

ANTI-IMPERIALISM AND
INDIGENOUS CULTURE IN
FRANCIS BOND HEAD'S
ARGENTINE TRAVELS

Kevin Hutchings



A BEST-SELLING AUTHOR associated with the John Murray publishing house, Sir Francis Bond Head (1793–1875) is nowadays best known for his controversial tenure as lieutenant governor of Upper Canada from 1836 to 1838.¹ Some of the writings he published in the wake of this vice-regency—especially ‘The Red Man’ (1840) and *The Emigrant* (1846)—show how his Romantic idealisation of Indigenous people informed his paternalistic effort to remove First Nations from traditional territories coveted for European settlement.² To achieve a properly comprehensive analysis of Head’s interactions with Indigenous people, however, scholars should also consider his pre-Canada writings, particularly *Rough Notes Taken during Some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (1826), the best-selling book that launched his literary career, and in which he first presented his views of Native America. In this article, I examine *Rough Notes*’ ethnography and some of its implications for Head’s membership in the ‘capitalist vanguard’ of British businessmen-cum-travel writers who worked in South America in the 1820s and 1830s.³ Although his depictions of the region’s Gauchos and Indigenous people deploy the Rousseauvian rhetoric of the ‘natural man’, thereby distorting the cultural realities of the people he purports to describe, Head’s Argentine writings remain valuable nowadays for what they can teach modern-day readers about Romanticism’s potential to inform a critique of colonialism, including contemporary racial theory, the Columbian doctrine of ‘discovery’ and the master narrative of progress that informed Europe’s so-called ‘civilising mission’. Head’s Romanticism, I argue, not only sets *Rough Notes*’ ethnographic depictions apart from other contemporary travel accounts, but, most significantly, it opens a space for the author’s sometimes devastating anti-colonial critique, which he continued to articulate during and after his Upper Canadian administration but failed to translate into practice.

In most pre-Confederation Canadian historiography, Head cuts a sorry figure. During his lieutenant governorship, he aggravated pre-existing tensions between Upper Canada’s Tory elite and its democratic Reformers so severely that armed rebellion broke out. His mishandling of Upper Canada’s popular reform move-

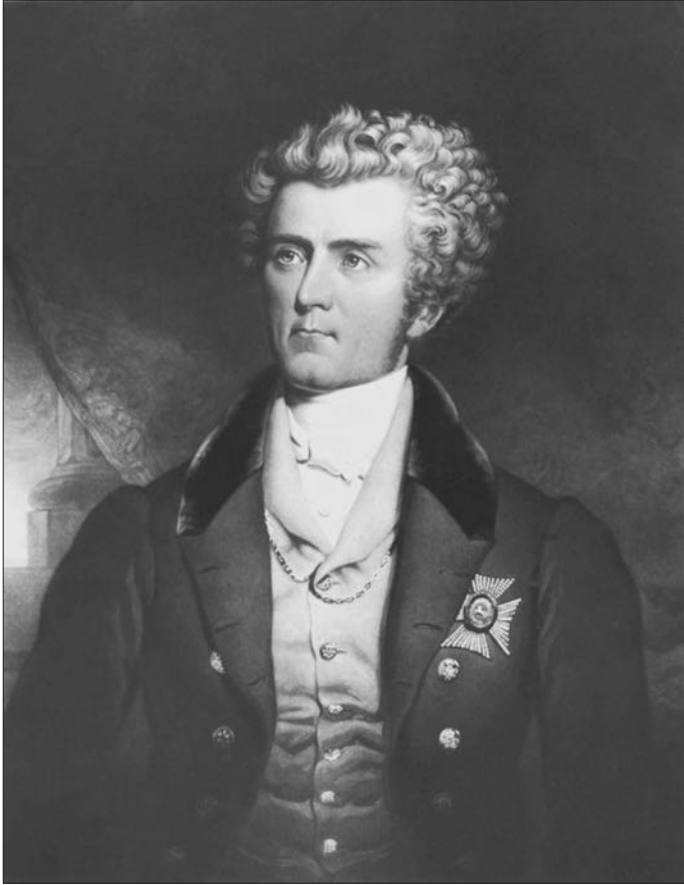


FIG. 1. Charles Turner after Nelson Crook,
Sir Francis Bond Head, 1st Bt (1837), mezzotint.
 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

ment (which he simplistically saw as a treasonous manifestation of American republicanism) and of the Rebellion itself have inspired numerous adverse critical reflections not only on his colonial governance but on his personal character as well.⁴ While generally avoiding *ad hominem* attacks, modern studies of Head's Upper Canadian Indigenous governance policy have extended this critique. Kate Flint correctly observes that Head's ethnographic practice was compromised by his fatalistic belief in 'the inevitable extinction of First Nations people'; R. Alan Douglas notes the cursory nature of his negotiations in the 1836 Huron Reserve treaty; Tim Fulford argues that Head's Indigenous removal policy demonstrated 'the dangers of Romantic idealism in the hands of a colonial government that combined naivety, paternalist condescension and power'; and Donald B. Smith indicts the same policy for 'ruin[ing] so many Indians' lives'.⁵

In sharp contrast to such negative assessments, scholars of nineteenth-century South America have tended to view Upper Canada's future lieutenant governor

as a sympathetic figure, a writer whose open-minded views of the land and its people contrasted admirably with those of other contemporary European commentators. As Jean Franco has noted, virtually all early nineteenth-century British travel writers who visited Argentina were 'missionaries of capitalism whose aim was nothing less than the informal colonisation of the continent'. The travel books these writers produced thus 'exemplify the signifying practices of nascent imperialism'—with the apparent exception of Head's *Rough Notes*, which, Franco claims, provides a 'harsh critique of the values of industrial society' and 'imperialist enterprise'.⁶ Most scholars of Head's South American travels have agreed with this assessment, praising Head for 'aggressively revers[ing] the value signs of his compatriots' by refusing in *Rough Notes* 'to reinvent America as backward and neglected', and by resisting his fellow travelers' tendencies to encode the continent's 'non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of [...] rationalized exploitation'.⁷ Head's most enthusiastic reader, John Walker, finds *Rough Notes* impressive enough to assert that modern-day Canadians 'should feel proud' that Head is 'still treated with reverence and gratitude in Argentina'.⁸

Arguably, the contrasting critical assessments of Head's South American and Canadian periods are partly the products of a critical 'silo' effect, for scholars have tended to study the two periods in isolation, with commentators on the Canadian writings showing little interest in the South American writings, and *vice versa*. Products of a nationalist critical paradigm, such narrow contextual framings are problematic when applied to a cosmopolitan figure such as Head, whose views were shaped not only by his English upbringing and education but by his travels in a globalising transatlantic world. Although, like all travel accounts, *Rough Notes* does not escape its author's cultural biases, its self-critical mode of representation makes it unique among contemporary British accounts of Argentina. And although Head occasionally demonstrates a similar critical self-reflexivity in his Canadian writings, his anti-colonial critique had by this time become a mere rhetorical habit, compromised as it was by his effort to appease the expanding settler society's unquenchable demand for Indigenous land. In response to such pressures, he became complicit with the oppressive activities he criticised, a problem especially evident in his efforts to move Indigenous people from their traditional territories onto remote reserves, despite the criticism he would afterwards level at American President Andrew Jackson's inhumane 1830 Indian Removal Act for doing the same thing.⁹ In Upper Canada, in short, Head failed to enact the promising anti-colonial critique articulated in his South American travelogue. In the following pages, I highlight some of the ways that *Rough Notes*' critical outlook stemmed from Head's Romantic perspective on the land's inhabitants, focusing first on his depiction of the mixed-blood Gauchos with whom he travelled, and second on his representation of the pampa's Indigenous people. To be sure, Head's Romantic celebration of the land and its inhabitants was at odds with his capitalist mission in Argentina. But as I hope to demonstrate, he was very much aware of this contradiction. Rather than eliding this awareness, he addressed it directly, sometimes subjecting himself

and his business activities to strident criticism, a self-reflexive tendency less emphatic—and much less convincing—during his subsequent Canadian period.

