AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF RESILIENCE: DECOLONIZING IGBO AND LABRADOR INUIT HISTORIES

by

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ABSTRACT

The resilience of culture is often ignored when describing colonized communities. My research emphasizes the agency of Indigenous Igbo and Inuit people through periods of marginalization by shifting the focus to the continuity of local activities. This research is both essential and rewarding for contemporary Indigenous communities who need to make renewed connections with their own histories, and to repair connections to the past that have been severed by colonialism. This work also provides settler archaeologists with direction to help counter the legacy of scientific colonialism in archaeology by ensuring that the products of research uphold and benefit the community.

GENERAL SUMMARY

My research is a critique of current archaeological narratives to dispel the negative colonial connotations of Indigeneity and instead celebrates cultural diversity in our society. To explore this, I reviewed archaeological literature relating to Indigenous Igbo and Inuit to retrace Indigenous representation using terminologies from past to present. I further incorporated Indigenous voices in interpreting history drawn from extensive interviews – to untangle the colonial influence from the agency of Indigenous people to better understand the decisions made by past people to preserve their culture and celebrate those achievements by encouraging greater inclusion of Indigenous voices. To this end, I use extant Inuit archaeological collections in Dr. Lisa Rankin's Labrador Laboratory at the Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, and Igbo collections from the University of Nigeria, as well as archival materials held at the Centre for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, and the Archives and Special Collections at Queen Elizabeth II Library MUNL, the Alberta Provincial Archives, and The Rooms Provincial Archives NL, to demonstrate Indigenous agency in the early phases of contact and colonization and to aid archaeological interpretation.

The result of this study shows the deconstruction of colonial discourse in archaeology by emphasizing the role of cultural continuity and disjunction in material culture as an indicator of Indigenous resilience. It is also a turning point for me in being and becoming an Indigenous Archaeologist.

I am Rita Ujunwa Onah, from Obollo-afor Igbo Nigeria. Growing up in Nsukka Igbo Nigeria, a small Indigenous community that attracted most postcolonial academics through

University of Nigeria Nsukka - where my parents worked. Thus, my environment encouraged me to adapt to be like the Europeans. It began with my parents giving me a white name (Rita) and continued as I adopted every element of European culture while abandoning my own. My interest in studying about my identity and focusing on Indigenous studies began when I read my grandfathers' autobiography from my mother's archive. Okonkwo, my grandfather, was picked and trained by colonial masters from the age of ten, but realised he lost his identity despite his riches and education at the age of fifty. He claimed not to have been a complete man for not going back to his roots. "The best gift to a man or woman is knowing who you are and living to it"– ended his autobiographic note. I was then ten years old when I began my archaeology journey of Indigeneity, determined to tell my own story and restore complete identity to my people. The story of my people and the story of our place are one single story. No one can think of us without thinking of Igboland. We are always linked together in place and existence despite migration. Igbo is a language, a people and a place. The resilient nature of the Igbo forms their identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I began this dissertation, I often wondered whether I could tell this story the way my heart yearned for it. I believe imposter syndrome is common baggage for graduate students. In my struggle with emotional and financial insecurity, I often had my mind filled with anxiety until I started to push myself out of my comfort zone of mind with the help of people around me.

Mentorship is a vital part of my motivation; my Ph.D. supervisor Dr. Lisa Rankin has been a person that sees the talent and ability within me and helps me to bring it out. She has always created that space where I can see a possible future and believe it is attainable. I am the first African Ph.D. student in my department, and I frequently feel pressured to represent my race well. In those times of anxiety, my supervisor is my motivator, mentor and friend. I always imagine her as being assigned to me by my ancestors to keep an eye on me. You spoke strength to me in those times of despair; your emails are like chill pills to imagine when I am anxious, and your gifts are the best for me. I do not know how you do this, but I know that you are more than a supervisor in getting this work done, and I am super lucky to have you in my corner for life–dear Lisa!

MUN Archaeology – my Newfoundland home, will forever live with me because of the people there. Starting from the diligence of my committee members, Dr Scott Neilsen and Dr Véronique Forbes. To Scott, your expertise and insight helped me to engage with new (to me) ideas and concepts about Indigenous people and will continue to influence how I view the discipline of archaeology in all its forms regarding Indigenous futurity praxis. Scott is that Prof that will always show up in those unprecedented times. On that scary day when I was trapped at the

Goose Bay airport on my way to Nain, you showed up, more like my Dad, and assured me I would be fine – that was like relaxation therapy! To Vero, thank you for your advice, guidance and our chats over hangouts. Your understanding is so similar to mine, and always made me feel good about my project. Thanks for being my friend; your emotional support helped me through some hard times. To both of you, your comments on my dissertation were invaluable, and your advice has helped me begin to think through future directions for this research and how to own my contributions better!

The first professor I met on arriving in Canada was Dr. Vaughan Grimes; our first conversation was intense as you walked me from Queens College to the SGS Office just to continue assisting me with my numerous questions. I never for once thought you were a professor during our walk; your humility made it easy for me to approach you with any question, even as the Head of the Department. Dr. Pete Whitridge's keenness to listen to me and ask how my research is moving kept me going, in order to have a new answer whenever I ran into you. Dr. Oscar Moro Abadía always assures me that I will come out perfect by sharing immigrant stories with me, and Dr. Mario Blaser, as the graduate coordinator, got all my needs checked and wonderfully assigned a TA to my class. I am incredibly grateful to you all for being there for me during this PhD journey. When I recall undergraduate students sharing how Dr. Barry Gaulton spoke of my research, it made me understand that he thinks highly of me, and that helped me continue, knowing that I am on the right path. I am also immensely grateful to Dr. Meghan Burchell for her teachings during those times of providing ginger tea for me because of my shivers of cold in your class. I really appreciate your kind words to me – your constant remark on my resilience as the first Black PhD in MUN Archaeology gave me wings to fly. My profound gratitude goes to Dr. Catherine Losier and Dr. Paul Ledger for regarding me more like a little

sister – always encouraging me to write. At some point, our lunch meetings became where I tapped words of advice to push harder. I consider Dr. Shannon Lewis-Simpson as a graduate student ally – your friendly chats and recommendation are always immeasurable to me; thank you for availing yourself for us!

It is said that an institution cannot function without staff, and my dissertation would not have happened without the great assistance of Maria Lear and Donna Teasdale in sorting my artifacts. Fran Banfield cracks me up by making me feel everything is easy, while Glenda Hiscock did not relent in helping me get paid. Thank you all!

Life situations make one see ingenuity in someone that you never got close to. Bryn Tapper came to my rescue with a 3D machine operation – I am the first to use the new 3D scanner at the department, and Bryn made it so easy for me to learn. Thanks to Chelsea Arbour for your support during the photogrammetry. To my pals, Meghan Livingstone, Aubrey O'toole and Deirdre Elliott, thanks for always opening your doors for me, listening to my continuous worries and allowing me to play with your cats! My warm greetings go to all graduate students and the wonderful undergraduate students I taught in the department – your comments warm my heart always.

My family is my bedrock. I married an ambitious man who constantly reminds me that it is too late to fail because he never knew me as a quitter, which was a significant attraction to him. Ifeanyi (my husband) created a space that made me feel that my dissertation was an icing on the cake I had already baked years ago – I did not relent in giving my cake the best icing. My Dad kept reminding me that my PhD would be the best 80th birthday gift he would ever have. My mom always made sure I had enough African food as she always says, "A hungry person

cannot study," all these emotions filled my mind with thoughts of making my family proud as being the first academic doctor among several medical doctors. I had to push harder to wear that crown. I am happy to have inspired two of my siblings to start their PhD journey!

My mom-in-law is the first female lawyer in her community, I always see her as a champion to emulate, and I am glad my in-laws provided shoulders for me to lean on. Dr Delores Mullings, in your graceful character as the EDIAR vice president of MUN spotted me and took me in as a mentee, and I am super grateful for that. To my other mentors – professors, lawyers, community leaders and career moms - I am so grateful to lean on your shoulders as I climb. Your mentorship and inspiration brought me this far!

The Works at MUN was an exciting place for me during my dissertation writing – exercise helps to build energy. In those times of anxiety, fatigue and confusion, I got intense clarity from spinning classes. Exercise helped guide my nerves rather than stop me from writing, and I also became fit.

For the help of gathering data, I would like to thank the Centre for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, the Archives and Special Collections Queen Elizabeth II Library, the Labrador Laboratory in the Department of Archaeology MUN, the Alberta Provincial Archives, The Rooms Museum and Provincial Archives Newfoundland and Labrador, the Nunatsiavut Government, the Nigerian Commission for Museum and Monuments, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Nigeria and importantly my interview participants whose voices I will carry with me to tell Indigenous stories always.

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My ancestors, from whom this work is their inspiration, never stopped interceding for me in my difficult times in the course of writing. Most times, I get stuck with the exact words to interpret what is on my mind, but I always get a quick thought in reference to what my ancestors did. In most cases, it felt like I heard a voice, making me feel supernatural.

Finally, to my CHI, who has brought me this far despite all odds and kept my head high as the Igbo adage of "Onye ma g're g' lako eg" (it is my CHI's design)! I am forever indebted, and I will always say Chukwu emeee! (Thank you God).

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Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation exposed many facts and answered many questions that hindered many Indigenous people like me from trying to tell our story. We struggled in our world with the reality of a colonized society. As a child, I knew I had a different story from what my storybooks told, but how to make it known to the world became a significant problem. Most people around me failed to understand the power of a single-sided story, the point from an agent-centered perspective, or the willpower of the conquered; therefore, I was groomed to be like the colonialists. I cannot blame my ancestors because Western scholars could neither transform their knowledge for us nor allow us to create our curriculum in a way that would help us channel creative energies to tell our story. Today, there is no single narrative complex enough to present the multitude of stories we want to tell about our own history. History defines us and makes us human. In fact, I would add that the ability to construct and think historically– to link the past with the present and speculate on possible futures–is a fundamental characteristic of humanity (Newhouse 2016:49). History is also a continuing story that changes as our understanding of ourselves changes and as we ask different questions about the past, trying to reclaim Indigenous traditions. We cannot separate telling history from issues of power and undue influence, but candid reflection on the ways in which history has been told throughout the colonial period can add to our understanding of all that has happened and allow us to understand the terminology examined below in a new light.

The propensity of scholars to use opaque language only intelligible to other academics no longer excuses archaeology or, other disciplines, from the continued use of colonial terminology;

scholars must write with the awareness of or an intent to contribute to the development of an Indigenous-centered theory of humanities (Battiste 2002). Such an idea produces authors that emphasize, among other things, the sovereignty of individual experience, the centrality of storytelling structures, and the importance of attention to and respect for all life on earth. For example, it would help if scholars realized that their propensity to invent or co-opt new buzzwords and to drop authors' names and -isms into their texts (instead of using accessible language) while appealing to the aesthetic values of the educated elite could be profoundly alienating to most people.

It is evident that a story lacks form without a record of human agency. I have learnt that my story, my history-telling and my writing has to come from within me; finding that inner spark required introspection, deep personal scrutiny of one's understanding and the power of fair representation (Achebe 2012:41). It is time for all colonized societies to begin naming and renaming, learning, unlearning and relearning their means of expression because the story of Indigenous people under colonialism is a story of dispossession. Yet, Indigenous people continue to reside on and draw subsistence from their ancestral lands. Alongside dispossession is a history or agency of resilience that needs to be told.

At present, Indigenous storytelling is used to dispense cultural knowledge in events ranging from informal meetings and socials to formal ceremonies. I am hopeful that a lot can be undone to allow us to reclaim our voice. Telling stories from our perspectives is difficult because we do not yet have the power to make others listen. Maybe, we start from the visibility approach – as I do with this dissertation, rewriting the history of Indigenous people to ensure our visibility because what happens when our story is missing, or the story is told wrongly or missing significant parts? If the story is missing, then our humanity is denied. If the story is wrongly told, then our

understanding of ourselves is incorrect. If parts are missing or incorrect, then the story is incomplete, and our understanding of ourselves is skewed. However, we still have opportunities to add the story where it is missing, correct the story where it is wrong, and complete the story where parts are left out (Newhouse 2016:19). In doing so, we are just reclaiming our voices as Indigenous peoples. To me, my writings represent who I should have been, but I am trying to get to that place now. By changing their approach to writing, archaeologists can help make this process easier.

1.2 Positioning statement

This dissertation involves research carried out by and for Indigenous people of Igboland and Nunatsiavut. I am an Igbo – writing my story and stories of those who came before me, for all Igbo people who need to renew connections with our own history, and to repair connections to the past that have been severed by colonialism. Unlike non-African archaeologists, it is my responsibility to challenge the status quo of the archaeological discipline most often undertaken and written for and by white scholars and redirect the narrative toward a more balanced understanding of change in the Indigenous past, placing emphasis on Indigenous agency throughout the colonial era.

I am writing this dissertation as a non-Inuit who has studied and listened to Inuit history. I recognize that while there are cultural differences in how emotions are expressed, acted upon, and controlled, emotions nevertheless played just as significant a role in the past as in the present interpretation of the past (Supernant 2020). Therefore, I interpret Inuit history in this dissertation according to how Inuit want their stories written to conceptualize their heart. Unlike non-Indigenous archaeologists, I described Inuit by emphasizing Indigenous agency and understanding

how, what and why Inuit people maintained certain elements of culture (continuity) and how that cultural system informed the integrations of other innovations (change) (Nicholas 1983). Ultimately, the goal is to dispel the negative colonial connotations of Inuit Indigeneity and instead to celebrate the cultural resilience in our society.

This work also provides settler archaeologists with direction to help counter the legacy of scientific colonialism in archaeology by ensuring that the products of research uphold and benefit Indigenous communities. Importantly, encouraging Indigenous representation is also critical to counter current-day popular culture demands for authenticity in Indigeneity because Indigenous means originating, native or existing in a land before the earliest time. For example, there is a popular story about a local newspaper sent to interview and photograph the Maori delegates of an international conference held in New Zealand to discuss issues related to Indigenous intellectual and cultural property rights. The organizers were disappointed that none of the delegates had on Indigenous attire. Instead, delegates wore tracksuits, jeans, and other modern dress and made jokes of "oh, I forgot to come as a Native," "my feathers got confiscated at the airport," "I suppose my eyes are too blue," "are we supposed to dress naked," and they chose not to take photographs (Bruchac, Hart and Wobst 2010:61). It is not for outsiders to call Indigeneity into question, and by infusing academia with works by Indigenous researchers we recognize and celebrate our own authenticity.

1.4 Dissertation Structure

The purpose of this dissertation is:

1) To decolonize archaeology by telling the story of Indigenous-European colonialism and contact from an Indigenous perspective on interpretation of material culture

2) To remove colonial-centred terminology and replace it with decolonized Indigenous terminology in archaeology

3) To celebrate the resilience of Indigenous peoples and culture despite centuries of colonialism, based on the interpretation of anthropological and archaeological objects

Imagine this dissertation as a series of individual studies meant to examine the past in different ways which allows Indigenous perspective to shine and resilience to be demonstrated. Thus, chapters are structured around Indigenous understanding, using images and discussions to critique current archaeological narratives, incorporate Indigenous voices in the interpretation of history and use extant archaeological collections to demonstrate Indigenous agency in the early phases of contact and colonization. At this project's heart is the desire to untangle the colonial influence from the agency of Indigenous people to better understand the decisions made by past and contemporary people to preserve their culture and celebrate those achievements and the resilience of our communities by encouraging greater inclusion of Indigenous voices (Chirukure and Pwiti 2008).

Chapter One introduces my aim of study and position of writing as an Indigenous (Igbo) and non-Indigenous (Inuit) person. Chapter Two is a background study of Igboland and Labrador Inuit Indigenous communities to understand what we know about their cultures archaeologically, and the conditions and reactions of their contacts with Europeans. This will help to demonstrate how colonialism shaped both cultures and their resilience. Chapter Three lays out the theoretical position and methodological approach which is at the heart of this dissertation. I outline decolonial theories to challenge the colonial system, and employ methods that engage community, untangle colonial influence, decolonize archaeology and give voice to the voiceless. Chapter Four is an analysis of words commonly found in archaeological texts that have connections to the early years

of contact and the archaeological discipline. This chapter critiques the archaeological literature, demonstrating the importance of rewriting archaeology in ways which are much more suitable for, and reflective of Indigenous perceptions and interpretations of the past. It demonstrates the necessity of decolonizing the discipline of archaeology. Chapter Five begins to listen to the hearts of Indigenous communities using their voices. It records their truth demonstrating the ways that they want questions about them to be answered and how their stories should be portrayed in the future. It is a passionate section where stories come alive to embrace the agency of Indigenous people. Chapter Six shifts to an analysis of Igbo objects and presents interpretations appropriate for Igbo history using Igbo objects as physical evidence to recognize Igbo agency. This chapter demonstrates the resilience of Igbo culture over time that is not generally recognized in colonial-influenced interpretation. As an Igbo person, it reflects Igbo past as I understand it. Subsequently, Chapter Seven examines Labrador Inuit objects from different contact-era archaeological sites to tell a story about Inuit continuity and resilience. In this chapter I strive to demonstrate the ways we can understand Inuit archaeological objects as embedded traditional knowledge systems that informed their lives in the past and the present. It is yet another approach to understanding Indigenous pasts. Chapter Eight concludes by discussing the connections between each chapter, and the ways that they might counter colonialism in order to create a better, more Indigenous archaeology that reflects the experiences and perceptions of Indigenous communities.

Chapter Two

Background

2.1 Introduction

In order to address the resilience of Nigerian Igbo and Inuit in Nunatsiavut, it is first necessary to understand the context of their particular cultures and histories. Despite the geographical differences of Igbo and Inuit territories (Figure 2.1), European colonization and assimilation was similarly employed all over the world. However, the resilience of the communities to this oppression is rooted in their particular cultures and histories. In this chapter, I will introduce Igbo and Labrador Inuit cultures, review what we know of these cultures archaeologically, the circumstances of their initial contacts with Europeans, and the manner in which each society coped with changing circumstances related to ongoing contact. This will help to demonstrate how colonialism shaped both societies, and their resilience. The Inuit and the Igbo are anxious to rewrite the story of their "discovery" and take control of the narrative to reflect their understanding of how they came to be who they are - their experiences under colonialism have emphasized their group identity in which they want to anchor their authentic history (Afigbo 1975).

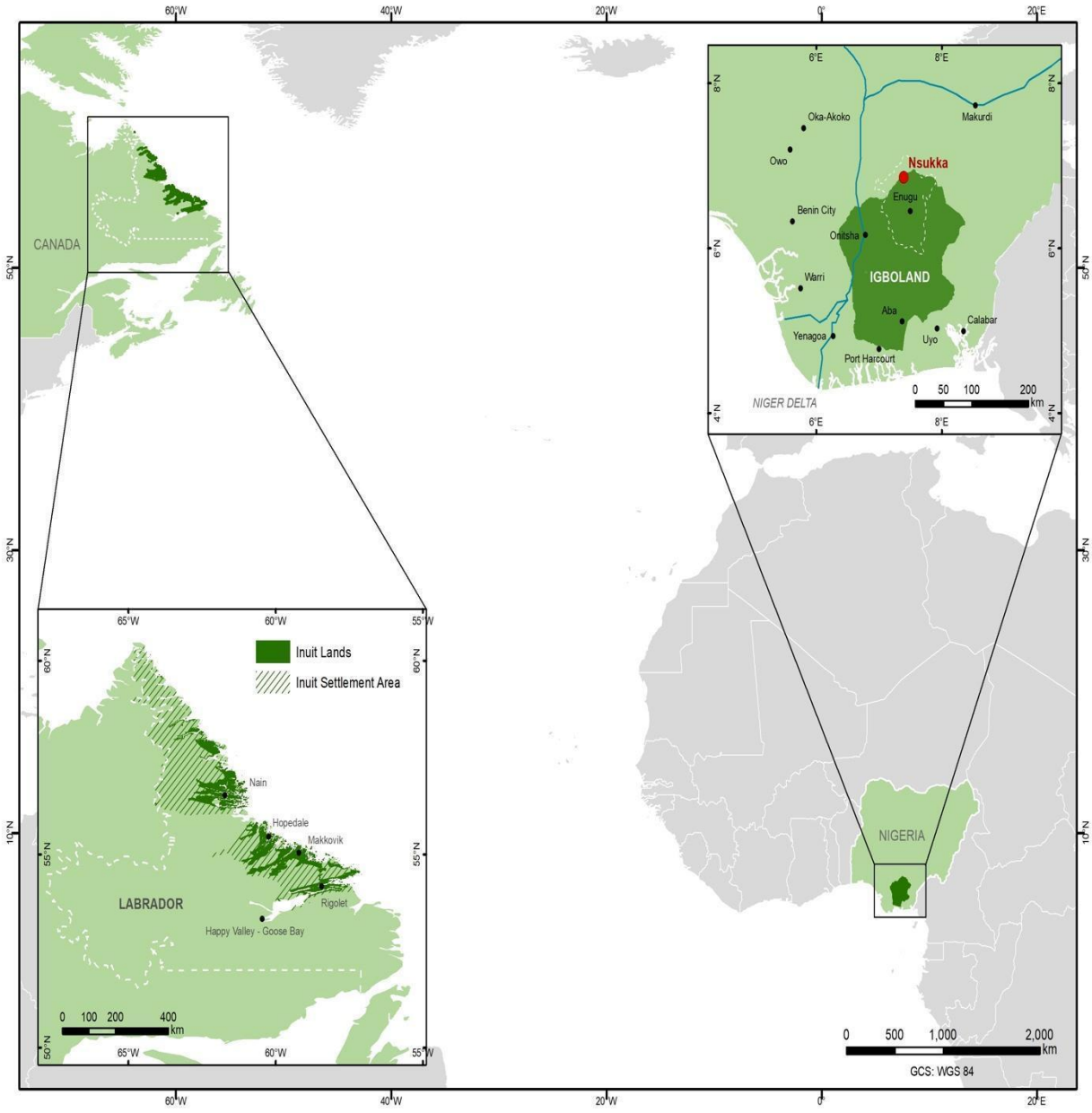

Figure 2.1 Map of Nunatsiavut and Igboland across continents.

2.2 Igboland

Igbo is a language, a people, and a place. Igboland is the home of the Igbo people and it covers most of South East Nigeria (Figure 2.1). This area is divided by the Niger River into two unequal sections – the eastern region (which is the largest) and the midwestern region. The river, however, has not acted as a barrier to cultural unity; rather it has provided an easy means of communication in an area where many settlements claim different origins (Figure 2.2) (Afigbo 1975). The Igbo are also surrounded on all sides by other tribes (the Bini, Warri, Ijaw, Ogoni, Igala, Tiv, Yako and Ibibio). Despite differing origin stories surrounding the Igboland settlements and first settlers, there is a general consensus that the Igbo speaking people first settled in Nri. Thus, Nri developed a highly centralized society headed by a priestly king known as Eze Nri (Afigbo 1975). Nri land became the most productive farming settlement in Igboland and the Igbo are mostly farmers (Afigbo 1975). It is believed that all Igbo that die outside Igboland return home to the streets of Nri as spirits - this is linked to the current burial system of returning to their ancestral land**.**

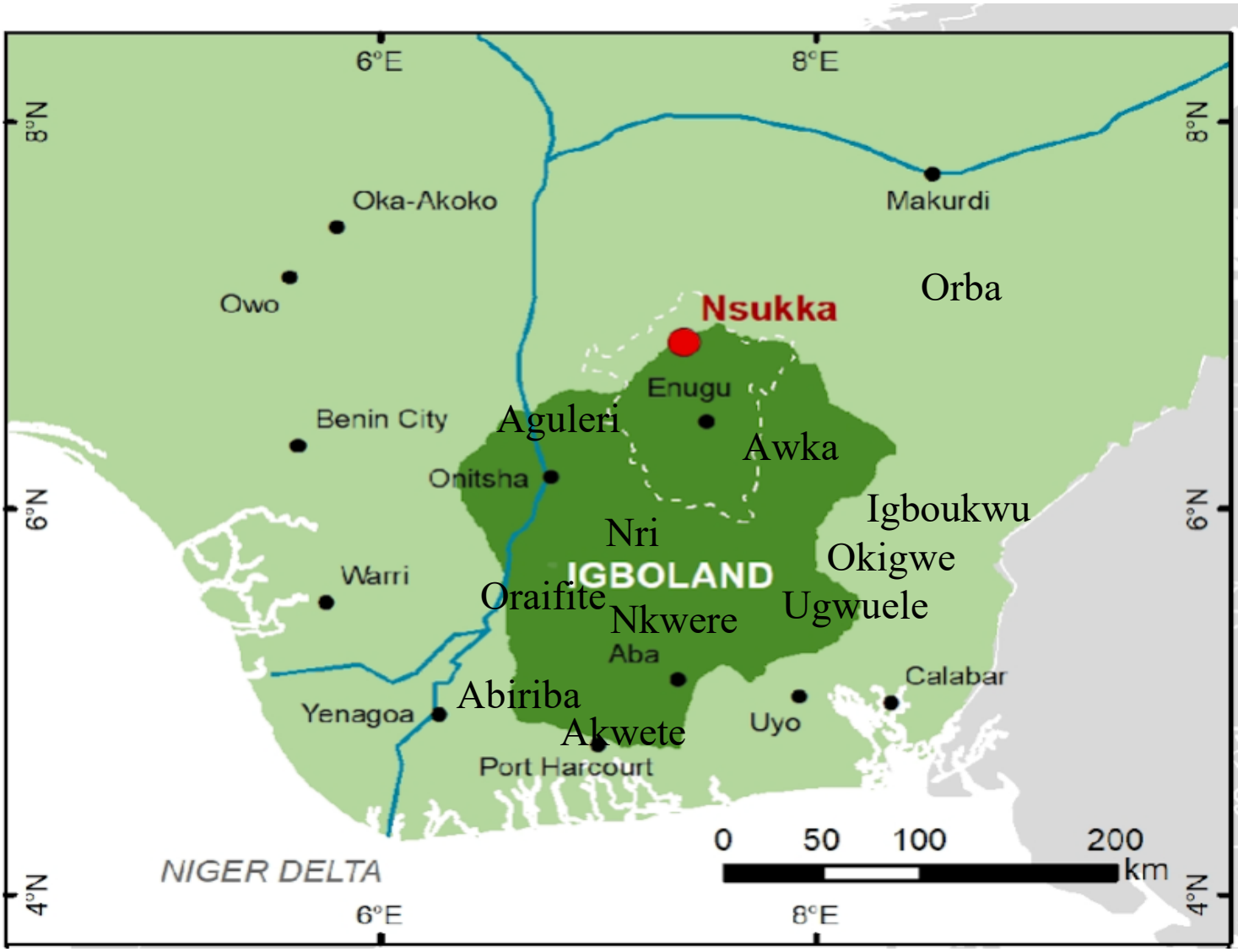

Figure: 2.2 Map of Igboland showing Igbo communities mentioned in the text.

Among the Igbo people, a number of cosmic forces - including rituals, divination, and traditional medicine - have an impact on human events. Prior to AD 1900, Igbo mastered the art

of iron working and smelting, producing farming and hunting implements (Andah 1982), as well as ritual objects. These objects allowed Igbo to worship their Chi (God), who gave them the knowledge of ironwork and also maintained the spiritual control of neighboring communities beyond Igboland (Acholonu 2009).

Traditionally, Igbo lived in families associated with clans and sent family delegates to represent kin in community affairs. Notable farmers and other accomplished people were recognized with a title of reverence in the community - this is always symbolized with an eagle-feathered red cap. However, priests and blacksmiths were considered leaders of the community and travel(led) widely because of their work and as ambassadors of the Igbo people. These travelers became the first people to engage in the foreign exchange of goods - initially with other communities - before Europeans spotted their unique products and began trade by barter with them (Afigbo 1981).

Europeans would eventually conquer Nri land and their surrender to imperial Britain in 1911 marked the end of an Indigenous, scientific, technologically minded and egalitarian kingdom in southeastern Nigeria.

2.2.1 Climate Variability in Igboland

The rain and dry (harmattan) seasons are the main influences on climate variability in Igboland. Changes in average temperature, variations in daytime highs and nighttime low temperatures, and variations in the frequency, severity, and length of very hot or cold weather are just a few examples of how temperatures may fluctuate. Average yearly temperature variations in Igboland ranges between 24°c and 30°c (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021). Plants respond to these temperature changes variably depending on the species, and the harvest period and total yield of

each species are impacted differently by each form of temperature stress. For example, new yam is harvested during periods of high temperature while local beans are harvested during low temperatures. The outcome will depend on how sensitive each species is at that particular time in their development to the temperature change (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021). However, Igbo prepare for seasonal climate variability by planting different crops for different seasons.

Igbo have always understood climate unpredictability and the impact of environmental extremes on plants and developed seasonal strategies to cope with these impacts. The most important food in Igboland is yam, which is best planted during the rainy season which is also the best season for land preparation. Other crops in Igboland are planted during different seasons such as Udu nmiri rainy season and Uguru-harmanta season. Igbo therefore studied and mastered an agricultural practice known as Órù Ùgbo designed to suit their land and sustenance. Today, crop production is impacted by climate change (including drought, flood, high temperatures, storms, etc.) as well as direct, indirect, and socioeconomic circumstances (Achebe 2012). The socioeconomic effects of crop production include food demand, farmer response, costs, policy, trade, and unequal distribution. The direct effects of climate change include morphological, physiological, phenotypic changes and plant productivity. The indirect effects include soil fertility, irrigation availability, sea level rise, pests, heat, flood, and drought. Thus, the choice of crop is determined by the season and the approval of our Chi (God) in providing food for the people (Achebe 2012).

2.2.2 Igbo People

The Igbo people speak Igbo, which includes various Igboid languages and dialects. Today, a majority of Igbo also speak English as a result of British colonialism. Igbo are among the three

largest and most influential ethnic groups in Nigeria; the other two are Hausa and the Yoruba people. The Igbo political system changed significantly under British colonialism in the 19th century when Eze (kings) were introduced into most local communities by Fredrick Lugard as "Warrant Chiefs" (Achebe 2012). The Igbo became overwhelmingly Christian under colonization (Achebe 2012).

By the mid-20th century, a strong sense of an Igbo identity had developed. Conflicts with other Nigerian ethnic groups led to the Igbo-dominant Eastern Nigeria seceding from Nigeria to create the independent state of Biafra in an effort to re-establish their territory lost to colonialism. The Nigerian Biafran war (6 July 1967 – 15 January 1970) broke out shortly after. The end of the war led to the defeated Republic of Biafra being reabsorbed back into Nigeria as Britain attempted to keep Nigeria amalgamated (Acholonu 2009). Outsiders, such as Henry Kissinger, described the Igbos of this era as "the wandering Jews of West Africa: gifted, aggressive, westernized; at best envied and resented, but mostly despised by the mass of their neighbors in Nigeria they have fought well against heavy odds; their cynical public relations use of starvation has been brilliant" (Foreign Relations 1969). However, Kissinger was writing from a colonial perspective that assigned a negative identity to the Igbo people.

Population and Diaspora: The recent population census in Nigeria recorded 35.5 million Igbo people, or 24% of the Country's population (Abia et al. 2021). Due to the effects of migration and the Atlantic slave trade, Igbo populations are found in countries around the world. The majority of Igbo residing outside of Nigeria can be found in Maryland and Virginia in the United States. Currently the Igbo in Atlanta, Georgia are almost the predominant Black Americans there. There are Igbo schools in Atlanta where some Igbo cultural traditions are taught in order to

promote cultural continuity in diversified identities. There are also over 30,000 Igbo speakers in Equatorial Guinea resulting from the forceful removal of Igbo from their homeland during the Portuguese slave trade. The exact population of Igbo outside Africa is unknown, but many African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans are of Igbo descent, and they can always be recognised by their resilient identity even when the descent is from a bi-racial origin (Achebe 2012.152).

The resilient nature of the Igbo has helped them to form and maintain their identity throughout the diaspora. Igbo cannot bow to anyone except their Chi (God), and through this they have found great strength. For instance, Igbo Landing (in Dunbar Creek, St. Simons Island, Glynn County, Georgia) was the setting of a mass suicide in 1803 by captive Igbo people who had taken control of their slave ship and refused to submit to slavery in the United States (Afigbo 1981:327). This event is part of our history and identity as much as any that took place within Igboland, demonstrating our resistance of slavery, and ultimately forming part of our narrative of resilience even in its tragedy.

Igbo Origins: The origins of the Igbo people have been the subject of much speculation, but Igbo believe we originated from God (Chukwu). Eri (Man) was sent by Chukwu to establish lands with the blacksmiths and farmlands. Archaeological evidence suggests that Nri hegemony in Igboland may go back as far as the 9th century, and royal burials have been unearthed dating to at least the 10th century (Shaw 1977).

Igbo Culture: Culture is passed on orally through stories, proverbs, folktales, myths and traditions primarily through face-to-face interaction. The language of our traditional culture is Igbo. As an Igbo adage says that our ancestors do not understand English (Ñdi Ñna anyi adi ghị

anū ôyibo), hence all Igbo cultural rites are performed using Igbo language no matter the location. For example, Íwa Óji (breaking of kola nut rite) outside Igboland is done in the Igbo language. There are several variations of dialectal Igbo language and accent that depict the exact identity of an Igbo person. The general Igbo language used in schools and formal settings is called Igbo Izugbe (central Igbo), but some families still speak a regional dialectal Igbo (ôlu ndi) among themselves. Igbo now inhabit a multilingual society and the Igbo language is facing problems resulting from code switching, dual lexical items, and structural construction to fit a general audience (Acholonu 2009). Although the Igbo are known for their local cultural diversity, they might be characterized by their language, ancestor worship, and egalitarian inclinations supported by a local representative system.

Igbo Craft: Igbo art is a manifestation of the aesthetic, philosophical, historical, human, and divine milieu in the midst of human creativity (Ike 2004). Igbo culture offers itself as music, artifacts, sculptures, painting, poetry, dance, drama, folktale, proverbs and traditions manifested in vivid patterns that establish equilibrium and glorify harmony (Ike 2004). Igbo art is modest but deeply expressive. With dances and figures, it depicts humanity in its simplest form, showing the Igbo people in their natural environment, immersed in activity and at various stages in their rich ancestry (Achebe 2012). Dances such as Ikorodo, Akunecheneyi, Adabara, Ogene and Atiliogwu are unique Indigenous practices with significance to identity. Colonialism did not eliminate Igbo art, rather it may be considered a form of Igbo resilience that has led to a thriving, contemporary Igbo entertainment industry which includes world artists like Flavour, phyno, Zoro, and Umuobiligbo who sing in Igbo for hip hop, R&B and highlife music (most of which is folklore). Nollywood Igbo is a channel for Igbo movies and some Igbo actors feature in Hollywood using

their identity in portraying characters in movies, For example, Chiwetalu Ejiofor in *Half of a Yellow Sun* and Uzo Aduba in *Mrs. America*. BBC Igbo is also a platform for Igbo stories, Africa and the world in Igbo language. Many podcasts about Igbo art, such as *ọji abịala* on Spotify, can be found on the internet.

Entrepreneurship: Trade has continued to be one of the Igbo's most important reasons for travel. The production of dresses made of wool and cotton were one of the earliest goods to be exported outside Igboland (Figure 5.5.2). Designs are made with African prints to signify things or pass messages like Joj (ceremonial) kilikili star and Isiagu. Beads, animal skin, natural hair (styled hand-made forms or left to grow locs) are all ornaments for beautification which Igbo export to every part of the world. For instance, the production of Isiagu fabric is Indigenous to the Igbo. "Isiagu," meaning a leopard head, represents the strongest of all big cat species, and the Igbo admired and revered it as their totemic animal for strength, agility, boldness and courage. This is also why the Igbo language is littered with similes, metaphors, adages and proverbs that use "agu" to illustrate positive energy and abilities. For example, "Omekagu" "Agu" is a popular surname, and some communities are named after "agu" such as "Eziagu village."

Igbo were early producers of iron and many contemporary African communities purchase weapons from us. Among communities in Africa, Igbo daggers (ôbejịrị) which are made in Igboland (Figure 2.2.2a) are more popular than European knives (kinggi).

The Ôbejịrị has an iron blade approximately seven inches long, and an inch wide at the handle, and tapers, until it is half an inch wide in the middle, and then tapers still further into a long sharp two-edged point. The wooden handle is four and a half inches long, and in order to afford a good grip, is of uneven width, with ring shaped deep cuts in it, and decorated with nail heads (Achebe

1958:56). The scabbard takes the form of the blade and is decorated like that of the knife in common use.

Figure 2.2.2a: Ôbejịrị.

Ceremony and Festivals: Festivals are an important way for Igbo to connect to their ancestors as Igbo people believe in ancestry as a means of determining one's lineage. For example, the Festivals of New Yam, the Masquerade festival (Halloween) and the New Moon festival are celebrated through communal activities like wrestling, drama and dances. There are also festivals associated with marriage. Marriage is constituted by families, not individuals, and celebrated openly - and is geared toward procreating offspring that will carry on the family lineage. Both families must consent to engagement before marriage rites take place. The presence of kola nut in every stage of the marriage rite is important and it involves three steps: Introduction (Iku aka), bride price (Idobe ego) and ceremony (Igbankwu), after which the couple can proceed for church blessings if desired (a practice introduced by colonialism). Igbo can marry from any part of the world, but their rites must be performed before the bride's family releases her to the groom.

Governance: Traditional Igbo political organization was based on a quasi-democratic, representative system of government. In tight knit communities, this system guaranteed its citizens equality, as opposed to a feudalist system with a king ruling over subjects. Igbo community and area governments were overwhelmingly ruled solely by a republican consultative assembly of the common people, with the Eze, Obi or Ezenmuo (chief priest) as rulers. Communities were usually governed and administered by a council of elders representing each lineage with strong political institutions: the Umunna (Male) and the Umuada (Female) decision making union (Isichie 1976).

Crops and Exchange: As earlier stated, Igbo are basically subsistence farmers who occupy lands that are very rich in natural products and support crops such as maize, rice, yams, oil

palms, dyewoods, cotton, and animal fodder. Igbo communities exchange farm products based on need. This trade was complimentary in the sense that barter was used to trade crops such as maize, potatoes and goods like salt, slaves, horses, and after European contact cloths, mirror, hot drinks, flintlock guns and other "strange objects" (Alpern 1992).

Education: Formal transfer of Indigenous knowledge in Igbo communities is a means of education - folklores, dances, songs, myths are embedded with and transmit Igbo culture. Today, many texts and articles are written in the Igbo language. Global authors like Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Adichie have also used Igbo names and themes in their books. University of Nigeria, Nsukka was the first university to be sited in Igboland. Apparently, many universities in the world have an Igbo alumnus.

Architecture: Traditional Igbo houses are adapted to the warm temperatures in Africa. They were thatched huts, built with raffia and mud (Figure 2.2.2). Community members of a similar age would gather to construct these houses for one another. Today, Igbo use cement instead of clay to build stronger and more sophisticated houses. In pre-colonial times, Igbo communities lived more communally and there was no demarcation among houses. Following colonization, Igbo houses are always demarcated with fences for "privacy" as the white man taught! (Achebe 2012).

Figure 2.2.2b: African thatched hut (Udoudoh and Bassey 2021:6).

2.2.3 Archaeological Research in Igboland

Much has been demonstrated about Igbo history through the archaeological sites in Igboland. Some of these sites are outstanding either because of the ongoing archaeological discoveries or the associated struggles with artifact ownership over centuries (for example, the Ugwuele and Igboukwu archaeological sites which have attracted archaeologists over decades), but archaeological works have been carried out in communities across Igboland. These sites are associated with many different elements of our culture and history: there is an iron smelting site at Lejja; burial chambers and grave goods have been discovered at Eke udi and Ogbodu aba; ancient technological industries in Obollo-afor; hematite and goethite ores for iron smelting were located in Opi; blacksmith practices were revealed in Awka, Orba and Nsukka; ceramic-making sites are present in Nrobo, Ibagwa, Umueri, Owerri and Okigwe; a slave route cave at Arochukwu, and so

many other sites that have told stories about the Igbo past (Figure 2.2.3)(Andah 1982; Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021; Shaw 1977). Every Igbo community has archaeological features that connect them to their history and land. In this way, archaeology can help to connect Igbo with their own history and help to counter the negative stereotypes introduced with colonialism.

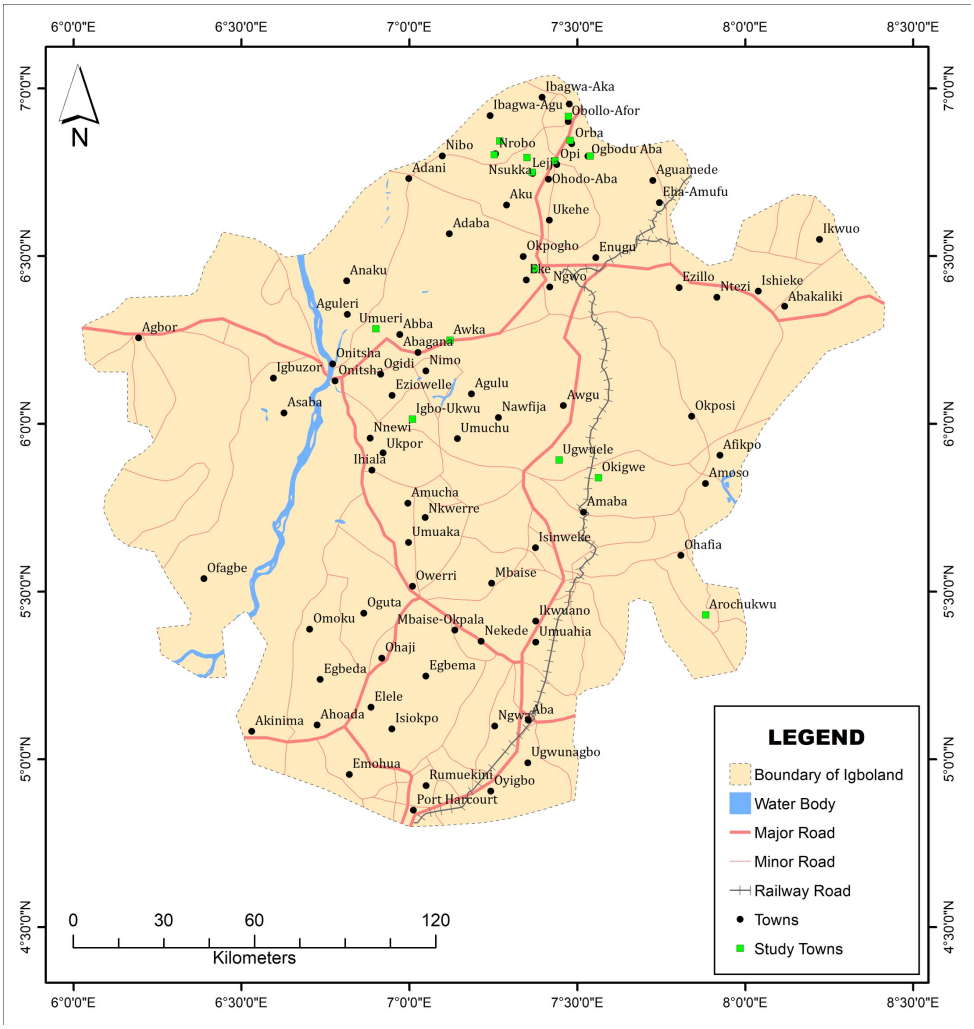

Figure 2.2.3: Map of Igboland showing archaeological sites.

The Ugwuele-Uturu archaeological Site is particularly important because it has attracted widespread interest since its discovery in 1977. Apparently, F. N. Anozie's original description of it as Acheulean, demonstrated the deep historical connections of Africans to their land (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021:133). The site was accidentally discovered by a quarrying company in the area

before archaeologists took over the site as a research project (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021). The Igboukwu site, excavated in 1958 by Thurstan Shaw, was the first to provide documentation of Igbo history through the recovery of bronze and ceramic artifacts. Igbo were the first group to use wax casting technology in the bronze sculpture manufacture found here, reflecting the great technological skills of Igbo ancestors (Andah 1982). Numerous anthropologists and historians participated in Thurstan Shaw's excavations and contributed to more research on the finds. Their investigations showed that the social stratifications in Igbo marriages, births and deaths were all embedded in Igbo-Ukwu objects dated 900 A.D (Andah 1982), and situated our "civilization" before the colonial term "civilization" was ever mentioned in texts. Other excavations in Igboukwu revealed bronze objects of human and animal figurines, elephant tusk, copper and other materials as grave goods (Shaw 1977).

Currently, archaeological research is going on in all parts of Igboland, and Igbo are gradually incorporating new information into the Igbo knowledge base in order to verify what we know of our past and challenge the negative colonial stereotypes about our culture. Archaeology is therefore a powerful tool that can be employed for the Igbo people's benefit. For example, Igbo can now demonstrate through archaeological evidence that their ancestors have been settled in the same locations for two thousand years, or more (Andah 1982). Archaeological analysis also demonstrates that the Igbo people's material culture has been similar since at least 1000 BC (Andah 1982). Igbo people smelted and forged iron centuries ago. Iron slag sediment found at Lejja and Opi dates back to 500 BC (Andah 1982). Finally, before the colonial era, Igbo were already producing figurines, from bronze and terracotta at Igboukwu (Andah 1982). The aim now is to ensure that all Igbo archaeology and history projects are community driven so that new discoveries are established with Igbo partnership and participation. This should create

symmetrical benefits where Igbo knowledge can infuse new archaeological interpretation while Igbo people benefit from the reconnecting to their own history.

Contemporary archaeologies that emphasize inclusion in Igboland and involve Indigenous collaborations and active participation of Igbo are now being encouraged by Indigenous institutions (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021). This is shifting priority to Indigenous voices about their heritage to ensure accurate interpretations are made (Opata and Eze-uzoamaka 2012:39)

2.2.4 Historical Contact of Igbo with Europeans

As outlined above, prior to the arrival of Europeans, Igbo were subsistence farmers who survived through the communal exchange of farm products. The first contact between the Nigerian Igbo and the Europeans happened in the mid-fifteenth century with the arrival of the Portuguese (Afigbo 1975). From 1434-1807, the Niger coast acted as a contact point between African and European traders, beginning with the Portuguese, then the Dutch, and finally the English. In the first centuries of contact, there was an emphasis on trade rather than European empire building, with the trade consisting primarily of Igbo slaves. With the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, a new trading era, concentrating on industry and resource extraction developed: specifically, palm products, timber, elephant tusks, and spices (Acholonu 2009:49). Soon after, the British began to combine aggressive trading with aggressive imperialism. They saw the hinterland as productive and refused to be confined to the coast. Long before it had officially been conquered, Igboland was being treated as a British colony. Between 1900 and 1914 (when Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated) there were 21 British military expeditions into Igboland (Acholonu 2009:50).

The arrival of the British in the 1870s and increased encounters between the Igbo and other ethnic groups near the Niger River led to a deepening sense of a distinct Igbo identity. The Igbo were less than eager to embrace Christianity and Western education and abandon their own knowledge systems. Due to the incompatibility of the Igbo decentralized style of government and the centralized system required for British indirect rule, British colonial rule was marked with open conflicts and much tension which downplayed the leadership role of traditional Igbo families, supporting only those who were accepting of the white man's words (Achebe 2012). British colonial rule subverted the diversity within each of Nigeria's major ethnic groups, but also increased the distinctions between the Igbo and other large ethnic groups such as the Hausa and the Yoruba (Achebe 2012:99).

Colonial rule drastically transformed Igbo society (Achebe 1958). It brought about changes in culture and leadership by introducing new Warrant Chiefs as Eze (rulers), and removing priests and Elders as heads of institutions. The new Eze reported directly to the colonial masters and imposed decisions on the people, eliminating the traditional system of representation the Igbo understood. Christianity helped to spread foreign ideology into Igbo society and culture, sometimes shunning elements of the culture by imposing doctrines and dogma unrepresentative of Igbo culture. This process marginalized women by enforcing colonial-introduced policies that altered their traditional roles in Igbo society, which increased friction with colonial powers. There was also no discrimination of identified gender-posited people (two-spirit) who had lived in Igbo communities without prejudice prior to colonial rule (Achebe 2012).

Living conditions changed under colonial rule. As houses began to be constructed with cement blocks and zinc roofs, the demand for fans and air conditioning grew, and the custom of using mud walls and thatched roofs declined. At the same time farmlands were transformed into

roads for vehicles (Acholonu 2009). Buildings such as hospitals and schools were erected in many parts of Igboland. Electricity and pipe-borne water came in the early 20th century. Electricity brought new devices such as radios and televisions, which are now common in most Igbo households. Traditional Igbo customs were never considered while imposing these changes. However, the attempt to take control of Igboland met with resistance and cultural protest in the early decades of the twentieth century. A patriotic religious movement (the ekumeku) (Ogbonna 2016) inspired short-lived but feverish messianic enthusiasm, but neither this nor other Indigenous movements were able to stop the engine of imperialism, and once it had begun, Igbo culture struggled.

2.3 Labrador

Labrador can be considered a transitional zone where Inuit resided both above and below the tree-line. The physical geography of the Labrador region is described as an ecotone between tundra vegetation and boreal zones (Woollett 2003:85). The Labrador Current brings with it an arctic climate that is close to a polar climate resulting in the northern hemisphere's southernmost tree line, southernmost tundra, and a discontinuous permafrost zone. South of the tree-line (around Nain) the landscape is dominated by spruce woods, which cover the lowlands in great abundance but have sparser distributions on the hills which are mixed with birch, poplar, and aspen stands (Kaplan 1983:111). However, the outer coast and islands are tundra-like throughout much of Labrador. The practically persistent presence of an Icelandic Low makes precipitation, both rain and snow, abundant (the Nain [Figure 2.3] region averages 475 cm of snow each year). The intensity of the ice formation in Nain directly affects the economic prosperity of the locals throughout the winter. However, polynyas, or areas of ice-free waters, can be found all along the

coastline and draw a diversity of animals which Inuit use for subsistence purposes (Kaplan 1983). In the summer, unusually warm weather can occur when breezes blow offshore. This is a time when Inuit might fish in the pockets of rich biological productivity where freshwater systems meet the sea in the many coastal bays (Fitzhugh 1972:18).

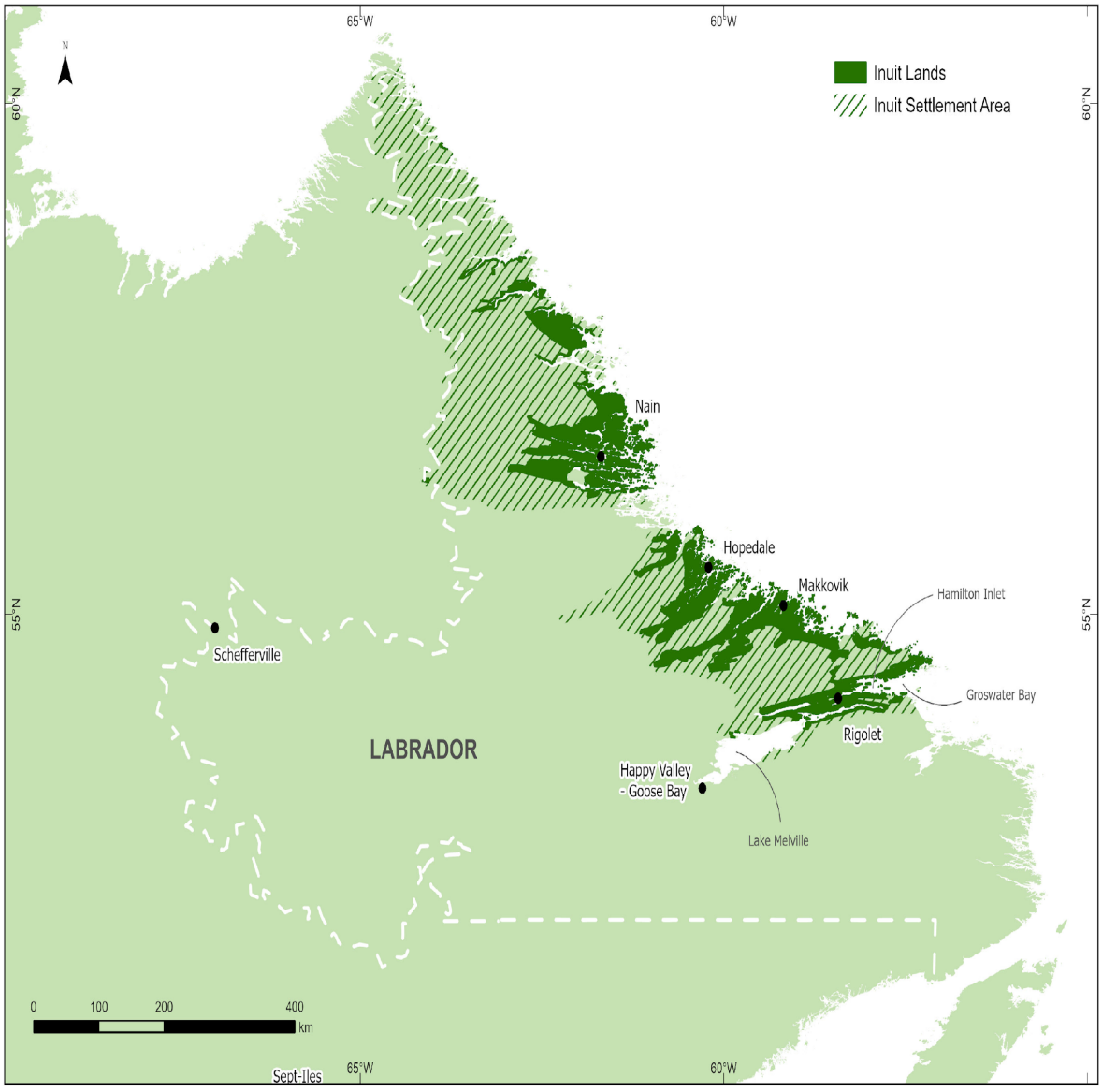

Figure 2.3: Map of Labrador showing locations mentioned in the text.

2.3.1 Climate Variability Labrador

The seasons in Labrador are spring, summer, fall and winter. Labrador's weather varies greatly throughout the year, and coastal temperatures vary as significantly as interior temperatures because of the Labrador Current. While summer temperatures can reach a comfortable 20°C, winter temperatures frequently range from -20°C to -30°C. In Labrador, each season brings something new, which the communities welcome for the opportunity it brings (Environment and Climate Change Canada 2023).

Table 2.3.1: Summary of Labrador Seasons (Environment and Climate Change Canada 2023).

Seasons:	Spring	Summer	Autumn/Fall	Winter
Duration:	March-May	June-August	September-October	November-February
Temperature:	-5° c – -10° c	15° c – 20° c	0° c – 10° c°	-1° c – -30° c
Experience:	Spring is a period when people spend a lot of time outside and on land, but Cold winter temperatures can still occur. No wind and magnificent clear sky sunny days	Biting insects such as mosquitoes and black flies are especially bad during the summer months. Minimal rain and plenty of sunshine.	Depending on the locality, the first snowfall is forecast between the middle and end of October. Temperatures begin to drop rapidly in the nights. In general, the winds increase stronger, and the waters become rougher.	Despite the cold, Inuit communities' welcome winter and all the activities and access to the land that it brings. Cold Winter seasons can be described based on the freeze and thaw of ice and the extent of snow cover (Ames 1977:279).

Inuit knowledge of the seasons plays a vital role in their settlement and subsistence practices, which are based on fishing, hunting and gathering. During the warmer summer season

Inuit lived in tents, while hunting seals, sea birds, and fishing, especially for salmon (Brice-Bennett 1977:132). Cultivating plants successfully is part of Labrador Inuit culture, with gardening in Labrador dating to the arrival of the Moravian missionaries in the 18th century (Kaplan 1983). However, Inuit have historically harvested plants that are naturally accessible, such as grasses, tubers, roots, plant stems, berries, and seaweed which were collected and preserved for the colder months (Brice-Bennett 1977). The dropping temperatures in late autumn meant a return to the winter sod house, located in sheltered islands far away from the open ocean. Caribou would be hunted and preserved for winter as they moved back inland to form large herds (Kaplan 1983). Late in the fall, when their coats were most desired in preparation for winter, fur-bearing mammals like foxes and mustelids were hunted. In the winter, other sources of food could also be found including seals and caribou. Ptarmigan and small mammals were prevalent all winter and cod could be fished through the ice (Brice-Bennett 1977). The number of animal and plant species available for the Inuit to hunt and harvest would increase as the sea ice started to melt each spring. Mussels in particular were a key source of seafood and could be supplemented with a variety of berries (Brice-Bennett 1977; Kaplan 1983). The traditional Inuit diet is heavy in protein and low in fat but this has changed markedly in the colonial period and Inuit now consume 75% of their daily energy intake from fat (Kaplan 1983). However, contemporary Inuit still make use of traditional food, but there is a decreasing consumption of traditional food among younger generations due to processed imported food items (Pars et al. 2001).

2.3.2 The Inuit

The Inuit are descendants of people who migrated from the Bering Sea into North America and eventually moved across the Arctic in the 13th century (Friesen and Arnold 2008). Inuit

ancestors were highly skilled hunter-fisher-gatherers with a set of culture traits derived from their adaptation to a marine environment - developing a toolkit for hunting large sea mammals (Kaplan 1983). It is generally accepted that the Inuit moved into Labrador during the latter half of the fifteenth century from the eastern Arctic, likely from Baffin Island (Rankin and Crompton 2016:13), and quickly explored the length of the Labrador coast, with groups eventually reaching as a far south as the strait of Belle Isle in the later sixteenth century (Auger 1991,1993; Stopp 2002).

Population: According to the 2016 Canadian census, there were 65,025 people in Canada who identified as Inuit. Nearly three-quarters (72.8%) of Inuit lived in one of Inuit Nunangat's four regions (Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, and Inuvialuit Settlement Region). Between 2006 and 2016, the Inuit population in Inuit Nunangat increased by 20.1%. Between the 2006 and 2016 censuses, there was a 61.9% increase. Outside of Inuit Nunangat, the Atlantic provinces had the biggest population of Inuit (30.6%), with Newfoundland and Labrador accounting for 23.5%. Another 21.8% lived in Ontario, 28.7% in the western provinces, 12.1% in Quebec, and 6.8% in the Northwest Territories (excluding the Inuvialuit region) and Yukon. Many Inuit also reside in Greenland, Denmark and the United States of America (Statistics Canada 2016).

Within Nunatsiavut, a self-governed Inuit territory in Labrador established in 2005, Inuit number 2,323 and now occupy five permanent villages, having been resettled, often against their will by colonial authorities. Within Nunatsiavut, Labrador Inuit own approximately 15,800 square kilometres of land (Statistics Canada 2016).

Fishing Culture: Fishing has always been an essential part of life in Labrador, even before large-scale commercial enterprises were established as Labrador's ecosystem provided an optimal environment for human access to fish and marine mammals. Sea mammals such as whales and seals were typically the primary food sources for the Inuit and were significant to their community structure (Rankin 2004; Woollett 2003). Seal remains an important subsistence food today, as do fish. There are many species of fish present in Labrador, including capelin, arctic char, sculpin, trout, salmon, and cod – though species are variable by region and season. Atlantic cod is particularly important to Inuit as they gather in Labrador in great numbers to spawn in late spring and feed in warm surface waters during the summer before migrating to deeper waters off the coast for winter months (Kaplan 1983:103). Atlantic salmon has also become a significant species for local fisheries in Labrador, not just because of the good taste but also the abundance in accessible areas (Brice-Bennett 1977). Tinned, pickled salmon was one of the primary products Inuit produced for the Hudson Bay Company in the 19th century (Ames 1977:280). The abundance of marine life along the Labrador coast has allowed Inuit pre- and post-contact to prioritize which resources were selected in a particular season based on individual preferences and regional variability (Woollett 2003).

Art and Craft: Inuit industry relied nearly entirely on animal and stone products including hides/skins, bone, walrus ivory and carvings, although wood and grasses were also used. Inuit clothes and footwear were traditionally made from animal skins and sewed together with needles made from animal bones and threads derived from other animal products, such as sinew. Arctic peoples from Europe to Asia and the Americas, especially the Inuit, make anoraks (parkas) in a similar style. The hood of an amauti (women's parka, or amautiit) was made to be extra-large, with

a separate compartment beneath the hood to allow a mother to carry a newborn against her back and shelter it from the strong wind. The shape of the hood and the shape and length of the garment differ from region to region. Boots (mukluk or kamik) made of caribou or seal skin were fashioned for both men and women. Certain tools were manufactured of worked stone, like the women's lamps used to heat and light the house and pots for cooking which were manufactured from the easily worked soapstone (Geoghegan 2021).

For Inuit culture, I understood that both magic of craft and decoration overlap so often and so deeply that they are inseparable; hence, decoration is used to express magic, and magical thoughts are often contained in decorative motifs (Tacon 1983 in Brewster 2005). Art has always played an important role in Inuit life. Small sculptures of animals and human figures were fashioned from ivory and bone, frequently reflecting subsistence activities such as hunting and whaling. Prints and figurative works carved in comparatively soft stone such as soapstone, serpentinite, or argillite have also become popular in modern times (Murphy 2017 in Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador).

Most Inuit art arises from older Inuit tradition in the ancestral land to suit Inuit culture. For example, the traditional art of face tattooing among Inuit women, known as kakiniit or tunniit in Inuktitut, dates back approximately 4,000 years (Geoghegan 2021). The facial tattoos detailed aspects of the women's lives, such as where they came from, who their family was, their life achievements, and their place in the community. When missionaries came to Labrador in the 18th century, they forbade the practice (Geoghegan 2021), but it is now making a comeback owing to some modern Inuit women who wish to honour their ancestors' practices and reconnect with their cultural heritage. Tattooing used to be done using needles or bone dipped in suet and sewed into the skin, but now they use ink. The Inuit Tattoo Revitalization Project was created to highlight the

revitalization of this art tradition which is now beginning to spread throughout Labrador (Geoghegan 2018).

Housing: Inuit built semi-subterranean winter sod houses with long entrance tunnels during the winter months. Sod, timber, and /or whalebone were used for supports (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 1999:371). Interiors had raised sleeping platforms along the sides, paved flagstone flooring, and a lamp stand or hearth. In the summer, sod houses were abandoned in favour of cooler tents, adding ground insulation for warmth and fabric insulation inside for windbreaking when required. While summer housing remained similar, sod-house architecture changed greatly throughout the contact period. Before the 17th century, most sod houses were relatively small single-family dwellings consisting of a single lobed structure with one rear sleeping platform (Kaplan 1983:220; Woollett 1999). This changed at the beginning of the 18th century when house forms became significantly larger to sustain numerous families, and often had more than one lobe or interior area, with multiple sleeping platforms sharing one entrance tunnel (Kaplan 1983:220; Schledermann 1972). However, the missionaries despised communal houses and discouraged their construction to prevent Inuit from forming alliances other than the church. This led to a shift back to single family homes over the 19th and 20th centuries in Labrador (Kaplan 1983:221).

Entrepreneur: Inuit have a long history of trade that pre-dates the arrival of Europeans. Extensive trade networks brought Asian metals and beads to their homelands in Alaska even before Inuit crossed the Arctic (Jensen and Sheehan 2016:517). After settling into Arctic regions, trade in valuable resources such as amber, caribou hides, and wood continued between Inuit communities (Whitridge 2016:831). The use of umiaks (large boats), dog sleds and kayaks for

transportation propelled and enabled their interest in long-distance trade (Matthiassen 1927). Once in Labrador, Inuit quickly began to trade with European fisher-whalers who came to the Strait of Belle Isle each summer and shared or traded these European commodities with other Inuit communities the length of the Labrador coast. During the initial years of contact, Inuit acquired these materials by scavenging or raiding, but by the late 18th century, Inuit-European trade had become much more regularized and an Inuit coastal trade network was firmly established (Jordan 1977; Kaplan 1983:424). Changes to Inuit material culture from the 17th to 19th centuries were greatly influenced by the availability of trade goods from the various European cultures they encountered throughout that period, but these items were rapidly incorporated into the Inuit lifeways, often by reusing the newly available materials to create traditional objects, such as hammering iron into ulu blades (Kaplan 1983:425). This trade network supported entrepreneurial families who acquired power through connections to Inuit along the coast and to the Europeans they traded among (Rankin 2024). But the entrepreneurial traders themselves were not new to Inuit culture. In fact, they may be a defining element of Inuit culture as they have traditionally relied on trade to engage with the outside world.

2.3.3 Archaeological excavation in Labrador

Much archaeological work has been carried out at Labrador Inuit sites since the early 20th century. Archaeologists such as Jordan (1977), Kaplan (1983), Rankin (2024) and Stopp (2002) and many others have contributed to our knowledge of Inuit history in several ways. Archaeological research on the Inuit in Labrador has helped us better understand the nature of Inuit life in Labrador and ultimately to understand their interactions and responses to the European

presence, helping to narrate this rich and textured history in a way that highlights the central and active role of Inuit in directing events of the contact period.

Jordan's excavation projects in the mid-1970s were completed in Groswater Bay. Here he found many winter sod houses, a trading post and even fishing camps (Kaplan 1983:426). This work, in what is now the southern reaches of Nunatsiavut, showed how Inuit lived both before and after contact with Europeans, how they incorporated European material culture into their daily lives and their socio-economic systems.

Kaplan's (1983) excavations in 1981 between Nain and Killinek–also shed light on the contact period. Kaplan's excavation from 1983 revealed a change in settlement patterns due to the social and political complexities stemming from trade that characterized the eighteenth-century Inuit occupation in Labrador. Rankin's work in Sandwich Bay revealed how Inuit in southern Labrador embraced leadership through trade in European materials (Rankin 2024). Stopp (2002) further proved that the execution of the Inuit subsistence cycle in southern Labrador certainly accommodated trade but was never supplanted by it, nor can trade be thought of as the sole explanation for Inuit movement into the south.

Contemporary Inuit are involved in archaeological projects on their land; archaeologists now recruit locals to aid in research and fieldwork, co-lead research with Inuit and pursue research goals of relevance to local Inuit communities (Rankin et al. 2022, 2023). In fact, the current archaeologist for the Nunatsiavut Government is an Inuk. At the same time, Inuit are telling their own history, as they understand it, through publications (Brice-Bennett 2023). Such publications are allowing us to hear the Inuit voices that had previously been almost entirely omitted from their published history.

2.3.4 Historical Contact of Inuit with Europeans

The colonial history of the Labrador Inuit is different but contains many familiar elements to the Igbo colonial history. From the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, both the Inuit and Europeans operated in the Strait of Belle Isle. Inuit culture was oriented toward the sea and its resources where they harvested seals, fish and whales. Likewise, Europeans were also in the region to fish and whale (Rankin 2004). It was not long before a seasonal trade developed between the two groups. This far southern region of Labrador saw the greatest level of contact between Inuit and Europeans prior to the late 18th century arrival of the Moravian missionaries.

The earliest contacts Labrador Inuit had with Europeans likely occurred in the sixteenth century with Basque and French sailors coming to the Strait of Belle Isle to fish and whale during the summer months. Most likely the first contact was indirect, meaning that the Inuit would scavenge from seasonally abandoned European sites (Brice-Bennet 1977:79; Kaplan 1983; Rankin 2016). However, for Europeans, trade with Inuit quickly became an essential part of early voyages and was fueled by Europe's need for such commodities as furs, seal oil, whale oil, baleen, whale bone, walrus oil and tusks which increased the value of their transatlantic journeys (Arendt 2010:84). Likewise, Inuit became increasingly interested in European commodities and trade between various European nations and the Inuit became frequent by the 18th century, supported by an Inuit coastal trade network. This coastal trade network, which ferried Inuit produced goods south to Europeans and European goods north to Inuit communities, seems to have supported an emergent trading class of Inuit and was maintained until the English governed Labrador (Rankin and Crompton 2016; Rankin 2024). However, in 1771, the British invited Moravian missionaries to settle in northern Labrador to help to keep Inuit away from British fishing fleets. They gave Moravians permission to control the Inuit trade from their mission stations. Until Moravians

arrived there was no significant European settlement in Labrador, although some trading posts existed for brief periods of time. As colonialists, the Moravian presence changed the nature of the trade network – its location, size, goods exchanged, and the leadership roles it afforded, but trade continued to be an important Inuit activity throughout the missionization. Moravians also changed the nature of Inuit settlement, with more Inuit choosing to settle adjacent to mission stations. However, the rise in settlers and compounding population increased Moravian missionaries' measures towards Inuit which changed Inuit lives substantially as they embraced Christianity and Moravian authority from the nineteenth century (Brice-Bennet 1977:79; Kaplan 1983; Rankin 2016). This authority transformed Inuit lifeways, dictating the styles of their houses, community organization and traditional beliefs; yet Inuit culture endured the closure of many of the mission stations in the 19th century, and ever resilient, allowed Inuit to fight for their own homeland in Labrador, Nunatsiavut, which became a recognized Inuit territory in 2005.

2.4 Summary

Presently Igbo society is at a turning point, challenging colonialism and rediscovering their Indigenous identity. But many challenges must be overcome to reconcile traditional culture with the requirements of modern living. Conditions of violence and poverty continue to erode Igbo families, leaving the youth alienated, while rapid global change increasingly impacts traditional social structures. The challenges of social, cultural and global changes are enormous, and have affected Igbo in many ways (Okoro 2017:89). Many Igbo sons and daughters continue to reject their traditional culture, contributing to the loss of religious and spiritual connections to the land and its organic connection to daily life. This void has created a need to revisit the Igbo people's

cultural legacy, much of which is still unknown, in order to rediscover it and use it to further intercultural communication, and build a brighter future for Igbo.

Inuit have also struggled with the forces of colonialism which have tried to disempower their communities through assimilation into the colonial structures, and have similar issues with poverty which are exacerbated by a long history of prejudice, discrimination and negative stereotypes about Indigenous people (Brice-Bennett 2023). Igbo and Inuit might have distinct cultures and live in very different parts of the world, but they are united in their Indigeneity, their struggles against colonialism and also in their resistance and resilience – to have maintained culture in the face of powerful colonial forces. By taking back our identities, we will find our power and place in the modern world.

Chapter Three

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

3. 1 Introduction

Decolonial theories cannot change the past, but they do have the ability to challenge colonial, patriarchal, and capitalist systems (McNiven 2016). In the face of a reality that seems impervious to change, they can conceive another one. It would appear that the ability to reimagine, reclaim, and redo is crucial for influencing institutions and policy, challenging ingrained colonial paradigms, and changing discourses. However, conducting research that includes articles by archaeologists who assert to have found some knowledge that is still being used and practiced in Indigenous communities while simultaneously positioning themselves as the only source of information without including Indigenous voices is still a colonial project. Thus, decolonial theories encourage white and Indigenous scholars whose only contribution, for instance, is to write about such an issue rather than be in the position of leveraging some power over the outcome. Fortunately, postcolonial theory has become comprehensive over time, and better situated to contribute to decolonial practices.

In archaeology, what began as postcolonial theory has now split into a suite of approaches, including, but not limited to: critical archaeology, Indigenous archaeology and agency studies, which are all linked to resilience theory. Each has been used to help untangle colonial influence, decolonize the discipline, and give voice to past people.

3.2 Postcolonial Theories

Edward Said (1978 in Liebman 2008:2) first presented postcolonial theories as a way to address the agency of Indigenous peoples and the hybrid forms of culture that developed out of colonialism. He acknowledged that long periods of forced dependency and hegemony have had profound impacts not only on the societies of the colonized, but on those of the colonizers as well (Said 1978 in Liebman). Postcolonialism is also associated with representation, discourses, and ideologies of colonialism, but is not necessarily a historical marker of this kind of thought. For example, in 1977, Thurstan Shaw worked to demystify archaeology for Nigerians, making it easy to understand the role played by Indigenous people in archaeology during the colonial period. More recently, postcolonial literature has questioned the histories and anthropologies produced by Western academics, asserting that these studies often present the colonized as variously inferior, passive, feminine, savage, lazy, marginal, simple, static, and primitive in contrast to the superior, active, masculine, civilized, industrious, central, complex, dynamic, and modern colonial self, while distorting their experience (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:24). These "truths" about colonized peoples were formulated and shaped through Western literature and histories, and are not based in ethnographic realities but rather in "facts" created to justify Western colonialism.

Postcolonial critique has a fundamental ethical basis in examining oppression and inequality in the present, including those grounded in neocolonialism, race, gender, nationalism, class, and ethnicities (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:25). Postcolonialist theory is guided by the past's relationship to the present, foregrounding the links between cultural forms and geopolitics (Lydon and Rizvi 2010: 21). It is intellectually committed to contributing to political and social transformation, to counter neocolonialism, and facilitate the assertion of diverse forms of identity (Lydon and Rizvi 2010:24). It is at the heart of archaeological debates about the colonial plunder

of artifacts, colonial perspectives about Indigenous populations, and the future of once-colonized populations. One of the important tenets of the postcolonial approach is to give voice to those who were silenced or marginalized through the processes and practice of colonization (Atalay 2012). Postcolonial approaches seek to examine culture from different angles, and in so doing, discuss the practices and discourses of identity, gender, labor, race, and inequality that colonized, and colonizer negotiated in the past, and which permeates our understanding today (Ellison et al. 1996). Postcolonial approaches also specifically draw out the complexities and realities of Indigenous experiences in an interpretative and historical arena that often has sidelined or filtered such experiences through the words and eyes of those attempting to dominate (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007).

3.2.1 Critical Archaeology

The application of critical theory in archaeology has its most important impact in the partnership between archaeologists and communities because it seeks to consider the political and ethical impact of research on descendant populations (Robertshaw 2012). In this manner, critical archaeology is used to identify and decolonize the social and political goals concerning the production and reproduction of knowledge, while emphasizing domination and resistance in a society (Oland et al. 2012).

Critical archaeology acknowledges a time when Indigenous populations had absolute authority over our lives, when we were born into a universe of our making. We did not ask, need, or want to be discovered by the Europeans (Chirukure and Pwiti 2008). Critical archaeology offers a way for Indigenous people to claim a role in the analysis of why and how we were colonized, and what colonization has meant in terms of our past, present, and future. Such self-determination

can come through the revised definitions and practices such as the protection and ownership of cultural resources, heritage, histories, and integrity, which are enabled by critical approaches.

Ultimately, critical archaeology tries to use the lens of marginalized Indigenous people in interpreting results, which will benefit discussions regarding agency (Murray 2004). I am using this approach both to interpret archaeological collections (Chapter Six and Chapter Seven), but also in review of recent approaches to Igbo and Inuit archaeology that exist in the literature, in order to draw attention to colonial claims and develop an Indigenous interpretation of colonial encounters (Chapter Four) – creating the space to see archaeology as an Indigenous project.

3.2.2 Indigenous Archaeology

Indigenous archaeology, in name, was first coined by Nicholas and Andrews (1997), and it is rooted in many years of thinking and work (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2016:116; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:229). It is fundamentally an array of archaeological practices undertaken by, for, and with Indigenous communities in ways that challenge the discipline's historical, political, economic, and philosophical foundation and expand its intellectual breadth (Atalay 2012). It is therefore an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, usually through collaborative and community-originated or directed projects, and/or related critical perspectives. Indigenous archaeology seeks to make archaeology more representative of, relevant for, and responsible to Indigenous communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:229). It is also about redressing real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology and improving our understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of new and

different perspectives (Nicholas 2008a). Nicholas gave an eight points definition of Indigenous archaeology:

> "1. The proactive participation or consultation of Indigenous peoples in archaeology
> 2. A political statement concerned with issues of Aboriginal self-government, sovereignty, land rights, identity, and heritage
> 3. A postcolonial enterprise designed to decolonize the discipline
> 4. A manifestation of Indigenous epistemologies
> 5. The basis for alternative models of cultural heritage management or stewardship
> 6. The product of choices and actions made by individual archaeologists
> 7. A means of empowerment and cultural revitalization of political resistance
> 8. An extension, evaluation, critique, or application of current archaeological theory." (Nicholas 2008a:1660)

Indigenous archaeology is not always done by Indigenous people, but instead entails finding ways to create counter-discourse that speaks back to the power of colonialist and imperialist interpretations of the past (Atalay 2006:294). "Such connections are not always harmonious and easy but should be seen to represent a set of possibilities, rather than problems," (Atalay 2012: 29); however, archaeologists and all those interested in the past must seek out critical, collaborative engagement with those communities that are most likely to have the resources necessary, not only to complement and correct specific lacunae but to generate a critical standpoint on their knowledge-making practices.

Indigenous archaeology is also about community engagement**.** I see community engagement as the critical first phase towards developing and integrating community archaeology into formal research, from start to finish. **"**Community engagement**"** thus encompasses all of the community interactions, from meetings, interviews, excavations, participants as observers, and other informal chats that can release information about the community (Schmidt 2018). For example, Thurstan Shaw's (1977) excavation in Nigeria was a hallmark in African archaeology involving Indigenous people in their own project, which told a precise story of their ancestors. Finally, Indigenous archaeology attempts to integrate local historical knowledge, Indigenous

views and interpretations, bringing this knowledge to the foreground as a way to decolonize archaeological practice (Atalay 2012:252). I am influenced by Indigenous archaeology to dig deep into my Indigeneity, pose my argument that cultural initiative was never lost and change the stereotyped negative feelings associated with being an Indigenous person in a modern world. The ultimate goal of this research remains Indigenous archaeology, undertaken by an Indigenous person to tell a better history of her people and that of the Inuit. In all, Indigenous archaeology is a humbling activity, difficult, exciting and intellectually vibrant.

Furthermore, Indigenous archaeology reminds us that archaeologists are not the sole owners of the past but are helping to construct the past for living groups, and we have to be sensitive to their needs and the context of our research. This can be done through both legislation and collaborations designed to foster research. For example, legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) introduced in the USA in 1991 is an example of an early initiative that tried to rectify past errors of archaeology and place Indigenous concerns back on the archaeological agenda (Atalay et al. 2017). Although, it ultimately placed the power to determine Indigenous cultural affiliation in the hands of Western institutions and made Indigenous groups prove their links to remains on Western terms. More recent Indigenous archaeology attempts to shift the balance of power and return decision-making and method-creating capabilities to Indigenous groups.

My aim in using the Indigenous archaeology approach is not just as an Indigenous archaeologist but to inspire more archaeologists of Indigenous origin to bridge the gap between "archaeologists" and "Indigenous peoples" and Indigenous and Western research paradigms. This might result in the creation of new, unconventional archaeological approaches that are more adaptive to comprehending the Indigenous past. For example, a Cree archaeologist named Tara

Million offers a circular research approach that differs from the Western linear perspective by giving equal weight to the opinions of chiefs and elders and the archaeological community (see Fig 3.2.2). Additionally, she reinters artifacts found during an excavation following Indigenous notions that the archaeological landscape is alive (Smith and Wobst 2005:46). It is difficult to imagine such approaches developing from within mainstream archaeology; thus, Indigenous archaeology offers an avenue for such methods to be tested out and refined, which is necessary to transform research orientations.

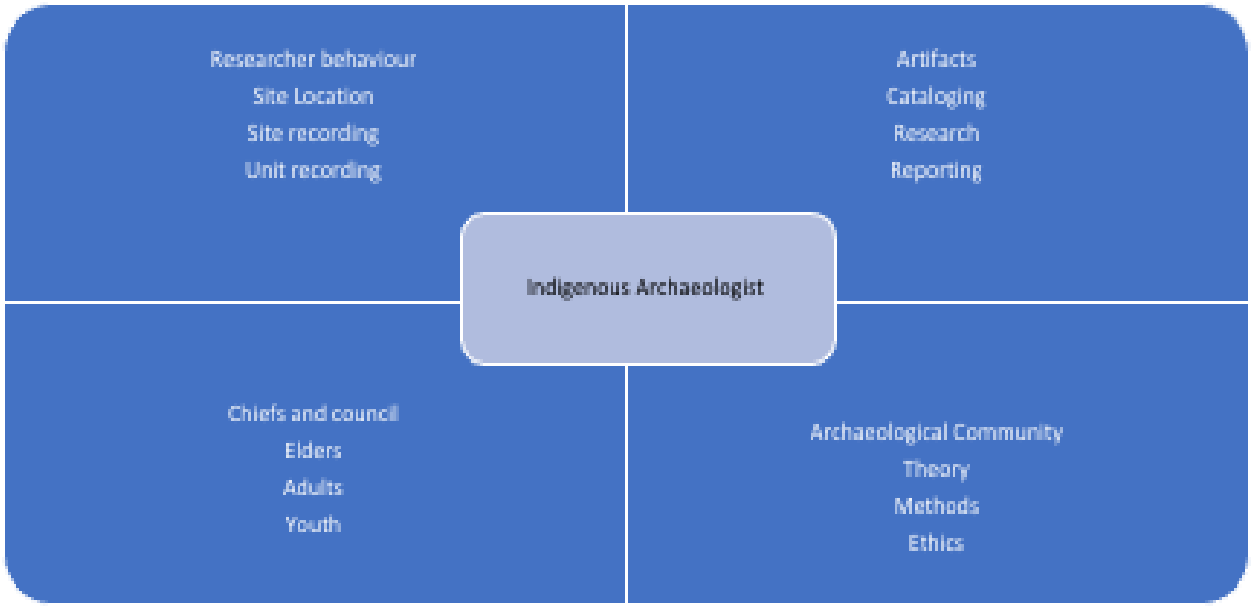

Figure 3.2.2: My edited approach to Tara Million's Circular Research Model depicting an equal consideration of a variety of Indigenous and non-Indigenous viewpoints as opposed to a hierarchical and linear Western worldview (Million 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005: 45).

3.2.3 Agency Studies

The postcolonial approach emphasizes social agency by viewing cultures, identities, social relationships and daily practices as historically situated (Oland et al. 2012). Examining people's practices is an appropriate way of investigating agency and also their deliberate acts of resistance. The routine practices of everyday life are an expression of how people organize their social and

personal relations. These bodily actions are often picked up unconsciously during childhood, and in normal circumstances seem to be relatively consistent and homogeneous (Bourdieu 1977; Dobres and Robb 2000). It is through these daily engagements with the world that people create meanings and identities for themselves: a skilled carpenter; a consummate trader; a cheerful worker. In particular, it is through working in a team and cooperating that people develop social relations and create their place in the social network (Given 2004:14). These daily engagements also present opportunities to make choices. When a routine practice is suddenly challenged or disallowed, as happened to Indigenous communities throughout the colonial era, then unthinking routine becomes conscious thought, and the agent will suddenly face the decision of whether to submit, protest or resist (Fekri 1999). With this understanding of agency, it is clear that the colonized can play a major, active role in constituting their world and even the structure of the colonial society. They are constantly seizing, maintaining, and enlarging the space in which they have power, and negotiating their position with the different representatives of colonial authority (Scott 1990).

Agency theory helps guide the archaeological analysis of material culture such as tools, structures, and waste materials to investigate how the colonized chose to resist, subvert, or accommodate interactions and ultimately, colonial rule. People's actions can also be understood across the whole landscape (including their farming fields and hunting regions, as well as travel routes) just as much as their domestic sites to which archaeology often limits itself. For this reason, it is good to be aware of the larger landscape in which lives were lived and how these places beyond domestic settings were also used and transformed by active agents. By keeping carefully within the cultural context and being guided by agent-centered analyses, archaeologists should be able to reconstruct past experiences and decision making and note how decisions about daily life

were transformed during periods of contact and colonization, noting what changes and what remains the same. Only when we have done all this do we begin to meaningfully hear the stories of the colonized and in turn, influence the relationship between agent and system.

When focusing on human agency and experience, it is helpful to define narrative more closely as a story (Pluciennik 1999:654). This is analyzed in the interview session (Chapter Five) – a story has a storyteller and an audience. The audience can respond to the characters in many ways by identifying with them, reacting against them, or taking up any other emotional stance. The series of events or revelations draw the audience in; they create narrative drive. Such stories can be the subjects of archaeological analysis when we try to understand people's choices and actions. They can also be an analytical technique in themselves; all archaeological writing is narrative (Given 2004:22). It has a strong chronological emphasis, often with an explicit sequence of events or styles (Given 2004:20). These are presented as related to each other, whether causally or by sharing the same context, and each archaeological text has some sort of internal coherence and leads naturally to a conclusion.

3.2.4 Resiliency Theory

My research ultimately seeks to speak to Indigenous resilience. Resilience theory (RT) was initially developed in economics and ecology, and in recent years has been used to describe the interactions between human social systems and the environment (Folke 2006). Resilience theory states that "resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function" (Sauer 2015:9). Simply put, a cultural or ecological system is resilient if it can take in or incorporate the effects of outside stimuli. In archaeology, this idea has been applied to situations such as colonization by

understanding socio-cultural change and continuity. A community is considered resilient if it can absorb change without the entire cultural system having to function in a new way. For example, in my study of Igbo and Inuit colonization I am submitting that while these cultures may have seemingly lost their political, economic, social, or ideological autonomy, some previous cultural traits still exist which led to their continuity (Sauer 2015). Therefore, resilience is more than resistance, it is cultural survival (Hollander and Enwohner 2004).

Applying a resilience perspective to cultural systems requires an understanding of how those cultural systems have developed over time, with particular attention to the social institutions around which the cultural identities are organized (Crane 2010). I use resilience theory alongside agency to understand the creation and maintenance of cultural systems. Igbo and Inuit social structures were organized well before the arrival of the Europeans. Upon the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous agents were able to use traditional structures to adapt to change resulting from contact and colonialism while retaining their culture. This was done in such a way that agents incorporated particular elements of colonizer's lifestyles into the Indigenous system while avoiding other aspects that might have led to a total change in identity.

Resilience theory emphasizes the flexibility, stability, and adaptability within cultural systems, through which agents are able to incorporate useful changes, outside materials, and new ideas without losing autochthonous control of the system itself as it continues to evolve and adapt (Gunderson and Pritchard Jr. 2002). The use of resilience theory requires an analysis of the long-term cultural processes and actions of Igbo and Inuit to maintain their culture for over 500 years. In this manner resilience can also be a celebration of cultural continuity.

3.3 Resiliency and Indigenous approach

Indigenous peoples were frequently considered incapable of complex or cultural inventions, belonging on the lower rungs on a scale of social evolutionism with Westerner civilization at the top. For example, Bradshaw's records of rock art in Kimberley, Australia (from 1891) indicate he believed that group(s) other than the native Wandjina constructed them due to the complex nature of the images (McNiven and Russell 2005:159).

Similarly, scholars gave no thought to the notion that native Africans were responsible for beautiful sculptural archaeological remains examined in Great Zimbabwe, suggesting instead that Portuguese explorers, or possibly Arab cultures were responsible for the carvings even though many African cultures had expert stone masons (Smith and Wobst 2005). However, it was eventually demonstrated that the Shona tribe created the stone carved sculptures, to prove that Africans never lacked the potential to develop such a sophisticated civilization (Chirikure 2020).

These instances show how archaeology has downplayed Indigenous communities' authority and power, highlighting the necessity for an Indigenous strategy that can purposefully avoid these blunders and assert Indigenous voice and agency by studying resilience as an archaeological concept.

3.3.1 Using Resilience to Understand the Archaeology of Igbo/Inuit:

It would be irresponsible not to acknowledge the suffering that occurred both in daily experience and the long-term prospects of those who did not wield control of colonial encounters, but it would also be remiss to frame disenfranchised populations in Indigenous, enslaved or conscripted communities as utterly lacking in agency or adaptability to survive such conditions

(Cipolla and Hayes 2015). Within the period dominated by the "agentive" colonialist, Indigenous people remained faithful to their beings as Igbo and Inuit.

Artifacts collected from Igbo African archaeological sites and analyzed in Chapter Six of this thesis, as well as literature and oral histories, help to create an understanding of how Indigenous cultural traditions such as religion, sacred ancestry, knowledge, economies and leadership form a distinct history which has endured and continues from ancient times among my people. Igbo people in Africa realized their worth before colonialism and we existed and survived on our own, with our own established understanding of the world and governing institutions. It is important to demonstrate that throughout colonialism the Igbo were resilient, prepared to resist colonial domination and full of agency.

Take yourself back to when people were sold as property. It is painful and difficult to describe. From the start of Portuguese colonization in 1500 until emancipation in 1888, the enslavement of the Igbo and other African descendants in Brazil was ongoing. But even under such horrific circumstances archaeological evidence shows that slaves were active participants in the creation of new cultural forms (Ferrreira and Funari 2015: 190). They plied the cosmology and material culture they brought from Africa and mixed them with the cultural repertoire present in Brazilian regions. In doing so, they reinforced their identity. Until recently, these forms of cultural knowledge embedded in both resistance and agency were unrecorded by the colonizers.

Similar to the Igbo, self-determination of the Inuit cannot be debated. Descriptions of faunal assemblages recovered from Inuit settlements indicate that residents carried out a modified-maritime way of life that relied on resources from both land and sea in the appropriate season (Rankin and Crompton 2016a). After contact, trade was added to these seasonal rounds. From first contact on, Inuit tradition on the coast of Labrador can be viewed as a series of economic,

material, social, and ideological adjustments to changing colonial circumstances. Inuit culture patterns were enhanced; shamanic traders/leaders became powerful in part through trade and commanded large families (Rankin 2024). But even these new events were motivated in Inuit traditions which might be seen archaeologically (Rankin and Crompton 2016b). Theoretically, archaeology has the potential to provide insights on Labrador Inuit socioeconomics, philosophy, ideology and subsistence strategies that are not dependent on the obviously biased accounts in European documents. The archaeological record is derived from the material residue of Inuit choices and actions. In the absence of Inuit written accounts and records, archaeology affords an opportunity to provide an Inuit voice in the construction of local history. For example, Inuit agency influenced colonial policy. During the early contact period, Inuit regularly waited until European fishermen had departed the coast so that they might take their cached boats and other goods. In reaction to this Inuit practice, 18th century French fishermen may have departed Labrador altogether (Pope 2015), and ultimately attempted to both centralize and formalize trading practices with Inuit at Quirpon Island (Martijn 2009:79). As another example it may be fair to mention Mikak, an Inuit woman taken against her will to England. There are parallels with Igbo slavery and with resistance. Mikak is one of the few Inuit taken to Europe who did not succumb to any European disease (like smallpox) and who lived to return to Labrador and lead a traditionally Inuit life (Fay 2015).

Archaeological analysis in Chapter Seven of this thesis suggests that traditional Inuit culture thrived well through contact into the Moravian era. The imposition on the Inuit ideological sphere by the Moravian missionaries set in motion a whole series of changes from which there seemed no return, but this is not accurate. The historical perspective provided by the Moravian literature, full of the conflict between heathen and Christian Inuit, clearly attests to the presence of

continued resistance to the Moravians (Brice-Bennett 1977:177, 2023; Jordan 1977; Jurakic 2007; Markham 2021). Inuit culture in Labrador survives to this day and with the establishment of the self-governed territory of Nunatsiavut their resilience can be celebrated.

Even though the culture and history of the Igbo and Inuit are quite distinct, both populations went through the disjuncture of colonialism and found ways to survive and thrive. Through this research I attempt to further empower Indigenous Igbo and Inuit voices using archaeology to testify to the choices made by Indigenous agents through the early colonial era, and the contemporary voices of Igbo and Inuit people to help interpret this long, resilient history.

3.4 Theoretical Critiques

It is not enough to employ resiliency theory without addressing the critics of decolonial theories, as some remain unconvinced of the benefits of a decolonial approach in archaeology and believe that Indigenous concerns do not merit such a strong focus on archaeology. First, there is the usage of the word "Indigenous," which some find to be exclusionary and essentializing. According to Kuper (2003:390), "Indigenous" is frequently used as a euphemism for "primitive," conveying the same concepts of being uncivilized under a new name. He adds that a common tenet of many Indigenous organizations is the idea that modern Indigenous communities are the inheritors of the cultural traditions of earlier populations, which have not changed, thereby denying agency (Kuper 2003). In the same vein, I agree with McNiven and Russell's (2005:220) view regarding the term "prehistory" as an obsolete term; rather it is a wrong nomenclature prepared by the colonizers to present the colonized as primitive, ancient, and less worthy within the period in question. Prehistory means before written history (therefore before the Europeans); further analysis on this term is contained in Chapter Four of this thesis. Indigenous people were regarded

as not having any act of civilization and history before the coming of Europeans. McNiven and Russell (2005:219) express this well, suggesting that the use of the term prehistory in association with Australian Aboriginal people suggests that "before the coming of European civilization, little need, or indeed can be said about Aboriginal people." Then I ask, what makes a history? It is the people as the agents, the culture, the lifeways, the architecture, the government, and of course the land attributes. The difference between history and anthropology was a product of colonialism. It might be that the Europeans came with civilization and attention to documenting history which the Indigenous people did not care about. "Prehistory" is therefore not a straightforward word, and if Europeans wanted the best term to convey the period before their documents, they should still have used History. Prehistory is a concept loaded with symbolic meanings that create perceptions of a hierarchical structure of historical experience; the term carries pejorative connotations that denigrate the African historical experience. If the dichotomy between prehistory and history has negative implications for non-Western cultures, then so too does the dichotomy between literate and nonliterate (McNiven and Russell 2005).

This critique brings to light the power of language and terminologies in archaeological interpretations which must be addressed in the careful employment of postcolonial models such as agency and resilience theory. To this end, particularly troublesome words are analyzed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

According to McGhee, proponents of Indigenous archaeology are led by misconceptions that devalue Indigenous people, such as their alleged closeness to nature and predilection for spiritual tales over archaeological evidence (McGhee 2008:597). Rightly put, archaeological findings should never contradict Indigenous values of a community; whatever the Indigenous people value becomes a great concern of Indigenous research. His argument went further to state

that it is not our responsibility as archaeologists to speak for Indigenous issues and that doing so may jeopardize the discipline's credibility. Here, I would argue that an understanding of Indigenous values is an essential component of coherent archaeological interpretation and that it is the responsibility of archaeologists to address Indigenous history from the evidence provided by Indigenous peoples who have occupied the land since time immemorial.

According to McGhee, using non-Western viewpoints and values as sources for research is "theoretically unsound" (McGhee 2008: 598) and amounts to a severe case of cultural relativism that archaeology cannot tolerate. Since adding Indigenous viewpoints would "rob archaeologists of their dominant function and ability to interpret the past," he feels that Indigenous concerns should be dealt with under Aboriginal studies rather than archaeology (McGhee 2008:596). In my opinion, the general role of an archaeologist is misconstrued by scholars who claim that Indigenous archaeology is unrelated to archaeology and belongs to other disciplines. They contend that embracing Indigenous perspectives will taint the field of historical reconstruction; in contrast, this dissertation argues that archaeologists have the tools and authority to include these perspectives. However, Indigenous communities have their own culturally appropriate ways of understanding their own history and taking these into account can only enrich archaeological understandings of the past. Furthermore, Indigenous archaeology promotes active communication and cooperation among the many historical participants of which archaeologists are a part and guarantees that anthropologists treat the populations they work with respectfully. Scholars need to embrace the fact that Indigenous archaeology was developed in response to an extreme lack of sensitivity within archaeology to Indigenous concerns despite a heavy reliance on Indigenous lands and remains as evidence for research purposes.

McGhee (2008) is fair to caution against making assumptions about all Indigenous communities, even without Indigenous archaeology, because some people's beliefs contradict or even confront archaeological research. For example, despite evidence in the archaeological record suggesting that the Shushwap started using the semi-subterranean pit dwellings in the last 4000 years, the Shushwap believe they have always lived in them, and base their land claims and history on this fact. George Nicholas (1997:85) pointed out that Shushwap people have the right to create their history since it gives them land and a unified identity, even though Shushwap myths and history books contest scientific reality (Nicholas 2005:96). The idea is that archaeologists should always interview and record Indigenous people's side of the story as the truth rather than a biased colonial perspective. Indigenous people know more about the land where they have lived to build their cultural identity.

Some wonder if archaeology and Indigenous perspectives can ever really be merged since archaeology is distinctly a Western activity (Schmidt 1983:75), but I disagree with that view because even though we might get trained through the Western educational system, the perspective of practice and telling our story will differ from the Westerners. There is a repertoire of African sensibilities, needs and culture that can be addressed through archaeology. African archaeology by Africans requires a focus on research problems that have the potential to address important historical issues, and issues that challenge Western interpretations about the African past (Posnansky 1982). As an African archaeologist this is my responsibility, however, archaeologists ought to ethically think in Indigenous terms.

McNiven and Russell (2005) demonstrate that Indigenous people have the power to control and regulate their heritage, a position that most contemporary archaeologists do not acknowledge, but ideologically and philosophically support (McNiven and Russell 2005). I think that

archaeologists undertaking research on the Indigenous past cannot explain their findings accurately without involving the Indigenous people, because they will just be representing and speaking about their own experience, which will be contrary to the opinion of Indigenous people. I agree with the cogent words of McGhee (2008:580) "archaeologists should work in partnership with Indigenous peoples and be willing to consider multivocal methodologies that include traditional knowledge to reflect our shared concern for marginalized communities."

For Indigenous people, self-determination and revised definitions and practices of "protection" and ownership of cultural resources, heritage, histories, and integrity are likely to be the bottom line and should never be questioned. Decolonial theories lie in collaboration with communities - trying to use the lens of marginalized Indigenous people in interpreting results which will benefit discussions regarding agency and enable a view of agency in both the past and present (Murray 2004).

3.5 Methodology

Influenced by the theories outlined above, I have undertaken a comparison of Igbo and Inuit reactions to contact and colonialism that highlights Indigenous resilience. To do this, my methodology involved a critical review of the literature pertaining to the Igbo and Labrador Inuit, an artifact analysis of extant Igbo and Labrador Inuit artifacts and objects and the incorporation of personal interviews with Igbo and Labrador Inuit to record their perspectives about their own histories (Smith 1999).

3.5.1 Critical Indigenous Reading of Literature

Human beings, whether through instinct or acquisition, classify themselves based on certain social and physical patterns and in turn apply those classifications to others (Sauer 2015:22). The vast majority of archaeological research concerning the Igbo and Labrador Inuit has been written by white, colonial archaeologists. By reviewing key texts, I discovered the level of bias-influenced writings about the Indigenous past, applied directly or indirectly in archaeology. My findings are reported in Chapter Four of this dissertation. I searched the texts for negative language, tropes of decline and the use of traditional archaeological words, like "prehistory", which might refer to an archaeological time period, but ultimately deny and erase Indigenous histories. That label signifies alterity and the absence of history and its making of identity. For the Igbo, the Europeans labelled them as prehistoric because they did not accept the fundamental idea of a time before colonial history. Since Igbo existed before colonialism, and apparently, human evolution originated from Africa, can there be a prehistory? (Daniel 1962:10 in Schmidt and Marozowski 2013).

Furthermore, Indigenous people are still dealing with decolonizing their minds to heal from colonialism. We cannot change what happened, or what is written, but we can change how we interact with a system that is unable to incorporate Indigenous ideas. A critical review of key texts not only exposes archaeological bias, but ultimately promotes a better understanding of Indigenous cultures, challenges stigmas associated with Indigeneity, contributes to understanding the Indigenous identities and re-focuses research on the resilience of colonized communities as we continue to struggle for self-determination geopolitically and within academia.

3.5.2 Artifacts Collections

Archaeological and ethnographic objects from Igboland, Nigeria were shipped from the University of Nigeria Artifact Laboratory to the Labrador Archaeology Laboratory, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. My plan was to travel to Nigeria but the COVID-19 pandemic prevented travels within that time, therefore the Nigerian Museum and Monument Commission granted an artifact shipment permit for the Igbo objects to be shipped to Canada for analysis. This included objects of religious, political and social importance, which have been in use since the beginning of the contact era (from the 16th century) and can shed light on the ways that Igbo adjusted to an increasing European presence over time. The Igbo artifact collection was comprised of objects gathered from diverse Igbo communities within the Nsukka geopolitical zones collected by archaeologists, as well as ethnographic donations from community members. The University of Nigeria holds a substantial collection of artifacts but these objects were not cataloged nor analyzed. Therefore, I began my research by creating an online catalog using the Department of Archaeology, University of Nigeria museum database. I then selected ten different kinds of artifacts that I considered most relevant to my research questions to be shipped to Memorial University. I selected a broad range of objects that covered a long time period that I thought would best inform me about Igbo history and response to colonialism. These were materials used before Igbo people met Europeans and continued to be in use today. The curator at the University of Nigeria assembled my chosen artifacts and sent them to me through the post. On arrival, I took pictures of each object before removing them from the box. This was relevant because the Oji object stuck out of the box and the ceramic object broke while in transit. (see Figure 3.5.2a and 3.5.2b). The Igbo objects were dusty and wrapped in foam when they arrived. After removing the objects from the boxes, I took more pictures in order to demonstrate the current

state of each artifact. I then proceeded to reconstruct the ceramic and lightly clean each object to allow for clearer analysis. I conducted a 3D scan of the objects to help describe the shape in an accurate, digital, three-dimensional format and fragile particles of an object. These scans will now allow others to study the fragile objects which otherwise may have been sequestrated to ensure their preservation. Creating 3D copies of the artifacts will also enable future researchers to fully observe each artifact as they are able to rotate a model, slice it into any angle to produce a cross section, and obtain precise measurements of surface area, volume, and other features that may be difficult to measure manually. This method also involved labeling and highlighting important features to attach notes for virtual models particularly for presentations.

Figure 3.5.2a: Oji stuck out of the box.

Figure 3.5.2b: Broken Ceramic pot.

For analytical comparison, I analyzed artifacts from several Labrador Inuit site collections available to me in the Labrador Archaeology Laboratory at the Department of Archaeology, Memorial University. Just like my planned research travel to Nigeria to analyse the Igbo objects I had planned to go to Labrador to excavate, but due to COVID-19 pandemic the Nunatsiavut Government did not allow researchers into Labrador for that time. Inuit objects at Labrador Laboratory include objects excavated from : (1) the late sixteenth century collection from Snack

Cove (FfBe-3) drawn from the excavation of three separate sod-houses (Rankin et al. 2012); (2) the early seventeenth-mid eighteenth century collection from Huntingdon Island (FkBg-3) drawn from the excavation of four sod-houses and associated middens (Murphy 2011; Rankin 2014); (3) the early eighteenth century collection from Pigeon Cove (FiBf-06) (Rankin 2015) and, (4) the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century collections from Double Mer Point (GbBo-2) drawn from the excavation of three separate sod-houses and partial excavation of the middens (Bohms 2015; Jankunis 2019; Pouliot 2020; Rankin 2024). These sites are located in southern Labrador and represent Labrador Inuit who had increasing interactions with Europeans over time. The sites were occupied during different periods and an analysis of the material culture recovered from the various domestic winter sod-houses are used to shed light on the ways that Labrador Inuit adjusted to an increasing European presence over time. These collections were already cataloged, and most are represented by a few hundred items, although Double Mer Point is a much bigger collection, with several thousand artifacts. I also had access to digitized artifact distribution maps and site maps available at the laboratory. After reviewing the materials, I carefully selected specific objects from each site that were used by Inuit before European contact and continued to be in use today. These objects best told the Inuit history of contact with Europeans throughout that era, and reflected the ways that change and continuity in Inuit culture was a measure of cultural resilience.

While the Igbo and Labrador Inuit artifacts come from different cultural contexts and are not necessarily representative of the same site type or even period of occupation, an agent-centered analysis of this material is presented in Chapters Six and Chapter Seven that aims to shed light on the experiences of both cultures with European contact and colonialism, and which allowed me to reflect on the resilience of these Indigenous cultures by narrating their history.

3.5.3 Artifact Analysis: Cross-Comparative Approach

The aim of my archaeological analysis was ultimately to compare the material culture from both Igboland and Labrador that was used through the early colonial era, which ranges from objects of traditional manufacture that were used in the daily lives of the people–to those objects that were newly adopted from European trade and interaction, or something in the middle - which uses new European materials in part to manufacture artifacts of traditional use. Ultimately, I compared assemblages from Igbo and Inuit sites to determine the similar or different reasons for Indigenous resilience during colonial experience on Indigenous people. To centre these analyses, I drew on interviews with the Igbo and Inuit knowledge holders, which enhanced the ability to tell Indigenous histories from the objects.

3.5.4 Giving Voice: Interviews

I conducted interviews with sixteen Igbo and Inuit knowledge holders to infuse the research with Indigenous voices. Interviewees included Elders, knowledge holders, and youth. In order to undertake these interviews, I first obtained ethical clearance from Memorial University's Research Ethics Board. This was followed by research approval from the Nunatsiavut Government's Research Advisory Committee. Thus, the process included both institutional and Indigenous community approval for research and informed consent. This was particularly important in relation to the use of empirical qualitative data collection in my research as I had contact with knowledge holders of both Igbo and Labrador Inuit communities.

Ethical approval embodies the concepts of stewardship, professional responsibilities, and public education and outreach. Ethical statements of the Canadian Archaeological Association explicitly recognize the need to involve the Indigenous populations of Canada, as do those of the

World Archaeological Congress, which emphasize recognition of Indigenous peoples' rights and safeguarding their cultural legacy during archaeology. In the context of developing Indigenous archaeological methods, ethical considerations are imperative.

I interviewed a cross-section of people with diverse opinions and experiences concerning the effects of colonialism's impact on their communities. Interviews took place in person, by phone or through internet. Igbo and Inuit ethnography and other historical records were helpful to generate interview guiding questions to support the research goal such as:

1. What does being Indigenous mean to you?
2. What is Igbo/Inuit indigeneity about?
3. Is there Indigenous technological knowledge that is preserved throughout Igbo/Inuit generations?
4. Is there a particular story associated with Inuit traditional knowledge and ways of knowing that you can share?
5. Are there oral histories about the contact period transferred from generations to you?
6. How is traditional identity still preserved among younger generations for instance, lighting a lamp, prayers or rituals, dressing, fishing or other food gathering activities?
7. Is there language or specific words that erase Igbo/Inuit people and their forms of knowledge? Such as “discovered” or “prehistoric”?”
8. Do you think knowing about colonial contact and the Igbo/Inuit cultural resistance adds pride to your identity?
9. What do you think researchers in archaeology can do to ensure inclusion, equity and diversity for Indigenous people?
10. How would you like information about Indigenous resilience to be communicated to you?

At the end of each interview session, the interviewee went through their recorded words and approved it was correct. These interviews helped me to access perspectives about the past that are not documented in other ways and reflect the current opinion of Indigenous people. The interviews provide a much richer understanding of the relationship between the past and present cultures of the Inuit and Igbos and bring me closer to interpreting the past from an Indigenous

perspective. The interviews gave me insights on family structures and life courses, identity construction, and social processes such as leadership, daily life and cultural continuity. Interviews also allowed me to access information on how colonization attempted to restructure local culture and how people resisted these changes (Neilsen and Associates 2009). Importantly, it also helped me to understand how the Indigenous community feels about the narratives presented in contemporary archaeology, what they believe is missing from these narratives and ways to address this disparity. I would add that these Indigenous interviewees also exercised their right of being able to say how their history should be written and presented to the future generation.

Decolonizing methodologies have raised more awareness among academics - both Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike - about the opinions that have underlain the discipline of archaeology and its relationships with the Indigenous populations of the world (Smith 1999). The Western way of teaching continues to instill Western concepts of knowledge to non-Western people creating a situation where individuals without connections to materials are privileged over those with Indigenous backgrounds of understanding merely because seemingly "objective" ways of approaching research are viewed as somehow better than other ways of approaching research (Watkins and Nicholas 2014:147). However, when individuals from Indigenous backgrounds using Indigenous methods are exposed to Indigenous role models and ideas that expand upon Western concepts and integrate alternative means of understanding, the past can be discussed and brought to light (Watkins and Nicholas 2014:148).

3.6 Summary

The theories and methods I have used support strategies and perspectives influenced by Indigenous epistemologies (McGregor et al. 2018). These theories grew out of efforts by marginalized peoples

worldwide to challenge the imposition of archaeology on their lives and heritage. In a relatively short period, Indigenous archaeology has evolved into a distinct body of methods and theory(ies) to advance ethical and welcoming practices that will further broaden and revitalize the discipline, as well as fresh concepts that will expand the application of archaeology as a socially relevant, accountable, and fulfilling, yet still scientifically sound discipline (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007). Like me, a growing number of archaeologists now make concerted efforts to include Indigenous perspectives within archaeological practice and interpretation. While not all individuals who engage in Indigenous archaeology are themselves Indigenous, the rise in Indigenous people obtaining training in the field—both academic and experiential—is significant. We now have people prepared to combine Western scientific methodologies with Indigenous Knowledge about the natural world and humanity's place within it. Indeed, Indigenous concepts have become the accepted equitable way of knowing because everyone is Indigenous to a particular place.

CHAPTER FOUR

Critical Word Research

4.1 Introduction

Storytelling is powerful medicine. The protection and dissemination of narrative and poetics are integral to the future of Indigenous publishing (Lischke and McNab 2005). This chapter presents criticism of archaeological writing, and the historical literature which foregrounded the discipline, in ways that will help to shape Indigenous archaeology and history writing in the future. My objective is to create an understanding of protocol and style best suited for Indigenous interpretation. Indigenous storytelling comes from the ancestral past and present; the words used in representation influence how stories are received by readers based on their connotation. Connotations refer to an implied meaning that is associated with a word in addition to its literal meaning. This association can be cultural or emotional; for example, the word "stingy" promotes a negative image while "thrifty" might connote something far more positive. This also applies to negative connotations used when representing Indigenous people in literature. Literature helps form social stereotypes about Indigenous peoples, and when archaeologists choose to prioritize certain words and language it can erase Indigenous people and their forms of knowledge (Younging 2018). Furthermore, Indigenous people are still dealing with decolonizing their minds to heal from colonialism. We cannot change what happened, or what was written, but we can modify how we deal with a system that is hesitant to accept Indigenous perspectives. Below I critique some of the problematic words used in historical and archaeological contexts representing Indigenous people to challenge colonial stereotyping and suggest ways to counter this language.

In order to undertake a critical analysis of words in historical narratives and current archaeological literature, I reviewed extant publications on Igbo and Labrador Inuit history and archaeology to see how they represent Indigenous people. I was able to access much of the literature through the MUN e-library. The center for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies has a large volume of historical narratives concerning Indigenous people in North America. The MUN Archives and Special Collections, the Catherine Acholonu Igbo Research Center and the University of Nigeria e-library were also used. In all, I reviewed book chapters, articles, magazines, speeches, and podcasts (Table 4.1a). Selection of this literature was based on a search for both negative and positive words in literature associated with both Indigenous cultures.

Table 4.1a: List of Texts Reviewed (see Appendix 4).

Type of literature	**Number**	**Frequency of use of negative words**	**Age of publication** ***Historical–before 1990** ***Current–post 1990**
Books	23	13	Historical/Current
Articles	43	50	Historical/Current
Magazines/Blogs	5	4	Historical/Current
Presentation speeches/Picture label	6	2	Historical
Podcast	6	0	Current

Human beings, whether through instinct or acquisition, classify themselves based on certain social and physical patterns and in turn apply those classifications to others (Sauer

2015:22). The vast majority of archaeological research concerning the Igbo and Labrador Inuit has been written by white, colonial archaeologists. By reviewing key texts (Table 4.1b), I was able to determine how bias about the Indigenous past is applied in archaeology. I searched the texts for negative language, tropes of decline and the use of traditional archaeological words which might refer to an archaeological time period, but ultimately deny and erase Indigenous histories.

Table 4.1b List of Derogatory Words Fund and Range of Use in Narrative.

Derogatory word	Respectful word	Range of usage 100%
Discovery	Contact	70%
Uncivilized	Civilized	85%
Unspiritual	Spiritual	80%
Primitive	Cultured	95%
Slave	Enslaved person	95%
Eskimo	Inuit	80%
Obscene language	Indigenous language	70%
New world	Americas and Oceania	85%
Unclean	Clean	70%
Uneducated	Educated	95%
Misrepresented	Represented	90%

Prehistory	Early history	95%

Table 4.1b documents the most frequently used derogatory words I encountered using manual search engines to identify negative and positive inclusion and exclusion strategy. The range of use of negative terms is calculated as a simple percentage of total number of texts analysed across all 83 types of literature reviewed.

To readers, these words label and signify alterity, the absence of history, and portray Indigenous identity in a negative manner. These words expose colonial and archaeological bias, but I suggest that a critical review of this terminology can ultimately promote a better understanding of Indigenous cultures, challenge stigmas associated with Indigeneity, contribute to understanding the Indigenous identities and place the focus on the resilience of colonized communities as we continue to struggle for self-determination geopolitically and within academia.

4.2 Discovery

The presentation of Western history can be biased and cruelly selective in its representation of Indigenous people. Contact with new and strange groups has had a profound effect upon Indigenous peoples in all parts of the world. It may have been essential for the Western world to rewrite history in earlier periods to claim ownership by right of discovery, and perhaps because the Western world did not comprehend the concept of an Indigenous Nation, which was not defined by colonial powers in North America until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Indian Affairs Annual Report 1864-1990). However, out of 83 texts analyzed, I found 70 negative uses of the word “discovery” or “discovered.” The concept of discovery was used by colonial powers to gain

access and rights to lands already occupied by Indigenous populations and to claim those rights ahead of other colonial nations (Younging 2018).

Interestingly, as a child, I was taught that Mungo Park "discovered" River Niger in Igboland in 1795 during my history classes (Davidson 1956). As an archaeologist today, I know that people have lived in Igboland since AD 1500 (Opata and Eze-Uzoamaka 2012). Such literature written by colonizers always portrayed Igboland as discovered land rather than existing land.

A paper delivered to Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador on the unveiling of a statue of Gaspar Corte Real in St. John's on September 8, 1965 clearly demonstrates how colonial history can be selective and one-sided when premised on discovery. The paper, entitled *Portuguese Navigations in the North Atlantic in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* by A. Teixeira da Mota, discussed Corte Real's connection with Newfoundland in 1500 and 1501 (Murphy 1970:5) and like the statue (Figure 4.2a) celebrates the long-standing connection between Portugal and Newfoundland. The paper focused on the Portuguese "discovery" of this place, removing both ownership and agency from the original Indigenous inhabitants. For example – it stated that "some sixteenth-century documents indicate that João Vaz Cort Real and Alvaro martins Homem "discovered" Newfoundland in 1474" (Murphy 1970:15).

Figure 4.2a Statue of Corte Real at Prince Philip Drive, St. John’s, NL.

Figure 4.2b Plaque at the Corte Real's statue at Prince Philip Drive, St. John's, NL.

As part of his "discovery" Corte Real described the newly found country as covered with abundant forests, especially pine, suitable for shipbuilding and its waters well stored with fish of various kinds, especially the codfish (Murphy 1970: 7). The Indigenous people were described as numerous, tall and well built, living in wooden houses, clothing themselves in skins and furs, using swords made of stone and pointing their arrows with the same material (Murphy 1970:10). The same article also used the word "discovered" to describe the initial contacts between the Portuguese and the Indigenous people they encountered. This use of the term "discovery" is incorrect, as the Indigenous people were not lost. Rather, they inhabited this place, knew how to live in this place and built lives in this place for generations. Furthermore, in many narratives of "discovery" it is actually the Indigenous community that saves the lost Europeans who had no

connections to the places they claimed (Creery 1993). Finally, the paper fails to address any of Corte Real's failings, such as bringing enslaved people from the "new world" to Europe (though it is unknown if the enslaved people were the Indigenous people of Newfoundland and Labrador; [Murphy 1970]).

4.3 Uncivilized

The term uncivilized is generally used in historic literature to represent ancient populations and is sometimes interchanged with "primitive" (see 4.5). Out of 83 texts analyzed, I found 16 uses of the term "uncivilized." The question is – who is civilized, at what point do civilized people exist, and what constitutes civilization in archaeology? Civilization in archaeological contexts refers to something of a very specific age or period while in a historical context it refers to ancient population. For example, in an article about Igbo political systems, Lord Lugard (colonial master) described his agenda as a mission to civilize Africans - the author further interpreted this to mean an agenda to produce a colonial people, especially elites, who would be enamored of the ways of western people and desirous to imitate them (Njoku 2014).

Additionally, while colonial influenced policy and church policy tried hard to draw a line between the races or between "Christians and barbarians" in Africa, author Van Riebeeck held this to be the proper distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized" people. (Njoku 2014). One naturally wonders, who and what defined civilization as used in such a context? Is Europeanization the same thing as civilization? Western education and its attendant Christianity do not amount to actual civilization. Africa had educational systems and civilizations before the incursion of the colonial system.

In the book, *Civilization of American Indians*, Baron de Lahontan (1703:13) describes Indigenous people as "uncivilized" to distinguish them from Europeans (Baron de Lahontan 1703:13). It states: "Indigenous people (Carolinas, Virginia and northern New England) have scenes of wildlife and 'uncivilized' tribes" (Baron de Lahontan 1703:13). The author further explained what civilization meant to him and why he views Indigenous people as uncivilized. "Here, as one proceeds father from the frontiers of civilization, step by step the native cultures unfold themselves as though in retrospect, terminating among the Eskimo, whose contemporary existence represents in the act and thought the behaviors of man in an early new stone age" (Baron de Lahontan 1703:13). It is obvious that Europeans could not understand the sophistication evident in Inuit adaptation to life in a harsh environment (Creery 1993:10), so they termed them uncivilized in opposition to the European manner of "civilization", or way of life. It is evident from archaeological finds that long before any contact with Europeans, Inuit culture was sophisticated and highly connected to the landscape in which they resided. For example, Inuit constructed single-person kayaks from wood, antler and skins. Kayaks were smaller and much more accessible watercraft for individual travel and hunting and could be used in icy waters (Rankin and Crompton 2016b:385). Other Inuit technologies included sleds pulled by dogs, and bows and arrows for hunting, knives, and distinct outerwear made from seal skins, caribou hides and even bird skins (Rankin and Crompton 2016b). They developed a way of life that was as rich as any other (McGhee 2000). In truth, civilization is not to be equated with specific tools and technologies, but rather it is about people living in a civilized fashion with one another, in their land and with all the living things in harmony and in gratitude for their being (Younging 2018).

4.4 Unspiritual

Spirituality permeates the lives of Indigenous people. The Indigenous person connects their spirituality to their land. It is a spiritual place for the Indigenous occupants, just like the cathedral is to the Europeans and is ordinarily free from problems and stresses of the community. Therefore, articles that present an Indigenous person's religious practice as unspiritual because they do not ascribe to the superiority of the Christian God are invariably separating them from their lands. Out of 83 texts analyzed, I found 30 sentences describing Indigenous religion as unspiritual. In traditional Igbo society, the practice of religion was non-institutional and intrinsically woven into society's communal way of life. The Igbo people accept that a supreme spirit known as Chukwu exists and the fear of this spirit builds their faith in the Spirit. They believe that ancestors (ndi ichie) intercede before Chukwu and plead for humankind's cause. Ancestors are the link between the known and unknown, between earth and beyond. The ancestors are constantly active in the daily human affairs of their families and clans. Culture for Africans, especially the Igbo, is that arena where history and achievement combine to give existence (Achebe 2012:21). Thus, African traditional religion (ígo nmuo) still stands as a reliable means of religious worship for the Igbo despite colonial Christianity. In an Igbo setting, the man has his shrine in his compound where he communes with his God. In the case of a man, he communes through his ancestors by building a shrine in the name of his ancestor (ígwiyinna) while the women install their shrine, which represents her ancestors, behind her kitchen (ónu okike). The significance of a woman carrying her shrine to her marital home and communicating to God using her maiden name recognizes the status of gender equity in the Igbo pre-colonial era.

Generally, every family has a unified intercessor they pray through in communion. “Nmuo” shrines are decorated with clothes of different colours to signify the cause for celebration

and ceramic are used to make smoke for purification and invoke the spirit. The process includes buying kola nut (óji), cock, yam, and pieces of clothes to represent the intentions to be prayed. The white cloth represents peace, the red represents fight or defence, the black represents protection from the enemy, and the green represents dispute resolution. In the shrine, the father, who is the priest, invites his family and friends in a decorum state, holding the kola nut "óji ibe ano 'akamgha' or óji ibe ato 'ikenga", then begins to praise and sing worship to God through incantation and striking of a bell (ojih) to invoke the spirits and presenting the petition for the day. The priest pours the palm wine and blood (using a calabash) of the animal killed at the shrine before it is prepared to be consumed by the family (Onah. 2022:44). The animal skull and feathers are left at the shrine to remind everyone that the petition is sealed with God and is expected to be carried out. Like Igbo, every Indigenous group has a practice of traditional religion that is equal to the Christianity brought by colonizers, and colonizers trying to convince the colonized that their manner of communicating with God is evil is an act of misrepresentation.

Western anthropological and historical literature often present Igbo religious practices as unspiritual. For example, Rev. Fathers Walsh and Howell in the seventeenth century discussed the religious initiation ceremony of the Iwa-Akwa festival in Agbaghara-Nsu, a community in Igboland, in a negative manner (Anyanwu 2015: 22). They viewed the Iwa-akwa as an act of paganism. That ruse, of course, connoted virtue and piety, and freed the colonizers from respecting and undergoing that rite of passage.

Those missionaries significantly changed the conduct of the Iwa-akwa festival in the first decades of the twentieth century (Anyanwu 2015:25). However, the changes brought about by early Christianity might be considered conservative compared to events of the 1980s when "New

Generational Churches" sprouted in the region. During this period the Iwa-akwa was almost completely devalued (Anyanwu 2015).

Colonizers came to Africa with a preconceived idea of the superiority of race, religion, and their country's customs and institutions. They encouraged the colonized to convert to Christianity and abandoned their own religious traditions, in hopes that they would be less Indigenous as they became more Christian.

In the early histories written by colonizers, Inuit are also described as unspiritual. In the 1700s, Baron de Lahontan portrayed the Inuit to be "unreligious" – "but in how far this condition is true of their religious life, I propose to show in this study the varied aspects of their religious life which appear in native cosmology, in quasi-scientific superstitions, in theories of animal spirit conquest and self or soul mastery, in control by thought, wish-force, miracle performs no small part of religious system." (Baron de Lahontan 1703:13). He goes on to describe Inuit as "Eskimos" who use shamanism, nature transformations and magic principles as if these beliefs and traditions were failings (Baron de Lahontan 1703:53). However, Inuit culture was overtly spiritual, taking inspiration from the sea. The most important being in their cosmology was a goddess, variously named "Sedna", "Taleelayo" or "Nuliajuk" in different regions, which lived at the bottom of the sea (Creery 1993:30). Inuit themselves did not question their faith which helped them to exist in a world they felt to be beset by natural and supernatural forces they could not control (Creery 1993:31). The Igloolik Shaman Aua once said "we do not believe, we fear" (Creery 1993:31). In fact, they believed that their world was populated by spirits just like any other Indigenous group who live among their ancestors. These spirits could only be meditated or invoked through the practice of a religion connected to the land. For the Inuit, this spiritual world was mediated by shamans. The shamans training was usually long and rigorous, involving a period of exposure to

cold, fasting and privation in order to develop mystical powers (Kaplan 1983:106). Through shamanic religious practice, they interpreted the natural world, cured sickness and advised on hunting problems aided by a variety of mystical activity (Creery 1993:31).

Baron de Lahontan (1703:76) described the Inuit religion as superstition "profaning certain bones of elk, beaver and other beasts of letting dogs gnaw," and described Inuit belief in placating a slain animal's spirit. Rather than recognize this as a religious belief, the author is concerned that this activity is a fetish which is connected to magic.

Early Western narratives seem unable to accept that Indigenous communities had their own religions, founded in their culture, experience and in natural law tied to the land (Creery 1993:30).

4.5 Primitive

The idea that Indigenous people are primitive is still prevalent in recent works (Younging 2018). Out of 83 texts analyzed, the term "primitive" was used 42 times. For example, Ohadike (1996:17) notes that Achebe's classic 1958 book *Things Fall Apart* (1958) describes how Western observers argued that the Igbo knowledge was primitive, forgetting that the methods other societies adopted were equally primitive. Baron de Lahontan (1703:32), characterized Inuit as "the most dreaded of all algonquians." However, he wrongly designated Inuit is Algonquian (a First Nations language group that includes the Innu, Mi'kmaq, Cree etc.). It seems clear that neither Europeans, nor early archaeologists understood the sophisticated nature of Inuit lifeways and adaptations to life in their environment (which predate contact with Europeans). As McGhee (2008) states, Inuit had attained a high level of development relative to other world cultures.

4.6 Slave or Enslaved person

Slavery and enslavement are both the state and condition of being a slave. The question is the context in which the word was used and who is regarded as a slave. Currently, the word slave is considered dehumanizing towards people subjected to slavery because most people that were called slaves in the past were obviously enslaved. Out of 83 texts analyzed, the term "slave/slaves" was used 67 times.

Some of these references refer to enslavement in ancient Igboland, no doubt to suggest, negatively, that Africans enslaved people before Europeans arrived. It is true that in olden times when an Igbo man had so many children and could not provide for all of them, the most stubborn one would be given up in exchange for anything that could provide resources for others, but whatever the case was, these children were not told that they had been sold. Their parents would ask them to help their family friends convey their goods to the market. These children were pampered until they got to an exchange market where they were asked to look after a few worthless commodities. Then the slave dealers, mostly Aro people, would pretend that they were pricing those goods when they were surveying the children to negotiate prices secretly with their families; once the price was fixed, the traders received those commodities and disappeared with the kids (Isichei 1978, Igbo Oral tradition). Now, one wonders why a rational African would agree to trade human beings for mere European goods. It was only practiced in an oppressive situation that might be classified as duress or undue influence.

The use of such words continued into more recent literature on Igbo archaeology, where discussions of the Osu-caste system is used to provide evidence of identity policing among people regarded as slaves in Igboland. The Osu-caste terminology is derived from an ancient form of slave trading system, but over generations of use, families of this caste continue to be referred to as

slaves (Abia et al. 2021). However, people are finally recognizing that these references are painful. Some have even sought opinions from the court, believing that the terminology discriminates against their human rights and the rights of their communities Therefore, it is important for archaeologists to stop using such terms in their interpretations and to fairly represent people as enslaved. African-American archaeologists have used "enslaved" as opposed to "slaves" in their research writings (Odewale and Hardy 2019; Franklin et al. 2020) since the analysis from Levi Jordan plantation demonstrated that tangible expressions of West African culture survived spirituality and the community resisted bound labor (Samford 1996:88).

I found no references to "slaves" in the writings concerning Inuit in Labrador. However, there are suggestions that Europeans enslaved Inuit and took them to Europe (Stopp 2009:48; Taylor 1983:6).

4.7 Eskimo/Paleoeskimo

In past literature, Inuit were generally referred to as "Eskimo" (or "Paleoeskimo" for Pre-Inuit). Out of 83, I found 97 references to the term "Eskimo" or "Paleoeskimo." Inuit have never used "Eskimo" to self-identify, and the term may actually derive from an Algonkian word meaning "he eats it raw" (Creery 1993:10). Arctic people have different ways of identifying themselves: they know themselves as Yupit and Iupiat in Alaska, Inuvialuit in Canada's western Arctic, Inuit in Baffin Island, the central Arctic and Labrador, and Kalaallit in Greenland. In recent years they have chosen to be known generally by the term "Inuit," meaning "the people" in the Inuktitut language (Creery 1993:10).

In 1935, the Beaver published the article *Whence Came the Eskimo*? by Douglas Leechman (Beaver 1935). The author described different types of "Eskimo" depending on the animal remains

found at their sites, the tools and weapons of hunting, their houses, their graves and even the skeletons of their dead. Some he described as the "Caribou Eskimo," who he said hunted fish, seals and whales, but depended on caribou and fish for survival. This type of description does not identify any recognized population of Inuit but lumps these Indigenous people as "Eskimos." Furthermore, it divides these people further based on their choice of food. Leachman (1935:41) concludes his article with further negative tropes, claiming that "by studying the materials obtained, he knows the primitive people" (Leechman 1935:41). In archaeological interpretation, Indigenous people have the right to be addressed and represented as they identify and without bias. It is therefore incumbent on archaeologists to consult with Indigenous communities to ensure that proper terminology is used.

Additionally, the term "Paleoeskimo" was commonly used to refer to the people who inhabited the Arctic before the "Thule" (who were the direct ancestors of the Inuit.) This term is derogatory not only because of the use of Eskimo, but because those referred to as "Paleoeskimos" were not direct ancestors to the Inuit, but are again lumped into a general category of indistinct Arctic people. The term "Thule" may also be considered problematic as it stems from a Northern European romanticism that seems largely irrelevant to the Inuit past (Whitridge 2016:822).

Very recently, and perhaps because of the increasing numbers of Inuit engaged in archaeology, there have been challenges to the use of both Paleoeskimo and Thule to describe the ancient people of the Arctic, and archaeologists now more commonly use Pre-Inuit and Inuit to properly refer to the people.

4.8 Language

Language is a vital component of Indigenous identity in every community, and it is essential to properly understand history from an Indigenous perspective. Indigenous languages are part of our very existence and connect us to our lands. In other words, the history of a people is in their language. While some articles celebrated the substantial use of Indigenous language among the users, others criticized it; out of eighty-three texts analyzed, I found 53 negative discussions of Igbo and Inuit Indigenous languages. For example, non-speakers of Igbo language pronounce "Igbo" as "Ibo" because the sound "gb" is pronounced as a "gbh" in Igbo alphabet and consequently the Igbophonetics. Therefore, non-Igbo speakers frequently use an incorrect spelling which does not reflect the Igbo language (Talbot 1926 and Arinze 1970).

In the article, *Four Skraeling Words from Markland* (NL) (the saga of Erik the Red)," Thalbitzer (1913:88) described the "Eskimo" language phonetics as naturally very different from that of the old Icelanders – many of its sounds could not be produced. As a result of the European inability to replicate Indigenous languages, the colonizers frequently renamed places according to Western phonetics, or gave entirely new names, replacing Indigenous place names that had meanings and histories among Indigenous people.

In an Indigenous language, all names have a deictic or mono referential function. These mono referential names apply to places in their language; this important function of place names means that they are an essential linguistic tool (Helleland 2002:2). Place names are therefore of social and cultural importance; they identify geographic entities and represent irreplaceable cultural values of vital significance to people's sense of wellbeing and feeling at home (Whitridge 2004:220). Yet, Western place-naming was one of the first colonial acts to separate Indigenous communities from their history and it is Western names that continue to dominate geographies and

are used in contemporary archaeological narratives. It seems unlikely that Inuit used "Labrador" for their homeland prior to the imposition of this name by the Portuguese. New Western toponymies lack significance to Indigenous populations and demonstrate the ongoing significance of colonialism – one which archaeology could counter through the re-introduction of Indigenous naming traditions. This would further support the survival of Indigenous languages, support Indigenous knowledge holders, and increase the variety of Indigenous perspectives on the past of that area to narrate the past as lived Indigenous history (De la Cadena 2015).

4.9 New World

The term "New World" is adopted by archaeologists, which prioritizes the western perspective of finding new land. It holds no connotations that the land was occupied by Indigenous people for thousands of years and has its own history. Rather, it suggests that this land was empty and was something to be possessed by western cultures. Out of 83 texts analyzed, I found 30 references to the term "New World."

In the article; *Vikings and Red Paint People* (Johnson 1972:34), the introduction reads: "To persons with interest in Canadian history, the province of Newfoundland can contribute a wealth of material and important events, it was here that early explorers first set foot on the 'New World' and this Island became a vital stepping stone for the great chain of Canadian events which was to follow." Another paragraph explains that the adventurous spirit of the Vikings carried them far and wide, and their fierce reputation allegedly resulted in many who had heard of their exploits to include in this prayer – "Lord deliver us from the Norse-men." Lief the Lucky, son of Eric the Red, is believed to have been the first of these adventurers and the first known white man to set foot on the "New World" (Johnson 1972:34). In this manner, the article suggests that nothing

significant happened in Newfoundland prior to the arrival of the Norse. The widespread use of "New World" confirms the colonial heritage of the archaeological discipline which relies on the separation of Western and Indigenous cultures to narrate history (Fehr: 2005:163; Hamilton 2005:198).

4.10 Unclean

It is morally wrong to describe a particular group as unclean without proper investigation to support your claim. However, out of 83 texts analyzed, 6 described Indigenous people as unclean. In "Ritual Dirt and Purification Rites among the Igbo" the author described some aspects of Igbo rituals to be unclean (Ikenga-Metuh 1985:9). Similarly, in *Notice of the Aborigines of Newfoundland* (Beete 1846:114), the author stated that "from all the information he procured in Newfoundland in 1839 and 1840, he believed the aborigines of that country to be despised for their dirty habits but was received by the mountaineers of Labrador and incorporated into their tribes" (Ikenga-Metuh 1985). In this context, I believe the author chose to describe the character of the people in Indigenous communities of Newfoundland at that time in a negative manner. This unclean description is contrary to the letters written by voyager Randel Holmes in 1887 to his mother describing the Newfoundland and Labrador communities to be lovely as the smells of fish are not as bad as he expected. (see Appendix 1 and 2).

Furthermore, the article *Newfoundland, the Land of Caribou* (Banner, Russell, Manitoba 1906:2), describes Inuit of Labrador as hardy hunters who like nothing better than "roughing the Caribou." This is offensive because hunting and eating caribou is a social, cultural and ritual practice, not an unclean habit as portrayed in the article. Caribou are an important source for food for the community. The hunt itself brings people together, and to socialize, to share, learn traditions

of a community, and meet with other people from distant communities (Rankin 2024). Simply put, caribou hunting and eating is not unclean, it is culture. Deeming Indigenous culture unclean – though most frequent in early narratives – was used to discriminate against Igbo and Inuit people and their knowledge. It made them look inferior and childlike to colonial cultures who needed to teach them how to behave. The references themselves are not only baseless and insulting, but ultimately indicate the poor understanding that Western authors had of Indigenous cultures.

4.11 Uneducated

Many societies outside the Western world have complex methods of history-making and documentation, including epic arts and the use of physical and mental mnemonic devices as means of communication. Indigenous communities developed ways of knowledge transfer and training before contact with colonizers. However, some articles refer to Indigenous methods of education as informal because it was not literary (Nzegwu 1995:450). From the 83 texts analyzed, I found 51 sentences describing Igbo and Inuit as "uneducated." This portrayal is unfounded, and does not recognize the significance of Indigenous knowledge, and is used to suggest that Indigenous nations are undeveloped and lack industry. Because colonial education was not rooted in African culture it could not foster any meaningful development within the African environment because it had no organic linkage to the system. Colonial education was essentially literary; it had no technological base and therefore antithetical to real or industrial development (Onah 2013). Pre-colonial Igbo society relied on oral traditions and apprenticed experience in order to pass on Indigenous technological knowledge about production and reproduction, and could be used to increase Indigenous industrialization when necessary, but colonial education did not recognize and promote that as part of their curriculum (Onah 2013). The poor technological base of most contemporary

African states has been partially responsible for their underdevelopment and stems from their poor foundation of education laid out by the colonialists who did not know the right thing to teach us about what we need or what we want; instead, they taught us what they knew and not what the colonized needed to channel their creative energies (Achebe 2012:40*).* At the same time, the imposition of colonial education distorted traditional ways of knowledge transfer which are now being lost.

Thus, the introduction of colonial education made Africans abandon their Indigenous technological skills, their manner of history telling and education in preference to one which emphasizes reading and writing, now labelled "formal education." It is necessary to acknowledge that despite this marginalization, the Igbo in Africa developed the Igbaboi (a master and apprentice training system) in ancient times as a formal education in business. Archaeology has clearly demonstrated that iron smelting was a popular venue for the Igbaboi–apprenticeship (Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021). However, people trained in that system were described in text "as to be Igbotic – which is to be uncouth, "primitive" and "uneducated" (Ogbonna 2016:61). Ogbonna, the author of *Killing the Golden Geese: Wars Against Igbo* (2016), went further to use the same word to support his claim that every Igbo person wants to impress with the English language, stating that "Even the uneducated among the Igbos are equally guilty" (Ogbonna 2016:68). Also, the Igbo women were described in another text to be "economically disadvantaged 'uneducated' sisters [to] retain a stronger sense of their identity, and a greater degree of control over their lives" (Nzegwu 1995:451).

For too long, Indigenous epistemologies of education have been denied recognition and respect. Both Igbo and Inuit students have been forced to master European languages and epistemologies to gain access to the valuable credentials that guarantee employment and increased

income in market economies (Rasmussen 2009). Archaeological evidence demonstrates that Inuit knowledge is embedded in their cultural dynamics, which long predate European education systems. For example, the miniature artifacts that are often found on Inuit archaeological sites are typically interpreted as being children's toys, but making toys reflects the process of youth learning the proper way to make Inuit items (Hardenberg 2009:57). This is similar to an apprentice learning to make the tools of their trade.

It is important to note that contemporary Inuit who continue to be placed in the colonial education system are struggling to learn the ways of their ancestors in the classroom because their life is documented with rich and resonating oral tradition (see Chapter Five). Myths and legends, songs, parables and hunting narratives were all forms of education to Inuit and helped them to survive and thrive in their culture (Creery 1993:31).

4.12 Representation

Elizabeth Isichei, a Nigerian author, described her part of Igboland, and wrote that Igbo people were called “Owaofia wapulu ezi” during colonial times, meaning people who travelled into distant lands. The Igbo people were long-distance traders, dealing in such commodities as enslaved people, ufie (a red substance people rubbed on their skins), livestock, salt, iron implements and, later, palm produce (Isichei 1978). Her words represented Igbo in a positive light: as industrious, worldly and innovative. In contrast, colonizers consistently present Igbo culture negatively. Out of 83 texts analyzed, I found 82 mis-representations of Igbo and Inuit people.

Colonial powers used these negative representations of Igbo people to justify administrative policies that were aimed at subjecting the populace to economic, political, and social exploitation. The first such policy was birthed at the Berlin Conference on February 26th,

1885 and included the declaration of territories by European powers by virtue of “effective occupation and spheres of influence” (Bragg 2013). The final Act of the Berlin Conference assigned the spatial areas of the African continent to the European powers, which exercised cultural, military, economic, and political hegemony over them because Africans do not travel (in their words). However, the colonial system came into being because people in western Europe, holding specific ideas in matters of religion, social policy, politics and economics, came into contact with African peoples holding different ideas and living under a different system they did not understand. When colonization thrived, we became nothing but strangers in our lands (Berlin Conference Act 1885). By continuing to misrepresent Indigenous people in archaeological narratives, the disciple ensures the continued exploitation of Africans.

In a similar fashion, the Moravian land grant in Northern Labrador took control of Inuit lands. Moravians secured this sizable land grant in 1769 and formed a permanent Labrador mission in Nain in 1771 (Rollmann 2013). According to the agreement, the Unitas Fratrum and the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG), a missionary group of the British Moravians, were permitted by the British government to inhabit and hold 100,000 acres of property from “Esquimaux Bay” “at His Majesty's pleasure” (Williamson 1964). They established mission stations across this land. Each station had a church, a trading store run by the missionaries, a community home for living, and other outbuildings. The proceeds from the trading business served to pay for some of the mission's expenses. The missionaries maintained a graveyard and gardens. Inuit needed to live close to the mission to maintain convenience and tolerance in Inuit territory (Williamson 1964).

4.13 Prehistory

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the concept of prehistory was exported by colonialism to distant parts of the globe and applied to populations lacking "written" records (Schmidt & Mrozowski 2013). From the 83 texts analyzed, I found 98 references to the term "Prehistory". Prehistory, in some contexts, came to represent people still living on the land who lacked the trappings of Western civilization, including its primary index, literacy. Apparently, the term was first used to describe a class consciousness by Gustave d'Echithal in a paper titled *Études sur l'histoire primitive des races océanniennes et américaines* (Study of the primitive history of Oceanic and American races), which he presented to the Societé Ethnologique de Paris in 1843 (Macdonald 2021:91). From that point, as archaeology developed into a systematic study, "Prehistory and Prehistoric" became key terms within the discipline's discourse.

Nevertheless, many societies outside the Western world had developed complex methods of history-making and documentation, including artworks and the use of physical and mental mnemonic devices (see Chapter Six). Even so, the deeply ingrained concept of prehistory entrenched in European minds up to the beginning of the twenty-first century continues to deny history, historical identity, and Indigenous methods of history-making to peoples throughout the world (Younging 2018).

For the Igbo, Europeans deemed them to be prehistoric because they did not accept the fundamental idea of a time before colonial history. But Igbo existed before colonialism, and their history is ancient.

The book, *The Death of Prehistory* by notable archaeologists of the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Asia, edited by Schmidt and Mrozowski (2013) provides classic examples of how the concept of prehistory has diminished histories of other cultures outside the West. It explains that

as the Native American historian travels into the past, the usual markers of historiography fade away. Written documentation, in particular, goes quickly. Historical archaeologists have demonstrated that the data provided by archaeology differs fundamentally from the texts used by a traditional historian. Archaeological data provides a partial record of what has been made and used rather than what humans have believed and what actions they have taken. As a result, even if the goals of history remained the same, the techniques and outcomes of historical research based solely on written records and archaeological data would be significantly different. For this reason, the renowned Scottish archaeologist Daniel Wilson distinguished the study of the preliterate human past from history in 1851 by labelling it "prehistory" (Trigger 1993:416). But this classification has wrongly represented Indigenous cultures.

Instead, we should acknowledge ancient pre-literate histories as a crucial component of the progression of human history. If this is the starting point, archaeologists might recover more inclusive histories written in the idiom of deep histories (Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013). It is contradictory to say Africa is prehistoric when the evolution of humans can be traced to Africa. Even in Newfoundland and Labrador the archaeological sites contain deeply stratified layers of artifacts at living sites that indicate communities have long and rich histories dating back thousands of years (Tuck 1975b:7). With such a deep history how can we consider these people to be prehistoric?

The terms "prehistory" and "prehistoric" are used in Igbo archaeological narratives because the writers continue to uphold the colonial academic meaning in archaeology or because of an intentional academic bias – and the use of the term continues into late 20th century publications by African authors: in 1980, Nwanna Nzewunwa titled his book *The Niger Delta Aspect of Prehistoric Economy and Culture.* Similarly, in 1992, Vincent Chikwendu and in 1975, Afigbo Adiele used

the word "prehistoric" to describe the early phase of archaeological technology and economic expansion in Igboland. Notably, these professors were Igbo but had Western training in archaeological interpretation that was transferred through their teaching practices. For example, Abi Derefaka and Frederick Anozie were trained by Nwanna Nzewunwa, who is regarded as the Nigerian father of African archaeology - they portrayed the same language in their books titled *Economic and Cultural Prehistory in the Niger Delta* (Derefaka and Anozie 2002), and "Prehistory in the Izon of Niger Delta" (Derefaka and Okoroafor 2009). In *The lower Niger Bronzes-Beyond Igbo-ukwu, Ife and Benin*, Philip Peek (2020) used the word "prehistory" throughout, and V.E. Chikwendu (1992) provides an excellent overview of southeastern Nigerian "prehistory," including a review of the local ore sources for the Igbo-Ukwu treasures. The former work provides an overview of past works in Igbo archaeology – yet continues to use the Western classification (Peek 2020). Even journalists like Ikenna Emewu (SUN magazine:2017) constantly made use of the word "Prehistoric" in naming archaeological sites in Igboland. For example, "The scientist and culture icon excavated and wrote reports on Ugwuagu Rock Shelter, Afikpo, Ugwuogu abandoned village. Ugwuele-Uturu Okigwe 'prehistoric' site and Ogbodu-Aba, Isi-Uzo LGA. of Enugu State (Emewu 2017)." When a term is so ingrained how do we eliminate it from use?

The term "prehistoric" has been regularly used in Newfoundland and Labrador narratives and is still in use by current writers, where it also undervalues Indigenous history.

Beginning in the mid-20th century, *An Archaeological Survey in the Strait of Belle Isle Area* by Elmer Harp, Jr. used the word "prehistoric" to describe the age of "Eskimos" (Harp 1976:120). For example, "further major unsolved problems in the 'prehistory' of the northwest concern the possibilities of contact between Indian and Eskimo." This is a foundational work in Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology, written before most people considered the implications of language in

the discipline – yet it does exactly what it was meant to – establish Western authority over Indigenous history by othering the Indigenous past from the Indigenous people living in Newfoundland and Labrador today.

In 1975, Dr. James Tuck wrote an updated summary of archaeology in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. *A Current Summary of Newfoundland Prehistory* uses the derogatory term "prehistoric" throughout its narrative of the history of human occupation in Newfoundland and Labrador (Tuck 1975a). Tuck even uses "prehistoric" to describe Inuit adaptations to the Saglek region of Labrador (Tuck 1975a:7), which runs counter to the traditional archaeological use of "prehistoric" because the Inuit occupied Saglek during the historic era (Tuck 1975a:263).

Prehistory of Newfoundland Hunter-gatherers: Extinctions or Adaptations? by M.A.P Renouf, (1999) discusses a series of Indigenous cultures, beginning with the Maritime Archaic "Indians" (c. 4500-3200BP), followed by the Groswater "palaeoeskimos" (c. 2800-1900BP), Dorset "palaeoeskimos" (c. 2000-1200BP), Recent "Indians" (c. 2000-300BP) and ending with the Beothuk "Indians" (European contact to AD 1829). The discontinuities in the archaeological record are interpreted as population shifts rather than extinctions. Given that the article strives to demonstrate continuities, the term "prehistoric" is not only derisive, it can be construed as incorrect as she suggests links between older archaeological cultures and contemporary ones. The article also used other terms that are now considered offensive and racist such as "Indians" and "Paleoeskimos". It is now preferable to use First Nations to replace "Indians" and Paleo-Inuit to represent "Paleoeskimos" (Hodgetts and Wells 2016). In "A Short History of Newfoundland and Labrador," the chapter "Native Peoples from the Ice Age to the Extinction of the Beothuk" by Lisa Rankin continues to use similar terms as recently as 2008 (Rankin 2008:5).

However, there is some indication that things are changing. In the recent publication *Archaeology of the Atlantic Northeast* the authors provided an archaeological history of Atlantic Northeast culture as we see it today – presenting archaeological data and interpretation to be history as the author understood it "from their Western perspective and innate world view" (Betts and Hrynick 2021:4). This is the first comprehensive book on archaeological history that acknowledged and aimed to be open about archaeologists' inherent biases and limitations. Hence, it will serve as a sounding board and reference for those writing their histories from their viewpoints (Betts and Hrynick 2021:4, Neilsen 2022).

It appalls me that a term that was coined through colonialism is what historians are still using today, and many times its use runs counter to archaeological explanations of the term. Indigenous archaeology can only move forward if we eliminate this term and demonstrate the connections of the deep past to present day Indigenous societies (Atalay 2012; Nicholas 2008a). This will enable Indigenous knowledge of their own history to be better incorporated into the narrative of the past and allow Indigenous people to reclaim and decolonize representation of their history (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:229).

4.14 Recent Changes in the Use of Derogatory Terms in Archaeology

While these derogatory and colonial languages exist, some archaeologists are trying to change things. Mazel Macdonald wrote an article on the use of "prehistory" or "prehistoric" in archaeology to avoid devaluing a historical narrative of communities. The article referred to the term as not just a convention in archaeology but a necessity to unpick what they continue to signify and call all human stories "histories" in archaeology (Macdonald 2021:91).

Lisa Hodgetts and Patricia Wells (2016) wrote an article on how the continued use of any term incorporating "Eskimo" potentially harms the relationship between archaeologists and the Inuit communities. They suggested that it is possible to avoid words like "Paleo-Eskimo" and use words like "Dorset" to refer to archaeological cultures or "Paleo-Inuit" as a substitute for "Paleoskimo," which reflects the ICC resolution (Hodgetts and Wells 2016: III). In tracing the use of derogatory words in archaeological literature from seven years ago, it is notable to see authors use "Paleo-Inuit" in several publications. For example, Friesen and Mason 2016, Landry et al. 2016, Seersholm et al. 2016, and so many authors are changing terms to avoid a confusing proliferation of terms (Hodgetts and Wells 2016: III).

While I did not encounter the use of "Thule" to represent the Inuit frequently, it is important to draw from Peter Whitridge's article – *Classic Thule [Pre-contact Inuit]* that the term "Thule" has a problematic distinct regional usage which came from a Northern European romanticism that seems largely irrelevant to the Inuit past. Thus, "precontact" Inuit is preferred to "Thule contact" which archaeologists might channel to Western Scientific Chauvinism (Whitridge 2016:822).

4.15 Summary

This chapter has examined terminology used in historical and archaeological writing to demonstrate the ways that language has been used to colonize Indigenous people. By examining how these words have been used we can see not only how colonialism was justified but how the discipline of archaeology is rooted in the colonial process. By viewing Indigenous communities as uncivilized, unclean, and uneducated, Western nations justified land theft and oppressed Indigenous people under colonial policies which depleted resources and separated Indigenous cultures from their long-held traditions. Perhaps colonizers saw the global expansion of

Christianity as a great "civilizing" mission when they described Indigenous people as "unspiritual" and subjugated their Indigenous religious values. During the early colonial period, Europeans were blind to the equality of humanity and cultural legitimacy of oppressed peoples (Zimmerman and Conkey 2024). As we see in the historical texts, Westerners coined words that were loaded with supremacist meanings: History = European, civilized, literate, and superior, while Prehistory = Dark-skinned, primitive, illiterate, and inferior. Although archives and libraries may still maintain the use of these terms in their collections because it represents the historical time in which the records were created, it is interesting to note that terminology and the harms it causes are now being recognized. Even Google Search marks the word "slaves" as inhumane and derogatory.

Unfortunately, even in the 21st century, many archaeological professionals still use terms steeped in colonialism decades after they were first used and stripped of their original connotations. For example, as recently as 2019, the terms "prehistory" and "prehistoric," excluding in-text quotations, references, and conference titles, appeared seventy-five times in the text of Adrien Delmas and Paloma de la Peña's (eds) publication about the history of South African archaeology. The usage of these phrases may serve as cues for some readers who may then draw on "assumptions and expectations to construct that are not intended, given that remnants of colonial ideological meanings are still present in larger society" (Macdonald 2021:91). It is time for this to change. Archaeologists should do better and acknowledge the harm of their terminology in their current geographical and socio-cultural context. The challenge is that terminology could be at risk of being considered neutral, common-sense conventions – the way we habitually communicate and distinguish between concepts without acknowledging the cultural hegemony of those who conceive them (Gramsci 1971 in Macdonald 2021:92).

CHAPTER FIVE

Igbo and Inuit Voices

5.1 Introduction

According to oral history, some of the objects I analyse in Chapters Six and Chapter Seven were used, produced, or known about in recent times. In this chapter, however, I focus on the traditional history associated with Indigeneity, the significance of telling this history from Indigenous perspectives and, to a certain extent, the relationship between Indigenous history, archaeology and the objects archaeologists recover. The proactive participation and consultation of Indigenous peoples in archaeological research is essential and entails finding ways to create counter-discourse that speaks back to the power of a colonialist interpretation of the past (Atalay 2006:294; Nicholas 2008a: 1660).

In attempting to do this, I conducted interviews with Igbo and Inuit Elders and Knowledge Holders to hear a personal perspective of their Indigeneity, their past, and to record accurately how they want their history to be written. When focusing on human agency and experience, it is helpful to define narrative more closely as a story (Pluciennik 1999: 654). I interviewed Indigenous people to better understand their identity and their reaction to colonialism's imprint. The interviews were fascinating and revealed an ongoing narrative of Indigenous resilience in the face of colonial events and processes. Such stories can be the subjects of archaeological analysis when we try to understand people's choices and actions.

I recorded eight interviews with Igbo community members and a further eight interviews with Labrador Inuit. These personal conversations are a direct representation of Indigenous voices and allow for Indigenous agency in history telling and understanding.

5.2 Interview Justifications

Interviews were not just important to this research they were vital because it allowed for direct Indigenous participation in research and ensured Indigenous history-telling was central to historical narratives. However, there are other factors that justify the need to record Indigenous voices as outlined in the works of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:143-161):

- **Claiming**: "Colonialism has limited the agency of Indigenous peoples to making claims and assertions about our rights and dues. Indigenous social movements have unleashed a whole array of methodologies which relate to 'claiming' and 'reclaiming.' Some Indigenous groups have made legal claims to support their rights to territories and resources, or with regard to past injustices" (Smith 1999:143). Their voices are needed to claim and reclaim their identity and history and are therefore relevant to this research.
- **Testimonies:** "Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about extremely painful events. It is a form through which the voice of the witness is accorded space and protection" (Smith 1999:144). This technique "appeals to many Indigenous participants, particularly Elders", and the documentation of these testimonies can be used to teach younger generations (Smith 1999:144).
- **Storytelling:** "Storytelling, oral histories, and the perspective of the Elders is integral to the history and identity of Indigenous communities" (Smith 1999:144). Each individual experience can be shared as a story relating to the experience of the whole community. For instance, Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe (2012) uses storytelling to detail his experience and that of his ancestor's experiences. "The story and the storyteller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people, and the people with the story" (Smith 1999:145-161).

- **Celebrating Survival:** Interviews help to describe the level to which Indigenous people and communities have successfully retained cultural and spiritual values and identity (Smith 1999:145). Recounting events can be a means "to collectively celebrate a sense of life, diversity and connectedness", speak to our resistance and survival, and affirm our identities as Indigenous people (Smith 1999:145). They are therefore a source of inspiration (Pluciennik 1999).
- **Remembering:** Remembering the painful parts of our histories and our response to that pain can be therapeutic. "While collective Indigenous communities can talk of the history of painful events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the story about what happened after those events" (Smith 1999:146). What happened, for instance, after families were ripped apart during the slave trade, or rights over their land were lost? "The aftermath of such painful events is sometimes unconsciously or consciously obliterated through alcohol, violence and self-destruction" (Smith 1999:146). Remembering the strength of our survival mechanisms is an approach to healing (Pluciennik 1999).
- **Indigenizing:** Talking and sharing stories can help others to make their Indigeneity a priority in their life, and look to traditions, bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of value shared through discussions to address concerns in their present lives (Nicholas 2008a; Smith 1999:146).
- **Intervening:** Sharing ideas can help Indigenous people to become actively involved in local affairs and shape the changes required to improve their lives in a culturally relevant manner (Atalay 2006). Some cultural changes will be difficult to implement, but sharing experiences and traditions can provide directions for change suitable for modern Indigenous society (Smith 1999:147).

- **Revitalizing:** “Many Indigenous languages, arts and cultural practices are in various states of crisis. Revitalization initiatives need to incorporate education, broadcasting, publishing and community-based programming” (Smith 1999:147), but interviews undertaken in traditional languages can help to record exactly how certain words are spoken (Smith 1999:147).
- **Connecting: “**Many Indigenous stories are intertwined with genealogy, linking positions and individuals in sets of relationships with one another and the environment” (Smith 1999:148). This demonstrates the need to trace connections, which is an important method for hearing individual stories.
- **Recounting:** Recounting colonial history to Indigenous youth can help create an early awareness of their ancestors and their struggles to maintain their culture and independence (Oland et al. 2012). This will help youth to shape their identity, and provide the cultural support necessary for them to thrive.
- **Representing:** “Indigenous communities have struggled since colonization to represent themselves” (Smith 1999:150). “Indigenous communities are often ‘thrown in’ with all other minorities as one voice amongst many” (Smith 1999:151). Interviews allow individuals and communities to represent themselves, their spirit, experience, and world view.
- **Gendering:** Interviews create an avenue where every gender can recollect a story of their participation in the society. Gendered marginalization is not generally a part of traditional Indigenous culture: it is a colonial creation (Opata and Eze-Uzoamaka 2012). Colonial gender discrimination affects all spheres of Indigenous society and prevents people from participating in political and economic affairs of the land. Storytelling helps

Indigenous communities to understand the ways that all genders participate in their cultures (Smith 1999:151).

- **Envisioning:** Interviews inspire participants to envision and actualize self-determination. Shared vision is a means of decision making and a call to action (Smith 1999:152).
- **Reframing: "**Reframing is about taking control over the ways in which Indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled" (Smith 1999:153). If government institutions and social agencies recognize that some social problems should be tackled through reframing history, then our problem is half solved. "This can occur when Indigenous people write or engage in theories and accounts of what it means to be Indigenous" (Smith 1999:154).
- **Restoring:** Discussions can help Indigenous communities find solutions to the traumas brought about by colonialism (Smith and Wobst 2005). Addiction, imprisonment and suicide are real, and it is important to "restore wellbeing physically, spiritually, emotionally, and materially" (Smith 2019:155). This requires social and health support that is grounded in Indigenous processes.
- **Returning: "**This process is linked to the claiming process, it involves returning lands, monuments, artifacts, and human beings to their Indigenous owners" (Smith 1999:155). Interviews open our minds to the immediate need for these repatriations. Repatriation is paramount to Indigenous communities' growth (Atalay 2006).
- **Democratizing:** Discussions shed light on the colonial construction of contemporary Indigenous governments, which is contrary to the traditional Indigenous systems.

Interviews demonstrate that diverse means of governance are achievable within local communities (Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Smith 1999:156).

- **Networking:** "Indigenous networking is a form of resistance" (Smith 1999:157). "Interviews are a means of networking – of making contact within and between marginalized communities" (Smith 1999:157). It is hard to face the pain and darkness of colonialism alone and interviews connect people, their experiences and their solutions.
- **Naming:** Interviews can help Indigenous communities to retain the names and meaning of geographical places and features of their lands. "Using traditional names helps Indigenous people to retain control over language and meanings" (Smith 1999:157).
- **Protecting:** Discussions demonstrate our desires "to protect our way of life, our language and the right to make our own history" (Smith 1999:158). Protecting these cultures are a deep need linked to the survival of Indigenous peoples.
- **Creating:** "Creating is about channeling collective creativity in order to produce solutions to Indigenous problems" through individual experience recording (Smith 1999:158). "Throughout the period of colonization, Indigenous peoples survived because of their imaginative spirit and their ability to adapt and to think around a problem" (Smith 1999:158). Thus, the process of thought should be discussed and recorded as a means of knowledge sharing (Nicholas 2008a).
- **Negotiating:** "Negotiating is about thinking and acting strategically. It is about recognizing and working towards long-term goals" (Smith 1999:159). The interview negotiating process is linked to understanding the best way to ask questions about individual ideas on survival, and using Indigenous beliefs, values and customary practices to solve the effects of colonialism (Smith 1999:160).

- **Discovering:** Discussions with Indigenous people can help enlighten both "ethno-science as well as the application of science to matters which interest Indigenous peoples, such as environmental and resource management or biodiversity" (Smith 1999:160).
- **Sharing: "**Like networking, sharing is a process which is responsive to the marginalized context in which Indigenous communities exist" (Smith 1999:160). Sharing knowledge is a form of resistance which can help better the lives of Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999:161).

5.3 Interview

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic which affected travel, I conducted most Igbo interviews over the phone. However, I was able to travel for a week to Nain to interview Inuit. Interviewees were selected based on their Indigenous Knowledge, language, age, beliefs, and cultural practices (Table 5.3). Hence the information and experiences from different generations were recorded.

Table 5.3 Demographics of Sample of Interviewees (see Appendix 3).

Number of interviews	Culture	Age	Religious	Occupation	Language
16	Igbo 8 Inuit 8	30-80	All	All	Indigenous/English

5.3.1 Igbo questions and answers

This section records the vivid words of the eight Igbo interviewees, according to how they want it to be written and transcribed. Discussions were facilitated by questions, and examples of

their life experience were encouraged to buttress their points. Igbo interviewees include both Igbo living in Igboland in their Indigenous communities, as well as Igbo living in diaspora (North America and Europe) (see Appendix 3 for a List of Interviewees).

Q1. What does being Indigenous mean to you?

For all Igbo respondents, the idea of being Indigenous is associated with a particular identity and community, as well as the cultural aspects of their life.

Nkechi, who is an Igbo elder and academic, residing in Nsukka Igbo community promptly said:

> *"For every Igbo person, being Indigenous is knowing their origin inside Igboland, how people were born and raised, and in general how Igbo people came into existence and function as a community. This signifies the sense of belonging to the Igbo tribe."*

Q2. What is Igbo indigeneity about?

Osita and Ifeanyi who are in diaspora shared the same answer; Osita is an Igbo Knowledge Holder and accountant residing in Germany and shared his European experiences by saying:

> *"The identity of being Igbo and the way of life of the Igbo people at home and in the diaspora defines Igbo Indigeneity for us. Being Igbo myself, means that I cannot exist if I try to be another person. It is our identity, and our identity is tied to Igboland."*

While Ifeanyi who is also an Igbo Knowledge Holder and lawyer residing in Canada echoed:

> *"For the younger generation that were born outside Igboland, their Indigeneity is formed through their cultural origins rather than their place of birth."*

Elderly Igbo interviewees such as Ijenwogo – a retired chef, Nwabueze a retired academic Ñmirinma–a retired nurse and Ebonyi an academic, all residing in Igbo communities, describe

their Indigeneity as the place where they dwell and protect their ancestral land in order to foster kinship. This is significant because it concerns ongoing relations with the land. The land is where people feel most at home. Furthermore, it counters historical narratives that suggest Indigenous people have been separated from their lands.

We further discussed the origin of the Igbo and how our culture has been transferred to us by our ancestors and Obinna who is a Knowledge Holder and engineer replied:

> *"As Igbo, we believe that an ancestral spirit formed and continues our lineage and Indigeneity - that is why we identify by lineage and kinship within our community."*

Q3. Is there Indigenous technological knowledge that is preserved throughout Igbo generations?

Nwabueze who is a titled man in the Obollo-Afor Igbo community chaired this discussion, explaining how his mother was the first midwife to birth more than a thousand children within the Igbo community. She did this without studying obstetrics and gynecology in medical school. Nwabeze's response on Indigenous knowledge was focused on his mothers' career in midwifery. He stated:

> *"Theresa Oriefi Obule – my mother - was gifted to bring children into the world till she died. Her Indigenous Knowledge of maternity care produced medical doctors and nurses. Though her maternity practice mainly used Indigenous herbs, she collaborated with community clinics to deliver babies. Hence, medical schools might have adopted her methods under the guise of English names and technicalities."*

Ebonyi continued to say:

> "*Igbo Indigenous technological knowledge was never lost, but it did decline in practice after colonial processes limited traditional knowledge. Some current Igbo*

technological practices are: cloth weaving, palm wine tapping, rain making, ceramics, iron smelting, otanjere eye lids (mMakeup), odoh (powder makeup from mahogany tree), indigo (cream, prima, hyena), palm production (agbu ladder), ekwe ma' (xylophone from mahogany tree), sculpture (opipi) eg. masquerade masks and basket craft."

Q4. Is there a particular story associated with Igbo traditional knowledge and way of knowing that you can share?

"Most Igbo adages and sayings are from stories that our ancestors experienced and shared. For example, the base of palm wine is reserved for the elders. This signifies respect for elders among the Igbo community. Also, a rainmaker does not drink any liquid during the practice because it is believed that physical consumption of liquid weakens the spiritual potency of the sky in communication with the ancestors to cause dryness. These are words of my ancestors that I learnt from my father," said Ifeanyi.

Osita picked-up from Ifeanyi to say:

"However, some tribes in our countries have tried to share Igbo traditional practices on non-Igbo land, but it has not worked out. For example, processes of palm wine production, amigbo (palm resources) and calabash are practiced in Malaysian palm wine production, yet the myths and tastes are always different in Igboland. I have lived in Europe for twelve years and still have not seen a palm wine like the Igbo palm wine, which tastes best. Also, the practice of carving a tree to represent an ancestor has been tried elsewhere, but if the wood is not from our ancestral land, the sculpture cannot perform the function of that ancestor regardless of the name and incantation given to it, demonstrating our customs are closely tied to our traditional homelands."

Interviewee Nwabueze also noted that the Igbo mathematical system is basically what is taught in school now:

> *"Ndi Igbo have methods of measuring time and events such as African ideas of the counting set correspondences, traditional alphabet, linear measurement, capacity measurement, area measurement, mass and weight, temperature measurement, plane angle measure, Igbo calendar days, weeks and years, Igbo year calendar cycle, time measurement, and finally space-time continuum are all methods of numeric record keeping. Traditional activities such as festivals, rituals and ceremonies are all methods of marking an event, while songs, play, adage and folklore are embedded to symbolize events of time it should be used in words. These and many more formed our stories and songs, so we don't have to forget so fast, but now teachers hardly speak Igbo to kids in Igboland."*

Q5. Are there oral histories about contact period transferred from generations to you?

One of my interviewees, Nkechi said:

> *"My father–Okonkwo, was the first educated man in Obollo-Afor Igbo Community. Because he was trained by white people, he worked and provided shelter for white missionaries as a paramount chief. In some cases, the missionaries promised him that his community would gain education first before any other community. The precious part was that my father maintained friendship and cooperation with white missionaries, yet he never stopped practicing his traditional belief of Igo-nmuo. I think the relationship was based on agreements."*

This story demonstrates that many Igbo people seemed to have mutual agreements with the colonizers during the initial stage of their relations, until the colonizers began to exploit and abuse

their power and privilege. This story links generations to demonstrate that their ancestors were not the foolish barbarians described by Westerners.

Ebonyi echoed this contact story and added:

> *"I know of a story of Egwu-Ijere; it is about how an Igbo Indigenous community used charms in the form of soldier ants to drive colonialists away when their exploits became unbearable. This story portrays pride in knowing that our ancestors fought for our future using their traditional ways. Another is the story of Ivu-Fada; which is about converted community men carrying a white missionary to different destinations to preach. This story portrays Indigenous community hospitality to be immeasurable; our ancestors carried the white missionaries on their shoulders to places at no cost. Interestingly, the story of Odibo ndi ocha tells of Elders willing to serve white people, but as co-workers who demanded equal status over governance to rule their community under the authority of Europeans and expanded their scope of governance. This led to some Elders being appointed as warrant chiefs. I am a living example of a warrant chief as the Onowu–Traditional prime minister of Opi Kingdom in Igboland."*

Q6. How is traditional identity still preserved among younger generations?

Obinna who occupies the traditional stool of a first–born male in his family said:

> *"The Igbo community still practices traditional marriage rites, burial rites and masquerade festivals according to seasons. An Igbo cultural renaissance has increased public awareness of some of these Igbo traditions, and the Igbo in the diaspora are promoting the culture globally by practicing Title Taking and the New Yam ceremony, using Igbo outfits, food and drinks. I think we should do more and bringing our kids home to experience these festivals physically. I do this often and it gives me joy to see how my kids relate to their roots."*

Q7. Is there language or specific words that erase Igbo people and their forms of knowledge? Such as discovered or prehistoric?

The youngest of my interviewees Ifeanyi said:

"The name 'Nigeria' erased the identity of Indigenous people because Igbo people were forcefully amalgamated into Nigeria as a country through war conquest. Also "civilize" is another derogatory word that literature uses to describe us, which I find insulting because no culture is superior to the other. Such words are harmful because they deny our Indigenous identity and history."

Q8. Do you think knowing about colonial contact and the Igbo cultural resistance adds pride to your identity?

Yes! All Igbo interviewees gave a strong affirmation because knowledge continues to raise the consciousness of our people's strong history. However, Ñmirinma noted:

"It also gives us more reason to revere our ancestors who were wise enough to put in place all structures that made a community a loving habitation for all. That is why we still invoke them among us in consultations."

It is also interesting to note that the long tradition of integrating local community members and oral histories in African archaeology is matched also by considerable research on ritual shrines (Nzegwu 1995). Yet in situations where little or no oral/textual information is available, these sites can be difficult to identify. Hence oral tradition feeds the resilience of our culture.

Q9. What do you think researchers in archaeology can do to ensure inclusion, equity and diversity for Indigenous people?

Ijenwogo said:

"I do not know more about archaeology, but I do know that you are an archaeologist and always talk about Igbo culture, if that is what you mean. And yes, I want every culture to be seen as equal and celebrated in the world. I am getting close to the end of my life but I will like to reincarnate as an Igbo person again hahaha!"

Nwabueze echoed:

"We want more of Igbo/African stories told according to our ways. We believe that this will aid our repatriation and reclamation projects. This will also help our young ones who live in the diaspora to find the materials to learn about their ancestors."

Q10. How would you like information about Indigenous resilience be communicated to you?

Any means that people can use to hear the stories is fine for most of the Igbo interviewees, However, Ijenwogo said

"I cannot read or write in English, I would prefer you share my stories to younger children."

5.3.2 Inuit questions and answers

Q1. What does being Inuk mean to you?

Boaz, a mitten maker and one of the interviewees in Nain, provided a vivid example of being an Inuk:

"I was born in Nain in 1963; I left Nain when I was six years old, and spoke only Inuktitut, so I went to the Happy Valley to go to school and our people over there didn't speak our language, even in St. John's; during my high school I struggled to speak English. Eventually, I came back when I was nineteen years old and had relearned everything except

for greetings. I also did some Inuktitut translator programs to remember who I am because being Inuk is being able to speak Inuktitut."

For the younger generation, being Inuk means a lot to them, and being born and raised on their land is a gift of being Inuk. Emily, the youngest of the Inuit interviewees, said that her grandparents taught her how to speak Inuktitut, and from kindergarten she spoke Inuktitut but was forced to speak English from grade four. She further explained,

"but engaging in Inuit ways still kept my identity intact such as wooding to keep our house warm, fishing and hunting to eat, and being in the cabin just to get away from home, I was reminded every day that I am Inuk."

Q2. What is Inuit Indigeneity about?

Most Inuit Elders defined their Indigeneity as learning to live on the land, loving and helping each other because that is what they were taught. Rutie, who is the community liaison officer at Nunatsiavut government Nain, described Inuit Indigeneity as Inuit language, food, religion, clothing (warm, not looks) which can be ordered from Inuit territories, ways of hunting for survival food and now for sporting, fun and communal living. More of the younger generations feel good about being Inuit. For example, Emily loves her radio job, where she uses Inuktitut and English to communicate with everybody. For the average Inuit person in a diaspora surrounded by different cultures, Inuit Indigeneity is knowledge of how to survive in the winter, hunting, wooding, sewing sealskin mitts, boots, winter parkas and pants, (and just about all winter clothing), and fishing.

Some interviewees had never heard the English term Indigeneity. Dina is a clerk at Nunatsiavut government and one the eldest interviewees replied:

"I don't know a lot of English words, so I don't know what Indigeneity means. But I know that Inuit culture is all about Inuit wild meat, fish, hunting, fishing. They go out every spring and come back summer. My dad never had skidoo, he had dog team and Kamutik (sled). My mom made seal skin boots for the dogs (Kamet) that where the idea of pet's shoe came. Them days my parents go up to stay in the cabin and we stay in boarding school. We never spoke English, we spoke Inuktitut. And we liked it, most of my family that spoke this language with me have passed."

Finally, the words of Maria, an Inuit heritage teacher, described Inuit Indigeneity as:

"Born on the land, made cloth out of animals and eat wild animals and my language makes me an Inuk and it is like it completes me to chat with the land. I feel whole being in the cabin and having contact with the land. Is different from what we have today because we now have more people traveling on skidoos."

Q3. Is there Indigenous technological knowledge that is preserved throughout Inuit generations?

Boaz, who was interviewed during his sewing time, did not hesitate to add that such sewing skill with needles was transferred to his generation, and he is teaching the younger ones now. He further said

"I also teach the boys how to go out on the land because I didn't get a lot of that because I grew up in Happy Valley. Nain had more lakes and land. If I didn't live in Nain, I would probably live out in the land, hunting and fishing."

Mary, a radio program producer and another younger Inuk, affirmed that Inuktitut language is preserved now on the Okalakatiget Society Radio and Illonata-APTN television where everyone can listen and learn about it.

Some interviewees pointed out the Inuit culture was never lost. In one of our discussions in Nain, Silpa, a knowledge holder and mother, said:

> *"Throat singing was banned by the missionaries, but I still throat sing and lots of people still do it. They tried to wipe all Inuit cultures, now people are getting tattoos because it was not a thing in Labrador at the time, but research found out that Mikak had one and people now continue to get it."*

Julius, who is a hunter and Knowledge Holder, added:

> *"My grand-father knows a lot, but my father didn't teach me a lot. At some point I began to lose my ways, but I struggle now to keep my culture and not to lose any part of it."*

Edward, also a hunter and Knowledge Holder, mentioned that some people, no matter the generation, might leave to seek a different life, but in the end most of them come back to their Inuit lifestyles. For example, he said:

> *"For me, surviving on the land, I work on the ice, like the nomads, so we go off the land. Out there we don't worry about anything, just you and your friend and no worries. Unlike here people worry about alcohol and drugs etc. Just going up in the open makes me happy."*

It is also important to appreciate Inuit ancestors for preserving their cultures over the years. Dina described her grandmother as a powerful Inuk that preserved and transferred Indigenous medical knowledge through midwifery, and continued to work with government medical officers with her own knowledge. In Dina's words:

> *"Sealskin boots were made by my grandma – Iky Harris (Figure 7.3b). She was a midwife, and my grandfather was a storekeeper for Hudson Bay them days. She taught the nurses how to deliver babies. She delivered me and more than 200 babies in the 1960s and they*

picked up the knowledge and continued using it in the hospital. She was a healer, also helped with wounds. She made codfish liver sauce, and it was tasty. I rather have wild food than Starbucks because of what my grandma imbibed in me. Them days we didn't eat canned food, all were fresh food."

Figure 5.3.2 Young Dina and her grandmother–Iky Harris at her midwife house. (Photo used with Dina's permission).

For Inuit, Indigenous teachings are lessons for survival and involve helping one another. Maria described this:

> *"Surviving out on the land, out in the storm, with wild food, and what to eat on land and what not to eat, and what seasons of the year. Different mussels to not to eat in summer, to know the cold weather, to recognize the ice that forms in the winter, the bad ice, dangers to be careful of. To know how to have extra clothing to keep warm, and to know where you are, especially the bad weather, and how to use the ice to get to your destination same in the boat and fog. To recognize the dry wood and to always have matches - that's my dad's number one rule."*

Rutie further explained survival to mean:

> *"Hunting for different intentions, before hunting was just for survival, but now is fun and sport, and also to donate foods to other community members. Sewing warm clothes with fur of foxes or wolves, at most fur of the dog, seal skin was a method of clothing for survival. For example, Inuit Dickie-Parka made out of commander cloth is now for show and for fashion, not necessary to keep warm. The inside is supposed to be duffle and inside is cloth. Ways of food for survival never changed, though we no longer eat codfish anymore because we did ferment it and nobody to ferment it now. We use seal for sauce, and stomach part of a caribou mixed with seal oil for dipping."*

Generally, Inuit survival skills are transferred throughout generations.

Q4. Is there a particular story associated with Inuit traditional knowledge and way of knowing that you can share?

Boaz said that there were stories about when Inuit lived communally. The stories usually revolved around groups of elders that practiced customary laws by going to people's houses to admonish

them on their characters. Such visits helped to support Inuit communal living by resolving interpersonal issues in the communal house. Other things were learned just by watching. For example:

> *"I even learnt about seal skin by watching people do it, and watching my mother do some sort of home chores was a virtual story that never left my memory.'*

The Inuit custom of protecting one another is transferred through stories, Emily added:

> *'My great-grand uncle, Thomas Flowers, was a sniper for World War II for Nain protecting us, and he got lots of awards for it and today we still share his story on the importance of protecting each other as a culture."*

The interviewees also expressed concern that modern culture has made everyone more individualistic and less willing to work together.

Finally, stories about *Nalujuk* were discussed by all interviewees. They described these people as mummers dressed in caribou furs. On Old Christmas Day, *Nalujuk* goes to visit families and offer gifts to the good children while chasing those who are poorly behaved. Their appearance helps with educating children about Inuit morals.

Q5. Are there oral histories about contact period transferred from generations to you?

"We heard about settlers, though we taught them everything they know" said Boaz.

Emily noted that:

> *"As for us – the younger generations, we learnt in school that Inuit traded polar bear fur for sugar, rum, biscuits, tea bags and tobacco. It was not a currency exchange but mainly for goods exchange."*

Silpa and Julius added that they learnt:

"The missionaries were in search of more lands and base to establish their church, so Jens Haven and his group came on their ship and established their church here because the Inuit were so welcoming, but they worked with them to preserve Inuktitut. Some Inuit chose not to follow the commandments of the church while some did. Kimmingosi was the first Inuk man to be baptized and changed into English name on May 7, 1901 in Black Island, so others followed suit because we had no choice and it didn't have any bad effect on us because the church was fused with our tradition. So, the government worked with the missionaries to relocate people from Hebron because it is in the church that people obey commands without hesitations."

Contemporary Inuit did not witness early colonialism, they only learnt about this history in books and from the stories of their grandparents.

Maria echoed this view saying:

"My dad did not want any of his kids to go to school, we were out in the land and come to Nain in the spring for just two weeks, then go back for hunting and fishing. My dad was relocated from Hebron by the white man government that made him never to trust them and I learnt that from him not to trust the white man. I was born in Nain, but out on the land until eighteen years ago that I returned. I married at twenty-two and continued fishing, but things began to change because the government bought the fishermen's license and we stop going out on the land to fish. Trying to find a job, going to school to try to get a job and before they knew things began to change. I enjoyed being on the land, but things changed drastically, so I am trying now to balance my life. I will get depressed if we don't get ice soon so I can go on the land. Ice is my freedom!"

Contemporary Inuit do not know much about contact period, but have felt the effects of colonialism. For example, they find it disheartening to read about themselves when they are negatively portrayed in books, but they still think good about the author. Some Inuit just wish to live their life and not be forced to align with another culture. Dina described this process in her words:

> *"I don't know anything about white man, I have not heard colonialism before, I remembered my teachers them days, they are from Germany and they don't talk much about themselves. I attended Jens Haven school that located in this building them days. I went far as grade seven and stop because it was hard."*

Q6. How is traditional identity still preserved among younger generations?

Indigenous practices such as the lighting of lamp, prayers or rituals, dress, fishing or other food gathering activities are special elements of Inuit culture. However, youth struggle to keep these practices alive because of cultural discrimination. Boaz claimed:

> *"We always go to church growing up, we were forced to go to church. We did learn a lot, including Inuktitut prayers and Inuktitut songs in the church choir. Inuit brass band of mainly Inuit older men made it fun. Church was basically in traditional language, and no Inuit went to English service."*

Emily added:

> *"It is a job we are trying to do because most sectors only use English not ever including Indigenous language. I think our culture will be practiced more if is used often in public spaces."*

As a good example of this Julius added:

"Kullik (a soapstone lamp) is mainly used for heating the igloo, cooking and light but now it is used as a symbol to brighten up the room for protection. I have seen my grandmother do it with a piece of rock with cottons and she used it as light because we didn't have power. Same as our ancient ways which are sacred to us to connect with our ancestors using light. The practice of lighting of lamp is still preserved and used in public gatherings."

Edward noted that a part of Inuit culture that was preserved (though restricted) is fishing.

"We still have fish plants that people sell to them to make money, so the fishing culture that was for survival is now for income."

Dina echoed this argument saying:

"Younger ones just go fishing for fish and throw the fish around because they weren't taught well, but them days, my dad came back with caribou, cod, polar bear, seal meats and in the summer, he brought mussels, and pigeons (pitsiulak). I used to do lots of fishing with my sister and berry picking, though we don't take babies, but we take younger ones in our families. Most of our Elders are dying off, with so many stories for you, but most of us are gone. My mother was in choir singing Inuktitut songs but there is no more choir, no more organist and church service is with no organ. I miss them all."

Maria gave an example of her role in preserving Inuit religion:

"We came to Nain to attend church for Easter and Christmas at the Moravian church. I did the lightning of Kullik, though I did not do it growing up. But people think I know everything, so I do it because it is Inuk Tradition. I am doing a program with the youth to make seal skin mittens. I keep clean seal skin to get some clothing like mitts, as much I don't like to do it anymore, but I still do it to keep the culture alive. I still like to go out on

the land in the cabin with my children and grandchildren to teach them how animals travel. I am busy trying to transfer my cultural knowledge to the young people because some of our Elders are dying off with this knowledge. I teach young ones on different cultural projects. I will be going to the youth after this interview. I just finished making a Kamutik (traditional Inuit sled consisting of two parallel wooden runners connected with wooden slats) from the community shed with an instructor. I made mitts for Christmas presents too. All these just to preserve my culture."

Q7. Is there language or specific words that erase Inuit people and their forms of knowledge? Such as discovered or prehistoric?

Most Elders are not used to books, rather they are interested in any publication that promotes Inuit culture. However, they do not believe that someone discovered them. Rutie rightly stated:

"No comment on the word 'discoveries' because there were other Inuit tribes before us like the Tunnit and Dorset and nobody discovered them."

Maria added:

"I cannot think of such words. After a long while in my life, I try to be who the government want me to be. I was ashamed to wear my clothes, to speak my language. I went to school to try to get a job, but at the end I was depressed not being myself. I tended to alcohol after twenty-five years. But one day I turned back to myself to be an Inuk, because I couldn't be someone else and started going back to the land to live my life. So, I found out the government deceived me, that made me depressed for long time. I am a proud 'Eskimo', in my 'Eskimo' language Inuk means a person and Inuit means people. If I am with my family with different people all over the world, my Elders will ask what kind of people they are, I will answer: they are 'Eskimos,' 'Indians' etc. so Inuit is just a people from a part of the

world. For some they feel teased when they are called 'Eskimo' because they are called raw meat eater. But I was born 'Eskimo,' so I don't care."

The use of derogatory words can be confusing or difficult for some Inuit though. Boaz said:

"I didn't know the word 'Eskimo' was offensive until I grew up and find people take offense to it, and then it clicked in my brain that it was not a very good reference to us. I find people use derogatory language because they didn't know who we are. They only use ugly phrases because it doesn't matter to them. I grow up fighting my classmates because they called me 'Eskimo,' but we ended being friends later in life. So, a major part of it is ignorance or not taught properly."

Silpa echoed this by saying:

"The term 'Eskimo' is a trigger for lots of people. 'Avanimiuk' is also a trigger for the people from the north that they felt was racist because they relocated from Hebron, Okak, Nutâk and Killinek and felt they weren't welcomed here."

Although some Inuit might not have words as triggers, they know about racism and the fact that it is still ongoing. Edward exclaimed:

"Some people shame people for speaking Inuktitut especially in Goose Bay – they are more of a judgmental people and racist because they condemn people speaking Inuktitut, so we had to learn English because most people were shy speaking Inuktitut."

For the younger generation such words or stories hurt the heart. Emily further explained:

"People out there still think we still live in Igloos, we don't because we have houses and electricity. I am hurt when being called 'Eskimo' because it means people that eat raw meat. I prefer being called Inuit."

Q8. Do you think knowing about colonial contact and the Inuit cultural resistance adds pride to your identity?

All of the interviewees agreed that it did, but with different explanations. Boaz said:

> *"I wasn't allowed to speak my language in school, we were punished. Teachers started it and students followed this track. Some teachers will go as far as seeking permission to spank us if we didn't listen in English. I have my family tree up to 14th generation that was done with the help of a genealogist and I love to keep it."*

Silpa and Julius said they do everything they can to keep their language because everything in Inuit culture is in the language.

Edward added:

> *"I met most German Moravians, but I kept my traditions living on lands, it makes me proud mostly because schools don't speak Inuktitut. They brought it back when Labrador Inuit Association was formed, when most younger ones had already stopped speaking Inuktitut. This ended into broken English-Inuktitut. The damage is already done."*

Most Inuit Elders try to teach the youth traditional survival skills and language, which makes them proud.

Q9. What do you think researchers in archaeology can do to ensure inclusion, equity and diversity for Indigenous people?

Most of the interviewees were happy about archaeology and felt that it does a lot for them by teaching history: however, they insist that their words should not be twisted, and that archaeologists should write things that they are told rather than what the archaeologist thinks it to be. However, Emily added:

"We want more of you and other researchers being here, hearing our stories and learning our cultures to tell the world."

Julius and Silpa echoed by saying:

"We won't be able to talk very well about our feelings for our culture if you weren't here. It won't feel real, it is better physical to see our faces and having you here is easier to understand the questions and you understand our answers with our body language to think about it - it is good you came to get this information that is stuck in our head."

The majority of participants advised that the use of social media to share Inuit culture was an easy way to get the public's attention.

Dina said

"*I have a picture of my grandma when she was a midwife that I would like to publish so the world will know what she did for Inuit. I will send you a copy to publish."* (see Figure 7.3b)

Q10. How would you like information about Indigenous resilience be communicated to you?

Interviewees thought that any means of knowledge transfer was good as it was important that people hear the stories. People mentioned both social media for posting information that people could use to learn about Inuit culture, and also books to communicate culture from one generation to another. From the Elders, Maria said:

"We don't bother with computers, so we are better off hearing it on the radio or making group chats and workshops about our information. It helps a lot to know more from the past, because there were not many records, photos, or videos. I feel sorry that I didn't ask my grandparents all I wanted to know today. I always wish to know all."

As an Indigenous archaeologist, these interviews helped me to gain new historical insights in a manner that resonates with host communities, and helps to celebrate the Indigenous agency of the

Igbo and Inuit. However, it is most important to remember that the goal is to make culture and history relevant to, accessible by, and done for the benefit of local communities (Atalay 2012:7).

My interviewees exclaimed that their stories must be told by and for them according to their ancestor's perspectives; they accurately used the words "*according to our ancestors*" "*just like the people before us."* I saw the passion in portraying Indigenous perspectives beyond oral history and contributing to creating Indigenous written history.

The common experiential understanding among many Indigenous people is that ancestors have a continued presence and that ancestral presence is taken as absolute and tangible. Many Indigenous people believe that their ancestors have prescience and agency and actively manage relationships between present-day individuals (including archaeologists and the archaeological materials). Ijenwogo, who is my oldest interviewee, always took some minutes to murmur during the interview–saying she had to confirm with her ancestor's presence what we were discussing. In her words, she ends with *"yabóbu*" during our conversations, which means *"it is correct."* As an Indigenous archaeologist, this makes me wonder how the agentive characteristics of ancestors' presence also shaped ancient peoples' cultural activities and how those traditions are today perceived.

From an Indigenous viewpoint, archaeology is much more than archaeological sites and should include not only the immediate surroundings where resources like plants, animals, water, and tool stone were obtained, but also the associated ritual and ceremonial locations associated with spiritual management and the ancestors therein which helped to form their identity. Maria, my interviewee, always recalled that Inuit Lands are sacred places; she said, *"Our ancestors are still on the land teaching us how to survive."* However, the incomplete and invisible dimensions

of archaeology signify the intangible domain of ancestors and legitimate contemporary community emplacement, identity, spirituality, and sovereignty (Watkins 2003:277).

5.4 Summary

As an Indigenous person, interviewing Igbo interviewees, I was aware of our endurance. Listening to my interviewees speak about their Indigeneity, especially the intricacies of my identity, made me aware that being Indigenous is more than just location or genealogy, it involves having Indigenous experience. I also understood the concept of identity policing, which is a behavioral pattern that most Indigenous people are familiar with. For example: I was often asked "who are your grandparents to know who you behave alike." This expression is not just to demonstrate your blood link to your ancestors, but helps to foster communal relationships through shared experiences. For example, the Igbo saying of "nwa maru ñnaya maru ñdi ichie" means that a child that knows their father also knows the ancestors. Therefore, the child can tell the stories told by their ancestors someday. This is the real power of oral tradition – it helps us to demonstrate who we are.

Also, thoughts from younger Igbo interviewees helped me to understand the importance of decolonizing Indigenous culture and history, particularly as it is practiced in diaspora. The interviewees demonstrated the Indigenous tenacity to hold on to their culture and learn more about what has been lost. The ambiguity of this loss and the inability to memorialize this loss is confusing and hurtful. Importantly, I learned to investigate the concept of Indigeneity as an initiative that occupies our minds. It is being at peace in our land and waterways because we do not own the land, the land owns us, and we protect the land.

My interviews in Nain demonstrated that Indigenous knowledge carriers are resilient. I personally related to how their voices carried agency and power in depicting who they are. Archaeology would do well to emphasize these voices in their explanations of the past. As the archaeological record includes the remnants of tangible social practices, associated intangible knowledge, and metaphysical agency and power, these records have spiritual and non-discursive qualities that cut across the tangible intangible divide (Nicholas et al. 2011:11). Who better to explain these practices and knowledge than the people who understand and live them as Indigenous people. Additionally, as an advocate of inclusion and diversity, I want to share the Inuit desire for inclusion, equity and fairness. Reconciliation can offer a new hope for Indigenous people, in which they can live their culture more fully and control their own cultural and historical narratives.

Comparison of both interview experiences I outlined in section 5.2 can be grouped into three key reasons for Indigenous consultation, which are: identifying and expunging the colonialist underpinnings of our current culture; furthering Indigenous ownership and control of archaeological heritage and repatriation of ancestral remains; and developing ethical research practices based on meaningful collaborations and partnerships (Atalay 2008; Nicholas et al. 2011). Beyond these obvious reasons, my interview sessions were also able to give voice to those generally considered voiceless in scientific inquiry, and can be used to infuse my analysis of Igbo and Inuit objects with local Indigenous knowledge that is of value to communities as well as archaeologists. This is a key aspect of Indigenous archaeological research because it draws both Indigenous and Western knowledge systems into a single scientific epistemology. This hybridization demonstrates that the discipline of archaeology can adapt and widen its epistemological and ontological scope in order to make its theoretical and methodological foundations more practical, inclusive, and cross-culturally sensitive (Nicholas et al. 2011). The

impact of this kind of Indigenous archaeology upon archaeological practices has been described variously as a "sea change" (Nicholas 2008b:242), "quiet revolution" (Smith 2007:35), and "paradigm shift" (Atalay 2008:138). One which brings Indigenous views of their own history to the forefront.

Chapter Six

Quantitative and Qualitative Collection Analysis: Igbo Artifacts

6.1 Introduction

Archaeological research has generally relied on material culture to interpret and reconstruct the Igbo past (Ngonadi 2023), but it does not always provide interpretations appropriate for our history or recognize Indigenous agency in the production and use of artifacts in their original context (Onah 2024:352). This chapter aims to consider Igbo objects used for many centuries that have been subject to colonial interpretation, and eventually find the appropriate interpretations of these objects from an Indigenous perspective. Cultural relativists say that interpreting Indigenous intentions in the creation and use of objects or surroundings is difficult for Western academics because Indigenous cultures are dissimilar to European cultures (Abel 1996:100). Abel (1996:I00) also suggests that Western scholars have failed to comprehend Indigenous decisions in terms of economic or any other rationale (Abel 1996:100).

As an Indigenous person, I connect Igbo objects to my personal experiences through the stories of my grandparents and other Igbo Elders. These objects allow me to comprehend and convey our identity. The Igbo objects in this chapter, represent cultural practices in pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. While the selection of objects that I was able to analyze were randomly selected (see Chapter Three for effects of Covid 19 on this research), these objects are each connected to Igbo mythology, as well as our values and belief systems. The objects are tied to Indigenous religious beliefs and their understanding of the world and inherently connect the people to their land. Furthermore, these objects have value to Igbo because they are intrinsically connected to Igbo agency, Indigenous technological knowledge, and culture.

The Igbo objects examined in this chapter come from the collections of the University of Nigeria Museum, and result from both excavation and community donations. I have chosen to categorise the objects presented here based on material (metal, wood, fabric, clay/ceramic, stones, and mixed material) and type, because objects of similar types and styles were often used for similar functions and may be associated with specific historical periods (Schmidt 2018). Once categorized, the objects are discussed and analyzed from an insider perspective.

6.2 Metal, Bells (Ñgbirigba)

Figure 6.2. Small bell.

Figure 6.2.1: Large bell.

The Ńgbirigba objects in this study were loaned from the Ihe-agu Nsukka community to the University of Nigeria Museum and were among the objects used during the University commissioning ceremony in 1960 (Achebe 2012). Nwabueze, who is a retiree from the University of Nigeria and one of my interviewees, indicated that Ńgbirigba were used to draw attention to announcements within the communities surrounding the University of Nigeria in the 1950s before being loaned to the University as an artifact. Ngbirigba have been a part of Igbo culture from the days of early iron and bronze work 520-200 BC (Okafor and Patricia 1992 in Daniel et al. 2022:36). Today, we continue to use Ńgbirigba in community meetings to call participants to order.

Ńgbirigba are bronze objects made in the lost-wax casting method used by Igbo blacksmiths. Both the top and bottom are covered in cross hatching and divided by bands of circular design. The iron clapper rod is suspended inside with a string made of metal. Earthen encrustations and a few small areas of green oxidation can be seen. In pre-colonial and post-colonial Indigenous communities**,** Ñgbirigba were mainly used for ritual purposes such as proclaiming a sacred presence or neutralizing hostile or harmful forces as explained by my interviewee Eybonyi. They are generally used as tools for communication and are portable instruments that convey important messages.

6.3: Metal Gong (Ògene)

Figure 6.3 Ògene.

The metal gong in this study is an instrumental device donated by the Opi-Nsukka community to the University of Nigeria Museum as a gift representing many years of archaeological collaboration with the community. They are more generally known as Ògene in Igboland and similar objects can be found in the archaeological record as early as 520-200 BC (Okafor and Patricia 1992 in Daniel 2021:46).

Ògene mean more to Africans than simply musical entertainment; they are tools for effective communication, performing a similar communication function as Ńgbirigba. They also represent specific relationships because Ògene may be used in different tribes, under different names and serving different needs of communication, such as music, information, incantation, invocation etc. According to Ebonyi, one of my interviewees, Ògene are a symbol of cultural identification for the majority of Igbo people because of the unique sound from different layers of the object. Metal such as this is one of the most regularly used artifacts in pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial Igbo culture (Daniel et al. 2022:42).

Ògene are the product of Indigenous technology. Indigenous blacksmiths, who may still be found in Awka, Abiriba, Nkwerre, Igboukwu and Orba, forged Ògene and Ńgbirigba centuries ago. They are part of the idiophone class of self-sounding instrumentals that make noise when they are struck, shaken, scraped, or thrown. All sizes and shapes of gongs, woodblocks, wooden drums, bell rattles, earthenware drums, and other related instruments are included in this category (Ibagere 1994:91), but Ogene makes a sound that is distinct from that of other tools. Structurally, Ògene are V-shaped instruments with a hollow inside, that can be built alone or in pairs. They are normally made of iron and are hit with a stick to produce the appropriate sound. The sound itself comes from the vibration of the iron body when struck with a wooden or padded wood stick, which is made to resound by the hollow inside of the paired object. The Ògene may produce a variety of sounds depending on how and where it is struck, according to the beater's wishes.

In pre-colonial and colonial Igbo territory, the Ògene instrument was primarily employed as an information tool as part of a non-verbal communication system (Ibagere 1994:92). The African communication system is categorized into verbal and non-verbal modes, just as it is in conventional communication systems (Ibagere 1994). These two types of communication provide

the beauty and distinctiveness for which the African communication system is known. The sharp sound it makes when struck urges people to pay attention to the town crier. A town crier is a post that is tied to an Ògene specialist. In other words, Ògene specialists performed both postal and public pronouncement duties in pre-colonial settings as recalled by my interviewee Ebonyi.

The use of Ògene for music and other instrumental purposes followed as entertainers later linked different Ògene sounds to rhythm (Nzewi 1991). Currently, the Ògene is used as part of an Indigenous music symphony known as egwu Ògene, which employs different sizes of Ògene in the music. The bigger size of Ògene is called Alo, the Ògene and the Alo have the same shape, however the difference is in their sizes. While the Ògene is smaller and can be held in one hand, the Alo is larger and must be struck while standing on the ground. According to Nzewi (1991), the Alo, can be employed as a primary instrument for choreographic performances by Nkpokiti and Atilogwu cultural dance troupes.

While numerous regions in Igboland claim to have been the first to employ Ògene for musical entertainment, oral history has it that the people of Aguleri in the Anambra East Local Government Area were the first to use the instrument for that purpose. This could be because the area's Ògene Anuka and Ògene Okeokpa musical symphony predates the majority of the Ògene music available (Nzewi 2000).

6.4 Invoker (Ojí) and Òji-ñchusa

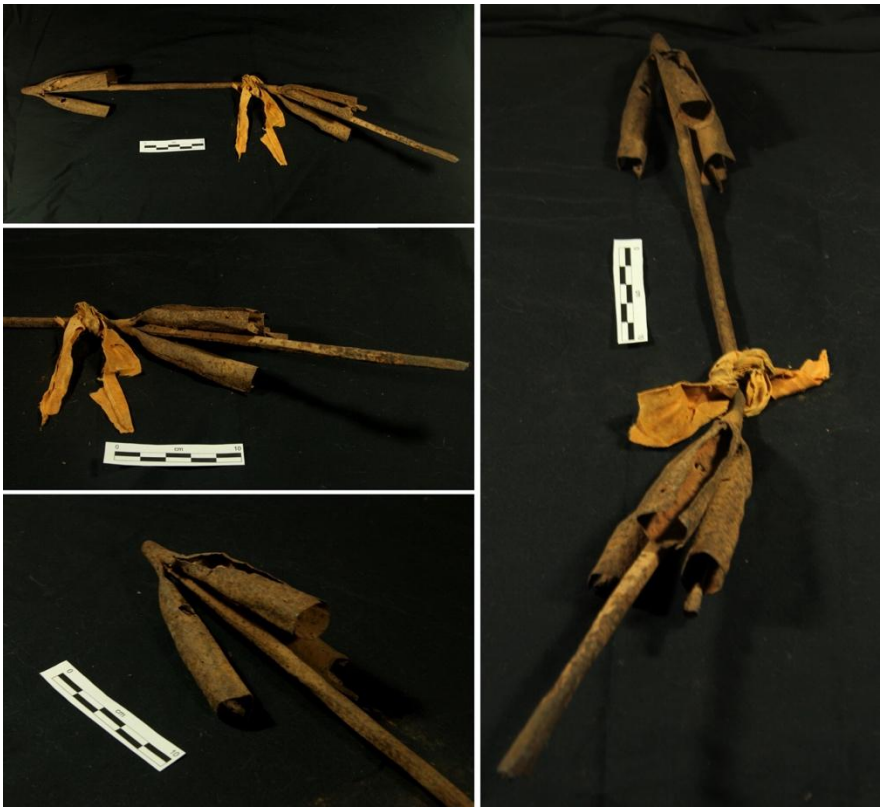

Figure 6.4 Òji.

The Òji in this study was also donated by Opi-Nsukka community to the University of Nigeria Museum as a gift for years of archaeological collaboration with the community. This type of object has been in use since 520-200 BC (Okafor and Patricia 1992 in Daniel 2021:46). Ebonyi, my interviewee, noted that most Igbo Indigenous priests or herbalists still use Òji in their practices, demonstrating a continuum of use over thousands of years.

The Òji combines small Ògenes to produce an object of invocation and incantation when struck to the ground. Òjí are constructed from a metallic post that is glued to hammered pieces of Ògene. They are mainly used by traditional Indigenous doctors or household chief-priests in ritual processes. I recall watching my grandmother, who is a traditional doctor, strike Òji as she mixed

herbs. She always told me that incantation is essential to practicing traditional medicine. Òji are used in prayer, invoking, interfering, worship, and any other supernatural communications with the living. Incantations are used in traditional Igbo society to communicate with the spirits and the dead, often for favours or action. This part of traditional Igbo culture that has been passed down from generation to generation and reminds us that so many Igbo lived their lives and died before colonialism; they planted, built, ate, sang, danced, and cured their ill; they created; they communicated and are still existing (Okonkwo 1997). Such rituals should never be considered as "fetish" (see Acholonu 2009). Instead, they represent traditional knowledge practices passed down by our ancestors.

The Igbo also developed an invoker using wood which is used to invoke the spirit of vengeance and defense. The wooden object is called Òji-ñchusa. It is made with sticks and wool and tied with charms at each end (see Figure 6.4.1). The razor blade attached to the object is used for cutting away evil spirits. It is used alongside the Òji which invokes good spirits. Thus, this object performs two functions concurrently in communication with the spirits.

Figure 6.4.1: Òji-ñchusa.

Table 6.4: Summary of Metal Objects Analysed.

Category	Ware	Material	Colour	Length	Width	Diameter	Manufacture Technique	Production Technique	Post Manufacture Maintenance	Applied Colour	Completeness	Shape	Function	Notes
Metal	Ñgbirigba	Iron	Gold	61,21 inches	8,5 inches	3.9, 2 inches	Smithing	Local	None	Rust	Half	Oval	Sound production	Preserved
Metal	Ogene	Iron	Metallic grey	16 inches	8 inches	18 inches	Smithing	Local	Iron bending	Rust	Yes	Rectangle	Sound production	Preserved
Metal	Òji	Iron	Metallic grey	32 inches	10 inches	4 inches	Smithing	Local	None	Rust	Yes	Rectangle	Invocation	Preserved

Each of the cultural objects outlined above are united by their function. Each of the Ńgbirigba, Ògene and Òjí have non-musical roles including; information dissemination, battle morale, security and spiritual communication.

Igbo tradition dictates that information was transmitted through the town crier's Ògene. The town crier would travel through villages delivering messages with the help of the Ògene, which he hit at intervals to gain people's attention. The town crier could sometimes deliver messages entirely through the sound of Ògene. In traditional Igbo society, the sound of Ògene is treated seriously. Thus, anytime the Ògene sounds, it signals the start of something important. The Ńgbirigba's and Òjí also produce sounds that are required to pass information. However, the Òjí specialist fulfills a more spiritual position than the Ògene and Ńgbirigba expert (Ibagere 1994).

In pre-colonial Igbo societies, Ògene and Ńgbirigba were also used as instruments that stirred the warriors' adrenaline during battles. The sound energized the soldiers' hearts, and the rhythm emanating from the objects inspired them to march into battle bravely (Nzewi 2000).

In pre-colonial Igboland, the Ògene and Ńgbirigba were also used to raise an alarm when personal or village security was at risk. These objects were sounded while pursuing a criminal, to alert men on watch, and to warn locals about a criminal on the loose (Acholonu 2009).

Finally, in the hands of diviners and sorcerers, the Ògene, Ńgbirigba, and Òjí are valuable instruments for connecting with the supernatural. Òjí are among the most important pieces of divination equipment present at shrines. The diviner uses the Ògene to praise the gods and ancestors while invoking them with the Òjí to supply solutions to specific problems when divining (Ibagere 1994; Nzewi 1991).

6.5 Wood/Fabric Mask (Isi Ñmuonwu)

Figure 6.5 Ísi Ñmuonwu.

The Ísí ñmuonwu is a mask made out of carved wood and decorated using paints. The mask examined in this study was designed by an Obollo-afor masquerade artist in 1998 and sold to the University of Nigeria Museum for exhibition. However, Gbur'gbur' masks date to the time of the origin of Obollo-Afor community in Igboland, about 2555 ± 130 BP (Daniel et al. 2022:35), and are still used in current practice. Hailing from the Obollo-Afor Igbo community, I have witnessed this personally.

The mask examined here represents the face of Gbur'gbur' as denoted by the aligned brows, contoured eyelids and painted face. In other words, this masquerade mask is that of a beautiful and fashionable spirit. Many years ago, before Westerners introduced artificial cosmetics for beautification, our ancestors already used facial and body paintings for this purpose, which they produced with materials such as Ñzu, and Uri, Otanjere. Gbur'gbur' is an Obollo-Afor

community mask. According to Ijenwogo, my oldest interviewee from the Obollo-Afor Igbo community, the decorative style used on this mask depicts the Obollo-afor Adanma; the most beautiful spirit, that intercedes on behalf of women and children. Ijenwogo also recalled attending festival seasons in order to watch and pray through the Gbur'gbur masquerade for fertility, which she was granted.

The specific form and function of a mask is directly tied to the masquerade that they are created for. Masquerades associated with deities function to cleanse the land. Evil people within the community avoid these masquerades and the deities they support because contact can cause death to the evil one. Consequently, masquerades parade through the community to cleanse the land of charms which may cause harm to families. Interviewee Ebonyi, noted that colonialism has compelled churches and towns to destroy their masquerade objects and deny this heritage by setting their masquerade-deities on fire. However, many Christian Igbo still gain from the masquerade-deity cleansing during festivals.

Masquerade performances in Igbo culture invoke the ancestors and thus reflect our belief in the duality of human existence and the interaction between the physical and spiritual realms (Dimonye and Asiegbu 2023:133). Masquerade festivals are celebrated seasonally at specific times of the year, such as Õnwesa (full moon), Ji'ohu (new yam) and Izu ahia (new calendar year). They are also used in performances of epic dramas derived from community cosmology and lore. They honour totems and ancestral spirits, enact parables and myths, and initiate members into community groups. Through these masquerade festivals, Igbo connect to their ancestral roots, a practice that now shows hybridity in the present diversified world (Dimonye and Asiegbu 2023:134). However, the masquerade performed judicial, social and policing powers in pre-colonial Igbo society, using an approach that promoted entertainment and community-building.

6.6 Fabric–Masquerade Costume (Akwa Ñmuonwu)

Figure 6.6: Akatakpa–Akwa Ñmuonwu (masquerade costume).

Figure 6.6.1a, b and c: a) Akatakpa–Akwa Ñmuonwu head and neck; b) Akatakpa–Akwa Ñmuonwu chest and waist ropes, c) Akatakpa–Akwa Ñmuonwu upper back view.

The Akwa Ñmuonwu in this study is a costume for the Akatakpa masquerade, which is Indigenous to the Obollo-Afor community. It was made in the nineteenth century by an Obollo-Afor artist and sold to the University of Nigeria Museum for exhibition. During my interview with Ñmirinma, she described Igbo cultural festivals using examples of Akatakpa masquerade. Akatapka is an ancestral spirit known for peacekeeping and settling disputes in Obollo-Afor. Most Igbo communities have masquerades named after their ancestors that perform specific functions when invoked. Different from the Ògene and Ñgbirigba which is used to invoke the spirit, Akwa Ñmuonwu is the replica of the spirit itself.

The Akwete fabric is in very good shape when compared to clothes made with similar sewing processes and a similar age, such as women's dresses from the early nineteenth century. The costume is made from several panels that were woven in warp-faced techniques and stitched together to produce a garment that is taller than wide. In the garment, the warp is positioned horizontally, as if it were a jumpsuit. The panels are segmented in a distinctive way, with a discontinuous warp dovetailed around a vertical thread to give the designs in print (Rowe 1977: 103). Internally, the garment is articulated in segments, but because the separation between segments is not always defined by altering the colour of the warp threads, the articulation appears indistinct from a distance. The segments mark the shoulder line of the shirt and form a lower panel of the pants. The pattern stripes in the lower panel are narrower than in the upper, making the disjunction between the two segments more obvious - probably the men that wore the Ñmuonwu had tiny waists with broad shoulders.

This fabric incorporated techniques and iconographic motifs common to earlier traditions in Igboland. The design print is a pattern made in stripes, incisions, grouped and curved in a star polygon to give a definite stamp at each border. Each border separates with a vertical incision

across the front and back of the cloth. Broader stripes containing decorative motifs stacked one above the other are separated by two or three narrow strips executed in red, yellow, black and white and embellished with different patterns of white threads in dots. At intervals, the warp threads are transposed to form a circle, decagram and rectangular shapes in which the inside of each shape is a criss-cross incision of lines. Half of the threads in the narrow stripe take a diagonal trajectory to the left and the other half to the right, with both sides coming back together to complete the circle, decagram and a rigorous rectangle shape.

In Igboland the relationship between ancestors and their descendants can be understood as a continuous link. Hence, a replica of ancestral spirit appears during any festival to commemorate the communal living of the ancestors and descendants. In other words, the costume textile in this study is of an ancestor (Ñmuonwu), the craft and art of an Ñmuonwu is that of a living spirit. The Igbo believe that ancestors (Ñdi ichie*)* intercede for the living before Chukwu to plead their case. Ancestors are also the link between the known and unknown, and between earth and beyond. The ancestors are constantly active in the daily human affairs of their families and clans. Culture for the Igbo is an arena where history and achievement combine to give existence (Achebe 2012:64). Thus, the African traditional religion, (ígo nmuo*)*, still stands as a reliable means of religious worship for Igbo despite colonial imposed Christianity.

It is important to note that Akwete fabric, like that used in this costume, has a long and significant history itself. Oral history and archaeological evidence can provide even more contextual details to suggest why and how the Ñmuonwu costume might have been woven and prepared.

The Igbo engaged in weaving from pre-colonial times. Akwete, globally known as Akwa ndi Igbo (Igbo cloth), is the most significant fabric produced. The aesthetic designs on Akwete

fabric can tell a story, demonstrate a feature, or describe an ancestral character. The raw materials of wool and cotton are from the Akwete community in Abia, in southeastern Igboland. The Akwete communities of Abia were the first to start weaving fabric using a loom (Egw'here or Nkwe) (a manual machine made of wood), and in ancient times processed materials such as sisal, hemp, raffia, silk, cotton and tree bark into finished products (Austin 2015). Akwete fabric became popular throughout Igboland and beyond through trade as the Akwete community grew palm oil and kernel which was traded widely in Africa. Foreign traders began buying the beautiful fabric as souvenirs from the community after business transactions. Recently, an exhibition dedicated to Akwete cloth was held at the Textile Museum in Washington DC (Austin 2015). They have also been exhibited at the Textile Museum of Canada and the British Museum (Austin 2015).

The earliest Igbo looms date from the thirteenth century and consisted of bars or beams fixed in place to form a frame to hold a number of parallel threads in two sets, alternating with each other. The basic purpose of any loom is to hold the wrapped threads under tension to facilitate the interweaving of the weft threads. The precise shape of the loom and its mechanics may vary, but the basic function is the same (Austin 2015).

Traditional Igbo weaving still exists in industrialized settings today. The process can produce warp-faced plain weave, complementary-warp weave pattern stripes (with an uneven warp count), transposed-warp rhombuses in narrow red and white stripes or any other attractive colour into a discontinuous warp to depict the intention of the weaver. Styles can be added during weaving. Motifs are characteristically used in belts, hats and scarves and remain popular despite colonial influence on fashion. Styles like the star motif have ancient antecedents, but the form in which it occurs in late postcolonial times acquired a new value in the popular culture of a new generation.

Igbo women channeled their innovative ability into producing Akwete fabric in four main patterns named Ahia (market), Etirieti (hardwork), Akpupka (resilience) and Ogbanonweya (identity). These patterns may be further subdivided into different designs which are named according to the stories the design told, such as Ikaka, Obidiya, Okpuru Afo Eke,Otobo, Ikaki, Jinja, Ebe, Okwaepele, Nkpokpu, Nnaded, Tube, Ikperendioma and Ufere mmiri. Designs are also associated with social status and family events – there are particular prints for marriage and funerals (AkwetebyBêêju 2015 in Austin 2015). The Ikaki print was, and continues, to depict royalty, while the Ebe print was used as talismans to protect warriors or pregnant women. Some weavers claim that some motifs and aesthetic prints were revealed to them in their dreams by their Chi – as they woke up to weave the exact pattern revealed to them and named it according to their intuition. The Akwete craft takes great skill and girls begin weaving clothes from a young age.

Buttons added a unique aesthetic to Igbo fashion as an embellishment which signifies wealth and authority. Buttons are mostly made of wood in a disk-like shape, having holes or shanks through which it is sewed to one side of the fabric. Most Igbo traditional outfits have ornaments like buttons, belts or hooks, the Akwa Ñmunonwu in this study has button ornaments.

Contemporary weavers have made one or two motifs in print on recent Akwete textiles, which are woven with fewer threads to minimize colour blocking in production. For example, a cloth will have only a one-star motif with few lines, such as in the Ugegbe print (see Figure 6.6.2). However, the most popular motifs in Akwete patterns are stars and stripes. Ann P. Rowe (1992:31) described the star's visual appearance as a "square with two right triangles extending off each of the four corners," adding that the phrase is simply conventional because the motif's last name is unknown until put in print production. It's worth mentioning that the motif's centre is not the same colour as the background. The weave may have been the inspiration for such a feature.

Apparently, some of the motifs we know today became popular during the fifteenth century and were influenced by eastern European textile designs (Rowe 1992). For example, the Akwete pattern has stripes in complementary warp weaves which are repeated across much of the width of each web, with two plain weave stripes running along the sides of the fabrics like in the Ikaki, Nnadede and Jinja design prints (see Figure 6.6.2). But there are many styles involving many design elements, according to my Igbo interviewees. Below is a panel containing samples of Akwete fabric that have been produced both pre- and postcolonialism.

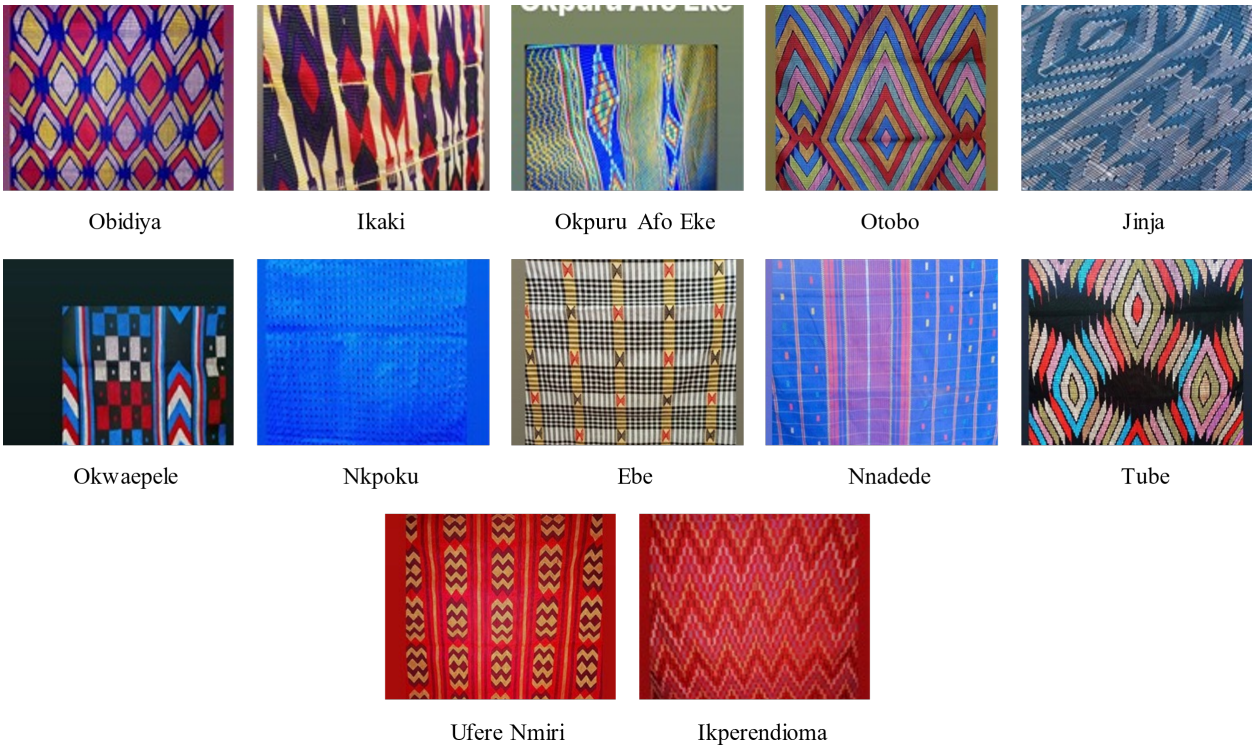

Figure 6.6.2: Akwete print designs.

Table 6.6: Summary Table of Wood and Fabric Objects Analyzed.

Category	Material	Colour	Ware	Shape	Manufacture technique	Length	Width	Diameter	Pattern	Decoration technique	Post Manufacture maintenance	Applied Colour	Function	Complete	Shank style	Notes
Mask	Wood/ Fabric	Multiple	Spirituality	Oval	Carving	14.1mm	17mm	-	Face paintings	Beautification	Paintings	White/Black	Masquerade head	Yes	Circle	Indigenous to Obollo-Afor
Akwa Ñmuonwu	Akwete Fabric, wool and Thread	Multiple	Spirituality	Jumpsuit	Egwere/Nkwe weaving	70mm	129mm	-	Mixed Motif	Criss-cross incision	Wool adjustment	Red/Orange	Masquerade costume	Yes	Circle	Indigenous to Obollo-Afor
Button	Wood	Brown	Fashionable	Circle	Carved	15mm	3mm	17.5mm	Brown Tortoise Shell	Wood grain	None	Coffee Brown	Ceremonial	Yes	Circle with two eyes	Prior 1830 buttons are for Men's clothes
Button	Plastic	White	Fashionable	Circle	Carved	13mm	2mm	15.5mm	Dotted	Hollow dot	None	None	Ceremonial	Yes	Circle with two eyes	

Button	Plastic	Yellow	Fashionable	Circle	Carved	16mm	3mm	16.5mm	Line Incision	Line Incision	None	None	Ceremonial	Yes	Circle with two eyes	
Button	Plastic	White	Fashionable	Circle	Carved	13mm	2mm	15.5mm	Plain	Plain	None	None	Ceremonial	Yes	Circle with two eyes	

6.7 Clay chalk (Ñzü)

Figure 6.7: Ñzu.

Ñzu is a calabash chalk derived from fossilized seashells in Igboland. The Ñzu in this study was also donated by the Opi-Nsukka community to the University of Nigeria Museum. This Ñzu was wrapped in cloth, as it is pertinent that Ñzu is not passed by bare hand, but always contained in a cloth or calabash, probably because of the fragility (Basu and Agbo 2020). Unfortunately, the specimen examined here was broken in half during shipment to Canada (see figure 6.7).

Ñzu clay is used for beautification of both humans and sculptures. Its use can be traced back to 2500 BP (Daniel et al. 2021:35). However, my interviewees agreed that Igbo have been using Ñzu on the human body since the origin of our culture. Interviewee Ebonyi added that Indigenous doctors and herbalists still use Ñzu on their bodies. As a child, I remember drawing Ñzu on my body during moonlight dances at the village square. My grandmother produced Ôtangere eyelids using Ñzu powder, which serves as eyeliner in current fashion. In this study, Ñzu

was used to decorate the mask. The facial makeup used in masquerades may consist of either raw Ñzu or refined Ñzu (paint). Igbo believe Ñzu can draw positive energy from the earth and beautify the spirit. Beautifying the spirit entails smearing chalk on eyelids or around the eyes in order to see into the world of the spirits. It is mainly used by traditional doctors, diviners, priests and in the masquerade (see Figure 6.5). The position and style of the smear is determined by the level of seniority and authenticity of the diviner in connection to the spirits, thus Ñzu can be considered a medium of communication with the ancestors.

Ñzu is a sacred substance used in rituals, and an offering of Ñzu made to a deity or ancestral invocation is a symbol of purity, good fortune and hospitality. It is used during initiations into the masquerade cult, at coronations, or initiations into any other group in Igboland. Such ceremonies start by smearing Ñzu on the body. A newborn baby is smeared in Ñzu during the naming ceremony which initiates the baby into the family kin. Likewise, a dead kinsman is smeared Ñzu as he joins the ancestors, thus Ñzu in this state signifies acceptance, love and initiation.

Postcolonial Igbo manufacture Ñzu to produce black board chalk, face powder, tablets, and paints. Furthermore, people eat it raw as a snack. In practical use, Ñzu continues to be used by Igbo families during prayer. It is rolled across the ground from the feet of one person to another in order of seniority and each person makes a mark of four lines (representing the Igbo four market days) on the ground, on their feet or eyelids.

6.8 Ceramics

Figure 6.8: Íte (pot).

The ceramic object in this study was manufactured in the Nrobo community of Igboland in the nineteenth century and was sold to the Department of Archaeology, University of Nigeria during their research concerning the Ñrobo ceramic industry. It is an Íte (pot) used in cooking as can be seen from the dark staining on the exterior. Ceramic was manufactured by forming clay objects in a moist plastic condition and then drying them by either exposure to the sun, air, fire or baking in kilns and ovens. Common ceramic vessels include cooking pots (see Figure 6.8), storage pots, cooling pots, and other homewares. The culture of ceramic making requires rituals which connect Igbo people to their land. According to Nwabueze my interviewee, such rituals correlate with specific days when the clay is sourced, molded, and ultimately sent to market.

The decoration used on Íte may differ among potters, but all use similar tools. The motifs which are used reflect the use of the pot. For example, a cross incision made on a calabash indicates that the calabash is for a ritual purpose, not for cooking. Other potters may draw a pattern of leaves or animals to tell a story. Decorations are not restricted to the exterior of the ceramic, as lids are also decorated using similar patterns. The oldest ceramic in Igboland, dated around 2500 BP,

demonstrates that leaf motifs have been used for millennia and similar styles can be associated with later Igbo work found at Nsukka (Daniel et al. 2022:35) dating to the nineteenth century. Similar motifs were found on both ceramics and tools at nearby Ibagwa, and the Umueri clan ceramic in Anambra clay valley. Furthermore, the same motifs were found in the 1970s at Owerri, Okigwe, Orlu and Awaka divisions. Therefore, leaf motifs are used as of the longstanding roots of Igbo culture and their distribution is evidence of the Igbo heartland (Daniel et al. 2022). Traditional ceramics is still in production today, and continues to be central to Ñrobo identity.

Table 6.8: Summary of Chalk and Ceramic Analyzed.

Category	Material	Ware	Shape	Colour	Applied colour	Manufacture technique	Post Manufacture Maintenance	Length	Width	Diameter	Function	Complete	Pattern	Notes
Ñzu	Chalk	Body paint	Oval	White	Dust	Molded	Rapped	Volume	-	-	Ceremonial	Broken on transit	Line incision	-
Pot	Ceramic	Earthenware	Round	Brown	smoke	Molded	None	7 inches	5 inches (Lid)	11 inches	Ceremonial	Broken on transit	Leaf Motif	Reconstructed

6.9 Ground Stone Axe (Anyuike)

Figure 6.9 Ground stone axe.

Figure 6.9.1 Samples of unflaked ground stone axes found at Ugwuele site on 5/20/2014. Source:(Nwankwo and Itanyi 2021).

The Ground stone axe in this study is a complete axe found at the Ugwuele Industrial site in Igboland during the University of Nigeria's archaeological fieldwork at Ugwuele in 1978. Ugwuele is a site with evidence of Achulean culture dating to 500,000 years BP (Anozie et al. 1978; Ngonadi 2023:9). Ground stone axes were first discovered in Ugwuele in 1977, and pieces of ground stone axes are still found within Ugwele and Uturu communities during excavations. Ground stone axes were used to dismember animals, dig soil, and cut wood or other plants. The current Ugwuele community still uses pieces of Ground stone axes to sharpen metal farm tools because of the presence of hard rock like flint, obsidian and granite. Indigenous people within this community are known to produce sharp metals such as knives, hoes and other metal farming implements (Clark 1974). While not specifically recognized by archaeologists as Igbo in origin, these axes demonstrate the longevity of human culture in Africa from which we draw our ancestry.

Table 6.9.1 Summary of Ground Stone Axes Analyzed.

Category	Ware	Material	Colour	Shape	Manufacture technique	Post Manufacture Technique	Length	Width	Applied Colour	Conservation	Function	Complete
Granite	axe	Stone	Grey	Axe	Grinding	Sharpening	7.1	6.9	Dust	Home use	Digging	Yes

Mixed-Material Object

6.10 Öduatu/ Öfo (Symbol of Authority)

Figure 6.10 Öduatu Öfo.

The Öfo object is a staff held by those with authority called Öduatu. My interviewee Ebonyi holds the title of Igwechiebo Opi in Igboland and has an Öduatu that was given to him during his coronation. He described the style of the Öduatu in this study to be of the nineteenth century; however, his ancestors made better string styles, Ebonyi commented! The Öduatu in this study was collected during the University of Nigeria Archaeology fieldwork in the Öpi community in 2007. The feathered end is made from buffalo tails, while the handle is wood from a sacred plant called Öfo that is believed to have been consecrated by God and symbolizes truth and justice (Ifemesia 1976). The Öfo wood is bound with an Öfo stripe by attaching a buffalo tail at the end. A metal string runs the entire length to hold the Öfo and the feathers together. However, the metal strings can be tied to suit the holder (Ajaebili et al. 2020:106).

The Öfo is a tree specially created by chi (God) for sacred purposes and possesses mysterious symbolism in Igbo beliefs (Ajaebili et al. 2020:105). Among the Nsukka-Igbo, the Öfo has two functions: one is that the ancestral Öfo tree that serves as the community shrine – a place of prayer to the ancestors while the other is the use of Öfo branches which are cut to produce Öduatu to create a staff for the head of the family or a person of authority in the community. Öduatu symbolizes truth, justice, righteousness, power, authority, wholeness and moral innocence associated with some titled men in Nsukka-Igbo (Onah 2022). According to Ebonyi my interviewee, in Igbo communities, titled men are expected to carry Öduatu or Ökikpe (elephant tusk) in addition to a brass bell, either the Ñgbirigba or Ögene, to announce their presence.

Archaeological interpretation suggests that Öduatu were used symbolically to convey values and respect to the spirit of the ancestors, who are believed to have handed the Öfo insignia to their descendants (Ifemesia 1976). However, Öduatu still serve as a medium to communicate

with the ancestors because the Öduatu is consecrated and automatically becomes a sacred cultural object which unites the living, the ancestors and the Chi (God). In turn, whatever the holder decrees, condemns and approves is believed to be what God and the ancestors ordain, disapprove and approve of (Ajaebili et al. 2020:106). However, the Öfo tree as an oath shrine enables the traditional Igbo culture to manipulate the universal forces for their overall well-being (Ajaebili et al. 2020). This justifies the Igbo adage of *mmuo adighi egbu onye n' emeghi ihe ojoo obula*. (the spirit does not harm the innocent). Moreover, it refers to the principle of justice and innocence (*ofo n' ogu*) in Igboland, which regularly guides the action of men in communication with the spirits.

Interviewee Ebonyi pointed out that Christian missionaries failed to develop a medium to properly interpret sacred emblems like the Öfo when evangelizing the Igbo. Thus, warrant chiefs continued to carry these ancient objects throughout the colonial era and they are still used by contemporary chiefs.

Table 6.10: Summary of Mixed-material Objects Analyzed.

Category	Ware	Material	Colour	Shape	Length	Width	Applied Colour	Manufacture Technique	Post Manufacture Maintenance	Conservation	Function	Complete
Òduatu	Staff of authority	Wood, Buffalo tail, metal strings	Black/Brown	Cane	16.2 Inches	8.2 inches	Dust	Handmade craft	None	Personal Use	Authority	No, Hair loss

6.11 Discussion

Igbo objects presented in this chapter demonstrate the long-term history and continuity of Igbo culture. They specifically explore the various ways in which artifacts are used and repurposed, emphasizing how they work as means for cultural representation, performing, belonging, and social cohesiveness over time. The Igbo people produced objects based on their necessity from ancient times to the present, such as the uses of Ñgbirigba, and Ògene for communication. Despite the advent of Western technology in radio and television broadcasts, Ñgbirigba and Ògene are still in use in Igbo communities for smaller gatherings and entertainment.

Traditional African religious practices remain central to Igbo culture and many of the objects observed here continue to perform the functions ascribed during the pre-colonial era. Òji, Ñzu, Íte and Ñgbirigba are materials found at every Igbo shrine; I remember the first leg bruise I had at eight years of age occurred because I ran to the sound coming from a nearby shrine behind my Grandmother's house to watch Onyishi (the oldest man in Obollo-Afor community) perform the Onwuesa incantations. His shrine was so full of Ñgbirigba of all sizes that I almost took one home. He also had Íte boiling while he danced through the steam wearing Ñzu paintings on his forehead, striking his Òji as he invoked the spirit. Soon after, one of Onyishi's sons became a church pastor and demolished the shrine, but Onyishi still performed his rituals behind their house until his death in 2017. Those materials are now transferred to the next Onyishi performing the traditional Obollo-Afor rite.

Stone tools are perhaps the first things our ancestors made, used for cutting animals and plants for food. This technology is still used so many millennia later and is a part of their lives that never left us. Igbo communities still use stone tools when sharpening objects; Nwabueze, my interviewee, said he always used stones to sharpen his Objeriri (see Figure 2.4b) throughout his

sixty-seven years of gardening. Our ancestors flaked and ground stones to make composite tools, and we are still using similar techniques in recent times, a vivid example of Igbo cultural continuity. There are so many continuities with the objects observed above, and they help to demonstrate the resilience of Igbo culture in the face of colonialism (Andah 1992).

The preservation of Igbo identity was initiated in pre-colonial times when families constructed sacred rooms to keep their ancestral objects. Western historical narratives do not discuss sacred rooms and ancestral objects because such knowledge is only passed on through oral traditions and acts (Hanna 2000:4). Conservators of Igbo materials are thought to be highly skilled in craft and art; they used objects of wood, metal and plants to preserve other objects for repair. Their main goal was (and is) to accomplish a perfectly integrated restoration that would be undetectable or even invisible while incorporating Western methods (Onyemechalu and Ugwuanyi 2022:614). They believed they could return a piece of art to its original state. They were not requested to assemble reports on "material history" as modern Western conservators are – their job was not to keep the object for archives, but to keep the Igbo spirit alive.

Being an Indigenous Igbo woman and spending almost three decades of my life in Igbo land surrounded by Igbo culture, my Igbo worldview is unchanged. I see Igbo identity as a strong force, resistant to colonial impositions. I have personal relations with the stories of my ancestors which guide my experience. While we all suffer the need to reclaim our space and tell our own stories, unlike a Western archaeologist, who might relate to these objects and the associated oral histories as research void of emotions and trauma, I am part of these stories and telling them how my ancestors narrated them is important and necessary. It is the archaeology of my heart.

6.12 Conclusion

Recovering, restoring, reconciling and re-imagining lost histories are tasks that require time and connections for both Western and Indigenous archaeologists. As the discipline of archaeology becomes more receptive to inclusion and new forms of information, Western archaeologists are beginning to appreciate the emergence of Indigenous narration to recognize that Indigenous protocols in writing and insider interpretations aid their understanding. Indigenous archaeologists stand on the shoulders of our brave ancestors to represent our objects according to their desired interpretation of our culture.

Chapter Seven

Inuit Objects

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at Inuit objects from a series of contact-era archaeological sites to see what they tell about Inuit continuity and resilience between first contact in the sixteenth century and well-established trade relations in the eighteenth century. From archaeological research, we know Inuit were great craftsmen, producing objects by carving, flaking, scraping and shaping (Kaplan 1985). However, during the contact era, Inuit did not just create traditional material goods, but modified European-produced objects to suit their cultural needs. European-introduced objects during the contact period did not simply replace Inuit material culture, rather Inuit maintained agency in the ways they created and used introduced objects for their own cultural purposes (Brewster 2005).

Archaeology allows us to expand the record of Inuit history and transformation over time in ways not recorded in historical documents. This is important because the Inuit embedded their Indigenous knowledge system in their lifestyle (such as settlement patterns, subsistence practices, production processes, trade systems, and shamanic practices) which was not always visible or of interest to Europeans. Yet it is these traditional practices that continue to be significant to Inuit today. Inuit lifeways and practices did not disappear due to colonialism, rather they continue to exist because they are full of "Inuitness."

As we will see, the introduction of European trade items, and in particular the increasing use of iron, in the Inuit technological sphere did not necessarily correlate with drastic changes to Inuit cultural traditions. Rather it reflects a relatively small shift in economic orientation in the

early contact period. For example, archaeological records of Inuit and their ancestors demonstrate that as they moved across the Arctic, they always incorporated new materials and resources (such as copper and Norse metal) into their material culture (Rankin and Crompton 2016a). In a way, change was part of Inuit culture, and by incorporating European items into their material culture in Labrador they were in fact exercising their "Inuitness." Scheldermann (1972:68) suggests that European goods diffused through Labrador Inuit society quickly, noting the ubiquity of European goods in the sixteenth to seventeenth century Inuit houses excavated by Junius Bird near Hopedale, implying that Inuit were very interested in acquiring and using European-derived materials as soon as they were available.

This chapter provides evidence of "Inuitness" from excavated materials. To maintain comparability with the analysis of Igbo objects in the previous chapter, I chose to examine Inuit objects that represented various aspects of their traditional culture, including objects made exclusively from traditionally Inuit materials of manufacture as well as items that incorporated European-made materials. The objects selected were excavated from a series of Inuit archaeological sites in central and southern Labrador by Lisa Rankin including: Snack Cove 3 (FkBe-3), Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) and Double Mer Point (GbBo-2), which were all occupied during the contact era, though at different periods. These sites demonstrate how Labrador Inuit increasingly incorporated European-manufactured goods, alongside items of traditional manufacture into their daily lives and how the European items were modified to suit Inuit culture.

The Snack Cove 3 site was first recorded by William Fitzhugh (1989) of the Smithsonian Institution as a part of Hamilton Inlet to Cartwright Reconnaissance. Located on the seaward or eastern edge of Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay, the site was the first to suggest that Inuit lived south of Groswater Bay. At the time it was discovered, Fitzhugh (1989) recorded and tested two

Labrador Inuit semi-subterranean sod houses with a characteristic keyhole shape, long entrance passage, and rear sleeping platforms. The site was initially dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth century based on the recovered artifacts and a radiocarbon date of 300 ± 80 BP (Fitzhugh 1994). In 2003, Dr. Lisa Rankin of Memorial University returned to Snack Cove 3 as a part of the Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project, and fully excavated House 1, which revealed a paved stone house floor, faunal material and artifacts of European and Inuit origin. Over the next two years, Rankin and her students excavated two additional sod-houses at Snack Cove 3 (Rankin et al. 2012). Ramsden and Rankin (2013:307) re-examined all of the radio-carbon dates taken from the three excavated sod-houses at the site and placed the site occupation in the early seventeenth century, but there remains the possibility that the site was occupied as early as the late sixteenth century.

Huntingdon Island 5 is located on the western, landward site of Huntingdon Island in a sheltered environment close to the mainland. There is a nearby polynya providing access to open water and seal hunting even in the depths of winter (Rankin 2014:4). Dr. Lisa Rankin first identified the site in 2006 and excavation work was undertaken there from 2009 through 2013 (Dobrota 2014; Murphy 2011). Survey and excavation revealed five semi-subterranean winter sod houses as well as a series of associated summer tent rings (Murphy 2011). The bulk of the material culture assemblage was of European-manufactured materials (Murphy 2011). The site was occupied periodically from the early seventeenth century through the latter half of the eighteenth century (Murphy 2011:101; Rankin 2014:3).

The Double Mer Point site (GbBo-2) is located at the end of a narrow peninsula dividing the Narrows and Lake Melville, approximately 6 km northwest of the Inuit hamlet of Rigolet. Double Mer Point is an historic Inuit settlement consisting of three rectangular sod-walled winter houses (House 1-3) that are consistent with the size and shape of a communal house in Labrador

(Jordan 1974). William Fitzhugh (1972:85) was the first to record Double Mer Point, and in 1973 and 1975 Richard Jordan excavated 12 test pits in the houses and middens. As a result of this excavation, he estimated that the site was occupied by Inuit during the second half of the eighteenth century (Jordan 1974, 1975). In 2013, Dr. Lisa Rankin returned to Double Mer Point and over the next decade excavated all three winter houses and a large portion of the midden so that the site could be developed for local tourism purposes (Rankin 2013b, 2014). These excavations revealed various features associated with eighteenth-century communal houses (Bohms 2015; Jankunis 2019) and included large amounts of animal bone as well as charred organic materials (Bohms 2015:79). These excavations further demonstrated that the settlement was occupied from the latter half of the eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century (Bohms 2015:131; Jankunis 2019; Pouliot 2020).

Because these three Inuit sites have contiguous dates from the late sixteenth century through the early nineteenth century, they can be used to demonstrate how Labrador Inuit incorporated European trade items into their daily lives over time. Thus, these sites were selected not only because they might contain both traditional Inuit material culture and newly introduced European materials, but also because they have the ability to reflect changes to the Inuit material culture and materials of manufacture over time, and suggest that new materials and objects were incorporated into Labrador Inuit communities. A total of nine objects were selected for discussion, two of traditional Inuit origin, three composite tools, which draw on both traditional and European materials, and four items of European origin. The objects chosen allow for reflection on various components of Inuit society including age, gender, and social status. Objects are discussed in terms of material type in order to distinguish those of Inuit origin, from items of European origin. For example, items considered to be manufactured from traditional materials are made of soapstone,

whalebone and wood, whereas European items are manufactured from iron, brass and ceramic. For this study, I present objects of Inuit origin first, followed by composite tools and finally objects of European origin. However, it is important to point out that all of the objects ultimately reflect Inuit agency and resilience.

7.2. Inuit Origin objects: Soapstone

Figure 7.2a, b, c and d: miniature pot.

The soapstone objects in this study include both a miniature pot from Huntingdon Island 5 (House 3) and a large oil lamp (Kullik) from Double Mer Point (House 2), both recovered from eighteenth century contexts (Bohms 2015; Murphy 2011).

Soapstone was, and remains, an important raw material used in the manufacture of Inuit traditional material culture and was generally used to make pots, which were used for cooking, and lamps, used to heat and light the home. Soapstone has a soft soapy texture because it contains the mineral talc, which makes it a good option for carving (Murphy 2017). The ethnographic evidence informs us that soapstone was used to make miniature versions of traditional Inuit objects, which were used by Inuit children. It is generally believed that children played with scaled down versions of adult tools to mimic the tasks that adults performed (Gullov 1997; Kenyon and Arnold 1985 in Hardenberg 2009: 71). Small objects were made so children would be able to

handle them (Hardenberg 2009:57). In this case (Figure 7a-d), the poor manufacture of a pot of 1.6 cm long and 4.7cm across, suggests that a child may also have made and used this object as a toy pot.

The material of manufacture and the context from which the object was recovered can help to determine whether an object can be considered a toy (Hardenberg 2009), though generally the classification of objects as toys in Inuit archaeological collections is based solely upon the size of the artifact, because the small sizes of the object determine the size of the user (Hardenberg 2009:71). However, ethnographic information has also helped identify objects most likely belonging to children. For example, the pot in this study is a miniature and relatively poorly made (Figure 7.2a-d).

Inuit children learn by watching the members of their family perform the activities of daily life. In this way, many of their "toys" are used to help them replicate their Inuit culture. The miniature pot (Figure 7.2a-d) in this study is a tiny replica of a women's tool (Figure 7.2a-d), suggesting that it was made and used by an Inuit child not simply for play, but to practice for a future role in their family (Hansen 1979; Mathiassen 1927), helping to socially construct the child's identity not only as Inuk, but of their position in the community. From the moment the child is born, they receive an identity as an Inuk. As they grow and learn, the individual becomes intertwined in daily activities of Inuit ways of life and learn their culture and roles within it. The presence of Inuit children's agency in the production and use of objects demonstrates their learning process and the ways in which Inuit cultural continuity is maintained through generations (Hardenberg 2009).

It is important to note that the miniature pot in this study is made out of soapstone and not imported European material, suggesting that Inuit considered the transfer of traditional Inuit ways

of life in material culture to new generations important. Contemporary Inuit continue to use soapstone, as well as other raw materials once used by their ancestors showing the ongoing importance of cultural traditions in the maintenance of cultural continuity among Inuit.

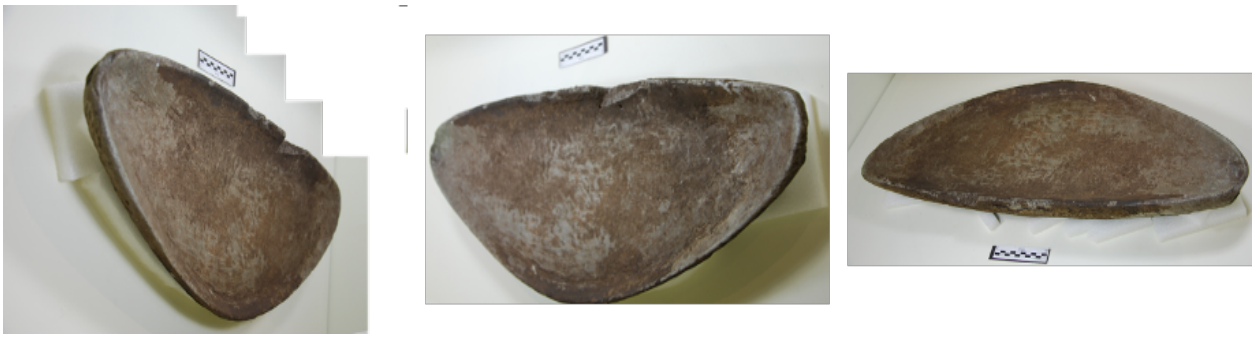

Figure 7.2.1a, b and c: Kullik/soapstone lamp.

This large Kullik/soapstone lamp (Figure 7.2.1a-c) was excavated from the entrance tunnel of House 2 at the site of Double Mer Point. It is quite large, 74.5 cm long and 27 cm across its widest point, half-moon shaped with no wick stand. There is a small portion missing from the straight edge and two holes drilled below the break from a repair. Charred fat covers much of the interior and exterior of the lamp (Bohms 2015).

The use of a crescent lamp to heat and light the house has its origins in the material culture of Alaskan Inuit groups who used shallow clay saucers (Ford 1959:202). Eventually, soapstone lamps became the norm, likely because of their ability to radiate heat. Soapstone lamps were considered to be a crucial element of the Inuit household – belonging to a senior woman of the house. When groups were travelling it was the responsibility of the owner to maintain and care for the lamp. Although many families might occupy one winter house, each maternal head of household had to have her own lamp which was either curated as an heirloom down the maternal line or placed in the woman's grave (Hough 1898 in Davies 2014:25).

The lamp functioned as a source of heat and light, and was generally placed on a support, or lampstand. The position of the lamp within the communal household likely demarcated a woman's work within the house, or that of her family unit. Whitridge (1999) has persuasively argued that the lamp's prominent position inside the common household symbolized the significant societal value of women's labour. The lamp also functioned as a source of comfort, and Inuit chose to maintain their use into the nineteenth century after many Inuit families moved into mission-provided houses (Davies 2014:25). Perhaps using the lamps allowed Labrador Inuit to continue to see the world with Inuit eyes.

The use of lamps is still significant in Inuit culture. Julius, one of my interviewees in Nain, aptly said; "I loved sitting near the oil lamp with my grandmother listening to her unending stories. Recently, lamps are used basically to keep Inuit tradition alive because most houses are now heated with electricity, while some still use the lamps to heat up the camps when out on land." Lighting the soapstone lamp also occurs during prayers and is an important ritual performed by an Inuit Elder at the beginning of every gathering to invoke ancestors and acknowledge the presence of ancestral spirit, and traditions. Maria, one of my Inuit interviewees, described her use of oil lamps in performing rituals in gatherings as an obligation which she expected to fulfill.

Table 7.2 Catalogue Details from Soapstone Analyzed.

Cat.No	Object	Square	Quad	Unit	Stratum	House	N-S	E-W	Depth
3062	Miniature Soapstone	N36W27	1	1X1	L1	3	5cm	30cm	10cm
712	Soapstone Lamp	N1011E97	1	1X1	L1	2	63cm	66.9cm	1.5cm

Material	Colour	Tech	Portion	Length	Width	Thick	Weight	Condition	Collection method	Remarks
Soapstone	Black	carved	All	71.6mm	24.7mm	33.6mm	76mm	Good	Excavation	Toy pot
Soapstone	dark grey	cut, carved	All	745mm	270mm	90mm	14462mm	Fair	Excavation	Oval lamp missing only small section front rim

7.3 Composite Tools

The traditional Inuit economy based on sealing/whaling/fishing/hunting was and is embedded in their culture and religious beliefs, and regulated their means of labor and sustenance. There are archaeological hints that Inuit were in at least indirect contact with Europeans (the Greenlandic Norse) for two centuries before moving to Labrador (Ramsden and Rankin 2013: 307), but this did not alter the Inuit traditional economy. However, this long-term knowledge of the Norse may well have lived on through Inuit oral traditions, so that when Inuit encountered other Europeans in Labrador, they may already have known how to integrate European-manufactured material into their cultural practice (Ramsden and Rankin 2013: 307).

7.3.1: Ulu

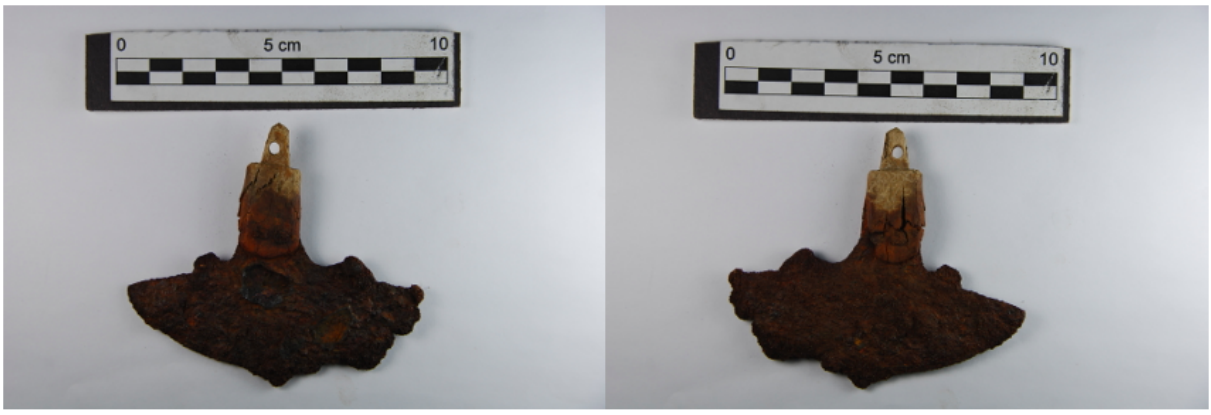

Figure 7.3.1: Ulu.

Composite tools are objects created from more than one material. During the contact period, composite tools generally combined European iron alongside more traditionally Inuit materials like sea mammal bone, and can be used to demonstrate how European iron was adapted to serve Inuit purposes. The first composite tool examined is an iron ulu with a whale bone handle

excavated from Snack Cove 3, House 2 (Brewster 2005:85). An x-ray of the ulu revealed that the blade's tang reached into the bone handle. A portion of the bone handle where the tool would be grasped by the user is absent. The iron ulu blade was likely manufactured from a European barrel hoop that was altered by Inuit to take on its distinctive semi-lunar shape (Brewster 2005:85).

Inuit manufactured ulus before they had access to European iron. Ulu blades were usually made from slate or nephrite and the handles from bone, wood or antler (Davies 2014:24). These tools had many functions, though they were frequently used to prepare skins for clothing, shelter and watercraft, and used as cutting implements in the preparation and consumption of food (Cabak 1991). Henshaw's (1989 in Gullason 1998) investigation into ulu usage showed that small to medium sized ulus were used for sewing and skin preparation, while tiny versions were used as both toys and amulets and were not used as tools (Henshaw 1989 in Gullason 1998). Although the ulu was typically used by women, it was often the men who would manufacture ulus, demonstrating the collective effort of Inuit families (Davies 2014).

During the contact period European items such as nails and other iron scraps were often re-fashioned into traditional Inuit items by cold-hammering the iron into harpoons, knives and ulu blades (Boaz 1964 in Gullason 1998). Over time, ulus changed shape from a broad lenticular form to a t-shaped form with tanged handles (Davies 2014). The Inuit modification of new objects and materials into ulus demonstrated the ingenuity of Inuit to preserve their culture or "Inuitness." Like lamps and pots, the presence of ulus denotes the presence of women in households. The addition of metal blades to these traditional tools during the earliest phases of the contract era suggests that women were early adopters of European-manufactured materials when they provided real benefits. The sharp blade afforded by iron would have aided in food preparation and in the manufacture of

skin goods (Cabak 1991 in Davies 2014:23). Hence, women's objects were amongst the first to be altered by European materials and marks the value of women's work in Inuit communities.

7.3.2 Harpoon (Naulak)

Figure 7.3.2 Naulak/ toggle harpoon head.

The naulak/harpoon in this study is another composite tool with a triangular, iron end blade inserted into a bone harpoon form attached with an iron rivet. This object was recovered from Double Mer Point (House 1) and dated to the mid-eighteenth century (Bohms 2015:86). Harpoons were made and used by Inuit for sea-mammal hunting. They are designed for the harpoon to strike the prey and then detach from shaft and foreshaft on a lead when thrown in order to tire the animal without losing it. Over time, some Inuit objects associated with hunting, like slate knives used to butcher the prey, were replaced by European-derived objects, but harpoons maintained the same

shape and purpose, though iron end blades quickly replaced the original slate end blades in harpoons used for hunting sea mammals probably because they were less likely to break during the hunt and retained their sharp edges longer. Thus, Inuit saw it as a technological advancement to repurpose European iron for their own purposes (Davies 2014:28; Matthiassen 1927:32).

Although not examined here, small harpoons were also made for and by children to practice hunting (Hardenberg 2009). These small tools would have been ineffective for hunting sea mammals, but the opportunity for children to both craft and practice hunting through play demonstrates the transmission of Inuit cultural knowledge between generations which ensured continuity of Inuit hunting traditions throughout the contact period and beyond. In fact, Edward, one of my interviewees, stated "I still take out time to clean and sharpen my harpoon before hunting. Most of my tools were given to me by my father, it brings me good luck when I am out on the land because I know his spirit is still in those objects." In this manner, harpoon-based hunting is a tradition that continues because it is tied towards Inuit subsistence and tradition.

Traditionally, Inuit subsisted primarily by hunting sea mammals. The pursuit of huge bowhead whales is the hallmark of Inuit subsistence, even if seals were unquestionably the basis of their food (Rankin 2009:5). The ideological importance of whaling is evident in eighteenth century ethnohistorical sources that describe elaborate shamanic rituals centered on whaling (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:235; Taylor 1979). Proficient hunters were well-respected members of the community, and their successful hunts supported their close relatives and often other households (Kaplan 1983). Hunting may therefore be considered a framework of both social support and leadership.

The pursuit of high-risk whale hunting was both labour and resource intensive. Successful hunts were never guaranteed, so subsistence was largely maintained by the seal-hunting economy.

But collective whale hunts, which united Inuit from various small villages, strengthened ties between Inuit groups, and in the end, this custom would be used to generate oil and baleen for the European markets, giving Inuit access to European goods in return (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357). During my field research in Nain, I spent time with Edward Sillitt who is a renowned hunter in the Inuit community. Like his father, he continues to hunt and considers the hunting occupation his family legacy. I also noticed that contemporary hunters continue to make donations of food to the community freezer in Nain. Such actions enable the same type of social security for the larger community that they did in pre-colonial times. In this way, the harpoon may be considered an object of cultural continuity

7.3.3 Bone Knife Handle

Figure 7.3.3 Knife handle.

Another composite artifact is a bone knife handle with iron rivets. The artifact does not have a blade attached to it, but the base of the handle has a groove where the blade would have attached. The iron rivets were used to secure the blade. This object was recovered from the floor of House 2 at Snack Cove 3, and dated to the early seventeenth century (Brewster 2005).

Inuit relied heavily on abundant sea mammal and caribou bone to manufacture many household items and objects associated with daily life. Since bone is a harder material than wood, it probably requires precision and skill to manufacture tools – a job assumed to be undertaken by Inuit men for their families (Davies 2014:92 2009). Inuit knives were used for food butchering and preparation such as cutting meat from carcasses and during the cooking process and consumption process (Cabak 1991 in Davies 2014:23). Pre-contact knives were made from slate or nephrite and the handles from bone, wood or antler (Davies 2014:24). The production of composite knives by Inuit that include both traditional Inuit and European-manufactured materials demonstrate how Inuit incorporated new and exotic materials introduced through contact into their daily lives. The craft of knife-making remains strong in Inuit communities today. During our interview, Dina noted that "locally produced knives are still stronger than foreign knives."

Table 7.3 Catalogue Details from Composite Tools Analysed.

Cat.No	Object	Square	Quad	Unit	Stratum	House	N-S	E-W	Depth	Material
96	Ulu	N492w77	-	1x1	X	2	492cm	477cm	10-20 cm	Iron, Wood
6745	Harpoon	N1000E970	sw(3)	1x1	L1	1	91-105cm	46cm	39cm	Iron bone
148	Knife handle	N490W475	1	1x1	-	2	491cm	476cm	26cm	Bone, Iron

Colour	Tech	Portion	Length	Width	Thick	Weight	Condition	Collection method	Remarks
Brown	Unknown	blade handle	90.6mm	78.7mm	3.8mm	23.4mm	Good	excavation	hole in handle not filled with wooden plug
brown yellow	hammered, cut, polished	All	100.61mm	34.61mm	2.50mm	34.28mm	Stable	excavation	found with the sled part
Brown	Unknown	Handle	6269mm	39.9mm	16.2mm	33.1mm	Good	Excavation	iron rivet

7.4.1: European origin objects: Iron

Figure 7.4.1a and b flattened Nail

Figure 7.4.1c, d and e: nail,

All of the sites examined included large numbers of European-manufactured iron nails. The collection of nails found at early Inuit settlement sites in southern Labrador occupied during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century suggests that Inuit had access to iron and other commodities which could be found in seasonal European fishing and whaling camps. Whole and modified nails scavenged from abandoned camps were then used as the raw material to make a variety of Inuit objects (Brewster 2005). According to my Inuit interviewees, iron was a favoured metal and their most plentiful resource, prevalent in all Inuit homes. Apparently, there is evidence of iron on almost every Labrador Inuit site occupied prior to European settlement (Wolfe 2013:107).

Two wrought iron nails were selected for study here, but in reality, represent many more recovered from the three sites examined, where they made up the vast majority of the metal artifacts discovered. Furthermore, many of these nails were purposefully altered. The two selected nails were recovered from House 1 (Figure 7.4.1c, d and e) and 2 (Figure 7.4.1a and b), in Snack Cove 3. Unlike the nails photographed for this study, nearly every nail or spike connected to House 1 had undergone some sort of modification, though some unmodified nails may have been used in the house construction (Brewster 2005; Wolfe 2013). In total, 88% of the nails discovered in House 1 had been altered, as well as 86% of the recovered nails from House 2. The most common alteration includes the removal of the nail head so that the shaft might be hammered into a new object. For example, two found nails had been hammered into harpoon end blades in shape and seem to have been flattened in order to manufacture harpoon heads like that seen in Figure 7.3.2. The heads had been removed from approximately half of the modified nails collected from Snack Cove 3. The other half had been modified by flattening the entirety of the shaft. This indicates that nails were gathered by Inuit not to be used as fasteners, but rather to be intentionally or incidentally

modified (Wolfe 2013). Thus, Inuit cold hammered nails into many different traditional forms (Jordan 1978).

Inuit have a long history of manipulating, using and trading metal, dating back to their ancestors who manipulated and traded meteoritic iron (McCartney 1991:30) and Inuit throughout the Arctic maintained inter-community trade routes to exchange valuable goods like iron between their communities (Jordan 1978; Wolfe 2013; Rankin 2024). European iron may have been adopted by Inuit as early as the 12th or 13th centuries in the eastern Arctic, probably through direct or indirect trade with the Norse in Greenland (Schledermann 1996; Schledermann 2000 in Stopp 2002:97). While iron was not essential to Inuit lifeways, it had valuable uses for construction and in tool manufacture as it was pliable and strong for making ulus, knives, harpoons and other tools. The presence of European iron in Labrador did not change traditional Inuit economies as it was primarily used for traditional subsistence. Furthermore, some objects produced by the iron, such as the harpoon end blade above, may be linked to traditional practices such as meat sharing which have helped in the maintenance of traditional Inuit culture (Davies 2014).

Having prior knowledge of European iron may have informed the trade system that ultimately developed between Inuit and Europeans in Labrador – although the earliest trade between Basque and French fisher-whalers and Inuit was likely indirect as Inuit scavenged from seasonally abandoned European sites (Brice-Bennet 1977:79). However, for Europeans, trade with Inuit quickly became an essential part of early voyages and was fueled by European need for such commodities as furs, seal oil, whale oil, baleen, whale bone, walrus oil and tusks (Arendt 2010:84). Likewise, Inuit became increasingly interested in European commodities and the trade between various European nations and the Inuit became regularized as the Inuit coastal trade network grew. Coastal trade networks were maintained until the English governed Labrador. In this way, the nail

is the object that best represents the history of Inuit trade on the Labrador coast, and the agency of Inuit to use this trade to support their daily lives and cultural practices.

In 1771, the British invited Moravians to settle in Labrador to help keep Inuit away from the British fishing fleets. They gave Moravians permission to control the Inuit trade from their mission stations. Until Moravians arrived there was no significant European settlement in Labrador. The Moravian presence changed the nature of the trade network – its location, size and even the goods exchanged, but trade continued to be an important Inuit activity throughout the missionization era (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). During my interviews, I realized trade is still an Inuit occupation because most of my interviewees produced different Inuit household items for sale, "although they bring in some items for us to buy but we still prefer our materials" said Dina!

Inuit likely traded for nails because they offered a compact and malleable source of iron which was easy to manipulate into a variety of useful objects. Nails were, essentially, a raw material which could be transported with relative ease over long-distances. They helped to create the Labrador coastal trade route between Inuit and Europeans, but were not used for expected European purposes. Instead, the use of nails by contact period Inuit demonstrates that they were resourceful and willing to integrate materials of European manufacture when they made sense and made their culture stronger (Wolfe 2013). In this way the nail is not only the most significant symbol of trade, but of Inuit resiliency.

Table 7.4.1 Catalogue Details of Nails Analysed.

Cat.No	Oject	Class	Square	Quad	Unit	House	N-S	E-W	Depth	Material
502	Nail	Metal	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	Iron
513	Nail	Metal	N486W436	1	1x1	1	48.6	48.6	36	Iron

Colour	Tech	Portion	Length	Width	Thick	Weight	Condition	Collection method	Remark
red/ brown/ orange	wrought	head/ shaft	121.3mm	19.7mm	19.7mm	13mm	Good	Excavation	East Platform tampered nail with square head.
brown/r ed	wrought	head/ shaft	90.4mm	17.5mm	8.98mm	14.5mm	Good	Excavation	Square head

7.4.2 Brass sword Hilt

Figure 7.4.2a and b: two Sides of a French sword hilt (prestige item).

The sword hilt in this study is made of brass. It was part of an eighteenth-century French sword, found in a large communal house (House 5) at the site of Huntingdon Island 5 (Murphy 2011:70). The term "hilt" refers to the entire handle portion, which together with a blade, constitutes a sword. The hilt portion represented in Figure 7.4.2a and b is a hand guard in a "half-heart shape" (Neumann 1973:79). Hilts of this variety were carried by French grenadiers during the first half of the eighteenth century and were manufactured from 1725 to 1750 (Neumann 1973:79). The type of sword that would accompany the hilts is known as the *pontet simple sword* and would have been carried by a French officer (Bryce 1984:31).

Sword blade pieces have also been recovered at another Inuit site dating to the same period located approximately 100 km NW of Huntingdon Island 5 (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). The presence of the sword blades at a site so close to Huntingdon Island 5 is intriguing, especially when one considers that an average French sailor in Labrador would not likely carry a sword with them (Murphy 2011:70). It is possible that Inuit cut items like swords into pieces and moved them

through established trade networks, as they would be valuable commodities even in partial form (Murphy 2011:70).

European swords were significant defensive tools in the eighteenth century, but they also served as symbols and visual cues of social standing to their European owners (Bryce 1984:31; Neumann 1973:51). As Neumann (1973:51) succinctly put it, "To ordinary soldier or sailor the sword was a 'last resort' weapon when face-to-face at close quarters," swords were particularly valuable in the colonial environment. However, the story of Gasper de Corte Real's travels, examined in Chapter Four, shows documented captives possessing a broken sword, probably as a symbol of authority or social status (Holly et al. 2010:37; Karklins 1992:194).

The sword hilt examined in this study was initially recovered attached to a sinew thong and may have been worn by Inuit to distinguish social status as traders (Rankin 2024). Given the nature of the artifact, a sword, it may have represented the bravery of the wearer, or a protector of the community (Holly et al. 2010:37; Karklins 1992:194), but certainly we can consider this a prestige item. Prestige items represent exclusivity and were often afforded to Inuit traders who held on to exotic items for themselves and their families rather than allowing these goods to enter the trade system (Fay 2015; Rankin 2024). The sword in this study represents varying ideas about social status: one acquired through trade and control; the other through service to community. My informant Maria, for example, recalled her father holding social status for his services to the community. Both ideas ultimately reflect the rarity of the prestige item.

Table 7.4.2 Catalogue Details from Sword Prestige Item Analysed.

Cat.No	Object	Stratum	Quad	House	N-S	E-W	Depth	Datum	Material
763	Sword hilt	L 2	4	5	87cm	92cm	10-20 cm	65cm	copper

Colour	Tech	Portion	Length	Width	Thick	Weight	Condition	Collection method	Remarks
Green /brown	wrought	Hilt	95.81mm	50.56mm	3.38mm	48.3mm	Fair	Excavation	Semi-circular copper piece with one straight edge and rectangular hole.

7.4.3 Ceramics

Figure 7.4.3a and b: French Martincamp stoneware fragment found at Snack Cove 3.

Figure 7.4.3c: Imaginary photoshop where fragment (Figure 7.4.3a and b) might fit into an actual pot.

Figure 7.4.3d Refitted Normandy Stoneware

The excavated assemblage from the house floors of Snack Cove 3, House 1 and 2 included 24 Normandy Stoneware fragments from various production regions (Brewster 2005), as well as two fragments of a rare Martincamp condiment vessel manufactured in Dieppe, France in the last quarter of the 16th century (Figure 7.4.3a and b) (Rankin 2015:143). Normandy stoneware was made in three primary production areas. The first was Domfront, which started manufacturing in 1402 and is based in the villages of Ger and Ger-sur-Mer; Bessin and Cotentin, which are centred in the villages of Vindefontaines, Nehou, and Saussemenil (Brassard and Leclerc 2001). Normandy stonewares were primarily jars and bottles with flanged lids and round, strapped handles. They were created in enormous quantities and were frequently used as storage for items like butter, other dairy products, and cider (Burns 1991). Nine pieces of Normandy stoneware from

House 2 (Figure 7.4.3d) were reassembled to create a half bottle side with a lip, a little horizontal handle, and a shoulder strap (Brewster 2005).

It is important to point out that Inuit did not manufacture these ceramics but acquired them directly, or more likely indirectly, from Europeans from seasonally abandoned European fishing/whaling sites (Rankin et al. 2012). Snack Cove 3 produced one of the earliest assemblages of European goods recovered on Inuit sites in Labrador it is interesting to see what European items Inuit found worth acquiring during this early phase of contact – particularly since this site predates any kind of formal trade (Rankin et al. 2012). These ceramics may have been of interest to Inuit as a new raw material to experiment with. For instance, some of the French Normandy stonewares appear to have been tested for use as a cooking pots or lamps because small amounts of burnt residue were discovered inside the stoneware fragments (Figure 7.4.3d) that might have developed as a result of the Inuit using the object as a lamp. However, such experimentation proves that Inuit found their soapstone lamps to be better, perhaps more efficient as they continue to be used, but there is little evidence that ceramics continued to be used in this way (Rankin et al. 2012).

Table: 7.4.3 Catalogue Details from Ceramics Analysed.

Cat.no	Object	Square	Quad	Unit	House	N-S	E-W	Depth	Material	Colour
44,661	Normandy stoneware fragment	N489W476	2	1x1	2	490cm	476cm	10-20 cm	refined stoneware	brown
22,153, 663	bottle handle	N489W476	1	1x1	2	490cm	477cm	23cm	Stoneware	brown, grey

Tech	Portion	Length	Width	Thick	Weight	Condition	Collection method	Remark
wheel thrown	body, rim	3.9mm	5.8mm	1.1mm	145mm	Good	Excavation	fragment from Normandy stoneware
wheel thrown	handle, body	8.8mm	14.5mm	1.4mm	126.6mm	Good	Excavation	Normandy stoneware bottle fragments

7.5 Discussion

The artifacts studied above show the range of Inuit object use and craftsmanship throughout the early contact period and include items of traditional materials and use, such as soapstone, as well as hybrid objects made from both traditional Inuit and European iron that replaced Inuit objects used in daily life, such as the harpoon and end blade, and ulu. They also include objects made solely from European metals, such as nails and the brass sword hilt – though these objects were also used in a traditional Inuit fashion rather than their intended European fashion. In their own ways, each of these items demonstrated a continuity of Inuit tradition and made use of Inuit technological knowledge and ingenuity regardless of the raw material used.

The continued use of bone and soapstone as raw materials conveys an obvious Inuit cultural continuity. However, the manner in which European commodities were worked, used and incorporated into the Inuit toolkit so soon after contact demonstrates that European goods were largely seen as raw material which perhaps offered performance advantages to traditional tools rather than new objects which altered the Inuit lifeway. Instead, they simply increased the variety of materials available to Inuit. Some materials, like slate ulu and knife blades, were no longer produced after European iron was available, but other objects, such as soapstone oil lamps, continued to be manufactured by traditional methods, demonstrating that Inuit craftspeople were selective in how they incorporated new materials into the objects of everyday life, and that new materials were adopted and adapted in ways that best suited Inuit culture. The iron, especially nails, are perhaps most indicative of this process. The vast majority of the nails found at the sites examined were modified to meet Inuit needs (Rankin 2009). The bone–iron knife handle and the iron–bone ulu serve as evidence of this. In these cases, and others, the iron that the Inuit had

acquired had been altered into a more recognizable Inuit form. Such modifications reflect Inuit agency and strength in culture and lifeways which continues even with new source materials.

The objects selected were also chosen for what they might tell us about Inuit life at contact, and not simply how they made their objects of daily life. In this respect, I have used them to discuss age, gender and the status of the user. In most cases miniature pots, like the one examined, were made by female children learning how to cook and cater for their families, while soapstone lamps were owned by the senior women in a household. Men were hunters, the users of harpoons and provided most of the sustenance needed. A successful hunter assumed a high status among the community. These are all traditional Inuit family pursuits. Interestingly, the French sword hilt (Figure 7.4.2a and b) hints at a new status – one acquired by contact and perhaps trade with Europeans, suggesting that contact did in fact offer new opportunities for individuals within Inuit society – but that new status may also be something largely conveyed to other Inuit and built into a system that already purveyed status to good hunters and exceptional shaman long before Inuit even arrived in Labrador. Even the new Inuit coastal trade route, which promoted the exchange of Inuit produced goods for those of European manufacture, can be seen to have been from earlier forms of Inuit-to-Inuit trade recognized in the Arctic, so the role of "trader" may also be a traditional occupation (Rankin 2024). From my interviews with Inuit Elders, I learnt that ritual or ceremonial objects are usually considered professional equipment, used by those taking part in supernatural activities, so perhaps the sword hilt was afforded to a professional trader or specialist. A profession-based status, even a new one, makes perfect sense within Inuit cultural norms.

The spiritual, gender and social worlds of the Inuit living on the Labrador coast between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were under attack by people who came from distant shores. Inuit response was to amplify and elaborate cultural practices using their status. This was a cultural

performance in which symbols of prosperity, power, gender and "Inuitness" were prominently displayed, and further enhancement of leadership roles were part of this performance (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). They shared a solidarity forged from community alliances negotiated through communal residence, cultural displays, and enhanced leadership which ultimately resisted colonial imposition. This observation suggests that those cultural developments that archaeologists often read as indicators of ecological and economic success, such as the communal house and the powerful shaman might also be signs of profound cultural resilience that continued to manufacture traditional materials for Inuit purposes.

The Inuit objects selected speak to the resilience and cultural continuity among the Inuit. In a time when great change was introduced to their land through contact and trade with outsiders, Inuit objects testify to the choices made by Inuit families, and shed light on the nature of Inuit resistance, as well as accommodation, to Western manufactured products and trade. These objects help us understand Inuit agency and resilience that is not recorded in Western documentation and demonstrate that Inuit culture was strong, successful and undeterred by European encounters. Furthermore, contact with these alien cultures can be viewed best as a complex series of adjustments by both Europeans and Inuit groups, especially in the absence of direct socio-political and military dominance by one group over the other. The strength demonstrated by Inuit throughout the early contact period situates and helps to explain the resilience of Labrador Inuit culture seen today.

7.6 Conclusion

As a non-Inuit archaeologist, I have attempted to relate my understanding of Indigenous resilience to that of Inuit resilience through a study of Inuit objects. This is from an outsider's

perspective, and I cannot write it as perfectly as I feel it; rather, I understand that Indigenous Knowledge is inherent within a culture and can be characterized by Inuit experiences, identity and their understanding of the world as they crossed the Arctic to Labrador and during their lengthy adaptation to an alien culture presence.

The self-determination of the Inuit cannot be debated, the descriptions of the objects taken from artifact assemblages recovered from Inuit settlements indicate that residents carried out an independent way of life that relied on both knowledge of traditional resources as well as items which they adapted during contact with Europeans. During the contact period it may be that Inuit culture patterns were enhanced; Inuit leaders became powerful in part through trade and commanded large families. But even these new events were situated in deep Inuit tradition (Rankin and Crompton 2016a).

From the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Labrador Inuit became involved in increasingly complicated webs of interaction with Europeans visiting the Labrador coast to fish and trade. These Inuit became central to a system of coastal trade whereby both utilitarian and prestige items were acquired from Europeans in the south, and exchanged for products such as ivory, baleen, hides and oil from the Inuit in the north (Rankin and Crompton 2016a). Eventually, structures of Inuit households changed from single-family dwellings to large multi-family structures – expanding the community to accommodate this trade. Prominent people in these households, both men and women, emerged as powerful leaders and traders (Brice-Bennett 1977). We know this from the Periodical Accounts of the Moravian missionaries (Arendt 2010; Taylor 1977 in Loring 1998). Nevertheless, these records are inherently biased in that it is the perspective of European mercantile and parochial interests that tell the story. Theoretically, it is believed that archaeology has the potential to provide insights on Labrador Inuit socioeconomics, philosophy,

ideology and subsistence strategies that are not dependent on these obviously biased accounts as the archaeological record is derived from the material cultural residue of Inuit choices and actions. In the absence of Inuit written accounts and records, archaeology affords an opportunity to provide an Inuit voice in the construction of local history. Thus, the analysis of archaeological objects from the Labrador coast aids the deconstruction of colonial discourse on Indigenous communities and demonstrates the deep feelings of continuity, which are perhaps the very essence of Inuit culture (Rankin 2009; Rankin et al. 2015). And in this case archaeology has demonstrated that Inuit culture thrived well throughout the early phases of contact. The materialistic bias of an archaeological perspective has the potential to empower a new voice, that of the Inuit themselves, in interpreting Labrador Inuit history. Archaeological deposits contain materials that testify to the choices made by Inuit families, and shed light on the nature of their resilience.

I must conclude by acknowledging that later, from the late eighteenth century onwards, and after the objects discussed above were discarded, the Moravian missionization of Labrador Inuit would test their resilience as they were asked to settle beside their newly constructed missions, convert to Christianity, and produce new products for trade. In principle the Moravian Church wanted to avoid altering Inuit lifestyles (in the sense that they should not change their manner of dress, their basic technology, their language or their subsistence practices). But in order to make religious plans to successfully establish settled winter communities of Christian Inuit viable, the Moravians adopted policies which had wide ranging repercussions. By encouraging caching of food and short hunting expeditions, limiting access to large tracts of land and resources, and discouraging interaction between converts and heathens, the Mission altered Inuit subsistence practices and changed the nature of Inuit relationships with one another (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Yet the Moravians soon realized that the nature of Labrador Inuit resilience would force alteration

of their plan as it was clear that for an independent, settled community to exist local resources and Inuit traditional knowledge was needed, thus customs and culture proved resilient yet again.

Chapter Eight

Discussion, Implications and Future directions

8.1 Introduction

European colonialism eventually spread throughout the world, expanding their control over societies thousands of miles from their shores and intentionally encroaching on Indigenous lands and communities to take what Indigenous people had that Europeans did not have (Bonvillain 2018).

Indigenous/European contact was initially made possible through both travel and trade as advances to sailing vessels, navigation, and mapmaking enabled European explorers to access the world (Afigbo 1975; Rankin and Crompton 2016). Europeans then used their objects to lure Indigenous communities into new relationships, and while some communities, such as Igbo and Inuit initially embraced this opportunity, those who resisted were sometimes subjected to threats (Bonvillain 2018). This was soon followed by economic, religious and political colonialisms, which thoroughly subjugated Indigenous peoples. The legacies of European colonialism have affected and are still affecting many Indigenous populations today who are struggling to decolonize themselves – as colonial and neocolonial policies have never left the consciences of many people.

8.2 Discussion

This dissertation aimed to untangle colonial influence on Indigenous peoples and decolonize archaeology, using examples drawn from Igbo in Nigeria and Inuit in Labrador. In

order to accomplish this goal, I undertook four distinct analyses: Critical Indigenous Reading of Literature; Giving Voice: Interviews; Artifact Collections of Igbo Objects; and Artifact Collections of Inuit Objects. Each of these studies seeks to decolonize archaeology in different ways, bringing attention to the colonial nature of the archaeological discipline and different approaches to its decolonization. Yet together, these studies tie together all the elements of language, material culture and Indigenous existence and experience to demonstrate the significance of cultural continuities and their role in reinforcing resilient Indigenous identities.

In this work, the analysis of texts in Chapter Four demonstrates the history and ongoing colonial nature of archaeology in both Igboland and Labrador, which continues to hamper Indigenous representation and their own understandings of their history. For years, Indigenous people have lived with negative narratives about them written and perpetuated by colonialism. Colonial histories and archaeological literature have, until recently, controlled the way that Indigenous history has been shared with the world and have essentially silenced Indigenous historical accounts (Supernant et al. 2020). In order for this to change, Indigenous history must undergo a process of decolonization to enable Indigenous people to have agency over their own history. There is no single route for this to happen, but postcolonial critiques (outlined in Chapter Three and Chapter Four) have suggested new participatory approaches, which can give voice to the voiceless and underrepresented, recognize the significance of Indigenous knowledge, and offer room for narratives of Indigenous resilience. Representing only Western knowledge has negatively affected not only the Indigenous people who are being silenced but also the general understanding of their history. Most of my generation was taught that Indigenous Traditional Knowledge was uninformed, unscientific, and outdated and something that must be replaced with scientific Western Knowledge. This is an ethnocentric viewpoint, which hurts efforts to understand

Indigenous Traditional Knowledge and to communicate with Indigenous people. Instead, the teachings and writings of academics should integrate Traditional Knowledge as an empirical science similar to laboratory science (Atalay 2012:207). Traditional Knowledge and Western empirical science are simply two different ways of viewing the world; neither one is better than the other, and a combination of both methods will give more valid results to describe the past to the present (Bartlett et al. 2012).

The interviews included in Chapter Five of this dissertation demonstrate some of the ways that Indigenous people still hold their traditions and culture, and celebrate Indigenous resilience. Interviewees spoke with passion and enthusiasm about their cultural identity and ways to preserve them. Indigenous people have found ways to keep their practices, beliefs, spirituality, and history through colonization because these things create and inform their identity as groups and individuals. Neither the people nor their histories can be understood without Indigenous contributions. Listening to Elders and Knowledge Holders of both Igbo and Inuit cultures creates an understanding of their history and shapes cultural heritage protocols. Such discussions demonstrate Indigenous agency in the early phases of contact and colonization and incorporate Indigenous voices in interpreting history drawn from extensive interview questions. Ultimately, this participatory approach, which involves direct communication with Indigenous peoples, helps view archaeology from the lens of Indigeneity, and it was their voices that helped me to interpret the cultural objects examined in Chapters Six and Chapter Seven.

The object analyses in Chapters Six and Chapter Seven have shown how Indigenous communities were not swayed to abandon traditions by their trade relations with Europeans, but perhaps these materials enhanced traditions. Chapter Six presented ethnographic items (more recent Igbo items) that show Igbo traditions, and thus traditional Igbo culture, continued to thrive

long after full-blown colonialism, and that it is alive today. Without an Indigenous understanding of these objects, archaeological analysis merely demonstrates Western authority and ownership of the past. The colonial control of Indigenous pasts creates a disjuncture that not only separates Indigenous people from their histories, but creates the illusion that we do not have a history, and are certainly not living today in ways that are influenced by this history. But it is our past – something that archaeologists must learn as Indigenous people reclaim their histories. Archaeology can still have a role in narrating our history as it brings skills and knowledge which are beneficial to reconstructing the deep past, but the unique tools and objects of Indigenous people hold the record of our history as we understand it as well - of the powerful roles of men, women, Elders and two-spirited people in Indigenous society, and how they shaped contemporary Indigenous societies. These are the connections that colonizing European concepts sought to destabilize. As we move closer to decolonizing, we must keep emphasizing how Indigenous history has been hidden and rewritten through the colonial era and make efforts for everyone to learn from the shared past as we begin to tell our own stories again. Archaeologists' attempts to piece together Indigenous history from material remains can never be complete without including the people's own understanding of their histories.

Similarly, Chapter Seven presented Inuit objects that told Inuit stories according to their ancestors. From an outsider's perspective, Inuit objects are more ineffable aspects of culture (spirituality, language, cosmology) and provide an intergenerational link that tells an Indigenous story of a resilient human society. However, from my perspective as an Indigenous archaeologist, I related to Inuit objects as living entities created with rational thoughts and actions to imbibe Inuit lifeways. Only when archaeologists view Indigenous objects as living entities can they hear the stories they carry and give appropriate interpretations. Without individual archaeologists making

sure that they practice archaeology in ways that support Indigenous people, there cannot be changes at higher levels where archaeologists work, such as universities, museums, and governments (Supernant et al. 2020). Nor will the world read our histories as they should be told. Having said this, the meanings given to artifacts or places or experiences can change, depending on who is experiencing them and what the context is. Therefore, when the analysis of Indigenous artifacts includes the thoughts of Indigenous people, the analysis can be more complex and demonstrate the relations between past people and their things. However, alienating Indigenous people from their history has allowed archaeologists and museums to claim ownership over Indigenous artifacts and archaeological sites and to profit from them both financially and authoritatively. I believe that Indigenous archaeology can be even more significant if the archaeologist is Indigenous because it allows the author to play a role in the historical narrative. This is not only a benefit to archaeology in the form of new and important knowledge, but it further connects the archaeologist to their own history and gives them a voice to speak about it, when historically they have not had one. In this manner, our history can be passed on to new generations (Blakey 2020). There is a tremendous need for Indigenous archaeology – that is, archaeology of Indigenous sites done by or in collaboration with Indigenous people (Atalay 2012). This is being attempted today, but collaboration can often be tokenized, diminished to the legal requirements without any real effort to respect the wishes of the affected Indigenous people over their objects (Supernant and Warrick 2014). Only when it is done by all archaeologists because it is the right and ethical process will we have decolonized the discipline.

Each of the chapters in this dissertation presented different ways to approach decolonization, from understanding the background of Igboland and Nunatsiavut as existing communities before colonization to demonstrating the ways in which historical and archaeological

language must change to eradicate negative tropes of the Indigenous past, to the use of postcolonial theories and methods in applied example studies. Throughout the dissertation, I sought to apply Indigenous voices and analyze Igbo and Inuit objects from an Indigenous perspective to tell Indigenous stories – all of which speaks to decolonization.

By connecting my background studies and theoretical context with the various methodological approaches used in specific case studies, I realized that Indigenous archaeology was possible because Indigenous voices could be heard and integrated back into their history; it gave us and our histories agency. These methodologies worked together to trace the past interpretation to present voices and to provide adequate suggestions through physical irrefutable archaeological evidence to re-appropriate our past. These methodologies expressed the concerns and emotions of Indigenous people and created a space for understanding how intergenerational struggle impacts Indigenous communities (Supernant et al. 2020). Perhaps in the future, these methods and similar collaborative practices in archaeology can help to bridge the gap between communities and archaeology, making it a more sustainable discipline for everyone.

8.3 Conclusion

For generations, archaeologists continued to pursue a colonial agenda which supported their own versions of Indigenous history as their authority (Trigger 1984 in Supernant 2020:1). Igbo and Inuit are not taught their own lived histories in schools, but must seek this education outside the classroom. I passed through such an education system as a child, reading only stories with white name characters and place names, but my Igbo agency persisted because I so strongly desired to pass forward the gift of my identity. I recall one of my professors in my undergraduate class teaching us that Egyptian hieroglyphics recorded the first histories in Africa. Yet Igbo did

not use hieroglyphics – did that mean that we had no history? We were not taught that Igbo had an alphabet called Ñsibidi and that the calculation matrix of Okwé and Mkpïsi were the foundations of our civilization.

As supposed authorities, archaeologists have chosen to base their interpretations of Indigenous pasts on scientific facts – but they decided what those facts overruled Indigenous Knowledge. Even our fundamental understanding of the significance of site features and elements were/are filtered through a Western paradigm (Atalay 2006:289). As a result, archaeology continues to treat Indigenous peoples as objects of study while excluding them from their history and debunking their beliefs (Supernant 2020:5). Considering the way archaeology has presented the Indigenous past, it is not surprising that Indigenous groups today may doubt the usefulness or relevance of archaeological research or oppose any archaeological research on their land (Two Bears 2006:382). To authentically portray the history of Indigenous peoples, we need an Indigenous-focused approach in archaeology, teaching more Indigenous archaeologists, including more collaborative and holistic approaches to understanding the Indigenous past and assisting Indigenous tribes in reclaiming their cultural heritage. Therefore, it is essential to transform our discipline into one that is more respectful of Indigenous values and that we continue to draw attention to the colonial presumptions that permeate our studies.

Indigenous-centered archaeology has value for communities because it demonstrates the retention of culture and memory and speaks to the heart of Indigenous people who wish to tell their story. Yet, the oral histories that Indigenous people have passed down through generations have been ignored by academic experts for many years because Indigenous people were not considered to be experts in their own history (Miller 2011). Such racist and ethnocentric thought prioritizes knowledge gained by outsiders from fragmentary records. Although archaeology can

be an impressive source of information, it is by nature less precise than historical records, either written or oral. Therefore, this dissertation upholds the Indigenous ownership of their history and of the archaeology done in their name. It empowers Indigenous people to control how their history is studied and interpreted, hence opening new areas of research for archaeologists who want to understand the history of these people. It allows for the voices of living Indigenous people and their ancestors to be heard through the stories they have passed down through generations. While archaeology cannot possibly change the world's inequalities on its own, it can serve as an important tool and part of a broader change in the world toward enfranchising Indigenous and marginalized voices (Supernant et al. 2020).

As modern archaeologists we should question why all archaeology is not Indigenous archaeology. If archaeology is the study of the past, then the past should be traced to its roots. Although Indigenous archaeology was created primarily to address issues relating to Indigenous people, its guiding concepts are transferable to archaeology and can help it grow as a science (Nicholas 2008a). In order to develop a more self-reflective and holistic profession, archaeology can integrate Indigenous archaeology's emphasis on ethical and culturally appropriate behaviour at all levels of research. For instance, combining oral traditions, spiritual beliefs, and various viewpoints is equally relevant in Indigenous contexts as it is to other archaeological sites with divergent ideas. A more thorough comprehension of the past encourages more voices of people from different cultural backgrounds who will ask new questions and offer different opinions (Atalay 2012). Indigenous archaeology can be the catalyst for archaeological change, with its new ethics, practices and methods. Instead of continuing to separate Indigenous archaeology from the rest of discipline, we should start incorporating these techniques and ideas to create a decolonized, holistic approach to archaeology (Supernant et al. 2020).

The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) defines Indigenous archaeology as a "worldwide archaeology that recognizes the historical and social role, and the political context, of archaeology, and the need to make archaeological studies relevant to the wider community" (WAC 2005). This is a perfect illustration of how archaeology should reflect the histories of all people, rather than a few Western, authoritative voices. George Nicholas refers to this as the "maturing" of the archaeology discipline (Nicholas 2010:40). It is time for us to mature.

This dissertation has shown that Indigenous archaeology can reflect a diversity of approaches and represents my perspective of what Indigenous history and archeology might be. My discussions on Indigenous agencies show that resilience is not about immunity to pain. Rather, it is about us, as Indigenous people, finding the strength to withstand strain – to be resilient. The Indigenous voices in this dissertation refer to the reproduction of knowledge as communicating experiences from older to younger generations and suggest that this is a way to manage archaeological knowledge more broadly, by promoting communal access to knowledge using traditional tools and methods.

The analyses conducted with both Inuit and Igbo people and their material cultures told the same story of resilience. While culturally distinct and separated by 1000s of kilometres, these Indigenous communities were similar to one another because they lived and managed difficult situations that colonialism created on their land. Their major concerns were and are to teach their children about their identity and their ways of living on their lands. It is clear, however, that these two Indigenous peoples did not succumb to colonization, but found ways to endure. As resilient people, we have survived into this new period of decolonization. That we are still here, on Inuit and Igbo lands, speaks to our resiliency, our ongoing learning about our Indigenous identities and how we can be proud and honour the cultures that sustain us. We use strategies from our ancestors

to walk in this world, and we will continue the agenda to be recognized and respected as valued members of this society with our own agency constructed from our own cultures, even when actualizing our independence seems impossible.

To sum up, as an Indigenous person, I understood that archaeology, particularly Indigenous archaeology, might allow me a way to reclaim sovereignty of my history and point the way for other Indigenous people to take up this space. I also continue to understand that Indigenous communities have been marginalized by archaeology, and for the time being, we need to actively focus on rebalancing the power so that our own stories and histories are heard. However, Indigenous archaeology is necessary for archaeology, and by incorporating Indigenous values into archaeology, we will ensure that archaeology is no longer a Western and colonial discipline, but a more comprehensive and moral archaeology that can better portray the diversity of human history, including but not limited to our resilient Indigenous communities.

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Appendix 1

(Copy)

Steam Ship "Plover"
Notre Dame Bay,
Newfoundland.
Thursday July 21, 1887.

My Dear Mother,

I posted my last letter to you in the Hotel at St. John's on Monday night last. On the Tuesday (19th) morning we went down to the "Plover" (the coast steamer) at about 8 o'clock with all our baggage in a cart, saw it safely on board, most of it being stowed in the long-boat and returned to breakfast - paid the bill - and sailed punctually at 10 a.m. There were a great many passengers - 30 at least, including about ten clergymen returning to their parishes after a Synod just held at St. John's. Heygate is the only University man here except Curlings and the Bishop and many of the other clergyman are hardly gentlemen, but they are mostly very good fellows. It was rather rough when we started and nearly everyone was ill. At 3 p.m. we stopped at a stupid little village called Bay de Verd - where a Miss Ilon who came over in the Nova Scotian left us. Then we went on and the sea grew calmer and has been quite flat and lovely ever since. At 3 p.m. on Tuesday we stopped at the most lovely place I ever saw called Rinty, which consists of a large fishing village on a most magnificent harbour - an ideal place for a summer holiday, with salmon and trout-fishing and sea fishing and perfect boating in the creeks and fjords of the harbour and no visitors. We had an hour on shore there and got some tea and Devonshire Cream and jam - all home made. At 11 p.m. we reached a place called Catalina and then I turned in. Bonavista at 1.30 a.m Kings Cove at 4. a.m Greensford at 10.30 a.m. on Wednesday.

a.29

Appendix 2

10.30.p.m At about 7 p.m we passed close by two fine whales within a few yards of us and for the last two miles we have been ploughing our way through a mass of capelin, fish rather smaller than herrings. They look beautiful in the night, each of them appearing as a mass of phosphorous darting away from the bows of the ship. The sea is alive with them. We are at this moment rounding the extreme North of Newfoundland. The ship's course lies a long way west, right into Canada, as far as Bonne Esperance, then back again instead of going straight across. It makes the voyage about two days longer, but I don't mind, as it is the loveliest voyage I ever had and it is cheap living - £2. 10. 0 from last Tuesday to next Monday - everything found.

Lanee à Loup, Labrador.

9 p.m. Saturday, July 23. 1887.

We had a quiet night as usual and reached Flowers' Cove on the N. W. of Newfoundland at about 7. 30 a.m this morning and then started to cross the Straits of Belle Isle. The Labrador Coast was in sight almost all the time - our first view of Labrador. We reached Blanc Sablon at about 10.30 a.m - dropped the mails without stopping and went on West to the Salmon River and Bonne Esperance in Canada. The river at Blanc Sablon being the boundary between Labrador and the Province of Quebec. At Salmon River the Captain took Duff and me to see a factory for making manure of the refuse of cod - which does not smell half so bad as one might expect - not so bad nearly as the lobster factory. We left Salmon River about 1 p.m and made for Bonne Esperance, two or three miles East. There lay the gunboat "Bullfrog" an officer of which visited us. Thence to Forteau, which we reached at

5. 33

Appendix 3

List of Informants

Names of Interview	Age Range (10 years interval)	Identity	Location	Occupation	Method or Interview
Boaz Bennet	70-80	Inuit	Nain	Sewing Knowledge keeper	In-person
Dina Maggo	70-80	Inuit	Nain	Elder/steward Nunatsiavut Government House	In-person
Ebonyi Onah	60-70	Igbo	Nsukka	Lecturer/Knowledge holder	Phone Video Call
Edward Sillitt	40-50	Inuit	Nain	Hunter	In-person
Emily Suarak	30-40	Inuit	Nain	Radio producer	In-person
Ifeanyi Onah	30-40	Igbo	St.John's	Lawyer/Activist	In-person
Julius Jarasuse	50-60	Inuit	Nain	Knowledge holder	In-person
Maria Merkuratsuk	70-80	Inuit	Nain	Elder/Knowledge holder	In-person
Nkechi Okonkwo	70-80	Igbo	Nsukka	Elder/Knowledge holder	Phone Video Call
Ñmirinma Ezeme	70-80	Igbo	Obollo-Afor	Elder/Knowledge holder	Phone Video Call
Nwabueze Udeagha	80-90	Igbo	Nsukka	Elder/Knowledge holder	Phone Video Call
Obinna Udeagha	40-50	Igbo	Enugu	Engineer/knowledge holder	Phone Video Call
Osita Udeagha	30-40	Igbo	Enugu	Accountant/Actvist	Phone Video Call
Rutie Dicker	70-80	Inuit	Nain	Elder/Knowledge holder at Nunatsiavut government building	In-person
Silpa Suarak	50-60	Inuit	Nain	Knowledge holder/Worker at Nunatsiavut government building	In-person
Ukwueze Ijenwogo	80-90	Igbo	Enugu	Elder/Knowledge holder	Phone Video Call

Appendix 4

List of Texts Reviewed

No	Author	Title	Year
1	Abel, Kerry	"Tangled, Lost and Bitter?" Current directions in writing the native history in Canada	1996
2	Abia, OT, Nneka Amalu and Chrisantus Ariche	Osu-Caste system and Human Right in Igboland 1900-2017	2021
3	Achebe, Chinua	Things Fall Apart	1958
4	Achebe, Chinua	There was a Country	2012
5	Acholonu, Catherine	They Lived Before Adam: Prehistoric Origins of the Igbo the Never-Been-Ruled	2009
6	Afigbo, Adiele	Prolegomena to the Study of the Culture History of the Igbo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria. Igbo Language and Culture	1975
7	Afigbo, Adiele	Ropes of Dans: Studies in Igbo History and Culture	1981
8	Andah, Bassey	Urban Origins in the Guinea Forest with Special Reference to Benin	1982
9	Andah, Bassey	Nigeria's Indigenous Technology	1992
10	Anozie, F.N.	Archaeology of Igboland: the Early Prehistory	2002
11	Ames,R.	Land Use in the Postville Region	1977
12	Anozie, F.N, Vincent Chikwendu, and A. Umeji	Discovery of a Major Prehistoric Site at Ugwuele-Uturu,	1978
13	Auger, Reginal	Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Source to the Archaeological Evidence	1991
14	Auger, Reginal	Late-18th and Early-19th Century Inuit and Europeans in Southern Labrador	1993
15	Baron de Lahontan, Louis Armande de Lom d'Arce	New Voyages to North America Containing an Account of Several Nations of that Continent, Their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation upon the Lakes and	1703
16	Beete., J. Jukes	Notice of the Aborigines of Newfoundland	1846
17	Bourdieu, Pierre	Outline of a Theory of Practice	1977

18	Bragg, Melvyn	"The Berlin Conference." Produced by BBC4. Our Time Podcast, MP3 audio, 42:00	2013
19	Brice-Bennett, Carol	Our Footprints are Everywhere. Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador	1977
20	Bryce, Douglas	Weaponry from the Machault: An 18th Century French Frigate	1984
21	Burns, Bob	1991 Post-Medieval Normandy Stonewares from Guernsey	
22	Cabak, Melanie A.	Eskimo Women: Makers of Men	1991
23	Chikwendu, Vincent	Igboland in Prehistory: Technology and Economy, in Technology and Economy: Groundwork of Igbo History	1992
24	Clark, D	Africa in Prehistory: Peripheral or Paramount	1974
25	Creery, Ian	The Inuit (Eskimo) of Canada	1993
26	Davidson, Nicol	Mungo Park and the River Niger	1956
27	Delmas, Adrien and Paloma de la Peña's (editors)	Towards the History of Archaeology from South Africa	2019
28	Derefaka, Abi and F.N. Anozie	Economic and Cultural Prehistory of the Niger Delta	2002
29	Dorais, Louis-Jackues	The Inuit language in southern Labrador from 1696-1785	1980
30	Ebiegberi Alagoa, Tekena Nitonye Tamuno and J.P Clark.(editors)	The Ịzọn of the Niger Delta	2009
31	Emewu, Ikenna	The Fairest Teacher	2017
32	Fanon, Frantz	The Wretched of the Earth	1990
33	Fitzhugh, William	Environmental Archaeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. A Survey of the Central Labrador Coast from 300 BC. to the Present	1972
34	Foreign Relations	Volume E-5, Part 1, Documents on Sub-Saharan Africa	1969-1976
35	Ford, James A.	Eskimo Prehistory in the Vicinity of Point Barrow, Alaska	1959
36	Friesen, Max and Charles Arnold	The Timing of the Thule migration: New Dates from the Western Canadian Arctic	2008
37	General Act	General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, 26 February	1885

38	Harp, Elmer Jr.	Dorset settlement patterns in Newfoundland and Southern Hudson Bay	1976
39	Hansen, Keld	Legetøj I Grønland	1979
40	Ibagere, E.	Taxonomy of African Traditional Modes of Communication in Mass Communication: A Basic Text	1994
41	Ifemesia, Chieka	Traditional Humane Living Among the Igbo: an Historical Perspective	1976
42	Ike, Obiora	Globalization & African Self-Determination	2004
43	Ikenga-Metuh, Emefie	Ritual Dirt and Purification Rites among the Igbo	1985
44	Ikenga-Metuh, Emefie	European Goods and Socio-economic Change in early Labrador Inuit Society	1985
45	Kaplan, Sussan and Jim Woollett	Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast	2000
46	Karlins, Karlis	Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada: A Source Book	1992
47	Kennedy, John (editors)	History and Renewal of Labrador's Inuit-Metis	2014
48	Kenyon, Dienje and Charles Arnold	Toys As Indicators of Socialization	1985
49	Mathiassen, Therkel	Archaeology of the Central Eskimos, the Thule Culture and its Position Within the Eskimo Culture	1927
50	McCartney, Allen P.	Canadian Arctic Trade Metal: Reflection of Prehistoric to Historic Social Networks	1991
51	McGhee, Robert	Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology	2008
52	Murphy, Brent	Precontact Soapstone Mining	1997
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