

# **The *Peter Pan* story in the literary and cultural imagination: exploring the many re-imaginings of J.M. Barrie's story**

**S.R. le Roux  
25638289**

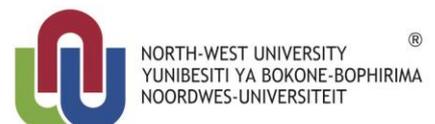
Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree *Magister Artium* in *English* at the Potchefstroom Campus of  
the North-West University

Supervisor: Dr M. du Plessis-Hay

Assistant supervisor: Dr Y.V. Botha

May 2016

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# Abstract

This study examines adaptations of the Peter Pan story in three films and a graphic novel, in order to compare the different ways in which adaptation can be justified. In the various films and the graphic novel, the Peter Pan story and the various characters therein are represented in different ways.

The theories of Bassnett and Lefevere, Hutcheon, and Jakobson were applied to the various chosen adaptations of the Peter Pan story. The sources consulted with the purpose of discovering which semiotic elements of the Peter Pan story were reinterpreted and recreated across the various adaptations are the original Peter Pan versions, namely: *The Little White Bird* (1902); an untitled typescript by an unknown typist of Barrie's play *Peter Pan* (1904/05); *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1910); *Peter and Wendy* (1911); a scenario by Barrie for a proposed film of *Peter Pan* (c. 1920); and the published playscript *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928). The adaptations chosen for this study are: *Peter Pan* (silent film, 1924); Disney's *Peter Pan* (animation, 1953); *Peter Pan* (live action, 2003); and *Peter Panzerfaust* (graphic novel, 2012- ). These adaptations were chosen according to their significant changes and similarities to the original story

Through the application of the previously mentioned theories and the comparison to the original Peter Pan versions, the study determined that: even though the various adaptations re-imagined the original Peter Pan story and were viewed as unfaithful versions of the original text, they were successful in appropriating the story of Peter Pan. These adaptations recreated and reinterpreted the semiotic elements from the original story, through the transformation of "verbal signs" into "nonverbal sign systems", as well as adherence to the "cultural reality" called for by Bassnett and Lefevere. The study assesses the extent to which each adaptation was a successful reinterpretation of the Peter Pan story according to the "gains" and "losses" that occurred in each case, and concludes that all the adaptations exhibited some successful elements, but that the later adaptations, less concerned with textual fidelity, were often the most successful recreations.

## Keywords

Peter Pan, J.M. Barrie, *The Little White Bird* (1902), *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906), *Peter and Wendy* (1911), *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928), proposed film script of *Peter Pan* (c. 1920), intersemiotic translation, palimpsest, adaptation, stage, film, silent film, graphic novel, children's literature, equivalence, *Peter Panzerfaust* (2012- ), film adaptation, "cultural turn", Bassnett and Lefevere, Hutcheon, Jakobson.

# Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank Prof. A.M. de Lange and the Research Unit: Language and Literature in the South African Context, NWU-Potchefstroom. Their financial support, with regards to academic bursaries and a grant to attend the *Alice Through the Ages Conference* (September, 2015) at Homerton College, Cambridge, are greatly appreciated. The latter grant also allowed me a few invaluable days of research at the British Library in London.

Special thanks are also due to Elsa van Tonder and Bernice McKenzie for their administrative help and guidance.

To my supervisor Dr M. du Plessis-Hay, thank you for all your time, effort, support and patience with a student who was thinking more of Neverland than academics. This dissertation would not have been possible without your thoughtful edits and advice. I am also grateful to Dr Y.V. Botha, who served as assistant supervisor, for helping me with the theoretical approaches in chapter 2.

To the librarians of the British Library, my sincerest gratitude for their helpful suggestions and keeping me in love with old books.

Thank you to Wynand, my family and friends for their continual support and love.

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## **List of Tables**

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Table 1: A chronological list of the Peter Pan stories

# Notes on Citation

For this dissertation the MLA citation and bibliographical referencing style will be used, as laid out in: Modern Language Association of America. *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. 7th ed. New York: MLA, 2009. Print.

As it can become confusing as to which Barrie text is which without specifically referring to the exact title, the first citation of a Barrie text will contain the full title followed thereafter by its abbreviation. As there are so many editions available of these novels, I provide not only the page number in citations, but chapter numbers as well.

I use the following abbreviation for titles frequently cited:

- *The Little White Bird* (1902 novel): *LWB*
- *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1910 novel): *PPKG*
- *Peter and Wendy* (1911 novel): *PW*
- *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928 play script): *PP*

While the first edition of *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906) was consulted while conducting research at the British Library, for the purposes of this dissertation, I have used *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1910) as it is the earliest and most accessible version of the text available online.

I shall also be discussing specific scenes in my chosen films, and in some cases I use screenshots as illustrations. I will reference these by citing the director(s) of the films first, followed by the time into the film at which each scene or screenshot occurs.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Contextualisation and problem statement

Do you believe in fairies?

Every moment [Tinker Bell's] light was growing fainter; and he knew that if it went out she would be no more [. . .]

Her voice was so low that at first he could not make out what she said. Then he made it out. She was saying that she thought she could get well again if children believed in fairies.

Peter flung out his arms. There were no children there, and it was night time; but he addressed all who might be dreaming of the Neverland, and who were therefore nearer to him than you think [. . .]

“Do you believe?” he cried.

[. . .] “If you believe,” he shouted to them, “clap your hands; don't let Tink die.”

Many clapped.

Some didn't.

(Barrie, *Peter and Wendy* 197-98; ch.13)

The Peter Pan story<sup>1</sup> has always had an interactive element. Peter Pan sprang from J.M. Barrie's mind while he was playing games with the Llewelyn Davies boys and perhaps he too faced the same difficulties as Carroll whilst endeavouring to weave a story.<sup>2</sup> For the opening night play performance, Barrie was so afraid that no-one would clap to save Tinker Bell's life that he instructed the musical director, John Crook, that the “orchestra should down instruments and clap” (Birkin 114). It turned out to be an unnecessary precaution. Thus the universal appeal of the Peter Pan story lies in the fact that it can be treasured by children and adults alike. It offers more than just an adventure with Lost Boys and Pirates on a faraway island, but also the opportunity for adults to indulge in nostalgia for a lost childhood. Many might be (and some still are) “dreaming of the Neverland” and many will not hesitate to save Tinker Bell's life by clapping out loud. It is this ability of Peter Pan (who is probably still flitting through nursery windows) to entice others to believe, and simultaneously of his story, which lends itself so easily to adaptation, that has led to his immortality.

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the word *story* within this dissertation refers to the legendarium of Peter Pan.

<sup>2</sup> In the poem “All in the golden afternoon”, Carroll writes: “Yet what can one poor voice avail / Against three tongues together? / [. . .] While Tertia interrupts the tale / Not *more* than once a minute” (*Alice's Adventures* i-ii).

There are many reasons why one would chose to adapt a particular story and each adapter is driven by his or her own reasons. In the case of Peter Pan, whose story is such a popular choice for adaptation, the need for adaptation perhaps stems from the elusiveness of the protagonist. Peter, forever a “Betwixt-and-Between” (Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* 29; ch. 2), lends himself to the act of adaptation exactly because his “origins are at once forgotten, impossible, and hybrid” (Padley 278). Peter is inherently “beyond definition”, and his presence is “dispersed over a variety of different genres and types of media” (Padley 278). In 1911 alone, four different versions of the Peter Pan story were being circulated simultaneously (Wasinger 220), and this has led Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr to assert that while “there is no definitive text of *Peter Pan*, [. . .] there *is* a textual history” (viii).

Even Peter Pan’s name hints at his “Betwixt-and-Between” nature. Though it is not hard to imagine that the eternal boy was named after Peter Llewelyn Davies — for Peter was only a baby when Barrie began telling George and Jack about an infant who runs away to go live in Kensington Gardens — there is more to the name. Maria Tatar states that Peter Pan is a curious mix of pagan and Christian associations. She explains the Christian connotations:

The biblical Simon Peter is known as the apostle most passionate about his faith, and his story resonates with the conflict between faith and reason in *Peter Pan*. In Matthew 16, Jesus renames Simon and calls him Peter: founder of the church: “You are Peter, the Rock; and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall never conquer it. I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.” Still, it is Peter who denies his relationship to Jesus three times “before the cock crows,” and thereby becomes a figure who is both solidly faithful yet also lacking in faith. Barrie could not have found a better way to capture Peter Pan’s loyalty to Neverland, on the one hand, and his capricious, volatile nature, on the other.

(Tatar xlix)

Yet Peter’s second name — Pan — has pagan connotations. “Pan” is the mythical Greek god, who is “said to have been so ugly at birth, with horns, tail, and goat-legs, that his mother ran away from him in fear” (Graves 102). Karl Kerényi adds that he was born “crowing and laughing” (173). Tatar says that Pan could be delightful and terrifying, benign and destructive and was the son of Hermes, who is renowned for his mercurial nature and winged feet (l). Allison B. Kavey identifies Pan’s pipe playing and “his love for himself and need for adoring followers” (76). Barrie’s initial Peter Pan creation, who came to life in *The Little White Bird*, shows these characteristics; Peter Pan plays his pipes made of reeds, is able to fly and rides a goat in search of

lost little children after Lock-out time (see Barrie, *The Little White Bird* ch.14-18). And while Barrie's Peter is not half-man, half-goat, he is as Solomon Caw states a "[p]oor little half-and-half!" (Barrie, *LWB* 148; ch. 14). However, these "undisguised references to the chthonic, often lascivious and far from child-like goat-god" (Yeoman 15) were removed from the play and are also absent from the 1911 novel. Yet traces remained in the later versions: Peter still plays his pipes (Barrie, *PW* 13; ch. 1), displays narcissistic tendencies (Barrie, *PW* 39; ch. 3), and crows to herald his arrival in Neverland and signal his victory (Barrie, *PW* 95; ch. 6, 137; ch. 8). Peter Pan's name is indicative of who he is — a "Betwixt-and-Between" (Barrie, *PPKG* 29; ch. 2). The duplicity implied in the meaning of the names "Peter" and "Pan" allows Peter to be liminal, a link between the real world and Neverland. As Kavey states "he straddles the worlds from which those categories derive their meanings, pressing hardest on the divide between the real and the imagined to create a space that can intrude into both places, the Neverland" (102).

As with any story that has endeared itself to diverse audiences over such a long time, one may ask whether these various adaptations, across different formats and media, have remained true to the author's original story. The purpose of this section is briefly to touch upon Barrie's own rewriting processes and attitude towards his creation. It will also provide a brief exposition of the adaptations chosen for this study as well as laying the foundations for the aim of this study and the way in which it will be conducted.

### **Context: catching the wonders of Neverland**

In 1918, Barrie refused to sell the Peter Pan film rights, but this led him to write his own silent film screenplay, which he would later offer to Paramount Pictures along with the rights. This screenplay was described as Barrie's own "reimaging of the play" (Tatar 275) and he hoped that a film could "strike a note of wonder [. . .] and whet the appetite for marvels" (Green 169). Barrie himself was a renowned reviser. For the 1904 stage production of *Peter Pan*, Tatar notes that "Barrie had rewritten the ending five times, and he was still making cuts and revisions just days before the play was to open" (lvii). This continuous reworking of a text by Barrie is given further credence by his own words in *The Little White Bird*, where the narrator describes the meandering manner in which he and David told stories:

First I tell it to him, and then he tells it to me, the understanding being that it is quite a different story; and then I retell it with his additions, and so we go on until no one could say whether it is more his story or mine.

(Barrie, *LWB* 143; ch. 14)

From this one can surmise that Barrie himself realised that a story, once it is told and available to an audience, will never remain the same. A story, once it is told, will have some elements subtracted from and others added to it, depending on who is (re)telling the story. And while Barrie's arguably most famous work has been rewritten, adapted, transposed, and (re)told, no one can doubt whose story it originally was. The story of Peter Pan, unlike many other popular stories, never had just one single authoritative version. Since Barrie first thought of the little bird that broke out of his egg (Barrie, *PW* 228; ch.15), Peter's story was continually shifting, developing and being tinkered with by an interactive author who spent at least 24 years toying with the story. In the introduction of the Penguin Classics edition of *Peter Pan*, Jack Zipes believes that Barrie would not "have minded all the films and artifacts that have followed because he had fixed the story as history and commentary in 'Peter and Wendy' " (xxvi). And, since its inception, the story of Peter Pan has been (re)told in many ways in its 110-year existence in numerous formats and media including books, comics, films, video games, plays, presentations, and television programmes.

It is essential to provide a brief overview of some of the adaptations that have been considered for this study and which primarily consist of several film adaptations and a graphic novel.<sup>3</sup> Barrie was "fascinated by the medium of film [. . . and] hoped for a film that would catch the wonders of Neverland" (Tatar 275-76). His own screenplay did not just contain subtitles, "but also rich visual descriptions of each sequence, with many fantastic flourishes that would have been a challenge to film" (Tatar 321). The first cinematic adaptation of the Peter Pan story was a silent film released by Paramount Pictures in 1924 and was a disappointment to Barrie as he thought it lacked "creativity and [. . .] felt that it was only repeating what had been done on the stage" (Ohmer 151).

The next film version would be released 29 years later by the Walt Disney Company in 1953. It was an animated adaptation of the beloved story and Walt Disney himself believed that "animation was the best medium for realizing Barrie's vision" (Ohmer

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<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed conspectus, see Appendix A.

151). The 2003 live-action film adaptation entitled *Peter Pan*, directed by P. J. Hogan, is perhaps (thus far) the most spectacular version of the Peter Pan story as it brings the visual splendour of Neverland to life with its state-of-the-art special effects. However, the latest adaptation of the Peter Pan story, as a graphic novel, is far removed from the original setting. Titled *Peter Panzerfaust*, the story takes place during World War II and Peter is now a 17-year-old American teenager who, together with a gang of French orphans (the Lost Boys), becomes part of the French Resistance. They are involved in an on-going battle with Kapitän Haken, a captain in the Nazi German Army.

The co-creators, Kurtis J. Wiebe and Tyler Jenkins, have added to the textual history of Peter Pan through their graphic novel, *Peter Panzerfaust*. Wiebe has said that his intention with this story was “a new frame to an original classic” and that their “connection to the original Peter Pan story is more about reworking the themes and characters in a new way rather than a straight up adaptation” (Dietsch, “Exclusive”). Yet Wiebe freely admits that he did “reference the original novel for bits of story, mainly to take quotes and story themes and add them into my story in a fun way” (Dietsch, “Exclusive”). Even though Wiebe does not view this graphic novel as an adaptation, I would have to disagree. As will be noted in chapter 2, “art is derived from other art; stories are born of other stories” (Hutcheon 2), and the story of *Peter Panzerfaust* is clearly born from Barrie’s original story.

It should be mentioned that a new Peter Pan film, entitled *Pan*, was released in October 2015. It is an origins story and tells how an orphan boy is taken to Neverland and, through various adventures, becomes the boy known as Peter Pan (IMDB, “Pan 2015”). However, this latest film will not be discussed here as it is not an adaptation, but rather a *prequel*. Prequels and sequels are not adaptations, as the reason behind creating them is that one never wants the story to end (Garber, *Quotation* 73-74). An adaptation however, stems from “wanting to retell the same story over and over in different ways” (Hutcheon 9).

From the brief overview given of the various adaptations, one can note that no two (re)tellings of the Peter Pan story are the same, as each version has been influenced by various factors, including previous adaptations, and has been involved in different processes of creation. The problem with which this dissertation is concerned is an interesting one. While many theories about adaptation exist and while these self-

same theories have been applied to various adaptations in the past, the theories discussed in chapter 2 (those of Bassnett, Lefevere, Jakobson and Hutcheon) have not yet been applied to the story of Peter Pan and its adaptations. The latest graphic novel adaptation of the Peter Pan story is also a recent development and its story is still being written, making it a new avenue to be explored. Given this, the problem with which this study is concerned is the analysis and evaluation of the transcoding of the Peter Pan story across multiple media from 1902 to 2015.<sup>4</sup>

## Research questions

In applying the theories of Linda Hutcheon, Roman Jakobson, and Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere to the (re)tellings of the Peter Pan story, three questions arise which form the focus of the research in this study. The first question considers which semiotic elements of the Peter Pan story have been (re)interpreted and (re)created in the various adaptations. The main semiotic elements (re)interpreted and (re)created throughout include not only Peter himself, but also other characters within the story. These include: bringing Tinker Bell to life in Brenon's 1924 silent film adaptation; Disney's creative animation of Peter and the Darling children's flight to Neverland; Hogan's 2003 version's bringing Barrie's Neverland to life through its visual effects and child actors; and Wiebe and Jenkins's WW II version's employment of innovative and nuanced ways to place Barrie's characters within the new realistic setting.

The second question addresses how the (re)interpretations and (re)creations of the various adaptations engage with the original Peter Pan story. Thus it is important to show how the original Peter Pan story plays a role in the creation of the adaptations. Each adaptation employs the original story in different ways: Brenon simply presents the stage play on the screen, while Disney incorporates popular cultural opinions and Barrie's novel into its adaptation. Hogan, in his version, which is perhaps the most successful adaptation with regards to Barrie's vision for a film version, not only tries to make the story his own, but uses the play and novel as supplementary sources to inform his adaptive decisions. Wiebe and Jenkins also use Barrie's story as a source, but, owing to their realistic historical setting, incorporate only some of the semiotic elements.

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<sup>4</sup> The various versions of the Peter Pan story that are relevant to this study can be found in Table 1 (p. 50; ch. 3).

The final question asks what elements of the Peter Pan story have been lost or gained, and why, across the various adaptations. The final question thus focuses on exploring and assessing the losses and gains that occur when the Peter Pan story is adapted. In Brenon's silent film, he shows the potential of cinema to bring fantasy elements to life through the innovative technology used to bring Tinker Bell to life. Brenon's failure is that he merely resorts to doing what had been done on stage and ignores Barrie's proposed screenplay. Disney's version may have embellished and elaborated on the original story, but according to critics it fails to capture the spirit of the original (see p. 85; ch. 4). By contrast, Hogan's version may not be satisfactory to textual purists, but, by being able to cast child actors in the roles of the main characters, presents perhaps for the first time an authentic performance of the story. Wiebe and Jenkins's adaptation is markedly different from the well-known original story. However, it is through the reader's memory of the original story, and the way in which their adaptation hints at these elements, that the reader gains pleasure.

### **Basic hypothesis**

This study will argue that although some adaptations of *Peter Pan* across various media can be seen as unfaithful to the original source, each version identified has also remained true to the original story. This is demonstrated through considering various adaptations and their relationship to the original story, and to which the theories by Bassnett and Lefevere, Jakobson, and Hutcheon will be applied. The application of Bassnett and Lefevere's theory helps to prove that the image of a work of literature, created through the translation/adaptation process, is subject to cultural demands and functional equivalence. Jakobson's concept of intersemiotic translation demonstrates the fact that when verbal signs are interpreted into nonverbal sign systems, changes will occur. This is because not only will a verbal sign be interpreted into a new medium, but it must be translated "into some further, alternative sign, especially a sign 'in which it is more fully developed' " (Jakobson 127). When applying Hutcheon's theory of adaptation as a process of creation, it is evident that reinterpretation and recreation are essential when treating an adaptation as an adaptation. In fact, adaptations which fail to make the source texts their own — by failing to reinterpret and recreate the original — are generally viewed as unsuccessful adaptations (Hutcheon 20-21).

## Approach and methodology

Chapter 1 of this dissertation serves as an introduction to and contextualisation of the study. Chapter 2 provides the necessary theoretical background to Hutcheon, Jakobson, and Bassnett and Lefevere's theories before the reader embarks on the analysis of the chosen adaptations in the later chapters.<sup>5</sup> Jan Baetens and Hugo Frey's theoretical overview and brief history of the graphic novel will be summarised as a means of contextualising the latest adaptation — the graphic novel of *Peter Panzerfaust*. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the author J.M. Barrie's involvement in the evolution of the Peter Pan story. This chapter focuses on identifying and describing the multiple original source texts (including the novel in which Peter Pan first appears) the progression of his story towards a play, its eventual novelisation, and finally Barrie's own proposed film scenario of Peter Pan. These various (re)tellings of the Peter Pan story by Barrie are an essential component to the study as they help to identify the necessary semiotic elements within the original Peter Pan story. It is these semiotic elements which, through adaptation, are (re)interpreted and (re)created. Throughout chapters 3 and 4 the various visual manifestations and interpretations of Peter Pan on the stage, in illustrations, and on screen will be explored. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the films and graphic novel respectively, and the theories discussed in chapter 2 will be integrated into these discussions chapter by chapter. Chapter 4 discusses the Peter Pan story in film, by analysing three film versions, starting with the 1924 silent film, followed by Disney's 1953 animated film, and concluding with the 2003 live-action film. Chapter 5 focuses on highlighting a few semiotic elements from within the graphic novel, *Peter Panzerfaust* and how these semiotic elements are reinterpreted and recreated from the original Peter Pan story. Throughout these latter two chapters, the focus will be on how the (re)interpretations and (re)creations within the adaptations engage with the original Peter Pan story. The final chapter, chapter 6, will conclude the study and review the findings of my research.

My primary sources are the works of J.M. Barrie that tell the story of Peter Pan, and include: *The Little White Bird* (1902); an untitled play typescript by an unknown typist of Barrie's play *Peter Pan* (1904-05);<sup>6</sup> *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1910);

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<sup>5</sup> The theoretical sources chosen for this study and which will be extensively applied to the primary sources include Jakobson's "On Linguistics – Aspects of Translation" (1959), Bassnett and Lefevere's *Translation, history, and culture* (1990), and Hutcheon's *A Theory of Adaptation* (2013).

<sup>6</sup> Barrie published an official script of the play only in 1928.

*Peter and Wendy* (1911); a scenario for a proposed film of *Peter Pan* (c. 1920); and the published playscript *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928).<sup>7</sup> These sources provide the basis for the analysis and eventual comparison to the identified adaptations. While *The Little White Bird* and *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* are mentioned, this is done briefly in order to provide contextual background to Peter Pan. Additionally, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* is a useful source for comparing the evolution of the way in which the character of Peter Pan has been depicted over the years. The most important, however, are the play, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928) and the novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911), both of which helped solidify the existence of Peter Pan in the cultural imagination.

The film adaptations to be explored are: Paramount Pictures' *Peter Pan* (1924), Disney's *Peter Pan* (1953) and P.J. Hogan's *Peter Pan* (2003). These films were chosen because of their significance to this study. The silent film is mentioned because Barrie saw it as a failure and, while it has been described as merely a filming of the stage play, its inventive use of certain elements (such as bringing Tinker Bell to life on screen) showed the potential of a Peter Pan film. When considering adaptation, one cannot afford to ignore the Walt Disney Company, which, as Deborah Cartmell points out, is the "most prolific and lucrative twentieth-century adaptor of classic children's fiction" (169). Hogan's *Peter Pan* was chosen for its notable fidelity to the play and novel, yet in spite of this praise was not seen as a successful adaptation commercially (*Rotten Tomatoes*, "Peter Pan 2003"). Barrie's proposed film script of *Peter Pan* (c. 1920) has also been taken into consideration, as it provides insight into Barrie's own understanding of the medium of film and how he envisioned Peter's story's portrayal on film. And lastly, the graphic novel *Peter Panzerfaust* (2012- )<sup>8</sup> was chosen for its innovative retelling of the Peter Pan story in a World War II setting. Interestingly, while the graphic novel may be seen as unfaithful reinterpretation, this is not necessarily the case and this study will aim to prove how this adaptation engages with the original Peter Pan story albeit in unprecedented ways.

The research involved a textual literature study in which the previously mentioned theories of Bassnett and Lefevere, Hutcheon and Jakobson were explored. These

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<sup>7</sup> For a more thorough chronological list, see Appendix A.

<sup>8</sup> Initially, when this study was undertaken in 2014, the series *Peter Panzerfaust* was set to publish its final issue in May 2015 (*Peter Panzerfaust Official Facebook Page*). However, owing to financial difficulties (see footnote 91 on p. 103 for further explanation) the final two issues will be published sometime in December 2016 (Wiebe, 11 Aug. 2016).

theories were applied to the various chosen adaptations of the Peter Pan story.<sup>9</sup> Through this application, the study determined that even though the various adaptations have (re)imagined the original Peter Pan story and may be deemed unfaithful versions of the original text, they have also been successful in the appropriation of the story of Peter Pan and the semiotic transformation of its “verbal signs” into “nonverbal sign systems”, whilst adhering to the “cultural reality” called for by Bassnett and Lefevere.

The method of research for this study entailed an integrated analysis, interpretation and evaluation of the Peter Pan story and its adaptations, and is delineated throughout the dissertation.

## Literature review

Barrie’s story about Peter Pan has attracted much discussion and critical analysis, with numerous approaches from various points of departure. The literary studies of Barrie’s work display several trends. These include general historical overviews of both the author and the story of Peter Pan. The most predominant academic tendency is psychoanalytical readings of both the author and the Peter Pan story. However, a notable emerging trend is one of interest in imperialist discourse throughout the Peter Pan story. Other approaches to the Peter Pan story include gender and queer culture studies, linguistic studies, and explorations of how Peter Pan functions within the literary and cultural imagination. I have accordingly divided my discussion on these literature studies into these categories below.

Some scholars have done valuable work in bringing new insights into old information on the history of the Peter Pan story. These are Roger Lancelyn Green’s *Fifty Years of Peter Pan* (1954); Lester D. Friedman and Allison Kavey’s *Second Star to the Right: Peter Pan in the Popular Imagination* (2009); and Tatar’s *The Annotated Peter Pan* (2011).

By contrast, many works do not treat the Peter Pan story as literature, but as a means to psychoanalyse the author. As Martha Stoddard Holmes notes, the critical history of Peter Pan has been marked by two distinct trains of thought, namely

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<sup>9</sup> Refer to pages 17-32 (ch. 2) for the discussion on the concepts and authorities to be used, and which will be applied to the various adaptations of the Peter Pan story.

psychoanalytical and biographical, and these have been applied not only to Barrie himself, but also the Peter Pan narrative (135).

While an example of the biographical tendency can be found in Humphrey Carpenter's chapter on Peter Pan in the book *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (1985), which incorporates Barrie's life story into the critical analysis of the Peter Pan story, the most well-known and definitive psychoanalytical study of *Peter Pan* is by Jacqueline Rose. First published in 1984 and titled *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children's Literature*, Rose's study notably declared the "impossibility" of children's literature, stating that fiction "for" children creates a world in which "the adult always comes first (author, maker, giver) and the child comes after (reader, product, receiver)" (Rose 1-2). Rose thus asks what it is that adults want and need through their construction of children's literature and how they consequently shape the image of the child. Rose also insists that the status which Barrie's text has received, namely that of a children's classic, is premised solely on society's cultural insistence on the innocence of children (see Rose ch. 3). She also discusses the relationship between language and sexuality (see Rose ch. 1).

This notion of the underlying sexuality purportedly evidenced in the story is reiterated by various critics. Timothy Morris recollects that, having watched *Peter Pan* as a preschooler, he "didn't get the sexuality that the play exudes. [He] was blissfully innocent about the images that shock [him] today. [. . .] Wendy in her nightgown, falling to earth pierced between the breasts with a gigantic rubber-tipped arrow" (114). Kavey is of the opinion that most comparisons between the two texts of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Peter Pan* focus on "Carroll's and Barrie's sexuality, rather than a close reading of the actual stories, and reveals more about the predilections of psychoanalytical critics and biographers than about the text — or their authors" (4). For the purposes of this literature survey it is necessary to mention those academics and critics, such as Rose and Kincaid, who have indeed focused on the sexuality of the author as well as the sexualised nature of the story itself. It must be noted however that their studies did not focus on the adaptation of the Peter Pan story, but rather on proving their psychoanalytical predilections for the way in which adults construct literature for children and the way in which this literature gives voice to adult desires.

James R. Kincaid's *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (1992) explores the way in which various Victorian's texts, including Barrie's, delineate the child as an object of desire. He also asserts that a "children's novel" acts as a funnel for an adult's desire for children, this desire being not sexual in nature but for the qualities a child may possess, for example innocence. Nearly fifteen years later Coats, in response to Kincaid's assertions, states in her essay "Child-Hating: *Peter Pan* in the Context of Victorian Hatred" (2006) that the "child-loving" nature, as found in *Peter Pan*, serves to obscure the more sinister "child-hating" and how it manifests itself in Victorian culture and the story of Peter Pan. Carey Mickalites (2012) takes the notion set forth by Rose and Kincaid one step further, linking the desire for children's fiction for adults with the economic conditions of the time.

Corcuera and Biase's (eds) *Barrie, Hook, and Peter Pan: Studies in Contemporary Myth* (2012) is a collection of critical essays from a centennial conference held in 2011 celebrating "One Hundred Years of *Peter and Wendy*". White and Tarr's (eds) *J.M. Barrie's Peter Pan In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100* (2006) is also a collection of essays and includes a variety of topics ranging from the influence of the play in Barrie's own time, to how the story has influenced other writers such as Pullman and Rowling, as well as exploring the ever-present notion of sexuality within the story. Some of the more noteworthy essays from this collection will be discussed in detail in this literature survey as they form crucial components in elucidating the various trends in the study of the Peter Pan story.<sup>10</sup>

While separated by six years, two articles which incorporate Jungian theory to the characters of Peter and Wendy respectively are Ralph J. Hallman's *The Archetype in Peter Pan* (2006) and Adrian Smith's *Wendy's Story: Analytical Perspectives on J.M. Barrie's Peter and Wendy* (2012). Each author employs Jung's theories differently, Hallman to establish Peter as the "Eternal Child" (66) and Smith to portray Wendy's psychological development and her passing from childhood into adulthood.

Two biographies of Barrie were published in the 1970s. Janet Dunbar's *J.M. Barrie: The Man Behind the Image* (1970) and Andrew Birkin's *J.M. Barrie and the Lost Boys* (1979). Dunbar offers a fascinating, objective view of Barrie's life. Birkin's detailed account of Barrie's life and relationships should be the starting point for any scholar

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<sup>10</sup> These essays include: Coats's "Child-Hating: *Peter Pan* in the Context of Victorian Hatred"; Morse's "The Kiss: Female Sexuality and Power in J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*"; Roth's "Babes in Boy-Land: J.M. Barrie and the Edwardian Girl"; Smith's "Problematizing Picaninnies, or How J.M. Barrie Uses Graphemes to Counter Racism in *Peter Pan*".

interested in the creator of Peter Pan. A more recent biography by Piers Dudgeon entitled *Neverland: J.M. Barrie, the Du Mauriers, and the Dark Side of Peter Pan* (2009) is based on Barrie's relationship with the du Mauriers and how it shaped the story of Peter Pan. However, this biography presents Barrie as "as a crippled soul" who extended "his malign power" over those closest to him ("Neverland"). While Dudgeon does present supposed circumstantial "evidence", this biography should be given a wide berth as "it's all based on suppositions, uneasy comments or dark hints by contemporaries, [and] bald guesses" ("Neverland").

At the turn of this century however, there has been a shift away from psychoanalytical studies and the focus instead has been on applying queer and cultural analyses of sexuality and gender to Peter Pan. See Susan Kissel (1988), Majorie Garber (1992), Chris Routh (2001), M. Joy Morse (2006), and Christine Roth (2006) for the myriad of topics concerning gender studies, from the cross-dressing theatre history of the early stage productions to the connotation that thimbles and kisses have for Victorian woman's social roles and the interest in the Edwardian cult of girlhood which has substituted our infatuation with boyhood. In his essay "'Gay, Innocent, and Heartless': *Peter Pan* and the Queering of Popular Culture", David P.D. Munns argues for the effect Peter Pan has had on gay male culture as well as discussing the appropriation of Peter as a sexual object. Munns, elaborating on why Peter has grown into an "almost teenager", states that the need for this is because "Peter Pan now serves as a vehicle to discuss ideas of developing sexuality and even developing alternative sexualities" (240). Heather Shipley on the other hand, states in her essay "Fairies, Mermaids, Mothers, and Princesses: Sexual Difference and Gender Roles in *Peter Pan*" that the story of Peter Pan not only teaches children a "particular male cultural order", but places "an implicit fear around notions of female unity" (145).

Several essays have also been published which focus on the language used by the "picaninnies" (in other words the Red Indians), as well as the language used within the text itself. See Clay Kinchen Smith's "Problematizing Picaninnies, or How J.M. Barrie Uses Graphemes to Counter Racism in *Peter Pan*", which argues that Barrie's language choice serves to define "the native Neverlanders in terms of excessiveness: Great Little Panther's excessive scalps, the tribe's excessive violence, Tiger Lily's excessive beauty and virginity" (114). However, Eyal Amiran

later argues that “Barrie is concerned with infantile sounds that reflect psychological crises and that he uses material features of written language, such as its shapes, sounds, and stresses, to construct a psychological portrait of the infantile mind” (162).

Some essays on empire and race have also surfaced lately in the study of Peter Pan. Many of these focus on the way in which the different races as well as colonialist ideologies are portrayed in the story of Peter Pan. See Laura E. Donaldson (1992) and M. Lynn Byrd (2004) for the way in which the “picaninnies” and Tiger Lily are treated as colonised subjects, and how even the wild landscape of Neverland is domesticated. Bradley Deane (2011) explores the notion of imperialism and how it coincides with masculine identity. Deane points out the possible influence that the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) had on Barrie’s writing of the play and how the protection and expansion of the British empire is similar to the games played by Peter, likening it to “the exhilarating play of clever and heartless boys in [the] empire’s great game” (Deane 712).

Over the past few years a number of dissertations on the topic of Peter Pan have also been written. Jeena Kim’s *Tea Parties, Fairy Dust, and Cultural Memory: the Maintenance and Development of Alice in Wonderland and Peter Pan Over Time* (2014), provides insight into the way in which both Alice and Peter have been scattered into popular culture despite both stories being over a century old. Eva Valentová’s study *The Betwixt and Between: Peter Pan as a Trickster Figure* (2013) elucidates whether the character of Peter Pan can be viewed as a trickster within the cultural context of Victorian England. Tamara L.K. Bezuidenhout’s *Lost in Translation: A Postcolonial Reading of Janice Honeyman’s Peter Pan* (2012) focuses on Honeyman’s pantomime rendition of the Peter Pan story and the way in which it “has constructed and represented notions of nation and identity in post-apartheid South Africa” (Bezuidenhout 226).

A recent study focusing on the (re)interpretation of Peter Pan is a book by Kirsten Stirling, titled *Peter Pan’s Shadows in the Literary Imagination* (2012). Its aim was not to give a critical history of *Peter Pan*, but rather to focus on “beginnings and endings, sources and sequels” (Stirling 5). Stirling’s objective was to explore the elements from Barrie’s play that attracted writers “to fill in the gaps at either end of the story and provide interpretations of their own” (Stirling 5). While Stirling does provide

insight on the various beginning and endings, sources, sequels and prequels, there is — as Kayla McKinney Wiggins notes — a “lack of overt connection between the discussions in individual chapters [that] at times obscures the through-line of her argument” (155). Stirling’s chapter on Regis Loisel’s series of French comic book prequels is especially perplexing as the author, while passionate about Loisel’s work, does not provide enough information (especially visual examples) for those who are unfamiliar with the work. Armelle Blin-Rolland’s article *Re-inventing the Origins of the Boy Who Wouldn’t Grow Up: Regis Loisel’s Peter Pan* is more concise and clear in her analysis of Loisel’s work. Her argument is most convincing in showing how “comics can produce engaging and ‘palimpsestuous’ pleasure in the adaptation and reinterpretation of well-known figures in our cultural history” (288).

It thus appears that in general, scholars have not yet explored adaptation as *adaptation*, applied specifically to Barrie’s Peter Pan story. Even Barrie tampered with and rewrote the Peter Pan story many times, and maybe that is why the story lends itself so readily to adaptation. Thus the various adaptations of the Peter Pan story identified in this dissertation will be treated as *adaptations*. In addition, the particular theories outlined previously will be used collectively as a theoretical framework for analysing the various adaptations of the Peter Pan story: as far as I have been able to ascertain, this has not been done before. I therefore hope that this dissertation will address this shortcoming in the field of Peter Pan studies.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to orientate the reader as to how this study was conducted and which research questions are to be addressed. It has also served as a brief introduction to the way in which Barrie viewed the Peter Pan story — from his own many rewritings starting with how Peter was conceived in *The Little White Bird* and ultimately leading to the play about a boy who would not grow up, and finally to the novel *Peter and Wendy*. Barrie’s own proposed film script is mentioned with the intent of showing that Barrie was excited by the medium of film and that he himself changed his own story to fit this visual medium better. The aim of this chapter was also to make the reader aware of the various formats and media which exist and have allowed Peter to seep into the cultural imagination and which in turn have inspired other (re)tellings and (re)interpretations of this story. By identifying the adaptations that have been influenced by the original Peter Pan story, and

designating the theories to be applied to these adaptations, the reader is prepared for the in-depth discussions to follow in the subsequent chapters. The literature survey conducted has highlighted the diverse scholarly approaches that surround Barrie's famous work, showing that this study participates in the current interest in the perennial qualities of Peter Pan, yet at the same time addresses questions and provides answers in a particular field which has not previously been applied to Peter Pan.

