

ONITSHA MARKET LITERATURE AND
NEGOTIATIONS OF MODERNITY IN NIGERIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria, during its period of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s, was marked by extensive cultural, economic, and political change. The primary objective of this research is to understand the ways in which modernity was negotiated during decolonization in Nigeria. Onitsha market literature, a locally produced and consumed product, provides a window through which to view Nigeria before, during, and after these changes. These pamphlets reveal the agency of average Nigerians in creating and reproducing new social relationships and cultural meanings in the post-colonial era. I approach these themes from a geographical perspective, exploring the relationship and co-constitutive link of place and self. The Onitsha authors empower their readers by providing a variety of modernist ideological tools: individualism, capitalist enthusiasm, and the English language. In particular, the pamphlets show how messages were internalized, transmitted, and reproduced on a local scale, and express and reflect the creation of a new place.

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CHAPTER 1:

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

In academics, as in my personal life, I try to stay grounded. I try to remember that outside the walls of the ivory tower and the pages of fascinating books is a world where billions of people experience life every moment. I find fascination in the banal, seemingly mundane aspects of life, for sometimes these acts seem to take up all our time.

Before starting graduate school I lived in Benin for two years as a Peace Corps volunteer. This was a formative experience, particularly for this thesis. During my time there I was captivated by the creative blending of cultures, the unexpected amalgamations of traditional and modern life. A handheld video game appeared at the foot of a local shrine, for example; international news programs on the radio were sung, rather than spoken, in traditional communication styles; and nearly every taxi driver wore bundles of traditional medicine as protection. Some scholars have cited such cultural blends as proof of a globalizing and hegemonic culture flowing from the West to the peripheral countries, and purport that consumerism is destroying traditional cultures worldwide (see Appiah 2006). If such cultural imperialism were to be taken away, they argue, people will return once again to the essential tradition and live as they had prior to western involvement.

I do not see African cultures as essentially traditional, but as dynamic and creative systems capable of integrating ideas from many places if they choose to do so. In adopting and negotiating certain ideas from the west, African cultures are not denying their traditions, but looking for ways to cope in a changing world. People adapt in many way. My research examines how popular culture pamphlets communicate and reflect the social changes that took place during and after decolonization in Onitsha, Nigeria.

Nigeria was marked in the 1950s and 60s by extensive cultural, political, and economic changes. In Onitsha, thousands of pamphlets were published during this time period, and often the pamphlets were concerned with providing direction to readers in the face of this swift, extensive change. These pamphlets—known collectively as Onitsha market literature—deal with the mundane, banal aspects of everyday life, such as how to dress and arrange your room, and more esoteric aspects like religion and romantic love. Authors show readers of the time what it meant to be a modern Nigerian.

The following pages cover a wide range of ideas. First, I explore how modernity is understood by three prominent African scholars. I consciously choose to examine African understandings of modernity, for I believe it imperative when studying Africa to use understandings from within that context. This is an attempt to at once demonstrate the importance of using African frameworks to understand Africa and also a political decision to support African academics.

With insights gained from feminist and postcolonialist scholarship, I endeavor to understand the Onitsha texts in terms of historical processes of power. This is the subject of chapter 2. In chapter 3, I explore the texts themselves and how they produce discourses of modernity. Chapter 4, then, investigates how geographers understand the relationships between self and place, and how this framework can be used to understand the changing relationship between self and place in postcolonial Nigeria. My research is anchored in scholarship about what it means to be modern and how this condition potentially changes the way people interact with place. I turn now to an introduction of the concept of modernity, and how this idea will be used in subsequent pages.

MODERNITY

Modernity as a concept and an empirical reality has long been discussed, contested, and even rejected by scholars studying African cultures and cultural change (see Comaroff 1993; Ferguson 1999; Deutsch, Probst, and Schmidt 2002; Popke 2004). Emmanuel Obiechina (1973: 18), the preeminent scholar of Onitsha market literature, for example, has explained that this literature “is about young men and women who are intensely alive and who, because they are so, have problems arising from the complexities of modern life.” The following excerpt from *The African Bachelor’s Guide and Ladies Guide*, by Diala (1963), exemplifies Onitsha market literature’s concern with modern life. Diala (1963: 39, 44) presents arguments

for and against the traditional practice of bride price in an effort to educate his readers; the following statement is an example of an argument against bride price:

Bride price as a custom is contrary to the laws of Nature, because daughters, thus sold are free gifts on nature to parents, who therefore have no right to make nature's gifts a marketable commodity...Bride price therefore is a social evil which should henceforth be stamped out as not of date [and] obnoxious to the modern progressive democracy of Nigerian society.

Although both Obiechina and the many writers of the market literature refer often to "the modern," they offer no explanation of what the term means and how this condition is different than what existed before. For help I turn to three prominent African scholars: philosopher Kwame Gyekye, geographer Jennifer Robinson, and philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah. Although they are not the only African authors on the subject, each has written extensively on modernity, both in terms of conceptual origin and implications for Africa. Each person also represents an important influence on my thinking. It is through the ideas presented by these scholars that we can understand the conceptual context of Onitsha market literature and their negotiations of modernity and tradition. Before delving into modernity, however, I want to discuss first the even more basic concept of cultural change.

POSTCOLONIALISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE

An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness.
Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question"

Colonial constructions imagined African peoples to be static and unchanging, primordially traditional and incapable of adaptation. Postcolonial critique, spearheaded by Edward Said (1978), dismantled this view and opened up opportunities to see all people and cultures as dynamic, creative entities. Understanding the way average Nigerians formally participated in directing this flow of change is an underlying theme of my research. The changes on which I focus are the negotiations between tradition and Western modernity.

