Celebrity Colonialism
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The inspiration for this book came from a conversation I had with Gillian Whitlock just after the publication of Brendan O’Neill’s article, “Brad, Angelina and the Rise of Celebrity Colonialism” in May 2006 (see below). That conversation led to a conference hosted by the University of Queensland Postcolonial Research Group in April 2007, and subsequently to an international call for papers for the present volume. I thank Professor Whitlock for her encouragement and support during the development of this project, including her contribution to the present volume. I would also like to thank sincerely Chris Tiffin and Frances Bonner who assisted me in convening the “Celebrity Colonialism” Conference. As well I would like to thank Rachel Slater for her assistance in the organization of the conference, as well as the School of English, Media Studies and Art History and Faculty of Arts, University of Queensland for their support. I would also like to express my gratitude to my colleagues in the School of English, Journalism and European Languages and the Centre for Colonialism and Its Aftermath (CAIA) at the University of Tasmania, and in the Faculty of Policy Studies, Chuo University, for their encouragement and engagement with the project.

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—Robert Clarke
A pair of Hollywood actors convinces the government of a small African nation to restrict the movements of foreign journalists while the actors prepare for the birth of their child …. A Prime Minister eulogises a television “naturalist” while national and global audiences stop and metaphorically “embrace” the star’s grieving family …. An Indian holy man is feted by the middle classes and press of late nineteenth-century North America and Britain as he espouses and embodies a novel mix of spiritualism, exoticism, nationalism and modernisation …. An Irish rock star invokes the language of the Old and New Testaments to prick the consciences of world leaders and publics towards the plight of the poor in developing nations …. An African American actor “returns” to Africa to witness the effects of the “genocide” in Darfur …. A group of Canadian Native Americans tours Britain to preach the Christian gospel, raise funds and petition Queen Victoria for changes to colonial policies …. In various and intriguing ways, each of these scenarios provides a context for an examination of the entanglements of fame and power in the politics of colonial and postcolonial cultures. Each demonstrates the sometimes highly ambivalent roles played by famous personalities as endorsements and apologists for, and in some cases antagonists and challengers of, colonial and imperial institutions and practices. And each in their way provides an insight into the complex set of meanings implied by the novel term “celebrity colonialism.”

It has become commonplace to observe that celebrities enjoy pre-eminence in contemporary late capitalist cultures; cultures profoundly influenced by the histories and legacies of European colonial imperialism. That celebrities should have played significant roles in Europe’s colonial misadventures, and that they continue to perform diverse, at times ambivalent, functions in the postcolonial world, should come as no surprise. European colonialism, increasingly from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, provided contexts and opportunities—technology,
networks, capital, events, media outlets, personnel and a “civilising mission”—by which individuals could achieve fame beyond the traditional ascriptions of class, caste and gender. In turn, colonial governance benefited from the performances of the stars—the celebrated adventurers, explorers, missionaries, soldiers of fortune, scientists, artists, administrators, writers, and so on—whose lives and achievements served as endorsement for colonial exploits and as comforting cultural metonyms in domestic fantasies of superiority. Fame has long been a significant commodity in the cultural and political economies of European colonial regimes.

While examples of celebrity engagements with colonialism are readily available, the academic examination and theorisation of celebrity within colonial contexts is relatively underdeveloped. The same could be said of the critical understanding of the forms and functions of celebrity within postcolonial cultures. *Celebrity Colonialism* brings together studies on an array of personalities from the colonial era to the present and explores the intersection of discourses, events and formations that condition the production of the fame of such individuals. As well it focuses on the machinery developed to promulgate and support such fame, and the uses made of that renown by different publics. The contributions to this collection demonstrate that celebrity provides a powerful lens for examining the nexus of discourses, institutions and practices associated with the dynamics of appropriation, domination, resistance and reconciliation that characterise colonial and postcolonial cultural politics. Taken together the contributions to *Celebrity Colonialism* argue that the examination of celebrity promises to enrich our understanding of what colonialism was and, more significantly, what it has become.