# Chapter 2

## Theoretical contexts

This chapter consists of two unequal parts. The first part deals with adaptation, translation and palimpsests as modes of repeating stories. The section on adaptation theory considers adaptation as a transposition of a particular work that requires both reinterpretation and recreation. The differences and similarities between translation and adaptation will then be discussed. The term “palimpsest” is also explored in order to deepen our understanding of adaptation. The smaller second part provides a brief overview of the history of the graphic novel with reference to a few seminal works, as well as differentiating between and defining the terms “comic” and “graphic novel”.

### “The art of repeating stories”<sup>11</sup>

The theories applicable to this dissertation’s exploration of adaptations of the Peter Pan story are those of Hutcheon, Bassnett and Lefevere, and Jakobson.<sup>12</sup> Hutcheon’s theory of adaptation as a process of creation is laid out in *A Theory of Adaptation* (2013). Bassnett and Lefevere present their cultural approach to translation in *Translation, history, and culture* (1990). Jakobson’s concept of intersemiotic translation is presented in “On Linguistics — Aspects of Translation” (1959).

Hutcheon (2013) provides a comprehensive theory of adaptation and argues that the practice of adapting is central to the art of story-telling, based on analysing the creative possibilities in a range of media (such as film, opera, video games, etc.). I shall compare and contrast adaptation and translation as ways of repeating stories. Thereafter, I shall introduce the notion of palimpsest as a way to explore the relation between a story and its re-presentations.

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<sup>11</sup> Benjamin 91.

<sup>12</sup> Submitted in partial requirement for the degree B.A. Honours (English) at the University of Stellenbosch, the mini-dissertation entitled “Down the rabbit-hole, Alice through the ages: Tim Burton’s film adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland*” (le Roux, 2010) serves as a conceptual point of departure for this study. The sources used in this previous study in respect of adaptation and translation theory form an integral part of this current dissertation, and its application to the Peter Pan stories. While overlapping ideas may be found in both the mini-dissertation and this particular study, much of the theory has been expanded for the purposes of this study, and applied to a different children’s story.

What has become evident through my research is that adaptation and translation have interrelated elements, and that theories of adaptation and translation complement one another. I shall explore this in the following two sub-sections.

## **Adaptation as translation**

Walter Benjamin's declaration that "story telling is always the art of repeating stories" (91) seems to be the perfect introduction to the role adaptations play in Western culture. As Hutcheon notes, "art is derived from other art; stories are born of other stories" (2). While this conjures romantic interpretations of the art of adaptation and how pre-existing stories allow adapters to summon up their own magical stories, the reality is that adaptations are still viewed in a negative light (Hutcheon 36). This occurs especially with regard to film adaptations of beloved literary texts (Hutcheon 3). Film critics, reviewers and fandoms alike use moralistic words such as "tampering", "interference", "violation" (listed in McFarlane 12), "betrayal", "deformation", "perversion", "infidelity" and "desecration" (found by Stam 54) when describing film adaptations.

Robert Stam (58) argues that this aversion to adaptations stems from literature's seniority as an art form, and thus it will always have axiomatic superiority over adaptations. This hierarchy is created by what he calls logophilia — which is the love of the word as sacred — and iconophobia — which is the suspicion of the visual (Stam 58). When watching a film adaptation, the common consensus afterwards is that the book is better (logophilia), and there is often outrage at the director for taking creative licence by changing, adding or subtracting certain elements (whether it be actions or visual depictions) from the original literary text. Hutcheon asserts that the source for this vilification of adaptation and adapters is the "(post-)Romantic valuing of the original creation and of the originating creative genius" (3-4). Viewers' (post-) Romantic notion as well as their inclination towards logophilia hamper their viewing experience of the film adaptation as they enter the cinema with pre-existing expectations and prejudices towards the medium of film. A film adaptation is in fact a process of appropriation in which the director takes possession of a chosen story and filters it through her or his own interests, talents and sensibilities (Hutcheon 18).

Adaptation bears many similarities to translation. However, if one accepts that " 'to adapt' is to 'adjust, to alter, to make suitable' " (Hutcheon 7), the purpose of adaptation is not to provide the adapted literature's visual equivalent, but to adjust it

to make it more suitable for the new medium. Hutcheon distinguishes three perspectives from which adaptation can be seen:

First, [. . .] as a *formal entity or product*, an adaptation is an announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works. This ‘transcoding’ can involve a shift of medium (a poem to a film) or genre (an epic to a novel), or a change of frame and therefore context [. . .] Second, as a *process of creation*, the act of adaptation always involves both (re-)interpretation and then (re-)creation [. . . and finally] seen from the perspective of its *process of reception*, adaptation is a form of intertextuality: [one] experience[s] adaptations (as *adaptations*) as palimpsests through [one’s] memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation.

(7-8)

Hutcheon asserts that adapters are first interpreters and then creators and that when a transposition to another medium takes place, or even when it occurs within the same medium, a change will occur and there will be both losses and gains (Hutcheon 16, 18). As Hutcheon points out, in the process of creation, an adapter must reinterpret the text in order to create something new, something that will work visually. An adapter is in this respect unlike a translator — whose job it is not to recreate, but merely to restate in a meaningful way that which has already been said from the source text to the target text (Nida 126). The equivalence-based definition of translation that Eugene Nida proposed in the 1960s emphasises the reproductive nature of translation and diminishes the creativity on the part of the translator: “translation consists of reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (Nida 12). According to Nida, the translator should ensure that the translated text is as close to the original source language, in both meaning and style (12). Nida continues by saying that the translator should provide the “closest natural equivalent”, implying not a word-for-word equivalency, but instigating change in order to make the receptor language function in the same way as in the source language (12-13).

When adaptation is seen as a formal product, the adapters must determine not only what they want to achieve with their adaptations, but also how they will achieve it (Hutcheon 7-8, 10). And while there may be various reasons for wanting to adapt a particular story, “the various elements of the story can be and are considered separately by adapters [. . .] because technical constraints of different media will inevitably highlight different aspects of that story” (Hutcheon 10).

This is somewhat similar to the goal/*skopos* of a translator. *Skopos* is the Greek word for “purpose” (Du 2190) and Hans J. Vermeer uses the word as a technical term to

explain the action of translating and the purpose of a translation (191). Vermeer — rejecting equivalence-based theories — believes that the translation strategies employed by the translator are determined by the purpose of a text (191). What is therefore crucial for a practitioner of *skopos* theory is: what the aim is in translating the source text and what the function of the translated text will be in the target culture (Vermeer 193).

Seen as a form of intertextuality, adaptations differ from translations in that adaptations should be “acknowledged as adaptations of *specific texts* [and often] the audience will recognize that a work is an adaptation of more than one specific text” (Hutcheon 21).<sup>13</sup> With a translation it is possible for the reader to be aware only of the translated text being read — for the translator strives, as Lawrence Venuti points out, for the invisibility of his or her work and aiming for a translated text which seems natural and not translated (5). According to Venuti, the translated text is thus judged acceptable

when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer’s personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text — the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the “original”.

(1)

This implies that the more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator. In contrast, in the case of film or stage adaptation, the role of the director is not invisible, but obvious. Peter Wollen argues that the “director does not subordinate himself to another author; his source is only a pretext, which provides catalysts, scenes which use his own preoccupations to produce a radically new work” (113). In actuality, it is not as simple for there are numerous other adapters involved in transcoding a novel into film. One also needs to consider the roles of the screenwriters, actors, editors, the music composer, and even the costume and set designers. While they are involved in a collaborative process with the director in bringing a film adaptation to life, it is ultimately the director who is held responsible for the “overall vision and therefore for the adaptation as *adaptation*” (Hutcheon 85).

While more than one adapter may be involved in the adaptation process, it does not change the fact that adaptations, like translations, have their “own specificity” (Hutcheon 24). Hutcheon defines “specificity” as follows:

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<sup>13</sup> This is evident in Hogan’s film adaptation, which not only adapted Barrie’s novel and play, but also included recognisable Disney elements. See pages 92-94 (ch. 4) for discussion.

[. . .] no one [medium] is inherently good at doing one thing and not another; but each has at its disposal different means of expression — media and genres — and so can aim at and achieve certain things better than others.

(Hutcheon 24)

The adaptation “specificity” is determined by being created for “*someone in some context*, and they are created *by someone* with that intent” (Hutcheon 26). Thus, as with translations, adaptations do not take place in a vacuum — they are “engage[d] in time and space, within a particular society and a general culture” (Hutcheon 28). In *skopos* theory too, the target culture is taken into consideration and the *skopos* of the commission would allow the translator to adapt the source text to the target culture, if the translator should deem it a plausible translational action (Vermeer 201). A well known adapter of historical and mythic narratives for young adults and children, Priscilla Galloway, has said that her task, is “to preserve stories that are worth knowing but will not necessarily speak to a new audience without creative ‘reanimation’ ” (qtd. in Hutcheon 8). As adaptations are made based on cultural influences, they sometimes have to “indigenize” stories because of the cultural shifts and language changes which occur over time (Friedman, qtd. in Hutcheon 28).

While this indigenisation is an essential component of adaptation, in translation theory there are two possible ways of treating culture-specific signs; Venuti distinguishes these as “domestication” and “foreignisation” (Myskja 3). Domestication prioritises “naturalness” and fluency in order not to sound like a translation to the target language reader (Myskja 3). As mentioned earlier, Venuti defined a successful translation as one that seems transparent — that it appears, in other words, as an “original” and not a translation (1). The readers of the text are thus unaware that they are indeed reading a translation because the translator creates the impression that they are reading the original through the domestication of the text. Friedrich Schleiermacher referred to this as “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home” (Venuti 15). Through the ability to render fluency within the text, making the author and meaning of the text more visible, the translator has in fact become invisible (Venuti 1). The foreignisation method, however, is a mode of translation in which the translator purposefully disrupts the genre and linguistic expectations of the target language, emphasising the translated text’s “otherness” (Myskja 3). As Schleiermacher states, it is “an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad” (Venuti 15).

Examples of domestication, and some of the difficulties in applying this approach, are given by Umberto Eco. Quoting Thomas L. Short, Eco gives the following example of domesticating a translation of “the tender French appellation *mon petit chou*. If one translates literally as my little cabbage the expression could sound insulting. Short suggests sweetheart but admits that this misses the humorous contrast, the affectionate nuance and the sound of *chou* [ . . . ]” (91). Eco also refers to an example in which Matthew Arnold argued for domesticating a translation of Homer for elitist and academic reasons, saying that it should be “rendered in hexameters and in modern English, in order to keep the translation in tune with the [then] current academic reception of the Greek text” (99).

The influence of language changes and cultural shifts bears interesting similarities to Bassnett and Lefevere’s (7-10) cultural approach to translation studies. They assert that translation is subject to the demands of a culture, and the status of the text to be translated in that culture (Bassnett & Lefevere 7). If the text, for example, embodies the fundamental beliefs of a culture (such as the Bible), that culture “will demand the most literal translation possible” (Bassnett & Lefevere 7). The same can be said of technical and scientific texts. Texts which are not central to a culture’s belief, such as literary texts, are not subject to the same cultural demands and translators are given much more freedom when translating (Bassnett & Lefevere 7). The freedom when translating a literary text — or adapting it — requires a translator or adapter to seek equivalences “in different sign systems for the various elements of the story: its themes, events, worlds, characters, motivations, points of view, consequences, contexts, symbols, imagery, and so on” (Hutcheon 10).

This concept is what Jakobson referred to as intersemiotic translation or *transmutation*. Jakobson identifies three kinds of translation:

Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of nonverbal sign systems.

(127)

Translators, like adapters, act as interpreters, having to find alternative equivalents for such signs. Some signs do not have one-to-one equivalents in the target language or target semiotic system and therefore requires creativity. Consequently, the new sign may not bear exactly the same meaning as the sign from which it has

been translated, since it has been necessary to change it and (re)interpret it so that it will have meaning in the new sign system.

Hutcheon's notion of intersemiotic transpositions resonates with Jakobson's concept of intersemiotic translation. Hutcheon states that

because adaptations are to a different medium [. . .] specifically translations in the form of intersemiotic transpositions from one sign system (for example, words) to another (for example, images). This is translation but in a very specific sense: as transmutation or transcoding, that is, as necessarily a recording into a new set of conventions as well as signs.

(16)

Adaptation is both a process of creation and reception in which the adapted work is not only an extensive intertextual engagement, but also an interpretive and creative act of appropriation with the adapted work (Hutcheon 8-9). This transcoding "into a new set of conventions" often involves a change of medium. The adapter chooses the particular media into which (s)he can transpose the adaptation, and thus becomes "enmeshed in the intricacies" of that medium's specificity (Hutcheon 35). The adaptation process involves moving a story from a telling mode (for example a novel) to a showing mode (plays and films) (Hutcheon 22). Hutcheon elaborates:

in the telling mode [. . .] our engagement begins in the realm of imagination, which is simultaneously controlled by the selected, directing words of the text and liberated — that is, unconstrained by the limits of the visual or aural [. . .] with the move to the mode of showing, as in film and stage adaptations, we are caught in an unrelenting, forward-driving story [. . .] we have moved from the imagination to the realm of direct perception — with its mix of both detail and broad focus.

(Hutcheon 23)

As mentioned earlier, each mode, as well as each medium, has its own specificity, and "different means of expression [. . .] and [. . .] can aim at and achieve certain things better than others" (Hutcheon 24). The adapter's choice of medium is thus a critical component in the adaptation process. Hutcheon defends this choice by quoting an analogy by E. H. Gombrich, in which he describes the different tools an artist will use when creating a landscape portrait: if the artist uses a pencil, "he or she will 'look for those aspects which can be rendered in lines' ", while if it is a paintbrush, "the artist's vision of the very same landscape will be in terms of masses, not lines" (19). The choice of medium is thus deliberate as "an adapter coming to a story with the idea of adapting it for a film would be attracted to different aspects of it than an [graphic novelist] would be" (Hutcheon 19). Adaptation thus concerns itself with translating verbal signs (the written text/word) into the complexity of images,

dialogue, music and sound that make up a film, or the images and dialogue that make up the panels of a graphic novel.

A side-effect of changes in mode and medium is gains or losses or both. Hutcheon elucidates that a novel undergoes a process of dramatisation when it is adapted for the screen and “has to be distilled, reduced in size, and thus, inevitably, complexity” (36). Hutcheon notes that Jonathan Miller views this distillation in a negative light, in which he states that “most novels are irreversibly damaged by being dramatized as they were written without any sort of performance in mind at all, whereas for plays visible performance is a constitutive part of their identity and translation from stage to screen changes their identity without actually destroying it” (36). Hutcheon however sees this distillation in “terms of narrative redundancy giving way to narrative pertinence” (36). If additions are made to an adaptation, especially from novel to film, the adapter will have been sufficiently motivated to do so and it is not a random act (Hutcheon 36). The addition would probably have been in terms of changing a verbal sign into non-verbal sign which is more fully developed in the medium of film (see Jakobson 127). Reasons for additions in performance adaptation might range from adding

[. . .] stylistic and even ethical material to inserting new characters or increase suspense [. . .] the adapter might impose on a loosely episodic or picaresque narrative a familiarly patterned plot of rising and falling action, with a clear beginning, middle, and end; or he or she might even deliberately substitute a happy ending to mute tragedy or horror [. . .]

(Hutcheon 37)

However, film adaptations are usually regarded negatively, in terms of loss, in other words “reduction of scope: of length, of accretion of detail, of commentary” (Hutcheon 37). What seems to be forgotten however is that it “[. . .] takes longer to perform an action than to read a written report of it” (Hutcheon 37). The dramatisation which occurs is the “description, narration, and represented thoughts [of the novel which] must be transcoded into speech, actions, sounds, and visual images [of the screen]” (Hutcheon 40).

Hutcheon quotes H. Porter Abbott, who states that the adapter’s job, especially when adapting long novels, “is one of subtraction or contraction; this is called ‘surgical art’ ” (19).<sup>14</sup> The losses and gains that occur in the adaptation process are not only

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<sup>14</sup> Hutcheon reminds us however that “[. . .] not all adaptations involve cutting. Short story adaptations have had to expand their source material considerably” (19).

inevitable, but also essential. Ben Brady states that “an adaptation is an *original screenplay*” (87) which is not surprising since the original story which served as inspiration for the adaptation has been reinterpreted and recreated by “*someone in some context*”, presenting the original story “through repetition with variation” (Hutcheon 26). However, these changes or manipulations may be one of the main reasons why film adaptations are seen negatively, because an adaptation’s reception may be influenced by “thwarted expectations on the part of the fan desiring fidelity to a beloved adapted text” (Hutcheon 4). An example of these “thwarted expectations” is evident in a statement made by Tatar:

[Peter Pan . . .] risks, through a process of cultural entropy, becoming a cartoon version of himself as his story is adapted, appropriated, and recycled. Each new version of *Peter Pan* seems to lose some of the luster of the original, especially when it migrates into commercial advertisements, comic books, and Disney sequels.

(lx-lxi)

While there is a “risk” of Peter Pan becoming only a “version of himself”, it is also important to recognise that these different versions need to be taken into account and judged on their own value and merit within the cultural reality in which they find themselves. This culturally-orientated approach to both translation and adaptation is an important aspect of this dissertation and will be discussed below.

## **Translation as adaptation**

In the past, both translation and adaptation fell under normative and source-orientated approaches. Gideon Toury explains norms as the “middle-ground” between socio-cultural constraints and idiosyncrasies of a culture (169). A source-orientated approach implies that the source text is of primary import and final authority, and translators adhere strictly to “concepts of faithfulness and equivalence” (Hutcheon 16). Hutcheon explains that this perception was altered somewhat by Benjamin who argued that “translation is not a rendering of some fixed nontextual meaning to be copied or paraphrased or reproduced; rather it is an engagement with the original text that makes us see that text in different ways” (16). Hutcheon mentions however, that recent translation theories argue that translation is a transaction between languages and text, and is thus an act of both inter-temporal and inter-cultural communication (16). There are various approaches to translation, but two which resonate with adaptation theory are Jakobson’s notion of intersemiotic translation and Bassnett and Lefevere’s cultural approach to translation studies.

Signs are not limited to one specific element and include words, images, sounds and gestures. Translation (and, by extension, adaptation) is a part of this study as it involves translating one system of signs into another. As previously stated Jakobson's theory of intersemiotic translation, or transmutation, resonates with Hutcheon's notion of intersemiotic transpositions. Both refer to the reinterpretation of verbal signs (such as words) to other signs (such as images). The reinterpretation of the sign is crucial as Jakobson also states that "the meaning of any linguistic sign is its translation into some further, alternative sign, especially a sign 'in which it is more fully developed' " (127). Like adaptation, whenever a verbal sign system is translated into a nonverbal sign system, a translator does so with a specific goal and reader in mind (as in Vermeer's *skopos* theory).<sup>15</sup> Eco defines translation as a "process that takes place between two texts produced at a given historical moment in a given cultural milieu" (25-26). And when this concept is applied to the story of Peter Pan, and its many retellings, one can find many instances in which intersemiotic translation has occurred.

Kavey asks the question: "What is it about Peter Pan that has allowed him to permeate Western popular culture and become an enduring icon?" (2). Kavey argues that the eternal boy child has been appropriated by various identity groups because of his flexibility as a character and the world's ever-increasing obsession in looking younger (3). While such arguments may be construed as superficial, she also states that "this story is really liminal, straddling age groups and meaning different things to all of us at different moments in our lives" (3). This statement is important in the context of this study because it implies that not only does the text undergo changes, but so does the audience who reads it.

Kavey's comments tie in with the "cultural turn" in translation studies described by Bassnett and Lefevere (9) who propose a new "cultural reality" with regard to "the way literature operates in a culture in this day and age". Reading and literature are no longer of primary importance, and have to give way to technologies such as music, television, and cinema. They point out that "literature reaches those who are not its professional students much more by way of the 'images' constructed of it in translations [. . .] than it does so by means of 'originals' " (Bassnett & Lefevere 9). The "image" of the work of literature, "not its reality", is what has the most effect on members of society today. Bassnett and Lefevere thus propose that it is "extremely

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<sup>15</sup> Refer to pages 19-20 for explanation of *skopos* theory.

important that the ‘image’ of a literature and the works that constitute it be studied alongside its reality” (10).

Bassnett and Lefevere use an analogy derived from Proust’s *Sodome et Gomorrhe*. In this analogy, Proust explores his narrator’s grandmother’s attitude towards translations, especially those superseding the ones she is familiar with. The grandmother is aware of the fact that different translations exist, but is partial to the translations that she grew up with, preferring, for example, her hero from Homer’s *Odyssey* to be called by his Latinised name of Ulysses, rather than the “barbaric” Odysseus (Bassnett & Lefevere 2). She distinguishes between a good or bad translation, even though it has no bearing on the quality of the actual translation. Her judgement is based on whether she likes the translator, and, to her, the translator with whose work she is familiar is a “faithful” translator (Bassnett & Lefevere 2). However, it stands to reason that a literature professor would not use the same criteria when judging a translation. The literature professor may rather require fidelity to the source text and, to use the previous *Odyssey* example, prefer the original name of Odysseus.

The theoretical points that I deduce from this analogy are as follows: readers have different sets of needs/desires which they wish to derive from the text (grandmother versus literature professor); from a reader’s perspective, a good/bad translation may have little to do with fidelity to the text, but may be based purely on preference; this leads to a judgement of the translator and not of the translation; the reader either trusts or distrusts the translator; various translations exist, not because the original text has changed, but because translators are replaced by others; time thus plays a crucial role in translations and certain changes (such as culture and words) play an important part in translation equivalence; and lastly, this notion of equivalence brings into debate the concept of faithfulness. I shall now explore the concepts of time, equivalence and faithfulness.

A critical component of translation is time, because it is time that induces changes — and these changes occur both linguistically and culturally (Bassnett & Lefevere 5). Linguistic changes may refer to the change of meaning of certain words. A word that had a particular meaning some years ago may mean something else today, causing a translation made 50 years ago to become outdated. I assert then that the notion of equivalence itself becomes an outdated mode of thought because there is more to a translation than merely providing a semantically and syntactical equivalent — the

context in which the translation occurs also needs to be taken into account. Bassnett and Lefevere argue further that even if a word-for-word equivalence is possible, there is “no way it can guarantee that the translation will have an effect on readers belonging to the target culture which is in any way comparable to the effect the original may have had on readers belonging to the source culture” (3). They agree with Mary Snell-Hornby's appeal to translators to move away from a scientific approach to translations and take a more culture specific approach.<sup>16</sup> Cultural “norms, rules and appropriateness” are also subject to change and “[t]ranslations made at different times therefore tend to be made under different conditions and to turn out differently [. . .] because they have been produced to satisfy different demands” (Bassnett & Lefevere 5).

These demands are the demands of the reader. A translator has a certain goal, which (s)he needs to achieve.<sup>17</sup> While the translator is constrained by certain parameters (for example, changing a text in such a way that it becomes completely unrecognisable is not allowed), some sort of manipulation of the source text does occur. There is a purpose to this manipulation as it is “made [in response to] the demands of a culture, and [the] various groups within that culture” (Bassnett & Lefevere 7). Nevertheless, one should not take a cultural approach to translation as the sole and definitive way of translating as, sometimes, as with meta-narratives, scientific, religious and technical texts, a more literal translation will be required (Bassnett & Lefevere 7).

The term faithfulness then comes under scrutiny as the term itself has changed.<sup>18</sup> Faithfulness to the original is no longer a question of equivalence, but rather of “an attempt to make the target text function in the target culture the way the source text functioned in the source culture” (Bassnett & Lefevere 8). The focus no longer falls on the faithfulness of the translation, but rather on the faithfulness of the translator — the text may no longer be seen as faithful, but the translator is as (s)he has remained faithful to the goal provided by whoever commissioned the translation in the first place. This goal is determined by the intended audience of the translation and the status of the source text that the translator is supposed to represent to the target culture (Bassnett & Lefevere 8). Eco shares this stance, saying that if one

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<sup>16</sup> See Snell-Hornby's *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (2006).

<sup>17</sup> See Nord *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained* (1997).

<sup>18</sup> See de Zwaan “Experimental Fiction, Film Adaptation, and the Case of *Midnight's Children*: In Defense of Fidelity” (2015) in which she discusses the concept of fidelity as applied to adaptation studies.

believes that the act of translation is a form of interpretation, then the concept of faithfulness depends upon the translator translating not “the intention of the author (who may have been dead for millennia), but the *intention of the text*” (5). According to Eco, translation is a process of negotiation, which will ultimately lead to the best possible rendering of the text (34) and the aim of translation, transcending the notion of literal equivalence and being rather that of *functional equivalence*, “is to create the same effect in the mind of the reader [. . .] as the original text wanted to create” (56).

Benjamin's previously stated notion that “storytelling is always the art of repeating stories” (91) thus seems to provide an explanation as to why film adaptations are so popular. As expressed by Bassnett and Lefevere, society today is less of a book culture and more a film culture, allowing film adaptations to represent the *image* of literature, ensuring its survival in this technologically based society (9). Christian Mets, a film semiotician, states that cinema “tells us continuous stories; it ‘says’ things that could be conveyed also in the language of words; yet it says them differently. There is a reason for the possibility as well as the necessity of adaptations” (44).<sup>19</sup> I am not suggesting that film will or should one day replace the written word. My argument is that, like a translation, a film adaptation helps to convey information that would not have otherwise have reached certain people. Adaptations are a part of our cultural reality and, like the existence of translations, should be acknowledged as “extended reworkings of particular other texts”, enabling them to be compared with translations: “[j]ust as there is no such thing as a literal translation, there can be no literal adaptation” (Hutcheon 16).

In this study the notion of “images” of literature will be applied to the adaptations of Barrie's novels and play into two media that involve visual depiction, namely film and the graphic novel. The form of adaptation that will provide the focus of this dissertation is adaptations between different formats, both visual and written — forms of translation in their own right. I will do so primarily by exploring film adaptations as well as the latest graphic novel adaptation of the Peter Pan story as modes of translation with all the implications thereof.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See Newell “ ‘You don't know about me without you have read a book’: Authenticity in Adaptations of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*” (2013) in which she discusses the adaptation history of Twain's novel and how “each adaptation defines itself within and against an existing text, history, or discourse” (303).

<sup>20</sup> The adaptations to be used in this dissertation have been tabulated and can be found in Appendix A.

## Palimpsest

The literal Greek meaning of the word palimpsest is “to scrape again” (McDonagh 210). The palimpsest process involves a piece of papyrus or vellum the surface of which is scraped and treated with some substance that erases the text written on it so that can be reused (Dillion 15). The erasing of the previous text is not always successful and in some instances, the original text seeps through to the top and becomes mingled with the new written text (van der Westhuizen 10). Even though they may include unrelated texts, by virtue of their proximity to one another, the texts become “intricately interwoven”. As Sarah Dillion elaborates, the palimpsest creates a “simultaneous relation of intimacy and separation [. . .] preserving as it does the distinctness of its texts, while at the same time allowing for their essential contamination and interdependence” (3). Resonating with adaptation as a process of reception, the unrelated texts are “intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other”, and create a space in which the original can be seen underneath the surface of the adaptation. The original is still present throughout the adaptation as certain elements are being repeated with variation.

This notion — that of the intricately interwoven result of the palimpsestic characteristic of the previous text seeping through to mingle with the new text — is well suited to adaptation theory, providing that one accepts that the intermingling is now deliberate and desirable. Dillon defines palimpsest further as “an involuted phenomenon where otherwise unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other [in a] complex structure of (textual) relationality” (4).<sup>21</sup> By experiencing “adaptations as palimpsests”, the work of the adapter becomes “second without being secondary” (Hutcheon 8-9). Adaptations often serve as the medium through which an adapter wants to tell a particular story and thus end up with the phenomenon in which “texts are involved and entangled”.<sup>22</sup> As a form of intertextuality, a palimpsest can be seen as a “multilaminar” work, which is “directly and openly connected to recognizable other works, and that connection is part of their formal identity, but also [. . .] their hermeneutic identity” (Hutcheon 21).

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<sup>21</sup> This is particularly interesting to this study as Barrie rewrote his story of Peter Pan numerous times, and each rewriting can be said to be a palimpsest, wherein the remnants of the original are found seeping into the later retellings.

<sup>22</sup> A perfect example of this is *Peter Panzerfaust*, through which Wiebe and Jenkins are able to tell of the horrors of WW II through the story of Peter Pan.

One needs to treat an adaptation as an *adaptation*, especially if the viewer is familiar with the adapted text. Stam points out that adaptation is an “ongoing dialogical process” (64) through which we “compare the work we already know with the one we are experiencing” (Hutcheon 21). An adaptation is after all an “acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works” (Hutcheon 8-9).

M.H. Abrams defines intertextuality as:

the multiple ways in which one literary text is in fact made up of other texts, by means of its open or covert citations and *allusions*, its repetitions and transformations of the formal and substantive features of earlier texts, or simply its unavoidable participation in the common stock of linguistic and literary conventions and procedures that are “always already” in place and constitute the discourses into which we are born.

(325)

Adaptations are of specific texts, thus creating an on-going intertextual engagement with the adapted work and as Hutcheon says, it is “a derivation that is not derivative — a work that is second without being secondary. It is its own palimpsestic thing” (8-9). Within the adaptation, various “open or covert citations and allusions” exist and the “repetitions and transformations” within the adaptation trigger the viewer’s memory of the original source. These “repetitions and transformations” aid the way in which the story is presented and allow us to recognise the various layers within the original story itself. Thus it is imperative to recognise that even though the story being presented on film is an adaptation, it is by no means less important than the original source because of the way in which the director has succeeded in weaving together a familiar story in an unfamiliar way.

Adaptations are “inherently ‘palimpsestuous’ works, haunted at all times by their adapted texts” (Hutcheon 6). As with most adaptations, especially of well-known classic literary texts such as *Peter Pan*, the receiver is aware of the prior text and like Peter’s shadow, “we always feel its presence shadowing the one we are experiencing directly” (Hutcheon 6).<sup>23</sup> By classifying a particular work as an adaptation “we openly announce its overt relationship to another work or works” (Hutcheon 6). The way this is achieved is through memory — in remembering the story first experienced and comparing it to the new version presented, the receiver of an adaptation is able to “experience difference as well as similarity”, which creates a sense of both pleasure and frustration, bred through repetition and memory (Hutcheon 21-22). By considering adaptation as a form of transcoding, creative reinterpretation and

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<sup>23</sup> As shall be discussed in chapters 3 and 4, some adaptations themselves serve as sources to be adapted.

palimpsestic intertextuality, we allow adaptations to be a justifiable mode of the art of repeating stories in new and different ways: this allows us to reflect on how adaptations permit people to interact with, tell, and show stories (Hutcheon 22).

## **The graphic novel as a form of literature**

The aim of this section is not to provide the reader with an extensive history of the graphic novel, but to provide basic background information in order for the reader to understand better the attitude towards graphic novels in the past and how this perception has changed.<sup>24</sup> I will briefly mention a few seminal graphic novels and their importance to the genre as a whole and aim to provide a basic definition of the terms “comic” and “graphic novel”. I will also introduce three theoretical approaches to analysing a graphic novel and conclude this section on why this genre is important to my study.

### **Origins and seminal works**

Sequential art is ancient and is evidenced through the hieroglyphs of early Egyptian civilisation, the figures on Greek vases depicting actions, the Bayeux Tapestry and even in some cases, illuminated manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> All use pictures to tell a story in chronological order, yet they are still far removed from what are defined as *comics*. They may in fact have more in common with illustrated picture books than comics. Amanda Gluibizzi points out, “graphic novels and comics push beyond the boundaries of illustrated books to the point where illustrations and text are equivalent, each driving the other, rather than the illustrations supporting or attempting to explain the text” (28). The interrelation between illustration and text is important to keep in mind in attempting definitions of *comic* and *graphic novel* later in this section.

Scott McCloud credits Rodolphe Töpffer, who in the mid 1800s drew light satiric picture stories using cartooning and panel borders, with being the father of modern comics. And in the twentieth century, British caricature magazines continued with this type of entertainment (McCloud 17-18). Is it any wonder that the medium of comics is frowned upon since its inception was designed not to be taken seriously, but rather to instil mirth in its readers? Such form of entertainment was frowned upon as early as the 1930s and this hostility steadily grew into viewing comics as dangerous to literacy

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<sup>24</sup> See Eisner's *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985), McCloud's *Understanding Comics* (1993), and Baetens & Frey's *The Graphic Novel: An Introduction* (2015) for extensive histories of the graphic novel.

<sup>25</sup> See the *Annunciation*, an illuminated manuscript in which the words of the Angel Gabriel interrupts the textual space and mimics the pictorial representations (Gluibizzi 28).

and the intellectual development of children (Baetens & Frey 28). One name in particular is closely associated with the anti-comic campaign which gained momentum after WW II: Frederic Wertham, a practising psychologist, ardently believed that children's behaviour and morals were negatively altered by the violence and sexuality found in some comics. His notorious criticism of comics, entitled *The Seduction of the Innocent* (1954), still haunts many of today's leading comic artists who were active during this time (such as Art Spiegelman and Will Eisner). The systematic marginalisation of comics continued during the years of 1948-1954, climaxing in 1955 with the Comics Code, a self imposed censorship regulation by the industry which banned much of the existing content found in comic books at the time (Baetens & Frey 30). During the 1950 and 1960s, society placed great emphasis on the influence of images, whether good or bad, on the "public mind" (Baetens & Frey 32). Baetens and Frey attribute this public anxiety not only to pressures of the Cold War, but also to "aftershock from the previous period of state propaganda and social control organized thought the 'hot' war years of the Second World War, 1941-1945" (32).

Baetens and Frey point out that an unintentional effect of the anti-comics crusade was that it imbued "the medium with great public significance and import" (32). The stigmatisation of comics forced creators to "challenge the marginal position from which they started [. . .] and adult comics and graphic novels] can be understood as an antithesis [. . .] of the postwar moral scare" (Baetens & Frey 32). The result of this destructive impact also led to different types of creativity in the industry — for example, it led some to publish war comics which criticised the senselessness of war (Baetens & Frey 32, 35). Entertainment Comics (EC), usually known for their horror and lurid crime comics, published *Two-Fisted Tales* and *Front Line Combat*. These two war and historical comic publications are known for their sophistication and ability to show the "the utter horror and futility of war" (Baetens & Frey 35).

EC also however gave rise to the satirical humour comic, and later transformed into the well-known comic magazine, *Mad*. Many similar titles followed (*Eh, Humbug, Trump, Unsane, Help!* etc.) through the years and numerous graphic novelists and comic artists such as René Goscinny (later of *Asterix* fame) had apprenticeships at these titles (Baetens & Frey 37). While Wertham was crusading against comics, they were not completely obliterated, as comic strips were frequently used in conservative ways such as training and safety manuals. Another important genre of comics was

the *Classics Illustrated* series which aimed at encouraging learners to read serious literary fiction (Baetens & Frey 39).

In the 1960s, a revival took place concerning superhero comic strips and many publishing houses either reinventing old characters or creating new ones. In 1964, collectors' fairs also came into being. And while it is not as straightforward, the Pop Art movement also had an influence in bringing back the popularity of comics (Baetens & Frey 40-41). Some, like Thomas Crow, stated that it was "Roy Lichtenstein who rescued comics from the Wertham era" (Baetens & Frey 41), but it was the Pop Art movement in general and its ability to transform everyday objects and make them part of the world of art, which influenced the way comics were viewed. Interestingly, Pop Art influenced the 1966 *Batman* television series and this television series worked well with the new Pop Art sensibilities (Baetens & Frey 42). The "campy style" of this series and its "satirical edge" however, further influenced the graphic novelists of the 1970s, and led to more serious comic strips that felt more "gritty and real" (Baetens & Frey 51).

