

the value of recording temperatures, tides, and other data in ledgers, sometimes on an hourly basis, even if they chafed at the difficulties they encountered while doing so.

Throughout the book, sensational statements are highlighted at the expense of accuracy in recounting the events of expeditions. Chapter Eight opens with a citation of Schley's account of the rescue of the men on the Lady Franklin Bay expedition, in which Greely claims that he "did what I came to do—beat the best record" (p. 183). The text goes on to claim that a farthest north record had been Greely's primary goal all along, rather than the International Polar Year science that had been the public goal of the expedition (and which the scientists diligently conducted before disaster overtook them). A careful reader might check the footnote that follows the Greely/Schley quote to discover that Dippel is aware of other, reputable, sources that dispute the accuracy of this rendering of Greely's words, but such subtleties do not seem to warrant a place in the main text, particularly when they cast doubt on Dippel's thesis.

My issues with the book can perhaps best be illustrated with a final example. Chapter Nine discusses the loneliness and isolation that afflicted many explorers, particularly in the dark polar winter. The chief example is, not surprisingly, Richard Byrd's solo overwintering in Antarctica in 1934. Augustine Courtauld's five months alone on the Greenland icecap in the winter of 1930–31 is briefly mentioned, but although Byrd's time in Antarctic mirrored Courtauld's in many ways, Dippel apparently does not find in him a suitable comparison with Byrd. Instead, Dippel casts his net wider, writing (p. 207):

The closest to Byrd's [experience] in terms of length was when the explorer Knud Rasmussen, son of a Danish missionary and an Inuit-Danish mother, had crossed northern Canada in sixteen months by dog sled – a journey of some twenty thousand miles, making it the longest ever of its kind – in the early 1920s. But Rasmussen had been accompanied by two Inuit hunters.

The fact that the author finds a parallel between Rasmussen's multi-year Fifth Thule Expedition and Byrd's 1934 overwintering debacle is troubling. Dippel references Stephen Bown's (2015) biography of Rasmussen rather than any primary source. Even worse, he relegates the "two Inuit hunters" to an aside as if they were not true companions of any consequence, assumes Anarulunguaq was a man (she was an Inuk who, along with her cousin Miteq, accompanied Rasmussen) and never mentions the other members participating in the first years of the expedition, or the many families with whom Rasmussen, Miteq, and Anarulunguaq stayed as they crossed the continent. And inexplicably, Rasmussen is never mentioned again, perhaps because he does not fit into Dippel's notion of a glory-seeking explorer.

Is there truth to be found in this book? Certainly many, perhaps most, polar explorers put their own goals and

desires before those of the (mostly) men who worked with and for them. But errors of fact and the superficial rendering of the complexities of the social dynamics on polar exploration expeditions undercut the author's argument.

REFERENCE

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INUIT LAWS: TIRIGUSUUSIIT, PIQUJAIT, AND MALIGAIT. [Interviews with] MARIANO AUPILAARJUK, MARIE TULIMAAQ, AKISU JOAMIE, ÉMILE IMARUITTUQ, and LUCASSIE NUTARAALUK. Edited by JARICH OOSTEN, FRÉDÉRIC LAUGRAND, and WILLEM RASING. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2017. ISBN 978-1-897568-50-7. 384 p., map, b&w illus. Softbound. Cdn\$27.95.

This interesting and important book explores traditional Inuit law through a series of interviews carried out with Elders from different northern communities. The project was developed in the context of two courses taught in 1997 and 1998 at Nunavut Arctic College on interviewing Elders on traditional law. These courses were offered under the supervision of the three editors of the book and involved the participation of Inuit Elders. Students were provided training on interview techniques and engaged in multiple interview sessions with the Elders. A core objective was to learn more about "the ways in which Inuit used to maintain and preserve social order in their communities" (p. 9).

This second edition of *Inuit Laws* is published almost 20 years after the first, although the timing of each edition coincides with an important milestone. The courses and interviews that form the basis for the book took place on the eve of the creation of Nunavut under the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement. This was a milestone in Inuit self-determination, and the anticipation and promise around this event is reflected at moments in the interviews. The publication of the second edition of the book tracks another major development for Indigenous communities in Canada: the publication of the final report (TRCC, 2015a) and the 94 calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015 (TRCC, 2015b). Many of the calls to action address the need for greater respect for and understanding of Indigenous cultural traditions and legal systems.