I rely on the insights of literary scholar Wole Soyinka and anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff to grasp the dynamics of culture and change in an African context. In his 1976 book, *Myth, Literature, and the African World*, Soyinka described the difference between Western and African literature and drama, and explained how these differences can also be linked to broader questions of knowledge and the ways cultures change. He argued that the material differences in creative endeavors are “representative of the essential differences between two worldviews, a difference between one culture whose very artifacts are evidence of a cohesive understanding of irreducible truths and another, whose creative impulses are directed by period dialectics” (Soyinka 1976: 38). These underlying conceptions of knowledge shape the form, style, and performance of creative pieces. He described the West’s view of knowledge as compartmentalized and formulaic, with each layer being strategically placed to make a coherent whole (Soyinka 1976: 37). In contrast, African knowledge is understood to be elastic, and that changes in knowledge “signify no more than reflections of the original coming-into-being of a manifestly

complex reality” (Soyinka 1976: 53). Compartments of knowledge do not exist, but rather knowledge is one body capable of being revealed and propelled in different directions. New cognitive experiences in Africa, he continued, are swallowed into extant belief systems, and the society proceeds with a kind of “philosophical accommodation,” integrating new ideas and extending their cognitive reality. New items are absorbed into the culture and localized.

John and Jean Comaroff (1991) took this idea of accommodation, and extended it to an understanding of the tradition-modernity negotiations. They argued that experiences of the modern are not all absorbed by tradition but, rather, “creatively transformed” (Comaroff 1991: 12). Experiences, as well as manifestations, of modernity are not universal, but local, framed by the traditions through which people approach negotiations with these new experiences. New ideas emerge from negotiations and, over time, “some people and practices emerge as (or remain) dominant” and become the “established *order* of things” (Comaroff 1991: 18, emphasis in original).

Soyinka’s and the Comaroffs’ conceptions of cultural change are useful in understanding how authors of Onitsha market literature navigated their changing culture. These local writers approached the new ideas of Western modernity from their local vantage point, and creatively transformed ideas so that they made sense to local populations. Soyinka and Comaroff do not explain, however, the process of change, and how some people or practices emerge as dominant. This is where we turn to the insights of Igbo historian Adiele Afigbo. Afigbo (1981: 337-351) argued

that colonialism had a significant impact on Igbo culture, introducing ideas and institutions that had profound lasting effects, but that Igbo people selectively engaged with this new world. He explained, for example, that young people were encouraged to “learn enough to make your way in the new world,” but not at the expense of traditions (Afigo 1981: 342). Further, he observed that “there is no need to talk of the disintegration of indigenous society,” but rather an addition to it of tools required in a changing world (1981: 342). This changing world in Africa is marked by the transformations of modernity onto institutions, cultures, and everyday life. Now let us turn to Gyekye, Robinson, and Appiah as guides to the concept of modernity.

KWAME GYEKYE

In his book, *Tradition and Modernity*, Kwame Gyekye (1997) examined contemporary African culture and social institutions and how these have been formulated by a combination of traditional African values and Western importations. He locates modernity as a cultural concept emanating from the West, but including both non-Western and pre-modern ideas and defined it thusly: “the ideas, principles, and ideals covering a whole range of human activities that have underpinned Western life and thought since the seventeenth century” (Gyekye 1997: 264). Gyekye then argued that some of these seventeenth century ideas were present in earlier Western societies. He traces humanism and reason, for example, to ancient Greek thought and later the Renaissance. Humanism, in other words, was not created, but exploited, by thinkers of—and since—the seventeenth century. Just as “modernity” exploited ideas

from other historical times, it also used ideas from other geographical, non-European places. One example is the reliance of modern art in the mid-twentieth century on traditional African motifs as exemplified by Picasso (see also Blachere 1998, Le Brusq 2003).

In light of these historical borrowings, Gyekye concluded that the modern/traditional binary is false. He explained that all societies have elements that have been inherited from earlier generations. These inherited elements are referred to as traditions, such as the American celebrations of Thanksgiving dinner and St. Patrick's Day parades. Gyekye highlights the existence of traditions in what are considered "modern" societies to illustrate that "traditions are not irreconcilable with modernity" (Gyekye 1997: 271). Furthermore, the implosion of the modernity/tradition binary leads to the denial of the exclusivity of reason to modernity (1997: 272). Gyekye explained that the modern contains traditions that people have "through the activity of *reason*, abandoned, modified, or refined" (emphasis in original). Reason, then, is necessarily a component of cultural change everywhere.

Although Gyekye debunked the exclusivity of notions of modernity and tradition, he has insisted on locating the origins of modernity in the West. He maintains that "it cannot be denied that those characteristics that cohered into what is called modernity evolved endogenously in societies of Europe" (Gyekye 1997: 264). The implications and ramifications of modernity, though, are not confined to the West because of the historical processes of colonialism and cultural exchange. He (1997:

274) further has explained that modernization does not mean westernization, and provides the following example for clarification:

If an African political leader or social worker says, ‘We need to modernize our inheritance system’ [s]he would not mean that they should simply replace their traditional systems of inheritance with the system practiced in Western cultures. [S]he would mean that they should amend or refine their inheritance system by getting rid of those features of it that are considered inelegant or inappropriate from the point of view of their experiences and goals in the modern world.