The attitude towards graphic novels and comics has changed extensively since the witch-hunting days in the 1950s.<sup>26</sup> Both are taken more seriously in the field of literature and by academics. Novelists refer to and examine graphic novels in their fictional works and even academic institutions such as the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) publish guides to assist courses in the teaching of the medium (Baetens & Frey 2-3). Furthermore, the rise of digital media (such as Kindle) is providing an avenue for the publishing of graphic novels. Interestingly, many films (such as Tarantino's *Django Unchained* and Meyer's *Twilight* series) — in the wake of their success — are being adapted into graphic novels, indicating a demand on the part of fans for these stories to be told in this medium.<sup>27</sup>

While a variety of graphic novels exist which helped to change the negative public opinion towards a more positive outlook, none are perhaps as highly regarded as Art Spiegelman's *Maus*. *Maus* (1986, 1991) is a two volume autobiographical text presenting the Holocaust through the memories of Spiegelman's survivor father. Spiegelman's images are made poignant through the subversive depiction of the

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<sup>26</sup> See Watterson's introduction, *The Comics in Transition* (1996), in which he provides a brief history of the changing nature of comics, the way comics are being interpreted today, as well as the way in which the function of comics in newspapers has also undergone change (6-9).

<sup>27</sup> The graphic novel *Peter Panzerfaust* is to be made into a television series by BBC Worldwide Productions. The medium to be used is motion comic format — which "combines elements of comic book art, animation and voice over narration to bring the static comic book pages to life on screen" (Shaw, "BBC Worldwide Productions Flies").

Jews as mice and the Nazis as cats, playing on the anti-Semitic mindset of the times (Kohli 8). In 1992, Spiegelman was awarded a special Pulitzer Prize for *Maus*, signalling, as Martin Pedersen notes, “to the publishing mainstream what aficionados of the graphic novel had long known: comics are a medium capable of exploring themes every bit as serious as those studied by any prose novel” (32).

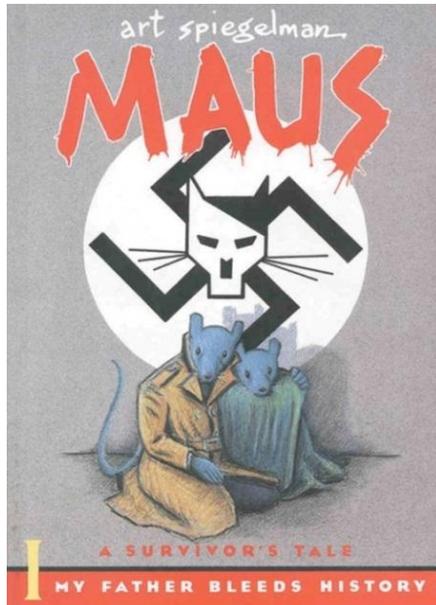


Fig. 1. Cover of *Maus* Volume I (1986).

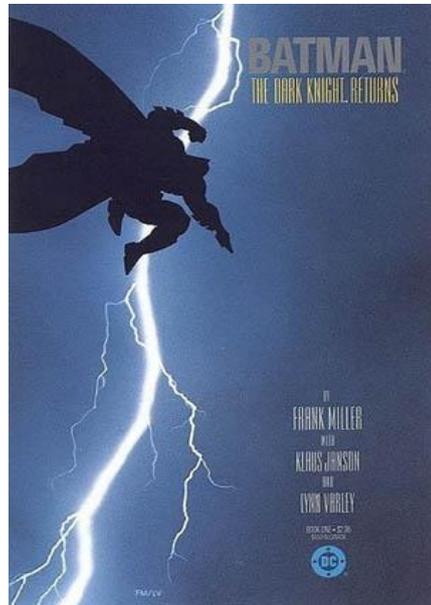


Fig. 2. Cover of *Batman: The Dark Knight Returns* #1.

Frank Miller’s *Batman: The Dark Knight Returns* (1986) deals with an aging Batman, who returns to fight crime at 55 years of age while facing opposition from both the Gotham City Police force and the US government. This graphic novel also gave rise to and spurred on what became known as the Dark Age of Comic Books: characters from this period became more psychologically complex (Voger 7).

Alan Moore and Dave Gibbons’ *Watchmen* (1986) depicts an alternative history in which superheroes emerged during the 1940s and 1960s to help the US win the Vietnam War. However, in 1985 when nuclear war is imminent with the USSR, costumed vigilantes have been outlawed and most superheroes are retired or working for the government. The story focuses on these heroes’ own moral struggles and their personal development. Jay Cocks describes *Watchmen* as “a superlative feat of imagination, combining sci-fi, political satire, knowing evocations of comics past and bold reworkings of current graphic formats into a dystopian [sic] mystery story” (“Passing of Pow!”).

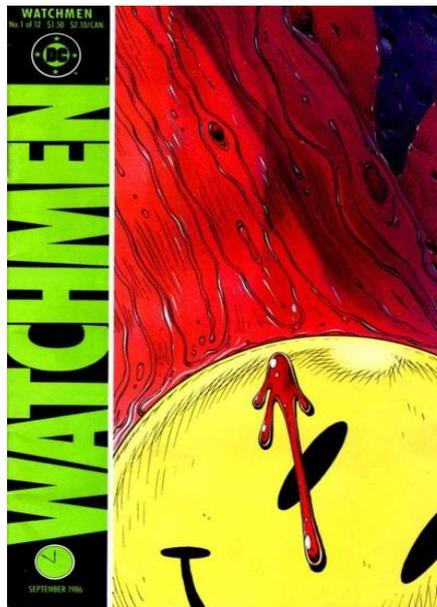


Fig. 3. Cover #1 of *Watchmen*.

*Maus*, *Watchmen* and *The Dark Knight Returns* were classified as the “big three” (Baetens & Frey 74), and to quote at length Roger Sabin’s accurate conclusion as to why these three graphic novels specifically stood out during the 1980s:

In essence, they were what they said they were: novels in a graphic form. More specifically [. . .] in book form with a thematic unity [. . .] what made it appealing both for readers and creators, was that it opened up fresh story-telling possibilities. Put simply, in a longer narrative there was more scope for building up tension, generating atmosphere, developing characters and so on. At the same time, the visuals could often be superior to the usual comics because the status of the work was supposedly to be higher.

(165)

While some pejorative connotations about the term *graphic novel* exist, it seems as though these three specifically are above reproach and the features described by Sabin — namely thematic unity, fresh story-telling possibilities, building up tension, generating atmosphere, developing characters and superior visuals — can be viewed as praiseworthy features lending merit to works in which they appear.

*A Contract with God and Other Tenement Stories* (1995) by Will Eisner is also an example of the breakaway from what were known as comics towards more serious subject matter. *A Contract with God* deals with the “struggles and hard times faced by the migrant Jewish community in New York during the Depression” (Baetens & Frey 64). There are four separate stories published under the title of the first, namely “A Contract with God” in which a religious man abandons his faith after the death of a daughter; “The Street Singer” tells the tale of a talented, but drunkard street singer who is given a opportunity by a forgotten diva, in the hopes of changing both their

lives for the better. In “The Super”, the tenements’ superintendent commits suicide after being accused of paedophilia and in “Cookalein”, several characters’ stories intertwine while they are vacationing at a summer resort.

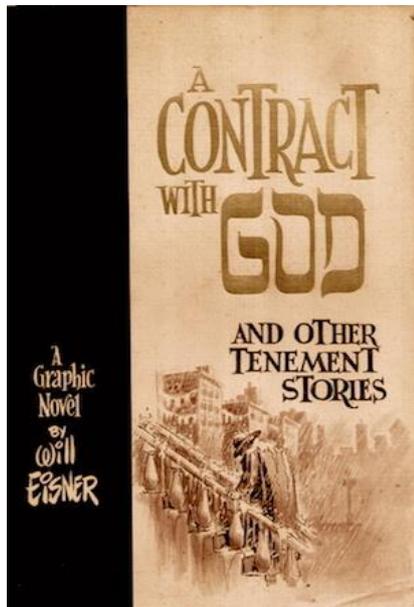


Fig. 4. Cover of the first trade paperback edition of *A Contract with God*.

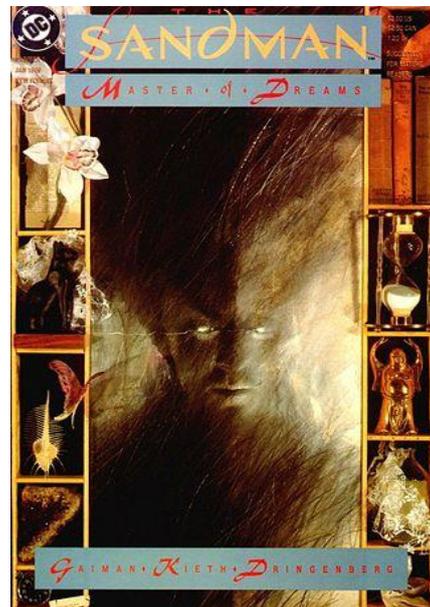


Fig. 5. Cover of *The Sandman* #1.

Neil Gaiman’s *Sandman* series (1989-1996) has also done much to alter perceptions. The series follows the Lord of Dreams, Morpheus, on excursions into various realms. It is one of the few graphic novels (along with *Maus*, *Watchmen* and *The Dark Knight Returns*) to be on the *New York Times* best-seller list and has been described as “a comic strip for intellectuals” (Anderson, “Neil Gaiman”). Marc Buxton describes the series as “the greatest and most daring fantasy comic of all time” (“By Crom!”).

An example of this “greatest [. . .] fantasy comic” is Gaiman’s “A Midsummer Night’s Dream” from *Dream Country*, *Sandman Volume 3*, which won the World Fantasy Award in 1991 for best short story. In Gaiman’s version of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream”, Will Shakespeare makes a deal with the Lord of Dreams to become famous. Morpheus grants him this request and commissions Shakespeare to write the titular play which is performed in front of the fairies it emulates. Not only does Gaiman retell this Shakespearean play but he also explores notions which have been attached to Shakespeare and his work, including: “Shakespeare as a character and how he may or may not be found in his own works, the authenticity of his work, the elitist nature his works have acquired and the universality of his narratives” (Luco 129).

The aforementioned seminal works have thus established the graphic novel as a serious form of literary art; this warrants the medium's inclusion in this study in the form of *Peter Panzerfaust* (to be discussed in chapter 5).

### **A little bit of chaos: defining the terms *comic* and *graphic novel***

Ascribing a single definition to either *comics* or *graphic novels* seems to be a Herculean task, as there is still an on-going debate as to what exactly the words mean. The debate revolving around the terms brings to mind the conversation found in Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* (1871) between Humpty Dumpty and Alice:

“When *I* use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, “it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less.”

“The question is,” said Alice, “whether you *can* make words mean so many different things.”

“The question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “which is to be master — that's all.”

(99; ch. 6)

This section will provide the various arguments around the terms *comic* and *graphic novel* and conclude by providing a *master* definition of each to be used for the purposes of this dissertation.

Initially, the words *comic book* of the 1930s was used to describe “crude, poorly-drawn, semiliterate, cheap, disposable kiddie fare” (McCloud 3). As can be seen from the previous section however, comic books began to change as a challenge to the purging of the 1950s, creating content that was no longer seen as intended for children and incorporating interesting political themes and social commentary. McCloud thus defines comics as “juxtaposed pictorial and other images in a deliberate sequence intended to convey information and/or produce an aesthetic response in the viewer” (9). This definition provided by McCloud seems to be a definition which can be applied to various forms of sequential art. This then raises the question: What is the difference between comic books and graphic novels? While both tell stories, there are four features (as identified by Baetens and Frey) which differentiate the graphic novel from comic books: form, content, publication format, and production and distribution.

The concept of *form* as a means of differentiating graphic novels from comics is not clear-cut, especially since graphic novelists may use comic forms in their work. Baetens and Frey state that the natural narrative style of comics is that they are displayed in a grid which is to be read in sequential order and that comics are “a way

of storytelling that is based on the sequential decoding of juxtaposed images that are gathered page by page” (8). While graphic novels can also borrow the drawing style of comics (see for example *Watchmen*) as well as the layout rules of the comic industry, and the narrative aspect of juxtaposing images, they are also able to push the boundaries of these rules (Baetens & Frey 9).

As Baetens and Frey point out, graphic novels try: “to foreground more individual styles”; “to turn away from the conventions, including the conventional ways of breaking the rules that characterized the commix field in the late 1960s and 1970s”; “to innovate at the level of narrative, [. . .] either by refusing it [. . .] or by emphasizing [. . .] the role of the narrator” (9-10). The way in which graphic novels try to distinguish themselves from comic books is that their *content* matter is more “adult”, “not in the sense of pornographic, but in the sense of ‘serious’ and too sophisticated — or simply uninteresting — for a juvenile audience” (Baetens & Frey 10). While many graphic novels are inclined towards realism and many authors make use of autobiography in their works, Baetens and Frey firmly believe that graphic novels have the possibility of “incredible diversity and variety of content matter” especially since they have the ability to work on “the borderlines of first-person narrative, history-from-below, and oral history, as well as to introduce fiction with historical meaning (and vice versa), that makes [them] so fascinating and important a body of work” (13).

*Publication format* is a much more straightforward concept when delineating the differences between the two media. Graphic novels tend to avoid serialisation and are published in book format, favouring the format of a traditional novel (cover, size, number of pages, etc.). Baetens and Frey point out that by avoiding serialisation, graphic novelists can side-step the dilemma of *selling out* to the “commercial demands of the ‘culture industry’, which converts an idea or character into an endlessly repeated series” (14). The term “serialisation” is more generally applied to comic books as they are intended to be an on-going series and issues are published each month (Albert, “Serial Comic”). “Serialisation” thus refers to “anything that is sold in a series [. . . and . . .] a serial comic book is those comic books that are sold with the intent to have an ongoing series or issues of comic books” (Albert, “Serial Comic”). Some graphic novels may in fact be “serialised before they are published in book form”, but the reason for doing so is the possibility of prepublication, in which parts of a work in progress may be sold, in order to fund the publication of the work

as a whole (Baetens & Frey 15, 106). Thus two distinctions should be noted when referring to serialisation: firstly, a comic book or graphic novel may be sold as an on-going series and have no intention of ending, and secondly, a comic book or graphic novel may be serialised as a part of its publication strategy to encourage sales while its ending is still being written. The graphic novel analysed in this study has been serialised (with 23 out of a planned 25 issues released), and also sold in volumes (with four of the five planned have appeared): it follows the second strategy of serial publication. Wiebe clearly stated in a 2012 interview that they have planned “25 issues in total, with a very defined beginning, middle and end” (Montgomery, “Interview: Kurtis J. Wiebe Reveals”).

Independent publishing played a vital role in the rise of the graphic novel and still has a huge impact on the medium today. Especially in the 1980s, when bookstores were still apprehensive about stocking graphic novels and comics, *production and distribution* of these media depended upon the efforts of small independent publishers and also speciality shops which offered a small selection of paraphernalia, comic books and graphic novels (Baetens & Frey 16-17). It was not until publishing houses such as Pantheon, Faber and Faber, Penguin and other major publishers (first in 1986-1987 and then in the 2000s) began to publish comic book and graphic novels that these two media entered the mainstream book market (Baetens & Frey 17).

The term *graphic novel* was popularised in the 1970s by Will Eisner, though he was not the first to use it, and was coined by the American comic critic Richard Kyle over 44 years ago (Collins 227). Eisner began using the term in an attempt to distinguish the seriousness of his work from that of other artists. Both Spiegelman and Moore were negative about the neologism of *graphic novel* which was increasingly being used to describe their work in the 1980s. Spiegelman referred to it as the “latest wrinkle in the comic book’s evolution” and said that the serious ring of the term was coined in “a bid for social acceptability”, calling some of those comics which have been labelled under the auspicious term “no more than pedestrian comic books in glossy wrappings” (Baetens & Frey 1-2). Moore shared a similar opinion stating that one could call *Maus* and *Watchmen* novels in terms of size, scale, density, structure and seriousness of theme, but that the problem lay in that the term “ ‘graphic novel’ just came to mean ‘expensive comic book’ ” (Baetens & Frey 2). Paul Gravette also echoes this attitude, saying that the term *graphic novel* is a misnomer, invented “in

an effort to overcome the stigmas of humor and childishness of the word 'comics' ” (8).

Ariela Freedman, like Spiegelman and McCloud, also prefers to use the term *comic* as an “umbrella term to refer to the medium”, stating that the term *comic* “keeps us tethered to a genealogy that includes newspaper cartoons and superhero comics, rather than erecting a false barrier in order to sequester the high art of graphic narrative from its embarrassing low art cousins” (30). Bearing in mind McCloud’s definition of comics, and that it encapsulates a wide range of works, from the “low art cousins” such as newspaper cartoons and superhero comics to the “high art of graphic narrative” such as *Maus* and *Watchmen*, can one blame writers such as Eisner for seeking a word which encapsulates the serious spirit of their work rather than evoking the “stigmas of humor and childishness”?

Spiegelman has introduced a third alternative, describing his work as a *co-mix*, rather than a comic. He explains this terminology by saying that “[o]ne of the problems is that the word comics itself brings to mind that they have to be funny. [. . .] I prefer the word co-mix, to mix together, because to talk about comics is to talk about mixing together words and pictures that tell a story” (174). An alternative term is suggested by Louann Reid, who says that *novel* implies fiction and that she prefers the term *graphic narrative* because it is “a broader [and] more accurate label” (2). Her definition of a graphic narrative is that it is “a book-length story told in the medium of comics. It can be a collection of comic strips, a serialised story, or a continuous story” (1). Unlike Baetens and Frey, who perceive graphic novels and comics as two media on the same scale, Reid sees comics as the medium through which the narratives found in graphic novels are told.

From the above it is evident that each author/artist ascribes a specific term to his/her own work.<sup>28</sup> Freedman provides a reason for this incongruity by deconstructing the individual meaning of the words *comic* and *graphic novel* and their connotative meaning for each author/artist which can be seen as a “mode of affiliation” (30). For Spiegelman it is

a way of insisting on his continued affiliation with newspaper comics and underground comix, despite his later mainstream success; for Will Eisner, who championed the term “graphic novel”, a way of claiming for comics the narrative scope and ambition of literature; for Hillary Chute and Marianne DeKoven, who argue for “graphic narrative”

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<sup>28</sup> The author and artist for graphic novels is sometimes one person, such as Eisner. However, as in the case of *Peter Panzerfaust*, the story is created in collaboration between the author, Wiebe, and the artist, Jenkins.

as a way of emphasizing comics non-fiction in book form and of gesturing towards a particular comics narratology.

(Freedman 30)

For the purpose of this dissertation, I believe that the term graphic novel would be more suitable to Wiebe and Jenkins's adaptation of the Peter Pan story. If adopting Baetens and Frey's opinion that graphic novels and comic books are two separate media, then the term graphic novel is appropriate as it does separate the "low art" of comics (specifically referring to newspaper and super hero comics of the early 1940s and 1960s) from the "high art" which the term tries to evoke. Furthermore, in the particular case of *Peter Panzerfaust*, the roles of author (Wiebe) and illustrator (Jenkins) are clearly separable. Hence the term graphic novel accurately reflects their collaboration and respective contributions to the medium.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to familiarise the reader with the theories that I shall use to explore the various chosen adaptations of the Peter Pan story. From the theories introduced it is evident that there is much more to adaptation than merely that of faithful equivalency. An adaptation needs to be considered as *an adaptation of a specific story*. The multilaminar nature of an adaptation, which is made up of intertextual references and palimpsest writings, must be appreciated as an advantage rather than a disadvantage in its process of creation and reception. "[S]tory telling is always the art of repeating stories" (Benjamin 91) and the remarkable part of this repetition is the ability of stories to be repeated with variation through the specific medium of the story-teller. The pleasure the adapter and audience derive from an adaptation is due to its palimpsestic nature — and the ability to recognise those elements of the original story that have been reinterpreted and recreated to suit the adapter's chosen medium.

Adaptation bears many similarities to translation, especially when considering Jakobson's and Bassnett and Lefevere's theories. Because an adapter changes the medium of the story being told (for example, from novel to film), certain elements/signs need to be reinterpreted and recreated to suit the new medium. These changes are of course the prerogative of the adapter and, as with translations, the adapter/translator will have a specific goal/*skopos* to be achieved with the adaptation/translation. According to Jakobson's theory, the aim of the translator is to translate a sign into one which is more fully developed (127). So, too, in adaptations

must the adapter adapt certain story elements/signs into ones that are more fully developed in the new medium. These theoretical points will become clearer as they are applied to the chosen adaptations in the chapters that follow.

The other aim of this chapter was to provide a brief history of the graphic novel and to provide a functional definition of and differentiation between the terms “comic” and “graphic novel”. From the information given, it is evident that comics and graphic novels have had a turbulent history and that, like adaptations, they have been viewed in a negative light. These perceptions are beginning to change, and comics and graphic novels are being taken more seriously by readers, academics and publishers. For the purposes of this dissertation, I have appropriated the term *graphic novel* and agree with Eisner’s definition that it is a way of claiming for certain comics the narrative scope and ambition of literature (Freedman 30). This background knowledge as well as the defining terms are necessary for the understanding of the analysis of the graphic novel in chapter 5.

## Chapter 3

# James and Peter: Barrie's versions of the Peter Pan story

Whereas chapter 2 served to outline the theories to be applied in the discussions that follow, this chapter serves to map Barrie's own creation and continual recreation of the Peter Pan story, starting with his friendship with the Llewelyn Davies boys and its part in shaping the story of Peter Pan. Barrie's most famous creation kept evolving throughout the first quarter century of his existence and flitted from stage to page to film effortlessly. Peter indeed became more than just "a little bird that ha[d] broken out of the egg" (Barrie, *Peter and Wendy* 227-28; ch. 15). I shall document when Barrie's various versions of the story appeared, taking into account the different media Barrie himself used in adapting Peter's story. While most view film adaptations as inferior to literature, it seems Barrie had no such scruples and was excited about the prospect of turning Peter's story into film, leading him to write his own proposed scenario for a Peter Pan film.

I shall also consider the way in which Peter Pan's physical appearance has undergone change. The proliferation of the Peter Pan story is not only evident from the diverse keepsakes, picture books and novels that have arisen over the years: it can also be seen in the way in which the character of Peter Pan has been depicted visually on the stage, in illustrations, and on screen. What will become evident throughout this chapter is that, while Peter Pan's story may have been adapted numerous times over the years, it was Barrie himself who first endeavoured to recreate and reinterpret this whimsical being, beginning when he changed him from a one-week-old baby to a pre-adolescent.

## An overview of J.M. Barrie and the evolution of Peter Pan

There are numerous biographical accounts of the author J.M. Barrie from whose mind the apparition of the eternal boy child sprang.<sup>29</sup> And while many choose to find

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<sup>29</sup> Two of the most prominent accounts are by Dunbar (1970) and Birkin (2003).

the inspiration for the events in Neverland within Barrie's own life, the goal of this dissertation is not to enforce those viewpoints. This study will attempt to steer clear of equating the author with his fictional text. Some key biographical points will be mentioned, however, as they do have some importance for the context of the Peter Pan story: the most significant of which is Barrie's friendship with the Llewelyn Davies boys.

The relationship between Barrie and the Llewelyn Davies boys has been so intertwined with the legend of Peter Pan that it is sometimes difficult to discern where the one begins and the other ends. The Llewelyn Davies family certainly had a part to play in providing the author with the inspiration necessary to develop his mischievous character, but the creation of Peter can be traced to the imagination of the author alone, although the true origins of this flighty youth are as hard to capture as the character himself. How is it possible to discover Peter's true beginning when his own creator claims to "have no recollection of having written it"? (Barrie, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* 3). Some (see Gore-Langton, "Tragedy that Inspired" and Picardie, "How Bad Was J.M. Barrie") perceive the tragedy surrounding Barrie's brother David, who died in an ice-skating accident at the age of fourteen (and was also his mother's favourite), as one of the possible incidents which would later form the idea of the eternal boy. Others (see Dudgeon 4-7 and Tatar xviii) counter that it may have been one of the Llewelyn Davies boys who inspired Barrie. Barrie met the first three of the Llewelyn Davies boys (George who was five at the time, Jack who was three, and Peter who was still a baby) whilst strolling through Kensington Gardens in 1897. What ensued was a not only a lifelong friendship, one which began when three boys were thrilled in making an acquaintance who could "do amazing things with his eyebrows" (Tatar lxxxiii), but one that eventually led to Barrie's becoming their guardian after their parents were dead.

The author himself has claimed, in his dedication *To the Five* that he made Peter Pan "by rubbing the five of you violently together" (Barrie, *PP* 3). It is also within this dedication that Barrie divulges how the play itself came into being. While Arthur and Sylvia were still alive, the Llewelyn Davies family spent the summer of 1901 at their cottage in Tilford, not far away from Barrie's own cottage. It was during this time that Barrie and four of the Llewelyn Davies boys — George, Jack, and Peter (the main troupe) and Michael (who was just an occasional player as he was still a baby; Nico had not yet been born) — enacted scenes of a shipwreck on Black Lake Island. The

name of the island was taken from Barrie's cottage, Black Lake Cottage and their inspiration for recreating desert island adventures was based on Ballantyne's *Coral Island* (1858).

It was during these playful interludes that Barrie began making notes for what would eventually become *The Little White Bird*, the story in which Peter Pan would make his first appearance (Tatar 190). Barrie also joined the boys in their imaginative play and embraced the role of Captain Swarthy — “a dark and sinister pirate equal to Captain Hook” (Tatar 190). It is worth mentioning that though there has been conjecture regarding Barrie's sexual preferences, especially in regard to his relationship with the Llewelyn Davies boys, this has no implication for the story itself. As Richard Morrison notes:

[I]f Barrie's friendship with the boys disturbs our sensibilities so much today, when it seems to have been acceptable to both the boys' mother and Edwardian society generally, doesn't that say something about our own age's paedophile phobia — a collective obsession that makes it near impossible for a male adult to develop *any* friendship with children?

(“Peter Pan(ic)”)

And even if one is not to believe a contemporary critic and the cultural evidence, should one not, as Kavey implores, believe the boys who are the alleged victims? The boys have repeatedly assured biographers that they remained unmolested and constantly recalled the many kindnesses received by them from their “Uncle Jim” (Kavey 5).

Throughout the rest of the summer Barrie documented the boys' adventures of sailing on the *Anna Pink*, building a hut and sharpening spears, exploring the surrounding forests, and killing a tiger. The tiger was brought to life by the efforts of Porthos, a Saint Bernard, who was declared by Barrie to be the forerunner of Nana in the play (Barrie, *PP* 12). At the end of the summer, Barrie produced two printed copies of these adventures titled (in full) *The Boy Castaways of Black Lake Island, being a record of the terrible adventures of the brothers Davies in the Summer of 1901, faithfully set forth by Peter Llewelyn Davies*. One copy Barrie kept for himself, the other he presented to Arthur, who swiftly lost it on a train.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The only surviving copy of this volume is kept at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University (Tatar 190).

In the dedication, Barrie elaborates and claims that *The Boy Castaways* was “the best and rarest of this author’s works” and asks: “[w]hat was it that made us eventually give to the public in the thin form of a play that which had been woven for ourselves alone?” (Barrie, *PP* 4). Barrie’s answer to this is that he felt that he was losing his grip on the boys as they grew up.<sup>31</sup> Yet he also mentions that he cannot remember whether it was to keep the five of them a little longer or merely a ruthless decision to turn them into “bread and butter” (Barrie, *PP* 4). Further on, Barrie describes the process of how he wrote the play:

You had played it until you tired of it, and tossed it in the air and gored it and left it derelict in the mud and went on your way singing other songs; and then I stole back and sewed some of the gory fragments together with a pen-nib. That is what must have happened, but I cannot remember doing it.

(*PP* 4)

What perhaps is a further example of the personal importance the play has for Barrie is his insistence that he cannot remember writing it, a strange stance to be adopted by the “most praised as well as most successful dramatist alive [at that time]” (Birkin 148). Tatar claims that this unwillingness to remember writing the play stems from “Barrie’s refusal to serve as adult authority [. . . and] paradoxically reveals just how determined he was [. . .] to write a story that appeared to be by someone whose allegiances were to childhood” (xlii-xliii). Barrie was able to remain true to this allegiance, which led to the success of the play. Barrie admits that, as with most ideas, he observed an interaction with the reality of everyday life and was able to take “the gory fragments” and write them into an imaginative story. Perhaps the reason he could not remember writing the play was because he was merely a player in, and not the instigator of, all the episodes that finally culminated in the Peter Pan story. And how can Barrie claim credit for writing a story based on the remembrance of childish games of the past, even if the games had been played the day before? Tucker states that Barrie’s genius was his ability to bring “into the play all the elements of children’s spontaneous games, and he could do that because he actually played imaginative games with children himself” (qtd. in Hollindale, “*Hundred Years*” 204).

This memory loss is very similar to the type of memory loss Peter Pan experiences, evidenced in the last act of the play. When Wendy mentions the Lost Boys, Hook and

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<sup>31</sup> Barrie described this process as: “One by one as you swung monkey-wise from branch to branch in the wood of make-believe you reached for the tree of knowledge” (*PP* 4).

even Tinker Bell, Peter has no memory of them whatsoever and Wendy suggests that this is because he has had so many adventures (Barrie, *PP* 90). And perhaps Barrie's own many adventures and his constant revision of the play itself led him to forget the circumstances of the writing of the play.

Barrie mentions that he remembers writing the story of *Peter and Wendy* after the production of the play, but suspects that is because he "cribbed" it from some typed copy (*PP* 4). What makes his memory loss even more perplexing is the fact that he can recall the writing of every other essay of his, as well as his first attempts at being a playwright (which harkens back to his school days and the writing of *Bandelero the Bandit*), and can even bring to mind the first line of *Ibsen's Ghost*, one of the first plays of his to be produced. Barrie is also the first to admit that it is almost "suspicious" and in support of his claim that he may not have written the play states that he does not have the original manuscript of Peter Pan, except for a "few stray pages" (Barrie, *PP* 5). He mentions that he does have a manuscript which was recently made but that it "proves nothing" and that he does not know whether he "lost [the] original MS. or destroyed it or happily gave it away" (Barrie, *PP* 5).<sup>32</sup>

Barrie also gives some insight into how some of the characters came into being. As previously mentioned, his dog Porthos was Captain Swarthy's own hound, but as their imaginative play diversified, he was called upon to fulfil other roles such as that of the tiger. Barrie mentions that the dog was never called Nana during that time, but was "evidently in training for the post" as one picture within the volume has the caption "[w]e trained the dog to watch over us while we slept" which Barrie mentions as a clear precursor of the Darling nursery (Barrie, *PP* 12). Barrie also mentions that the inspiration for Nana's head and coat came from Porthos (though Barrie admits he might be confusing him with his successor, Luath — a Newfoundland dog). Barrie states that Wendy had not yet appeared, yet Michael's nurse "cast the humorous shadow of women upon the scene" and that it would be quite "fun to let in a disturbing element" (*PP* 13). Barrie also blames Wendy for entering the realm of Neverland, as Peter only pretended to want her there because she would not stay

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Hollindale sheds some light on this subject claiming that in Barrie's dedication he "disingenuously questioned" the existence of the earliest known text of Peter Pan, which is a manuscript in six scenes headed *Anon*. It dates from 1903-04 and was given by Barrie to the actress, Maude Adams (who was the first actress to play Peter in the American production). It was rediscovered in 1964 and now resides in the Lilly Library of the University of Indiana. The Walter Beinecke Jnr. Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University holds a typescript of the 1904-05 initial production of *Peter Pan* ("Note" xxviii).

away. He also claims that the origin of Tinker Bell was Michael's doing — as they were walking down a trail at twilight, their lanterns twinkled among the leaves and Michael thought he saw a twinkle stand still, at which he waved his foot and thus fashioned Tinker Bell (Barrie, *PP* 13).

And yet, the only clue as to the play's namesake still remains the earlier statement concerning the amalgamation of the Five being rubbed violently together. Barrie says:

They do seem to be emerging out of our island, don't they, the little people of the play, all except that sly one, the chief figure, who draws farther and farther into the wood as we advance upon him? He so dislikes being tracked, as if there was something odd about him, that when he dies he means to get up and blow away the particle that will be his ashes.

(*PP* 13)

Who, or what, is Peter Pan? As mentioned before, this dissertation will not equate the author with his character, but it does seem as though some of the author's experience has indeed permeated from his reality into his imagination. If a summary were to be made of the composite parts of Peter, it appears that he is a number of palimpsestic elements: the spirit of a young boy who, dying young, will remain forever young; the playful, imaginative adventures of five young boys; a sly little sprite who is able to resurrect himself so that he may "blow away the particle that will be his ashes" (Barrie, *PP* 13). In fact, even Peter Pan's nemesis, Captain Hook, explicitly asks, "Pan, who and what art thou?", and he receives no definite answer: " 'I'm youth, I'm joy,' Peter answered at a venture, 'I'm a little bird that has broken out of the egg' " (Barrie, *PW* 227-28; ch. 15). Though this does provide some insight into who Peter is, and though it rings with some truth, and though Peter does indeed embody both youth and joy, and one of the first stories about him had a close connection to birds, it only adds to the enigma that is Peter Pan. That Peter added "at a venture" his whimsical thoughts on who he or what he is, shows the reader that the riddle of his existence, like almost everything else, is a game to him. The narrator adds that this statement by Peter is nonsense, "but it was proof to the unhappy Hook that Peter did not know in the least who or what he was" (Barrie, *PW* 228; ch. 15). Perhaps this notion, that not even Peter knows who or what he is, that he is indeed a "*Betwixt-and-Between*", has allowed him to permeate into the imaginations of generations. Peter's not knowing who he is is emphasised in an earlier chapter in which the narrator explains some of Peter's nightmares:

Sometimes, though not often, he had dreams, and they were more painful than the dreams of other boys. For hours he could not be separated from these dreams, though he wailed piteously in them. They had to do, I think, with the riddle of his existence.

(Barrie, *PW* 190; ch. 13)

Can Peter be blamed that he himself does not even know who he is? One of his most obstinate characteristics is that he suffers from memory loss. And perhaps it is this memory loss of both Peter and the author in his creation of the character that has allowed Peter to remain in the imagination one hundred years after his conception.

## Peter Pan and the various (re)tellings by Barrie

Peter Pan's creative lineage is somewhat confusing, because the year in which a Peter Pan story first appeared is not necessarily the year in which it was first published and thus the chronology of the various stories should be noted. The Table below provides a chronological list of the Peter Pan stories as well as a brief overview of the most notable differences among the various versions, starting with the story in which the character of Peter Pan first appears and ending with the latest graphic novel adaptation. These are but a few of the numerous adaptations of the Peter Pan story and were selected based on their relevance to this dissertation.

Table 1: A chronological list of the Peter Pan stories<sup>33</sup>

TITLE	DATE	FORMAT
<i>The Little White Bird</i>	1902 (1 <sup>st</sup> published)	Novel for adult readership
<i>Peter Pan or The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up</i>	1904 (1 <sup>st</sup> performed)	Play (stage performances)
[ <i>Peter Pan</i> ]	1904-05	Untitled play typescript
<i>Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens</i>	1906	Novel for children
<i>Peter and Wendy</i>	1911	Novel for children
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1920's (alleged period in which script was completed)	Screenplay (written for a silent film)
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1924 (1 <sup>st</sup> film)	Silent film — live action (not based on Barrie's screenplay)
<i>Peter Pan or The Boy Who Would Not Grow Up</i>	1928 (1 <sup>st</sup> published)	Play script
<i>Walt Disney's Peter Pan</i>	1953	Film — animation
<i>Peter Pan</i>	2003	Film — live action
<i>Peter Panzerfaust</i>	2012 – 2016?	Multi-volume graphic novel

<sup>33</sup> For a more exhaustive chronological list, accompanied by a brief overview of the most notable differences between the various versions, see Appendix A.

From Table 1 it is evident that the story of Peter Pan has been subject to numerous (re)tellings, in various formats, throughout its century-long existence and that many of those adaptations from its first quarter century were by Barrie himself. As with any story that has endeared itself to diverse audiences over such a long time, the question may be posed: how do these various (re)tellings, across different formats and media, remain true to the author's original story? The question is posed thus, because it is undeniable that something true to the original story does remain. An adaptation of the Peter Pan story is not the same as a completely independent story, no matter how much it diverges from the original story.

And yet, to determine what the original story of Peter Pan is, is not as easy as it seems. For if one defines "original" as the first time the *idea* of the story appears, then *The Little White Bird* (1902) and simultaneously *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906) can be viewed as the original. Yet, if we define "original" as the story which is deemed as the definitive origin of the mythos of Peter Pan, then the play *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1904) and the subsequent novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911) can be viewed as a composite primary source for the various (re)tellings.