**What is Celebrity Colonialism and Does it Matter?**

The term “celebrity colonialism” appears to have originated as a piece of journalistic hyperbole. In May 2006, British journalist Brendan O’Neill coined the expression “celebrity colonialism” in an on-line news article, subsequently reprinted in electronic and hardcopy news services, that reported on the actions of Hollywood stars Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie. Pitt, Jolie and their entourage had allegedly influenced government authorities in Namibia to obstruct journalists’ efforts to cover the story of the birth of the couple’s daughter, Shiloh. O’Neill’s article cites the event as an outrageous act of celebrity interference and as an example (yet another) of how Western celebrities can use their fame in bizarre and disturbing ways to leverage public institutions in purportedly “vulnerable” nations. Adam Elkus then picked up the term “celebrity colonialism” in a
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the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Loren Glass’ studies of the careers of Jack London and Mark Twain; James Eli Adams’ work on styles of Victorian masculinities; Dane Kennedy’s study on Richard Burton; Joy Kasson’s study of Buffalo Bill (William Frederick Cody) and his “Wild West” extravaganzas; and Anna Johnston’s work on nineteenth-century British celebrity missionaries. Indeed one might suggest that a focus on celebrity figures has been a largely unacknowledged feature of the disciplines of colonial and postcolonial studies. For instance, one could point to Edward Said’s *Orientalism* as an example of a study that is largely concerned with the cultural impact of a number of key nineteenth-century “celebrity” writers and thinkers, and their roles in the development of colonial discourses.

Less prominent though are studies on “postcolonial” celebrities. This is not surprising given the fact that as a field of research celebrity studies has for much of its recent history been concerned primarily with the meanings, functions, personalities and institutions associated with celebrity culture in European and North American contexts. Public commentary, as much as critical and theoretical studies on the phenomenon of celebrity, addresses the subject primarily from Western and metropolitan perspectives that are concerned primarily with Western celebrities, the industries that support them, and the audiences that consume them. Moreover it could be argued that the discipline of postcolonial studies has been, for much of its history, “guided largely […] by a literary postcolonialism […] that has been pre-occupied with the politics and ethics of production over consumption” (Clarke 147). As the discipline has become more interdisciplinary, and in the wake of the debates over the eurocentrism and elitism of postcolonial theory, a more nuanced approach to understanding postcolonial cultural phenomena has emerged. One indication of this is the growing number of studies on celebrity that adopt postcolonial perspectives. One might mention in this regard the work on the promotion and reception of celebrity sport stars (see for instance Andrews and Jackson); the analysis of celebrity involvement in charity and aid organisations (see Evans); the growing body of work on Asian, African and other “non-western” celebrities; as well as the contributions to a recent special edition of the journal *Postcolonial Studies* on “Travel and Celebrity Culture,” amongst a growing body of scholarship in this field. The contributions to the present collection extend this work.

In the examples cited above, and in the chapters included below, the study of celebrity is triangulated against the historical, economic and political forces that condition power and resistance in colonial and postcolonial cultures. As others have noted, in everyday discussions “[t]he
concept of celebrity is a little slippery” and “[t]here is a syllogistic logic lurking behind discussions of celebrity: celebrities are people the public is interested in; if the public is interested in this person, they are a celebrity; therefore, anyone the public is interested in is a celebrity” (Turner, Bonner and Marshall 9). Yet while the term “celebrity” has been appropriated and (mis)used in a range of media contexts in recent times, and while defining celebrity remains problematic, it would seem apparent that a primary concern for studies of celebrity colonialism is the manner in which such celebrity foregrounds the dynamics of colonial and postcolonial cultural politics.

As theorists like P. David Marshall, Graeme Turner and Chris Rojek have noted, celebrity is not inherent to any given individual or group of individuals. Celebrity is produced through discourse, maintained through media institutions and audience reception, and affects multiple cultural and political functions. Perhaps the most succinct general formulation of celebrity sui generis, is that given by Turner, when he states that:

Celebrity […] is a genre of representation and a discursive effect; it is a commodity traded by promotions, publicity, and media industries that produce these representations and their effects; and it is a cultural formation that has a social function we can better understand. (9)

Turner’s description is useful to our present purposes because it can be adapted to different socio-cultural and political contexts. We can use Turner’s understanding of celebrity to inform an investigation of “celebrity colonialism.”