Modernization does not mean westernization, but rather modification of traditional systems according to contemporary demands of such institutions or practices. The modern world is ubiquitous and, as a result, some aspects of traditional African culture “will need to be radically changed or simply abandoned” in order to ensure a successful transition to the modern era for Africa (Gyekye 1997: 287). Gyekye has seen much to be admired in the technologically advanced and scientifically adept Western countries, and argued that Africa is trying to become modern and must negotiate through the passing of tradition to come to a “*self-created modernity*” (Gyekye 1997: 286).

Gyekye’s thinking is useful to me in my analysis of Onitsha market literature because westernization is explicitly discussed in many of the Onitsha pamphlets. Although authors vary in their distinction between westernization and modernity, constant dialogue exists between the two paradigms. This market literature negotiates the specific details of a new, self-created modernity.

JENNIFER ROBINSON

For South African geographer Jennifer Robinson (2006), modernity is a plural concept rather than a universalizing, normative account emanating from the West. She refuses the juxtaposition of the modern against the traditional, instead arguing for a space of creativity and innovation present in all societies. In this way, she echoes Gyekye's idea that modern phenomena are charged with memories and beliefs from previous generations. She explains that modernity as a concept has been difficult to dislocate from its Western roots, but that experiences of modernity are multiple, alternative, and contested rather than universal and imitative of the West.

Cities are the focus of much of Robinson's work (see Robinson 2004 and 2006). She has explained that "the city has performed an important function in theorizing modernity: it has coalesced and helped to make visible a certain range of self-descriptions for western societies" (Robinson 2004: 711). These self-descriptions (i.e. civilized, modern, and rational) valorize certain sets of social characteristics as conductors of progress and innovation. Robinson argues that the innovativeness of cities has been limited to Western cities through discourses of poverty and social chaos enveloping "Third World" cities. She insists that newness and innovation flow from many sources and thereby make cities everywhere loci of modernity. She has aligned the concept of modernity with the contemporary, focusing on creativity and transformations happening at a specific *kairos* (a qualitative description of time used in ancient Greece meaning "opportune moment") rather than chronological time.

Robinson has argued that the concept of modernity needs to be dislodged from the West, and explains that “the only way to do this is to ensure that there are grounds for appreciating and experiencing the modern without necessary reference to the West” (Robinson 2006: 18). She goes on to describe, however, that “histories of colonisation and capitalist expansion” (Robinson 2006: 18) have led to Western products and institutions in many cases “becoming ‘inseparable from local concepts of modernity’” (Robinson 2006: 18, citing Li Puma 2001: 18). She goes on to contend that Western processes should not be privileged over local dynamics, saying that both are constitutive of concepts and experiences of modernity. Unpacking modernity from the West is also essential to the postcolonial theoretical aim of liberating local subjectivities from Western imperial roots and contemporary neocolonial practices. Instead of identifying Western concepts that are effectively articulated on local scales, she has suggested pairing the modern with the contemporary, which includes both local and global processes.

Robinson emphasizes local modernity, and praises cities for being the locus of possibility in the present time. Her accounts are celebratory, but continue to construct difference in opposition to Western modernity. She does not discuss how cities, or people in cities, negotiate change or understand modernity locally, but implies that people have been creative in these negotiations.

Robinson’s ideas are useful to me partly because her focus on cities as sites of local modernity aligns with the Onitsha of the 1950s and 1960s presented in the Onitsha market literature. Also, her emphasis of the contemporary as what is modern

compels me to examine this literature in its local, historical context and to understand its modernism in its own time.

KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH

Kwame Anthony Appiah has written extensively on the relationship between Africa, the West, and modernity (see 1992, 2005, 2006). Here, I use his pivotal work, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1992), to further understand the relationship between modernity and tradition. Appiah stands in agreement with Gyekye and Robinson that modernity always contains inherited conventions and ideas. Modernity as a concept, he argues, cannot stand in contradistinction to tradition, for each contains its contrary.

Appiah brings to us an understanding of the modern/traditional binary through a discussion of Western and African modes of thought. Appiah begins his case by explaining that Africans and Westerners alike seek to answer the question of “what is it to *be* modern?” (Appiah 1992: 107, emphasis in original), but do so with different results. A key difference in how African and Western societies experience change, for Appiah, is the social organization of enquiry (Appiah 1992: 125-140). In Western natural science the relentless quest for “new theories of the way the world works” relies upon an individualized conception of cognitive authority. Authority lies within the individual, rather than the king, priest, or community. Appiah has linked this particularized cognitive authority to social mobility and political individualism that is characteristic of Western industrialized societies. Social mobility disconnects people

from a reliance on others and fixes responsibility to the individual him/herself. The individual then, relies on their own cognitive ability to evaluate, and experiment with, competing worldviews to arrive at a perceived truth.

Cognitive authority in Africa is not relegated to the individual, but rather to people in positions of authority as well as the broader community. Appiah has borrowed a term from Wole Soyinka—*accommodation*—to describe the ways in which people incorporate new or different worldviews into traditional thought. Appiah notes that “accommodating conflicting theoretical views is part of the general process of accommodation necessary for those whose are bound to each other as neighbors for life” (Appiah 1992: 129). Reliance upon a larger community translates into the accommodation of different worldviews to ensure the success of the community, rather than the individual.

Appiah has further differentiated Western and African ways of knowing by examining the effects of oral and literary traditions. Societies with a strong tradition of orality, rather than literacy, facilitate accommodation. In oral societies, such as are found in West Africa, no written record exists of what is held to be true, and as such, there is little chance of finding inconsistencies or divergences of thought. New ideas can be accommodated into virtually everything. In contrast, societies with a strong tradition of literacy, such as Europe and the West, possess a certain degree of consistency in thought, as people can consult the ideas of previous ages directly through written works. Appiah argues that writing also encourages universalism to accomplish the dissemination of information to those in different places and contexts.