I have concluded that *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906) is the original source material of Peter Pan seeing as the only difference between it and *The Little White Bird* (1902) is the title. My reason for this is as follows: the character of Peter Pan first appeared in the novel intended for an adult readership titled *The Little White Bird* (1902). After the success of the stage adaptation of Peter Pan in 1904, Barrie's publishers decided to extract chapters 13 to 18 of *The Little White Bird* and, adding only a few minor changes, published the material as a separate novel specifically for children entitled *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906). And it is within this version of the story that we find the basis for the play *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up* (1904). However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I deem the final published play version of *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* (1928) and the novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911) as a combined original source for the many following film and graphic novel adaptations. *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* can be described as the original story as many incidents occur in this version of the story that are recognisable in the later play production, novel and films.

As with all children Peter was indeed once a baby, who, for fear of becoming a man, flew away to Kensington Gardens. In 1902, Peter Pan was still this baby. In *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, the narrator, Captain W—, is friends with a young boy named David, and they tell each other various stories concerning the adventures of a young Peter Pan (who is only seven days old) in Kensington Gardens (ch. 2). In this story, the infant Peter initially has the ability to fly, which he loses as soon as he finds out that he is not a bird and humans cannot fly (ch. 2). He has a series of adventures which include: having the thrushes help build him a large nest that Peter can use as a boat to sail on the Serpentine in order to reach the mainland (ch. 3); playing his flute for the fairies; the origins of the fairies; the fairies granting Peter the ability to fly again; visiting his mother only to discover she has replaced him with another little boy (ch. 4); becoming friends with Mamie Mantering, for whom the fairies build a small enchanted house in repayment for her kind act (ch. 5). Mamie is also the one who offers Peter a thimble instead of a real kiss so as not to embarrass him for having forgotten what a kiss is (ch. 6).

**“No one is going to catch me”<sup>34</sup>**

The play of *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* that I have consulted is the 1928 published version.<sup>35</sup> This version appears 24 years after the original stage production and may differ from the 1904 play script. However, I have taken the 1928 play script as a primary source as it is a version which Barrie tinkered with for many years and regarded as the definitive version for a stage production (this can also be applied to the 1911 novel version).<sup>36</sup>

Yet even before *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* was published, there existed an experimental play manuscript which predates the novel by two years. As mentioned earlier Barrie could not recall what he had done with the original manuscript of *Peter Pan* and, more curiously, there is no entry for the original manuscript in the British Library. All plays had to be presented to the Lord Chamberlain’s office for censorship, and Barrie’s other plays are all accounted for in the British Library, yet there is no typescript or entry for *Peter Pan* (Jack 102).

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<sup>34</sup> Barrie, *PW* 252; ch. 17.

<sup>35</sup> I have also consulted the 1904-05 untitled typescript of the play (see [*Peter Pan*] in Table 1, p. 50). Both Hollindale (see footnote 32 on page 48) and Jack refer however to a 1903-04 manuscript discovered in 1964, which I was unable to procure. I am thus relying on Jack’s research regarding the differences between this manuscript and later versions of the play.

<sup>36</sup> I provide a short summary of the 1911 novel and its corresponding 1928 stage acts in Appendix B.

This earliest known manuscript for the play, “incontestably in Barrie’s hand”, is at the Lilly Library of the University of Indiana and dates 1903-04, one year before the first production of the play (Jack 102).<sup>37</sup> Headed *Anon*, and divided into six scenes, it has marked differences from today’s well-known versions. The most significant disparities however are in the last two scenes (after the return to the nursery). In scene 5, the Lost Boys are auctioned off to twenty mothers who must undergo tests, devised by Peter and Wendy, to determine their worthiness. These tests include their reaction to baby clothes, the ability to kiss their children without waking them, and the conviction of each that her child is the prettiest (103). In scene 6, the notion of school is the antithesis to Neverland, and is enforced by the additions of six boarding school girls, a governess and the twins in Eton suits. They are transformed into a circus troupe — Peter and the Lost Boys become clowns, the governess a harlequin and the girls columbines. The main conflict is “not between Hook as pirate of death and Peter as bird of the dawning day but between Hook as schoolmaster and Peter as clown” (Jack 105).

Hook still meets his end in the jaws of the crocodile, but the ending is not the one we know today. In the 1911 novel, the story ends with the continuation of Peter’s annual spring-cleaning by Wendy’s descendants. In the 1928 published play, Peter returns to fetch Wendy for the spring-cleaning, promising to return to hear stories about himself. In the 1903-04 manuscript however, “Wendy chooses the ‘neverland’ of Kensington Gardens, bids farewell to her parents, and stays there in her little house with Peter” (Jack 106). Wendy, Tiger Lily and Tinker Bell’s need for a more adult relationship with Peter are more explicit in the manuscript than in the later versions in which this is only alluded to.

Fascinatingly, Peter was initially not the “major imaginative power in the drama”, but rather a source of tension between the other characters (Jack 110). As R.D.S Jack notes, by comparing the six scenes of the early version of the play to the five acts of the final version, one is able to see Peter’s rise to importance. In the play, Peter shares the spotlight in each of the four acts while, at the end of the final act, he has the stage all to himself (110). In the manuscript however, the successive scenes end, not with Peter, but with the Darlings, Redskins, Tippy, the Pirates and Nana (110). Jack attributes this change in making Peter the main focus to Barrie’s being a

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<sup>37</sup> See footnote 32 on page 48.

“student of the box office” (110) and catering to the needs of a younger child audience. The most telling example of this is at the end of scene 3 in the manuscript, in which Peter implores the audience to clap if they believe in fairies (111). Some other “visual surprises” which were included throughout the play, were the complex lighting effects, the magical building of Wendy’s house and the Darlings and Peter flying (111).

While there are similarities between the 1903-04 manuscript and the 1904-05 initial production typescript, one scene absent from both is *An Afterthought*. Barrie first conceptualised the idea of *An Afterthought* in 1905 and completed it in 1908. It was acted only once as an additional scene for the last performance of the 1908 run of *Peter Pan*. However, it was not lost as the dialogue of this scene is to be found in the last chapter of *Peter and Wendy*, and tells the story of what happened when Wendy grew up (Green 109-10).

Barrie’s tinkering with his own work is apparent through the myriad differences evident when comparing the various versions. It is also clear that Peter emerges as a spirit of disorder within his own story, a flighty youth who forces himself to become the centre of attention. The eternal boy child flits with ease from manuscript, to typescript to novel, leaving behind the stories of other characters as mere memories of a dream. For he became more than just a minor character in the novel *The Little White Bird*; in fact, “he spread his dominion across the middle of the novel, acting as a force almost beyond the author’s control” (Tatar 238). He also ingratiated himself so into the hearts of theatre audiences in 1904 that

in after years none of the children could remember how he began: he was just there, and he was so well known that of course you had always known he was there, and you didn’t even think of asking why his name was Peter Pan, because of course that was his name and that was who he was.

(Green 17)

## **Kensington Gardens — a province of fairyland**

While the chapters within *The Little White Bird* were later used and developed into what we know today as the stage play, the illustrations from *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* helped to cement a love for Peter Pan in the hearts of readers.<sup>38</sup> It was illustrated by Arthur Rackham, at Barrie’s personal request (Hudson 61), and quickly

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<sup>38</sup> See Notes on Citation (p. xii).

became one of the most popular gift-books of Christmas 1906.<sup>39</sup> Whether play character or book illustration, the visual representation of Peter (and his world) has been an important part of his story ever since.



Fig. 6: Illustration for *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*. The Serpentine River with dancing fairies and stars.

Barrie's publishers were delighted as they immediately saw the appeal of a Peter Pan gift book which would tie in effectively with the plans of Frohman, the theatrical producer, to revive the play annually around Christmas time (Tatar 239). The book *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* was a tremendous commercial success. It contains a striking map of Kensington Gardens and 50 sublime illustrations. In contrast to the setting of the play, which takes place on an exotic island, the gardens are a real setting which grounds the stories.<sup>40</sup> As Roger Lancelyn Green notes:

Kensington Gardens must always remain a special province of fairyland round which still lingers a magic of its own — or rather of Barrie's own. There certainly he not only created a new mythology, but one more definite and inevitable "a local habitation and a name" than Olympus itself.

(16)

Barrie and Rackham met in June 1905 for a preliminary discussion and over the next year Rackham worked steadily on the book. He made many sketches in Kensington Gardens and Barrie provided him with some last minute advice concerning the map

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<sup>39</sup>The work which greatly advanced Rackham's fame was his illustrations of *Rip Van Winkle* (1905). The original illustrations were exhibited at the Leicester Galleries in March, 1905. This is purportedly where Barrie began taking an interest in Rackham's work (Hudson 57).

<sup>40</sup> See Tolkien "On Fairy-Stories" (1947) on the importance of grounding fantasy (46-56).

of the gardens. Barrie wrote Rackham a thank you letter after receiving his copy of the book in which Rackham had drawn a “delicious little picture [. . .] of Peter”. Barrie was full of praise and liked the illustrations saying that they had “entranced” him. His favourite illustrations were the Serpentine with the fairies and Peter sitting in a tree in his nightgown (Hudson 65-66).<sup>41</sup>



Fig. 7: Peter talking to Solomon Caw in tree.

It seems that the success of the book established the boy who could not grow up in the popular imagination, as Walter Starkie (a nephew of Rackham’s) writes: “Although we children went again and again to the theatre to see the play, it was through the Rackham illustrations of Kensington Gardens and the Serpentine that Peter Pan still lived in our memories” (Hudson 68).

In *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, Barrie describes Peter as follows: “[h]is age is one week, and though he was born so long ago he has never had a birthday, nor is there the slightest chance of his ever having one” (20; ch. 2). Peter left the safety of his home when he saw the faraway trees in Kensington Gardens “and the moment he saw them he entirely forgot that he was now a little boy in a nightgown, and away he flew, right over the houses to the Gardens” (Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* 22; ch. 2). Peter, as we first come to know him, is dressed in a nightgown, which is quickly discarded in the ensuing chapters.

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<sup>41</sup> Critics seemed to have agreed with Barrie. The *Pall Mall Gazette* claimed that: “Mr Rackham seems to have dropped out of some cloud in Mr Barrie’s fairyland, sent by a special providence to make pictures in tune to his whimsical genius” (qtd. in Hudson 66).

Peter reaches the Gardens, believing he is a bird, but comes to the realisation that something is different about him as both the fairies and birds avoid him. When he flies to the island in the Serpentine, he meets Solomon Caw, a wise old crow who explains to Peter that he is no longer a bird. Peter is distraught by this news and realises that because he is no longer a bird, he can no longer fly and loses his ability to do so because he has lost his faith. When confronted with the riddle of his existence, Peter asks Solomon:

'Then I shan't be exactly a human!  
Peter asked.  
'No.'  
'Nor exactly a bird?'  
'No.'  
'What shall I be?'  
'You will be a Betwixt-and-Between,'  
Solomon said [. . .]

(Barrie, *PPKG* 29; ch. 2)

Caught forever between two worlds, Peter must survive by relying on the charity of the birds and fairies. In fact, it is the fairies who grant Peter's wish to be able to fly again in payment for his playing the flute at their fairy balls. And it is also this identity crisis which leads Peter to discard his nightgown altogether, rendering him entirely nude, a naked babe.



Fig. 8: The fairies tickle Peter.

As Barrie elucidates, “[al]though he was now quite naked, you must not think he was cold or unhappy” (Barrie, *PPKG* 31; ch. 2). His nakedness is not a source of

consternation, but of innocence, playfulness and happiness and, as Kim notes, this image of a naked Peter is in keeping with the romanticised Victorian notion of childhood of which both Barrie and the artist Arthur Rackham were products (27).

### **The boy who would not grow up and the shadow of a girl on stage**

Amusingly, despite the fact that Barrie was already an established playwright, he initially had no confidence in his play and feared that it might prove unacceptable to Frohman, Barrie's producer and manager.<sup>42</sup> Barrie took his script to the actor-manager, Beerbohm Tree, who was known for his "elaborate and sumptuous productions" (Birkin 104). Barrie hoped he would produce the play if Frohman turned him down. Beerbohm's reaction to the play was ominous however and he wrote to Frohman warning him of Barrie's intentions, stating that "Barrie has gone out of his mind" and that "Barrie must be mad" (Birkin 104). In response to this reaction, Barrie hastily resurrected another play, *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire*, which he had written some months before in the hopes of being able to bargain with Frohman. In the meeting that followed with Frohman, Barrie reiterated that he thought that *The Great White Father*, as the Peter Pan play was originally called, "will not be a commercial success" (Birkin 104). Barrie persisted however, saying that

[I]t is a dream-child of mine, and I am so anxious to see it on the stage that I have written another play which I will be glad to give you and which will compensate you for any loss on the one I am so eager to see produced.

(Birkin 104-05)

Frohman happily produced both plays, finding *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire* "mildly amusing", but it was *The Great White Father* "that went straight to his heart" (Birkin 105). While Frohman was enamoured of the entire play, he did not much like the title and suggested it be simply called *Peter Pan*. No expense was spared in the production and while the fear remained of it being a commercial failure, it proved to be unfounded as in the end the play was a resounding success (Birkin 105, 115). *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire* was not so lucky however, and "barely survived its run" (Birkin 123).

The play, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up*, debuted on 27 December 1904 at the Duke of York's Theatre in London. It was a huge success and was heralded in the *Illustrated London News* as "an artfully artless, go-as-you-please play

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<sup>42</sup> Charles Frohman was not only a good friend of Barrie's, but also the "major theatrical entrepreneur of his era" (Robertson 53).

which has all the pretty inconsequence of an imaginative child's improvisation, all the wild extravagance of a youngster's dream" ("First Impressions"). A review found in *The King* urged parents to take their children to go see it immediately, even going so far as to urge those who have no children to "borrow some for the afternoon" (qtd. in Tatar 348).

If the image of a baby Peter Pan lingered in the memories of children because of the authenticity of Kensington Gardens that they too could visit in actuality, what of the Peter that was conjured up in the imagination from watching him flit around on stage? Peter Pan's physical being is never described in much detail in any of the stage notes, nor can we look to Barrie's screenplay for a more detailed description of what Peter should look like. Only a glimmer of what the eternal boy looks like is ever given, as if Barrie left the rest to the imagination. In the play, when Peter flies into the Darling nursery, he is described as "[i]n so far as he is dressed at all it is in autumn leaves and cobwebs" (Barrie, *PP* 28). Again, Peter is almost completely naked. The difficulty in this description lay in how to depict this on stage. This is however not the most difficult aspect, as the tricky part lay in Peter Pan's traditionally being portrayed by women actors. Since "the woman playing Peter would have to appear overtly male in her appearance through her clothing and demeanor, if not her physiology" (Kim 28), Peter's costume needed to facilitate this.

The final costume worn by Nina Boucicault is more elaborate than the one first designed by William Nicholson. The basic costume of Peter, consisting of leggings and a tunic, has remained familiar as part of the Peter Pan imagery. Boucicault is depicted as a gender-ambiguous figure, with leggings, a belted tunic and close fitting shoes. She also wears a cap whose fabric mimics sewn-together leaves. This pattern is also repeated on the shoulders and the full-length sleeves are accompanied by two cobwebs which stretch from the waist up to the arms. The costume thus appears, overall, to be in keeping with Barrie's minimalist directions of autumn leaves and cobwebs. These trimmings have been simplified over time in following productions, removing the cobwebs and de-emphasising the leaf patterns, leaving only the tunic and leggings (Kim 28-29).



Fig. 9: Original 1904 Peter Pan costume design.



Fig. 10: Nina Boucicault as Peter Pan in 1904 play production.

For each staging of the play, a different costume was designed for each actress. And while they may have differed in materials and colours, the basic tunic and leggings remained.<sup>43</sup> The costume of Maude Adams, who portrayed the character of Peter in the American 1905-06 production, introduced the “Peter Pan collar” (still in use in fashion today) and is also responsible for the feather in Peter’s cap (Tuite 118).



Fig. 11: Peter Pan costumes on exhibition in Kirriemuir. Right is the costume worn by Nina Boucicault in 1904 and on the left the worn by Pauline Chase who played Peter from 1906-1913.

<sup>43</sup> This seems to be the case for many of the subsequent Peter Pan stage play revivals (some of which were filmed to be broadcast on television), including the 1954, 1976, 1979 and 1990 versions in which Mary Martin, Sandy Duncan, Mia Farrow and Cathy Rigby respectively portrayed Peter Pan (Tatar 329-31).

## From stage to page – Peter Pan in print

For many years after the success of the stage play, Barrie refused to “fix his iconic character in print” and *The Bookman* reported in 1907 that “Mr. Barrie has often been asked to write a short narrative or libretto of his immortal child’s play and has often refused” (qtd. in Tatar xviii-xix). And while Barrie may have refused, others saw a golden opportunity resulting in various picture books, alphabets, and other keepsakes. The most prolific of these was Daniel S. O’Connor who in 1907 provided young theatre-goers with the *Peter Pan Keepsake*, which was followed by *The Peter Pan Picture Book* (with illustrations by Alice B. Woodward).<sup>44</sup> The *Peter Pan Alphabet* was published in 1909 by Oliver Herford, and G.D. Drennan elaborated in greater detail on the story with *Peter Pan: His Books, His Pictures, His Career, His Friends* (Tatar xix-xx). It appears that Barrie did not object to these keepsakes.<sup>45</sup>

Barrie finally acceded to the demand for an official story and created a narrative<sup>46</sup> (based on the novelisation of the play) entitled *Peter and Wendy*,<sup>47</sup> which was published in 1911 and illustrated by F.D. Bedford.<sup>48</sup> Both Tatar and Zipes have claimed that this novel “captures, crystallizes, and broadens what Barrie wanted to say with the figure of Peter Pan” (Tatar xx) and that “[Barrie] had fixed the story as history and commentary in ‘Peter and Wendy’ ” (Zipes xxvi). It is relevant to note that even after the publication of this “official” novel, the story was still being retold, rewritten and adapted in Barrie’s own day, though it was done by writers authorised by Barrie in order to “recast the story for “ ‘little people’ or for ‘boys and girls’ ” (Tatar xx).

The novel does no better than the play in describing Peter’s physical appearance. At the end of chapter 1, Peter startles Mrs Darling and he is described as “a lovely boy, clad in skeleton leaves and the juices that ooze out of trees; but the most entrancing thing about him was that he had all his first teeth” (Barrie, *PW* 16; ch. 1). Skeleton

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<sup>44</sup> Woodward was known as one of the most productive illustrators at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She was firstly known for her illustrations of children’s books and secondly for her scientific illustrations (Turner et al. 135-37).

<sup>45</sup> Throughout all the reading done in researching this dissertation, I found no suggestion that Barrie did not approve of these keepsakes. Thus, by virtue of Barrie’s silence on the topic, have I made my observation.

<sup>46</sup> For a brief summary of the 1911 novel and how the chapters correspond to the play, see Appendix B.

<sup>47</sup> The name of the novel itself underwent some changes, becoming *Peter Pan and Wendy* in 1921 and finally only *Peter Pan* in 1951 (Green 115).

<sup>48</sup> Bedford had studied architecture, but realised that it was not his true calling and instead pursued a career as an artist and illustrator. He gained a reputation for himself illustrating books for authors such as E.V. Lucas and Charles Dickens. His drawing of Peter Pan in the novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911) strongly shaped the visual identity of Peter Pan. See figure 12 (p. 62).

leaves are delicate and can easily be destroyed because they have been long-dead and without any pulp, leaving only their veins behind. Peter is once again only barely clothed. Readers are also given an indication as to his age, because we are told he has all his first teeth and that he “gnashed [these] little pearls at [Mrs Darling]” (Barrie, *PW* 16; ch. 1) when he realised she was a grown-up. Peter is thus a young boy anywhere between the ages of 6 and 12 years and clad not in greenery, but old dead leaves presumably gathered from Neverland’s forest floor.

The 1911 novel *Peter and Wendy* includes 13 full-page sketched illustrations, which closely follow the text and illuminate some of the key narrative moments in the story. Bedford’s intricate landscapes, accompanied by the action-packed scenes he chose to depict, provide readers with an omniscient point of view of Neverland. Barrie was deeply involved in the publication of the novel and this first edition was published under his supervision and approval. The Bedford illustrations may thus have a great significance as they provide a deeper understanding of what Barrie had imagined Neverland to look like (Wilk, “Depictions”).

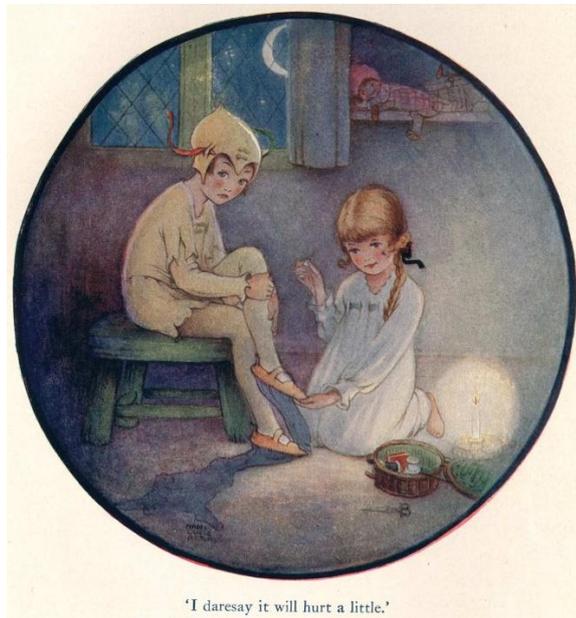


Fig. 12: 1911 Bedford illustration of Peter entering the nursery.

The visual depiction of Peter is of a childish, innocent, lost, young boy. His clothing is minimal, made of something that seems to waver between leaves and feathers. What Bedford does seem to capture quite well is Peter’s joyfulness and especially his heartlessness.

Green, however, is of the opinion that the illustrations found in the various books of Peter up until 1954, “never found a worthy artist and has been damned by the various unsuitable and clumsy editions” (115). Green calls Bedford’s illustrations

“merely artistic, not to say pretty-pretty” (116). He is even more dismissive of the illustrations done by Mabel Lucie Attwell in a 1921 abridged edition.<sup>49</sup> While her distinctive style may be suitable for other children’s classics, her rendition of Barrie’s story “literally revolted the youthful reader, with her bonnie babies and flimsy fays” (Green 116).



‘I daresay it will hurt a little.’

Fig. 13: Attwell’s illustration of Peter and Wendy.

Green groups other Peter Pan illustrators, such as Edmund Blampied, Gwynedd Hudson, and Norah S. Unwin, together as making a “more businesslike job of it” and states that a genius is needed to “capture the true Never Never Land” (116). Green puts forth his own candidate for this role, namely Ernest H. Shephard who, using the same style of drawing as for the books *The Golden Age* and *Dream Days* (1948), would be able to accomplish this.<sup>50</sup> And if Shephard was unable to acquiesce to this request, then “a well chosen set of photographs from the best presentations of the play” would do until a suitable artist arrived (Green 116). Yet for all Green’s recriminations, I doubt that Barrie was ever particularly dissatisfied with the Bedford illustrations. If the evidence from the correspondence between Barrie and Rackham on the 1906 illustrations is anything to go by, then surely he would have been as involved with the Bedford illustrations and thus they would have had Barrie’s utmost approval.

<sup>49</sup> Attwell also illustrated an edition of *Alice in Wonderland* (1911) and *The Water Babies* (1915) (Martin, “Mabel”).

<sup>50</sup> Shephard is well-known for his *Winnie-the-Pooh* illustrations (“E.H. Shepard”).

While Green is unhappy with the Bedford illustrations, they do bear a close resemblance to a series of photographs Barrie took of Michael Llewelyn Davies in 1906. In 1906 Barrie requested Nicholson (the costume designer of the first play production) to make a special Peter Pan costume which he presented to Michael as a gift. The gift had an ulterior motive as Barrie had an idea “for commissioning a statue of Peter Pan, and wanted to give the prospective sculptor his own ideal vision of Peter on which to base the effigy” (Birkin 142). Barrie photographed Michael in the costume, and Birkin describes Michael’s eyes as “blazing with an energy that became entirely lost when translated into bronze” (142).



Fig. 14: Michael (aged 6) dressed as Peter Pan.<sup>51</sup>

Barrie commissioned Sir George Frampton for the design of the statue. It was erected during the night of April 30, 1912, so that people who came strolling through the gardens on that May morning might “conceive that it had appeared by magic” (Birkin 202). And although the photographs of Michael should have served as inspiration, Frampton had used another boy — James W. Shaw — as a model. Barrie was not pleased with the result and complained that “[i]t doesn’t show the Devil in Peter” (Birkin 202).

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<sup>51</sup> This photograph was taken by Barrie in July, 1906.



Fig. 15 (Left): The Peter Pan statue, cast in bronze, is located to the west of the Long Water. Its location choice was based on the fact that in *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, when Peter leaves his home and arrives in the gardens for the first time, he alights on this exact spot (Barrie, *PPKG* 22; ch. 2). Fig. 16 (Right): Close-up of Peter Pan. He is surrounded on the base by rabbits, squirrels, mice and fairies that are climbing up towards him.

While Barrie may not have been too pleased, there is a sort of magic surrounding the statue itself, as though Peter may in fact at any moment cease his flute playing and fly away.<sup>52</sup> Both Michael's costume and Frampton's statue retained the familiar leggings and tunic, but it was not until 1953 and the release of Disney's *Peter Pan* that the image of an older Peter dressed in green became solidified in the cultural perception of him.<sup>53</sup>

### Whetting “the appetite for marvels”: Barrie’s film scenario

Even though Barrie was reluctant to write a novelised version of the play, it seems he did not face writing a screenplay with the same trepidation. Despite the limitation of silent film, Barrie was “fascinated by the medium of film [. . . and] hoped for a film that would catch the wonders of Neverland” (Tatar 275-76). After having refused an offer of £ 20 000 for the film rights to *Peter Pan* in 1918, he attempted his own reimagining of the play. This screenplay did not just contain subtitles, but also intertitles — “rich

<sup>52</sup> From my own observations while visiting the statue in September 2015, an air of enchantment still lingers in this hallowed spot. Most grown-ups treat the statue with reverence, a reminiscent reminder of their youth and enduring love for Peter, and are almost afraid to touch it. The children on the other hand have no such scruples and quite a number of them clamber to the top, gleefully shouting out their triumph in doing so (I half expected them to jump off, thinking they could fly).

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the films and the visual depiction of Peter Pan in the Disney and Hogan's films, see pages 78-86 (ch. 4).

visual descriptions of each sequence, with many fantastic flourishes that would have been a challenge to film” (Tatar 321).<sup>54</sup> Barrie finally sold the film rights of *Peter Pan* to Paramount Pictures and provided them with his proposed script. However, Paramount had other ideas, and allowed director Richard Brenon to develop his own script.<sup>55</sup> Brenon closely followed the original plot of the play, and the intertitles incorporate much of the original stage dialogue. This first cinematic silent film adaptation of the Peter Pan story was released in 1924, but was a disappointment to Barrie. He had hoped for a film that could “strike a note of wonder [. . .] and whet the appetite for marvels” (Green 169). Instead he felt that the silent film lacked “creativity and [. . .] that it was only repeating what had been done on the stage” (Ohmer 151). “Only repeating what had been done” is the antithesis of adaptation — for adaptation is a process of creation in which the adapted story is transcoded into another medium in which both gains and losses occur. This appropriation of the story thus requires “making the adapted material one’s own” (Hutcheon 20), which Brenon obviously failed to do.

From Barrie’s script, complete with an abundance of new visual details, intertitles and descriptive trimmings, one gets a glimpse into to what the author had perhaps envisioned and the various possibilities of what Neverland could be (Barrie, “Scenario”). Entitled in Tatar “Scenario for a Proposed Film of *Peter Pan*”, the script outlines various scenarios which follow the play closely, but elaborates in some scenes incidents which could not occur within a play: for example Barrie makes extensive use of flashbacks. A detailed example of this is found after the intertitle in which Peter tells Wendy of his running away from home when he heard his father saying that soon Peter would become a man (Barrie, “Scenario” 283). The scene to which it cuts shows Peter’s father coming to greet his mother in their bedroom. She presents Peter to him and they begin to speak of what will become of Peter — the audience is then presented with a young Peter seemingly growing before their very eyes and eventually being a grown man working behind a desk (Barrie, “Scenario” 283-84). The ensuing scene cuts back to the baby Peter who promptly crawls out of his home into Kensington Gardens, where he is met by two great birds and they all fly off together (Tatar 283-84).

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<sup>54</sup> Barrie’s film script for a proposed film of *Peter Pan* is from *The Annotated Peter Pan* by Maria Tatar (New York: W.W. Norton & Company 277-320).

<sup>55</sup> Tatar notes later on that “Barrie’s high-voltage demands on the new medium may have led to Paramount’s decision to put the play on-screen as a filmed performance” (321).

Barrie also frequently refers back to the play script as well as using *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* as a reference source. In his introductory note, Barrie clearly states that:

Many of the chief scenes, especially those calling for novel cinema treatment, are of course not in the acted play, but where they are in it they should be acted in the same way, and to that extent the play should be a guide to the film.

(Barrie, "Scenario" 277)

One of these "chief scenes" is the mermaid lagoon: "The mermaid pictures should be a beautiful series of considerable length" (Barrie, "Scenario" 294). Another is of Peter at a fairy wedding: "This should be an elaborate and beautiful picture of some length, one of the prettiest in the film" (Barrie, "Scenario" 301). The final scene Barrie declared should be "the most beautiful", and in it the audience is presented with the Little House (which was originally built for Wendy) in which stands Peter and Jane (Wendy's daughter who has come to do the spring-cleaning) waving their handkerchiefs. Jane also disappears, the various fairy lights go out and "[n]ow there are only lights from moon and stars, and Peter is seen in silhouette alone, playing his pipes" (Barrie, "Scenario" 319-20). These scenes do make use of what Barrie termed "novel cinema treatment" as there are calls for various long and wide shots, and close-ups.

This term "novel cinema treatment" may also refer to Barrie's belief in cinema's possibility to create "wonder [. . .] and whet the appetite for marvels" (Green 169). This is evidenced in the way he treats Peter's ability to fly. In the very first scene, the audience is presented with Peter who is riding on his goat through the woods. He flies from his goat, to a tree, across a river, only to alight back onto his goat and the movement is described as being done "with the careless loveliness of a sea-gull" (Barrie, "Scenario" 277). Barrie instructs that:

Vast practice and rehearsal will be needed to get the flying beautiful and really like a bird's. The flying must be far better and more elaborate than in the acted play, and should cover of course far wider expanse. This incident should show at once that the film can do things for *Peter Pan* which the ordinary stage cannot do.

("Scenario" 278)

Clearly Barrie had a very precise idea of what he wanted to achieve with the film of *Peter Pan*. More than ever he wanted an audience to believe that Peter could truly fly. The difficulty in realising such an impressive feat during this early era of cinema was not disregarded by Barrie. While he had high hopes for the medium, he

commented that “[t]he technical matters are obviously of huge importance and difficulty, and it remains to be seen whether the cinema experts can solve them” (Barrie, “Scenario” 277). By incorporating scenes such as the mermaid lagoon, as well as the end scene in which Peter is framed by moonlight — bringing his shadow to the fore, Barrie invited possible audiences to watch and immerse themselves in the spectacle that is Neverland, perhaps leading them to recognise Neverland as never before.

Some elements from both the play and the novel are clearly evident throughout the proposed film script. All the main characters are there, as are many of the key scenes, yet what is different is the telling of the story. The new profusion of descriptive visual details, such as Peter’s opening flying scene, and the technical prowess required to make the filmic Neverland a believable space makes it clear that Barrie thought that the ordinary stage and novel could not kindle the craving for marvels, because both media in a sense confine the wonders of Neverland because of the limitations of the imaginations of the audience. This is most evident in the way Barrie wants Peter to look like he is truly flying. In the novel, readers must rely on what they imagine a little boy to look like whilst he is flying. On stage, the actor is propped up by harnesses and wires which limit the audience’s suspension of disbelief. Some of the most cynical audience members may even focus on the wires alone, trying to figure out how the pulley system works. This failure to suspend disbelief concerning Peter’s flying prevents the audience from immersing themselves fully in Neverland. Barrie even mentions in *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* that “the moment you doubt whether you can fly, you cease forever to be able to do it” (Barrie, *PPKG* 27; ch. 2). Cinema, on the other hand, was a new medium with untold possibilities.

Barrie continually tinkered with the story of Peter Pan and mentions an instance of the necessity of revision in his dedication *To the Five*. Peter Pan enthusiasts know the familiar line that in order to be able to fly, one requires not only happy thoughts, but also a sprinkling of fairy dust.<sup>56</sup> The fairy dust was added after the first stage production due to a request by parents. Many young children had gone home and “tried it from their beds and needed surgical attention” after having watched the play, thinking that all they needed to do so was the belief that they could (Barrie, *PP* 6).

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<sup>56</sup> In the 1928 play, Barrie refers to “fairy dust” (Barrie, *PP* 35) while the 1953 Disney film refers to “pixie dust” (Geronimi, et al. 00:17:41 min.). I shall use the terms interchangeably.

## The play gets immortalised in print

Barrie had completed the play in its final form by its second production in 1905 and future alterations consisted “only in the addition, omission, or alteration of old lines and scraps of business” (Green 109). It took Barrie another 24 years however to finally publish the definitive play script in 1928. The 1911 novel version contains “nearly every word of the play as acted”, and according to Green, “is indeed much nearer to the acting script in use today than the published edition of the play itself” (115). Green calls the 1928 play version “charmingly polished”, yet it has been “cut and beautified” and thus subsequently “lost just a little of its virility in the process” (115).

Small differences from the 1903-04 manuscript to the 1928 published version include the names of characters — Michael is Alexander and Tinker Bell is Tippy or Tippytoe; the manuscript is written in six scene form rather than five acts; in earlier sections of the play the order and nature of the games played in Neverland are different as well (Jack 102-03). And as outlined previously, the ending was different, the characters had varying degrees of significance (for example, Mr Darling had much greater dramatic importance) and Peter had not yet become the central character of the play.

Perhaps because of Barrie’s own tendencies towards revision and having, in his own words, “hacked and added to the play” (Barrie, *PP* 14), he would not have minded all the various retellings and adaptations of his character and story. He had cemented the character of Peter in the imaginations of thousands through the publication of the novel in 1911 and especially that of the play in 1928, and whatever was to follow would simply be the mischievous Peter resurrecting himself in order to immortalise his being once again through the art of adaptation.

## Conclusion

From the images discussed throughout the chapter it is clear that as Peter emerged as a focal character and developed from a baby to a pre-adolescent in the story itself, so too did his image from stage to page. As is evidenced there are certain visual characteristics which have remained a part of his image during his early years, such as the leggings and tunic, being a result of the need to create an androgynous figure

on stage. The way in which Peter Pan is physically portrayed throughout various stage costumes, and in illustrations, is a reflection of the way in which the character himself has been reinterpreted and recreated. Each change of illustration and costume designed stems from the need to create a Peter which fits into a particular interpretation of Barrie's story.

What is also evident is that Barrie himself was indeed a prolific reviser of his own work. Once he had told the infant Peter's initial story of his adventures in Kensington Gardens, Peter indeed had to grow up, albeit only a few years, so as to fit into the newest adventure Barrie had created for him. Though Barrie continued to (re)interpret and (re)create Peter's story, some elements did remain the same — Peter's ability to fly, the companionship of the Lost Boys and Darlings, dastardly pirates and above all the wonders of Neverland. His continual tinkering with both the stage play and novel is an indication that he believed that neither was able to do the story justice. He saw the novel and stage play as supplementary sources to be used to help the film achieve a "note of wonder", allowing Neverland to come alive. I think that Barrie understood the possibilities of film and how it could instill a sense of creativity, wonder, and marvel in audiences, and that film is able to make Neverland real. Barrie's generous gifting of the rights to *Peter Pan* to the Great Ormond Street Hospital in 1929 is further proof of his relinquishment of ownership of Peter's story and his blessing for others to continue with its retelling. Because Barrie had already "fixed" the story of Peter Pan as "history and commentary in *Peter and Wendy*", he would not "have minded all the films and artefacts that [. . .] followed" (Zipes xxvi).

## Chapter 4

# Freeing the imagination: the Peter Pan story on film

Peter Pan has featured in the collective imagination for generations. He is not some entity who came into existence only a few years ago, but has existed in the hearts and minds of children and adults for over a century. In becoming part of these collective cultural imaginings Peter's image has not only been solidified, but also used in multitudinous ways, from peanut butter jars to bus logos (Kavey 2). And in no other way has Peter's image and story been perpetuated so continually as through the medium of film.

