

Boys of the Empire : J.M. Barrie and Robert Baden-Powell

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Abstract

The character Peter Pan first appeared in the early twentieth century. The problem with our reading of J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, which has been popular worldwide since its publication, is that fantasy pervades this literary text and its analysis. A careful political reading of *Peter Pan* is necessary and important for us to reveal that it secretly embodies the ideology of British imperialism. The fantastic image of *Peter Pan* overshadows this ideology and enables Anglo-Saxons to rule the world. In this paper, "Boys of the Empire," I will begin with a brief look at Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, which is contemporary with *Peter Pan*, in order to show that the boys' deeds in *Peter Pan* are closely connected to the British Empire's expansionary policy.

1

Peter Pan is generally regarded as fantasy fiction for children. Critics mostly associated *Peter Pan* with children's literature and categorized it as a fairy tale or a romance.¹ *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (edited by Jeffrey Richards) is an important book that shows a close connection between English children's literature and the British Empire. According to the book, the British Empire used children's literature as motivation to acquire its colonies. In the book, Martin Green states that *Peter Pan* is an imperial adventure story (48). I will begin this paper, "Boys of the Empire," with a brief look at *Peter Pan*'s contemporary text, Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, which shows that the boys (John, Michael, and the lost boys) in *Peter Pan* are closely connected with the British Empire.

2

Mr. J.M. Barrie writes : "Those who bring sunshine to the lives of others, cannot keep happiness from themselves," which means, if you make other people happy, you make yourself happy. (Baden-Powell 227)

Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell mentions J.M. Barrie in *Scouting for Boys : A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*. His favorite play was J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, which he saw several times while planning *Scouting for Boys*. He had so great an enthusiasm for *Peter Pan* that he named his son "Peter" (Boehmer xxx-xi). Baden-Powell was a significant historical figure and a hero in the British Empire due to his work during the Boer War (1899-1902), when he raised the siege of Mafeking. The British Empire was endangered by the Boer War, which gave the British an idea (born in late nineteenth century Britain) that they imagined might regenerate the declining British Empire ; eugenics.² The physical deterioration of the British people was clarified by the *Report of*

the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904), and a sense of crisis was inflamed by *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (1905 ; published by Elliott Mills). In 1907, Baden-Powell started the Boy Scouts movement. “The most direct effect of Mills’ pamphlet was on Baden-Powell himself. The idea of a British decline-and-fall made a deep impression on his imperialist sensibility, and when he began to organize the Boy Scouts two years later, a considerable motive was his desire to save Britain from the fate of Rome” (Hynes 26).

Baden-Powell founded the Boy Scouts and published *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. In the book, he stated that the British Empire was put in a critical situation : “Recent reports on the deterioration of our race ought to act as a warning to be taken in time before it goes too far. One cause which contributed to the downfall of the Roman Empire was the fact that the soldiers fell away from the standard of their forefathers in bodily strength” (184). He urged the boys of Britain to keep their country in mind :

You belong to the Great British Empire, one of the greatest empires that has ever existed in the world. [...]

I am sure that if you boys will keep the good of your country in your eyes above everything else she will go on all right. But if you don’t do this there is very great danger, because we have many enemies abroad, and they are growing daily stronger and stronger.

Therefore, in all that you do, remember to think of your country first ; [...] think first how you can be of use in helping your empire [...]. (26-28)

He concluded that “it [our Empire] will largely depend upon you, the younger generation of Britons that are now growing up to be the men of the Empire” (278).

When Baden-Powell organized his scouting movement, he did so with one clear motive—to prepare the next generation of British soldiers (Hynes 27). According to Jonathan Rose, until 1916, Britain was the only major European power that did not require its citizens to perform some sort of military service. Some imperialists (who upheld imperial efficiency), however, demanded a program of compulsory military training, if not actual conscription, in peacetime as a royal commission recommended in 1904 (134). The fear of the fall of the British Empire arose from the poor Boer War volunteers. One efficient way to escape this fear was to strengthen Britons, especially emphasizing the importance of boys’ cooperation. The imperial crisis created expectations for boys to be good future citizens. Therefore, they were trained to have healthy and strong bodies, and compelled to have sound mind and gentle spirit, to support the British Empire.