Knowledge therefore becomes exclusive, universalized into a particular worldview. Obiechina (1973: 18) in his discussion of Onitsha market literature has explained that “literacy opened the door to success and the achievement of most of the objectives of the young men and women in their aspiration to modernity.” In this way he links modernity to literacy, which Appiah argues is loaded with Western universalism.

Appiah offers a way to filter my understanding of the changes and negotiations taking place within Onitsha market literature. His idea of accommodation is pivotal to my understanding of cultural change. His emphasis on the literary aspect of modernity also helps me understand the implications of the written dialogue of ideas within the pamphlets.

In this chapter my goal has been to lay the foundation for understanding how African cultures, and Igbo culture specifically, change. The changes that these cultures faced in the 1950s and 1960s were bound with ideas of becoming modern. To understand what being modern means in Africa, I explored ideas by African scholars Gyekye, Robinson, and Appiah. These ideas will carry to the subsequent chapters and my analysis of negotiations of modernity in Onitsha market literature. Between these ideas of modernity and tradition, in a creative and innovative urban center, is where we meet the authors of Onitsha market literature. They grappled with understanding and explaining to their readers how to navigate this ambiguous middle ground. Before we get to this metaphysical middle ground, though, it is important, particularly in a geography thesis, to introduce the physical ground, as it were, as the next chapter seeks to do.

CHAPTER 2:

Onitsha

This chapter provides background information and historical development patterns of Onitsha and its market literature. I will first sketch the precolonial history of the town, followed by its social transformation under colonial rule. Issues regarding the transformation of economic and educational systems, as well as the changing city-scape are provided. Much information in this section comes from journals of early missionaries, Western geographers/explorers, and colonial writers. By using these data, I am not signaling an adherence to particular philosophies, but rather trying to get a glimpse of the situation at different historical times. I have supplemented these sources with contemporary Nigerian scholars working to reconstruct history from a local perspective. Following the historical discussion of Onitsha town I sketch the development of the market literature. I examine the term “market” as the unifying aspect of this literature, despite the emergence of literature outside of the physical market. I then look at the authors and readers of the literature in order to contextualize the messages and intentions expressed within the writings, and the reception of messages to the audience.

Before starting the historical discussion, I should note that the spellings “Ibo” and “Igbo” have both been used in reference to this ethnic group in southeastern

Nigeria. The words sound similar, but the “gb” combination is unique to African languages and it is the spelling used by the people themselves. In doing this, I am agreeing with Edeh (1985: 14) explanation of the importance of using this true spelling:

The Westerners do not change the spellings and pronunciations of their nouns so as to make them easy for non-Westerners to use. If they do, it will be tantamount to watering down their culture. In the same vein the Igbos should not hesitate to highlight the correct spelling and pronunciation of their important nouns, for that is part of their upholding of their own culture.

I also use the term Igboland to refer to the general geographic distribution of Igbo ethnic groups in southeastern Nigeria.

PRECOLONIAL HISTORY OF ONITSHA

The town of Onitsha was established in the middle seventeenth century, five miles east of the Niger River (Azikwe 1930). Richard Henderson (1972) has done extensive work on the history of Onitsha as told by Indigenous oral historians. These historians explained that migrants were led from Benin City, in southwestern Nigeria, by King Chima, apparently to avoid scuffles with neighboring communities, in the late 16th to mid 17th. A number of explanations exist regarding why the migrant community settled at Onitsha. One is that a pregnant woman gave birth and the migrants understood it to be an auspicious sign of the prosperity of the land. Another says that after dispute over who would assume leadership of their new settlement, a brawl ensued, and the winner took refuge at the sandy inlet that is now Onitsha’s harbor (Henderson 1972: 76-80). The traditions state that the area was inhabited prior

to the migrants' arrival, and the local inhabitants eventually became part of the new community and served as priests of the land (Henderson 1972: 80-85). Extended families tended to cluster in the same area, thus effectively creating neighborhoods or quarters in the settlement that continued (see Meek and Arnett 1938, Onyemelukwe 1974).

At the intersection of densely populated inland regions of eastern Nigeria and settlements to the north and south along the Niger River, Onitsha has long been known for active agriculturalists and thriving markets (Obiechina, 1972). Agriculture was the most important economic activity, both in terms of the numbers of people involved and the prestige ascribed (Afigbo 1981). Consisting primarily of cocoyam, cassava, and palm products, this activity was exceptionally efficient (Afigbo 1981), and resulted in surpluses that were traded with other regions for fish, salt, and other basic goods (Alagoa 1970). Archeological evidence from burial and ancient village sites, dating 1400 to 1700 AD, also suggests an active trade in luxury goods, such as copper and beads (Northrup 1972). Copper found in these sites is thought to have been of Saharan or Trans-Saharan origin, and many of the beads recovered are said to be of Indian manufacture (Northrup 1972). Igbo people were well known in the region as savvy traders and skilled agriculturalists (Azikwe 1930). Igboland long had one of the highest population densities in Africa outside of the Nile valley (Grove 1951, Afigbo 1981).