Extravagant Dreams and Delusions: The 1820s South American Mining Bubble

Before commencing a close reading of *Rough Notes*, I would like to contextualise its narrative by briefly considering Head's work as leader of the Rio Plata Mining Association's South American expedition. Like many other British mining interests, this company was a speculative enterprise organised during South America's post-independence era to exploit mines abandoned by the Spanish colonial authorities. Lacking the capital and technological expertise required to revive these mines, the newly independent South American governments encouraged European speculators to intervene, promising large returns on their investments and in the process generating 'extravagant delusions'¹⁰ and dreams of 'the fabled El Dorado'.¹¹ At the outset, however, the hopes of the Rio Plata Mining Association's shareholders seemed well founded, for the influential Buenos Aires politician and future Argentine president, Bernardino Rivadavia, had granted the company a formal concession to work several mines.¹² These hopes were dashed, however, when insurmountable political and technical difficulties caused the speculative bubble to burst across the entire South American mining industry, ushering in the world's 'first emerging markets crisis'.¹³ The expeditions Head documented in his memoir were extensive. Travelling by horseback and carriage, he and his party journeyed 900 miles across the pampa from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, then hundreds of miles north to Uspallata in west central Argentina. A second tour carried them across the Andes via mule train to investigate mines located near Santiago, Chile. Unfortunately, for the Rio Plata Mining Association's directors and shareholders, these inspections proved futile, for the mines in question were often damaged beyond repair or unworkable due to logistical problems associated with their remote location. Head would later ascribe this failure to 'Nature', claiming that South America's undeveloped terrain 'will yet oppose, by innumerable and almost indescribable difficulties, the premature exertions of any men or association of men, who shall attempt to go before her, to establish industry, machinery, and labour before the country is prepared to receive them'.¹⁴ Head's involvement in these events would generate significant controversy upon his return to London, where the directors of the Rio Plata Mining Association blamed him for the company's failure, claiming, among other things, that comments published in *Rough Notes* had played a key role in the company's demise. Throughout the text, Head's focus on hardships caused by the continent's topography suggests an attribution of agency to the New World natural environment that is patently Romantic, suggesting that the land itself was opposed, in its undeveloped state, to European capitalist enterprise. This Romanticism becomes particularly evident in his idealising portraits of the Indigenous people who occupied the land, whom he often portrays under the figure of the 'noble savage', including the Gaucho guides with whom he travelled.

The Gauchos of the Pampa

As J. A. B. Beaumont noted in *Travels in Buenos Ayres* (1828), *Gaicho* was 'the general appellation of the country-folks of South America. From the rich estanciero, the owner of uncounted acres and almost countless herds, to the purchased slave, they are all called gaicho, and are nearly the same in dress and habits'.¹⁵ During his four crossings of the pampa, Head relied on 'a constant succession' of Gaicho guides to escort him swiftly and safely to his destination.¹⁶ According to Tom B. Jones, few 'Europeans [...] were sufficiently hardy to ride any considerable distance on horseback at the headlong pace set by gaicho guides'.¹⁷ An expert equestrian since his military days, Head was an exception to this rule, so much so that his Argentine travels earned him the popular nickname 'Galloping Head'.

As an enthusiastic horseman who had fought with some distinction at the Battle of Waterloo, Head admired the Gauchos' equestrian prowess, praising them for their 'beautiful display[s] of horsemanship' (*Rough Notes*, p. 238). In a region where few human beings or habitations could be seen, 'the wild and picturesque outline of the Gaicho on the horizon' was generally a welcome sight (p. 248). For Head, however, the Gaicho was not merely a picturesque object on a picturesque landscape; despite his lack of formal European-style education, he was a thoughtful subject, a person whose 'mind is often inspired with sentiments of liberty which are as noble as they are harmless' (p. 21). At one point late in his narrative, Head converses with a 'very noble-minded' Gaicho, whose 'manly opinions [...] on many subjects' strike a sympathetic chord, causing him to wonder 'what people in England would say of a man who could neither read nor write' (pp. 255–56) but who nevertheless demonstrated a great deal of good practical and philosophical sense. The illiterate Gaicho has knowledge that impresses Head, including the ability to interpret natural signs. Among other things, Head enjoys 'learning from the Gauchos to decipher the foot-marks of horses', a 'study' he finds 'very interesting' (p. 257n).

Such a portrait contrasts sharply with the one provided by Head's contemporary, Sir Edmond Temple, who, though willing to acknowledge that the 'Gauchos [...] are, in appearance, a fine race', claimed that they were, 'in comparison with the peasantry of England and France, little better than a species of carnivorous baboon'. For Temple, one of the things that made the Gauchos less than fully human was their apparent lack of practical ambition: 'It appears to me that the Gauchos are indifferent about anything that is beyond their reach, and set no value on that which is hard to be acquired; *ergo*, they are satisfied with their life'.¹⁸ Such self-satisfaction was questionable because it was at odds with the ideal of progress that served to justify British imperial ambitions in South America.

In contrast to Temple's text, *Rough Notes* presents the Gauchos' self-satisfaction in much more positive terms. For Head, these equestrians' apparent indifference to things 'beyond their reach' is praiseworthy because it entails a Romantic rejection of artificial wants or 'luxuries', the pursuit of which in his view ultimately prevented human happiness and compromised moral character:

It is true that the Gaucho has no luxuries; but the great feature of his character is, that he is a person without wants [...] [I]f he has a good saddle and good spurs, he does not consider that money has much value: in fact, he is contented with his lot; and when one reflects that, in the increasing series of human luxuries, there is no point that produces contentment, one cannot but feel that there is perhaps as much philosophy as folly in the Gaucho's determination to exist without wants; and the life he leads is certainly more noble than if he were slaving from morning till night to get other food for his body or other garments to cover it. It is true he is of little service to the great cause of civilisation, which it is the duty of every rational being to promote; but an humble individual, living by himself in a boundless plain, cannot introduce into the vast uninhabited regions which surround him either arts or sciences: he may, therefore, without blame be permitted to leave them as he found them, and as they must remain, until population, which will create wants, devises the means of supplying them. (pp. 22–23)

Since 'a good saddle and good spurs' are the only equipment the beef-eating Gaucho needs to gain his sustenance (wild horses being available for anyone with the skill to break them), he is justified, in Head's view, to find contentment in his current situation and to eschew the possession of 'luxuries' (that is, anything supplementary to basic human needs). In living a life 'without wants', and in questioning the value of money itself, the Gaucho is an embodiment of 'philosophy', and his reward, in Head's Rousseauvian terms, is an ennobling freedom from the 'slavery' of hard labour—the incessant work that enables people with material ambitions to acquire non-essential goods. Head admires this apparent rejection of luxuries because it places the Gaucho outside the capitalist economy in which he himself participated as a colonial businessman.¹⁹

In his reference to 'the increasing series of human luxuries', Head undertakes a Romantic critique of the Enlightenment concept of progress that served as a central ideological justification for European imperial expansion. According to the speculative model of history popularised in the writings of Adam Ferguson, Henry Home, and William Robertson, human societies gradually moved from a violent and primitive state of 'savagery' through successive states of increasing refinement and 'civility' as their sustenance practices evolved in response to pressures caused by population growth. Beginning in the 'hunter state', societies would eventually move through the successive stages of herding and agriculture, before entering the ultimate state of commerce.²⁰ For Romantic thinkers such as Head, this stadial model of human history was problematic because the 'increasing series of human luxuries' enabled by agriculture and commerce failed to produce 'contentment'. It is of course impossible to square this critique with Head's claim that 'it is the duty of every rational being to promote' the 'great cause of civilization'; and his claim that the Gaucho will 'remain' in his present state until 'population [...] create[s] wants' (*Rough Notes*, p. 23) demonstrates

his subscription to stadial theory despite his related critique of European luxury. As a businessman working to promote and profit from Argentina's industrial development, Head was inescapably an agent of the very progressive processes that his Romantic philosophy and sensibility found suspect.