In this chapter I will discuss the Peter Pan story on film, by analysing three film versions: starting with the 1924 silent film, followed by Disney's 1953 animated film, and ending with the 2003 live action film directed by P.J. Hogan. Each film was specifically chosen for the purposes of this dissertation.<sup>57</sup> The 1924 silent film by Paramount Pictures was chosen as it was not only the first Peter Pan film, but was also seen by the author himself. The Disney film of 1953 cannot be ignored as the Walt Disney Company is one of the "most prolific and lucrative twentieth-century adaptor[s] of classic children's fiction" (Cartmell 169). The 2003 live action film was chosen because, even though it was a box office failure, it was well received by critics and fans alike and praised for its fidelity to the source material (*Rotten Tomatoes*, "Peter Pan 2003"). The discussion of each film will focus on highlighting certain semiotic elements of the Peter Pan story that have been reinterpreted and recreated, and considering how these adaptations engage with the original Peter Pan story.

In the preceding chapter, Peter Pan's physical portrayal on stage and in illustrations was discussed. This discussion will be continued here, focusing particularly on Peter's physical appearance in the Disney and Hogan films. The continuing exploration of this physical portrayal is crucial as it is evidence of Jakobson's notion of intersemiotic translation (114). As noted previously, Barrie provided little to no information as to Peter's appearance and thus it has been left to the film makers to

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<sup>57</sup> See Appendix C for a brief list of films based on the Peter Pan story.

render their own version of what Peter looks like, transmuting the verbal signs by Barrie into more fully developed images and so creating new visual interpretations of Peter Pan. In essence, this is the reason for adaptation — to reinterpret the verbal signs of the written word into nonverbal signs such as the complexity of images found on screen.

## *Peter Pan* (Silent Film, 1924)

Even though Barrie was captivated by the medium of film, it took Hollywood 20 years to persuade him to sell the film rights to *Peter Pan*. The contender who finally won the rights was Paramount Pictures. Paramount was drawn by the possibilities of the aerial action sequences as well as the plot. Even though they chose not to use Barrie's proposed film scenario and instead opted for a film based on the play, Barrie was contractually given the final word on casting (Tatar 322-23).<sup>58</sup> Barrie may have been disappointed in the final product, but the film itself was a success.<sup>59</sup> The film, thought to be lost, was discovered in the 1950s by James Card (a well-known figure in the field of film preservation) while working for the Eastman Kodak Company. He and film preservationist Iris Barry worked together to restore the film from the original nitrate print (Tatar 324-25).

The following note (adapted from an introduction of Barrie's to the typescript of the play) appeared as an insert before any of the action of the film and appears to reinforce Brenon's approach of providing audiences with a filmed stage play rather than a new cinematic treatment of the story.<sup>60</sup>

The difference between a Fairy Play and a realistic one is that in the former all the characters are really children with a child's outlook on life. This applies to the so-called adults of the story as well as the young people. Pull the beard off the fairy king, and you will find the face of a child.

This then is the spirit of the play. And it is necessary that all of you — no matter what age you may have individually attained — should be children. PETER PAN will laughingly blow the fairy dust in your eyes and presto! You'll be back in the nursery, and once more you'll believe in fairies, and the play moves on.

(Barrie, qtd. in Brenon 0:01:22-0:02:01 min.)

One would think that perhaps the word "play" would have been replaced with the word "story", in order to invite audiences into a fantastical world that speaks to both

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<sup>58</sup> After Barrie had seen Betty Bronson's screen test, he immediately contacted her to say that she would be the next Peter Pan without consulting Paramount first (Tatar 323).

<sup>59</sup> See pages 65-66 (ch.3) for further reasons as to why Barrie was displeased.

<sup>60</sup> Barrie's introduction to the typescript of the play was titled "A Note: On the Acting of a Fairy Play" (1904-05) (Barrie, [*Peter Pan*] i-ii).

children and adults alike — a world which is markedly different from the constrictive boundaries created by a stage play and set free by the possibilities of cinema and its potential to create an imaginary place such as Neverland in the realm of cinematic reality. One can share in Barrie’s disappointment with the silent film because, although Brenon does sometimes show the technical abilities of cinema to bring the story to life, the movie fails to adapt the play for the medium of film.

It is evident that Paramount’s impressive special effects are in part to thank for the movie’s triumph. The most notable are the flying scenes, the sequence in which the Lost Boys magically appear whilst gathering around Wendy, and especially the close-ups of Tinker Bell (Tatar 323). Tinker Bell, portrayed by the actress Virginia Browne Faire, was truly a wonder and perhaps a shining example of the technological power of film. On the stage she was reduced to merely a spotlight flickering and casting shadows on the stage and a few well-timed tinkling bells, inciting audience members to *try* and believe that fairies exist. On film, she came to life and viewers could see that fairies do exist.



Fig. 17: Tinker Bell trying to free Peter’s shadow from the drawer in the 1924 film.

The forethought and technical aspects that allowed Tinker Bell to be presented “live” on the silver screen are interesting and effective. A number of technical aspects were incorporated into the character and enabled the director and cinematographer, namely Herbert Brenon and James Wong Howe, to follow Barrie’s command that Tinker Bell should be a “thousand times brighter than the nightlights beside the children’s bedsides” (Pomerance 28). Various processes were combined to achieve this. The first was a technical lighting invention in which a light bulb was attached to a wire and received its power through a rheostat: this enabled the bulb to be brightened and dimmed on command — a useful technique that would later be used

in Tinker Bell's dying scenes. The second was a camera process involving two close-up shots in which Faire is posed while wearing her costume, a long diaphanous gown.<sup>61</sup> The shots include Tinker Bell tugging at the dresser drawer to alert Peter to the whereabouts of his shadow, and one at the end when Peter incites Tinker Bell's help in keeping the window of the nursery shut so that Wendy will be unable to return to her mother. Murray Pomerance notes that there are two ways in which these live-action shots "miniaturizing" Faire could have been constructed. The first was through the process of straight photography, which made use of giant sets. The second is the use of an in-camera matte process in which Faire was photographed separately, and these were then printed over the two previously mentioned close-up shots. Interestingly, Pomerance also notes, that "[t]he work is of such a refined quality that it is impossible to tell with the naked eye which route was taken" (29).



*Fig. 18:* Close-up of Tinker Bell.

The bright luminosity with which Tinker Bell glows is made even more prominent through the use of different lighting techniques incorporated into these shots. Howe used low-key lighting techniques in the first scene in which Tinker Bell is introduced and her luminous, bright electrical light immediately contrasts with the candlelight and gaslight used for the nursery's nightlights (Pomerance 29). Audience members are also aware that this is no ordinary light as the movements with which the incandescent globe busies itself indicates that this creature is truly alive — she whizzes through the open window, hops hither and thither, and finally settles inside a vase on the mantelpiece. As Pomerance notes, "[t]he light moves with exceptional rapidity, appearing occasionally to halt in mid-air and take stock of itself for a moment before jumping to a new position" (30).

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<sup>61</sup> Her dress bears a strong resemblance to the Yorkshire fairies, which were "photographed" in 1917 by two young girls (Pomerance 28).

The close-ups provide viewers with a glimpse of Tinker Bell's personality, something at which audience members in the theatre could merely guess. There are not many close-ups of Tinker Bell in the silent film due to Barrie's insistence that "it would spoil the illusion" (Slide 122). I would have to disagree with this statement of Barrie's as it is exactly these close-ups which make Tinker Bell more than just a fairy in a viewer's imagination, and instead a part of the viewer's reality.

The aforementioned examples of the dresser drawer and window shot are clear examples of the close-up technique bringing this character to life. When Peter Pan enters the nursery, he summons Tinker Bell and asks her to show him where his shadow is. The viewer then sees her land on the handle of the topmost dresser drawer. She begins tugging at the handle, hampered by the fact that she is unable to place her feet on a solid surface, and her focus is solely on her grip upon the handle when she turns and gives Peter, who is off-camera, a winning smile. At the end of the film, viewers are once again presented with the mischievous character of Tinker Bell — as she and Peter attempt to keep the nursery window shut, an effects shot allows us to see her once again grin at Peter Pan off-camera (Pomerance 30).

However, the rest of the film fails to fulfil the promise of the Tinker Bell animation.<sup>62</sup> An example of his adaptive failure is seen in the nursery scene. As Hanson notes, the first time audiences see Peter is when he uneventfully "steps into the window rather than making a bigger impact by flying" (137).<sup>63</sup> Because Brenon adheres to the stage directions, his nursery scene becomes "long and claustrophobic" because the scene is filled with actions that are unnecessary in the context of a film, which can make use of editing techniques (Hanson 137). An example of this is when Nana barks, the children run to hide behind the curtain. On stage, the purpose of this action was to attach the flying wires to the actors. This same action is not needed in the film as the flying can be edited in, yet Brenon opted to shoot a continuous scene in which the curtain device serves no purpose (Hanson 138). Brenon may have lost a scene that was crucial to the stage play, yet if he had recreated and perhaps even added to this scene by reinterpreting it, he would have been able to introduce Peter in an

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<sup>62</sup> Refer to pages 65-66 (ch. 3) for further explanation of Barrie's unhappiness.

<sup>63</sup> Both the Disney and Hogan film sidestep this dilemma by presenting Peter in previous shots where the possibility of his being able to fly is hinted at. For example in the Hogan film, Peter is seen spying on the children playing inside the nursery. Once Nana has noticed his presence and alerted the children to look out the window, he disappears. The upwards camera shot of the children looking down allows the audience to see a silhouette of Peter on top of the window ledge and the downward shot of the children looking up allows the audience to see how high the second storey of the house is, allowing a glimpse into the possibility of something fantastical about to happen (00:01:50-00:02:20 min.).

original way and aided the audience's ability to believe in the possibility of children flying by having that action happen instantaneously.

While *Tinker Bell* is a testament to the fact that, had Paramount so wished, they could perhaps have explored the further possibilities of a filmic Peter Pan, the above-mentioned scenario is proof of its shortcomings. And this is why the silent film version may be seen as a poor adaptation — in the sense that hardly any adaptation took place. Paramount did not alter, adjust, or make the story more suitable for the new medium (Hutcheon 7). The essence of adaptation is not to provide a visual equivalent, but to make it more suitable for the new medium (Hutcheon 7-8). Referring back to Hutcheon's description of the elements of an adaptation, it is apparent that the silent film's process of creation was flawed, as there is a marked lack of (re)interpretation and (re)creation. The necessity of these processes in transposing a story to a new medium, and the lack thereof in this film, is perhaps the shortcoming Barrie was referring to when he felt that Paramount had merely repeated what had been done on stage.

For Barrie was aware of what could be done on film and adapted his screenplay accordingly. An example is where Barrie added a flashback scene when Peter tells Wendy about hearing his parents discuss his future. Barrie provides the audience with a scene in which Peter grows up, from a baby into a clerk working at a desk. Barrie's idea of how to achieve this effect is not novel as he mentions that it should be "the same sort of cinema treatment that is sometimes given to illustrate the growth of flowers and plants" (Barrie, "Scenario" 284). By incorporating this scene Barrie added to his own story and created a new depth to Peter's character, allowing the audience to share in Peter's reason for his fear of growing up.

It is interesting however that it seems as though some "indigenization", a form a cultural adaptation, did occur in the (re)telling of the Peter Pan story. Paramount Pictures is an American company and the story of Peter Pan is British. When the film was released, there was a notable difference in the children and Peter's allegiance. While the story itself was still set in Neverland, the Darlings now lived in the United States rather than London. When Peter and the Lost Boys are triumphant over the pirates, they replace the Skull and Cross Bones with the Stars and Stripes. Wendy tells the boys to "die as American gentlemen" rather than as English gentlemen. And Peter, when deciding to return to Neverland, clearly refuses the offer of becoming the president of the United States (presumably in response to Mrs Darling telling him

what he could become if he were to become a man). Tatar reasons that this indigenisation may be due to the “patriotic pride of the postwar generation [of WW I which] led to the conversion of the British characters into American children” (324). While this statement does have some truth to it, it forms part of perhaps an even simpler reason and one which ties in with the theory of adaptation. Bearing in mind that adaptation too has its own specificity and that it is created for “*someone in some context, and they are created by someone with that intent*”, it is apparent that this 1924 version of Peter Pan engages within a particular society and a general culture (Hutcheon 26). Perhaps Paramount decided to include this Americanisation of a popular British play because of the “patriotic pride of a postwar generation” or an attempt to steal away a British National Treasure and giving it to the children of the United States. Or perhaps the reason was to make Peter Pan, the Darlings, and the Lost Boys more identifiable and accessible to the American public. Neverland is already a far-away imaginary island: why stretch the American public’s imagination even further by forcing them to identify with a middle-class British family on another far-away island?

An adaptation is usually from a novel or short story to film, or in some instances, to the stage. The 1924 Peter Pan adaptation is from an original stage play to a film. To some extent, this made the film adaptation easier as the dramatisation has already occurred. Unlike a novel, in which some information, such as descriptions and narrations, must first be dramatised, a stage playscript already contains much of the action as both stage and film are showing modes. When adapting from a telling to a showing mode, some of the text (for example a character’s thoughts) must be transcoded into actions, sounds, speech and visual images suitable for the stage (Hutcheon 39-40). Invariably, some actions are lost on stage. As Hutcheon points out, “the limitations of the physical stage [. . .] add restrictions on the possible action and characterization” (Hutcheon 42) and this restriction is evident in the character of Tinker Bell.

As mentioned earlier, the way in which Brenon and Howe chose to depict Tinker Bell through the innovative use of special lighting techniques and close-ups allows viewers to see her character in a way which is impossible onstage. Clever editing and cutting to close-ups of certain actions Tinker Bell performs demonstrate the advantage film has over the stage. Not only can the art of film editing be compared to the “equivalent [of a] magician’s sleight of hand” (Sontag 256), but it allows us to

recognise that film, unlike the theatre, “can represent *anything*” (Hutcheon 59) — even if that *anything* is a character “no larger than Mrs Darling’s fist” (Barrie, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* 28). Cinematic techniques such as lighting, editing, long shots, and close-ups give film many advantages over the stage as it is a “multitrack medium that, with the aid of the mediating camera, can both direct and expand the possibilities of perception” (Hutcheon 42-43).

While this film has appropriated some aspects of the Peter Pan story, it seems to have done so only on a superficial level. Paramount and Brenon are guilty of “slavish copying”, instead of making the “adapted material [their] own” (Hutcheon 20). If they had been more adventurous with the film script and perhaps included such scenes as Barrie’s football game played high on the treetops, the silent film may have supplanted the prior work of the play as viewers would have been presented with a new Neverland — one they had not seen before. By merely presenting the play as an on-screen filmed stage performance, Paramount clearly showed a “lack of [. . .] creativity and skill [in making] the text [their] own” (Hutcheon 21). Their failing is made all the more poignant because of the exceptional work done in bringing Tinker Bell to life. Tinker Bell in this film is an indication of the ability of film to expand the viewer’s perception of a character’s performance.

## **Disney sinks its hook into *Peter Pan* (Film, 1953)**

The next film version would be released 29 years later by the Walt Disney Company and is a good example of Bassnett and Lefevere’s theory of the cultural influences on translations and adaptations. This section will aim to show how the Disney film was influenced by the post-war era (WW II) and the influences that the different genders within the Disney Company had on the film. The film was an animated adaptation of the beloved story and Walt Disney himself believed that “animation was the best medium for realizing Barrie’s vision” (Ohmer 151). In 1952 Disney elaborated by saying:

I don’t believe that what James M. Barrie actually intended ever came out on the stage. If you read the play carefully, following the author’s suggestion on interpretation and staging, I think you’ll agree. It’s almost a perfect vehicle for cartooning. In fact, one might think that Barrie wrote the play with cartoons in mind. I don’t think he was ever happy with the stage version. Live actors are limited, but with cartoons we can give free rein to the imagination.

(qtd. in Tatar 325-26)

As Susan Ohmer points out, cartoons provide the opportunity to escape the constraints of the material world (151-52). Before the advent of sophisticated computer-generated imagery (CGI) and motion-capture technology, the medium of cartoon allowed the animator's imagination to run wild. This was to a certain extent his only limitation, for whatever can be dreamed can be reproduced on screen. With the story of Peter Pan, the animators did not have to rely on their own imaginations, they were already presented with a wealth of spectacular images and were aided by the author's "suggestion on interpretation and staging" (qtd. in Tatar 325).

Disney began negotiating for the rights of Peter Pan in 1935, and came to an arrangement in October 1938 with Great Ormond Street Hospital.<sup>64</sup> Initially, the film was to be released in late 1942 or early 1943. However, with the onset of World War II,<sup>65</sup> character and story-line development did not commence until well after the end of the war. The years between 1948 and 1952 were the most intense period of production on the film. Yet even as late as 1950, there was still an on-going debate whether the film should be an animated feature or live action.

The Disney studios hired the Audience Research Institute (ARI) in 1943 to help them determine whether they should film in live action or cartoon, and also whether or not they should proceed with the project.<sup>66</sup> There were four prominent questions that the Disney studio wanted answered:

What kind of interest was there in *Peter Pan* as a Disney film in particular? Would viewers rather see it as an animated film or a live-action feature? How did the public interest in the project compare with interest in "A" pictures from other Hollywood studios? [. . . Which] demographic groups liked and disliked live-action and animated film?

(Ohmer 158)

The ARI's findings were not encouraging, as they found that the appeal of *Peter Pan* as a cartoon was below that of live-action Hollywood films. Concerning the demographic groups, viewers between ages 18 and 30 showed the least interest and considered the story "silly" and "childish". For the average film, viewers between the ages of 18 and 30 made up two-thirds of the box office, meaning that Disney would

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<sup>64</sup> Barrie was still alive when these negotiations were underway. As he granted Great Ormond Street Hospital the rights to the story in 1929, Barrie was presumably not involved in these negotiations. Whether he had any thoughts on Disney's attempt to adapt his play remains to be discovered.

<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, Disney's sequel *Return to Never Land* (2002) takes place in London during WW II.

<sup>66</sup> I am relying on Ohmer for the information regarding the study conducted as I have been unable to procure the original study.

not earn back its costs. What the ARI's research indicated was that there was very little interest for a cartoon film about the story. Yet, despite these findings, Disney decided to proceed and used the information from the survey as an indication as to which areas would need the most work (Ohmer 158). An example of this is found in the fact that viewers between the ages of 12 and 30 disliked the theme of eternal youth and were in favour of a more adult romance. The Disney studios thus decided that in order to make up for the story's association with childhood, they would stress the humorous potential of puppy love between Peter and Wendy. The studio decided that the following factors would make a winning combination for their film — romance, popular actors, music, and creative animation (Ohmer 158).

The sources used by both Walt Disney himself and the animators for the Disney film were several versions of the Peter Pan story. According to Ohmer, the 1911 novel *Peter and Wendy* was supposedly even annotated by Disney himself (154).<sup>67</sup> Even though the play was touring the country in 1950, Disney avoided attending it and refused to see it while his animators were working on the cartoon (Ohmer 154). What greatly influenced the creative process of the film was the Disney studio's use of not only the ARI survey, but also an in-house survey. The data garnered from this survey was based on the opinions of the senior animators as well as those of employees from various levels within the company.

The Disney studio organised production conferences during the 1940s and 1950s which were much more formal than those held during the 1930s. The conferences of the '40s and '50s were much more systematic and included a wider group of people working within the organisation. There was the "critical" group composed of the senior animators and the "noncritical" group comprising junior members of the animation staff (assistants and the women from ink and paint) and other employees throughout the organisation who did not work in animation (secretaries, gardeners, operators and janitors). As Ohmer points out, the memoranda from these different conferences are invaluable, as they allow one to track the changing views from the different levels within the company, as well as to compare the views of the senior animators with those of the junior animators (161). And for the first time women were allowed to express their views on a film during its progress. It is clear that the research department endeavoured to include an equal number of both male and

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<sup>67</sup> I have been unable to ascertain which exact versions were used.

female members in the noncritical group (Ohmer 160-61). Even more interesting is that later on the studio began to separate the comments made on the production by gender, giving one the opportunity to study the different gender responses to this particular film.

Some examples of the fascinating data gathered at these conferences include the following: the animators offered concrete ideas for the modernisation of the story and included suggestions such as those of creating a sense of puppy love between Peter and Wendy and a love/jealousy angle between Wendy and Tinker Bell, and emphasising the role of Captain Hook in order for there to be “more guts and fun in the narrative” (Ohmer 162). The noncritical group on the other hand, “wanted to preserve the youthful innocence of the tale they loved” (Ohmer 163). In 1952 there was a vast difference of opinion between the two groups. For example, the noncritical group ranked Wendy lowest while the critical group ranked Peter the lowest — 30% of the critical group ranked Peter as “excellent” compared to the 72% of the noncritical group (Ohmer 164). Interestingly, during the “Your Mother and Mine” song, Wendy fell out of favour with the women. According to the conference notes the reason for this was due to the poor quality of the animation. Yet this particular scene gained favour from the men. What does become clear from studying these many memoranda, taken over the course of a few years and as the film neared the end of its production, is that while the men may have been more positive about the adventure and action elements in the film than the women, many of the women also enjoyed them. Similarly the scenes emphasising home and children, which were preferred by the women, were shown to be enjoyed by the men as well (Ohmer 166).

It is clear from these findings that the groups moved closer together in their preferences. What evolved was that each group’s opinion was taken into account in order to improve the film and make it more accessible to various audience members. The success of the film thus lies in its ability to provide elements that can be enjoyed by all. The process of adaptation for this Disney film is therefore an excellent example of “negotiation, in which each group comes at least to acknowledge the interests of the other [. . .] it permits multiple points of identification, in which viewers can cross traditional gender boundaries in their enjoyment of the film” (Ohmer 166).<sup>68</sup> The fact that Disney sought varied opinions from within its own company and

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<sup>68</sup> See Eco on page 29 (ch. 2).

especially seeking that of the general public (from the initial ARI survey), makes the 1953 Peter Pan film an important part of this dissertation. It provides a prime example of how the culture of the time influenced the adaptation process, showing that it was a “negotiation” involving groups that were allowed to reveal their various opinions on certain elements of the story, and showing how the responses to the various groups were combined to create a Disney classic.<sup>69</sup>

While the Disney version does borrow much from the play, there are some deviations from the main story caused mainly by elaboration and embellishment, and which adhere to the “winning” formula devised by the studio based on the survey (romance, popular actors, music, and creative animation). It is the last of these, the creative animation, which enables Barrie’s story to be brought to audiences as never before. While Disney may have taken some creative license, it is the flying sequences, especially the one through London, which truly show the possibilities offered by animation and vindicate Disney’s earlier statement of the possibilities of cartooning.



*Fig. 19: Peter Pan and the Darlings on their flight to Neverland.*

As noted previously, the flying sequences are one of the main reasons why Barrie wanted a film version of his story (Ohmer 169). Barrie’s own proposed scenario for a film opens with Peter flying through a wood, across a river and eventually alighting on his goat. The scene description even goes so far as to state that “[t]he flying must be far better and more elaborate than in the acted play, and should cover of course a far wider expanse” (Barrie, “Scenario” 278). In the play, the first flying sequence is limited to the nursery and the children are only able to practise their flying in this

<sup>69</sup> See Bassnett and Lefevere 22, 27-29 (ch. 2).

confined space. Only the stage directions give any indication of where they fly to after leaving the nursery: “[. . .] flies out of the window over the trees of the square and over the house-tops” (Barrie, *PP* 36).



Fig. 20: They alight on the minute hand of Big Ben.

In the Disney film, however, this scene is elaborated upon and the stage directions leap off the screen along with the children. The ease with which the children and Peter take off after thinking their “happy thoughts”, being sprinkled with pixie dust, and practising their new ability to fly in the nursery, makes one believe it is possible, especially since the sequence continues to show their flight path. They circle a chimney, whiz in and out of a window and alight on the minute hand of Big Ben, to then soar off over St. Paul’s and London Bridge. Interestingly, this sequence has become an important part of the iconography for Peter Pan. The image of Peter and the children landing on Big Ben is not to be found in any of Barrie’s versions, but was made famous by Disney as it was used in their publicity campaign and also accompanied many reviews. Many viewers think it is emblematic of the story itself, yet it is an image entirely constructed by Disney (Ohmer 170). Yet it is a logical embellishment of the children’s flight over London which, true to Barrie’s directions, covers “a far wider expanse” (Barrie, “Scenario” 278).



Fig. 21: They take off for Neverland.

This sequence, to which much time and care was given, makes up more than 7% of the film's 75-minute running time. A new technological innovation, namely a multiplane camera, enabled animators to add vivacity to the flying sequences (Tatar 326).<sup>70</sup> This sequence, unlike any other in the film, shows viewers the power of animation and the "opportunities cartoons offer to celebrate the freedom and joy of childhood" (Ohmer 169). The praise for the film was divided, but many recognised the wonderful part animation played in bringing Peter Pan to life. Mae Tinée said:

Thanks to the wizardry of the animated cartoon, Peter no longer needs to be a fragile girl hoisted around a stage on wires. The crocodile who ticked, Captain Hook, and Nana the nurse [ . . . ] need not be awkwardly contrived. They can do and perform any feat demanded by the author's animation with the greatest of ease.  
 ("Disney's *Peter Pan*")

The *Monthly Film Bulletin* stated that "because in this story so many of the characters fly, as we fly in dreams; and since the movement in cartoons must be so much faster than in life, this flying satisfies us far more than the usual whizzing earthbound chases of beasts and humans" (qtd. in Ohmer 179).

Walt Disney admitted in 1953 that —

[t]he greatest challenge I have ever faced is the task — the very pleasurable task — of bringing Peter Pan to life in a dream world which only he and his friends can see — and only the animated cartoon can reveal to us in all its magic.  
 (qtd. in Hanson 201)

<sup>70</sup> A multiplane camera is a special motion picture camera which creates an almost three dimensional effect. This is achieved by moving a "number of pieces of artwork past the camera at various speeds and at various distances from one another" (Saporito, "Multiplane Camera").

And it seems as though Disney did indeed succeed in bringing Peter Pan to life by using the magic of animation to create distinct and memorable visual sequences such as described previously. However, not everyone shared the positive opinion about the new version of the story. Bosley Crowther wrote in a review that “Mr Disney’s picture [. . .] has the story but not the spirit of Peter Pan as it was plainly conceived by its author [. . .] that’s not to say it isn’t a wholly amusing and engaging piece of work within the defined limitations of the [. . .] ‘Disney style’ ” (qtd. in Hanson 206). Even in 1990, a reviewer from *Entertainment Weekly* claimed that *Peter Pan* “doesn’t quite stand with the best in the Disney canon” (qtd. in Hanson 208).<sup>71</sup>

As Hutcheon notes, there are many reasons why a particular story may be adapted and one reason she gives is that the new work may desire to “artistically supplant the prior works” (20). Nowhere is the more evident than with the Disney version of Peter Pan. The result of Disney’s stringent campaign of reissuing “classics” from the Disney vault is that contemporary audiences view this version as the definitive Peter Pan story. Kim mentions a paper written by Francis Bonner and Jason Jacobs in which they discuss the “phenomenon of the first encounter” (56). In it they describe how a “person’s understanding and reception of an adapted text is influenced by the first text he or she encountered (whether original or adaptation)” (Kim 57). Audiences’ expectations are thus shaped by their memories of the version that they first encountered. This notion relates to Hutcheon and Stam’s concept of intertextuality and how we compare works we know with ones we are experiencing (see: Stam 64; Hutcheon 18).<sup>72</sup>

Though the Disney film may not be deemed to “stand with the best in the Disney canon”, its success can be measured by the way its own reinterpretation of the Peter Pan story has infiltrated other Peter Pan films. As mentioned, audiences’ expectations are shaped by their memory of a particular work and part of the pleasure in experiencing an adaptation is “the familiarity bred through repetition and memory” (Hutcheon 21). By experiencing “adaptations as palimpsests” (Hutcheon 8), each film of Peter Pan becomes haunted, not only by the versions of Barrie’s story, but also by the previous film adaptations (see p. 31; ch. 2). Each film adaptation of Peter Pan displays some form of “open or covert citations and allusions” to previous

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<sup>71</sup> Disney’s *Peter Pan* has been reissued numerous times and also sparked sequels and prequels including *Return to Neverland* (2002) and the *Tinker Bell* series (2008-).

<sup>72</sup> See also pages 31-32 (ch. 2) for further elaboration on this point.

film versions, and whether deliberate or unintentional, there exists within each “repetitions and transformations” that trigger the viewer’s memory (Abrams 325). Thus since the Disney adaptation had become recognised as “*the* definitive adaptation”, it in turn “necessitates the creation of later adaptations that visually reference the Disney predecessor in order to be recognized as a ‘true’ adaptation” (Kim 57). And this is indeed the case when comparing the 1953 film with the 2003 version. The concept of “visually referencing the Disney predecessor” will be considered in more detail in the following sections.

## **Peter Pan: a shadow of a boy**

The image that comes to mind when thinking of Peter Pan is perhaps also the image which best defines him as a character — that of the cocky youth proclaiming his supremacy over one and all, personified by his body language with his hands on his hips. And this image is accompanied by a belted green tunic with leaf-shaped ends and green tights, an image distilled from the stage tradition and perpetuated by Disney.<sup>73</sup>



Fig. 22: Original theatrical poster 1953.

Yet Peter was not always a haughty looking youth — he was once a baby only “one day old” in Barrie’s own words in response to Nina Boucicault asking him who Peter was (Hanson 29). And yet, over the years it seems as though Peter has indeed

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<sup>73</sup> See pages 59-65 (ch. 3)

grown up. Even though Peter may have fought against growing up, others seem to have forced him to, and immortalised their vision of him in various images throughout the years.

While Disney's Peter was drawn male, he still kept the costuming of the stage Peter. This is significant because, as mentioned previously (see p. 78), the possibilities of animation are infinite and Disney had the opportunity to render a Peter Pan closer to Barrie's original depiction of him. Kim makes the following observations about Disney's Peter's costume: Peter is drawn as a masculine child; his waist is cinched in with a belt and his weapon is incorporated into his costume — hinting at violence; the ends of his tunic are ragged, signifying not only nature, but also ostracism from civilisation as this signifies an unkempt appearance (35-36). It is also after the appearance of the Disney film that any hint of him as a "liminal, gender-ambiguous figure" as portrayed by the various female actors in the stage productions ceases to exist and instead he becomes "a young man" (Kim 36).



Fig. 23: Disney's Peter in green leggings and tunic, with belted dagger and red-feathered cap.

## ***Peter Pan* (Film, 2003)**

And nearly half a century after Disney's release, this imagery of Peter as a young man comes to fruition in Hogan's 2003 adaptation, *Peter Pan*. In Hogan's film, Peter is portrayed by thirteen-year-old Jeremy Sumpter and is dressed more like Barrie's literary Peter, albeit in the Disney green.



Fig. 24: Sumpter as Peter Pan.

Sumpter's Peter wears a costume made from vines and leaves, intersecting across his bare chest. The leafy pants end at the knees and he is barefooted. Kim notes that "this half-nudity does not suggest a return to a Victorian celebration of childhood purity, but rather celebrates Peter as an adolescent boy on the cusp of manhood" (36). Also incorporated into the costume is Peter's flute which, unlike the Bedford and Frampton flutes, resembles the Disney version pan pipes.

This 2003 live-action film adaptation titled *Peter Pan* is perhaps (thus far) the most visually spectacular version of the Peter Pan story as it brings the visual splendour of Neverland to life with its state-of-the-art special effects.<sup>74</sup> However, as Peter Hollindale notes:

This is not a film for the textual purist. But it retains the spirit and essence of the play unerringly, making use of the modern director's armoury of resources and special effects to do things that Barrie would certainly have done if he had had the means.

("Hundred Years" 212)

Writers Hogan (also the director) and Michael Goldenberg adhere closely to both the novel and the play, in some instances even borrowing the dialogue from the two. The Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children, who licensed the film, found it to be "in keeping with the original work whilst communicating to an audience with modern sensibilities" (qtd. in Tatar 334). Hogan also stated that he emphasised the noble qualities of the character of Peter Pan, claiming that this was what "J.M. Barrie

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<sup>74</sup> Refer to page 5 (ch. 1).

originally intended — a heroic, magical, real boy who fights pirates, saves children and never grows up” (Tatar 334).

It is also the first time that the children from the play and novel are actually played fully by children (although the child characters’ voices in Disney’s *Peter Pan* were provided by children):<sup>75</sup> Hollindale, ignoring Disney’s young voice artists, argues that this created the “first authentic performance of the story” (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 212). Yet Hollindale argues that, even if it had been possible for children to act the parts when the play was first performed in 1904, it would not have had the same impact as today. He mentions without further elaboration that “[i]n Barrie’s play script there are hinted institutions about childhood closer to the norms of 2004 than those of his own period” (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 212). And it is precisely because these two children are modern children that they are able to both revise and reveal Barrie’s characters (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 212). Wendy, played by Rachel Hurd-Wood, is able to undergo the change from a playful girl to a cognisant young woman. She realises that Peter is indeed a tragic hero, incapable of “feeling” because of his refusal to grow up and that this is his “greatest pretend” (Barrie, *PP* 34). This line interestingly enough is taken from Barrie’s stage directions (*PP* 88) and a good example of the director using various sources to create the dialogue. And perhaps this is why the film is not for “textual purists” as the film is composited of various sources including the original stage play and books, as well as referencing the Disney adaptation. Thus the film is faithful to Barrie’s fluid ideas of Peter Pan rather than faithful to one published version.



Fig. 25. Wendy Darling (Rachel Hurd-Wood) in Hogan’s 2003 adaptation.

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<sup>75</sup> The children within the film were indeed voiced by children themselves, ranging in ages between 10 and 18 years of age (Tommy Luske, who gave voice to Michael, was the youngest, being only four years old). Peter Pan was voiced by 14-year-old Bobby Driscoll while Wendy was voiced by 13-year-old Kathryn Beaumont, who had also been the voice of Alice in 1951 for Disney’s *Alice in Wonderland* (IMDB, “Peter Pan 1953”).

Kim provides three reasons as to why adaptation is specifically necessary for a story such as *Peter Pan* and why the story could not simply be translated from play to film (53-54). Her first contention is that while the original story of *Peter Pan* may be unchanged over the years, it is understood differently today than it would have been during its initial release. Not only has much time passed, but the story has been removed from its original cultural context. *Peter Pan* is a product of the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras and as these “eras become more impenetrable over time, much of the eras’ and therefore the stories’ common sense logic (for things as basic and conversely vital as manners, proper dialogue, and narrative expectations) is received as old-fashioned at best and incomprehensible at worst” (Kim 53). Her second and third reasons are interrelated. Kim explains that the story does not conform to contemporary expectations and norms of narrative in film and thus, to make up for this shortcoming, engages with visual spectacle. She continues by saying that a film relying heavily on spectacular visuals (such as *Peter Pan*) has an exorbitantly high initial start-up cost: because of this expense, a film as a cultural product must “not only speak to audiences, but it must also be designed to be successful” and so the selling point becomes “memorable sequences and settings” (53-54). Kim’s reasoning resonates strongly with theories used within this dissertation. Not only is she correct in assuming that time plays a crucial role in adaptation/translation, as pointed out by Bassnett and Lefevere (see p. 28; ch. 2), but because an adaptation of a film is seen as a formal entity or product and also as a process of reception (see p. 19-20, 23-24; ch. 2), its success does indeed rest in the way it is recreated for contemporary audiences.

The actor who portrays Peter, Jeremy Sumpter, has also been praised for his subtle performance. Hollindale states that Sumpter conveys “moments of unwary, unrecognised and perplexing sexuality which he wilfully controls and harnesses as *play*, only to recoil when they impinge upon unwanted emotional reality” (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 213). There can be no question that this Peter is on the verge of adolescence, something which is recognised by others but repressed and unnamed by himself. Hogan’s adaptation along with the performances given by these young actors, allows Barrie’s characters to “grow up” sufficiently enough to be able to live convincingly for twenty-first century audiences (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 213).



Fig. 26: Peter Pan (Jeremy Sumpter) in Hogan's 2003 adaptation.

Benjamin states that “storytelling is always the art of repeating stories” (91) and from the outset the audience is made aware of the story-telling nature of Hogan’s film. It opens with the now famous adage: “All children, except one, grow up” (Barrie, *PW* 4; ch. 1) — and like the opening of the 1953 Disney film, the audience gets the sense that it is being allowed to hear this story being told. The audience is then shown the Darlings’ nursery in which Wendy, John and Michael are exercising their own powers of imagination and adaptation. Wendy has told her brothers a story about Cinderella — one which is quite different from the original. Cinderella is no longer a poor cleaning girl in search of her prince, but a fearsome and capable warrior who is able to fight off pirates (Hogan 00:00:56-00:02:04 min.).