Local trade systems absorbed European trade and their commodities into already established structures (Alagoa 1970: 21). In 1857, MacGregor Laird, a

British merchant, established a station in Onitsha (Onyemelukwe 1974). For Laird, the town was a gateway to the palm resources of the eastern interior, which at the time was replacing the trade in slaves (Onyemelukwe 1974). Early explorer and missionary accounts indicate that in the 1800s Onitsha was a thriving market town. In 1858, Bishop Samuel Crowther reported spotting over five hundred people at the market on his way up the Niger River (in Crowther 1970), and in 1859 estimated the population of Onitsha to be over thirteen thousand (Dodson 1974). Milum (1881: 27) described Onitsha as a “large trading town.” Between 1882 and 1883, the Royal Niger Company established an official trading post at Onitsha (Igbafe 1971). Companies typically set up shop near the waterside. Consequently, new migrants moved to these sites, effectively dividing the town between an indigenous interior and a migrant periphery (Dodson 1974).

Onitsha also proved to be a favorable location for European missionaries and colonizers attempting to reach the far inland regions of West Africa. As Obiechina (1972: 4) has explained: “The early European missionaries and traders, realizing the strategic position of the town, made it their first base of operation as they penetrated into the country from the coast.” The British Church Missionary Society established their first base of missions in Onitsha in 1857 under the direction of Bishop Samuel Crowther (Ekechi 1972: 218). This group remained the sole missionaries in Onitsha until the arrival of the French Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers in 1885 (Ekechi, 1972: 218). In addition to proselytizing, missionaries embarked on campaigns of disease eradication and promulgation of Western medicine. The healing capacity of

the medicine became equated with the healing capacity of the institution, and the ensuing decades witnessed tremendous numbers of conversions (Ekechi 1972). The Europeans were not always greeted by sympathetic people wishing to facilitate imperial forces. Indeed, some local residents organized resistances to the imposition of British religious, political, and economic institutions (see Igbafe 1971). Before 1884, the year of the formal imposition of British colonial rule in Nigeria as in many other parts of Africa, Africans were “more or less masters in their own homes” (Ehrensift 1972: 457).

ONITSHA: 1884 TO 1960

From 1884 to 1960, Onitsha and most of southern Nigeria functioned under formal British political rule. Much of the information available on Onitsha during this time relates to colonial projects. I do not wish to paint a picture of Onitsha as purely reactionary to colonialism, but to do otherwise presents a formidable challenge because of the dearth of other written historical resources. Much of the history that follows, then, deals with colonial influence on the changing of Onitsha. I acknowledge that life was lived outside of colonial reaches, but in an attempt to contextualize Onitsha market literature, I rely much on the development of Onitsha in relation to the colonizing power. Later in this chapter, I will expound further on concepts of Igbo culture and change.

During the British decades, Onitsha continued to flourish as a trading town and emerging urban center. Actual numbers of population and population change

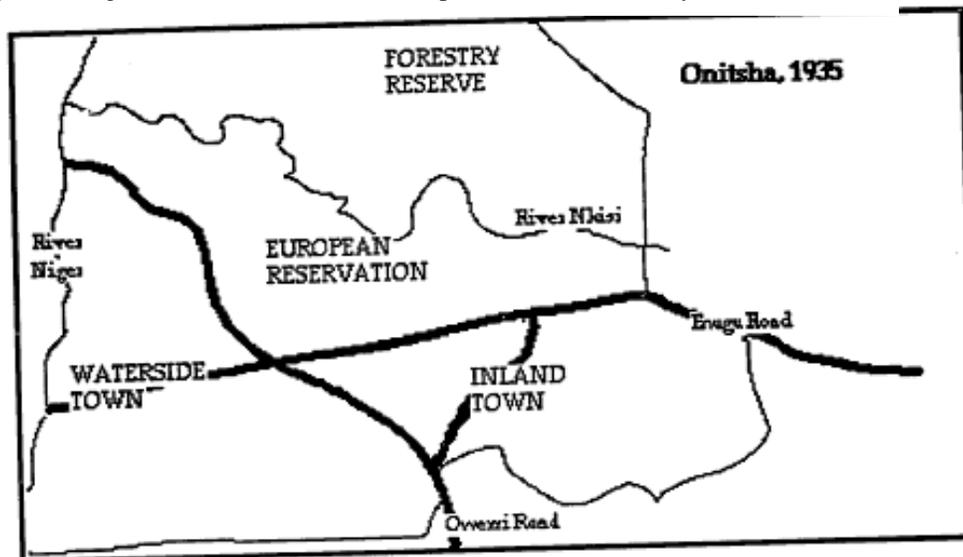
from the area are difficult to ascertain. Missionaries tell of local disputes brought about urban expansion into agricultural hinterlands (Henderson 1972). This suggests that the town needed more land—both agricultural and residential—to support the growing population. Agricultural surpluses continued to be traded north and south along the Niger River. In addition to trading with neighboring communities along the river, some Onitsha residents worked as middlemen for the established European trading posts of the Royal Niger Company (Mabogunje 1968). From 1885 to 1899, this company served as the face of European power, not government forces. The primary focus of the Royal Niger Company was on development of local resources for economic gain (Mabogunje 1968). In 1900, however, the British government withdrew the company's charter and transformed its trade stations to political and military bases, and effectively took control of trade for themselves (Afigbo 1981). They also launched a campaign of “punitive expeditions”—exercises of military might—into the interiors of Igboland, via Onitsha, to encourage local people to relinquish control of their land (Afigbo 1981: 295). Many people consequently migrated to the city in hopes of other opportunities (Afigbo 1981).

