

A FORGOTTEN PIONEER

by David Willis

WHO WAS HE

His surname was Wolfhagen, Ernest Henry Waldemar Wolfhagen (1863 – 1951), a Tasmanian who lived and worked in that country's capital city, Hobart. Why has his role in the development of the first commercially available reverse bicolor daffodil been largely forgotten, especially in his homeland Tasmania. The reason for this is not at all clear. The cultivar was named 'Binkie' and was subsequently used widely in further hybridisation. As this type of daffodil became more widespread and popular the need to modify the existing classification system became obvious. The need for this was acted on in 1947 with the new system to come into force at the start of 1950, but in fact it began with the publication of the Classified List of Daffodil Names in 1948. The change implemented the addition of a sub-division (d) in cultivar Divisions 1, 2 and 3 which catered for colour combinations not previously known and therefore not covered in the existing sub-divisions (a), (b) or (c) (Ref. RHS 1948, Classified List of Daffodil Names, RHS, London)

While references to Wolfhagen are to be found in Tasmanian newspapers and the like, these mainly involve his place in society, with little mention of his daffodil growing activities and in particular his pioneering work which led to the creation of a new type of garden daffodil, the reverse bicolor. While daffodils of this colouration, with yellow perianth and white corona have been recorded among species daffodils since the early 17th century, they were unknown among the cultivars of the main daffodil Divisions (1, 2 and 3) until the early 20th century. The earliest of these was Barr's 'Brutus' (1Y-YWW) pre 1913 and the seedlings of R O Backhouse recorded in 1923/24 by Guy Wilson, none of these daffodils getting into commerce. It was only with the appearance of 'Binkie' at a show in Hobart, Tasmania on 20/21 September 1934 that this colour combination began to attract attention, but acceptance as a new and exciting development took longer to achieve. However, as time went on the development of other reverse bicolors, such as 'Spellbinder' led to a more general acceptance. Nowadays some of the best daffodils available are of this type.



Waldemar Wolfhagen aged 31
(Acknowledgement to TAHO)

W. Wolfhagen

Photograph for season ticket
holder, Tasmanian International
Exhibition, 1894-1895.



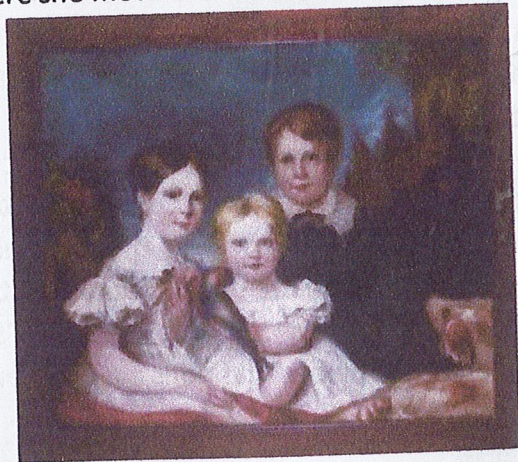
Daffodil 'Binkie' (2Y-W) first seen at
Hobart Show on 20th September 1934.

A BIT OF FAMILY HISTORY

The story starts in in the village of Ednam near Jedburgh in the Scottish borders with the birth of John Walker (1799 -1874). His father was Robert Thomas Walker, a local flour miller and farmer whose business failed in the depression following Waterloo. Because of this, at the age of 21, John decided to emigrate in the hope of reviving the family fortunes and in 1822 arrived in Hobart "penniless and friendless". But he found himself on the road to success almost immediately and within a month was appointed superintendent at the government owned flour mill in Hobart. In the following year he received a grant of 200 acres of land and in 1824 built a flour mill at Richmond. Then he received a maximum land grant of 2560 acres. He then spent time in Launceston where he built another flour mill before returning to Hobart where he bought the government owned flour mill and its attached residence. Later he was prominent in banking, was elected to the Legislative Council and went on to represent Hobart in the Upper House becoming the Honourable John Walker. Walker married Janet Glass of Hobart in 1827, having several children. It was their only daughter, Margaret (1837-1902), who gave the initial link to the Wolfhagen family, for after the death of her mother she travelled to London with her father where she met and married Ferdinand Frederick Wolfhagen (1823-1868) in June 1855.