This theme of telling stories runs throughout the film and Wendy is at the forefront of this theme. She excitedly declares that she wants to become a novelist and it is her ability to tell stories that allows her to become part of Peter’s world (Hogan 00:04:02-00:04:05 min.). There are two particular examples in which her ability to tell stories arises. The first is when the Lost Boys ask her to be their mother. Wendy is at first reluctant as she says she has no real experience, but when they ask her if she is able to tell stories and she says yes, they jubilantly exclaim that she is a perfect mother (Hogan 01:02:43-01:03:00 min.). Later in the film, when Captain Hook tries to get to Peter through Wendy, he invites her to join his crew. She is again reluctant, but Hook specifically asks her if she is able to tell stories as they are in need of a storyteller (Hogan 01:14:04-01:14:07 min.). Towards the end of the film, before Hook and Peter have their penultimate fight scene, Hook asks Wendy to tell him Peter’s story, so that Hook may have the necessary information finally to defeat him (Hogan 01:17:53-01:17:58 min.). She complies, and through her story, Hook discovers the ability to fly (think happy thoughts and pixie dust) and what it is that gives Peter

“unhappy thoughts” (Hogan 01:19:37-01:20:02 min.). In this manner Wendy herself embodies some crucial aspects of adaptation — she is able through the process of appropriation to take possession of another’s story and filter it through her own talents (Hutcheon 18). Wendy herself is an adapter as she acts as an interpreter (of other stories as well as the adventures she experiences with Peter) and a creator (she uses these experiences to tell a story) (Hutcheon 18).

Hogan has thus subtly embodied the process of adaptation within one of his characters. As Hutcheon points out, adaptation is not “slavish copying; it is a process of making the adapted material one’s own” (20), which Hogan has done. A concept used by Benjamin in translation studies, and which can be appropriated for adaptation theory, is the notion that “translation is not a rendering of some fixed nontextual meaning to be copied or paraphrased or reproduced; rather, it is an engagement with the original text that makes us see that text in different ways” (Hutcheon 16). It is thus essential for an adaptation to ensure that some form of (re)interpretation and (re)creation occurs within the bounds of the original text, so that the outcome may be that after viewing the new adaptation, audiences may see and engage with the original in different ways. And it is evident that Hollindale shares this opinion as he states that Hogan’s film is a “wonderfully imaginative re-creation of the story for the medium and the times” (“Hundred Years” 212). Hogan’s film can be seen as a successful adaptation because, while he may not have been strictly faithful to one version of the original story, he has succeeded in making the text his own. Through the use of special effects he has brought the landscapes of Neverland to life, while the effortless flying scenes make audiences believe as never before that all that is needed to fly is happy thoughts and pixie dust. Fairies are again brought to life more than ever before as Tinker Bell has become her own character. One sees her flying alongside Peter, not just as a ball of light, but as a perfectly formed pixie no larger than Peter’s hand (for example, see Hogan 00:25:04-00:24:09 min.).

As mentioned previously, the palimpsestic influence of the Disney adaptation is evident in the Hogan adaptation although this is never explicitly acknowledged by Hogan himself. The most prominent example of this is Peter’s shadow. Not only does this example highlight the indirect influence of Disney, but it also resonates with Hutcheon’s reasoning that an adaptation involves both gains and losses. In the literary original, Barrie describes it as “quite the ordinary kind” of shadow, but it “looked so like washing” that it could not be left outside the house for fear of

“lower[ing] the whole tone of the house” (Barrie, *PW* 18; ch. 2). In the stage play, this concept of the shadow as an article of clothing was enforced by Wendy remarking that she should have ironed it before sewing it on (Barrie, *PP* 30). As Kim points out, “using a fabric-like shadow [. . .] would be simple enough to perform live while still being playful and creative” (58). However, the possibility of animation was able to change that and provide the shadow with a life of its own. The shadow is no longer an inanimate object, but “mirrors and reflects its owner’s impulses, if not his form. It flies, it sneaks, [and] it has a puckish spirit” (Kim 58). In both the Disney (Geronimi, et al. 00:11:57-00:12:22 min.) and Hogan (00:13:21-00:15:02 min.) films, once the shadow is freed from the drawer in which it was placed, the shadow must be fought by Peter into submission and, because both have the ability to fly, the nursery room “becomes an arena in which the two can tussle, which makes for arresting and inventive choreography” (Kim 58).

The nursery scene in both films is removed from Barrie’s original story because there is the possibility to do so much more through the media of animation and live action (Kim 58-59). In the play and novel, once the shadow is attached, Peter merely dances or jumps about to show his glee (see Barrie, *PP* 30; *PW* 39; ch. 3). However, in the two films (Geronimi et al. 00:13:52-00:13:54 min.; Hogan 00:16:14-00:16:49 min.), because the shadow has a mind of its own, it is not yet domesticated after Wendy has sewn it back onto Peter’s feet. Both Peters “reassert their dominance over their shadows in the same way: by ‘kicking’ their legs up towards a wall, thereby slamming their shadows into place” (Kim 58-59).<sup>76</sup> This is followed by random and erratic movements by the Peters in order to test that their shadows are indeed in place. Thus both adaptations added to and built on the original source material. These scenes made excellent use of the possibilities of their media to add to the overall viewing experience and so the adaptations *gained* from these added sequences. As Kim points out, this addition “further develop[ed] the sense of oddity or childlike wonderment, but they also encourage[d] intent” (60). The “sense of oddity and childlike wonderment” is encouraged in creative ways and plays on the audience’s ability to believe momentarily that what they are seeing is real. For instance, the ruse of the shadow being a sentient being is reinforced by letting Peter’s shadow trip, not on an actual chair, but on that chair’s shadow (Kim 60).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See Geronimi et al. 00:13:55-00:13:58 min., and Hogan 00:16:49-00:16:53 min.

<sup>77</sup> See Geronimi et al. 00:12:16-00:12:18 min.

Hogan's film is perhaps the best example of what Hutcheon meant when she called adaptation a "palimpsestic thing" and that we experience the adaptation through our "memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation" (7-8).<sup>78</sup> In Hogan's film we not only recognise both Barrie's play and novel, but also the Disney film. Hogan's film is not repeating the exact story of Peter Pan, he is repeating it with variations that allow the film to be classified as a successful adaptation because through its reinterpretation and recreation it presents audiences with his version of the story, whilst still remaining true to the original sources. Audiences are still able to recognise Barrie's stories, but Barrie's conception has been interlaced with the Disney version, allowing audiences to create, through memory, a recognisable version of the Peter Pan story. While Hollindale is correct in stating that this film is not exactly a film for "textual purists", critics and fans laud it for its fidelity to its multiple source materials and it was received as a quality adaptation (*Rotten Tomatoes*, "Peter Pan 2003"). Interestingly though, even with these high praises, the film only barely earned back its \$100 million budget (*Box Office Mojo*, "Peter Pan 2003"), indicating "how little a contemporary audience cares about fidelity" (Kim 64).<sup>79</sup>

## **An American boy, and bringing a fairy back to life**

A fascinating characteristic, shared by both the Disney and Hogan films, is that while many of the characters within the films have British accents, Peter Pan does not.<sup>80</sup> In the silent film, indigenisation occurred by shifting British loyalties and sentiments to American ones.<sup>81</sup> In the 1953 and 2003 film versions indigenisation occurs by procuring the character of Peter Pan for the United States by giving him an American English accent. Peter is thus no longer a British boy, but an American. By endowing Peter with an American English accent, both films not only alienate Peter further from his child-like contemporaries (enforcing his "otherness" from them), but Peter is effectually appropriated for the American culture. It harkens back to the fervour with which American audiences first received the 1905 stage production in the United States. As Birkin states "The Never Land symbolized the New World, while Peter

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<sup>78</sup> See pages 30-32 (ch. 2).

<sup>79</sup> It should be noted that Hogan's film faced stiff competition at the box office since it was released at roughly the same time as Jackson's highly anticipated *Lord of the Rings: Return of the King* film adaptation (*Rotten Tomatoes*, "Peter Pan 2003").

<sup>80</sup> In the Disney version, the Darlings are decidedly British while Peter and the Lost Boys seem to have American accents, and Tiger Lily has no voice at all (except for a muffled scream). In the Hogan version, the Darlings and Lost Boys all have British accents, while Peter's is American and Tiger Lily, in the very little that she does speak, speaks in the Iroquois language.

<sup>81</sup> See pages 76-77 (ch. 4) for elaboration on this particular indigenisation.

[. . .] was seen to represent the Spirit of Youth and Freedom, hailing the children of the Old World to leave their antiquated nurseries and fly away to the Never Land of Liberty” (126). Peter has thus evolved for American audiences into not only a symbol of joy and youthfulness, but also to represent the “Spirit of Youth and Freedom” that lies supposedly at the heart of every American.

A further important element is the differing manners in which the various versions bring Tinker Bell back to life. In the original play and novel, after having drunk the poison Hook left for Peter, Tinker Bell says that she could get well again if children believed in fairies. Peter then implores “all who might be dreaming of the Neverland” (Barrie, *PW* 197; ch. 13) to clap their hands and in so doing save Tinker Bell’s life. And many clapped, but some did not (Barrie, *PW* 198; ch. 13). Barrie was very nervous about this particular scene when it was first performed in 1904. He was concerned that Boucicault’s entreaties to the audience, which comprised the “elite of London society with few children among them”, to clap would be met with silence. Barrie thus instructed the musical director (John Crook) “that if there was no response to Peter’s plea, the orchestra should down instruments and clap”. This request was not necessary in the end as “[w]hen Nina Boucicault turned to the distinguished gatherings and begged their belief in fairies, the response was so overwhelming that she burst into tears” (Birkin 114-17).

In the film versions under discussion, however, this scene either does not occur or is changed. In the Disney version, there is no poison to drink, nor the call for the affirmation of belief in fairies. Hook has instead left a gift for Peter, which is in fact a time bomb to be opened at six o’clock.<sup>82</sup> Tinker Bell arrives just in time to fly the gift away from Peter hastily before it explodes. After the explosion, Peter calls to Tinker Bell and looks for her amongst the debris of their home. He finds her and exclaims that she “means more to [him] than anything in this whole world” (Geronimi et al. 01:04:35-01:06:20 min.). More debris falls on them, and for a moment, the audience doubts whether either has survived. This doubt is short-lived for, after Hook makes

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<sup>82</sup> One cannot help but feel that Hook’s choice in the method of Peter’s destruction, changing from poison into a bomb, is reminiscent of the era in which the film was produced, namely post-WW II. Interestingly, in chapter 12 of *Peter Panzerfaust*, Peter and Felix come across a crate addressed to Peter with a tag which reads: “This is your first test, boy. Prove yourself” and is signed with a drawing of a hook (Wiebe & Jenkins [19]; ch. 12). Inside is a bomb made from dynamite and a ticking alarm clock which explodes. Again, a moment of uncertainty arises whether Peter survived this explosion or not, but Peter does of course survive. Cover B for chapter 15 reiterates the image of the crate with the bomb inside (Wiebe & Jenkins vol. III).

Wendy walk the plank, both Peter and Tinker Bell help save her and the Lost Boys from the pirates (Geronimi et al. 01:06:48-01:07:46 min.).

In the Hogan version (01:12:34-01:13:10 min.), Tinker Bell saves Peter by drinking the poison Hook left for him. Hogan's Peter does not however call upon anyone to clap, but reaffirms his own faith in fairies by chanting the following over Tinker Bell's body: "I do believe in fairies, I do, I do" (Hogan 01:15:04-01:15:15 min.). Even though Wendy and the Lost Boys are captive on Hook's ship, they spontaneously begin to take up the chant (Hogan 01:15:41-01:16:04 min.). The power of Peter's chant, coupled with that of Wendy and the Lost Boys, seems to seep into the consciousness of those who might be dreaming of Neverland, having them too pronounce this belief out loud (Hogan 01:16:15-01:16:31 min.). The chant is powerful as even the pirates take it up, and in the end Tinker Bell's life is saved (Hogan 01:16:04-01:16:41 min.; 01:17:14-01:17:29 min.). The audience members are not made a part of this, and in the context of the film, are not there at all. And while both films treated this scenario differently, and adapted it to suit the medium of film, something of the magic of this moment is tragically lost.

## Conclusion

From the images discussed in the preceding chapter as well as the section on the depiction of Peter Pan by Disney and Hogan in this chapter, it is clear that, as the character of Peter developed from a baby to an adolescent, so too did his image from page to stage to screen. The usurping Disney adaptation did away with the androgynous figure found in the stage costumes (enforced by the use of female actors) and created for the first time a definitely masculine Peter Pan which was realised even more clearly in the 2003 adaptation. And while the Disney version is foremost in people's minds when imaging Peter, attesting to its success, Hogan's design of Peter's costume is closer to what Barrie envisioned in his play and 1911 novel.

What is also evident is that each film adapts the story of Peter Pan in a different way. Brenon decided to give a faithful rendering of the stage play on screen, and in so doing perhaps failed to realise not only Barrie's vision for the film, but also the technical potential of film to provide audiences with a spectacular viewing experience. Brenon's cinematic treatment of Tinker Bell is the perfect singular

example of the way in which a semiotic element from the original story has been reinterpreted and recreated. In the silent film the sign for which Tinker Bell stood has been changed into a sign in which she is more fully developed. She is no longer presented as merely a ball of light who has to be brought to life through clever stage craft trickery, urging viewers to rely on their imagination only. Instead, she has been turned into a tempestuous live little fairy, whose emotions and actions can be directly perceived, setting the precedent for following adaptations of the feisty fay. Through this, Brenon's adaptation gained an exciting, never-before-seen element and added to Barrie's original story.

Disney's version was intentionally influenced by perspectives from in-house and audience surveys, but also implicitly shaped by the cultural shifts of the post-war period. This latter version was also perhaps the first, as Walt Disney himself stated, fully to realise Barrie's vision and the ability of animation to fulfil that vision. Disney's elaboration and embellishment of certain elements, as previously discussed, helped, perhaps for the first time, to realise Barrie's vision for a cinematic treatment of the film. The flying sequence through London is an excellent example of the way in which the adaptation engages with the original story. By reinterpreting Barrie's stage direction for this scene (see Barrie, *PP* 36), and adding their own imaginative illusions of what could happen once Peter and the Darlings fly out the nursery window, Disney's animators successfully added to the story of Peter Pan. However, the Disney adaptation also loses some elements from the original story as it deliberately catered to audience expectations, established by the ARI findings and in-house survey. Despite the fact that for many years the Peter Pan story was already an established success, Disney felt the need to cater to the cultural demands of the post-WW II era, and kowtowed to the demand for a humorous puppy love between Peter and Wendy, and as will be seen in chapter 5, made Captain Hook into a comical farce rather than a character to be feared.

Yet it is Hogan's adaptation that does the most justice to Barrie's story. The real-life visual spectacle of Neverland, paired with actual child actors, allowed the story to be told as never before. No longer the rigid stage film or animated cartoon, Hogan's live-action film actually brings the story to life. The reinterpretations and recreations of this film can be especially seen in the character of Wendy. Wendy is a paradigm for modern audiences, for while she still likes to pretend to be the Lost Boys' mother,

she is unlike previous Wendys in that she too likes to fight and wants to use her stories for more than mere entertainment. Her ambition to become a novelist goes against the grain not only of the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras, but also of the post-WW II notion of the docile housewife. The way in which Hogan depicts Peter's shadow within the film, is another example of how this adaptation engages with the original. It transforms the fabric-like shadow into a living apparition with a mind of its own. This scene not only resonates with the similar scene from the Disney adaptation, but adds to and builds on the original source material.

Disney's and Hogan's films are examples of the palimpsestic nature of adaptation and how the story of Peter Pan is reinterpreted and recreated through repetition with variation. It is remarkable to see how the Disney version, by being recognised as *the* definitive adaptation, infiltrated Hogan's adaptation. Peter Pan on screen demonstrates the innovative freedom of film to bring fantasy stories to life and to allow audiences to see that their imagination is not only in their minds: it is projected back to them on a silver screen, allowing them to share with others in a collective imaginative experience.

## Chapter 5

### The immortal boy child in WW II

Although Wiebe asserted that the intention with *Peter Panzerfaust* was “a new frame to an original classic” and that their “connection to the original Peter Pan story [was] more about reworking the themes and characters in a new way rather than a straight up adaptation” (Dietsch, “Exclusive”), *Peter Panzerfaust* conforms to the three perspectives from which adaptation can be seen: as a formal entity or product; as a process of creation; and as a process of reception.<sup>83</sup> In this chapter I will consider various instances throughout the graphic novel that have appropriated Barrie’s semiotic elements from the Peter Pan story and reinterpreted and recreated these elements to suit not only the historical milieu, but also the medium of the graphic novel. I shall draw attention especially to the palimpsestic interplay between the Peter Pan story and the graphic novel by focussing on features such as dialogue, imagery and characterisation (particularly that of the case of the Peter Pan character).

#### **“To die will be an awfully big adventure”<sup>84</sup>**

At the outbreak of WW I, the story of Peter Pan was already a decade old. The play had been produced annually and the character of Peter had, even during this early period, become widely known through many media such as the play itself, picture books and keepsakes, the novelisation of the play, and the statue in Kensington Gardens. However neither Barrie nor Peter would be left unscathed by the harsh reality of war. Before the war, as Linda Robertson points out, Peter “signified an eternal boyhood of youth and joy and heartlessness” (51). In act 3, Peter and Hook fight a duel on Marooner’s Rock. Hook is chased off by the crocodile, but Peter feigning injury, remains on the rock with Wendy and the rising tide. Peter gallantly offers Wendy the kite as a means of escape and he remains alone on the rock (Barrie, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up* 56-58). As Barrie’s (*PP* 59) script reads:

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<sup>83</sup> See pages 19-20, 23-24 (ch. 2).

<sup>84</sup> Barrie, *PW* 143; ch. 8.

PETER (*with a drum beating in his breast as if he were a real boy at last*). To die will be an awfully big adventure.

For a brief instant, Peter is indeed afraid of his own mortality and it is this fear that makes him almost a “real boy”. Yet, as with many of the adventures and escapades on Neverland, it is all only a game, children playing at make-believe, and Peter is the greatest pretender of them all. With the outbreak of war, however, Peter instead came to signify “the seductive lure of combat as the ‘[big] adventure,’ promising death for a glorious cause as preferable to the prosaic indignities of adulthood and aging” (Robertson 51). This sentiment and the glorification of war was short-lived. For the 1915 December revival of the play it was decided to cut the Lagoon Scene, “partly for economy, partly because Peter’s curtain line, ‘To die will be an awfully big adventure,’ was felt to be somewhat inappropriate under the circumstances” (Birkin 252).<sup>85</sup> And as the casualty lists continued to grow and young soldiers continued to lay down their lives for King and Country, one can imagine that Peter became a symbol of the young soldiers, who, having died, would remain forever young. Three of the Llewelyn Davies boys enlisted. George and Peter were junior officers in the army and Jack a sub-lieutenant in the British navy. While Peter and Jack survived the war, George was killed on 15 March 1915 (Tatar ci-cii). And only a few weeks later, Frohman lost his life when the ocean liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a German U-boat (Robertson 50).<sup>86</sup>

Wiebe and Jenkins’s WW II setting for their adaptation of Barrie’s Peter Pan story, *Peter Panzerfaust*, is thus not as unprecedented as one might think. Initially, the story was to have taken place during the Vietnam War, but was changed to WW II as Wiebe stated in an interview that:

It was a better fit for the themes in **Peter Pan**, [. . .] It’s pretty well documented who the bad guys were in WWII, but if you look at the Vietnam War there’s a lot of political debate about it even to this day. **Peter Pan** is, in some aspects, a story of good vs. bad, and on top of that, a lot of the concepts ported much easier to the European Theatre.

(Hogg, “Hooked”)

Wiebe and Jenkins may have recreated Barrie’s original story and placed the various characters in a WW II milieu, but they have not lost sight of the Neverland Barrie

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<sup>85</sup> This line is omitted from the 1953 Disney version, but is also uttered in the Hogan version along with its antithesis, in which Peter states: “To live would be an awfully big adventure” (Hogan 01:40:28-01:40:32 min.) — resonating with the wishful closing stage directions of the play (see Barrie, *PP* 90).

<sup>86</sup> Survivors who were with Frohman up to the last moment claimed that his final words were “a slightly altered quotation” and “an error forgivable under the circumstances” from the play *Peter Pan*: “Why fear death? It is the greatest adventure in life” (Robertson 50).

created; while they may be presenting readers with an interesting new version of Peter Pan, they have not usurped the original. Wiebe dedicates the first volume of *Peter Panzerfaust* to the memory of Barrie, “for creating a magical world that the child in all of us can explore” (vol. I). Together, Wiebe and Jenkins have explored Barrie’s original story and reinterpreted and recreated it to suit the new medium of the graphic novel. Nevertheless Wiebe commented in a 2012 interview that:

People coming to this series will be getting a brand new story, totally fresh, but with small hints of a story they may be familiar with. I want to keep it subtle enough that readers are rewarded for their knowledge of Peter Pan, but I’m very committed to making sure they also enjoy this story on its own merit.

(Gustafson, “Kurtis Wiebe”)

Wiebe remained true to his word and, while *Peter Panzerfaust* is an excellent stand-alone series, it is the palimpsestic relationship between the original and the graphic novel that provides readers who are familiar with the story the most pleasure.<sup>87</sup> For instance, the first volume of the series, *The Great Escape*, harkens back to the children playing games in Neverland and echoes the sentiment behind Barrie’s Peter adage of “[t]o die will be an awfully big adventure”.<sup>88</sup> This title resonates with the famous 1963 film *The Great Escape* (based upon Paul Brickhill’s book). While the film follows the escape of soldiers from a Nazi POW camp during WW II, the title of the graphic novel implies the metaphorical escape of Peter and the Lost Boys from their old lives to the playing of “war games”. At this point in the series, neither Peter nor the Lost Boys have realised the enormity of the situation they find themselves in, namely the conflict of WW II. Sabotaging the Nazi army’s plans is still only a game to them. It is only when they suffer a great tragedy that they realise the immensity of their situation and the “realness” of war. Wiebe elaborates

By playing at war, by running from the reality of their situation, Peter and the Lost Boys suffered very real tragedy. It was not only a way of grounding our series in an honest picture of what happened to children caught in the conflict, but also as a means to propel them to greatness. To rise above their fear and embrace their fate [. . .]

(Melrose, “Kurtis Wiebe and Tyler Jenkins”)

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<sup>87</sup> See pages 30-32 (ch. 2).

<sup>88</sup> Peter Panzerfaust also utters these exact words before commencing on a dangerous rescue mission (Wiebe & Jenkins [16]; ch. 12). However, Wiebe and Jenkins have also appropriated this embracing of death as a part of Tiger Lily’s Native Canadian Sioux heritage. Throughout volume 4, Tiger Lily hunts those of the *Blut Piraten* who were responsible for her father’s death. In chapter 17, she mentions the saying “Hoka Hey” (Wiebe & Jenkins [20-21]; ch. 17) twice while hunting Klaus Adler (Die Maus) before divulging its meaning — which is “It’s a good day to die” (Wiebe & Jenkins [22]; ch. 17).

## *Peter Panzerfaust* — as graphic novel and work in progress

In this section I shall provide reasons for my categorisation of *Peter Panzerfaust* as a graphic novel, and as a graphic novel deserving scholarly interest.

*Peter Panzerfaust* qualifies as a graphic novel since it is a story told in a book-length form through the medium of comics, yet it is separate from the “low art” of comics (see p. 38-42; ch. 2). It conforms to Eisner’s definition of the graphic novel in that it has the narrative scope and ambition of literature, and that its adaptation strategy has allowed it to be viewed as a *novel* rather than a *comic*. *Peter Panzerfaust* also conforms to Baetens and Frey’s four features for identifying a graphic novel (see p. 39-40; ch. 2). While the *form* of *Peter Panzerfaust* falls into the drawing style of comics, it is not displayed in the rigid grid formation known to comics, but experiments with different and dynamic page layouts. The *content* of *Peter Panzerfaust*, while being an adaptation of a fictional work, does “introduce fiction with historical meaning” (Baetens & Frey 13). With regards to *publication format*, *Peter Panzerfaust* has been published in a book format — not only with regards to cover, size and chapter headings, but more importantly it has a structure with a definite end planned.<sup>89</sup> While it has been subject to serialisation, this has been done as part of prepublication, through which part of a work in progress may be sold. And lastly, its *production and distribution* is consistent with the medium of the graphic novel. This graphic novel is published by Image Comics, which is not one of the major comic book publishers such as Marvel and DC Comics. Image Comics is an independent publisher and, unlike the major comic book publishers, the majority of comics are also creator-owned. In other words “the trademark and copyright of the work in question is wholly owned by its original creator” (“Frequently Asked”). While there is some say in the distribution and promotion of its titles, it is “done with non-creative interference” to a work (“Frequently Asked”). This explains why Image Comics relies on the sales of a graphic novelist’s particular work to provide funding for future publications. *Peter Panzerfaust* can attest to this as the challenges faced in publishing the last two chapters are due to financial reasons.<sup>90</sup>

Sabin identified certain characteristics of great graphic novels, based upon the popularity and success of the “big three” graphic novels from the 1980s (see p. 36;

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<sup>89</sup> See page 40 (ch. 2).

<sup>90</sup> See footnote 91 on page 103.

ch. 2). These features are: thematic unity; fresh story-telling possibilities; building up tension; generating atmosphere; developing characters; and superior visuals. These features can be readily applied to the graphic novel, *Peter Panzerfaust*. Each of the five volumes of *Peter Panzerfaust* (each comprising five chapters initially issued separately) has a distinctive story arc integrating its component issues and contributing to the whole graphic novel, creating a *thematic unity* throughout the entire series. Wiebe and Jenkins have also created a *fresh story-telling possibility* through their adaptation of Barrie's well-known story. They also successfully *build up tension* throughout each story arc in the volumes, driving the story forward, culminating in the final encounter between Peter and Haken. Wiebe and Jenkins have generated a credible WW II *atmosphere* with their historical referencing. The *characters* are continually *developing* throughout the volumes — one is able to track their development from innocent children to young adults who have been forced to grow up. The *visuals* of *Peter Panzerfaust* add to the WW II atmosphere through their gripping, hard-edged images (Hunsaker, "Peter Panzerfaust #1").

However, even though *Peter Panzerfaust* can be classified as a graphic novel and as a good graphic novel, it is still a work in progress. It has been subject to serialisation in order to allow individual issues to be sold while its story is still being written. I surmise that financial difficulties have not been the sole reason for the delay in final publication. Perhaps, like Barrie, Wiebe and Jenkins are struggling to conclude their version of Peter's story. Barrie's revisionist tendencies and the many manuscript and typescript drafts document his difficulty in concluding the story (see ch. 3). And as shall be seen in the discussions to follow, it seems as though Wiebe and Jenkins's own story has indeed become embroiled in many ways with the original. Thus their story seems likely to follow the same trajectory as Barrie's and the graphic novel is also exploring the fluidity of the Peter Pan story itself.

As noted, the series is divided into five volumes, each containing five chapters. Though chapters 21 to 23 have been published, the last two chapters, and so the fifth and final complete volume, are not yet available as this study is being finalised.<sup>91</sup> Throughout each volume, certain themes are brought to the fore and are summarised in their respective titles. *Volume 1: The Great Escape* introduces readers to

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<sup>91</sup> On the official Peter Panzerfaust Facebook page, Wiebe posted the following: "People have been asking where issues [chapters] 24 and 25 are, and I wanted to update you that we are currently working on the finale so we can bring the series to an end. The reality was we had to take a break for financial reasons, but we are committed to finishing Peter Panzerfaust" (Wiebe, 6 Jan. 2016).

characters who are to play an important role throughout the series and sets the precedent for the rest of the volumes. *Volume II: Hooked*, solidifies the on-going enmity between Peter and Kapitän Haken. *Volume III: Cry of the Wolf*, deals with betrayal and the persistence of memories of the past. *Volume IV: The Hunt*, explores how legends are created and the notion of sacrifice. The final volume, *Volume V*, has not been released and the title has not been announced.

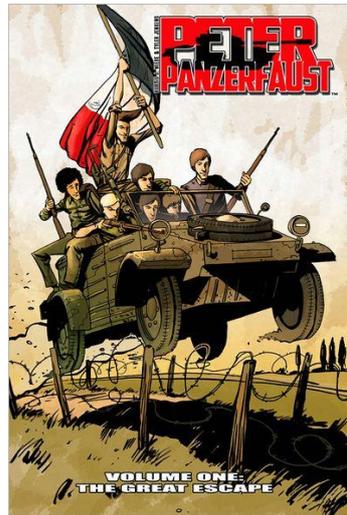


Fig. 27: Peter Panzerfaust Volume I.

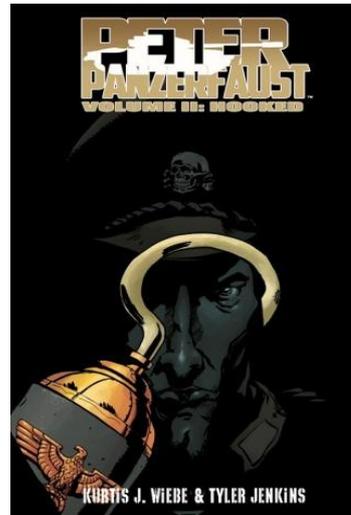


Fig. 28: Peter Panzerfaust Volume II.

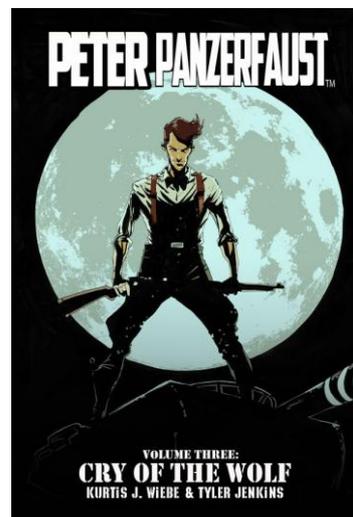


Fig. 29: Peter Panzerfaust Volume III.



Fig. 30: Peter Panzerfaust Volume IV.

The story of Peter Panzerfaust is told in each volume through a series of interviews, conducted many years after the war by a Mr John Parsons, with the different members of Peter's gang.<sup>92</sup> The interview questions lead to flashbacks, and thus the puzzle of who Peter was is slowly put together — an elusive theme that features prominently in Barrie's own versions of the Peter Pan story, as alluded to earlier (see

<sup>92</sup> These interviews, conducted with the grown-up Lost Boys, link well with Barrie's own glimpse into the lives of the Lost Boys from *Peter and Wendy* (1911). See Barrie, *PW* 257; ch. 17 for the account of how the Lost Boys grew up.

ch. 3). The interviewees include the Lost Boys, Tiger Lily, and the Darlings. The Lost Boys — Felix, Julien, Alain, Claude, Maurice, and Gilbert<sup>93</sup> — are a group of French teenage orphans who make Peter's acquaintance in Calais after their orphanage is bombed by the Germans in the spring of 1940. Peter leads them to safety, and inadvertently they all become embroiled in the grim realities of World War II.

Volume I is told by Gilbert, who had received the nickname "Tootles", and had been Peter's best friend. Volume II is told from the perspective of Julien, nicknamed "Curly". Volume III is narrated by Felix, and Volume IV recounts events through Tiger Lily's diary. While the fifth Volume has not yet been published, the first three issues (chapters 21 to 23) are available and told from the perspective of Maurice, one of the twins. What comes to the fore through each narrator's telling is that Peter Panzerfaust,<sup>94</sup> a name given to him by Tiger Lily, was a hero who helped them survive the atrocities of a devastating war. Above all, and something to which many of the narrators return, Peter gave them hope — he made them believe that they could survive and they placed all their hope for survival in Peter. Curly even tells Mr Parsons that, when they thought Peter had perished after being captured by Haken: "Without him, our faith died" (Wiebe & Jenkins [16]; ch. 9).

### **"Peter breaks through"**<sup>95</sup>

In the first volume, the reader is presented with a few images of a young man. The reader does not yet know that this is Peter. It is only on page [5], after the bombing of the orphanage in Calais, that readers are presented with a confirmed image of Peter (see figure 31).<sup>96</sup> Gilbert (Tootles), tells Mr Parsons: "And then he appeared from nowhere. Like he had been there all along, just . . . my eyes had failed to see him" (Wiebe & Jenkins [4]; ch. 1). It seems as though Wiebe and Jenkins try to establish a similarity between their Peter Pan and Barrie's: both magical boys who will lead those they meet into a series of fantastical adventures.

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<sup>93</sup> Each of the Lost Boys in Wiebe and Jenkins's story has a nickname: these are derived from the names Barrie gave to his Lost Boys (see Barrie, *PW* 76-78; ch. 5).

<sup>94</sup> The nickname Peter Panzerfaust is a play on words: it contains the name Peter Pan and Panzerfaust, meaning "tank fist" — "a single shot, dispensable anti-tank weapon carried by German anti-tank squads during World War Two" that provided "infantry with the ability to knock out enemy tanks in close combat" ("Panzerfaust"). This is indeed what Peter does during a battle after procuring a few *Panzerfäuste* and annihilating several German tanks in this manner, as witnessed by Tiger Lily (Wiebe & Jenkins [14-17], [23-24]; ch. 19). See also the discussion of the possible genesis of the name Peter Pan on pages 2-3 (ch. 1).

<sup>95</sup> Barrie, *PW* 1; ch. 1.

<sup>96</sup> The four published volumes of the graphic novel each have five chapters, but do not have page numbers. For the purposes of this dissertation, and for the sake of clarification, I have given each chapter its own page numbers starting with the number 1.

Wiebe (“Essay”) states that this is an act of “homage to Peter appearing in the window at the outset of the novel, looking for his shadow”, indicating that Wiebe and Jenkins are familiar with the F.D. Bedford illustration from Barrie’s 1911 novel *Peter and Wendy* (figure 32). Wiebe also mentions that Jenkins’s original drawing made Peter look like “an arrogant jerk” (“Essay”) and that he asked Jenkins to provide Peter with a more “whimsical and hopeful demeanor” (“Essay”), which he achieved.



Fig. 31: Peter Panzerfaust.

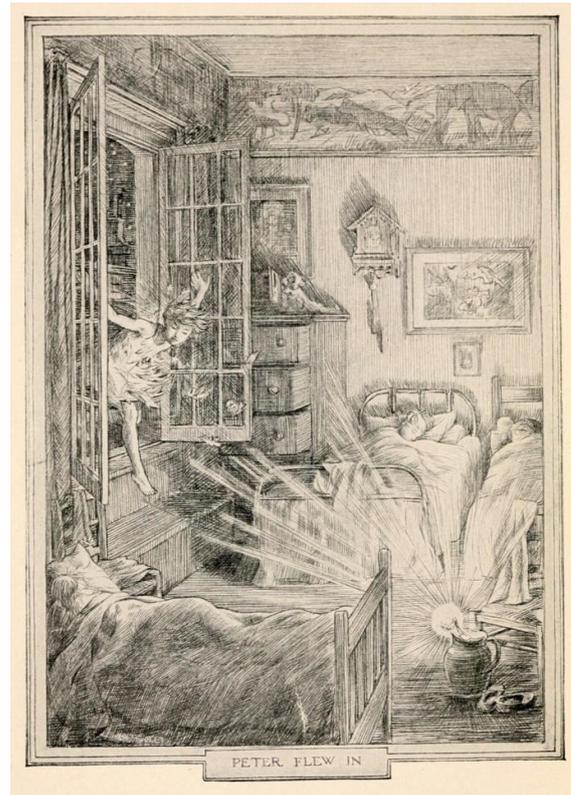


Fig. 32: 1911 Bedford illustration of Peter entering the nursery.

Peter is, like the Lost Boys, a teenager in the midst of a gruesome war. Unlike the Lost Boys, Peter seems to have some combat experience, evidenced through the mud stained mish-mashed uniform and the weapons (rifle, grenade and knife) he carries. Jenkins’s image also lends itself to the explanation provided by Tootles that he had just suddenly “appeared”, as it suggests movement through the way Peter’s hair seems to be wind-swept to the right and his coat to the left, allowing the viewer to imagine that he leapt suddenly into view. The small knife or dagger is an iconic piece of the imagery of Peter Pan. In a few instances in the novel, Peter is described as having his dagger at the ready (see Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*; ch. 13 & 14) and Boucicault’s stage costume from 1904 clearly shows a dagger on her left hip. Likewise, Disney’s Peter Pan also carries a dagger, as does Hogan’s Peter (see figures 33 to 36).



Fig. 33: Bedford's Peter carries his dagger.