Onitsha experienced a huge increase in missionary conversions in the years following 1900. Ekechi (1972), from whom much of this information is derived, explained how villagers noticed that Christians seemed to avoid the general mistreatment handed out by British political and economic institutions. In addition, missions protected converts from chiefly judicators or traditional arenas of punishment (Ekechi 1972). Attempting to find a foothold in a vastly changing social

and economic landscape, many people thus converted to Christianity and migrated to the city (Ekechi 1972). Converts were thus immune to colonial and traditional pressures, and free to engage in other activities. Ifeka-Moller (1974: 61) explained that conversion to Christianity “promised a new kind of power, the power of the white man, which people could use to discover the secret of his technological superiority.” Ekechi (1972: 103-104) added that it “became fashionable to be called a Christian” and that “Church attendance became a new status symbol.”

Migrants moving to the city did not move into occupied areas of the “old town”—the area which was first settled and divided into quarters according to kinship (Meek and Arnett 1938), but settled instead on the fringes. As more migrants came, the city greatly expanded in terms of residents and area. The first urban plan for Onitsha was developed in 1911 by Bedwell, the Resident British administrator for Onitsha Province (Onyemelukwe 1974). Bedwell gave Onitsha “its first look as an

Figure 2.1: First formal plan of Onitsha by Bedwell in 1911. Shows the partitioning of the town into sections for specific uses. From Onyemelukwe 1974.



urban settlement,” but followed many of the tendencies that already existed (Onyemelukwe 1974: 51). He demarcated the “inland town” for the descendants of the founders of Onitsha, the northern section for Europeans, and charted the growth of the city westward approaching the river banks (Onyemelukwe 1974, see figure 2.1 for locations). He focused little on the overall spatial plan for the city, but rather demarcated areas for certain functions or populations (Hougham 1981). J. D. Falconer (1911: 27) described settlements in Onitsha as follows: “The European quarters are built on a ridge of high ground which runs inland behind the native town, while the traders’ stores and bungalows are set lower down by the riverside.” Before 1911, Onitsha market was a periodic market, being held once every four days following the Igbo weekly calendar (Bastion 1992). Bastion (1992: 15) described the old market as “unbounded by walls, without specific entrances or exits, and very freeform in its internal arrangements.” Bedwell’s urban plans laid out a space and plan for an organized, functioning daily market in the waterside town, though the actual market building was constructed in the 1950s (Onyemelukwe 1974).

In the late 1910s, after the end of World War I, missionary and colonial discourse changed, moving from imposing order on the “savages” (see Wieschhoff 1941a and 1941b) to endorsing education and community development in order to promote progress and industrialization (see Perham 1934, Jones 1949, Grove 1951, Neisser 1955, Pearce 1982). With the empire spread thin over vast tracts of territory, missionaries and colonists had to figure out new ways of reaching the masses (Pearce

1982). Church leaders realized that effective proselytizing could be carried out by “Native Agencies” (Basden 1966: 287), and thus they employed hundreds of “natives” to spread the Gospel throughout Igboland. These Native Agents of the Church also established mission schools in villages. By 1921, Onitsha and the surrounding villages had 376 mission and government schools, and close to thirty thousand students (Dodson 1974). The 1922-1923 issue of the Church Mission Society archives noted that young people who had been educated in mission schools rejected rural, agriculture lives and labor demands and relocated to Onitsha (CMS archives). The British government also began to take a more active role in education during this time, and pushed for standardized curricula and tests following those of England (Whitehead 1981).

Perhaps more important than standardizing education, the colonial government instituted township systems, which allowed the constitutive and administrative control of townships to be carried out through advisory boards or councils (Mabogunje 1968). This was the beginning of indirect rule—the system in which local administrations and organizations were supervised by the British colonial government (Home 1983). Depending on the designation of township status, involvement of colonial officials varied. The village, for example, was excluded from township status and thus had minimal interaction with colonial officials (Home 1983). Lagos, the only first-class township was administered by a British town council (Home 1983). Onitsha was designated a “second-class township” and was administered by “officers appointed by the Governor, and assisted by an Advisory

Board” (Mabogunje 1968: 112). Along with the government administration came service provision—European hospitals first, followed by water supply systems and later electricity (Mabogunje 1968). Population estimates of Onitsha in 1919 range from 14,000 to 25,000 (see Arnett 1933, Perham 1933, Onyemelukwe 1974).

The years from the 1920s until the 1940s—the interwar period—were ones of “complacent trusteeship” in Nigeria (Pearce 1982). Information and scholarly works pertaining to Onitsha, and southern Nigeria in general, are few. Most indicate that imperial forces were testing out new ways of governing territories (Pearce 1982). This was also a time of a global economic depression, and conditions in the colonies were not improving. The British empire began to rethink its stance of superiority and methods of governance (Pearce 1982).

World War II was a turning point for much of Africa. Many Africans were employed in the Imperial army and traveled the world fighting for British Crown (Pearce 1982). The message was contradictory: fight for the right of Jewish people, yet be denied your own. Sithole (in Pearce 1982: 133), a veteran of Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle, has described the effect of the war as follows:

During the war the African came into contact with practically all the peoples of the earth.... He saw the so-called civilized and peaceful and orderly white people mercilessly butchering one another just as his so-called savage ancestors had done in tribal wars. He saw no difference between so-called primitive and so-called civilized man. In short, he saw through European pretensions that Africans were savages. This discovery...had a revolutionizing psychological impact on the African. But more than this, World War II taught the African most powerful ideas. During the war the Allied Powers taught their subject peoples...that it was not right for Germany to dominate other nations. They taught the subject peoples to fight and die for freedom...After World War II, the Africans began to direct their

British-aroused anti-domination spirit against the Allied Powers who had extensive colonial empires in Africa.