In his depiction of the Gauchos, however, Head's idealisation found its practical limits. Although these people were in general 'noble' and 'always polite' (*Rough Notes*, pp. 21, 258), some of them could be dangerous. For this reason, Head 'always carried two brace[s] of detonating pistols in a belt, and a short detonating double-barrelled gun' in his hand, making it 'a rule never to be an instant without my arms, and to cock both barrels of my gun whenever I met any Gauchos' (p. 52). Significantly, Head's respect for Argentina's mixed-blood Gauchos did not translate into a similar respect for mixed-blood people in Upper Canada, where he saw *métissage* as a symptom of the cultural contamination which, he claimed, was contributing to the inevitable extinction of Indigenous people. Indeed, he framed his policy of settling Indigenous nations on remote reserves as part of a sympathetic effort to protect them from being 'contaminated by the vices of the Old World'. In contrast to the Argentine Gauchos, whose ways of life inspired his admiration, he saw Upper Canada's mixed-blood people as unfortunate byproducts of the colonial contact zone, which he referred to as 'the contaminated barrier'.²¹

Ethnographic Observations and Insights: 'The Pampas Indians'

During his Argentine travels, Head was fascinated not only by the Gauchos of the pampa, but also by the Indigenous people who inhabited the same territory; and although he 'had little time or opportunity to see many of the Indians' during his 'gallop in America' (*Rough Notes*, p. 112), he devoted a full chapter in *Rough Notes* to a consideration of their history, ways of life and mistreatment under colonial rule. During the same year in which Head and his party crossed the Atlantic to Buenos Aires, Argentina's ambassador to Great Britain, Ignacio Nuñez, circulated *An Account, Historical, Political, and Statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata* (1825). Translated from an earlier Spanish version, this document comprises two parts: a diplomatic letter originally 'written for the information of the British Ministry', and a lengthy 'collection of statistical particulars, and geographical notices',²² both of which were published to promote British emigration to Argentina.²³ Observing that the Indians had agreed in the past to sell lands to the government at Buenos Aires, the *Account* claims that they had, in meeting with government officials,

demanded [...] silver to an immense amount. Owing to this, and to the opposition made by the Indians, called *Ranqueles*, who belong to Chile, and are constantly inimical to peaceful measures, influencing, by their courage, all the other Indians; that congress, or *Parlamento* as they call it, produced no advantageous result as to the laudable idea of buying those countries, and not taking them away by force. In consequence of this failure, no choice is now left

to the Government of the United States [of Rio de la Plata] but to resort to violence; which Buenos Ayres will the more easily carry into execution, as the number of all these barbarians does not exceed 8000 men, armed with slings and lances, with no other advantage than the rapidity of their evolutions which they derive from their dexterity on horseback.²⁴

In referring to the Indigenous inhabitants of the pampa as ‘barbarians’, the *Account’s* summary of settler–Indigenous relations implies not only that the Native people were a backward race, but that their humanity was less than fully realised. As was the case elsewhere in the colonised world, such dehumanising sentiments helped to justify the violent expropriation of Indigenous territories in the name of progressive civilisation.

Given these circumstances, not to mention the horrific stories that Head’s Gaucho guides recounted about the Indians’ supposed propensity to slaughter and abduct people who dared to cross the pampa, the sympathy *Rough Notes* expresses for Native South Americans is surprising. First, near the opening of his chapter on ‘The Pampas Indians’, he emphatically denounces the history of Spanish conquest. After asserting that ‘the country belonged to [the Indians]’ whom God had ‘placed there’, he writes:

A fair description of the Indians I believe does not exist. The Spaniards, on the discovery of the country, exterminated a large proportion of this unfortunate race; the rest they treated as beasts of burden, and during their short intervals of repose, the priests were ordered to explain to them, that their vast country belonged to the Pope at Rome. The Indians, unable to comprehend this claim, and sinking under the burdens which they were doomed to carry, died in great numbers. It was therefore convenient to vote that they were imbecile both in body and mind; the vote was seconded by the greedy voice of avarice, and carried by the artifices of the designing, and the careless indolence of those who had no interest in the question: it at length became a statement which historians have now recorded. (pp. 111–12)

Although Head’s comments on Spanish colonialism reveal nationalist and anti-Catholic prejudices common among English Protestant writers of his era,²⁵ he articulates a critique of colonialism here that is broadly applicable to the colonising European nations. To begin with, he takes issue with the doctrine of ‘discovery’, one of Europe’s most prominent imperialist master narratives. Although he refers to the Spaniards’ ‘discovery’ of America, his assertion that the land ‘belonged to’ the Indians highlights his disdain for the narrative upon which fifteenth-century Spain based its claim that America ‘belonged to the Pope at Rome’—and upon which other European nations would subsequently base similar claims of overseas territorial possession. Although Head aims his criticism of the discovery narrative at Rome rather than at Europe in general, his critique accords with the recent findings of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation

Commission, whose Final Report rejects discovery 'as the basis for a legitimate claim to the lands that were colonised, if for no other reason than that the so-called discovered lands were already well known to the Indigenous peoples who had inhabited them for thousands of years.'²⁶ More significantly, in his observation that the discovery narrative served to justify a racist portrait of Indigenous people as 'imbecile' and thus unfit to know their own interests, Head's critique also anticipated aspects of Canada's United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act. Passed by the Canadian Senate in June 2021—nearly two centuries after the publication of *Rough Notes*—this law contains language, inserted at the request of First Nations leaders, repudiating the doctrine of discovery as 'racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust.'²⁷ It is no wonder that Indigenous leaders' demands for a formal renunciation of the doctrine circulated broadly during Pope Francis's 2022 visit to Canada.²⁸

A related aspect of Head's discourse on Spanish colonial history may be seen in his discussion of the insidious process by which racist stereotypes originate and gain the status of historical 'statements' or accepted truths. The coloniser's proclamation that South American Indigenous people 'were imbecile both in body and mind' is 'convenient', in Head's terms, because it serves to justify their treatment as 'beasts of burden' rather than as fellow human beings (*Rough Notes*, pp. 111–12), thus providing an ideological balm for the coloniser's guilt. If the theory of Native American mental and physical inferiority began with the Spaniards, it gained widespread scientific credence in the influential eighteenth-century writings of George Louis Leclerc, the comte de Buffon, who claimed that nature in the Americas was feeble and degenerate,²⁹ producing 'less virile flora and fauna than those found in Old World environments', a process that adversely affected 'not only [...] America's non-human creatures, but its 'human societies as well.'³⁰ This pseudo-scientific assumption influenced the ethnographic commentary of Head's fellow British traveler John Miers, who calls the Pampas Indians 'ill-made',³¹ while also informing Beaumont's more sweeping claim that the same people are 'constitutionally without vivacity, and [...] have but little genius.'³² As I have noted elsewhere,³³ Head's sceptical take on this Buffonian racial othering is an important aspect of his critical ethnographic practice.