Fig. 34: Boucicault's stage dagger.



Fig. 35: Disney's Peter with dagger.



Fig. 36: Hogan's Peter with small dagger.

## “[Q]uite the ordinary kind” of shadow<sup>97</sup>

There are various other instances within volume I chapter 1 that hint at the original story of Peter Pan. Some of the illustrations especially create a “story world built by the creative interaction of words and images” (Baetens & Frey 150). One such image hints at Peter’s losing his shadow (Wiebe & Jenkins [10]; ch. 1). Peter is fired upon by a German tank and the shock sends him flying against a wall. The wall and Peter are covered in particles of dark debris and, when Peter falls from the wall, his silhouette remains as a clear outline on the wall (see figure 37). Not only does this silhouette remind one of a shadow, but the posturing of the outstretched arms and legs suggests flying. This is a cleverly adapted interpretation of Barrie’s Peter who lost his shadow (see Barrie, *PW* ch. 2). Of course Wiebe and Jenkins’s story takes

<sup>97</sup> Barrie, *PW* 18; ch. 2.

place in a more realistic setting, thus forcing them to reinterpret some of Barrie's magical illusions into a more naturalistic reality.

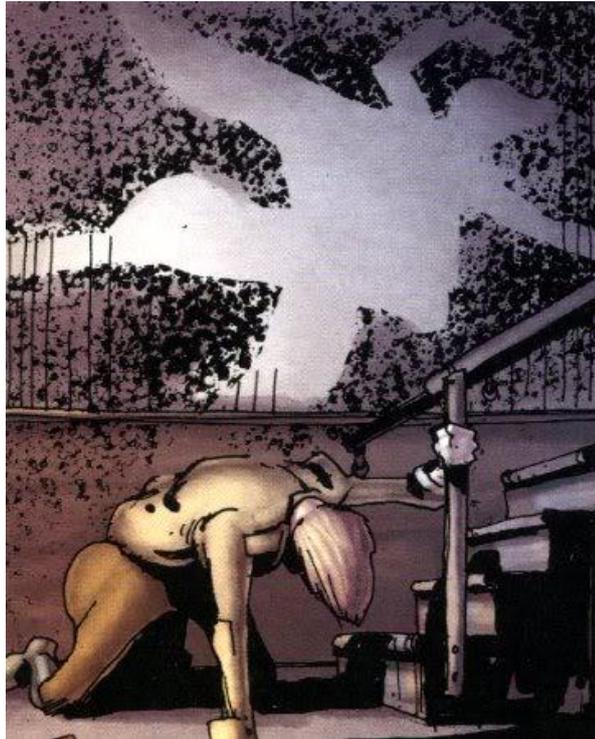


Fig. 37. Peter's shadow.

Another instance of such a reinterpretation by Wiebe and Jenkins is when they suggest Peter's ability to fly. Peter and the Lost Boys are trapped on the roof between two buildings. In order to escape, Peter suggests that they jump across the rooftop towards the "second window to the right" (Wiebe & Jenkins [11]; ch. 1), which any reader of Peter Pan would know is in reference to Wendy's asking Peter where he lives, to which he replies: "Second to the right, [. . .] and then straight on till morning" (Barrie, *PW* 37; ch. 3). When Tootles describes this scene, he tells Mr Parsons, "Peter flew" (Wiebe & Jenkins [13]; ch. 1), indicating that he believes it to be true. The other Lost Boys are also able to make the jump because they first witness Peter doing it, indicating the faith they are beginning to place in Peter and which is a central concept from all the Peter Pan stories. Curiously enough, Wiebe has commented that he always gets asked whether Peter really flew in this panel, and his response (while neither affirming nor denying it) is that "there is magic in the memories of old men" ("Essay"). The nature of memories and their importance to both the original Peter Pan stories and the graphic novel will be explored later in this chapter (see p. 122-26).

At the end of this first chapter, Wiebe and Jenkins's Peter once again displays a well-known characteristic of both Barrie's Peter Pan and Disney's, although it has once again been reinterpreted and recreated to suit the setting of the graphic novel: the act of crowing. Barrie's Peter tells Wendy (after she has sewn his shadow back on and he attributes this feat to his own cleverness): "I can't help crowing, Wendy, when I'm pleased with myself" (Barrie, *PW* 40; ch. 3). Disney's Peter also crows for similar reasons. Wiebe and Jenkins's Peter however does not crow, instead he howls like a wolf. Wiebe states that there are two primary reasons for this change; one being phonetic — as no matter how he tried to render the sound onomatopoeically, it always looked silly when he parsed it out ("Essay"). His second reason was that "the wolf became an on-going symbol for the series and one [that he thought] suited the idea of young soldiers much better" (Wiebe, "Essay"). *Cry of the Wolf* is the title of the third volume of the series and in volume I Tootles describes the act, one which they adopted before going into battle, as the means by which Peter inspired confidence in them (Wiebe & Jenkins [1]; ch. 2).

### **"The grimmest part of him was his iron claw"<sup>98</sup>**

Chapter 3 from volume I is also of significance because it introduces the reader not only to Kapitän Haken, but also to the Darlings. After having once again obstructed the plans of a troop of German soldiers, Peter and the Lost Boys come into contact with their commander Kapitän Haken, an SS officer of the German Army. If there was any doubt that this is Barrie's Captain Hook reincarnate, then Kapitän Haken's utterance of "Bad form" (Wiebe & Jenkins [12]; ch. 3) immediately dispels any uncertainty readers may have had (see Barrie, *PW* 203, 206; ch. 14, 228-29; ch. 15). Haken is surprised that his soldiers were outwitted by a group of children. An altercation occurs between the two groups and Haken, like Barrie's Hook (see Barrie, *PW* 226; ch. 15), accuses Peter of being a "[p]roud and insolent youth!" (Wiebe & Jenkins [17]; ch. 3). Peter runs to attack Haken, and, contrary to Barrie, Disney and Hogan's Hooks, the reader witnesses the altercation that led to Haken losing his left hand, instead of only hearing about it after the event.<sup>99</sup> An analysis of one page of this scene (Wiebe & Jenkins [15]; ch. 3) shows how Wiebe and Jenkins adapt earlier versions of this incident — they use this duel scene to depict the actual engagement

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<sup>98</sup> Barrie, *PW* 81; ch. 5.

<sup>99</sup> In Hogan's version, the audience is actually given a glimpse of Hook's deformity. While raising his scarred stump, he tells Smee of a dream he was having in which he "thanked Pan for cutting off [his] hand and for giving [him] this fine hook" (00:28:06-00:28:34 min.).

that led to Haken losing his hand and how Peter's ability to "fly" was an advantage. It also portrays the way in which the illustration is not merely a drawing technique "used to shape a given story [but rather] a creative operation that produces the images and the very story [itself]" (Baetens & Frey 164).

The panels in chapter 3 on page [15] are organised in a clear and well-arranged composition that allows readers' eyes to move from the various actions within the frame and creates a sense of motion.<sup>100</sup> There is no written text (except for "Blam", emulating the sound of the gun), allowing the pictures to convey the action (see Gluibizzi 28). This one page of illustration shows Peter apparently flying at his enemy, together with a natural reason for this appearance of flight, and sets him up to wound Haken's hand badly (which is shown on page [16] to [17]). The imaginary camera follows three actions as a dead or wounded German soldier slumps down, allowing the reader to follow Peter's movements and foregrounding the real possibility that, through this specific sequence of movements, Peter effectively flies (see figure 39). The movements include the soldier slumping forward (1), Peter running towards him and placing his foot upon his back (2), and Peter unsheathing his dagger from his boot while still atop the soldier's back (3).



Fig. 39: Series of movements.

These actions must occur in this sequence to create the illusion of Peter flying at Haken. Wiebe and Jenkins's Peter is drawn in the reality of WW II and thus abides by the normal laws of physics as in our own reality. In order to create the impression of a flying Peter Pan, Wiebe and Jenkins have artfully reinterpreted and recreated a

<sup>100</sup> Throughout the analyses in this chapter, my first concern is to highlight those images that illustrate the semiotic elements with which I am concerned. I shall thus consider some frames in isolation before placing them in the context in which they appear.

scene not far removed from our perceived reality and turned it into an illusion in which it seems as though this Peter can also fly. When this panel is viewed in full, the reader is able to draw the conclusion that the bottom image of this panel, in which Haken and Peter face one another as Peter descends on Haken through the air, is a realistic one — even though in it they recognise Barrie, Disney and Hogan’s Peter who can fly (see figures 40 to 42).



Fig. 40: "Have at thee!"



Fig. 41: Disney's Peter flying whilst fighting Hook.



Fig. 42: Hogan's Peter flying whilst fighting Hook.

Peter's ability to fly is after all what has always given him the advantage over Hook, and so in this instance Wiebe and Jenkins allow their Peter to attack Haken from above, and, in so doing, to inflict a disabling wound on Haken's left hand (unlike Barrie's Hook, whose right hand was severed by Peter).<sup>101</sup>

This image introduces the origin of Peter and Hook's on-going rivalry and establishes, as in Barrie, Disney, and Hogan's Peter Pan stories, Haken's hatred for Peter. In this image readers are presented with an illustration of the enmity between Peter and Haken, evoking the familiarity of Barrie's story. Peter, nothing more than a young teenager, flies towards his enemy without fear and armed only with a small dagger. Haken, with his sword reminiscent of a pirate's cutlass and long coat mimicking those worn by pirate captains, is poised for the attack. While Jenkins's illustration depicts the incident which led to Haken losing his hand (and which is merely inferred from a retelling by Hook in the original story) the imagery is reminiscent of other versions in which Peter Pan and Hook battle it out, with the young boy armed with little more than a small sword or dagger against Hook's cutlass and clawing hook (see figures 43 to 45).



Fig. 43: Bedford illustration of Hook and Peter's duel.



Fig. 44: Disney version of Hook and Peter's duel.



Fig. 45: Hogan version of Hook and Peter's duel.

The analysis of this particular scene by Wiebe and Jenkins, which has successfully reinterpreted and recreated an element from earlier versions of Peter Pan, allows us

<sup>101</sup> The hand Hook loses to Peter is not consistent. In the play, novel, and Hogan's film, Hook loses his right hand. In the Disney version and in Wiebe and Jenkins's story Hook/Haken loses his left hand.

to apply practically the concepts set forth by Hutcheon, Bassnett and Lefevere, and Jacobson (see p. 18-32; ch. 2). Wiebe and Jenkins have added to the story of Peter Pan by engaging with the original through this reinterpretation of Hook's mutilation. They have adapted it from the telling mode of Barrie's novel into the showing mode of the graphic novel, and, in so doing, removed it from the realm of imagination and allowed readers to perceive the action directly.<sup>102</sup> The signs for which both characters stand have been changed in order for them to both be more effective and more fully developed within a World War II setting. By studying this image alongside the reality of World War II, readers are able to ascertain that while they are confronted with a new, unfamiliar image, they are still able to recognise and draw parallels with Barrie, Disney and Hogan's versions of the Peter Pan story, and so doing they render the unfamiliar familiar (see ch. 4).

### **“One girl is more use than twenty boys”<sup>103</sup>**

The way in which the Darlings are introduced is also a significant example of how an image has been recreated through adaptation. In Barrie's story, the Lost Boys shoot Wendy down because they believe her to be a type of bird called a “Wendy” (see Barrie, *PW* ch. 5). In her jealousy, Tinker Bell convinces the Lost Boys that Peter would like them to shoot her down. In Wiebe and Jenkins's adaptation, however, Wendy does indeed fly but she and her brothers are flying in a plane which the Lost Boys mistake for an enemy aircraft. Similarly to Barrie's story (see Barrie, *PW* 92-9; ch. 5-6), Tootles mistakenly believes he has shot down the plane with his rifle — it was actually gunfire from a German Focke-Wulf. Realising their mistake, they run to help whoever may have survived the plane crash and it is there within the debris that they come across the three Darling children (Wiebe & Jenkins [19-22]; ch. 3).

Wendy plays a vital part in the recreation and reinterpretation of the Peter Pan story. In order to make sense of her and her brothers' being in France, as well as relating their story to Peter's, it must be remembered that fidelity to the original story is no longer of importance: what is important is that Wiebe has appropriated elements from the original story (which are still recognisable) and incorporated them into a new cultural milieu and allowed them to function successfully in the target medium of the graphic novel (see ch. 2). The Darlings were living in Calais because their father had

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<sup>102</sup> See pages 23-24 (ch. 2).

<sup>103</sup> Barrie, *PW* 40; ch. 3.

opened a new accounting firm there.<sup>104</sup> Wendy had at first been very hesitant to move, saying to her friends that she would “never never go [to France]”, and it had become a joke that she was moving to “Neverland” (Wiebe & Jenkins [8-9]; ch. 4). Wendy and her friends made a pact stating they would not change, but remain the same, but as the years went by she “had no choice but to grow up” (Wiebe & Jenkins [9]; ch. 4). In this example one finds that Wendy’s journey in Barrie’s story has been perfectly summarised to make sense in Wiebe and Jenkins’s WW II setting, for Barrie’s Wendy also went to Neverland and eventually came to the realisation that her growing up was inevitable.<sup>105</sup> Wiebe and Jenkins’s Wendy also has maternal instincts towards the Lost Boys, even undergoing dangerous missions in order to save them because, as Curly states: “To Wendy, family was everything . . . And we were her boys” (Wiebe & Jenkins [10]; ch. 8).

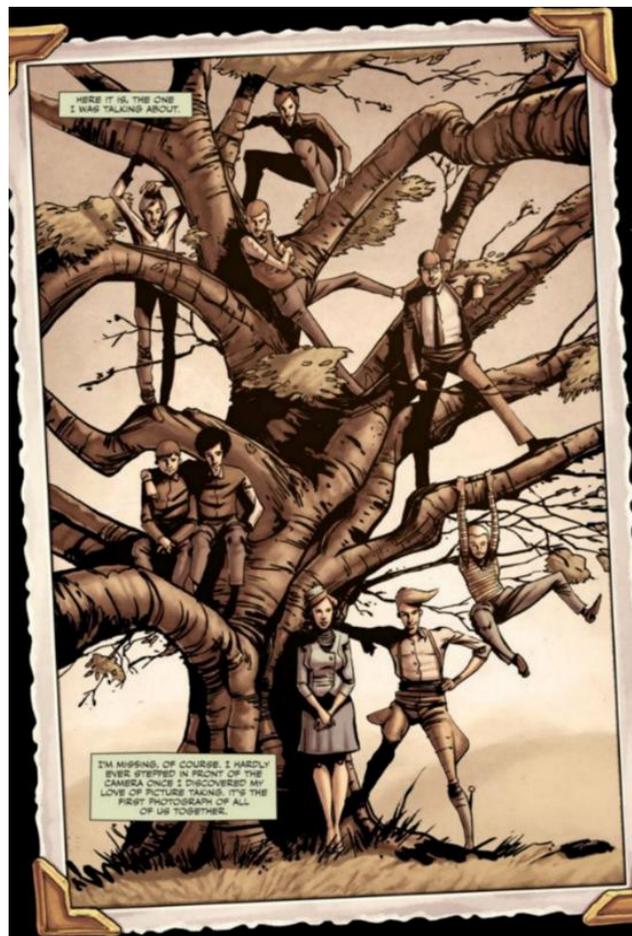


Fig. 46: Photograph taken by Tootles. Foreground: Peter and Wendy Darling; From Left to Right: Alain, Curly, Michael. Top: Claude, Felix, John. Very Top: Maurice.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> A suitable occupation for Mr Darling as in Barrie’s novel he is forever worried about “expenses” and is immersed in calculating whether he and Mrs Darling can afford to keep Wendy, John and Michael (see Barrie, *PW* ch. 1).

<sup>105</sup> All children, except one, grow up (Barrie, *PW* 1; ch. 1).

<sup>106</sup> The tree in this image is another interesting link to the original Peter Pan story. In chapter 7 of *Peter and Wendy*, Barrie describes the home under the ground, which is the hide-out of Peter and the Lost Boys, and which can be reached by sliding down trees to reach a large room. This description is found in the adaptations as well.

In Barrie's story, Wendy's attitude shifts from wanting to be a "mother" figure to Peter to wanting him to be her husband — a sentiment shared by Tiger Lily and Tinker Bell. Wendy confronts Peter:

"Peter," she asked, trying to speak firmly, "What are your exact feelings for me?"  
"Those of a devoted son, Wendy."  
"I thought so," she said, and went and sat by herself at the extreme end of the room.  
"You are so queer," he said, frankly puzzled, "and Tiger Lily is just the same. There is something she wants to be to me, but she says it is not my mother."  
"No, indeed, it is not," Wendy replied with frightful emphasis [. . .]  
"Then, what is it?"  
"It isn't for a lady to tell."

(Barrie, *PW* 158-59; ch. 10)

This unfulfilled desire is alluded to throughout the rest of the story, never finding fruition. In Hogan's story, Peter refuses to be governed by feelings such as love and this is, as Wendy realises, what separates him from everyone else — his inability to feel emotions. She confronts him about his inability to feel:

**Peter:** Why do you have to spoil everything? We have fun, don't we? I taught you to fly and to fight. What more could there be?  
**Wendy:** There is so much more.  
**Peter:** What? What else is there?  
**Wendy:** I don't know. I think it becomes clearer when you grow up.  
**Peter:** Well, I will not grow up. You cannot make me!

(00:57:18-00:57:37 min.)

Wiebe and Jenkins however, allow their Peter to feel, albeit not in front of the Lost Boys, because he is now their leader and the war between France and Germany is not fantasy but a part of the cruel reality in which they find themselves. Wendy is a source of comfort to Peter and perhaps the only one to whom he allows his true emotions to show. They have already grown up, in fact they have been forced to grow up, and while Peter may have taught them to fight he cannot stop them from being harmed. For example, when Alain dies, which affects all the Lost Boys, everyone is visibly upset except Peter who finds them shelter for the night so that they may rest and grieve the loss of their friend (Wiebe & Jenkins [1-10]; ch. 5). Tootles hears a tremendous crash and follows the clamour to Peter's room, realising only then that Alain's death has affected Peter deeply too. However, Tootles is only an observer and before he can console Peter he sees that Wendy is with him — she is thus the only one privy to his outburst (Wiebe & Jenkins [10-11]; ch. 5). Just as Peter's inability to feel is a tragedy in Hogan's Peter Pan story (00:57:18-00:57:37 min.), Curly admits that Peter was the "most tragic boy I had ever met. His desire to save everyone meant he struggled to save himself. [. . . Wendy] saved him when no-

one else could" (Wiebe & Jenkins [20]; ch. 10). In both Wiebe and Jenkins's and Hogan's stories, Wendy becomes the key to Peter being not only a fantastic boy, but also a very human one deeply affected by his emotions.

## Tick, tock

One important aspect of Wiebe and Jenkins's adaptation of the Peter Pan story is the way in which they have recreated the character of the crocodile. In Barrie's story, the crocodile is a fantastic beast who, with near-human tenacity, pursues Hook relentlessly in order to devour him completely. Wiebe and Jenkins's crocodile is not far removed from Barrie's original character even though he has been transformed from an animal to a man.

In the following excerpt from *Peter and Wendy*, readers are given the reason for the rivalry between Peter Pan and Hook as well as to the crocodile's obsession with him. Hook is both enamoured and repulsed by his hook:

"Most of all," Hook was saying passionately, "I want their captain, Peter Pan. 'Twas he cut off my arm." He brandished the hook threateningly. "I've waited long to shake his hand with this. Oh, I'll tear him."  
"And yet," said Smee, "I have often heard you say that hook was worth a score of hands, for combing the hair and other homely uses."  
"Ay," the captain answered, "if I was a mother I would pray to have my children born with this instead of that," and he cast a look of pride upon his iron hand and one of scorn upon the other. Then again he frowned.

Yet while Hook is "the only man that the Sea-Cook feared" (Barrie, *PW* 80), he too has a particular fear:

"Peter flung my arm," he said, wincing, "to a crocodile that happened to be passing by."  
"I have often," said Smee, "noticed your strange dread of crocodiles."  
"Not of crocodiles," Hook corrected him, "but of that one crocodile." He lowered his voice. "It liked my arm so much, Smee, that it has followed me ever since, from sea to sea and from land to land, licking its lips for the rest of me."  
"In a way," said Smee, "it's sort of a compliment."  
"I want no such compliments," Hook barked petulantly. "I want Peter Pan, who first gave the brute its taste for me."

This fear is made worse through one inevitable fact:

He sat down on a large mushroom, and now there was a quiver in his voice. "Smee," he said huskily, "that crocodile would have had me before this, but by a lucky chance it swallowed a clock which goes tick tick inside it, and so before it can reach me I hear the tick and bolt." He laughed, but in a hollow way.

“Some day,” said Smee, “the clock will run down, and then he’ll get you.”  
Hook wetted his dry lips. “Ay,” he said, “that’s the fear that haunts me.”  
(Barrie, *PW* 87-88; ch. 5)

The fear Hook has of the crocodile “becomes a physical manifestation of time’s passage and the fear of death” (Friedman 196). Hook knows that his inevitable doom lies within the jaws of the crocodile, and that when the clock runs down, so too will Hook’s time end.

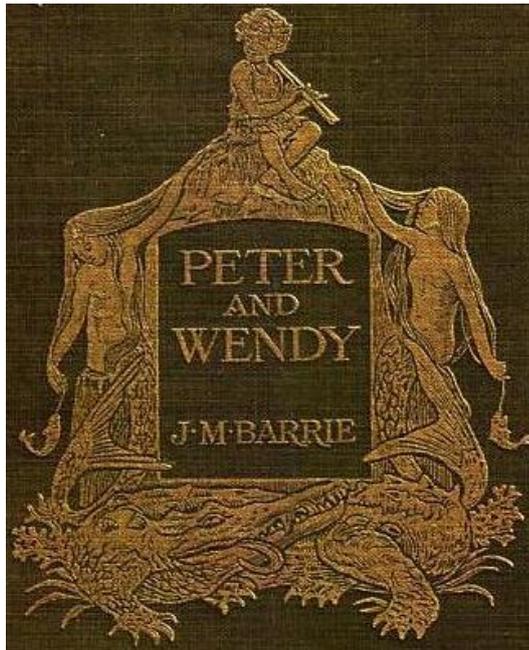


Fig. 47: Bedford’s illustration of the crocodile found on the 1911 book cover.<sup>107</sup>

In the Disney film adaptation, the enmity between Hook and the crocodile is more comic than sinister. While the crocodile succeeds in swallowing Hook on numerous occasions, Hook is always able to escape out of its jaws albeit with fewer clothes and screaming hysterically for Smee’s assistance to save him. At the end of the film, Hook falls into the crocodile’s gaping jaws, only to emerge a few seconds later. What ensues is another comical farce of Hook trying to escape from the crocodile and the last we see of Hook is when he is skipped like a stone across the water and pursued by the crocodile and Smee (along with the other pirates) in a boat (Geronimi et al. 01:12:08-01:12:45 min.).

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<sup>107</sup> Notice the hook protruding from its jaw.



Fig. 48: Disney's interpretation of the crocodile.



Fig. 49: Hook running away.

In Hogan's adaptation the comedy remains in Hook's maniacal pleading for Smee to save him, but the image of the crocodile is now more a beast from a nightmare than a cartoonish frivolity. The realism of Hogan's crocodile leaves no doubt in the viewer's mind that Hook will not escape this creature. Hook does indeed meet his doom through the crocodile. Hook, who learned how to fly — through thinking happy thoughts and using fairy dust — from a story told by Wendy, is flung over the ocean by Peter. Below, the crocodile suddenly breaches the water, snapping at the floating Hook. This fact, along with the children's chanting that Hook is "Old, alone, done for", causes Hook to lose his happy thoughts together with his ability to fly: he disappears into the cavernous maw of the waiting crocodile (Hogan 01:33:12-01:33:23 min.).



Fig. 50: Hogan's nightmarish crocodile.



Fig. 51: The crocodile tries to eat Hook.



Fig. 52: The beast snaps while Hook screams.

In *Peter Panzerfaust*, the crocodile manifests itself not as an animal but as a man like a crocodile: dressed in ochre leather, carrying a ticking pocket watch, and throwing knives shaped like sharp teeth. His face is covered by a mask, with an edge covered in serrated teeth, forcing one to notice the crocodile smile below. As if this fearsome display is not enough, the figure also seems to trail flames, adding to the ghastly appearance of this very human version of the crocodile (Wiebe & Jenkins cover; ch. 15).



Fig. 53: Jenkins's interpretation of the crocodile.

At the end of chapter 14, in volume III, Felix has been taken captive by Haken and his “right hand man . . . Frederik Schmei” (Wiebe & Jenkins [17]; ch. 14).<sup>108</sup> Haken orders Schmei to tie Felix to a tree at the edge of a forest, but before he can execute Felix, the well-known harbinger sound of ticking is heard. In Chapter 15, the steady “tick-tock” shatters Haken’s composure, sending him into a panicked frenzy. He shoots a chaotic hail of bullets into the darkness, calling out to this invisible enemy to “face [him] this time” (Wiebe & Jenkins [2]; ch. 15), indicating that he knows who is behind the ticking. Suddenly a succession of thrown knives disarm Haken and pin him to a tree.

<sup>108</sup> “Schmei” is of course the reinterpretation of Barrie’s “Smee”.

The panels on page [3] in chapter 15 are again arranged not only to convey an action, but also to create a specific milieu on the page. A sense of movement is carried over from the previous panel (Wiebe & Jenkins [2-3]; ch. 15), in which the end frame shows the circular movement of a throwing knife as it moves forward (see top of figure 54).



Fig. 54: The two panels tracing the movement of the thrown knives.

The top frame from the panel on the next page (see bottom of figure 54) shows Haken being disarmed and pinned against a tree trunk (Wiebe & Jenkins [3]; ch. 15). The imaginary camera is then locked onto three sequential actions in which the tick of the pocket watch (1) and its pendulum-like movements from left to right (2) foreground the emergence of the “crocodile” (3) (see figure 55).



Fig. 55: The ticking movement of the clock.

Unlike Disney’s comic crocodile and Hogan’s savage beast, this human “crocodile” has the power of speech. It is also clear that the crocodile is toying with Haken (see



who it was who saved him. The mystery is partly solved by the twins, who were unsatisfied with Felix's account and wanted an explanation.

In chapter 23, readers are given a flashback to 1940, in which two doctors are taken captive by Haken. One of the doctors, Mbire, was the one to treat Haken after Peter injured his left hand (see p. 109-12; ch. 5). However, Mbire decided to amputate Haken's hand instead of trying to save it, as a form of punishment presumably fuelled by witnessing the horrors Haken had previously committed. Haken, infuriated by what Mbire has done (and perhaps in shock), shoots both Mbire and the other doctor, Moses. Mbire is not instantly killed by the head wound and Haken says to "leave him be" as death will come soon: "[i]t's just a matter of time" (Wiebe & Jenkins [10]; ch. 23). Then the narrative flashes forward again to Mr Parsons' interview with Maurice, who tells him that he and his brother were able to discover something about the man who became known as The Croc. They surmised that he was formerly Kibwe Mbire, a Ugandan expatriate who had studied to become a doctor in Paris, together with his friend Seble Moses. When war broke out, he stayed behind and enlisted to help treat the wounded and disappeared when Calais fell (Wiebe & Jenkins [11]; ch. 23).

Interestingly, The Croc becomes a legend of the war as Maurice mentions that there are military records spanning the entire war giving "numerous accounts of an invisible saviour, a ticking ghost" (Wiebe & Jenkins [11]; ch. 23). From the information given by Maurice as well as the previous flashback, readers know that the possible reason for The Croc's existence is what he had experienced at the hands of Haken, and that his revenge is to make sure that Haken atones for the horrors he has committed. By creating the legend of The Croc and providing a sufficient back story to account for his and Haken's hostility towards each other, Wiebe and Jenkins's reinterpretation and recreation succeeds in bringing the character of the crocodile to life in a novel way while remaining true to Barrie's original purpose for the crocodile.

## **The persistence of memory and the birth of a legend**

Peter's story is one which has been retold numerous times, and as the narrator from Disney's *Peter Pan* points out: "All this has happened before. And it will all happen again" (Geronimi et al. 00:01:54-00:01:58 min.). Even Barrie hints at the continuation of the story of Peter Pan when in the novel he explains that Wendy's descendants

will continue to do Peter's spring cleaning for him: "and thus it will go on, so long as children are gay and innocent and heartless" (Barrie, *PW* 267; ch. 17). The legendarium of Peter Pan is enriched by Barrie's own admission that he cannot recall writing the play and in so doing, enforces the notion that the story does perhaps have a legendary origin.<sup>109</sup>

Abrams defines the term *legend* when in a story "the protagonist is a human being rather than a supernatural being" (Abrams 178). In *Peter Panzerfaust*, the notion of Peter as a legendary figure of WW II is perpetuated. For in this retelling, Peter is not a "supernatural being" who can actually fly and converse with fairies, but rather a human being who through brave feats — and others' experience and memory of those feats — created the illusion of an "other worldly being" in whom they could place their trust and hope of surviving the ravages of a World War. The way the graphic novel is told, through a series of interviews, emphasises the manner in which the legend of Peter was created. Mr Parsons even asks Tootles in the very first chapter "What is your first memory of [Peter]?" (Wiebe & Jenkins [2]; ch. 1). And each subsequent interview deals with what each of the Lost Boys and Tiger Lily can remember of Peter. Memory thus plays a crucial part in the creation of a legend of which an important part is the retelling thereof.

Wiebe and Jenkins also touch upon the creation of a legend in chapter 18, in which Emmerich (one of Kapitän Haken's *Blut Piraten*) captures Peter and tells him why he is loyal to Haken: Emmerich and the other *Blut Piraten* survived WW I because of Haken's able leadership. The graphic novel presents Emmerich's memories as detached utterances:

Haken survived because he believed it to his bones.  
And because he chose us to be part of that legacy, so did we.  
I can die, as any man. Haken wasn't talking about life and death.  
Legend. When even your enemies come to believe your convictions.  
Immortality. When the legend proves to be true.  
That is how you live forever.

(Wiebe & Jenkins [19]; ch. 18)

Emmerich confronts Peter with the question of what makes him different from Haken, to which Peter responds by saying that he does not want immortality, but to "survive this war and see my friends though to the other side" (Wiebe & Jenkins [20]; ch. 18).

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<sup>109</sup> See pages 47-50 (ch. 3) on Barrie's purported memory loss.

Peter also points out that during WW I, people were viewed as “objects to be destroyed” but he “recognize[s] them as human” (Wiebe & Jenkins [21]; ch. 18). Yet the hope for survival that Peter’s friends place in him is mirrored in the faith the *Blut Piraten* placed in Haken: they are, as Emmerich states, “[t]wo sides of the coin” (Wiebe & Jenkins [21]; ch. 18).

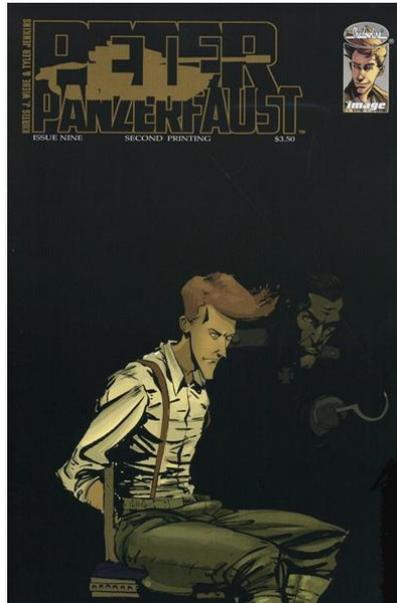


Fig. 58: Chapter 9, cover B.

Furthermore, the implied comparison Wiebe and Jenkins make between Peter and Haken is not new. The similarities between Hook and Peter have been “commented upon by several critics” (Friedman 211). Yeoman (16, 132) notes the following parallels between Hook and Peter:

They both have difficulty relating to others; they are isolated and self-centered; [. . .] and each fears the passage of time with the inevitable changes and transformations it occasions [. . .] Both Pan and Hook enjoy extraordinary powers, yet each suffers a desperate and self-destructive loneliness.

These parallels can be applied to Haken and Peter as well. By virtue of their being leaders, they are isolated from those under their command, and their self-centred belief in their own invincibility leads others to believe the same. Their fear of the passage of time is perhaps not as literal as it is for Barrie’s characters, but Wiebe and Jenkins’s Peter and Haken are constrained by the war: each must act quickly in order to best the enemy so time is of the essence. Both Haken and Peter are believed to possess extraordinary powers and are viewed as legends: Haken to his group of *Blut Piraten* whom he helped to survive WW I, and Peter to the Lost Boys, Tiger Lily and the Darlings in whom he kindles hope that they will survive WW II. Yet ultimately

Peter and Haken are removed from those around them, and are able to recognise their self-destructive loneliness in one another. It is this recognition that fuels their rivalry and ultimately leads to Peter’s “Hook or me this time” (Barrie, *PW* 215; ch. 15).



Fig. 59: Chapter 11, cover B.

Interestingly, Barrie’s first draft of the play had no mention of Hook. As Birkin mentions: “He didn’t need a villain because he already had one: ‘P[eter] a demon boy (villain of story).’ It was only due to the prosaic necessity of a ‘front-cloth scene’ to give the stagehands time to change the scenery from the Never Never Land back to the Darling Nursery that Hook was conceived at all [. . .]” (Birkin xiii). Hook was therefore born out of Peter’s exacerbated qualities — and Hook is the externalisation of Peter’s most unpleasing aspects. This is what perhaps goads Hook into his frenzied hatred towards Peter. While Hook recognises himself in Peter, that they are essentially two sides of the same coin, Peter’s youthful naivety prohibits him from recognising their similarity. As already mentioned, Barrie’s Hook is forever consciously striving to show “good form”, something which Peter Pan intuitively does. However, in the 1911 novel, Hook happily embraces his fate when Peter shows “bad form”, by kicking Hook instead of stabbing him and at last gets “the boon for which he craved” (Barrie, *PW* 230; ch. 15). As Friedman points out, “Peter [. . . has] finally revealed his true nature and, in so doing, proven himself as fallible as Hook, and more important, as capable of bad form” (215).

Earlier in volume II, Wiebe and Jenkins again investigate the notion of what it means to be a legend in a conversation between Haken and Peter. Wiebe and Jenkins also

incorporate the concept of Barrie's Peter chasing his shadow in an inventive way. While Haken interrogates Peter, he tells him of his family's proud military history and how he was "[a] boy with dreams of heroism and no war to call my own. A giant shadow to fall under, yes?" (Wiebe & Jenkins [8]; ch. 9). Peter's father also fought in WW I, and Haken asks Peter if his father was also a legend to which Peter responds: ". . . some would say [so]" (Wiebe & Jenkins [8]; ch. 9). Haken thus believes that Peter, like himself, is in France to "cast his own shadow" and that they both are "[f]orever chasing it to become part of [their] own history" (Wiebe & Jenkins [9]; ch. 9).

## **Mothers, fairies and seductive mermaids**

Peter's relationship with his mother has always been a complicated one. In *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, he is so enthralled by the lure of the gardens that he flies out the window to explore its delights (see Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* ch. 2). He loses his ability to fly and becomes trapped in the gardens, and it is only once the fairies have granted his wish that he is able to fly again. He eventually returns to his mother, who has been diligently waiting by the open window for her son, but decides there are still many adventures to be had and good-byes to be said before he returns to her indefinitely. For he firmly believed that the window would remain open and he would be able to return whenever he was ready (see Barrie, *PPKG* ch. 4). However, once he decided to return, he was met by the unwelcoming sight of a barred window and another little boy sleeping in his mother's arms (Barrie, *PPKG* 76; ch. 4). In *Peter and Wendy*, Peter's reason for leaving evolved into never wanting to grow up and led to his declaration: "I don't ever want to be a man [. . .] I want always to be a little boy and to have fun" (see Barrie, *PW* 42; ch. 2). It is only to Wendy's naive response that the window will always remain open in the hopes of their return that Peter admits the tragic event that led to his exile from his own nursery (see Barrie, *PW* ch. 11). As in *Kensington Gardens*, he says that when he returned the window was shut and another little boy had taken his place (see Barrie, *PW* 167; ch. 11).