Soldiers came home from the war ready to improve conditions of living and liberate their people from oppression. They brought both fervor and spare change in their pocketbooks (Obeichina 1971).

Industrialization expanded rapidly in Onitsha in the years following 1945. The geographer A. T. Grove (1951) indicated that Onitsha was to be the home of a palm-kernel sac processing plant in the late 1950s. He also wrote that emigration from surrounding villages to the city was enabling the expansion of palm plantations, as competing interests for cultivatable land dwindled, and furthered the expansion of the processing plant. Grove hints at the immense population growth Onitsha experienced as people moved from the rural areas to the city in search of opportunity. Literary scholar and communications specialist Don Dodson (1974: 71) has written that “between 1949 and 1963, 6,658 new residential buildings were built in Onitsha.” In 1953, the population was estimated at 77,000, but with the indigenous (descendants of the original settlers) population totaling only 9,583 (Dodson 1974: 71). The census also revealed that 86% of the total population of Onitsha was of Igbo heritage, 63% was male, and 38% was literate in English (Dodson 1974: 71).

Other industrial plants also opened in Onitsha during this time, most notably a Pepsi-Cola bottling plant (Alden 1961), a record factory, and a textile mill (Jennings and Oudah 1966). In 1957, Onitsha’s main market was revamped and modernized, but kept at the location designated by the 1911 urban plans (Jennings and Oudah, 1966, see figures 2.2 and 2.3). Onitsha was a bustling, emerging industrial center in

the late 1950s, and attracted numerous migrants who sought educational, trade, and industrial opportunities.

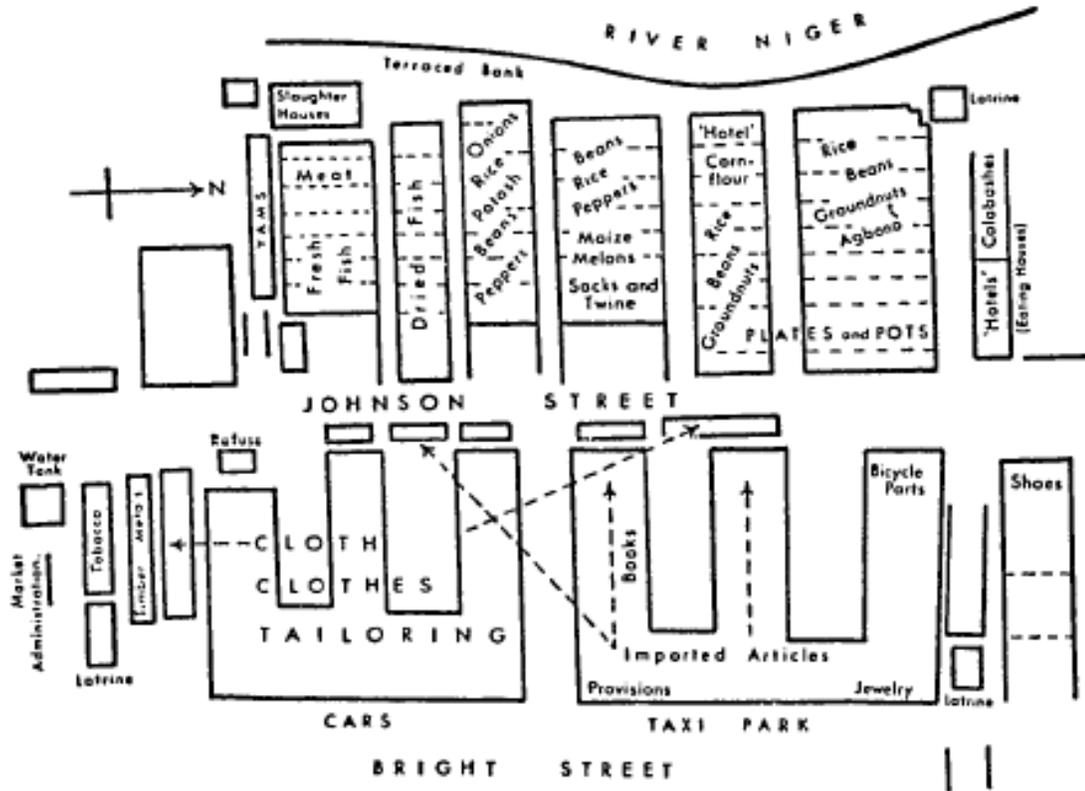


Figure 2.2: Detailed map of main market area, indicating areas where books, among countless other items, are sold. From Jennings and Oudah 1966.