Using Turner’s formulation as a template for developing an understanding of celebrity colonialism achieves a number of things. First it foregrounds a fundamental assumption shared by the disciplines of celebrity and postcolonial studies, namely the nexus between discourse and power. The focus on a given celebrity allows for close investigations of events, discourses, personnel and institutions, and their imbrication within formations of cultural and economic power. Perhaps the obvious functions to which O’Neill’s and Elkus’ use of the term celebrity colonialism refers are the conservative and reactionary ones of endorsement, affirmation and glamorization of, and apology for, colonial and neo-colonial regimes. In this respect, the study of celebrity demonstrates the role of the media, as a conservative force, in colonial and postcolonial cultures. So, for example, Berny Sèbe’s chapter in this collection traces the role of nineteenth-century “hero-makers” in the constructions of French and British “imperial heroes.” While Sèbe foregrounds the role of the colonial celebrity as spokesperson or champion of European colonial
The Idea of Celebrity Colonialism: An Introduction

imperialist regimes, other chapters in this collection demonstrate the reactionary effects of celebrity in postcolonial culture. Damien Riggs examines the scandal around the 2007 iteration of the *Celebrity Big Brother* television franchise and the complex interactions of racism and class envy that inform contemporary varieties of neo-colonialism. In a similar vein, Philip Hammond and P. Eric Louw examine the media representations of celebrities, and the conflicted and ironic effects of their apparent anti-colonial politics and actions. And Hide van den Bulck examines the neo-colonial racism inherent in recent representations of transnational celebrity adoptions in Internet media. In these and other chapters, then, celebrity is considered as a vehicle for the promotion of Euro-American cultural and moral hegemony.

On the other hand, studies of celebrity in colonial and postcolonial contexts can also provide a framework for tracing the development and effectivity of anti-colonial politics. Contemporary research on celebrity stresses the ambivalence and even duplicity ascribed to celebrity figures (Stevenson 168), and when one examines any group of celebrities from the colonial past, or even the life of a given individual, one frequently learns that the equation of “celebrity colonialism” with hegemonic power can occlude the contingencies of the reception and manipulation of celebrity by audiences across time and location. Likewise, the interpretation of contemporary postcolonial celebrity as either anachronistic or a vanguard of resurgent forms of cultural colonialism, may not adequately account for the power that such figures command across different audiences and communities. Reflecting such insights, Cecilia Morgan’s chapter, for example, examines the reports by and about the Ojibwa Methodist reverend Peter Jones and others during a tour of Britain in the 1830s. In these documents the celebrated “Native Americans” question the moral and political legitimacy of British colonial imperialism in Canada. Chris Harding’s nuanced examination of the reception of Freud’s work by early practitioners of psychoanalysis in India and Japan demonstrates the ambivalent role of Western figures as representatives of the vanguard of modernity while being conscripted to domestic rivalries and conflicts. Addressing a very different socio-political context, Shakuntala Rao examines the biography, and cinematic and public performances, of Bollywood superstar Shah Rukh Khan, and argues that a figure like Khan provides a focus for examining the local and transnational appropriation of, and opposition to, rightwing Hindu nationalism in India. Similarly, Gillian Whitlock’s chapter investigates the humanitarian campaign by Not on Our Watch and the reflections of Hollywood actor Don Cheadle on his involvement in the campaign to sway North American public opinion to
Robert Clarke

provoke action against the “genocide” in Darfur. And Jane Stadler’s chapter on Nelson Mandela, contrasting with the preceding chapter by P. Eric Louw, examines how this most celebrated of African statesmen has influenced Western audiences in potentially progressive ways. The chapters by Rao, Whitlock and Stadler resist the temptation to read celebrities in colonial and postcolonial space as ciphers of (neo)colonising formations.