Significantly, the metaphor Head deploys in depicting the development of racist stereotyping as the product of a committee 'vote'—a motion tabled, 'seconded' and 'carried'—lets very few Europeans off the hook. Not only does he indict the 'greedy voice of avarice' and the 'artifices of the designing' (the intentional voices and designs of those colonialists who wished to profit from the displacement and exploitation of Indigenous people). In calling out 'the careless indolence of those who had no interest in the question', he emphasises the complicity of every European who has failed to speak against colonial cruelty and injustice (*Rough Notes*, p. 112). A little later in *Rough Notes*, Head revisits his voting metaphor to further emphasise the ignorance informing white perceptions of Indigeneity. Speaking of the Indigenous inhabitants of the pampas,

he asks '[W]hat does the civilised world know of them? It votes them savages *et voilà tout* [...]' (p. 124).

In defending the pampa's original inhabitants from their European detractors, Head alludes once again to Buffonian racial theory to counter the claim that Native Americans comprise a less hardy race than that of their white European colonisers: 'from what I did hear and see of them', he states, 'I sincerely believe they are as fine a set of men as ever existed under the circumstances in which they are placed' (*Rough Notes*, p. 112–13). To support this assertion, Head provides a brief portrait of some Indigenous miners he encountered while inspecting an Andean mine, where he saw them

using tools which our [English] miners declared they had not strength to work with, and carrying burdens which no man in England could support; and I appeal to those travellers who have been carried over the snow on their backs, whether they were able to

have returned the compliment; and if not, what can be more grotesque than the figure of a civilised man riding upon the shoulders of a fellow-creature whose physical strength he has ventured to despise? (p. 113)

In this portrait, not only are Native South Americans patently not a physically degenerate people; compared to Head's English miners and to Englishmen in general, they are figures of uncommon strength and endurance. The 'appeal' Head makes to 'those travellers' who have crossed the Cordillera riding on the backs of Indigenous *silleros* or 'seat carriers'³⁴ is a fine example of the ironic approach he often takes in his South American writings when critiquing the civilisation/savagery binary opposition that structures colonial rhetoric. As his rhetorical question indicates, Head was offended not only by the inhumane way some



FIG. 2. 'Man and his Rider', in Sir Francis Bond Head, *The Horse and his Rider* (London: John Murray, 1861), p. 6. Biodiversity Heritage Library.

white travellers treated local Indigenous people in South America, but, more particularly, by the arrogantly contradictory logic informing their notions of racial supremacy. For Head, the image of the *sillero* was a powerful icon of colonial injustice that stuck with him even in the wake of his Canada days. More than three decades after *Rough Notes* first appeared in print, he included an engraving of a *sillero* carrying a formally dressed white gentleman over the Andes (see Figure 2) in his book *The Horse and His Rider* (first published in 1860). The engraving's clever title, 'Man and His Rider', turns the tables on Eurocentric racist stereotypes, presenting the Indigenous *sillero*, not the top-hatted gentleman 'Rider', as the 'Man' in this uncouth scenario. Beneath the illustration, Head's

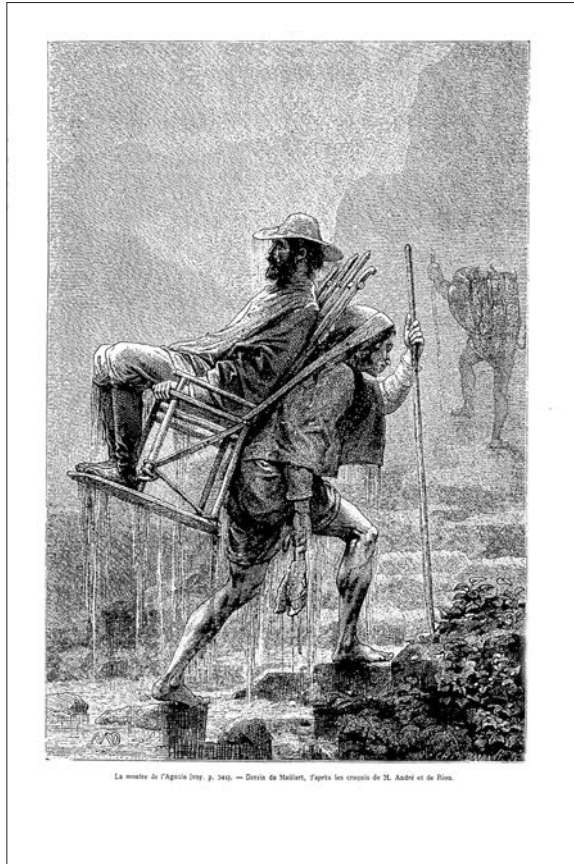


FIG. 3. 'La Montée de l'Agonie', drawn by Diogène Maillart after sketches by André and Riou, in *Le Tour du monde*, ed. by Édouard Charton, vol. 38 (Paris and London: Hachette, 1879), p. 363. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

caption reads 'MODE, IN NORTHERN PARTS OF SOUTH AMERICA, OF RIDING OVER THE ANDES, ON A RED INDIAN'; and following this text he poses the rhetorical 'QUERY, which is "THE SAVAGE?"'³⁵ As the contradictions he highlights indicate, Head remained skeptical of the notion that European colonialism comprised a 'civilising mission'. As an icon of South American colonialism, his book's engraving anticipated Édouard Riou's more recent work 'La Montée de l'Agonie, originally published in *Le Tour du monde* (1879; see Figure 3), an engraving in which a bare-footed *sillero* carries a seated white man up a steep mountain pathway through a torrential downpour. 'But for the rain', Mary Louise Pratt comments of this image, 'the passenger might well have been depicted reading a book'.³⁶

Despite being the leader of a British mining expedition, Head also reflected on the problematic role that European mining—and thus his own presence in

South America—played in the oppression of Indigenous people. In his commentary on the cruel practices that had characterised Spanish colonial rule in South America, he is characteristically blunt:

The mode [...] in which these riches were at first obtained, forms one of the most guilty pages in the moral history of man; and the cruelties which were exercised in the American mines are a blot on the escutcheon of human nature, which can never be effaced or concealed, and which is now only to be confessed with humility and contrition. Besides the mita, or forced labour of the Indians, [...] the whole system was one of extortion and oppression. (*Rough Notes*, p. 290)

Although Head directs these remarks at Spanish colonial practices, he does not let other colonising nations off the hook, for his ‘guilty page’ comprises part of a generalised ‘moral history of man’. In a reference to Christian ritual practices, Head claims that the guilt attending these ‘cruelties’ can be expiated only if ‘confessed with humility and contrition’; otherwise, the admission of colonial guilt would be an empty gesture. In a footnote accompanying this passage, he addresses the historical record once again, commenting that the South American Indians’ ‘unrecorded sufferings were beyond description’ (p. 290). While implying the need to set the record straight by recording these untold stories, he implicitly concedes his inability to address the seriousness of these sufferings through his own attempts to describe them.

