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Editor-in-Chief Managing Editor

Dr. Vishwanath Bite Madhuri Bite

www.the-criterion.com criterionejournal@gmail.com

Igbo Culture as Colonial Resistance in Arrow of God

Suchitra Pramanik Assistant Teacher Eral Nivedita Girls' High School West Bengal

This article explores the ways in which Igbo people through their culture posed resistance to British colonialism in Nigeria as depicted by Chinua Achebe in his novel *Arrow of God*. The article examines four distinct episodes from the novel and analyses the same to depict the Igbo people's duality and hybridity of identity, how the Igbo people consciously and unconsciously hated and admired, rejected and accepted the new power, religion and culture. The study shows that what Achebe has portrayed about pre-colonial and colonial Nigeria in his novel is universally true and can be applied to any colonially subjugated country and race in the world.

"When Suffering knocks at your door and you say there is no seat left for him, he tells you not to worry because he has brought his own stool. The white man is like that."

Arrow of God

Chinua Achebe is Africa's master storyteller and pioneer in the field of literary philosophy of the 20th century. Wole Soyinka has praised Achebe for making the life of his fellow men and women better through literature (Ernest Emenyonu). His novels are rich in Igbo culture. The Igbo people live in Southeastern Nigeria and are one of the largest ethnic nations in Africa. The Igbo culture was very distinguished in its customs and rituals and these had strong social implications and spiritual significance which the colonizers failed to appreciate. The New Pumpkin Leaves Festival cleansed them from various sins; the masquerade was performed by secret members of the society and their identity was unknown to other people, it celebrated harvest and provided entertainment; the New Yam Festival was the celebration of new year and new yams which was their staple crops. These and numerous other ceremonies, rituals and customs brought the village people together and served the purpose of social unity like all other religions. They had no king and were politically independent. Achebe's third novel Arrow of God is rich in Igbo traditions and practices. It is set in Umuaro, a fictional name for six Igbo villages in colonial Nigeria in the 1920s. It depicts the Igbo people's history, their tradition, folk-lore, proverbs, their customs and rituals, festivals, day-to-day life, deities, idealisms and many more. On the other side we also see how the British Administration worked at that time, the colonial policy, the oppression and torture on the native people, illegal and unofficial taxation, White people's hatred of native culture and rituals, spreading of the new Christian religion, missionary people, their immense power over the native people, indirect rule, and many other things happening at that time. The novel is a true picture of pre-colonial and colonial Africa, the conflicts between continuity and change. This study explores the complex and contradictory nature of the Igbo people's resistance through their culture, custom and tradition to colonial power. By analyzing the problematic relationship of these two powers, the mode of invasion and the mode of resistance, this study will seek how the traditional Igbo ways interacted with the colonial power socially, economically, politically and religiously in Arrow of God. It will focus on four significant episodes in the

novel: the land dispute between Umuaro and Okperi, new road construction, the snake killing episode, and Ezeulu's refusal to be the Paramount Chief appointed by the British, which are the four prime modes of resistance exercised by the Igbo against the colonial power portrayed in the novel.

However, before we proceed, a discussion in brief of different aspects of colonialism and the resistance exercised by the native indigenous people would be helpful. Colonial nations like France and Britain dominated a large part of the world for nearly two hundred and fifty years through colonialism and imperialism. They entered in these countries by means of trade and gradually subjugated the local inhabitants in these places by force and military power. They seized and captured the lands from the indigenous people who were the rightful owner of these lands, settled governments there, economically exploited the local people by grabbing their natural and human resources and traded them, and lastly, created a market for western commodities in these countries. However, colonialism must be distinguished from imperialism. While imperialism is concerned with 'the extension and expansion of trade and commerce under the protection of political, legal, and military controls' (Childs and Williams, An Introduction to Postcolonial Theory), colonialism, as defined by Elleke Boehmer in her book Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, is the 'settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous habitants of occupied lands'. It is important to note that the colonial powers were often resisted by indigenous people of colonized lands and our present study is concerned with this aspect of colonialism. When the British tried to colonize Nigeria, it was not a smooth entry; they encountered resistance from the local people, or as our present discussion is concerned, the Igbo people. We shall argue that though it was not an organized revolution, the British faced significant resistance from the Igbo through their culture, customs and religion, which, they were gradually taught by the British to look as inferior compared to the colonizers 'true' culture and god.