Adopting and extending Turner’s description and applying it to colonial and postcolonial contexts forces us to consider celebrity as a commodity within the cultural marketplace. Amongst other things it requires us to consider the regimes of value (Frow 144–46) by which celebrity commodities are appraised and consumed. Celebrity is conditioned by manifold and frequently oppositional discourses of identity, economics and politics. As cultural commodities, celebrities are valued according to competing regimes of taste and can become focal points for contests over political and economic values. This point is well illustrated by the contrasting positions outlined by Louw and Stadler in relation to Mandela. It is also well demonstrated in Julie Codell’s analysis of the media construction of Swami Vivekananda in light of his public performances and personal reflections in the 1890s. Rebecca Dorgelo’s chapter on celebrity travel writer William Dalrymple considers how particular figures exploit tensions and sensitivities in metropolitan public opinion on issues relating to colonial history and politics in ways that provoke positive and negative reactions. And Wenche Ommundsen explores the various institutional and discursive formations that underwrite the promotion and consumption of contemporary postcolonial literary celebrity in the transnational cultural marketplace, using Salman Rushdie as a case study.

Finally, Turner’s formulation of celebrity invites us to consider the functions that celebrities play in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Some of these have already been mentioned above and relate specifically to the political and economic functions of celebrity. Here it is useful to mention two more. The first is the manner in which celebrities facilitate “identity work” within colonial and postcolonial cultures. I have already suggested that from the metropolitan perspective, the celebrity can be viewed as metonymic of unified, superior, colonising identities. However, such a perspective ignores the necessarily conflicted nature of identification, and the dissonance that arises from the competing claims of different identity formations: a situation that is particularly acute in postcolonial contexts. As I argue elsewhere:
from a postcolonial perspective, the ‘identity work’ that celebrities allow is not simply the adoption of a unified identity; rather, it offers to ameliorate the cognitive dissonance that arises as an inevitable consequence of identification in cultures structured around ethnic, economic, and legal difference, [...] by achieving an apparent reconciliation of competing interests. (242)

A number of contributions to this collection reflect this idea, in particular in relation to the examination of “subaltern” celebrity as exemplified in the figures of Aboriginal Australian actor David Gulpilil as discussed by Felicity Collins, Albanian dancer Kledi as investigated by Derek Duncan, and Shah Rukh Khan as analysed by Rao.

The second significant function that relates to the study of celebrity in colonial and postcolonial contexts is the manner in which such celebrities are frequently framed through a discourse on ethics. European powers, especially imperial Britain in the nineteenth century, promoted their colonial exploits as acts of benevolence and enlightenment (see Gilbert and Tiffin). Western powers, institutions and individuals often situate and justify their actions in the developing world in terms of benevolence and humanitarianism. Indeed one might venture the hypothesis that while celebrities may belong to a “powerless elite” (Alberoni) their advocacy for benevolent causes has become an important strategy by which they can constitute and consolidate their political and cultural influence. Moreover, celebrity activism in humanitarian and benevolent causes can function as a signifier of “product diversity” in a marketplace in which the economic value of fame is contingent upon the celebrity being able to appeal to a range of audiences. Spring-Serenity Duvall illustrates such points in her chapter on Irish rock star Bono’s mobilisation of Christian rhetoric in his attempts to raise consciousness and provoke action amongst Western political and economic leaders in relation to the circumstances of the poor in developing nations. Dan Brockington and Katy Scholfield’s chapter on celebrity environmentalism in Africa extends this analysis by focusing on the dependency of non-governmental and charitable organisations on celebrity endorsement in their African operations, and the deleterious economic, political and environmental effects that this creates. From a different perspective, Graham Huggan’s examination of the life and death of Australian television celebrity Steve Irwin raises serious questions of the conflation of nationalism, “personality” and politics. And Carol Magee’s chapter on Vanity Fair magazine’s special July 2007 “Africa” issue, which featured twenty-one different celebrity cover photographs by Annie Leibovitz, provokes reflection on the power of representation to influence public affect towards Africa. In separate ways these and other
chapters demonstrate and interrogate the peculiar power of celebrity to reinforce a sense of moral rectitude either in colonial or anti-colonial projects.