To encourage sympathy for the pampa’s Indigenous people, Head appeals directly to his readers’ religious sentiments, something he does less frequently in his subsequent Canadian writings. Referring to the ‘aborigines of the land’ as ‘fellow-creatures’ of God, he suggests that European debates concerning the Pampas Indians’ racial status, including questionable Buffonian arguments regarding their supposed physical or mental degeneracy, are ultimately moot:

Whatever may be their physical or moral character, whether more or less puny in body or mind than the inhabitants of the old world, still they are the human beings placed there by the Almighty; the country belonged to them, and they are therefore entitled to the regard of every man who has religion enough to believe that God has made nothing in vain, or whose mind is just enough to respect the persons and the rights of his fellow-creatures. (*Rough Notes*, p. 111)

Although he refers to the Indians’ possession of the land in the past tense, Head’s reference to God’s creation and placement of them is rhetorically potent. Not only does he assert Indigenous people’s status as ‘fellow-creatures’; he asks his readers on that basis to ‘respect’ their ‘rights’ (though he stops short of defining the full scope and substance of these rights). Like contemporary North American religious commentators such as Samuel Farmer Jarvis and John Strachan,³⁷ moreover, Head argues that Native American and Christian beliefs share some significant common ground, especially including faith ‘in a future state, to which

they conceive they will be transferred as soon as they die'. For Head, this belief carried important moral implications (regardless of whether the Pampas Indians believed, as he claimed, that they 'will be constantly drunk' in the afterlife [p. 121]). As he would later argue in *The Life of Bruce* (1830), 'there is no one idea more deserving of respect—which so directly tends to civilise the human mind, making all men act towards each other as brothers, than any belief, however uncertain, in a state of future existence'.³⁸ Although the civility/savagery binary opposition that Head questions in *Rough Notes* informs this discussion implicitly, it is part of an effort to bridge rather than to reinforce the gap between European and Indigenous peoples. Once again, the difference between his Argentine and Canadian writings seems pronounced, for in the latter memoir he confidently asserts the existence of a 'moral gulf' between Indigenous and European people 'which neither party can cross' (*Emigrant*, p. 143).

Head closes his chapter on the pampa's Indigenous people in a prophetic register, imagining a future in which the region's diverse First Nations come together as agents of Providence to reclaim the land and exact vengeance on the European oppressor:

however ill it may suit our politics to calculate upon such an event as the union of the Araucana and Pampas Indians, who can venture to say that the hour may not be decreed, when these men, mounted upon the descendants of the very horses which were brought over the Atlantic to oppress their forefathers, may rush from the cold region to which they have been driven, and with irresistible fury proclaim to the guilty conscience of our civilised world, that the hour of retribution has arrived; that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children; that the descendants of Europeans are in their turn trampled under foot, and, in agony and torture, in vain are asking mercy from the naked Indians? (*Rough Notes*, p. 125)

Rather than issuing a platitudinous warning that God will punish oppressive Europeans by consigning them to a hellish afterlife, Head here imagines justice being meted out on the pampa itself. Asking for mercy 'in vain' while suffering excruciating 'agony and torture', the colonisers' descendants experience a kind of hell on Earth, while the Indigenous function as the moral agents of providential 'decree'. Mounted on the descendants of 'the very horses' used to facilitate the continent's colonisation, the South American warriors, in this prophetic vision, use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house in an act of retribution illustrating the Christian adage that we reap what we sow. According to Evelyn Alicia Jagoe, Head's vision is problematic because it partakes of 'a Romantic rhetoric that glorifies the natural man' rather than addressing the grim reality of a colonial situation that will get increasingly worse for Indigenous people during the course of the nineteenth century.³⁹ But there is more to Head's Romantic prophecy than a mere wish-fulfillment fantasy. In Canada's settler society, it is common for Euro-Canadians to disavow the deeds of their ancestors, refusing to accept any responsibility for the nation's history of European expansionist vio-

lence. Such denialism is among the ‘settler moves to innocence’ which, according to Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, encompass ‘those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege.’⁴⁰ In predicting that ‘the sins of the [European] fathers [will be] visited upon the children’ (an allusion to Deuteronomy 5. 9), Head refuses to sanction such a ‘move to innocence.’ Connecting past deeds to ‘the guilty conscience’ of his own ‘civilised world’, he suggests that all Europeans (not only settlers) share responsibility in the present for past colonial injustices.

As a British businessman hired to exploit Argentina’s rich mineral wealth, Head expressed sympathies that were not only at odds with his professional mission, but very much in conflict with the beliefs of his European compatriots in the colonial mining industry. British speculators erroneously assumed that their enterprise would find spectacular success through the application of capital, and by teaching modern industrial mining techniques to ‘the Indian miner[s]’ they planned to employ.⁴¹ The arrogance of this assumption became clear to Head during his inspection of an Andean mine in which several impoverished Indigenous miners were hard at work. In his 1827 *Quarterly Review* article ‘Cornish Miners in America,’ he imagines a speech that one of these miners might ‘justly’ have made upon rising ‘from the earth beneath’ and learning the purpose of his own expedition. The speech begins with a generalised indictment of colonial morality, as the miner asks the European interlopers to explain themselves: “For what purpose have the inhabitants of the old world come again among us? Is it to relieve our wants, or to add to our misfortunes? You have driven us from our plains—our ancient empires are in your hands—we have been, and we are, unable to stand against you.”⁴²

Significantly, this generalised questioning of European imperialist intention (which indicts both the Spanish conquistadores of the past and the British capitalists of the present) gives way to a particularised critique of the colonial hubris informing British mining ambitions; for, in continuing his speech, the imagined Indigenous miner poses an impressive series of critical rhetorical questions:

[D]o you still seriously believe that our whole race has neither judgment nor strength? Do you conceive that we could have procured you the precious metals in such abundance without gaining experience in the arts of searching for them? Do you fancy that they are here in profusion?—Enter the mine beneath us, and you will perceive how trifling is its value if you abstract from it our labour. In what do you pretend to instruct us?⁴³

By putting such questions into the mouth of a Native miner in this tableau of colonial contact, Head makes himself the target of the miner’s indignant fury, thereby engaging in a self-directed critique that has no proper equivalent in his Canadian writings.⁴⁴ Seemingly ashamed that the British mining companies working in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata—his own included—have never bothered to seek the ‘opinion of the native miners of America,’⁴⁵ he not only criticises British colonial arrogance, but he also implicitly acknowledges

the practical value of traditional Indigenous knowledge. If companies such as the Rio Plata Mining Association had approached their work with a sense of humility and open-mindedness, Head implies, the speculative disaster of the whole London-based South American mining bubble might have been avoided.

Ultimately, Head's depiction of the Pampas Indians is highly mediated, gleaned mostly 'from unnamed external sources',⁴⁶ including conversations with Gauchos who were themselves biased because of long-established historical enmities. Having encountered local Indigenous people on only a couple of occasions in South America, Head produced an account that tells us much more about himself than about the people who provided his chapter's ostensible subject matter. For modern-day scholars, Head's ethnography is therefore valuable not for its descriptions of Native American customs and practices, but because of the numerous passages in which the author reflects critically on his own society's colonialist assumptions and practices. To his credit, Head appears to have recognised the limited extent of his own mediated knowledge. In *Rough Notes*, he expressed a fervent wish to learn from the Pampas Indigenes themselves by directly observing and participating in their cultural activities. 'The life of such a people must certainly be very interesting,' he mused,

and I always regretted very much that I had not time to throw off my clothes and pay a visit to some of the tribes, which I should otherwise certainly have done, as, with proper precautions, there would have been little to fear; for it would have been curious to have observed the young sporting about the plains in such a state of wild nature, and to have listened to the sentiments and opinions of the old; and I would gladly have shivered through the cold nights, and have lived upon mare's flesh in the day, to have been a visitor among them. (p. 120)