The little girl holding the rose is Walker's only daughter, Margaret. As an adult she travelled to England with her widowed father, where she met her future husband, Frederick Ferdinand Wolfhagen.

Painting by Benjamin Duterreau (1767-1851), English artist who migrated to Tasmania in 1832 where he became well-known for images of indigenous people



They had four children, Laura Margaret (1856-1918), Clara Theresa (1858-1924), John Edgar (1860-1932) and Ernest Henry Waldemar (1863-1951).

Waldemar was educated in Hobart at Mr Pike's City School, a private, fee paying establishment, which charged between 10 and 12 guineas a year. He did well at school, being awarded the Tasmanian Council of Education First Prize for German in 1879. Later he went on to University, studying to be a solicitor, but strangely no records still exist of this phase of his life. He was admitted to the Bar in 1889 being listed as a registered solicitor in Hobart, first with the firm of Young and Walker, then as Senior Partner with Walker and Wolfhagen, then Walker, Wolfhagen and Walch (Ref. 2). Later the Tasmania Post Office Directory published in Hobart by H Wise and Co for the years 1891-1937 shows Waldemar listed with various firms of solicitors, all of which mention Walker, one for 1901 listing the Walker as J B Walker, and although he died in 1899 this was James Backhouse Walker (1841 - 1899).

The Tasmanian Post Office Directory by H Wise & Co. 1891 – 1937, Hobart, Tasmania

The Walker listed in these entries was James Backhouse Walker (1841-1899), son of George Washington Walker (1800-1859), who accompanied James Backhouse of York to Tasmania in 1831.

1890
 Plant, Benetto Louis, July 10, 1867 (absent).
 Brown, Charles Eaton (absent), September 5, 1887.
 Ledge, Fredk., T.S., B.A., Oxon. (Roberts and Allport), Dec. 15, 1887,
 of the Millie Temple, Barrister-at Law, January 23, 1887.
 Wolfhagen, Ernest Henry Waldemar (Young and Walker); office,
 Mutual Provident Chambers, Hobart, Feb. 8, 1888.
 Adams, George Patten, jun., Launceston, Feb. 24, 1888.

Tasmania PO Directory (Wise) 1892-1893
 (Recorder of Titles), 1876
 Wise Walter Ormsby (Parliamentary Draftsman), 1887
 Wolfhagen Ernest Henry Waldemar (Walker & Wolfhagen), 1888
 Young James Forbes, 1885
 Young Russell (Russell, Young & Sou), 1862

Laughto
 Chamber
 Fitzgona

Tasmania Tasmania PO Directory (Wise) 1901
 Wayne James Wilkinson A.A. (Recorder of Titles), 1876
 Wise Walter Ormsby (Secretary Law Department), 1887
 Wolfhagen Ernest Henry Waldemar (J. B. Walker, Wolfhagen & Welch), 1888
 Young Russell (Russell Young & Butler), 1862
 Waldron James Bellard, 1870
 Waldron James Bellard, jun. 1898
 Waterhouse George Wilson Ritchie & Parker), 1879
 Weston William Dubella (Law & Weston), 1891
LONGFORD.
 Archer Alex. (Archer & Clemons), 1887
 Birchall Wm. Andrew Bayley

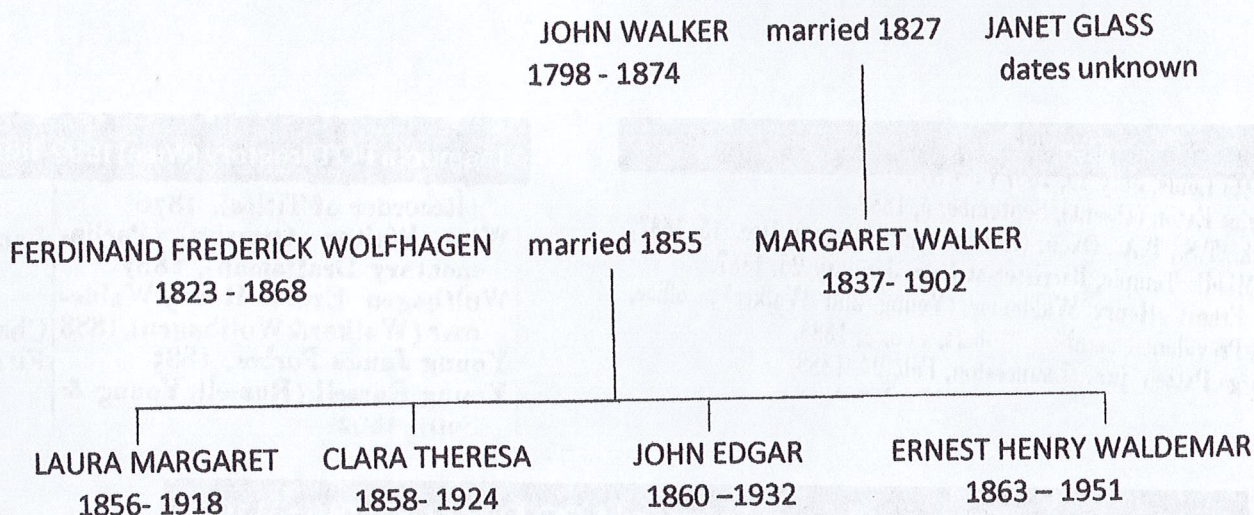
Adams
 Ferguson
 Banks-Sp
 Brown Ch
 Douglas
 Hall Ed
 M...

James Backhouse Walker was the son of George Washington Walker (1800 – 1859), who in 1831 accompanied James Backhouse (1794-1869), nurseryman of York to Australia. They stayed there until 1838 carrying out Quaker missionary and humanitarian work with James collecting plants and seeds which he sent back to the York nursery and to Hooker at the University of Glasgow. The return journey of Backhouse and Walker took in visits to Mauritius and South Africa where they continued with their missionary duties. In 1840 Backhouse left for York arriving in February 1841, but Walker returned to Hobart where he settled. (Ref.3).

James Backhouse Walker (1841-1899) was born in Hobart and was educated both there and at the Friends (Quaker) School, York, England. In 1872 he took articles and was admitted as barrister, solicitor and proctor to the Supreme Court of Tasmania in 1876. He was elected to the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1888 and in 1898 became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania. Nowadays he is commemorated by the annual Backhouse Lecture. (Ref.4)

The above histories show an incredible link between the Wolfhagens, two unrelated Walker families, and the Backhouses through James of York and William Backhouse of Wolsingham, Co. Durham,

England, who was responsible for some of the first polyploid daffodil cultivars 'Emperor' and 'Empress', which were marketed through the York nursery.



This Marriage was solemnized between us, Ferdinand Frederick Wolfhagen in the Presence of us, Janet Glass

1855. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of St. Andrew in the County of Midland

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
38	1855	Ferdinand Frederick Wolfhagen	27	Single	Govt.	St. Andrew's	Ferdinand Wolfhagen	Govt.
		Margaret Walker	18	Spinster		12 St.	John Walker	Govt.

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, by James or after Catholics by us.

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Ferdinand Frederick Wolfhagen in the Presence of us, Janet Glass

Marriage Certificate of Ferdinand Frederick Wolfhagen and Margaret Walker 1855.

ERNEST HENRY WALDEMAR WOLFHAGEN married MURIEL THOMPSON on the 11th April 1908 at All Saints Church in Hobart. There were no children by the marriage.

In 1951 Waldemar Wolfhagen died on the 18th August, aged 88 and was buried at Cornelian Bay Cemetery, Church of England Plot G (11) W

THE HISTORY OF REVERSE BICOLORS

While some of the earliest hybridised cultivars from the nineteenth century were bicolors with white perianth and yellow corona ('Empress' 1865), the reverse colouration in cultivars was not seen until the twentieth century.

This reverse colouration was first commented on in the early 17th century when Parkinson described varieties of the species *N. triandrus* in Latin. One was described as *chalice luteo reflexis foliis albidus* and another as *chalice albo reflexis foliis luteis*, or with the normal colour arrangement reversed. This was the daffodil known nowadays as *Narcissus triandrus* var. *pulchellus*. It was this form of *triandrus* which seemed to be most prevalent in English gardens. During the second half of the 19th century there were several reports of its widespread occurrence. In 1874 it was reported as growing strongly and healthily on the nursery of R. Parker at Tooting. In the following year both Burbidge and Baker referred to it, the former stating that it was the only form of *triandrus* still in cultivation (Ref.5) while Baker listed *pulchellus* at the top of his list of principal *triandrus* varieties (Ref.6). This was later confirmed by E A Bowles who wrote it was a more vigorous and easily grown variety than others in this section. By 1885 it was the only form of *triandrus* listed by Hartland (Ref.7), who described it as "most interesting and novel", no doubt on account of its unusual colouring. The sum of these statements lead to the assumption that any hybridist employing *triandrus* in breeding during the late 19th – early 20th century would be using the *pulchellus* variety. Therefore was *pulchellus* the source of the reverse colouration later found in Division 1 to 3 cultivars?

The earliest cultivar with reverse colouring in the Daffodil Register is 'Little Queen' raised by E H Chapman pre-1912. It was raised from *N. triandrus* var. *loiseleurii*, which in the past has sometimes been known as *calathinus*, crossed with *N. asturiensis*. It was classified as a Division 5 *triandrus* cultivar 5Y-W. Other similar daffodils followed in 1915, raised by the same hybridist from *N. triandrus* var. *loiseleurii* this time crossed with *N. cyclamineus* these being exhibited at the RHS Show on the 13-14 April, 1915. They were not described as reverse bicolors but as daffodils with "the corona colour being lighter in tint than the perianth – an unusual characteristic in Narcissi". (Ref.8)

The first Division 1 reverse bicolor to be listed in the Daffodil Register was 'Brutus', 1Y-YWW raised by Barr and Sons pre-1913. 'Brutus' never seems to have been offered for sale as it does not appear in any of the Barr catalogues held in Dafflibrary. Perhaps this was because of this rather odd colour arrangement in a Division 1 cultivar when only previously seen in a species daffodil. It is known that 30 years later Guy Wilson suffered similar opposition during the early years of 'Spellbinder'. (Ref.9)

The year is now 1923 and Guy Wilson is visiting the home of Mr and Mrs R O Backhouse at Sutton Court, Herefordshire. There he sees a single flowering seedling which he described as

A remarkable seedling, many have been remarkable
but this one was a reverse bicolor, supposed to be a

cross between 'Monarch' and one of the old whites the cernuus type. The flower was fully as large as 'Monarch', but of drooping habit. It had, however, a well-built, broad, full lemon-yellow perianth and a white or faintly lemon-white trumpet. It really looked more beautiful than one would have expected (Ref.10)

What can be assessed from Wilson's entry in his record Book was that he was seeing what to him was a new type of daffodil (he was obviously unaware of 'Brutus'), he managed to find out this strange daffodil's parentage and as far as it has been possible to ascertain he coined a new term – reverse bicolor, not known in print or writing at an earlier date.

In 1924 Wilson returned to Sutton Court, this time accompanied by Lionel Richardson. He wrote "there were some curious reverse bicolors in addition to the one we saw last year. (Ref.11). It was ten years later that 'Binkie' made its appearance in Hobart, Tasmania.

THE HOBART SHOW 1934

This was an annual show, chiefly but not exclusively for daffodils. It was a two day event held on the 20th and 21st of September, this being the occasion at which 'Binkie' was first seen in public. However it was not greeted with the fanfare normally given to a new innovation. In fact it received no acclamation whatsoever and had it not been for the sharp perception of two other exhibitors may well have gone unnoticed. Those two were S J Bisdee and Mr C E Radcliff. They both contacted Guy Wilson who wrote an article in the Daffodil Year-Book of 1935 on the Hobart Show. Wilson wrote that Bisdee had mentioned a flower that sounds distinctly interesting "a rather unique flower shown by Mr Wolfhagen, was a seedling of his 'Binkie', the perianth is greeny lemon and this extends over the exterior of the cup, the interior of which is white". Radcliffe tated that "the perianth gets greener as the flower develops but the cup goes white" adding "it is a solid well- built flower"

The Show was fully reviewed in the newspaper, the Hobart Mercury (Ref.12). The show itself was a great success with 500 seedlings being exhibited the standard of which being "evidence they could hold their own with any imported bulb". In addition there were the usual open classes which is the only place where Wolfhagen's name appears, getting two prizes in the Barrii section, a 1st in the Jonquilla, 2nd in the Poetaz and a 1st for a flower with a white perianth. 'Binkie' apparently got nothing other than the passing favourable comments of Bisdee and Radcliffe without which it could well have passed into oblivion. But perhaps Wilson took note as he wrote his article that here was a type of daffodil which he had admired ten years earlier.

Interestingly there was a Perpetual Trophy awarded at the Hobart Show for the best seedling not previously exhibited, this being won in 1934 by J H Hinsby with an unnamed white Incomparabilis.

TAROONA

This was where Wolfhagen grew his daffodils during the 1920's and 1930's, while living in Augusta Road, New Town, Hobart. He had bought land at 27 Norwood Avenue, which was part of a farm named Tarooona, Hobart in 1906, it having a cottage which he intended using as a holiday retreat. It was described at the time as a "country property" or "a week end house". On this property Mr Wolfhagen was said to be "renowned for the daffodils he grew" (Ref.13). By the end of the 1930's Wolfhagen was approaching 80 and sold the property to the city organist of that time, Mr James Scott-Power. The whole area between Norwood Avenue and Belhaven Avenue was developed in 1960-61 into Flinders Esplanade by Gordon Jennings, Civil Construction Property Ltd. for Messrs K D Reeve, K Wood, R W and W L Escott. And it was probably around the time Wolfhagen gave up the land at Tarooona that 'Binkiel' was acquired by Guy L. Wilson.

WHAT IS IN A NAME

More specifically what if anything was in the name 'Binkie' for Waldemar Wolfhagen. When I commenced this project I thought the name may relate to a place name in Tasmania, but could not find one. I had seen a reference to it as a word which was sometimes used in Ireland to refer to a pacifist and because of the tentative link of the seed from which 'Binkie' arose coming from Wilson in Northern Ireland and a possible Quaker connection thought this to be a likely source for the name. In 1935 the name Binky was used by a manufacturer in the USA as a branded product name for a child's pacifier, which seemed a logical development of the Irish meaning of the word. But this was at least one year after the daffodil 'Binkie' was exhibited at the Hobart Show

What is known of Wolfhagen's daffodil growing activities and do these throw any light on the reason for this daffodil's name? He grew daffodils at Tarooona, Hobart for about twenty years, from 1920 when he was 57 until 1940. It is not known in how many of these years he bred daffodils, but let us suppose ten, allowing for the acquisition of breeding stock and the time taken for a plant grown from seed to produce its first flower. It is known that for several years he was a regular exhibitor in the 12 seedling class and also in classes requiring less seedlings (in all there were 18 different seedling classes at the Hobart Show). Using figures obtained from the records of J L Richardson of Waterford, Ireland, an estimate can be made of the number of seeds Wolfhagen would need to sow and the seedlings he would need to raise in order to provide himself with seedlings of the required quality over a ten year period. Richardson, who was one of the world's most successful daffodil hybridists got one worthwhile cultivar per 392 seeds sown and 245 seedlings raised. Therefore if Wolfhagen had a similar rate of success and exhibited 120 seedlings over a ten year period he sowed something like 47040 seeds and raised 29400 seedlings in order to do this – no small achievement when he was working for at least part of the period under consideration as a solicitor, with his daffodil activities being a hobby. And it is known that his seedlings were of a good standard; Guy Wilson commenting on the Hobart Show in 1932 and the Perpetual Challenge Cup for 12 seedlings raised by the exhibitor, stated that Wolfhagen's flowers "figured prominently". Wilson also stated that the Hobart Show had "in all 18 seedling classes" Despite this large number of seedlings raised by Wolfhagen he named but one – 'Binkie'. Why was this and was there significance in this sole act of naming to Wolfhagen himself? Apparently many

amateur breeders 'down under' did not name or register their seedlings, especially in Tasmania, where it was regarded as an enjoyable hobby. (Ref.14). So was there any significance in Wolfhagen naming this one seedling out of the several hundred he may have produced during the twenty years he was involved in this activity?

Apparently a further use for the word binkie is as a pet or nickname for those in love with one another. (Ref.15)

If this was the reason for this daffodil's name does the date of the naming have any significance? It is known that it was exhibited under this name at the Hobart Show in 1934, but if it was named in the previous year, 1933, this was the Silver Wedding Anniversary of Waldemar and Muriel, so the question is did he name this daffodil for his wife to mark this special year? It is unlikely that the truth of this will ever be known, but the circumstantial evidence is quite compelling. Wolfhagen raised at least 12 seedlings annually over many years. Yet he named only one –'Binkie'– a word which may have had a special significance to him in 1933.

The main reason for the title to this piece 'The Forgotten Pioneer' is that although Wolfhagen created a new type of daffodil his name never appeared in the list of Raisers and Stockholders in the International Daffodil Registers until the publication of the Daffodil Checklist in the 1980's. In Registers prior to this the rule was quite clear that the only names to be included "must appear frequently in this list". As Wolfhagen's name only appeared once, as the raiser of 'Binkie', he was excluded. This rule was dispensed with in the Checklist and in the subsequent International Registers but the Christian name initials were and are incorrect, given as W W when they should have been E H W. It is probable that this error originated in 1933 when Guy Wilson gave the name as W W Wolfhagen (Ref.16)

WAS WILSON INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF 'BINKIE'?

There has been a story around for a long time that the seed from which 'Binkie' came was from a cross made by Wilson in Northern Ireland who then sent the seed to Wolfhagen in Tasmania. It is difficult to pin the origin of this story down. Because Waldemar and Muriel had no children the chances of any correspondence between Wolfhagen and Wilson surviving, is slim, if indeed it ever existed and the Tasmanian institutions who have assisted with this project to date have nothing relating to this matter. The story seems to originate in an article in 1966 written by Michael Jefferson- Brown (Ref.17). In this he writes "As far as I know the first flower to show the characteristic fading of the corona whilst retaining the perianth colour was 'Binkie'. I believe this was raised in Tasmania from seed sent out by Mr Guy Wilson in Northern Ireland. The parentage of this variety is unfortunately unknown. It was registered in 1938, six years before Mr Wilson's 'Spellbinder' in 1944". Although the date of 1938 is now known to be incorrect (it was 1934) Jefferson-Brown would be unaware of this as the 1938 date appeared in the Daffodil Register as recently as 1998. It is perhaps worth noting that this story appeared 32 years after 'Binkie' was first seen, and the story is not repeated in either of Jefferson – Brown's later books. The 1966 version is not convincing with statements such "as far as I know" and "I believe" leading to doubt. This is all the more surprising when it is realised that school leaver and budding daffodil breeder Michael was working at 'The Knockan' with Wilson at the time 'Spellbinder' appeared and when this new type of daffodil would have been the main topic of conversation.

He must surely have quizzed Wilson on 'Spellbinder' and 'Binkie', which would be growing at 'The Knockan' at that time. This being so the 'unknown' parentage of 'Binkie' must have been a hot topic, especially if Wilson had made the cross from which it came. If Wilson had sent the seed he would have known the parentage, recording this fact as he was an avid diarist. Therefore instead of "I believe" Jefferson-Brown would have been more likely to write "I know" if he had personally gleaned the facts which must have been known during his time at 'The Knockan'.

Next to repeat this story was Phil Phillips in 1966 when he wrote "It ('Binkie') was raised in Tasmania by W Wolfhagen from seed sent to him by Guy Wilson" (Ref.18).

In 1979 members of an international daffodil conference visited the Guy L Wilson Daffodil Garden at the University of Ulster. I remember Phil Phillips particularly well for it was decided to get three specimen trees for the Presidents of the American, Australian and New Zealand Daffodil Societies to plant. It was decided to get a Canoe or River Birch (*Betula nigra*) for the American, *Eucalyptus dalrympleana* for the Australian and a Totara (*Podocarpus totara*) for the New Zealander, Phil Phillips. The plants were ordered from a top nursery and when they arrived I was shocked by the difference in size. The Birch was 6ft., the Eucalyptus 5ft. but the Totara was little over a foot in height. I foresaw an international incident developing and wondered how I could prevent this. One day I was walking through Coleraine looking particularly miserable when I was spotted by the Curator of the National Arboretum at Castlewellan. I told him the sorry tale and he immediately said I have a 4ft. Totara in a pot and I will bring it to you tomorrow. And it wasn't the common green form, it was the Golden Totara (*P. totara aurea*). So I had good reason to remember Phil, and I took the opportunity to quiz him on the seed from Wilson story, but could not remember where he had first heard the story.

In 1971 the story was aired again in the American Daffodil Society Journal by K J Heazlewood of Whitemore, Tasmania in an article about Down Under Daffodils and Growers. He repeated a similar story to that of Phillips fifteen years earlier.

During my D. Phil research I had long conversations with John Shaw, Wilson's right hand man for around half a century and he knew nothing about Wilson seed going to Tasmania or any Wilson /Wolfhagen link. Nor was there any reference to this in the Wilson Record Books.

Finally account must be taken of Guy Wilson's own reaction to the news of the first appearance of 'Binkie' in 1934. In his article Shows Overseas in 1934 Tasmania (Ref.19) he only found out about this event on receiving letters from S J Bisdee and C E Radcliff referred to earlier under the Hobart Show. Surely had he sent the seed to Wolfhagen from which 'Binkie' arose, the latter would have made contact to alert Wilson of the forthcoming showing of this 'unique' flower. Furthermore just two years before 'Binkie' made its first appearance at the Hobart Show in 1934, Wilson was not aware of Wolfhagen's correct Christian name initials, referring to him as W W Wolfhagen when he was in fact E H W Wolfhagen (1933 Yearbook p.87). This also is an indication of an absence of any contact between Wilson and Wolfhagen at the very time when one could have expected conversations to be taking place on this interesting reverse bicolor seedling which had resulted from a seed exchange.

The only conclusion which can be drawn from this is that it has not been possible to find any factual basis for the story.

WILSON'S LATER INVOLVEMENT WITH 'BINKIE'

'Binkie' first appeared in Wilson's catalogue of 1941, indicating he had acquired some bulbs between 1934 and towards the end of the 1930's, allowing time for acclimatization to the Northern Hemisphere. Wilson only had 2 or 3 bulbs for sale annually, at £4 to £5 per bulb so these would have only got into the hands of a select few during this period. By 1949 his stock of bulbs must have increased considerably, for in that year they were submitted for trial at Wisley and for this to happen 25 bulbs must be made available. It is likely that it was Guy L Wilson who officially registered 'Binkie' in 1949 as a condition of acceptance of the cultivar for trial. In 1952, at the end of the 3 year trial, 'Binkie' received an Award of Merit as a garden daffodil with the following accreditation "raised by Wolfhagen, Tasmania, introduced and sent by Mr Guy L Wilson".

WHAT WAS THE SOURCE OF THE REVERSE COLOURATION

Firstly the role of *N. triandrus* var. *pulchellus* must be considered, being the only species in which this colour arrangement was known to exist. Did this species feature in the background of any of the Division 1 or 2 cultivars which show this same colouration. What is known is that a *triandrus* featured in the parentage of a 1W-W Engleheart seedling which featured in the ancestry of 'Spellbinder' and that because of time frame in which this seedling arose the most likely *triandrus* to have been used was *pulchellus*. The *triandrus* characteristics may become masked even in the first generation (examples being the Engleheart seedling and 'Alice Knights' 1W-W from 'Madame de Graaff' x *N. triandrus* subsp. *pallidulus* (Ref. 21) to reappear in later generations and that could have happened with *pulchellus*. Other contenders are 'Monarch' crossed with what R O Backhouse described as one of the old whites of the *cernuus* type which gave rise to his reverse bicolor seedlings. The *cernuus* type has usually been taken to include *N. moschatus*, *alpestris* and *albescens* all of which have flowers which droop to a greater or lesser extent. But the term *cernuus*, which refers to drooping flowers, (Ref.22) also applies to *N. triandrus*. Finally there is the 'King of the North' and 'Content' cross used extensively by both Wilson and Mitsch to produce a wide range of reverse bicolor hybrids' It is worth noting that the ancestry of these two cultivars contains 'Monarch', a white *cernuus* type and *triandrus* species. At the start of this exercise and prior to discounting any Wilson/Wolfhagen link the Wilson cross 19/9 seemed a possibility for the seed sent to Tasmania. This cross was between 'Sorley Boy' and 'King of the North' and was made in the year following his visit to Sutton Court in 1923. It gave rise to several very pale, soft sulphur yellow seedlings very similar to 'Moon Goddess' and 'Moonstruck' which originated in the later cross 31/84 which also gave rise to reverse bicolors ('Spellbinder'). The seed parent of 'Sorley Boy' was 'Monarch' with 'King of the North' having the white species *N. albescens* in its background. As more information was received the likelihood of a link to this cross became more distant, not only on account of diminishing belief in a Wilson/Wolfhagen link, but also because the dates did not tally, with the cross made in 1924 and the appearance of 'Binkie' in 1934.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that this exercise has succeeded in bringing Wolfhagen out of the shadows and giving him some substance. No longer will he merely be W W Wolfhagen, Hobart, Tasmania but Ernest Henry Waldemar Wolfhagen (1863-1951) of Hobart, Tasmania who raised daffodils at Taroona in the 1920's/30's including 'Binkie'. It is also now known with certainty that the date of first flowering should be 1934.

It has not been possible to establish any real substance for the story that the seed which gave rise to 'Binkie' came from a cross made by Guy Wilson in Northern Ireland the resulting seed being sent to Wolfhagen in Tasmania. Several reasons for reaching this conclusion are to be found in the text. Wilson visited New Zealand in 1929 and was invited to visit Tasmania, but had to decline due to shortage of time, so he is unlikely to have met Wolfhagen.

What it has not been possible to demonstrate at the present time is the parentage which gave rise to 'Binkie', and one doubts that this will be established with any certainty in the near future. There are, however, some common factors in the ancestry of many reverse bicolor cultivars in the major Divisions (1 to 3). One parentage which is known with reasonable certainty is that of the R O Backhouse seedlings which was 'Monarch' x white species (*cernuus*), which is most likely to have been *moschatus/alpestris/albescens*, all having more or less drooping flowers signified by the *cernuus* name. The crossing of 'King of the North' with 'Content, initially by Guy Wilson and later by Grant Mitsch, led to a flood of reverse bicolor cultivars. These parents have both 'Monarch', a *white* recorded as *albescens*, and a *triandrus* in their ancestry.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this article, which aims to give both man, Waldemar Wolfhagen, and his daffodil 'Binkie' their rightful place in the history of daffodil development, would not have been possible without the help and cooperation of many people and for this I will be eternally grateful. First and foremost is Jan Dalton, Archivist to the UK Daffodil Society and long-time friend. Jan never ceases to amaze me with his vast knowledge of daffodil matters and the speed with which he can produce an answer to the most outlandish question. In the early part of this project I was on the point of giving up, when my niece, Jess Priest, came to the rescue, conjuring information out of the computer which I had tried but failed to get. Also on these shores, Melanie Underwood, International Daffodil Registrar, has proved invaluable in supplying answers to what must have seemed an endless string of questions. Caroline Thomson also contributed, especially with the Quaker links involved in this story.

From Wolfhagen's homeland, Tasmania, I have received both interest and help from Library staff at the University of Tasmania, especially the Librarian, Janette Burke, and Special and Rare Collections Officer, Heather Excell.

Without all those named the task would have been impossible and although not all goals have been achieved, maybe interest will be stimulated towards a more complete account in the future.

David Willis October 2022