Each of these chapters, then, offers different and illuminating insights into “celebrity colonialism” from a range of disciplinary and methodological vantage points. In doing so they develop an understanding of the idea of celebrity colonialism that goes far beyond its original use as a piece of journalistic overstatement, and illustrate why appreciating it in its multiple and conflicted manifestations matters so much.

**Overview of the Organisation of the Volume**

How do celebrities function within colonial and postcolonial cultures? In what ways have various famous figures made their name through their celebration of or antagonism towards colonial and neo-colonial imperialism? How does the popular appeal of celebrity inflect the way (post)colonial matters can be brought before and received by the public? What functions can be associated with celebrity colonialism? The chapters in *Celebrity Colonialism* address these and other questions, and in doing so bring to bear a range of disciplinary expertise and methodologies, including those from history, literary studies, anthropology, political science, art history, and media and communication studies. The collection is divided into four parts. The contributions to Part One “Celebrities and the Colonial Moment” provide case studies of how colonising as well as colonised subjects were drawn into processes of celebritification at different moments during the “colonial period” in ambiguous ways. Part Two focuses on “Celebrities, Travel and Benevolence.” The chapters in this section are particularly concerned with the way a “neo-colonial” rhetoric accompanies the forays of celebrities into humanitarian matters and the revision of colonial histories. In doing so they recognise that studying celebrity in postcolonial contexts provides a means of better understanding the possibilities of political action and change in a mediated world where the line between politics, benevolence and entertainment is frequently obscured.

Part Three, “Celebrities and Subalternity” focuses specifically on celebrities who are marked in one way or another by mainstream culture as “subaltern.” It examines how such figures become ambivalent emblems of postcolonial desires for the recognition of the rights of previously colonised peoples. In recent times, such figures have been called upon to play a role in official and unofficial processes of cultural reconciliation,
and to give expression to and perform a conciliatory role in relation to competing interests within postcolonial cultures.

Part Four, “Celebrities and Africa” focuses specifically on the way the African continent has become a focus for the attentions of Western celebrities in their desires to promote humanitarian and conservation issues. Two chapters focus on the celebrity profile of Nelson Mandela, certainly one of the most significant celebrity politicians of the final decade of the twentieth century.

The study of “celebrity colonialism” would appear to have a number of prerequisites. The first is close attention to the social, cultural and political fields within which a celebrity arises, and the media through which their fame is created, established and ultimately decays. Secondly, there needs to be a concern with the manner in which the celebrity functions to produce a public, and the manner in which the political, ethical and affective codes associated with celebrities achieve this. In this respect, a study of celebrity colonialism must be sensitive to the diversity of the mediaspheres within (post)colonial cultures. Thirdly, as I have suggested above, there should be consideration of the manner in which celebrity functions to regulate the values attributed to cultural differences. Finally, and consistent with so much work in celebrity studies, the examination of celebrity colonialism needs to be sensitive to what P. David Marshall describes as the way “celebrity structures meaning, crystallizes ideological positions, and works to provide a sense and coherence to a culture” (x). Such sensitivity needs also to be tempered by an understanding of the historical and political peculiarities of the culture within which a given celebrity arises. The contributions to Celebrity Colonialism reflect these insights and in doing so affirm the value of an emerging body of work that promises to offer fresh perspectives on the relationships between power and representation in colonial and postcolonial cultures.