3

Boys are important in *Peter Pan*. There is a close relation, complicit with patriarchist ideology, between boys and the British Empire. The boys’ growth is used rhetorically and indicates the expansion of the British Empire. Corresponding to Martin Green’s statement that *Peter Pan* is closely connected with British imperialism (48), the protagonists are boys and strongly support the British Empire. The story begins as follows : Peter Pan takes Wendy, John, and Michael from London to

Neverland. He does not grow up to be an adult and the lost boys seem to be orphans. Peter Pan and the lost boys live in Neverland, the central but marginalized location of the story. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's critical theory is effective while considering the relation between masculinity and the British Empire. Sedgwick generalizes her own idea of "homosocial continuum" from Adrienne Rich's idea of "lesbian continuum." She argues that male homosocial desire is the entire continuum. According to her famous notion of "male homosociality," male homosocial relations closely band together with modern heterosexuality and require women as mediators between men. Although men potentially are homoerotic, they conceal their homoerotic desires (Sedgwick 1-20).

In *Peter Pan*, Peter, John, Michael, and the lost boys closely associate with each other. They are mediated by Wendy :

Then all went on their knees, and holding out their arms cried, "O Wendy lady, be our mother."

"Ought I?" Wendy said, all shining. "Of course it's frightfully fascinating, but you see I am only a little girl. I have no real experience."

"That doesn't matter," said Peter, as if he were the only person present who knew all about it, though he was really the one who knew least. "What we need is just a nice motherly person." (131-32)³

Moreover, as male homosocial relations have to be supported not by homosexuality but heterosexuality, they require homophobia so men can express that they are not homosexuals. Male homosocial relations also require misogyny, meaning men hate women who may break their relations. Peter, John, Michael, and the lost boys express homophobia by fighting and killing pirates. The boys project the threat of homosexuality upon the pirates who project it upon the boys. The boys and the pirates are the antipode of each other, but they are also allied to each other. Men internally have homosexual desire. On the one hand, the boys establish white homosocial relations and, on the other hand, the pirates have black homosocial relations. Especially, Peter Pan is James Hook's counterpart and Hook is Peter's negative equivalent. Peter feels an instinctive antipathy toward Hook, suggestive of Peter's phobia about kinship with Hook, in a word, homophobia. Peter and Hook are two of a kind ; when he looks at Hook, he feels as if he is looking at himself in a mirror. Peter does not have a healthy mind. He is an eternal boy who does not grow up to be an adult. Hook does not have a healthy body. He is a handicapped adult who uses an artificial hand. In other words, Peter and Hook both are socially incomplete and unfit men. In order to cast aside this fear of unfitness, Peter fights Hook. Peter's exclusion of Hook signifies the importance of Peter's own presence in the British Empire. The boys express misogyny ; Peter and the lost boys do it by their dislike of their mothers, and John and Michael do it by their desertion of their mother.⁴ Eventually, the brotherhood of boys contributes to expand the British Empire, which is based on the ideological power of male homosociality.

An even more interesting view of homophobic misogyny in *Peter Pan* is 1) to see how Hook is represented as a homosexual ; and 2) to see how he hates woman. First, in confirming whether he is a homosexual or not, he appears to be feminine, left-handed, and to commit suicide. His feminini-

ty is implied by his conversation with Smee and by the narrator. “‘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.’ ‘Aye,’ the captain answered, ‘if I was a mother I would pray to have my children born with this instead of that’ [...]” (119). And “‘In his dark nature there was a touch of the feminine, as in all the great pirates [...]” (147-48). His left-handedness is suggested by the following scene, in which Peter converses with John about Hook’s dominant hand :

“I [Peter] cut off a bit of him [Hook].”
 [...]

 “But, I say, what bit ?”

 “His right hand.”

 “Then he can’t fight now ?”

 “Oh, can’t he just!”

 “Left-hander ?”