On the one hand, in its assumption that the Pampas Indians lived in 'a state of wild nature', this passage highlights the Romantic cultural primitivism that informs Head's wish to visit them on their own turf. On the other hand, his expressed desire to listen 'to the sentiments and opinions of the old' indicates a curiosity about, and potential respect for, traditional elder knowledge carriers that was uncommon among European commentators. Head's wish to 'throw off' his clothes—sartorial signifiers of his European 'civility'—and adopt a Native diet suggests a desire to shed some of the cultural baggage defining his Englishness, to move closer to a Rousseauvian 'state of nature' by immersing himself in the culture of what he calls the 'naked' Indian (p. 125). This desire to dress—or rather, undress—like his imagined hosts is consistent with criticism he would later provide in *The Life of Bruce*, where he claims that arrogant 'English-dressed travellers' often fail to gain sympathy from local people because they refuse to adopt their sartorial customs. Head's skepticism concerning 'the little-hat-coat-waistcoat-breeches-and-gaiter theory' of colonial encounter informs his critique of the 'prejudiced and uncivilised conduct' of British travellers in the Argentine contact zone.⁴⁷

Given that the Pampas Indians in fact covered their bodies with 'a small apron of cloth and a fur robe',⁴⁸ Head's depiction of these people as 'naked' is either a metaphor for their supposed lack of cultural artifice or merely inaccurate. But his own expressed desire to 'throw off [his] clothes' was more than metaphorical. Not only did it evince a Romantic desire to experience a 'state of wild nature', but it was based on the very real, and apparently delicious, experience of galloping *au naturel*. In an exuberant passage that surely turned many a polite English reader's head, he wrote: 'I cannot express the delightful feeling of freedom and independence which one enjoys in galloping without clothes on a horse without a saddle' (*Rough Notes*, p. 236). Resorting 'at last', as one contemporary reviewer put it, 'to that natural clothing of the limbs, which, by a wise provision in case of any abrasure, possesses the faculty of self-redintegration',⁴⁹ Head revealed an image of 'wild nature'—or wild naturism—that clearly set him apart from his more modest British literary peers in the Argentine. Unfortunately, when he visited Anishinaabe and Huron people in Upper Canada over a decade after his South American sojourn, he subjected them to the paternalist condescension that informed his treaty making activities rather than realising the opportunity, so fervently wished for in *Rough Notes*, to shed some of his own presuppositions and learn about their culture.⁵⁰

Conclusion

Early in my discussion, I suggested that the contrasting critical responses to Head's Argentine and Canadian writings may be attributed to a kind of 'silo' effect in which Head scholars working in the separate fields of South American and Canadian studies have thus far shown little interest in each other's research. As a literary historian whose understanding of Head was originally formed in the Canadian studies context, where Head's 'name is bound up with the Rebellion' and thus 'blighted [...] beyond possibility of redemption',⁵¹ I was frankly surprised to encounter a separate body of largely sympathetic research when I first began to investigate Head's South American period. In those rare instances where writers familiar with his Canadian lieutenant-governorship have shown interest in Head's Argentine travels, their readings of *Rough Notes* appear to have been coloured by their knowledge of his administration's failures in Upper Canada. Such an approach to the interpretation of *Rough Notes* began immediately in the wake of his Canadian lieutenant governorship. Commenting on Head's writings one year after his return from Canada to England, for example, a reviewer for the *London and Westminster Review* stated that the 'bad distinction' Head had 'obtained as a Governor of Upper Canada' had 'naturally excited curiosity as to how he wrote who had governed so ill'. In a selective and de-contextualised reading of passages from *Rough Notes*, the reviewer presents evidence to support the claim that Head was 'a man of very mercurial temperament, of vanity without heart, and selfishness without judgment'.⁵² This tendency to judge Head's early writings retrospectively, in the light of his failed Upper Canadian governorship, also informs the work of Canadian historian Sydney F. Wise. While acknowledg-

ing Head as a man owning some 'attractive and even admirable' qualities and his Argentine writings as a source of some 'good, rich stuff'; Wise calls *Rough Notes* 'a schoolboy's delight',⁵³ an under-handed compliment presenting the text as a species of children's entertainment rather than as a literary work deserving the kinds of serious scholarly engagement found in the South American studies 'silo'.

I do not mean to suggest that *Rough Notes* is an exemplary anti-racist text, or that Head himself had managed in writing it to escape the colonial biases of his era. As I've noted, 'Galloping Head' was to some extent a galloping contradiction, for his criticisms of colonialism and capitalist enterprise were very much at odds with his assigned duties as an English businessman hired to exploit South America's mineral wealth. Nevertheless, in its meditations on colonial morality—especially evident in discussions of Buffonian racial theory, the doctrine of discovery, and the ideology of progress—*Rough Notes* provides an important instance of Romantic-era anti-colonial critique. This development of a critical perspective on colonialism, however, should not be seen as a good in and of itself. As Tuck and Yang have argued, 'the cultivation of critical consciousness' is insufficient when unaccompanied by corrective action, and 'conscientization' cannot be allowed 'to stand in for the more uncomfortable task of relinquishing stolen land'.⁵⁴ During his South American travels, Head the businessman did not have the authority to undertake such concrete action. During his Upper Canadian period, however, Head the lieutenant governor had several opportunities to prevent Indigenous land from being stolen in the first place, opportunities that he failed to exploit despite his continuing Romantic critique of European colonialism. Although Head's Canadian writings frequently criticise the Eurocentric metanarratives of civilisation and progress, just as *Rough Notes* had done two decades earlier, their critique must be taken with a larger grain of critical salt. Written primarily to defend himself and his administration from accusations of incompetence, works such as 'The Red Man' and *The Emigrant* are polemical texts in which sympathetic depictions of Indigenous people and related criticisms of European imperialism function rhetorically as questionable 'moves to innocence' designed to present the author in the best possible light.⁵⁵ As such, the critical promise informing *Rough Notes*, so often praised in the scholarship surrounding the text, remained unfulfilled. 

NOTES

1. This article is part of a project-in-progress entitled *The Life and Literary Adventures of Sir Francis Bond Head*, which is under contract with McGill–Queen's University Press. I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for supporting this research via a four-year Insight Grant (2019–2023), and to *Romantic Textualities*' anonymous reviewer for providing helpful suggestions for the article's improvement. I would also like to thank University of Northern British Columbia librarian Annelise Dowd for helping me to locate and acquire digital copies of the images reproduced herein.
2. Theodore Binnema and Kevin Hutchings, 'The Emigrant and the Noble Savage: Sir Francis Bond Head's Romantic Approach to Aboriginal Policy in Up-