Works Cited


PART ONE:

CELEBRITIES AND THE COLONIAL MOMENT
MISSIONARIES AND CELEBRITY
WITHIN THE TRANSATLANTIC WORLD:
THE OJIBWA OF UPPER CANADA, 1830–1860
CECILIA MORGAN

“My dear Peter preached from ‘Godliness is profitable’ to a crowded congregation,” Eliza Jones recorded in her diary on 20 May 1838. Eliza’s “dear Peter” was the Ojibwa Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby), from the British North American colony of Upper Canada. Converted to Methodism in 1823 and then ordained as a minister, Jones travelled to Britain on a number of fundraising tours; his trip in 1837–38 also included political activism, as he lobbied the imperial government for a change in colonial policy involving his Native community. After his morning sermon, Jones spoke to a group of Sunday school children who presented him with a “little book of Psalms.” In the evening, his English wife Eliza wrote proudly, he preached again to an “overflowing congregation, hundreds could not get in, and the chapel is sufficient to hold 3500 people” (Jones, Diary 20 May 1838).

Jones was not the only Ojibwa Methodist minister to appear overseas during this period. The creation of new British colonies in North America after the American Revolution and the influx of British settlement after the Napoleonic Wars had multiple implications for indigenous peoples in these areas (Schmalz). In the 1820s and 1830s, a number of Ojibwa of southern Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) converted to Christianity; many became Methodists and, out of this group, a small but very significant cluster of Ojibwa men became missionaries. Although Jones’ travels and career have left the most visible traces in the historical record and his trips were the most frequent and lengthy, his contemporaries, John Sunday, Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauser, also travelled to Britain for similar reasons from the 1830s to the 1850s. Their travels were followed by those of Jones’ niece, Nahnebahwequa (Catherine Sutton), an Ojibwa convert to Christianity who arrived in London in 1860 to appear before Queen Victoria to petition for the return of her family’s land.
A number of historians have examined the religious and political dimensions of their travels (see Smith; Haig-Brown). However, their relationship to the celebrity culture of this period is a significant, albeit unexamined, aspect of their overseas trips. Both the colonial and imperial press, religious and secular, covered their movements across the ocean and throughout Britain; they published their own commentary on their travels in the press; many of these individuals were photographed and sketched, in both “Indian” and “European” clothing; they often spoke before large gatherings; and they met other “celebrity” figures, meetings that also were publicised. Their construction as colonial celebrities involved representations by others, such as the international missionary movement, and it also involved complex strategies of self-representation and promotion within colonial and metropolitan circuits. Moreover, the creation of celebrity figures historically has been a gendered process (Burton; Sentilles), and in this respect these Ojibwa travellers were no exception: gender relations helped shape their appearances and may well have influenced their reception by the various British publics who were their audiences.

Cultural theorist Chris Rojek has pointed to some of the ways in which religious and celebrity cultures both diverge from and resemble each other in various ways (48, 98); as well, Joseph Roach’s work on public intimacy demonstrates its links to traditional religious beliefs and popular religion (Roach 16). Also, Anna Johnston has explored the creation of nineteenth-century British missionaries, such as David Livingstone, as celebrity figures. Moreover, the forms of representation and practices of celebrity culture of the period were rooted in eighteenth-century theatre and inflected evangelical religion. Within this theatrical milieu, creating celebrities such as Sarah Siddons or Edmund Keane involved the crafting and manipulation of images and reputations through prints, pamphlets, paintings and material artefacts; the development of an obsession with bodies; circulating details of domestic or private matters, which also collapsed the distinction between private and public; and, finally, cultivating the notion of an achieved, rather than ascribed, celebrity, creating the potential for celebrations of the individual beyond the monarchy and the court (Luckhurst and Moody; West 191; Nussbaum 158–59). Jones and his contemporaries’ experiences demonstrate that these religious institutions and movements also drew upon many of celebrity culture’s forms and practices in order to stir up interest, convert souls and raise funds.