In *Peter Panzerfaust*, when Felix asks Peter what an American boy is doing in France, Peter admits that he is looking for someone, someone whom he has been searching for his whole life (Wiebe & Kurtis [18]; ch. 1). He draws out a locket with the image of a woman on it, stating that "[s]he's been real hard to find [. . .]" (Wiebe &

Kurtis [18]; ch. 1).<sup>110</sup> Peter says he tracked her to Calais, but the war has hampered his progress, after which he quickly changes the topic. He only hints at this once more throughout the subsequent chapters. When Felix again asks him if he does not miss his home, Peter replies, but is interrupted: “Home has always been on the move. It’s been that way for a long time, ever since . . .” (Wiebe & Kurtis [6]; ch. 3). The reader never finds out what Peter is alluding to and the topic of Belle is not mentioned again. This will perhaps be resolved in the final two chapters and the fifth volume. What can be surmised from this insinuation is that perhaps Belle is Peter’s mother and that, for some reason, their relationship too has been sundered. I do not think however, that the name “Belle” is meant to invoke Tinker Bell. I rather believe that Peter’s mother is herself French and that she met Peter’s father while he was fighting in France during WW I.<sup>111</sup>

The fairy, Tinker Bell, does not appear in *Peter Panzerfaust* — not as a ball of light, a tinkling of bells, or as a mischievous fay. The idea of Tinker Bell is hinted at however, in subtle ways. For example, the pub in which Peter and the Lost Boys congregate after meeting the resistance fighters known as the Braves is called The Pot and Kettle (Wiebe & Jenkins [7]; ch. 17). As Barrie’s Peter explains, Tinker Bell’s name comes from the fact that she “mends the fairy pots and kettles” (*PP* 32). The other hint readers have of the notion of fairies is in reference to the idea instilled by Barrie that one needs pixie dust and happy thoughts to fly (see Barrie, *PW* 54; ch. 3, *PP* 35). Wiebe and Jenkins use this idea in two ways, namely as an expression and an oath. When Peter tries to escape from Emmerich he is pursued by hounds and this leads him to use the expletive: “Pixie dust!” (Wiebe & Jenkins [9]; ch. 18). In response to Julien asking him to trust in his plan to save Felix (who was captured by the Germans in chapter 5), Peter says that: “All the world is made of faith, and trust, and pixie dust” (Wiebe & Jenkins [13]; ch. 6). Peter’s says that this was his father’s reply whenever Peter dared to question his authority. It thus possibly symbolises an expression of hope — that sometimes one must merely have enough faith that things will work out, trust others to help you, or trust in a bit of magic or luck. This expression however, references Disney’s adaptation of Barrie’s idea, and is an excellent example of the palimpsestic nature of Wiebe and Jenkins’s story. For in

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<sup>110</sup> The locket which Peter Panzerfaust wears is a transposition of the locket Wendy fashions out of the “kiss” Peter gives her — which is an acorn button attached to a chain (see Barrie, *PW* 41; ch. 3). This locket later saves Wendy’s life as it stops Tootle’s arrow from piercing her heart (see Barrie, *PW* 98; ch. 6).

<sup>111</sup> We know Peter’s father fought in WW I, as is evidenced in the conversation between Peter and Haken (see *Persistence of memory* section, p. 126).

Disney's *Peter Pan*, Peter says explicitly, after the Darling children fail to fly for the first time, that "[a]ll it takes is faith and trust. [. . .] Just a little bit of pixie dust" (Geronimi et al. 00:17:30-00:17:41 min.).

The Darlings not only need faith, trust and pixie dust to fly, but also happy thoughts. Wendy's happy thoughts usually stem from the idea of meeting mermaids (see Barrie, *PW* 50; ch. 3, Geronimi et al. 00:16:59-00:17:04 min.; Hogan 00:22:43-00:22:45 min.). In *Peter Panzerfaust*, a form of torture that Peter endures as Emmerich's captive is near-drowning. Before losing consciousness, Peter hallucinates that Wendy, who has transformed into a mermaid, has come to save him (Wiebe & Jenkins [12]; ch. 18). However, the mermaids are incorporated into Wiebe and Jenkins's story in a more realistic way and befitting the milieu of the story. In chapter 21, Maurice and Claude visit a brothel in Paris, but it becomes clear that this is also a way to spy subtly on the many German soldiers who also frequent the establishment (Wiebe & Jenkins [8-9]). Claude mentions the brothel as The Lagoon, and Maurice later confirms its full title as The Mermaid's Lagoon (Wiebe & Jenkins [20]; ch. 22). The mermaids, dressed in apparel mimicking green fish scales, appear to be a part of the resistance against the Germans and have used their wiles to establish a spy information network (Wiebe & Jenkins [10-13]; ch. 22). While these mermaids may not be like Barrie's, who play with rainbow bubbles (see *PW* 124), they do fit into the world Wiebe and Jenkins have created. Just as Wiebe and Jenkins have reinterpreted and recreated certain semiotic elements to fit within their version of the story, so too have the mermaids been adapted and transposed into the new milieu in which Barrie's characters find themselves.

Peter's mother, Tinker Bell and the mermaids are all part of the story of Peter Pan. Wiebe and Jenkins have effectively incorporated these matriarchal, magical, and mythical elements into their WW II version. By referencing not only Barrie, but also Disney, they have shown that theirs is a multilaminar and palimpsestic work incorporating both "open [and] covert citations and *allusions*" to these recognisable other works through their "repetitions and transformations" (Abrams 325).

## “An Afterthought”<sup>112</sup>

From what can be surmised so far, from volumes I to IV and chapters 21 to 23, many of the Lost Boys, Tiger Lily, and Wendy, did survive the war thanks to Peter. The enigma lies however in what happened to the legend that saved them. The final two chapters will be from Wendy Darling’s perspective. In a Facebook post, Wiebe wrote that in these chapters the “woman who knew Peter as no other reveals her secrets, and the mystery behind the man will finally be revealed” (18 February 2015). The final chapter in Barrie’s novel is titled “When Wendy grew up” (*PW* 248; ch. 17) and narrates what happened to the children when they returned from Neverland. Most important, however, is the fact that Wendy did indeed grow up, was married and had a daughter of her own (see Barrie *PW* ch. 17). At the end of chapter 21 (Wiebe & Jenkins [22]), Wendy is shown to be pregnant and thus Wendy’s desire, to be something other than a mother figure to Peter, finds fulfilment in this version of the story (see Biase 102). In all probability, Wiebe and Jenkins’s Wendy will have a little girl just as Barrie’s Wendy had a little girl named Jane (*PW* 258; ch. 17). Jane is inquisitive:

When she was old enough to [ask questions of] them they were mostly about Peter Pan. She loved to hear of Peter, and Wendy told her all she could remember in the very nursery from which the famous flight had taken place.

(Barrie, *PW* 258; ch. 17)

Part of Wendy’s charm, and a reason why she left the Nursery for Neverland is because of her ability as a story-teller and the fact that she knows “lots of stories” (Barrie, *PW* 49; ch. 3). In Wiebe and Jenkins’s version, through Mr Parsons’s interviews, Wendy will once again remember her adventure and answer questions about Peter by telling his story.

I also think that, if Peter does find his mother, he will be faced with the same disappointment as Barrie’s Peter (see p. 126). He will find that the window has been barred against him: it may be that, even though he finds his mother, they are unable to resume their relationship. Or, seeing as it is war-torn France, she may have become a casualty, thus preventing their reunion.

The end of chapter 23 also hints at the final battle between Peter and Hook, or in this case, Peter and Haken. Peter and the Lost Boys have one final mission — to save

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<sup>112</sup> Barrie, 1908 qtd. in Green 109.

Mr Monnier, the contact between the French Resistance and the Allies, from Haken's clutches (Wiebe & Jenkins [16]; ch. 23). Haken has Monnier prisoner aboard an unnamed battleship in the port of Cherbourg.<sup>113</sup> Peter and the Lost Boys rendezvous in a house in the city which acts as their command centre, and after having an argument with Claude (one of the twins), Peter, Wendy, and Maurice go out to a bar to relax (Wiebe & Jenkins [17-20]; ch. 23). When they return, however, the house has been destroyed and the other members of the Lost Boys are missing. A single note is left for Peter which reads: "It's time" (Wiebe & Jenkins [21-22]; ch. 23).

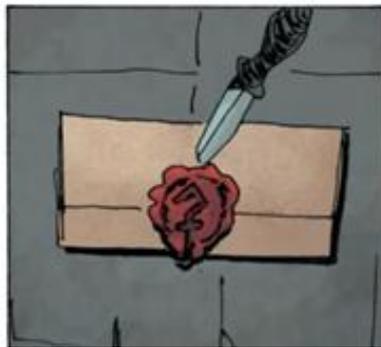


Fig. 60: Haken's emblem on note.



Fig. 61: Haken's message for Peter.

From the information presented, I believe that the final confrontation between Peter and Haken will take place on board the ship and Peter will not only have to save Monnier, but the other Lost Boys as well. I believe that Wiebe and Jenkins's story will correspond to Barrie's "Hook or me this time" chapter (see Barrie, *PW* ch. 15). Haken will meet his downfall at the hands of the crocodile and this defeat will signify the beginning of the end for the Nazi army.



Fig. 62: Jenkins will be finishing the last chapters in water-colour.

<sup>113</sup> Rickard says that "[t]he capture of the port of Cherbourg was one of the most important early objectives for the Allies after the D-Day landings. The planners [. . .] believed that the capture of an intact major port was essential [. . .], and Cherbourg was the only such port in the Normandy area. The Germans were also aware of this, and had strongly fortified every major port in the possible invasion areas, in the hope that this would allow them to overwhelm the Allies on the beaches" ("Battle of Cherbourg").

At the end of Barrie’s play, Peter promises to return to Wendy “to hear stories about [himself]!” (Barrie, *PP* 90), as he gloatingly says. Yet Wendy has her doubts about the validity of his statement as he already has forgotten Hook, the Lost Boys, and even Tinker Bell (Barrie, *PP* 89-90; *PW* 255-56; ch. 17). It is also evident in the novel that he has forgotten about Wendy as he returns for her again, after they have had only a few spring-cleaning sessions, only after she is grown up (Barrie, *PW* 261; ch. 17). My conclusion, based on the ending of Volume IV and the hints that Peter disappeared after the war, has led me to believe that in some way, Peter may be suffering memory loss (perhaps induced by post-traumatic stress) and this would be true to the character created.<sup>114</sup> If it is the case that Wiebe and Jenkins’s Peter also suffers from memory loss, it would be a poignant homage to the character Barrie created nearly 100 years ago.



Fig. 63: A water-colour image posted 4 February 2016 heralding the final chapter.

## Conclusion

While Wiebe may not view *Peter Panzerfaust* as an adaptation, I find that this graphic novel is an excellent example of a successful adaptation of Barrie’s original story. The semiotic elements that Wiebe and Jenkins have incorporated are in keeping with Hutcheon’s theory of adaptation: the transcoding of Barrie’s story has involved not only a shift of medium (from novel to graphic novel), but also a change of context (from the imaginary Neverland to the historical “reality” of WW II).

As a process of creation, *Peter Panzerfaust* has reinterpreted and recreated elements from the original in order to create a new, visually stunning story that has

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<sup>114</sup> In a 2015 interview, Wiebe said that he had done some research on PTSD for *Peter Panzerfaust* (Fuxe, “Kurtis J. Wiebe Scares”).

made readers see Barrie's characters in an innovative way. Wiebe and Jenkins have, through their use of imagery and dialogue, incorporated many semiotic elements from Barrie's original story. They have interpreted Barrie's verbal signs (text) through a nonverbal sign system (comic illustrations). And while many of the characters have been reinterpreted and recreated, they are still recognisably the characters we have come to know through reading Barrie's stories — albeit more grown-up, frightening, and decidedly human.

The signs for which the characters stood in Barrie's *Neverland* have been changed and adapted to suit the new context of WW II created by Wiebe and Jenkins. For those readers who are familiar with Barrie's original story, or even with the filmic adaptations, *Peter Panzerfaust* continues to provide an "extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work" (Hutcheon 8). The memory of the original story resonates strongly within the text and imagery of the graphic novel and the palimpsestic nature of this adaptation adds to the pleasure of reading the graphic novel.

Even though the graphic novel should be viewed as a form of literature in its own right — and even though this adaptation of Barrie's story presents readers with a unique version of the original — certain losses and gains did occur in the adaptation process. In terms of losses, textual purists may be offended that Jenkins and Wiebe transposed Barrie's story to a WW II setting, resulting in grown up and "realistic" characters. However, from the discussion it is evident that these changes were necessary for the story to function in the new setting and be more believable to readers. These losses result in gains within the context of the graphic novel. For, within these changes, the characters find fulfilment — Peter can at last cry "[t]o live would be an awfully big adventure" (Barrie, *PP* 90); Wendy finally finds her love reciprocated; the crocodile is more than a mindless beast, he is a man out for revenge; and the portrayal of the enmity between Haken and Peter allows us to reconceptualise the antagonism between Barrie's Hook and Peter. And while this story still needs to end, evidence suggests that Wiebe and Jenkins will not deviate from Barrie's own ending. For while Peter has grown up in this version, there is still "one joy from which he must be for ever barred" (Barrie, *PW* 247; ch. 16) — and that is the joy of belonging to a family, for all children do grow up, except one.

# Chapter 6

## Conclusions

### The “riddle of his being”<sup>115</sup>

Nearly 20 years after writing the first stage version of the Peter Pan play, Barrie was still tinkering with the story. In 1922, 18 months after the tragic drowning of Michael Llewelyn Davies, Barrie had a dream in which Michael returned for a year, unaware that he had died. However, as the anniversary of his death approached he was forced to succumb to drowning once again (Birkin 296). Barrie tried to create a story from this dream and interestingly, one of the notes he made about this attempt is: “It is as if long after writing ‘P. Pan’ its true meaning came to me — Desperate attempt to grow up but can’t” (Birkin 297). Birkin states that this sentiment was incorporated into the stage directions of the 1928 play (297) —

PETER (*passionately*). I don’t want to go to school and learn solemn things. No one is going to catch me, lady, and make me a man. I want always to be a little boy and to have fun.

(*So perhaps he thinks, but it is only his greatest pretend.*)

(Barrie, *PP* 88)

From the note and Barrie’s stage directions it becomes apparent that Peter is only pretending not to want to grow up. In fact, even within Barrie’s own mind, Peter’s natural evolution has led him to adapt to the stories Barrie conjured up to entertain the ever-growing Llewelyn Davies boys. Thus it is not hard to imagine why other adapters have also chosen to depict Peter not as the baby he once was, but as a pre-adolescent, and a teenager. This is particularly necessary if one applies Bassnett and Lefevere’s “cultural turn” to adaptation studies, and considers Jakobson’s intersemiotic transmutation and Hutcheon’s process of creation. For Peter to survive in our day and age, his story must be reinterpreted and recreated so that he may “[. . .] live convincingly for 21<sup>st</sup> century audiences” (Hollindale, “Hundred Years” 213). Thus the sign for which Peter stands in the original story must be changed into one which is more fully developed, not only so that he may be more accessible to modern audiences, but also so that he may be able to function within the new medium into which his sign was adapted (Hutcheon 16; Jakobson 127).

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<sup>115</sup> Barrie, *PP* 90.

However, these adaptive changes should not be viewed negatively. Instead they should be deemed an essential criterion when judging whether an adaptation is good or bad. Logophiles should attempt to be unbiased when viewing an adaptation and consider the fact that their beloved text has undergone a change in medium — and thus treat the adaptation as *an adaptation* (Hutcheon 16, 85). Perhaps this reworking of a favourite text will even lead them to new discoveries about the original story. For adaptations are “inherently ‘palimpsestuous’ works, haunted at all times by their adapted texts” (Hutcheon 6). And therein lies the pleasure of seeing one’s beloved text recreated anew through the art of adaptation. Our memory is triggered by the repetitions and variations of the adaptation, and this allows us to recognise the “intricately interwoven” relationship the adaptation has with the original (see ch. 2). As Mitchell Banks, in response to a debate on eternal youth, stated: “[t]he reason why older people are happier than young people is because they are more conscious of happiness. It is in memory that thorough pleasure lies” (qtd. in Hanson 325).

And while Peter Pan has had so many adventures that he is able to forget Wendy, the Lost Boys, Hook, and even Tinker Bell (Barrie, *PP* 90), it is our memory of him and his story that allows us to derive pleasure from the many adaptations that exist. Thus I would have to disagree with Tatar who stated that Peter Pan “[. . .] risks, through a process of cultural entropy, becoming a cartoon version of himself as his story is adapted, appropriated, and recycled” (lx). Peter Pan and his story have both become ingrained in our cultural consciousness, and, as Green points out:

For every one person who has seen the play or read the story, there are hundreds who know perfectly well who and what Peter Pan is. Besides being a fairy-tale character, he is also a symbol — of what, precisely, even Barrie could not find the words to describe: “I’m youth, I’m joy! I’m a little bird that has broken out of the egg!”  
(35)

Perhaps this answer of Peter’s is not a response to who or what he is, but to the way in which those who remember and (re)discover him experience his story. For seeing an adaptation of Peter Pan’s story brings back memories — memories of the joyful days of one’s youth, in which one first encountered the story of that one boy who would not grow up. This act of remembering is as delightful as witnessing a little bird breaking out of its egg. And as even Barrie said: “PETER PAN will laughingly blow the fairy dust in your eyes and presto! You’ll be back in the nursery, and once more you’ll believe in fairies, [. . .]” (Barrie, qtd. in Brenon 0:01:22-0:02:01min).

## Theoretical contexts revisited

In applying the theoretical approaches of Hutcheon, Jakobson, Bassnett and Lefevere to the various (re)tellings of the Peter Pan story, three questions formed the focus of the research in this study. These questions were:

1. What semiotic elements of the Peter Pan story have been (re-)interpreted and (re-)created in the various adaptations?
2. How do the (re-)interpretations and (re-)creations of the various adaptations engage with the original Peter Pan story?
3. Which elements of the Peter Pan story have been lost and why, and which gained, across the various adaptations?

Firstly, there are various semiotic elements of the original Peter Pan story that have been (re)interpreted and (re)created in the various adaptations. These reinterpretations and recreations do not include only Peter himself, but also the other characters and situations throughout the story. The reinterpretations and recreations that I have discussed in this dissertation include the following.

In their 1924 silent film adaptation, Brenon and Paramount decided to ignore Barrie's proposed film scenario and chose rather to present the equivalent of a filmed stage play. Very little reinterpretation and recreation took place. However, the character of Tinker Bell was brought to life through clever technical lighting and miniaturising close-up action shots. Her reinterpretation and recreation by Brenon brought the character to life and changed her from merely a ball of light and sound of tinkling bells on stage into a living fairy (see p. 73-75; ch. 4). Disney's creative animation of Peter Pan's story gave "[. . .] free rein to the imagination" (qtd. in Tatar 326) and nowhere is this more evident than in the sequence when Peter and the Darlings fly to Neverland. And though this image has become emblematic of the story itself, it was an image constructed by Disney. Through animation, Disney was able to reinterpret and recreate a scene that had to be left to the imagination and was never discussed in detail in Barrie's versions (see p. 82-84; ch. 4). Hogan recreated Barrie's story by using an amalgamation of both the stage play and novel. Through the use of child actors, he was also able to give audiences the "first authentic performance of the story" (Hollindale, "Hundred Years" 212). The character of Wendy especially was reinterpreted and recreated to appeal to modern audiences through being ambitious

(she wants to become a novelist) and not afraid to join in the fighting (see p. 89-92; ch. 4). The shadow scene, in which Peter tries to subdue his wilful shadow into submission, is a visually thrilling reinterpretation and recreation of a previously muted textual and play performance scene. Its choreographed acrobatics make audiences believe that it is indeed possible to be separated from one's shadow and makes the enchantment of Barrie's creation more discerning (see p. 92-94; ch. 4). Wiebe and Jenkins's WW II version employs innovative and nuanced ways to place Barrie's characters within a new, realistic setting. For example, Peter's shadow is the subject not only of visual allusion (see figure 37, p. 108; ch. 5), but also of discussion between Haken and Peter (see p. 126; ch. 5). Wiebe and Jenkins also reinterpreted Peter's ability to fly from Barrie's story to function within the historical parameters of WW II (see p. 109-13; ch. 5). The signs of Haken and The Croc are similarly transposed (see p. 116-22; ch. 5).

Secondly, the (re)interpretations and (re)creations of the various adaptations do engage with the original Peter Pan stories, and the original Peter Pan stories do play a role in the creation of the adaptations. All the adaptations identify either the play or the novel as inspiration for their versions of the story. Brenon simply presented the stage play on the screen, yet his characterisation of Tinker Bell brought the lively little sprite to life, so much so that her cheeky saying of "You silly ass" (Barrie, *PW* 45) becomes more endearing (see p. 72-78; ch. 4). While Disney incorporated popular cultural opinions and Barrie's novel into its adaptation, its many elaborations and embellishments, such as the noted flying sequence, derive from the original story (see p. 78-85; ch. 4). It was perhaps also the first time in which the magic of Neverland and its inhabitants was truly brought to life, for as Tineé said: "[t]hanks to the wizardry of the animated cartoon, [. . .]. They can do and perform any feat demanded by the author's animation with the greatest of ease" ("Disney's *Peter Pan*").

Hogan, whose version is perhaps the most successful adaptation with regards to Barrie's vision for a film version, not only tried to make the story his own, but used the play and novel as supplementary sources to inform his adaptive decisions (see p. 87-94; ch. 4). Hogan successfully brought together the various Barrie versions and created a "palimpsestic" adaptation through which the "memory of other works [can . . .] resonate through repetition with variation" (Hutcheon 7-8). Wiebe and Jenkins also used Barrie's story as a source, but because of their realistic setting,

only incorporated some of the semiotic elements. They interpreted Barrie's verbal signs (text) through a nonverbal sign system (comic illustrations). Yet their reinterpretations and recreations resonate so strongly with the original story that we are still able to recognise the characters we have come to know through reading Barrie's stories (see p. 105-28; ch. 5).

And lastly, there are elements from the Peter Pan story that have been lost and gained across the various adaptations. In Brenon's silent film, he showed the potential of cinema to bring fantasy elements into existence through the innovative technology used to bring Tinker Bell to life. Brenon's failure was that he merely resorted to doing what had been done on stage and ignored Barrie's proposed screenplay which surely would have added to the fantastical story of Peter Pan (see p. 75-78; ch. 4). The loss incurred by this adaptation, through its unwillingness to adapt, is that both Paramount and Brenon failed to make the "adapted material [their] own" and are thus guilty of "slavish copying" (Hutcheon 20). Disney's version may have embellished and elaborated on the original story, and gained a memorable flying sequence which thrilled audiences, so that it artistically supplanted Barrie's prior works (Hutcheon 20). However, according to critics it failed to capture the spirit of the original (see p. 85; ch. 4). This loss stems from the fact that Disney deliberately catered to audience expectations, established through the ARI findings and in-house surveys. Disney catered to the cultural demands of the post-WW II era, and enforced the notion of puppy love between Peter and Wendy and reduced Captain Hook into a comical farce (see p. 78-82; ch. 4).

Hogan's version may not have been satisfactory to textual purists, but his casting of child actors in the roles of the main characters enabled him to present, perhaps for the first time, an authentic performance of the story (see p. 87-90; ch. 4). This can be viewed as a gain in that, by moving away from the notion of children established by the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras, the story has become more accessible to modern audiences. Hogan's version is perhaps also the most "palimpsestuous" (Blin-Rolland 288) version of the Peter Pan story because it references not only Barrie's works, but also Disney's (see p. 92-94; ch. 4). Wiebe and Jenkins's adaptation, on the other hand, is markedly different from the well-known original story. However, it is through the reader's memory of the original story and the way these elements are hinted at throughout their adaptation that the reader gains pleasure. In terms of losses, textual purists may be offended that Jenkins and Wiebe

transposed Barrie's story to a WW II setting, resulting in grown up and "realistic" characters and situations (see p. 105-28; ch. 5). Yet, if one views these losses as a part of treating the graphic novel as *an adaptation*, they become gains and certain elements from within Barrie's story find fulfilment in Wiebe and Jenkins's version: Peter can at last cry "[t]o live would be an awfully big adventure" (Barrie, *PP* 90); Wendy finally finds her love reciprocated; and the portrayal of the enmity between Haken and Peter allows us to rethink the antagonism between Barrie's Hook and Peter (see p. 129-31; ch. 5).

## **Recommendations for future research**

The preceding chapters have collectively demonstrated the dynamic nature and versatility of the Peter Pan story since its inception. Accordingly, it would be wrong for this study to lay claim to any measure of exhaustiveness on the subject, as much necessary and fruitful research remains to be done on the subject matter. As this dissertation is nearing completion, the final issues of *Peter Panzerfaust* are still being written (which, as noted previously, sadly precluded their being definitively discussed here). The proliferation of Peter Pan to other media is inevitable, as is evidenced by this study. Thus any future interpretations and adaptations will provide new sources for analysis and criticism that will further add to the growing body of knowledge surrounding Barrie's brainchild. Yet, in casting a glance over the content of this study, I believe that I have merely scratched the surface of the intricate layers found in the palimpsestic nature of the various Peter Pan adaptations. I am of the opinion that there is more potential research to be done on the semiotics of the Peter Pan story and their enduring versatility. As this study has demonstrated, Barrie's masterly use of signs apparently transcends time. The signs that Barrie has combined in the Peter Pan story are at once strikingly clear, yet tantalisingly elusive. Thus, if one acknowledges that the strength of adaptation and translation resides in the ability "[. . .] to 'adjust, to alter, to make [it more] suitable' " by transposing the sign "[. . .] into some further, alternative sign, especially a sign 'in which it is more fully developed' " in a new medium (Hutcheon 7; Jakobson 127), then there remains much to be written on the subject of the constructs and elements that Barrie chose to incorporate in his vision of the eternal boy-child.

## Conclusion

Of course the elusive Peter Pan will continue to haunt our dreams and find his way onto the silver screen or the pages of a new book — for there are adventures to be had there. If even Barrie struggled to capture this magical boy in a definitive version, are we really in a position to judge harshly those who try to lure the flighty youth into existence through their own re-imaginings? After all, it is through the numerous retellings, reinterpretations and recreations that Peter has continued to live on in our collective imagination. For there are those storytellers who have mastered the art of repeating stories and will not allow us to forget Peter, ensuring his immortality and the continued belief in him, by children and adults alike. And after all, Peter promised Wendy with boastful self-assurance that he would return: “To hear stories about me!” (Barrie, *PP* 90).

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Versions of the Peter Pan Story

The Table below provides a chronological list of the Peter Pan stories as well as a brief overview of the most notable differences between the various versions, starting with the story in which the character of Peter Pan first appears and ending with the latest graphic novel adaptation. This Table greatly expands on the information provided in Table 1 (see p. 50; ch. 3).

TITLE	DATE	FORMAT	COMMENTS
<i>The Little White Bird</i>	1902 (1 <sup>st</sup> published)	Novel for adult readership	In this version of the Peter Pan story, the narrator, Captain W—, is friends with a young boy named David, and they tell each other stories concerning the adventures of a young Peter Pan (who is only seven days old) in Kensington Gardens.
<i>Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up</i>	1904 (1 <sup>st</sup> performed)	Play (stage performances)	A stage production of the Peter Pan story with which we are familiar today and which captured the imagination and hearts of children and adults alike. While it was first performed in 1904, the play was not published until 24 years later.
<i>Typescript of [Peter Pan]</i>	1904-05	Play (initial production typescript)	This typescript is held at the Walter Beinecke Jr. Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. It is a version of the play, in three acts, used in the 1904-05 production. While it is a typescript, there are also manuscript revisions in an unidentified hand.
<i>Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens</i>	1906	Novel for children	After the success of the stage adaptation of Peter Pan, Barrie's publishers decided to extract chapters 13 to 18 of <i>The Little White Bird</i> and, adding only a few minor changes, published it as a separate novel specifically for children. The story was illustrated by the famous artist, Arthur Rackham.
<i>Peter and Wendy</i>	1911	Novel for children	This novel further developed the adventures of Peter Pan and the Darling children, and was based on an expansion of the stage play. As in the stage play, Peter is no longer a seven-day-old babe, but has grown into a child of indeterminate age. The only clue we are given concerning his age is that he still has all his baby teeth. The title was later changed to <i>Peter Pan and Wendy</i> , to make use of the recognition of the main character. Today the story is published as <i>Peter Pan</i> .
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1920s (alleged period in which script was completed)	Screenplay (written for a silent film)	Barrie began writing this screenplay after declining an offer for the rights to <i>Peter Pan</i> in 1918. When Paramount Pictures offered to buy the rights some years later, Barrie consented and sent them his screenplay which was "complete with subtitles, a profusion of new visual details and descriptive embellishments" (Tatar 275).
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1924 (1 <sup>st</sup> film)	Silent film – live action	Paramount Pictures politely declined Barrie's screenplay and allowed director Herbert Brenon to develop his own script. Brenon closely followed the original plot of the play, and the intertitles incorporate much of the original stage dialogue.
<i>Peter Pan or The Boy Who Would not Grow Up</i>	1928 (1 <sup>st</sup> published)	Play script	This was the first time the play's script had been published. It includes a dedication 'To The Five' (referring to the Llewelyn-Davies boys), in which Barrie mentions how he made Peter, "by rubbing the five of you violently together [. . .] That is all he is, the spark I got from you" (Barrie, <i>PP</i> 3).
<i>Walt Disney's Peter Pan</i>	1953	Film - animation	This was the first animated film based on the story of Peter Pan and Walt Disney himself felt that cartoons were the perfect format to bring this story to life and said: "Live actors are limited, but with cartoons we can give free rein to the imagination" (Ohmer 151).
<i>Peter Pan</i>	2003	Film – live action	Directed by P.J. Hogan, this film is known for its state-of-the-art visual effects which aimed to create scenes which the supervisor of visual effects called "something from a story book, with gorgeous saturated colours" (Tatar 336). The film also explores a romantic relationship between Peter and Wendy, as well as showing Hook contending for Wendy's affections.
<i>Peter Panzerfaust</i>	2012 – 2016?	Multi-volume graphic novel	Written by Kurtis J. Wiebe and illustrated by Tyler Jenkins, this version of Peter Pan is set during World War II. It follows Peter (a 17-year-old American teenager) who, together with an orphaned group of Lost Boys, battle against the nefarious Kapitän Haken.

## Appendix B: *Peter and Wendy* (1911)

The Table below contains a brief summary of the 1911 novel, *Peter and Wendy*, indicating from which acts the chapters derived from the play *Peter Pan* arose.

Novel	Summary	Play
Chapter 1: Peter breaks Through	The Darling family are introduced, including Mr and Mrs Darling and Nana. The absurdity of a dog as a nanny is explored; Mrs Darling tidies her children's minds, discovering Peter in Wendy's mind; Mrs Darling dreams of Peter.	Act 1
Chapter 2: The Shadow	Mrs Darling discovers that Peter is real; Nana bites off his shadow; the shadow is put in the drawer; readers are told of the events of that fateful Friday; the Darling children play at having families of their own; Mr Darling tricks Michael into taking medicine; Mr and Mrs Darling go out to a party; Peter Pan approaches.	Act 1
Chapter 3: Come Away, Come Away!	Peter Pan and Tinker Bell come looking for his shadow; Wendy woken by Peter's cries of frustration and helps him with the shadow; Peter tells Wendy about Neverland; Peter convinces her to come with him and they wake up John and Michael; Peter teaches them to fly; Mr and Mrs Darling, warned by Nana, are too late to stop their children from leaving.	Act 1
Chapter 4: The Flight	Description of the flight to Neverland; Peter sometimes forgets who they are; tells them about Captain Jas Hook; Tinker Bell takes a dislike to Wendy and decides to kill her.	
Chapter 5: The Island Come True	Description of Island; introduced to the Lost Boys as well as the crew of the Jolly Roger, the Redskins, and the crocodile; Hook expresses fear of the crocodile; pirates discover the home of the lost Boys; Tinker Bell convinces Tootles to shoot Wendy.	Act 2
Chapter 6: The Little House	Tinker Bell's trickery is discovered; Tootles confesses to Peter that he killed Wendy; Peter banishes Tinker Bell; Wendy is found to be alive; they build her a house; they ask her to be their mother and she accepts.	Act 2
Chapter 7: The Home Under the Ground	Readers are introduced to the daily rituals and workings of the Darlings' new home amongst the Lost Boys and Peter; Wendy embraces the role of mother.	
Chapter 8: The Mermaids' Lagoon	Wendy tries to befriend mermaids to no avail; pirates abandon Tiger Lily on Marooner's Rock; Peter saves Tiger Lily by mimicking Captain Hook; Peter and Hook battle; Peter is injured; Wendy and Peter endangered on the rock; Wendy is saved by kite; Peter utters: "To die will be an awfully big adventure".	Act 3
Chapter 9: The Never Bird	The Never Bird rescues Peter by giving him her nest to use as a boat. John's hat becomes her new nest; Children talk over their adventures when Peter is safe at home.	Act 3
Chapter 10: The Happy Home	Indians are now allies of Peter in thanks for saving Tiger Lily; continuation of Wendy's role as "mother" and Peter's as "father"; Wendy and Tinker Bell try to make amends; Peter wants Wendy to only be a mother to him, nothing more; they settle down to hear Wendy tell them a bedtime story.	Act 4

Chapter 11: Wendy's Story	Wendy tells them a story about her family, showing how they will feel if they do not return; Wendy says their mother will always leave the window open for them; Peter says this is false and says she should return home if she wants; Wendy convinces others to join her.	Act 4
Chapter 12: The Children Are Carried Off	Pirates ambush Indians who were also listening to Wendy's story; pirates trick the Darlings and Lost Boys in believing the Indians have won so that they will come out of their home.	Act 4
Chapter 13: Do You Believe in Fairies?	Children are captured and taken to ship; Peter falls asleep; Hook places poison in Peter's medicine; Tinker Bell tells Peter of the children's capture and the poison; Peter does not believe her and attempts to drink it; Tinker Bell sacrifices herself — "Clap if you believe in fairies"; Tinker Bell is saved; they go off to save the others.	Act 4
Chapter 14: The Pirate Ship	Description of pirate ship and how Hook desires to be loved by the children; Hook gives them the option of joining the crew or walking the plank; no one wants to join; ticking of the crocodile is heard.	Act 5, Scene 1
Chapter 15: "Hook or Me This Time"	The crocodile is actually Peter mimicking the sound; Peter kills pirates one by one; pirates think it is a demon because they believe Peter to be dead; before they can throw Wendy overboard in an attempt to appease the spirit, Peter reveals himself; Peter & Hook battle: Peter wins & Hook is eaten by the crocodile; Peter has one of his dreams.	Act 5, Scene 1
Chapter 16: The Return Home	The children play at being pirates for a while; they plan their homecoming; Mr Darling is living in Nana's kennel; Mrs Darling dreams of the children coming back; Peter orders Tinker Bell to bar the windows so that the children cannot enter but repents when he sees Mrs Darling's tears; the children slip in unnoticed; joyous family reunion; Peter excluded.	Act 5, Scene 2
Chapter 17: When Wendy Grew Up	Wendy convinces her mother to adopt the Lost Boys; Peter refuses Mrs Darling's offer to adopt him as well; Mrs Darling agrees to let Wendy go to spring clean for Peter once a year; others become adjusted to life as normal children; Peter comes for Wendy one year later, but in the mean time has forgotten Hook and Tinker Bell; Wendy grows up and has her own daughter, Jane; Peter returns and is upset by Wendy's having grown up but invites Jane to take her place; Jane also grows up and her daughter Margaret then follows Peter to Neverland.	Act 5, Scene 2

The scene in the play called "An Afterthought" was performed only once during Barrie's lifetime and was unpublished until 1957 (see p. 54; ch. 3). It was revived in 1982 by the Royal Shakespeare Company and as Hollindale notes: "[it] seems likely to find favour as the standard ending for [the] play [. . . and] one that accords with modern tastes" (Hollindale, "Note" vii). Ormond notes that "this scene, with its stress on the eternal nature of Peter, makes a more satisfying ending than the briefer episode with Wendy a year later with which the play usually concludes" (qtd. in Hollindale, "Note" vii).

## Appendix C: List of Peter Pan films

The Table below contains a brief list of some the Peter Pan films and adaptations. It also includes the filmed stage television productions as well as the Tinker Bell spin-off series.

TITLE	DATE	FORMAT
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1924	Silent film — live action
<i>Walt Disney's Peter Pan</i>	1953	Film — animation
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1955	Filmed stage television production
<i>Peter Pan</i>	1976	Filmed stage television production
<i>The Lost Boys</i>	1987	Film — live action
<i>Hook</i>	1991	Film — live action
<i>Peter Pan</i>	2000	Filmed stage television production
<i>Walt Disney's Return to Neverland</i>	2002	Film — animation
<i>Peter Pan</i>	2003	Film — live action
<i>Walt Disney's Tinker Bell series</i>	2008 - 2015	Film — animation
<i>Pan</i>	2015	Film — live action

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