- per Canada, 1836–38; *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 39.1 (2005), pp. 115–38, doi: 10.1353/jcs.2006.0002; Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture, 1756–1830* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 256–58.
3. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (Routledge, 2008), p. 144.
 4. Focusing on Head's role in the Upper Canada Rebellion without considering his engagement with the First Nations, historians have ridiculed him as 'Rash, impetuous, inordinately vain and self-conscious' (Robina Lizzars and Kathleen MacFarlane, *Humours of '37* [Briggs, 1897], p. 166), calling him a 'posturing, vainglorious individual devoid of [...] common sense' (Colin Read, *The Rising in Western Upper Canada, 1837–8* [University of Toronto Press, 1982], p. 57), an 'opinionated, arrogant, and quite impossibly petty' person (Wise, 'Introduction to the Carleton Library Edition,' in *A Narrative*, by Francis Bond Head and William Lyon Mackenzie [McClelland & Stewart, 1969], p. xxiii), even someone whose writings and actions betrayed 'a notable deficiency inside his skull' (Thomas B. Robertson, *The Fighting Bishop* [Graphic Publishers, 1926], p. 131).
 5. See Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776–1930* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 317, n. 42; R. Alan Douglas, *Uppermost Canada: The Western District and the Detroit Frontier, 1800–1850* (Wayne State University Press, 2001), p. 129; Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, p. 257; Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (1987; University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 222.
 6. Jean Franco, 'A Not-So-Romantic Journey: British Travelers to South America, 1818–28,' in *Critical Passions: Selected Essays*, ed. by Mary Louise Pratt and Kathleen Newman (Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 133–46 (pp. 133–34, 142 and 145).
 7. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 150 and 149. Combined with his 'sympathetic approach to alien ways and scenes,' Head's frequent willingness to consider his own and his society's colonial activities in a self-reflexive critical light informs the tendency among modern critics to praise *Rough Notes* for its 'imperishably fine account' of South America (Harvey C. Gardiner, 'Introduction,' to Francis Bond Head, *Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes*, ed. by C. Harvey Gardiner [Southern Illinois University Press, 1967], pp. vii–xxi [pp. xii, xx]), to admire its 'superior literary merits' (S. Samuel Trifilo, 'Review of *Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes* by Francis Bond Head,' *The Americas*, 24.2 (1967), pp. 192–94 [p. 193]), and even to celebrate it as a 'little masterpiece' whose insights on South American history anticipated 'some of the best' twentieth-century historiography on the region (John Walker, 'From the Argentine Plains to Upper Canada: Sir Francis Bond Head—Gaucho Apologist and Costumbriest of the Pampa,' *North South*, 5.9 [1980], pp. 97–120 [pp. 116 and 104]).
 8. Walker, 'From the Argentine Plains to Upper Canada,' p. 118.
 9. Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (Murray, 1846), p. 121. Subsequent references to this volume are provided parenthetically in the text.
 10. Edmond Temple, *Travels in Various Parts of Peru*, 2 vols (Colburn & Bentley, 1830), II, 90.
 11. Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, 2 vols (Murray, 1891), II, 252.
 12. Franco, 'A Not-So-Romantic Journey,' p. 134.
 13. 'The Slumps that Shaped Modern Finance,' *The Economist*, 12 April 2014, pp. 49–54 (p. 50).

14. Francis Bond Head, *Reports relating to the Failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association* (Clowes, 1827), pp. 53–54.
15. J. A. B. Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres* (Ridgway, 1828), p. 60.
16. Francis Bond Head, *Rough Notes Taken during Some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes*, 2nd edn (Murray, 1826), p. 51. Subsequent references to this volume are provided parenthetically in the text.
17. Tom B. Jones, *South America Rediscovered* (University of Minnesota Press, 1949), p. 33.
18. Temple, *Travels*, 1, 75 and 76.
19. Other Murray travel writers shared at least some of Head's enthusiasm for the Gauchos. According to Alexander Caldcleugh's *Travels in South America*, 2 vols (Murray, 1825), the Gauchos' 'disposition [...] is decidedly good, and their honesty has never been called into question. Industry is all that is wanting' (1, 181). In *Journey from Buenos Ayres*, 2 vols (Murray, 1827), Joseph Andrews celebrates 'the peculiar freedom of a Gaucho's life', praising the Gaucho's preference for 'the real necessities of man', easily provided by 'prodigal' nature, over the 'luxuries' of European commercial civilisation (1, 212). Head's discourse differs from these and other sympathetic British accounts in the frequency and detail of its references to the Gauchos, among whom he spent much time during his travels.
20. Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Creech and Strachan & Cadell, 1778), 1, 341–42.
21. Francis Bond Head, 'The Red Man' (1840), in *Descriptive Essays Contributed to 'The Quarterly Review'*, vol. 1 (Murray, 1857), pp. 307–67 (pp. 337, 314).
22. Ignacio Nuñez, *An Account, Historical, Political, and Statistical, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata* (Ackerman, 1825), pp. iv and v.
23. Joselyn Almeida, *Reimagining the Transatlantic 1780–1890* (Ashgate, 2011), p. 162.
24. Nuñez, *Account*, p. 185.
25. Kristine L. Jones, 'Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts of Argentina', *Ethnohistory*, 33.2 (1986), pp. 195–211 (p. 197); Franco, 'A Not-So-Romantic Journey', p. 133; Walker, 'From the Argentine Plains to Upper Canada', p. 111.
26. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 6 vols (McGill–Queen's University Press, 2015), 1, 24 <https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-9-1-1-2015-eng.pdf> [accessed 23 June 2022].
27. Quoted in Teresa Wright, 'How Canada's UNDRIP bill was strengthened to reject "racist" doctrine of discovery', *Toronto Star*, 19 June 2021 <<https://www.thestar.com/politics/2021/06/19/how-canadas-undrip-bill-was-strengthened-to-reject-racist-doctrine-of-discovery.html>> [accessed 21 June 2022]. Former Assembly of First Nations Chief Perry Bellegarde praised the bill's repudiation of this false doctrine as a legal gesture that would help to provide a basis for 'peaceful coexistence and mutual respect' between First Nations and the Canadian state (ibid.). The Act seeks to bring Canadian federal law into harmony with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

In 1838, shortly after his return to England from Upper Canada, Head would criticise the discovery narrative once again in a discussion of Christopher Columbus's historical legacy. In contrast to most Europeans, who viewed the famous explorer 'as one of the most distinguished men that the Old World has ever produced', Native Americans, he remarked, saw Columbus 'as the personification of their *Manito*, or evil spirit,—in short, of that serpent which has brought "death into their world and

- all its woe” (‘Red Man’, pp. 341–42). Equating America’s celebrated ‘discoverer’ with Satan in *Paradise Lost*, Head not only brings into question the Eurocentric notion of discovery, but he highlights the gulf that separates European from Native American views of colonial history. Unfortunately, in his treaty-making activities in Canada, Head participated directly in the expropriation of lands that the doctrine of discovery had originally served to justify, thereby helping to consolidate Upper Canada’s Eurocentric dominion over Britain’s Indigenous allies.
28. See Stephanie Taylor, ‘Pope’s visit to Canada sparks calls to renounce centuries-old Doctrine of Discovery’, CTV News, 30 July 2022 <<https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/pope-s-visit-to-canada-sparks-calls-to-renounce-centuries-old-doctrine-of-discovery-1.6008596>> [accessed 25 August 2022].
 29. Gordon Sayre, ‘The Mammoth: Endangered Species or Vanishing Race?’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 1.1 (2001), pp. 63–87, doi: 10.1353/jem.2001.0008 (p. 85 n. 11); David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (Basic Books, 2000), pp. 30–32.
 30. Kevin Hutchings, ‘Transatlantic Extinctions and the “Vanishing American”’, in *Transatlantic Literary Ecologies*, ed. by Kevin Hutchings and John Miller (Routledge, 2017), pp. 58–72 (p. 62). Buffon’s argument informs his racist stereotype that ‘the savage of the new world is weak in the organs of generation; he has neither hair nor beard nor any ardor for his female’ (quoted in Sayre, ‘The Mammoth’, p. 85 n. 11).
 31. John Miers, *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, 2 vols (Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1826), 1, 256.
 32. Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres*, p. 52.
 33. Kevin Hutchings, *Transatlantic Upper Canada: Portraits in Literature, Land, and British-Indigenous Relations* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020), pp. 117–18.
 34. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 151.
 35. Francis Bond Head, *The Horse and his Rider* (Murray, 1861), p. 8.
 36. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 151.
 37. John Strachan, Review of Samuel Farmar Jarvis’s *A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America*, *Christian Recorder*, 2.6 (1820), 218–29 (p. 222)—see Hutchings, *Transatlantic Upper Canada*, pp. 66–68.
 38. Francis Bond Head, *The Life of Bruce, the African Traveller*, 3rd edn (Murray, 1838), p. 130.
 39. Eva-Lynn Alicia Jagoe, *The End of the World as They Knew It: Writing Experiences of the Argentine South* (Bucknell University Press, 2008), p. 42.
 40. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, ‘Decolonization is Not a Metaphor’, *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 1.1 (2012), 1–40 (p. 10).
 41. Francis Bond Head, ‘Cornish Miners in America’, *Quarterly Review*, 36 (June–October 1827), pp. 81–106 (p. 98).
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. In *The Emigrant*, the closest Head comes to engaging in a similar self-directed critique occurs in another fictitious tableau in which he imagines an Anishinaabe hunter, having been ‘transported’ to England, ‘laugh[ing] outright at the very idea of rearing and feeding game for the sake of afterwards shooting it’ (pp. 143–44). As an enthusiastic English gentleman hunter, Head implicitly makes himself an object of the imagined Indigenous hunter’s disdainful humour. The passage’s critical edge is dulled, however, by the subtlety and humour with which Head relates it,