These Ojibwa travellers were by no means the first Native North Americans to appear in front of British or European audiences. By the
time Jones or Sunday spoke to audiences from Aberdeen to Bristol, Native people had a long history of travelling overseas as interpreters, diplomatic representatives of their nations, military allies of Britain, and, in a few cases, as examples of converts to Christianity (Vaughan; Pratt; Shoemaker; Jewitt). Some of these individuals’ travels have left only a few fragmented records. However, those of others have been quite well-documented, to no small extent because they enjoyed a celebrated status in the eyes of the court and of London’s press and public (Vaughan 78–90, 122–23, 168–74, 231). Other imperial travellers were the subject of public attention, of both approbation and criticism. They included individuals from the South Pacific and the Cape colony (Guest; Russell; Scully and Crais), as well as travellers like the Indian reformer and religious “controversialist” Rammohun Roy, a contemporary of Jones, who was in England from 1831 until his death there in 1833, and who was lionised as a celebrity figure (Zastoupil).

Social, political and cultural changes, both within the colonial and metropolitan contexts, also brought changes to these figurations of celebrity colonial subjects’ appearances within Britain. Assisted by the development of railway transportation networks within Britain and increasing urbanisation, these travellers appeared in front of ever-widening audiences across a wider range of cities and towns in England, Scotland and Wales. Transnational and colonial networks associated with evangelicalism, missionary work and humanitarian movements helped orchestrate their overseas travels, often drawing attention to their movements and appearances through the medium of the secular and religious press on both sides of the Atlantic. Moreover, the influx of British emigrants to British North America after the end of the Napoleonic Wars brought the Ojibwa of southern Upper Canada into ever-increasing conflicts with a colonial state that was expanding its powers over Native peoples (see Schmalz chs. 6 and 7).

Peter Jones’ three trips overseas were the most frequent of this group and he also circulated amongst more cities and towns, generating the most coverage of his arrivals, departures and lectures throughout Britain (he appeared in Ireland but not as extensively). Such reports also helped create interest in and excitement about Jones’ appearances. While at times he appeared before gatherings held within religious institutions, such as the Church of Scotland’s Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, his other appearances were more widely publicised. The press noted the large crowds that gathered, sometimes running advance articles that announced a forthcoming talk (“Kahkewaquonaby”). Writing to his brother John from Manchester in 1831 (a letter reprinted in the Upper Canadian Methodist
publication, *Christian Guardian*, four months later in 1832), Jones told of the many English cities he had visited and told John of a warm and enthusiastic reception. At times hundreds had been turned away from the meetings he addressed, but those who did hear his “statement of facts had been gratified by his addresses” (Jones, “Letter to John Jones” 11 Jan. 1832: 34). Equally importantly for Jones, “the collections that have been made for the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society at those Meetings where I have been present have amounted to more than those made the last year” (34). As well as the press, Jones and his fellow-ministers’ images were circulated through other media: handbills that advertised their appearances, portraits, and, for Jones, early forms of photography (see Figures 1, 2a and 2b).

The international networks that brought the Ojibwa missionaries to Britain also brought them into the orbit of prominent and well known figures within British society, whose patronage helped shape these travellers’ movements within metropolitan centres. A range of political figures, religious leaders and prominent philanthropists—the Irish reformer Daniel O’Connell, the politician John Bright, and the Queen’s cousin and leader in the Aborigines Protection Society, Sir Augustus d’Este—met them. These encounters were publicised and promoted as proof of their visibility and the potential of increased assistance that they might receive from such contacts (“Printed Testimonials”). In particular, an audience with Queen Victoria was a significant moment in their metropolitan tours. Eliza Jones noted that she began preparing her husband on 18 July 1837 for his interview, which took place almost two months later on 14 September (Jones, *Diary* 18 July 1838). To be sure, her description of the audience does not suggest a great deal of pomp or spectacle, except for Jones’ Indian dress, worn on the advice of his patrons:

> When the folding doors were thrown open, we saw the Queen standing about the middle of the room, each advanced bowing several times till at last they met, when Peter went down on his knee holding up his right arm, on which the Queen placed her hand, he then rose and presenting the Petition said, he was much pleased to be introduced to Her Majesty, explained the nature of the petition and the wampum chain. (14 Sept. 1838)
Figure 1: Address on behalf of North American Indians. Image courtesy of Victoria University Library, Toronto.
Figures 2a and 2b: Peter Jones in native clothing. Images courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland.