

The Genesis and Commodification of Katherine Langloh Parker's *Australian Legendary Tales* (1896)

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Katherine Langloh Parker's *Australian Legendary Tales* provides a useful case study in formulating the role of women writers in the transformation of culture as a specific function in the expansion of the intellectual empire in the Victorian age. Translation, or rewriting as André Lefevere terms it in *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (7), is an enterprise which consolidates, shapes and adapts non-British publications which are then assimilated into an English discourse in ways analogous with other forms of colonising activity. A nation as powerful as the British in the Victorian age became so in part because it not only colonised distant lands and their cultures, but also culturally colonised Italian art, German philology, French philosophy, and so on. Cultural colonisation via translation can be an aesthetic response (or a philosophic, or political or historical one) to a source text, but ultimately is not achieved through direct translation of that source text. Rather it is achieved through the journey which the transformed text takes; through the reception of such rewritings or transformed material, via reviews and extracts; through further republications; and by the debates such transformed material engenders in the press. It is, therefore, not the act of translation itself that is appropriative, rather it is the fact that a translation travels through its reception and impact and its subsequent transformation and assimilation. Such a transformation or rewriting forwards and consolidates imperial power because it adds to that power's knowledge-base and demonstrates that power's control. Translation assists appropriation and access because it controls, or makes familiar, ideas and philosophies, as well as myths and legends, from other cultures. The colonised, in particular, can seem to be managed through the reading audience that is specifically targeted by a text rewritten in English from oral or written sources.

COMMODIFICATION

In 1969 H. M. Saxby in *A History of Australian Children's Literature 1841–1941* described Parker's collection of Aboriginal myths and legends, *Australian Legendary Tales*, first published in 1896, as "authentic" and "genuine" (58, 59). This is not an aesthetic response, rather an acknowledgement of Parker's translating practice. However, he goes on to state that the legends contain a "fairy-tale element" which accounts for their appeal to some children, that is, they also have an aesthetic appeal. Saxby is clearly exercised about precisely how Parker's collection should be categorised, that is, whether it is "folk literature" which is, he states, "traditionally adult," or children's literature (59). Today it would be impossible to apply terms like "authentic" and "genuine" to a collection of this kind, done under circumstances which Parker herself acknowledges in her Preface to *Australian Legendary Tales* as not "scientific" by someone who is "alas, . . . but an amateur" (ix-x). Indeed much later in *Woggheeguy* (1930), published under the name Catherine Stow, she offers in her Foreword far greater detail about her decision to collect the legends that suggests that her rationale is anthropological (expressed crudely in the terms of the day) and not literary:

Even an unscientific woman can realize and appreciate the value of what the scientists have done and purpose doing. . . . I need hardly explain that I had no scientific education, nor preparation for research, beyond desultory reading about primitive peoples and an intense interest in the genesis of races and their original mentality. Full of that interest I seized the time and opportunity of over twenty years' residence in juxtaposition to some of the finest aboriginal tribes in Australia to study them on the spot in an amateur way. (viii)

Certainly Parker's translation methodology, as described to A. G. Stephens in an undated letter to him (c.1897) as a rebuttal to the criticisms in his *Bulletin* review of her book, demonstrates enormous care and sensitivity not just to the tale being recounted, but its tones and nuances as well. She assures him that every "idea," by which she means metaphor, simile and so on, is Aboriginal, adding:

I am very careful to get them as truly as I can—first I get an old black to tell it in his own language—he probably has little English—I get a younger one to tell it back to him in his language he corrects what is wrong—then I get the other one to tell it to me in English—I write it down, read it and tell it back again to the old fellow with the help of the medium, for though I have a fair grasp of their language I could not in a thing like this trust to my knowledge entirely.

Stephens' *Bulletin* review is dated 9 January 1897. In his column titled "The Red Page" he dismisses *Australian Legendary Tales* as having "ethnologically little sig-

nificance” and states that the tales “seem to have been invented at a comparatively recent date” (n.p.; precedes p.1), an implication perhaps that Parker wrote them herself.