- and by the fact that the Anishinaabe hunter's remarks do not reflect on his own work as Upper Canada's lieutenant governor.
45. Head, 'Cornish Miners', p. 97.
 46. Jagoe, *End of the World*, p. 41.
 47. Head, *Life of Bruce*, pp. 326 and 322
 48. Alfred J. Tapson, 'Indian Warfare on the Pampa during the Colonial Period', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 42.1 (1962), pp. 1–28, doi:10.2307/2509825 (p. 3).
 49. 'Head's Journeys across the Pampas', *London Magazine*, 1 October 1826, pp. 232–42 (p. 232).
 50. Binnema and Hutchings, 'The Emigrant and the Noble Savage', *passim*.
 51. Wise, 'Introduction', p. xii.
 52. 'Sir Francis Head's Works', *London and Westminster Review*, 31.2 (April–August 1826), pp. 461–67 (pp. 461 and 463). This reviewer's negative evaluation of *Rough Notes* contrasts sharply with many earlier reviews, including one that appeared, for example, in the *London Magazine*, which commended the text for its 'hearty and generous spirit which we love, and which all mankind loves', and which imagined Head himself as a highly 'pleasant' *compagnon du voyage* ('Head's Journeys', p. 242).
 53. Wise, 'Introduction', p. xvii.
 54. Tuck and Yang, 'Decolonization is Not a Metaphor', p. 19.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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and relationship with, Glasgow. Geraldine came to university later in life and graduated in June 2023 with an MA (Hons) in Scottish Literature and is a former President (2022–2023) of the University of Glasgow, Scottish Literature Society.

Colette Davies was awarded her PhD by the University of Nottingham in 2022 for her thesis, ‘Women Writers, Authorship, and the Late Eighteenth-Century Novel: Representations of the Female Author in the Minerva Press (1785–1800)’. Between 2018 and 2022 she was one of the Postgraduate Representatives for the British Association for Romantic Studies and co-organised the 2020 ‘Romantic Futurities’ BARS Early Career and Postgraduate Conference. She was a co-contributor for the ‘Romantic Novel’ section of the *Year’s Work in English Studies* (2020–2021) and has co-edited a special edition and written an article for *Romanticism on the Net* (2021). She is now a Knowledge Exchange and Impact Manager at the University of Nottingham, and enjoys working with academics and external partners to develop and realise external engagement with and the impacts of research.

Emily J. Dolive currently teaches at Eastside Catholic School in Seattle, after completing her PhD in English at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and a two-year Postdoctoral Fellowship at Baylor University. Her dissertation and book project, ‘Staking Out Space: British Women’s War Poetry, 1780–1840’ examines how women poets navigated and reshaped the literary marketplace during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Her newest work places Mary Robinson’s poetry and politics in dialogue with John Thelwall and is forthcoming in the *European Romantic Review*.

John-Erik Hansson is lecturer in British History at Université Paris Cité, member of the Echelles (UMR 8264) research unit and reviews editor of the *Anarchist Studies* journal. He is a specialist of the intellectual and cultural history of political radicalism, from the late eighteenth century to today. In particular, he has worked on William Godwin and his circle, with a special interest in the links between radicalism and the diversity of genre of writings, from philosophical treatises to children’s books. More recently, he has worked with Matthew Adams on Godwin’s twentieth-century reputation as a precursor of anarchism, to rethink the ways in which anarchists have (re-)constructed their own histories.

Kevin Hutchings is a professor in the Department of English at the University of Northern British Columbia, where he holds a University Research Chair and chairs the Research Committee in the Faculty of Indigenous Studies, Social Sciences and Humanities. He is the author of *Transatlantic Upper Canada: Portraits in Literature, Land, and British–Indigenous Relations* (2020), *Romantic Ecologies and Colonial Cultures in the British Atlantic World* (2009) and *Imagining Nature: Blake’s Environmental Poetics* (2002). He is also co-editor of *Transatlantic Literary Ecologies* (with John Miller, 2017), *Transatlantic*

Literary Exchanges (with Julia M. Wright, 2011) and *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture: The Indian Atlantic* (with Tim Fulford, 2009); and he has published more than thirty-five journal articles and book chapters. Kevin is currently working on a monograph entitled *The Life and Literary Adventures of Sir Francis Bond Head*, which under contract at McGill–Queen’s University Press and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Almudena Jiménez Virosta holds a Bachelor’s degree in Audiovisual Communications with a Fine Arts complement from the University of Seville and a Master’s in Hispanic Studies and Comparative Literature from the University of Geneva. She is currently pursuing a PhD at the University of Fribourg, where she works as a Teaching and Research Assistant. Her doctoral project builds on Golden Age Spain and its transnational reception and explores the intersections between politics, literature and painting across Europe between 1600 and 1900. Along with her academic background, these subjects inform her undergraduate teaching in academic writing in Spanish, Literary Theory and Comparative Literature. In the past, Almudena translated Mary Shelley’s later writings into Spanish, which she continues to study alongside works by other British authors, such as Coleridge and Ruskin. She has also presented at international conferences on topics ranging from the Spanish Baroque to European Romanticism, gothic literature and cinema.

Matthew C. Jones is an Assistant Instructional Professor in the University Writing Program at the University of Florida, where his primary responsibilities involve creating educational partnerships among UF and schools, universities and organisations in Wales. His scholarly work is on the presences and roles of education in colonialism of the long nineteenth century, particularly on indigenous and grassroots education networks in Wales, Ireland, India and China in response to the British Empire.

Andrew McInnes is Reader in Romanticisms and Co-Director of EHU Nineteen, the research centre for nineteenth-century studies at Edge Hill University, and Secretary of the British Association for Romantic Studies. He has published widely on Romantic Studies, women’s writing, gothic fiction and children’s literature. He is currently working on a critical edition of the Brontë sisters’ *Poems* by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell (1846), emphasising—like this Special Issue—the value of collaboration.

Judith Pascoe is the George Mills Harper Professor of English at Florida State University. Her work focuses on the theatrical, visual and material culture of the British Romantic period. Pascoe has written about theatrical self-representation in the 1790s (*Romantic Theatricality: Gender, Poetry, and Spectatorship*, 1997) and about Romantic-era collectors (*The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and*