Chrysococcyx lucidus (Gmelin, 1788)
Ptilonopus superbus	Ptilonopus superbus	Lamprotreron superba Bp.	Ptilinopus superbus (Temminck, 1809)
Ptilonopus perlata Tem.	Ptilonopus perlatus	Sylphytreron perlata Temm.	Ptilinopus perlatus zonurus Salvadori, 1876
Ptilonopus wallacei n.s.	Ptilonopus wallacii (Pl. 136) [new species]	Ptilinopus Wallacei Gr.	Ptilinopus wallacii G.R. Gray, 1858
Ptilonopus aurantifrons	Ptilonopus aurantiifrons (Pl. 137) [new species]	Ptilinopus aurantifrons Gr.	Ptilinopus aurantiifrons G.R.Gray, 1858
Ptilonopus coronulatus n.s.	Ptilonopus coronulatus (Pl. 137) [new species]	Ptilinopus coronulatus Gr.	Ptilinopus coronulatus G.R.Gray, 1858
Ptilonopus sp. iozonus n.s.	Ptilonopus iozonus [new species]	Jotreron iozona Gr.	Ptilinopus iozonus G.R.Gray, 1858
Carpophaga zoeae Less.	Carpophaga zoeae	Zonoenas zoea Reich.	Ducula zoea (Desmarest, 1826)
Carpophaga pinon (Q.&G.)	Carpophaga pinon	Zonoenas pinon Bp.	Ducula pinon (Quoy & Gaimard 1824)
Carpophaga mulleri Tem.	Carpophaga mülleri	Zonoenas mulleri Reich.	Ducula mullerii (Temminck, 1835)
Carpophaga spilorrhoa	Carpophaga spilorrhoa [new species]	Carpophaga spilorrhoa Gr.	Ducula spilorrhoa (G.R.Gray, 1858)
Carpophaga chalybura Bp.	Carpophaga chalybura	Carpophaga chalybura Bp.	Ducula aenea chalybura (Bonaparte, 1854)
Macropygia phasianella	Macropygia phasianella	Macropygia phasianella Gr.	Macropygia amboinensis
	[new species]		(Linnaeus, 1766)

Wallace Ntbk 2/3 [1857]	Gray 1858	Rosenberg 1863b	Current Name
(not in Wallace)	Talegallus cuvieri	Tallogalla Cuvieri Less.	Talegalla fuscirostris aruensis Roselaar, 1994
(not in Wallace)	Megapodius reinwardtii	Megapodius duperrei Less.	<i>Megapodius reinwardt</i> Dumont, 1823
Alecthelia urvillei Less.	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	<i>Megapodius freycinet</i> Gaimard, 1823
Megapodius	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Megapodius
(not in Wallace)	Casuarius emu	(not in Rosenberg)	Casuarius casuarius (Linnaeus, 1758)
Aesacus magnirostris	Esacus magnirostris	Oedicnemus magnirostris Temm.	Esacus magnirostris (Vieillot, 1818)
(not in Wallace)	Charadrius xanthocheilus	Charadrius xanthocheilus Wagl.	Pluvialis fulva (Gmelin, 1789)
Plover (male)	Charadrius inornatus [new species]	Charadrius inornatus Gr.	Charadrius mongolus Pallas, 1776
Haematopus longirostris	Haematopus longirostris var.	Haematopus longirostris Vieill.	Haematopus longirostris Vieillot, 1817
Heron	Ardea aruensis [new species]	Herodias aruensis Gr.	Egretta picata (Gould, 1845)
Numenius sp. uropygialis Gould.	Numenius uropygialis	(not in Rosenberg)	Numenius phaeopus variegatus (Scopoli, 1786)
Phalaropus hyperboreus Lin.	Phalaropus hyperboreus	Phalaropus hyperboreus ? Cuv.	Phalaropus lobatus (Linnaeus, 1758)
Sandpiper	Eulabeornis castaneoventris	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Gallirallus castaneoventris sharpei (Rothschild, 1906)
Wader	(not in Gray)	(not in Rosenberg)	Scolopacidae ?
Rallina tricolor n.s.	Rallina tricolor [new species]	Rallina tricolor Gr.	Rallina tricolor G.R. Gray, 1858
Sterna	Sterna torresii	(species listed, but not from Aru)	Thalasseus bergii (Lichtenstein, 1823)
(not in Wallace)	(not in Gray)	Calao papuensis mihi (C. ruficollis Mll.)	Rhyticeros plicatus ruficollis (Vieillot, 1816)