Uncharacteristically for the period, however, Parker’s Preface to *Australian Legendary Tales* carefully acknowledges the specific group whose legends these are, the Noongahburrans, and her “great indebtedness to the blacks, who . . . were most ready to repeat to me the legends,” naming in particular Peter Hippi, Hippitha, Matah, Barahgurrie, and Beemunny. The final published work is dedicated to Peter Hippi, “in grateful recognition of his long and faithful service” (xi). Such precise acknowledgement is unusual in this period. A simple comparison with just one example is the plundering of Henry Schoolcraft’s collection of Chippewa legends which he had gathered in the early nineteenth century and published as serious research. In 1825, in *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population*, Schoolcraft explains that his transcriptions are taken from “the oral relation of the Chippewas, at the Sault St. Mary, the ancient seat of that nation,” that is, he names the specific native American group but no individual. Schoolcraft also determines that the legends lack what he terms “literary refinement,” a lack he turns to useful account by asserting that they are therefore all the more a faithful rendering of “the sense of the original,” including simple narrative style and native mode of expression (52). His collection was republished as *The Indian Fairy Book* in 1916 by Frederick A. Stokes of New York with illustrations by Florence Choate, possibly to cash in on Andrew Lang’s fairy book translations, the latter a subject to which I will return shortly. *The Indian Fairy Book* was reprinted in 1995 under the generic title *Folktales of the North American Indian*. Other examples might include the 1906 reprinting of Sir George Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders* (1855) in which he notes merely his “able interpreters” (viii) and Annie Ker’s *Papuan Fairy Tales* (1910). Like Parker, Ker claims in her Introduction a familiarity that authorises her work as translator: “I have known these people for nine years, and for part of that time lived alone amongst them,” but she names neither the local group nor individuals (ix).

Like so many before and after her, Parker’s primary role as a collector of indigenous cultural material was to transcribe the tales and then subsequently to market them to an interested readership. Her Preface reveals considerable uncertainty regarding that readership (an uncertainty Saxby’s account, noted earlier, reflects) and she shifts from one specific reader-designation to another. Parker begins by proposing the collection as a work for the serious student of anthropology, rescuing a folk-lore, as Parker puts it, “embodying, probably, the thoughts, fancies,

and beliefs of the genuine aboriginal race” (xi). In part this scientific approach is prompted by her reiterated belief (a commonplace of the period applied to indigenous colonised people everywhere) that “we should try, while there is yet time, to gather all the information possible of a race fast dying out” (ix). She ends the Preface, however, quite differently, by subverting this more serious category for the study of Aboriginal legends and reassigning her work as a “Christmas booklet for the children of their white supplanters” (xii).

Ironically, it is this latter readership with whom the work has become more and more associated in its subsequent reprintings and by the 1970s it is listed in Marcie Muir’s *A Bibliography of Australian Children’s Books* and, as I have already indicated, discussed in Saxby’s *A History of Australian Children’s Literature*, as well as in his further study of the same title covering the years 1941–1970. In the latter, Saxby still admires the style of Parker’s transcription which, although Victorian, is “careful but not pedantic” and “dignified but not elaborate.” He asserts that her aesthetic “gave weight to the subject matter” and ensured respect “for the mental and imaginative life of the aborigines” (205). What is certain is that such collections of indigenous myths, legends and cultural practices were being produced in large numbers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries for the children’s book market.

At this point it is important to consider the claim of Parker’s *Australian Legendary Tales* to be of interest to readers whose fields are the sciences of anthropology and philology. As noted at the outset, nineteenth-century colonisers as readily exploited literary resources as they did lands, minerals, crops, and so on. The myths and legends of colonised peoples were collected, transcribed and later published in an ever-increasing commodification of indigenous culture, either under the guise of scientific research or gradually, and more popularly, as part of the children’s book industry. The collapse of categorisation from the scientific to the merely amusing warrants a more exhaustive exploration than can be offered here, but it does have real bearing on the argument.

Parker’s work was first published under the aegis of the polymath Andrew Lang, who made the marketing of folk tales, fairy tales, myths and legends his particular domain. Richard M. Dorson in *The British Folklorist: A History* describes Lang’s “fecundity” as a London journalist and man of letters, adding that his writing included “morning leaders, weekly and monthly reviews and columns, and incessant addresses, prefaces, and essays interlarded among a stream of scholarly and literary books” (206). Lang’s relationship with E. B. Tylor was, according to Dorson, crucial in his rejection of philology for ethnology. Later in his career, the publication of twelve books of fairy tales from different sources in the period 1889–1910