 “He has an iron hook instead of a right hand, and he claws with it.” (108)

Since Oscar Wilde’s case in 1895, male femininity had been regarded as a suggestion of homosexuality (Sinfield 11-12, Wilson 601). Man’s left-handedness functioned as a sign of homosexuals. Wilhelm Fliess (a friend of Sigmund Freud) explained man’s dominant hand in *Der Ablauf des Lebens* in 1906 : “[L]eft-handed men display much more marked female secondary sexual characteristics [...] than with fully right-handed men [...]. Effeminate men [...] are [always] entirely or partly left-handed” (Hamington 94).⁵ It is difficult to see whether Hook’s right hand is cut to emphasize that he is naturally left-handed or to emphasize the change of his dominant hand from right to left. However, at that time, when normal men were considered right-handed, men like Hook (who had his right hand cut) might have been regarded as abnormal or feminine. Hook seems to be a castrated man. His suicide is indicated in the following scene about his last fight against Peter :

Seeing Peter slowly advancing upon him [Hook] through the air with dagger poised, he sprang upon the bulwarks to cast himself into the sea. (204)

He is not killed by Peter. He chooses death himself ; he chooses suicide but, before that, tries to carry out a suicide bombing :

Hook was fighting now without hope. [...]

 Abandoning the fight he rushed into the powder magazine and fired it.

 “In two minutes,” he cried, “the ship will be blown to pieces.” (203)

However, the suicide bombing is obstructed by Peter, so he chooses to commit suicide. In the gay gothic novel, suicide was the final choice that homosexual characters (for example, Dr. Jekyll and Dorian Gray) made : “[T]he suicide [...] is the only form of narrative closure [...]. Death is the only

solution to the ‘illness’ of homosexuality” (Showalter 113). Although it may be difficult to definitely affirm from these descriptions that Hook is feminine, left-handed, and commits suicide, he is excluded as an object of homophobia in the end, that is to say, he is a homosexual.⁶

Second, the reason why Hook always must run away from the crocodile is that he hates woman. In particular, he appears to hate a new kind of woman, the “new woman.” This scene implies that he fears the “new woman”: “‘I have often,’ said Smee, ‘noticed your [Hook’s] strange dread of crocodiles.’ ‘Not of crocodiles,’ Hook corrected him, ‘but of that one crocodile.’ [...] ‘It liked my arm so much, Smee, that it has followed me ever since, from sea to sea and from land to land, locking its lips for the rest of me.’” (119). The new woman is represented by the crocodile. This “new woman” is sexually free and cannot contain her sexual desire. She has the “vagina dentata.” “Crocodile” was a nickname for a bicycle (which had a symbol of the “new woman”): “[John Kemp] Starley’s *Rover* was not the first safety bicycle with this configuration [a chain-drive to the rear wheel] since it was preceded by several years by [H.G.] Lawson’s “bicyclette” (nicknamed the Crocodile) [...]” (Norcliffe 129, 148).⁷ It is important in this scene that the crocodile (which represents the “new woman”) has a clock in its stomach: “‘Smee,’ he [Hook] 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’” (119). The “tick” of the clock was considered representative of sexual arousal (by Sigmund Freud): “Our patient gradually came to learn that it was as symbols of the female genitals that clocks were banished from her equipment for the night. [...] The ticking of a clock may be compared with the knocking or throbbing in the clitoris during sexual excitement” (Freud 266-67). The crocodile with the clock is always seen by Hook like the following figure (Fig. 1). The crocodile pursues him like a stalker; it wants to violate him. In fact, the crocodile



Fig. 1. The cycling woman from Maurice Leblanc, *Voici des ailes!* (1898) in Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (London: Weidenfeld, 1983) 112.

seems to be a female : “When they [the beasts] have passed, comes the last figure of all, a gigantic crocodile. We shall see for whom she is looking presently” (116). (In the narrative version [*Peter and Wendy*], to refer to the crocodile, the word “she” is used only in this place whereas “it” is used elsewhere. In the theatrical version, incidentally, “she” is completely deleted, and “he” is used throughout instead.) Hook represents misogyny by running away from the crocodile (which appears to be the sexually liberated “new woman”). Therefore, it is deeply interesting to consider homophobic misogyny through Hook.

In *Peter Pan*, Neverland probably represents a colony of the British Empire. An important character in Neverland as an imperial colony is Tiger Lily, who is captured by the pirates and rescued by Peter Pan : “It was pirate dinghy, with three figures in her, Smee and Starkey, and the third a captive, no other than Tiger Lily. Her hands and ankles were tied, and she knew what was to be her fate” (143). In the scene, the figurative use of Tiger Lily, that is, what she represents, is significant. She is the redskins chief’s daughter and looks like a native in an unexplored land. She (who is captured by the pirates) is saved by Peter, meaning the British Empire is to acquire a new imperial colony (Peter represents the British Empire, whereas the pirates represent foreign countries) represented by Tiger Lily. Neverland is incorporated into the British Empire as the new colony :

One important result of the brush on the lagoon was that it made the redskins their friends. Peter had saved Tiger Lily from a dreadful fate, and now there was nothing she and her braves would not do for him. [...]

They called Peter the Great White Father, prostrating themselves before him ; and he liked this tremendously [...]. (157)⁸

The use of Tiger Lily as a mediator is clearly a colony ruling strategy. She functions as a mediator for the imperial colony system, enabling Britons to associate with racial others, and creating an inter-racial sexual relationship. As Tiger Lily works as the mediator, the boys can associate with the redskins. Male homosociality also has a close relation with colonialism.

In Neverland, Peter, John, Michael, and the lost boys fight the pirates, so the British Empire can acquire the new colony of Neverland. The boys and the pirates both want to acquire Neverland, which is acquired by the British Empire when the boys save Wendy (who is captured by the pirates). It is significant to note the idea of race in order to clearly understand why the boys fight against the pirates. In the last 30 years of the late Victorian age and in the Edwardian age, there was no single external threat to the British Empire. At that time, the enemies were Germany, France, Russia, and even China (Hynes 34).⁹ To reiterate, the boys are the British race. The pirates are composed of different races :

Here [...], his great arms bare, pieces of eight in his ears as ornaments, is the handsome Italian Cecco [...]. That gigantic black behind him has had many names [...]. Here is [...] Gentleman Starkey, once an usher in a public school and still dainty in his ways of killing [...]; and the Irish bo’sun Smee, an oddly genial man who stabbed, so to speak, without offence, and was the only

Non-conformist in Hook's crew [...]; and Robt. Mullins and Alf Mason and many another ruffian long known and feared on the Spanish Main. (114)

There are Italian, black, Irish, and members of other races in the crew ; they are racial others. On the other hand, Hook "had been at a famous public school" (188), "Eton College" (238).¹⁰ These points of descriptions imply that he is not a racial other. However, as this scene illustrates, Captain Hook represents racial otherness¹¹ :

In the midst of them, the blackest and largest jewel in that dark setting, reclined James Hook, or, as he wrote himself, Jas. Hook, of whom it is said he was the only man that the Sea-Cook feared. [...] In person he was cadaverous and blackavised, and his hair was dressed in long curls, which at a little distance looked like black candles, and gave a singularly threatening expression to his handsome countenance. (114-15)¹²

Hook is not a white man. He disguises his racial otherness by having been at a famous public school. Eventually, the boys defeat the pirates. They succeed in saving Wendy, with the result that they acquire Neverland. Their action is obviously based on the notion of racism, namely, imperialism.

The discourse of imperial crisis and eugenics causes the children to act for the British Empire in *Peter Pan*. They are justified in acting against the redskins and pirates and regard it as natural to exclude racial others. It is difficult for us to know whether the children are conscious that they consider their actions toward the redskins and pirates to be right. Clearly, their actions contribute to the expansion of the British Empire.

4

Robert Baden-Powell, in *Scouting for Boys*, writes about "Endurance and Health" in Chapter VI (in Part IV). The title of Chapter VI is "Endurance for Scouts ; or, How to be Strong." This chapter indicates "the instruction of boys in being PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE [sic] for their own Strength, Health and Sanitary Surroundings" (185). He defines health as the following : "[T]o make yourself strong and healthy it is necessary to begin with your inside and to get the blood into good order and the heart to work well" (187). He notes that "[t]he secret of keeping well and healthy is to keep your blood clean and active," and that "[t]he blood thrives on simple good food, plenty of exercise, plenty of fresh air, cleanliness of the body both inside and out, and proper rest of body and mind at intervals" (188). Concerning "practices in developing strength," "[i]t is of paramount importance," he recognizes, "to teach the young citizen to assume responsibility for his own development and health" (192). In addition, he explains how to maintain good health in detail :

Cleaning your skin helps to clean your blood. [...]

It may not be always possible for you to get a bath every day, but you can at any rate rub yourself over with a wet towel, or scrub yourself with a dry one, and you ought not to miss a sin-

gle day in doing this if you want to keep fit and well. [...]

And to be healthy and strong you must keep your blood healthy and clean inside you. [...]

Never start work in the morning without some sort of food inside you, if it only a cup of hot water.

Never bathe in deep water very soon after a meal, it is very likely to cause cramp, which doubles you up, and so you get drowned. (196-97).

As for “Endurance and Health,” there is no direct reference to swimming in Chapter VI. Baden-Powell certainly suggests, however, that swimming is healthy exercise : “Deep breathing is of the greatest importance for bringing fresh air into the lungs to be put into the blood, and for developing the size of the chest” (201). In fact, in the sections on “Boat Cruising” and “Watermanship” of Chapter V “Campaigning” (in Part III) respectively, he attaches importance to swimming. “[N]one should be allowed in the boat who is not a good swimmer” (155). “It is very necessary for a scout to be able to swim, for he never knows when he may have to cross a river, to swim for his life, or to plunge in to save someone from drowning, so those of you that cannot swim should make it your business to begin at once and learn ; it is not very difficult” (156). Similarly, football can be regarded as one of the “games to develop strength” (Fig. 2).¹³ The boy on the right keeps fit by playing football, in contrast with the one on the left (In connection to this, Captain Hook is a heavy smoker : “In his mouth he had a holder of his own contrivance which enabled him to smoke two cigars at once” [Barrie 115]). The boy on the right is, of course, a football player. Boys in those days were recommended to play football. Football is necessary and important for good health :

Football in itself is a grand game for developing a lad physically and also morally, for he learns to play with good temper and unselfishness, to play in his ‘place and play’ the game, and these are the best of training for any game of life. (297)

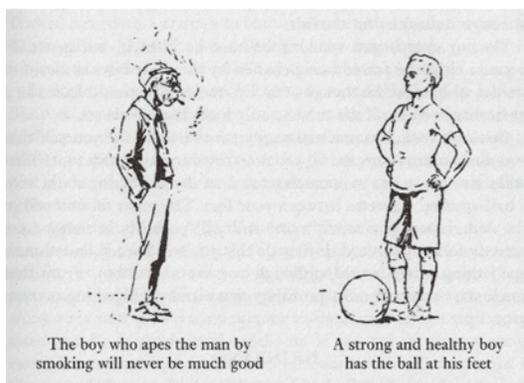


Fig. 2. The smoking boy and the boy footballer from Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (New York : Oxford UP, 2005) 197.

Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* suggests that physical activities like swimming and football are necessary for good, healthy living habits, for the boys to become good citizens of the British Empire.

To avert physical and mental degeneration of Britons, it is interesting in *Peter Pan* that the children go bathing in the lagoon in Neverland. In this scene, the three elements of cleanness, healthiness, and male bonding are important, because the elements are closely connected to the reinforcement of not only the British Army but also the Navy, which results in supporting the British Empire. "The children often spent long summer days on this lagoon, swimming or floating most of the time, playing the mermaid games in the water, and so forth" (140).¹⁴ One of the mermaid games is football; in fact, John plays football "on John's footer days" in London (72). The children strengthen their bodies and minds by playing football.¹⁵ Exercising, bathing, and keeping their bodies clean is necessary for good health. After the children swim, float, and play, they eat and rest on a rock in the lagoon. It looks as though they have a picnic: "It must also have been rather pretty to see the children resting on a rock for half an hour after their midday meal. [...] So they lay there in the sun, and their bodies glistened in it" (141). As a result, the children lead a regular lifestyle of exercise, meals, and rest.

The waterside games are essential to the boys' formative years. As can be seen from Henry Scott Tuke's paintings, Britons are familiar with boys playing at the waterside in the late Victorian and early Edwardian ages (Fig. 3, 4, 5, and 6).¹⁶ As the British Empire boys must maintain contact with water from their childhood, the Neverland boys rest on the rock in the lagoon and lie there in the sun, with the result that they build up strong and healthy bodies. Baden-Powell liked to observe boys washing in the nude (Hyam 85); he also liked to look at military (who had powerful, strong, and beautifully masculine bodies) men who gathered to wash in the nude (Jeal 92). When Barrie spent about six weeks at a house, Black Lake Cottage, near Farnham in Surrey with the Llewelyn Davis' boys, he photographed them playing at the waterside (Fig. 7).¹⁸ It is clear that the boys are in contact with



Fig. 3. Henry Scott Tuke, *Noonday Heat*, Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, Cornwall from Catherine Wallace, *Henry Scott Tuke : Paintings from Cornwall* (Wellington : Halsgrove, 2008) 54.

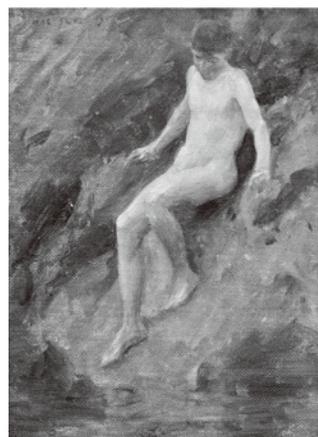


Fig. 4. Henry Scott Tuke, *Nude Boy on Rock*, Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, Cornwall from Catherine Wallace, *Henry Scott Tuke : Paintings from Cornwall* (Wellington : Halsgrove, 2008) 53.



Fig. 5. Henry Scott Tuke, *Rugy Gold and Malachite*, Guildhall Art Gallery, London from David Wainwright and Catherine Dinn, *Henry Scott Tuke 1858-1929: Under Canvas* (London: Sarema, 1989) 79.



Fig. 6. Henry Scott Tuke, *Lovers of the Sun*, Forbes Magazine Collection, New York from David Wainwright and Catherine Dinn, *Henry Scott Tuke 1858-1929: Under Canvas* (London: Sarema, 1989) 106.¹⁷



Fig. 7. Waterside boys from Andrew Birkin, *J.M. Barrie and the Lost Boys* (New York: Yale UP, 2003) 89.

water from their childhood. Eugen Sandow states, in *Strength and How to Obtain It*, an effect of bathing in Chapter II “The Secret of the Cold Bath”: “If the pupil is able to exercise the first thing every morning let me advise him, whilst the body is hot with the physical performance, to take a cold bath. It does not matter how much he may be perspiring; the cold bath will prove exceedingly beneficial. [...] In advising cold bathes I speak, of course, for persons in the enjoyment of ordinary health. The bath should be begun in the summer and continued every morning throughout the year” (17).¹⁹ Francis Galton often watched the crowd bathe in the Serpentine with a critical eye. He always concluded that Britons were less shapely than many of the dark-colored peoples he had seen (Budd 62, 74-75). Sports, exercise, and even popular entertainment began to help in recovery of the degenerate British health. There was greater emphasis on leisure, fitness, and the body, as social reformers became more concerned with the threat of imperial decline (Budd 18).

In *Peter Pan*, the physical exercises are important. The boys play in the lagoon in Neverland. The games in the lagoon strengthen their bodies and minds, and the male bond. They grow up to be good citizens and support the British Empire. Moreover, it is important that the children are concerned about their own growth : “One of the first things Peter did next day was to measure Wendy and John and Michael for hollow trees. [...] Once you fit, great care must be taken to go on fitting, and this [...] keeps a whole family in perfect condition” (131). They each must pass their own entrance made of hollow trees to be able to enter the house. Peter fits their bodies into the entrances ; if the bodies do not fit the entrances, the bodies, instead of the entrances, are improved. This scene is indicative of the rejection of numerous British volunteers for the Boer War during their physical examination. Apparently, the imperialists emphasized health care. They not only prevented imperial citizens from degenerating but also regenerated its degenerate citizens.

Health care, child care, and exclusion of racial otherness were prevalent among many parts of British imperial society. The British Empire was in crisis, causing the rise of social hygiene and eugenics, ideas reflected in almost all the texts in those days. The reason Boy Scouts prospered in the society was probably the easy adventure in the fields (Clarke 50). The boys of *Peter Pan* play in Neverland, because this adventure story is full of fantastical events. At first sight, they seem unrelated with the British Empire, but are, however, closely related with it through the ideology of British imperialism.

5

In this paper, John, Michael, and the lost boys are obliged to become masculine men, who must contribute toward expanding the British Empire and acquiring its territories. *Peter Pan* served as a guide for boys in the Edwardian era to grow up to be good imperial citizens or subjects. The problem with reading *Peter Pan* in the present day is that the image of fantasy overwhelms this literary text. The careful analysis of *Peter Pan* is very important, because the fantastic image of *Peter Pan* (which conceals the ideology of British imperialism) still enables Anglo-Saxons to rule the world.

Notes

- 1 For a critical history of Barrie's *Peter Pan* up to the end of the 1980s, see Senick.
- 2 About eugenics, see, for example, Kelves.
- 3 In this paper, the narrative version of *Peter Pan*, *Peter and Wendy* (1911), is mainly used in J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* works. The standard text is *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy* (Oxford UP).
- 4 The lost boys' attempt to kill Wendy can be considered misogyny. In the scene in which they attempt to kill her, the lost boys behave as if they are hunting a bird. After Tootles, one of the lost boys, shot her down using a bow and arrow, he “was standing like a conqueror over Wendy's body” (124). On the relation between hunting and imperialism, see Mackenzie.
- 5 About the homosexual's dominant hand, see Showalter, 114-15.
- 6 Concerning Hook's homosexuality, it is also important that he has an aristocratic manner (115), and that he gestures as if he sticks out his buttocks in order to invite Peter to kick him (204).
- 7 About H.G. Lawson's “bicyclette,” see Adams, 109-12.
- 8 The following scenes are worth consideration : “Even by day they hung about, smoking the pipe of peace, and

looking almost as if they wanted tit-bits to eat. [...] ‘Me Tiger Lily,’ that lovely creature would reply. ‘Peter Pan save me, me his velly nice friend. Me no let pirates hurt him’” (157). It is possible to consider the redskins to be Chinese. Their smoking of the pipe suggests drug addicts, opium eaters, and the opium den. It is also important that Tiger Lily speaks pidgin English.

- 9 Daniel Pick states that “The enemies in fiction obviously altered to some extent in relation to the vagaries of international alliances. Indeed until Germany came to exert a virtual monopoly over British war and defense concerns in the years immediately before 1914, it was precisely the uncertainty about where the main enemy lay which exacerbated the sense of cultural drift and national insecurity” (115). It is important to consider colonization not only through the relation between a colony and a suzerain but also the relation between a colony, a suzerain, and other nation(s). As Linda Colly refers to Paul Kennedy, she indicates that “Even in the interludes of token peace, the two powers repeatedly plotted against and spied on each other. Their settlers and armed forces jostled for space and dominance in North America, the West Indies, Africa, Asia and Europe” (1).
- 10 In the theatrical version, the words (uttered by Hook during the last battle against Peter) are “Floreat Etona” (Barrie, *Peter Pan and Other Plays* 146).
- 11 Hook may be of mixed British and native parentage, or he may be a nativized Neverland resident like Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*.
- 12 The description of James Hook is suggestive of Cesare Lombroso’s phrenology and criminology, and Max Nordau’s *Degeneration* (Lombroso inspired Nordau to write this book). They would have influenced the British people in those days.
- 13 This picture is inserted in Greenslade’s book, in which he states about Boy Scouts that “[t]his hugely successful movement had its origins in the obsessions, in the early years of the 1900s, with the unfit and degeneracy of the urban population and particularly of its youth” (188).
- 14 Baden-Powell specially emphasizes the importance of the British military in the section on “Our Navy and Army” of Chapter IX “Patriotism ; or, Our Duties as Citizens” (in Part V) : “The British Navy and Army have made our Empire for us, and if it had not been for their help the Empire would have been broken up by our enemies long ago. So we must be careful to keep those Services supplied with good men who, like the scouts, must BE PREPARED [sic] to give their lives for their country at any time” (288).
- 15 It is important and interesting to analyze the relation between sports and imperialism in *Peter Pan*, which can reveal how imperialists ruled other races by using the power of sports. On the relation between them at that time, for example, see McDevitt.
- 16 For further information about Henry Scott Tuke, see Wainwright and Dinn, and also Wallace.
- 17 This painting is used in the front cover of the book edited by Kemp and others.
- 18 For Barrie’s way of life, See Birkin, especially chapter 6, and see Wullschläger, chapter IV.
- 19 In a revised edition of *Strength and How to Obtain It*, the chapter’s number and title change to VI and “The Magic Cold Bath” respectively. The first quotation changes to the following : “Let me advise every pupils after exercising, while the body is still hot, to take a cold bath” (Sandow Rev. ed. 18). Eugen Sandow, whose real name is Ernst Müller, remains an icon of body building culture up to the present. He was born in Königsberg, East Prussia and adopted the false surname, Sandow (the anglicization of his mother’s maiden name of Sandov). He admired eugenics, as signified by his false first name, Eugen (Budd 37, 147).

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