

## Culture



**Edward J. Hedigan, *The Ogoki River Guides: Emergent Leadership Among the Northern Ojibwa*, Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1986. 170 pages, \$7 (paper)**

Adrian Tanner

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nouvel Etat de Meiji. A partir notamment d'un parallèle avec l'Etat autocratique Prussien, Bernier propose une explication originale des conditions spécifiques de l'émergence du capitalisme au Japon qui, comme en Prusse, s'est réalisée au moment où dans ces pays le régime féodal demeurait dominant. Faisant ressortir ce point de vue dans les diverses problématiques qu'il aborde en conclusion, l'auteur insiste sur une définition du capitalisme qui va au-delà des formes socio-culturelles et politiques des sociétés occidentales afin de ne pas exclure le Japon de l'étude du capitalisme. A cet égard, Bernier formalise sa définition du capitalisme dans les termes d'une structure, d'un mode de production dont le type est construit à partir de formes institutionnelles, qu'elles soient japonaises ou occidentales dont le chercheur vise la généralité qui lui confère sa nature de système socio-économique. Il y a là matière à débat entre une conceptualisation de ce qui renverrait au capitalisme et les propriétés de l'organisation socioculturelle et politique d'une société dans la mesure où la logique économique capitaliste n'existe que comme logique sociale résultant des diverses constituantes d'une société. Ce n'est pas la moindre qualité de cet ouvrage que de permettre ce débat, par l'envergure de la description du phénomène et le travail de problématisation qui y est fait.

Soulignons pour terminer l'accessibilité de ce livre pour des non-initiés à l'histoire du Japon. On y retrouve un glossaire des mots japonais et un autre des noms propres. L'exposition systématique de l'argumentation et les multiples efforts de synthèse donnent une présentation très pédagogique à cet ouvrage. Suite à cette lecture, nous attendons avec empressement la parution du second tome sur les difficultés du Japon industriel de 1919 à la fin de l'occupation américaine en 1952.

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Edward J. HEDIGAN, *The Ogoki River Guides: Emergent Leadership Among the Northern Ojibwa*, Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1986. 170 pages, \$7 (paper).

By Adrian Tanner  
Memorial University

In the folk model of most modern western societies a taboo exists against politics and economic enterprise becoming openly intermixed. Yet the two are frequently either connected, or in some societies so intermixed as to constitute a single system. We can, for example, ask whether the heads of govern-

ment corporations or cooperatives are politicians, because they are involved in matters in the public domain, or are they entrepreneurs, because they are involved with business enterprise?

Edward Hedigan investigates a Canadian case where entrepreneurship defines a community's political leadership. It involves a native Indian community which is not a 'band' living on a 'reserve', and thus has no formal, externally imposed regulations as to how political office holders are chosen. Hedigan suggests that the 'home grown' form of leadership which has emerged has lessons for other northern Indian communities, where the formal (usually elected) system has been seen to some anthropologists as producing mere surrogate leaders, which only adds to the difficulties these communities have in solving their own social problems.

The book is also an ethnographic case study of a Northern Ojibwa community. The research was apparently conducted for a doctoral dissertation between 1974 and 1975, which is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the author gives a thorough literature review leading up to his application of exchange theory. He concludes that such localized political/economic entrepreneurs function as leaders by giving jobs and community benefits in exchange for loyalty. On the other hand, there are few citations more recent than the mid 1970s. The main analytic conclusion, that a leader who 'delivers the goods' creates confidence and legitimizes his position as leader, tends to be stated and restated, rather than demonstrated.

Collins is a village by the CNR railway in northern Ontario which dates from around the Second World War, composed of Ojibwa Indians, most of whom migrated from, but remain on the lists of, a number of the surrounding bands, together with others who are without official Indian status, drawn there by an independent fur trader. The whole community identifies itself as anishenabek, 'Indian' rather than Metis or of mixed ethnicity. Not only is there no chief and council, but when offered the opportunity to acquire a form of municipal government, which among other things would have facilitated obtaining government grants, the community chose to remain unincorporated. It has thus avoided coming under the local government regulations of either the province of Ontario, or those of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs.

Until the 1960s the community's political leader is said to have been the White private trader who was married into the Indian band from which most

of the population of the community migrated. Since his death, his three sons have replaced him in this role. By the late 1960s the requirements of leadership began to include the ability to acquire government-funded projects. To accomplish this, the son's founded a non-profit corporation, Ogoki River Guides Ltd., which is described in the preface as a "locally-operated tourist operation."

However, the text is not entirely clear on the corporation's activities in the tourist business. During the study period its main function appears to have been to receive government grants, provide jobs and promote community development, rather than run a business. Yet it apparently had some ultimate business aims. It is not clear what would prevent the leaders from turning it into a business-oriented corporation, and whether this would alter their roles as community political leaders.

Little effort has been made to bring the story since 1975 up to date, or to indicate whether the corporation has become a functioning tourist business. In a five-page postscript we learn of further grants obtained for a school, a community hall and a church, but little further relating to the tourist operation. The lodge owned by the corporation, the construction of which provides one of the book's main chapters, was leased to a competitor who operated other lodges in the area.

The author might also have pointed out that this case has more relevance to some contemporary northern Native communities than its rather special circumstances (particularly considering the unique biographies of the three main leaders) might at first make it appear. This is because of similarities with a number of Native corporations that have emerged from recent land claims agreements, designed to manage economic benefits not merely as businesses, but for the welfare and development of the Native communities involved.

The study includes much good descriptive material on the contemporary reality of a northern Native mixed wage and subsistence hunting and trapping economy, as well as some clear discussions of theory. Both these qualities suggest the book's potential use with students. For example, there is a good demonstration that a family's production of bush food varies directly with its cash income, rather than inversely as might have been expected.

Still, the study leaves many unanswered questions. For example, why would the electoral system of either an Indian band or a provincial municipality have undermined the community's accomplishments? We only learn that local sentiment was to avoid unhelpful outside bureaucratic meddling.

Electoral politics are supposed to ensure that, if leaders are seen as using their positions for private accumulation rather than community interests, or if they favour one or another faction, they can be replaced. In this study Collins leaders were apparently not prey to the temptations of mixing politics with private interest, but no explanation is given as to why this is so. Hedigan indicates that the structural basis for the kind of factionalism endemic to some Native communities does exist in Collins; less attention is given to why it did not develop so as to influence the political process.

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Regna DARNELL and Michael K. FOSTER, *Native North American Interaction Patterns*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1988. Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper 112, Mercury Series. viii + 229 pp.

By E. N. Anderson  
*University of California, Riverside*

This book reports the Conference on Native North American Interaction Patterns held in 1982 in Edmonton. Like many conference volumes, it is a collection of disparate papers.

The label "interaction patterns" can cover almost any theoretical approach to almost any social data. There is, however, a central tendency in this book. Most papers represent new approaches based on Dell Hymes' "ethnography of communication." Taken together, they present some important extensions of the approach. Most significant is the relationship of paralinguistic to linguistic communication, of text to context, and of written to spoken words.

A central theme of many papers is the difference between most Native cultures and most Anglo-American subcultures in expressivity. The Native peoples are quieter, with more silences and fewer emotional vocalizations. This tendency has been observed since the beginning of Anglo settlement. This book presents working notes toward several possible types of explanation: structural, functional, ecological, culturological and more. Missing, except in Foster's paper, is adequate consideration of the great tradition of Native oratory, equally striking to early Anglo settlers. More attention could also be paid to the skills involved in making every word count and thus communicating a great deal with few words, in song as well as in ordinary discourse.)