The fragility of oral traditions, particularly in communities that have been profoundly disrupted by colonization, is well understood by all of the participants in the interviews featured in this book. Resettlement, residential schools, forced language loss, the impact of Christianity, disease and poverty all dramatically altered traditional ways of living on the land and of co-existing within closely knit communities. The interviewed Elders speak frankly of these phenomena and their impacts; they admit to gaps in their own cultural knowledge and are clearly pleased to be engaged in cross-generational dialogue with their student interlocutors.

The book's introduction explains how the course that led to the interviews came about, and how the interview themes and questions were developed (Oosten and Laugrand, 1999). Each chapter consists of a short introduction by one or more of the students, followed by the interview transcript. Many of the interviews are discussions, involving more than one interviewer and more than one respondent. One chapter, on rules specific to women, features only women in both roles. While some of the chapters are thematic, dealing with topics such as respect for wildlife, dealing with wrongdoers, ownership and sharing, or murder, others are framed around Elders' stories of past events, although these stories are also revelatory of social norms and customs. Some chapters explore legal and normative concepts, such as those featured in the title: *tirigusuusit*, *piquijait*, and *maligait*. The editors observe that these concepts are difficult to translate, deriving, "from completely different cultural perspectives" (Oosten and Laugrand, 1999:2). Nevertheless, each term references a different category of rules. *Piquijait*, we are told, translates roughly into customary law, but the editors caution that words like "law" and "rules" "suggest a much more formalized structure than actually existed in Inuit society" (Oosten and Laugrand, 1999:2). The Elders also frequently remind their interlocutors that some stories are told or understood differently in different communities. The normative structure of *piquijait* is impossible to grasp without insight into the "social fabric" of Inuit society. The term *maligait*, which the editors note is more currently used to refer to Canadian law, has a traditional meaning of that "which is followed in an inherent manner" (Oosten and Laugrand, 1999:3). The sense of obligation in *maligait* distinguishes it from *piquijait*, where compliance with norms is more by request than by obligation. The third term used in the title, *tirigusuusit* has been translated as *taboos* or *superstition*, but the editors observe that the negative connotations often associated with these concepts are problematic. *Tirigusuusit* often shapes the relationship of hunter to animals and includes other ritual knowledge. The editors note that the Elders emphasize the crucial role played by *tirigusuusit* in maintaining Inuit society, and note the decline in its role after the arrival of Christianity. The concepts of *unikkaat* (stories of recent origin) and *unikkaaqtuat* (stories passed from one generation to another) also receive attention in a chapter of their own,

reflecting the importance of such stories as vehicles of cultural norms and values.

The interviews themselves are rich texts, layering normative narrative with insights into changing circumstances. Some of the Elders reflect on the need for Inuit law to co-exist with Western laws and legal structures, creating a kind of synthesis. Interwoven with the shared traditional knowledge are comments on its fragility. The Elders emphasize their responsibility to reach out to youth and to find ways to communicate the importance of certain core values and traditional approaches in dealing with contemporary challenges of petty crime, drugs, alcohol, and suicide. They are frank about their own gaps in knowledge, reflecting on the ways in which their communities and their relationships with their language and culture were disrupted over the course of their lifetimes.

A recurring theme through these interviews is the genuine engagement of the Elders in this project and their pleasure in interacting with their younger interviewers. Although the book evokes a sense of fragility and loss, it also demonstrates resilience, strength, and the strong bonds of community and shared experience between the Elders themselves and between the Elders and their interlocutors.

Inuit Laws is not a compendium of law, but then it never could or would be. It is a precious window, generously opened, on some of the norms and principles that shaped—and that in different ways continue to shape—life in a unique and challenging environment. This book will be of interest to anyone seeking insight into Inuit law and customs, whether they are legal scholars or anthropologists, Inuit or non-Inuit.

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