But there are other forms of colonialism too, that is colonizing by establishing ideologies among the indigenous people. John Mcleod observes, "Colonialism is perpetuated in part by justifying to those in the colonizing nation the idea that it is right and proper to rule over other peoples and by getting colonized people to accept their lower ranking in the colonial order of things – a process we can tell 'colonising the mind'". The colonizing nations believed in their own superiority and they persuaded the colonized nations to look at their own native customs and ways of life as 'uncivilized'. They were successful in their persuasion and colonized subjects believed in their own inferiority and tried to imitate the colonizers as much as possible. This is called 'mimicry' in postcolonial terms. Examples of such colonized subjects in *Arrow of God* are Moses Unachukwu, the court messenger and his attendant, John Nwodika, Oduche and many others. They spoke coloniser's language which signified power; the coloniser's language was not only a means of communication, but this language constituted power. Oduche wanted to be one of them; he wanted to master the language like Moses Unachukwu to be enlisted among the superior native people because he knew that language is power.

We shall now look very briefly at the history of colonial Nigeria until 1920s. When the slave trade was prohibited in Britain in 1807, British economy suffered very badly. To revive the economy, Britain started trading commodities with Africa. Their main trading was palm oil and palm kernels, and the main supplier of palm oil and palm kernel was the Igboland which was thick with palm trees. At first the British could not settle colonies because of climatic hazards

and tropical diseases like Malaria, but when quinine was invented, they gradually came in large numbers to colonize and rule local Igbo people, exploit them economically and ideologically. As if this was not enough, they were accompanied by Christian missionaries who again robbed them off their gods who were inferior to the 'colonizer's god' according to the colonizers. The native culture, before and after colonization, was never the same. Even if they did not accept the new culture, still their culture was much influenced by the colonizer's culture and a hybrid culture was created, a mixture of the colonizer's culture and the colonized culture. Frederick Lugard came with his indirect rule in 1901 and the picture changed drastically. He subdued local resistance by exercising armed force and the British colonial rule was firmly established. *Arrow of God* portrays the history of a local Igbo village during this time when Lugard is trying to introduce indirect rule. Though this is a work of fiction, the novel truthfully depicts the true history of the land and we shall use these facts and fiction to argue the resistance of Igbo people against the British colonial domination and the resultant effects of the same.

The novel portrays the events in the village Umuaro with its focus on the tragic fall of its protagonist Ezeulu in nine months. But the novel does not simply tell the tragedy of the protagonist; the novel then would have been just a novel and it would not have been co important as the literature of the British colonial era in Nigeria. *Arrow of God* is more than this, because apart from Ezeulu's fall the novel also depicts how with Ezeulu's fall came the tragic end of Igbo custom, and also the inequality, humility and oppression suffered by the Igbo people at the hands of the British. They did not have any king. Their Chief Priest was their supreme authority who again was selected very distinctively. The Chief Priest was not selected the person who was the strongest among their clan, but on the contrary he was someone who was the weakest person in the six villages. The reason for choosing the weakest person was that by this none in the alliance could become too powerful. They had their own custom and their own ways, which suited their ways of life, and their custom and their ways were quite unique from the other parts of the world where the chief is generally the strongest person among them.

Their customs were a united one. In the past when six villages had suffered at the hands of their enemies, they came together and took the name of Umuaro. They made a common deity Ulu for all apart from their own deities and the Chief Priest of Ulu became the head of the six villages. The plot of *Arrow of God* revolves round the Chief Priest Ezeulu of Umuaro (Eze in Igbo means king, so he was a kind of priest king of the six villages). A similar situation arises in the present also when they are invaded by the British and their customs suffer at the hands of their colonizers. The present situation demands that they will have to be united once again to resist the colonial power. Let us now examine each episodes discussed below one by one to reveal the colonial plan and the Igbo's resistance against it.

1. The Land Dispute Episode

When people of Umuaro went to war with people of the neighbouring village Okperi over a land dispute, after four days of war, British Captain T.K. Winterbottom brought soldiers to Umuaro and stopped the war. He gathered all the guns in Umuaro and broke all of them publicly except some three or four which he took away. Later he gave a judgment over the case and gave the disputed land to Okperi. The question that arises here is why neither village stopped Wintebottom, the representative of colonial power, from interfering in their own residual matter, why an outsider like Winterbottom should be the judge over their dispute. Achebe tells us that they did not resist him out of fear. Winterbottom was a powerful man, he exercised his power

and they knew that. The British domination was already installed in Okperi and it was the people of Umuaro who were resisting it. But even though they were resisting it, they were afraid of it.

Our motive is to deconstruct the colonizer's real motive in interfering in local matters as shown in this novel. The British always thought that they were doing well to these people. They never disclosed to the colonized people what their real intention was; their real plan was hidden beneath the outer face of their so called benevolent nature. In the novel it may seem that Winterbottom gave the disputed land to Okperi, because they were the real rightful owner of the land and also because Ezeulu himself, the chief of the enemy village, going against his clan, witnessed that the land belonged to Okperi. But this event can be deconstructed to show that Winterbottom was not impartial as he was showing himself to be. Certain facts are important here. Winterbottom believed what he wanted to believe. He believed Ezeulu because he wanted to give the land to Okperi. There is a strong political motive behind his judgement. He gave the judgment which suited his own purpose. It is quite reasonable that he gave the disputed land to Okperi as a part of colonial plan. Their head office was at Okperi. They had already colonized the people of Okperi and Umuaro till then was resisting their power. So if the disputed land is given to Okperi, it will be easier to subjugate Umuaro and it actually happened in that way. After Winterbottom showed his power by breaking the guns and gave the disputed land to Okperi, he had won the nickname Otiji-Egbe or 'Breaker of Guns' among the natives. People of Umuaro became more afraid of him and gradually their resistance decreased.

Now there is another question: why did Winterbottom involve in local matters? Was it an act of kindness to stop the war or was it the white man's burden to be a benevolent father like figure to the natives to teach them to live in peace? Although the white men would like us to believe in that way, there was a strong political motive behind this act of kindness, too. Winterbottom involved in it because he saw in this land dispute a great opportunity to establish his power. This is how he thought of the incident:

"A big savage war had broken out between them over a piece of land. This feud was made worse by the fact that Okperi welcomed missionaries and government while Umuaro, on the other hand, has remained backward. It was only in the last four or five years that any kind of impression has been made there. I think I can say with all modesty that this change came about after I had gathered and publicly destroyed all firearms in the place except, of course, this collection here."

So we see that Winterbottom stepped into the matter of the land dispute with the aim of subjugating the people of Umuaro who were still resisting the British. He broke all guns and also gave the land to Okperi who had accepted the colonial rule. So this was the part of the plan and not any impartial judgment. Winterbottom boastfully continues:

"I went into the question of the ownership of the piece of land which was the remote cause of all the unrest and found without any shade of doubt that it belonged to Okperi. I should mention that every witness who testified before me – from both sides without exception– perjured themselves. One thing you must remember in dealing with natives is that like children they are great liars. They don't lie simply to get out of trouble. Sometimes they would spoil a good case by a pointless lie. Only one man – a kind of priest-king in Umuaro – witnessed against his own people. I have not found out what it was, but I think he must have had some pretty fierce tabu

working on him. But he was a most impressive figure of a man. He was very light in complexion, almost red" (Achebe).

Note Achebe's careful choice of words, Winterbottom "found without any shade of doubt that it belonged to Okperi". The question that arises here is how could he know who is telling the truth. How could he decide the ownership of the land being a foreigner himself? Perhaps the land belonged to Okperi, perhaps it belonged to Umuaro. Who was to decide? Neither the people of Umuaro nor the people of Okperi did have any written document to support their claim. They only had oral tradition that they had heard from their forefathers. So there can be misunderstanding regarding the ownership of the land. Who was Winterbottom to declare that every Igbo was a liar? He even could not appreciate Ezeulu's statement. He thought that some fierce tabu was working on Ezeulu, so he witnessed against his clan. The colonizers could not believe any Igbo or any colonized person. Perhaps Ezeulu's light complexion made Winterbottom believe him. Winterbottom's racist view should be noted when he says Ezeulu was 'a most impressive figure of a man', because he was 'very light in complexion, almost red'. He also invented a theory that 'the Ibos in the distant past assimilated a small non-negroid tribe of the same complexion as the Red Indians.'

The colonisers interfered in the local matters. They were outsiders and had no right to interfere in the local matters. But still they established local courts and their judgment was the ultimate. People were afraid of the coloniser's power and so they had to accept the judgment, be it right or wrong. There would always be certain conflicts, certain tensions between two neighbouring villages or two neighbouring nations. The colonizers grabbed these opportunities to rule over them. They were always in search of these tensions, and if there were none, they created them. This is true for all colonized nations. Wherever the colonizers found any issue that divided the colonized nations among themselves, the colonizers have used those issues as a tool to establish their power. As Achebe has said "when two brothers fight a stranger reaps the harvest".

2. New Road Construction

Building of the road is another significant event in the novel, "the symbol of the disruption of the ordinary, everyday world of the indigenous society" (Catherine Lynette Innes). The British Administration was building a new road connecting the enemy villages Okperi and Umuaro, and Mr. Wright wanted to complete the work before the rainy season which was not possible with the number of labourers he was working with. But to increase the number of labour needed more fund which was denied to him by Captain Winterbottom as the vote for Capital Works for the financial year was largely overspent. So they decided to use unpaid labour. Achebe's hint at sarcasm is unmistakable when he says that it was the policy of the administration to take such steps in the most exceptional circumstances and "The natives cannot be an exception to the aphorism that the labourer is worthy of his hire" (Achebe). Achebe uses sharp image when he says in the eyes of the colonizers "The labourers were loyal as pet dogs" (Achebe), which recalls Marlowe's comparison of the African fireman on the steamer in *Heart of Darkness* to 'a dog in a parody of breeches and a feather hat, walking on his hind legs' (Conrad).

Now what is significant here is that the paid workers who were working on the new road were from Okperi, and the unpaid labourers the British decided to choose from Umuaro. This was not a random choice. The British exploited the natives according to their own advantage. Is it not the

reason that Okperi welcomed British Administration and missionaries and Umuaro was showing resistance that they were not paid for their work? They were even whipped for being late in work for which they were not even paid. It was not the Igbo custom to whip a man for being late in the work; their custom was to ask to pay a fine to his age group. But the colonizers never respected any local custom, none of which was, according to them, worthy of their 'higher civilization' and they came there to "purge the native system of its abuses" (Achebe) and 'to build a higher civilization'. The workers did not even report this whipping neither to the elders nor to the British higher authority. Because they understood that if they stopped working they would be put to jail and the British higher authority won't do anything. The villagers understood the colonizer's real intention very well, but they could not stand against him. Achebe's tone is very poignant in the following passage:

"The white man is like hot soup and we must take him slowly-slowly from the edges of the bowl. Umuaro was here before the white man came from his own land to seek us out. We did not ask him to visit us; he is neither our kinsman nor our in-law. We did not steal his goat or his fowl; we did not take his land or his wife. In no way whatever have we done him wrong. And yet he has come to make trouble for us... I know that the white man does not wish Umuaro well. That is why we must hold our *ofo* by him and give him no cause to say that we did this or failed to do that. For if we give him cause he will rejoice. Why? Because the very house he has been seeking ways of pulling down will have caught fire of its own will. For this reason we shall go on working on his road; and when we finish we shall ask him if he has more work for us. But in dealing with a man who thinks you a fool it is good sometimes to remind him that you know what he knows but have chosen to appear foolish for the sake of peace" (Achebe).

3. The Snake Killing Episode

The British ruled the native indigenous people in two ways: by force as shown in the land dispute case and the new road construction episode, and ideologically through missionaries as shown in the snake killing episode. The missionaries and the administration worked hand in hand.

Being motivated by the new missionary teacher, Ezeulu's son Oduche secretly locked and tried to kill one of the two pythons, which lived almost entirely in Oduche's mother's hut, on top of the wall. These pythons did no harm and kept the rats away. Royal python is actually python regius, a species of python found in Africa and is nonvenomous. It does no harm to the people and is considered good pets. It is of smaller size considered to other pythons and has a docile temperament. It is sacred to the Igbo people. They treat it with good care and allow it to roam freely. If a man kills the python inadvertently, he arranges a funeral for the snake as elaborate as a man's funeral. They never do any harm to this creature.

So one can imagine the magnitude of this event of locking a royal python inside a box, which was not an ordinary incident in the life of the Igbo people. Royal python is sacred to them and this act was a great abomination in their eyes, and that too in the house of their Chief Priest who should protect them against all sorts of abominations, not let his son commit such an abomination. Many people blamed Ezeulu for this as this is the outcome of his decision to send his son to the Christians when others forbade him. Here we see how the colonizers, in the name of fighting local bad customs and blinded by their missionary zeal, encouraged the natives to kill

harmless animals. They preached that to prove Christianity and loyalty to church, the Igbo must kill iguana, royal python and whatever animals were sacred to the Igbo people. These harmless animals had not offended the Igbo people or the Christians in anyway. Moreover their sacredness to the Igbo people had one great advantage which was that they did not kill these animals. It was a great process to preserve biological diversity. This was the reason that various animals were made sacred to various tribes. Otherwise people would kill them unanimously.

The colonizers, however, were not successful in encouraging the converts to kill harmless animals. Mr. Goodcountry may have succeeded in influencing one convert to kill royal python, but everybody did not follow the example. Even Oduche could not bring himself to kill the animal directly, he devised an indirect plan. The act was censured so much that a second incident of the same sort never happened. They were together in it and they opposed and resisted it united. These small events posed resistance against the new religion and the new culture. The Igbo people had to accept the colonial power, but they did not allow it to take away their custom so easily. They resisted it as much as they could.

However, incidents like this had many consequences in many directions. Although, the Christians did fail in destroying local customs and culture completely, this incident of snake killing did indirectly increase the number of native students in the church. Moses Unachukwu managed a clerk in Okperi to send a petition on behalf of the priest of Idemili to the Bishop of Niger threatening the bishop not to interfere with their deity and the royal python. The bishop had already witnessed a serious disturbance in another part of the Igboland in the same issue of royal python and for this he was reprimanded by the Lieutenant Governor. So this time the Bishop asked Mr. Goodcountry to leave the royal python alone, and also sent a letter to Ezidemili assuring him the same and praying for the day when the Igbo people will leave their false gods and come to the church. This letter from the bishop strengthened Ezeulu's opinion of sending their boys to the church school and learning the white man's ways and their language like Moses Unachukwu; so more people began to send their children to the church.

At first the Igbo people were not sure what to make of the new religion. "...the new religion was like a leper. Allow him a handshake and he wants to embrace" (Achebe). White men came with great power and conquest. It was clear like daylight that they are stronger than the Igbo people and they exercised that power and showed that they are more powerful than the village folks. The Igbo people thought the British to be very wise and they sent their sons to learn the new religion, their deity, their god and also their wisdom. As Achebe has said, "A disease that has never been seen before cannot be cured with everyday herbs".

4. Ezeulu's Refusal to Be the Paramount Chief Appointed by the British

Ezeulu's refusal to be Paramount Chief under the British is, perhaps, the most significant form of resistance against the colonial power in the novel. At that time the British Administration was implementing Lugard's policy of 'Indirect Rule' which had many advantages for a colonial nation. This policy was the outcome of the colonizer's pre-conceived notion of their superiority over other cultures. They believed that they were the civilized ones and they colonized the 'less civilized ones' with the aims of educating and civilizing them. By this policy, local traditions were not altered; so it helped them to rule the natives more easily who were hostile to change and

to yield to the British Empire. It also helped their 'divide and rule' policy. For indirect ruling based on native institutions, they appointed local persons as chiefs over a large area.

They considered themselves 'well-wisher' of the African people unlike other colonial nations, so they did not want to rule directly through white Administrative officers like the French and others. In the words of Lieutenant-Governor, "...we endeavour to purge the native system of its abuses to build a higher civilization upon the soundly rooted native stock that had its foundation in the hearts and minds and thoughts of the people and therefore on which we can more easily build, moulding it and establishing it into lines consonant with modern ideas and higher standards, and yet all the time enlisting the real force of the spirit of the people, instead of killing all that out and trying to start afresh" (Achebe). Previously the British Administration appointed a native missionary educated Warrant Chief for Okperi, the result of which was disastrous. This time Captain Winterbottom planned to appoint the Chief Priest Ezeulu as the Paramount Chief. When Ezeulu refused to become Paramount Chief appointed by the British, this was not something they could easily digest and consequently they threw him in prison 'to teach him a good lesson'. WInterbottom couldn't have 'his natives' thinking that they (natives) could treat the administration with contempt. Ezeulu was locked up in jail for thirty-two days, but did not accept their proposal of being a servant of the British. This commanded respect from his clan and made him something of a hero in the eyes of his villagers. There was nobody in their clan who could have gone and wrestled with the white man as Ezeulu had done. And it was his duty to do so, to go ahead and confront danger before it reached his people. People were full of sympathy for him when they came to know the cause of his imprisonment. He had done no harm to the white man, above all only he spoke the truth in front of the white man and also sent his son to the white man to learn their wisdom, but the white man brought nothing but shame and indignity to him. Captain Winterbottom, whom Ezeulu thought to be his friend, ordered Clarke to leave him (Ezeulu) inside the jail until he "learns to co-operate with the Administration" (Achebe).

The British thought that they were doing a great favour to Ezeulu who was just an ordinary fetish priest in their eyes, by making him the chief and thus elevating him above his people and he, instead of gratitude, returned scorn. Tone Clarke couldn't tolerate a 'witch doctor' making a fool of the British Administration in Public. "If he let him go the reputation of the Administration would sag to the ground especially in Umuaro where things were only now beginning to look up after a long period of hostility to the Administration and Christianity... Their first school was only a year or so old and a tottering Christian mission had been set up after a series of failures. What would be the effect on such a district of the triumphant return of a witch-doctor who had defied the Administration?" (Achebe)

But just as Ezeulu's refusal to be the paramount chief appointed by the British posed resistance against the colonial power, it also caused the downfall of the Igbo culture in another way, because he was thrown in jail for his act of refusal, which was an 'offence' in the eyes of the British. The Chief Priest had immense power over the crops, the year, the festival and therefore the people. As long as the Chief Priest did not name the day of the festival, there would be no New Yam Feast. The New Yam Feast was the starting of the New Year and the time for harvesting the yams, which was their main staple crop. The Igbo had their own way of counting the year. They had thirteen months in a year with thirteen luner cycles. Thirteen yams were chosen by Ezeulu at the time of the New Yam Festival and these were stored as sacred yams. In every new moon, the Chief Priest would eat one yam among them without palm oil and prayed to

Ulu. When one yam was left he would announce the day of the New Yam Feast and after the next moon harvesting would start. Ezeulu was in prison in Okperi for thirty-two days and in that time two new moons came and he was not able to perform the ritual of eating the sacred yam as he was not at home; so three yams were left from the old yams. It was the time to announce the New Year and the day of the New Yam Feast, and the harvest was ripe in the soil. But Ezeulu could not name the day. It was not in his hand. It was true that he named the day, but he did not choose it; he was merely a watchman. When Ezeulu refused to name the day, overnight he became a public enemy and his entire family suffered hostility among his clan. The white man caused this crisis by taking Ezeulu away.

Every family of Umuaro suffered for the delay in harvest and they blamed Ezeulu for the femine. People thought that Ezeulu was rejoicing in Umuaro's suffering, but in his heart Ezeulu felt a deep compassion for the people of Umuaro. He was suffering within. What troubled him most that this punishment and this suffering will continue for many generations, because once the harvest is delayed by two lunar cycles, it will always be in that way in coming years. But he was helpless in the hands of god. He was an arrow in the bow of his god; half of him was man and the other half was spirit, and that other half, the spirit half told him that his villagers should be punished for their offence. He was also alone in this journey. When his son Obika died at the end of the story, he lost his sanity and people thought both to be divine judgment.

The new church was enormously profited by all this confusion. The number of converted Igbo people increased unbelievably. The Catechist of the church, John Goodcountry announced that if the people of Umuaro would bring their new yam to the church, they could harvest their crops without fear of Ulu, and they need not necessarily bring just one yam as they did in case of their idols, but they could bring as many as they wished according to the benefits they received that year from Almighty God. They could even bring crops, livestock or money. The god of Christians would save them from the anger of Ulu.

Conclusion

Historically the resistance to colonial power happened in two ways: direct ways which involved force to compel the colonizers to leave the native's homeland and indirect ways which involved native cultural and religious traditions which hindered the colonizers' expansion of their empire; the second type of resistance is the theme in *Arrow of God*. The Igbo culture is a very old one and the Chief Priest Ezeulu is the symbol of the Igbo culture. The Igbo people posed resistance against the British through their culture. They were hostile to the new religion, the church, and the missionary. But after Ezeulu's fall, their culture was amalgamated with the British customs, and their cultural resistance came to an end. Ezeulu's fall is synonymous with the fall of the Igbo culture and Igbo tradition and the end of their resistance against the colonial power. As darkness engulfs the daylight, the Igbo culture was engulfed by the colonizer's culture.

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