were translated by Lang's wife and various other women, with Lang himself playing the role of overseer. Anna Smol in "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized': Andrew Lang's Representation of the Child and the Translation of Folklore" points out that Lang "repeatedly acknowledges the names of the actual translators" and she provides those names in her article (180). Nevertheless, such teamwork, with Lang as editor-in-chief, suggests the degree to which his work might be considered an intensely commercial enterprise, run along factory lines, rather than active scholarship. Indeed, Smol argues that in *The Lilac Fairy Book*: "Lang makes a fascinating revelation of his vision of his work in terms of a gendered hierarchy," defining himself as the "primeval male" when he states, "Eve worked, Adam superintended. I also superintend. I find out where the stories are, and advise, and in short, superintend" (180). Smol also contends that Lang saw himself as "learned" and on a higher evolutionary scale than those whose myths and legends he exploited (180). On the other hand, Jack Zipes, in *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and their Tradition*, rightly points out that Lang with others made "important contributions to the development of the [fairy tale] genre" (135).

A further justification for my contention that Lang's might be viewed an enterprise of industrial proportions built on appropriation can be located in his Introduction to Parker's collection, in which his statements about Australian Aborigines are the standard, journalistic, ill-informed commonplaces of the day. Apart from Lang's shortcomings with regard to direct knowledge of the material he was prepared to introduce, there are actual repetitions of phrases and ideas in the various introductions he provided for other works similar to Parker's own. For instance his Introduction to Hugh Romilly's *From My Verandah in New Guinea: Sketches and Traditions* (1889) uses the phrase "Good wine needs no bush" (xv). This phrase is also used in Lang's introduction to Parker's *More Australian Legendary Tales* (xvii). Indeed Parker herself, in her 1905 publication *The Euahlayi Tribe: A Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia*, remarks:

I dare say little with an air of finality about black people; I have lived too much with them for that. To be positive, you should never spend more than six months in their neighbourhood; in fact, if you want to keep your anthropological ideas quite firm, it is safer to let the blacks remain in inland Australia while you stay a few thousand miles away. Otherwise, your preconceived notions are almost sure to totter to their foundations. (141)

Parker's tone suggests that, despite his introductory presence yet again in this very book, by 1905 she has Andrew Lang's measure well and truly.

By the 1890s Lang was also suffering at the hands of the periodical press. As late as October 1896, and the date is relevant with regard to Parker's publication, Lang

reiterates his creed in his column for *Longman's Magazine*, "At the Sign of the Ship," "All peoples notoriously tell the same myths, fairy tales, fables, and improper stories, repeat the same proverbs, are amused by the same riddles or divinettes, and practise the same, or closely analogous, religious rites and mysteries" (qtd. in Dorson 218). However, the reissue of his *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, first published in 1887, is castigated in its *Athenaeum* review of June 1899 because it remains "unaltered," even though "the last decade has been one of great and fruitful activity in those branches of study with which 'Myth, Ritual, and Religion' is concerned," and the work is roundly condemned by the critic for its "belated arguments, long since swept out of existence by the progress of research" (714).

In introducing the 1896 *Australian Legendary Tales*, Lang's comparisons of the legends themselves to German fairy tales, his alternative suggestion that what we have here is a "savage edition of the *Metamorphoses*," and his further statement that the "sympathy with, and knowledge of beast-life and bird-life are worthy of Mr. Kipling," help to demonstrate the bland homogenisation with which Lang marketed his productions (xv). The reference to Kipling is especially notable because it celebrates imperial appropriation—clearly Lang has Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894) in mind. This is confirmed by his later discussion of Parker's work in his column "At the Sign of the Ship." He obviously felt there was no conflict of interest in bringing the book to the notice of his readership; indeed, he cheerfully describes his remarks as a "deliberate puff preliminary":

Mrs. Parker, who knows the blacks well, has collected their popular tales in her own district. These make a regular natural "Jungle Book," by a variety of savage Kiplings, including the King of the Hippi. To say nothing of their interest as folk-lore (which only bores the public), they are fine, fascinating stories, the very things that children like. One elderly child read all through them with pleasure on a hot day under a tree. . . . Really, the stories are not unworthy in some ways of him who created Rikki Tikki. It would be a real pity if we pedantic old folk-lorists kept all the fun to ourselves. (317)

It is significant to note that from this precise period Kipling too is contributing to the fairy book industry with the *Just So Stories* (1902) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910).

The excesses of Lang's Introduction to *Australian Legendary Tales* highlight Parker's prefatorial statement as better informed; she notes, for instance, the diversity of Aboriginal language and culture "within comparatively short distances" (x), and on the whole she offers a more balanced and reflective statement given always, of course, the limitations of the period. Marcie Muir's *My Bush Book: K. Langloh Parker's 1890s Story of Outback Station Life* (1982) reveals that Parker made many pages of notes on local Aboriginal vocabularies, indicating the care

with which she approached her task (146). Mrs. Muir generously allowed me access to her Parker manuscript collection and subsequently provided me with photocopies of some of these lists, most of which seem unsystematic in that they are not arranged by subject or alphabetically. The following brief sampling demonstrates this randomness:

| | | |
|----------|---|-------------------------------|
| Water | , | Culleen |
| Food | , | Wiggai |
| Meat | , | Gding |
| Bread | , | Thunarn |
| Earagool | , | Set your teeth on edge – tart |
| Quandong | , | Quandong |
| Yes | , | Gnahwah |
| Sun | , | Tirai |
| Morn | , | Guiwon |

Despite Andrew Lang's shortcomings, it is he who provides, through his brother Dr. W. H. Lang of Corowa, the illustrations by an Aboriginal man which appear in Parker's book. This man is not named in *Australian Legendary Tales* either by Parker or by Lang, nor does his name ever appear as illustrator on any editions. However, the sketchbook, which passed into the possession of Lang's biographer, Roger Lancelyn Green, is inscribed in this way: "Drawings made by a Black Fellow at Corowa, New South Wales, June 1886. His name I do not know. By the whites he goes by the name of Tommy Macrae" (qtd. in Muir, *My Bush Book* 151). It is under this name that the drawings are now held in the Mitchell Library. Andrew Lang's severe artistic judgment is pronounced on Macrae's work in his Introduction to *Australian Legendary Tales*:

The artist has a good deal of spirit in his hunting scenes; his trees are not ill done, his emus and kangaroos better than his men and labras [sic]. Using ink, a pointed stick, and paper, the artist shows an unwonted freedom of execution. Nothing like this occurs in Australian scratches with a sharp stone on hard wood. Probably no other member of his dying race ever illustrated a book. (xvi)

This is one of the few times that an acknowledged indigenous artist will illustrate *Australian Legendary Tales* until the 1998 Senate reprint of the 1896 edition. The detailed illustration history of this text is another scholarly article waiting to be written. Notable women illustrators of the various later editions of Parker's translations, whose names are synonymous with Australia's colonial history, include Nora Heysen and Elizabeth Durack.

In an interesting omission, Parker does not refer to Andrew Lang at all in her Preface, nor to the anthropologist Edward B. Tylor, who is invoked at the head of the Appendix (126), which contains, it is claimed, "a specimen of these tales in their

native form” and where Tylor is thanked by “the editor and the publisher” for suggesting this. Dorson notes that Tylor’s influence on Lang constitutes a “crucial relationship” (207) and that Lang’s anthropological theories of folklore are premises based on Tylor’s conclusions (208). The editors of the 1953 edition of Parker’s *Australian Legendary Tales* assume that the “editor” referred to is Parker but the reference may well be to Lang himself. His role as editor, placed above the team of handmaidens who worked for him on his own productions, suggests this, and certainly he worked very closely with the publisher David Nutt, as Parker’s letter to A. G. Stephens, in which she notes that Lang read her page proofs for Nutt, shows.

Parker refers directly to only one European scholar of note, the famed Max Müller, Professor of Philology at Oxford, and clearly views him as an impeccable authority when it comes to the value of folk-lore and its study, because she mentions him twice. Lang, on the other hand, disputed Müller’s premise that all legendary tales had a common origin and had adopted this position as early as 1884 in his Introduction to *Grimm’s Household Tales* which was translated by Margaret Hunt (xix ff.). In an obituary on Müller which Lang was persuaded to write for the *Contemporary Review*, he declares himself to be “no philologist” and therefore suffers from a “want of special knowledge,” yet announces that he has been “an opponent of Mr. Max Müller’s theories on . . . the origin and diffusion of myth” (785), and goes on to reiterate once more the bones of contention between them. If, as Anna Smol argues, Müller’s was “a more traditional philological line of inquiry” at the time (178), Lang’s position, by his own admission in the obituary, is that of an “Ishmaelite among anthropologists” (790). Interestingly, Lang invokes “the Australian Baiame” as an example of an “Infinite Being” (790), knowledge he may have gained directly from his involvement with Parker’s work.

Parker herself, in the standard practice of her day, despite the encouragement her reading of such an authority as Professor Müller had given her initially to begin the project, disclaims *Australian Legendary Tales* with a procession of diminutives. In the end she does not feel sufficiently sure of her own material and practice to claim a scientific justification for her work or its publication, despite believing that “undoubtedly a scientific and patient study of the folk-lore throughout Australia would greatly assist [its survival]” (ix-x). What she offers here, she tells the reader, is a “small collection;” her collecting itself is a “small attempt;” the legends themselves are “little,” and so is her book, eventually reduced towards the end of the Preface to a mere “booklet” (ix-xi) to amuse white children. Patricia Grimshaw in “Female Lives and the Tradition of Nation-Making,” re-assessing Parker’s contribution, suggests in contra-distinction to Parker’s disclaimers, that her “perception approximated the stand and detail of scholars in the emerging science of anthropology” (38).

In 1953 *Australian Legendary Tales* was re-issued as *Australian Legendary Tales Collected by K. Langloh Parker*. On the title page Parker is named as the collector of the tales, Henrietta Drake-Brockman is responsible for the selection and editing, and the illustrator is Elizabeth Durack. The names of Parker's local indigenous collaborators do not appear in this edition; indeed, in "Appendix II, For Students," their names are quite deliberately omitted, an ellipsis marking the place where their names should be (190). The dedication to Peter Hippi has disappeared. Drake-Brockman does, however, cite the authority of Andrew Lang as a pioneer of anthropology (187), only supplanted on the publication of James Frazer's *Golden Bough* in 1890, and advances a new authority, Professor A. P. Elkin, in her introduction titled "About These Stories." Interestingly, Elkin is invoked to authorise Drake-Brockman's view that Parker "was in fact one of the first people to write exclusively of the Australian aborigines as fellow creatures" (vi). She adds:

Perhaps she was, indeed, the first to set forth, to any noteworthy extent, their own vision of themselves and their conditions of living, so far as she was able to reproduce their thoughts and speech forms in written English. However well-intentioned earlier serious writers may have been, there remains in their work a hint of patronage, of "outside" observance, of "case-book" approach. (vi)

Lang's role, on the other hand, is "the celebrated writer, who was then also considered to be what today would be called a leading anthropologist" (vi) and his bona fides remain unquestioned, despite the paucity of his putative science.

Subsequently there have been other editions of Parker's translations produced primarily for the children's book market. These include: a school edition of the Drake-Brockman, published in 1955 and in reprints; a 1975 edition adapted by Vashti Farrer and illustrated by Walter Cunningham; a 1978 edition which is faithful to the 1896 original and includes an introduction by Wandjuk Marika but is illustrated by Rex Backhaus-Smith; and a 1998 edition published by Senate which is a simple paperback reprint of the 1896 book without any additional introductory material.

One other book market has seized on Parker's work. The New Age publisher Inner Traditions International brought out a selection of legends from various Parker publications (*Australian Legendary Tales*; *More Australian Legendary Tales* and *Woggheeguy*). Re-titled *Wise Women of the Dreamtime: Aboriginal Tales of the Ancestral Powers*, this 1993 production is edited with commentary by Johanna Lambert. Aboriginal artist Dorothy Djukulul is thanked "for permission to reproduce her bark paintings" in the Acknowledgements (ix), but it is not clear to whom the other small drawings throughout the text might be attributed. Lambert also names particular Aboriginal women "who have influenced and helped

shape my imagination of the feminine in Aboriginal culture . . . : Stella Mankara, Bell McLeod, Lydia Miller, Rosalie Graham, and Leslie Fogarty” (ix). In the Introduction Lambert, like Parker before her, asserts familiarity with Aboriginal people, though with less justification: through “my brief friendship with Stella, a woman of the Tiwi people” (2); a conversation with “Daisy Utemorra, of the Wandjina people” (3); and “my long friendship and association with the Aboriginal film and theater director and drama teacher Brian Syron” (4). Like Parker, she disclaims science: “My preparation for exploring these legends has not been academic anthropology” (4). Indeed, some of the discussion is uncannily similar to the nineteenth-century debates about myth. She states that she does not wish “to appropriate information nor speak for the Aboriginal people; rather, this book has been an imaginal voyage . . . to redream their archaic presence on this land” (5). But this publication remains an appropriation for all that. The Dedication, presumably by Lambert, reads as follows:

This book is dedicated to the re-imagining and re-dreaming of the existence of a harmonious relationship between humanity and all of the natural world. Just as Aboriginal women are the gatherers of the plants and seeds, now is the time for the potencies of the Universal Feminine to be re-gathered, re-remembered with the traditional Aboriginal culture as a guiding force. (v)

RECEPTION

Parker’s publications *Australian Legendary Tales* (1896) and *More Australian Legendary Tales* (1898) attracted a range of notices and reviews, extracts from which are conveniently printed inside the covers of John Mathew’s *Eaglehawk and Crow: A Study of the Australian Aborigines Including an Inquiry into their Origin and a Survey of Australian Languages* (1899), produced by Parker’s publisher, David Nutt. Reviews appeared in a variety of British periodicals and newspapers, including *St. James’s Gazette*, *Saturday Review*, *Antiquary*, *Athenaeum*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Manchester Guardian*, and so on. The reviews mostly adopt Lang’s folklorist approach and invoke Lang as one whose imprimatur gives the translations credence and authority, and this includes the French reviews. For instance, *St. James’s Gazette* states that Mr. Andrew Lang “contributes a scholarly introduction;” *Westminster Gazette* mentions his “characteristically clever and happy introduction;” and *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* notes the “spirituelle et alerte préface de M. Andrew Lang.”

Of the selections from the press notices only *Athenaeum*, in an article titled “Folk-Lore,” notes and praises Parker’s translating practice: “Mrs. Parker is doing very good service to folk-lore, and the more so as she steadily adheres to her determina-

tion to tell the tale as it was told to her” (208). Katherine Langloh Parker’s practices are no longer considered either informed or even justifiable. However, as Patricia Grimshaw contends in comparing Parker to Louisa Anne Meredith, there is much in Katie Parker’s personal journal and later publications that is offensive, but there is also a qualitative difference from the tone and content of Louisa Meredith’s writing. Here, one can also discern the ways in which interaction with Aborigines could have influence over a white woman, rather than power existing only in the other direction. (38)

Parker’s practices seem, today, even more honourable when we consider the various fates of the material she transformed for an English market and readership in the late nineteenth century at the tail-end of the Victorian age and the beginnings of decline of empire. The *Legends* have suffered appropriations and depredations not just in the Victorian age. Beginning with Lang, who sought from them ammunition for his scientific battles with Max Müller, among others, as well as the development of his own prestige as a scholar, *Australian Legendary Tales* has been subjected across the twentieth century to various forms of commercialisation ending with the ubiquitous New Age market. It is intriguing to imagine in what form, and for what purpose, they will next manifest.

Finally, I would argue that, while Katherine Langloh Parker gives way to pressure from the publisher and allows her work to go forward as designed primarily for the children’s book market (a designation it has had difficulty escaping ever since), her ambition for the work had a far more scholarly focus. The very fact that her Preface first proposes her translation work as useful to the student and only subsequently of interest to children, indicates that for Parker this has been both an intellectual and a scientific process. Dorson points out that for the collection and study of the customs and tales of so-called “primitive peoples,” “a perfect situation existed within the framework of Empire to pursue this end” in late Victorian England (212). For the stay-at-home anthropologist (Lang in Britain for instance) the voices of an indigenous culture can travel via her rewriting, her transformation, and be heard, but also misheard and misused.

As Susan Bassnett, in *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, has argued so compellingly, the “map-maker, the translator and the travel writer are not innocent producers of text. The works they create are part of a process of manipulation that shapes and conditions our attitudes to other cultures while purporting to be something else” (99). In a naïve way, perhaps, Parker wanted to be a “faithful” translator—to be “true” to the people who delivered their stories into her hands—but she also wanted these particular indigenous voices, as a celebration of difference, to impact on the developing science of anthropology with its concomitant

impact on the Empire. It seems clear that she was unaware, at the time, that in acknowledging diversity the new science would simultaneously homogenise that same diversity under the creed of men like Lang and Tylor. The appropriation and manipulation of indigenous legends, first by Parker herself, and then others, to serve a broad range of ends, reveals a powerful instance that the translator can never be innocent. The translator is always subject to prevailing ideologies (which also must counteract “faithfulness”) and market forces, which eventually over-ride all other aesthetic and ethical considerations.

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