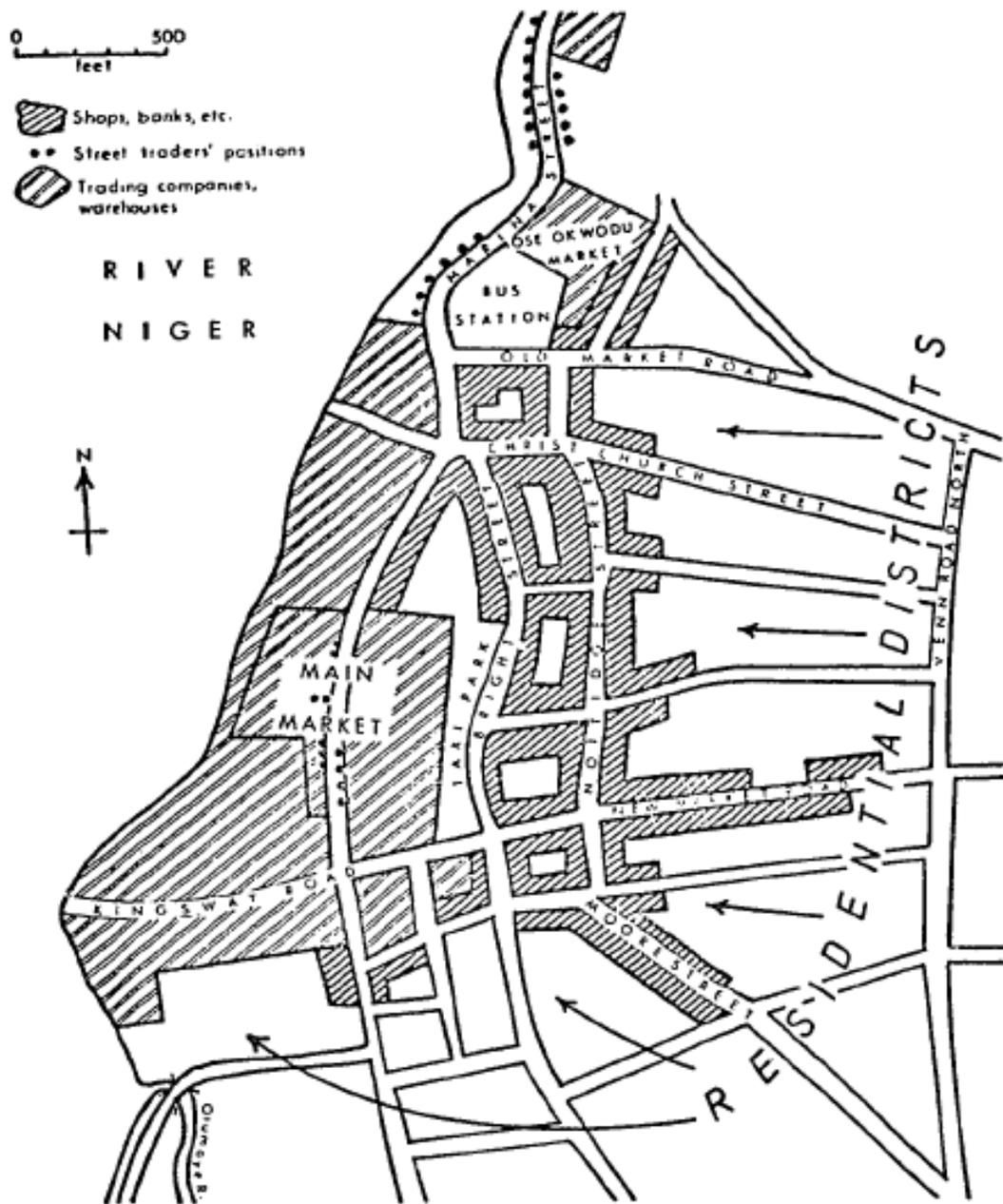


Figure 2.3: Onitsha from the banks of the Niger River on the west to the edge of the Inland town on the east. From Jennings and Oudah 1966.

DEVELOPMENT OF ONITSHA MARKET LITERATURE

Onitsha market literature first appeared in the stalls of the Onitsha market in the early 1950s (Collins 1968). Urban population growth, disposable incomes, literacy in English, and local printing press technology fueled the development of this literary engine (Obiechina 1971). Prior to the 1950s, much of the commercial and technological muscle of Nigeria was employed by the British operations of World War II. In the 1940s, soldiers of the colonial army were relieved of their duties and returned to Nigeria, many settling in Onitsha, “armed with their war bonuses”(Obiechina 1972: 5). Many of these bonuses were invested in commercial trade enterprises, such as mechanic shops, woodworking businesses, and blacksmiths. These entrepreneurs encouraged relations in the village to relocate to the city—Onitsha. This growth in urban populations drove an expansion of educational institutions (Obiechina 1972). These returning soldiers had not only money to fuel production of literature, but also novelettes from India and Victorian England on which to model their new enterprise (Nwoga 1965).

Though outlets existed as early as 1945 in Onitsha for the publication and circulation of Nigerian short stories and plays, other than newspapers, most of them were controlled directly by Europeans—government or missions—or by European standards (Schmidt 1965). These focused on didactic and institutional works, and ignored works of fiction (Schmidt 1965). The 1950s saw an increase in the number of private printing presses, accepting fictional works, in Onitsha, centered on the main market and along the New Market Road (see Obeichina 1972, Dodson 1974).

Don Dodson's (1974) extensive research on the development of Onitsha market literature reveals a symbiotic relationship between local printing presses and authors that operated in one of two ways (see Dodson 1974: 120-148). First, authors would make a deal with a printing press to print their manuscript and negotiate the price per issue. Prices varied, but were usually between 2 and 7 cents (USD) per issue. The authors would take the printed pamphlets, sell them in the market, and keep all the profits. The second option was for the author to sell the copyright of their work to the printing outfit. In this arrangement, the printer was responsible for printing and selling of the works, with the authors taking a royalty off of each pamphlet sold. It should be noted that all printers, prior to 1960, derived only a fraction of their profits from pamphleteering.

Chukele, one of the earliest publishers of Onitsha market literature, explained to Dodson (1971: 112) why Onitsha rather than Lagos became the center of pamphleteering in Nigeria: "Onitsha is a trader's town, and you have semiliterates [sic] who would spend money in a throwaway form all the year around. Lagos is a worker's town, and people run out of money in the middle of the month." In 1957, 25,000 people were actively engaged—working and/or shopping—in the Onitsha market every day (Dodson 1974). Their average monthly earnings was £16, the equivalent of \$45 (Dodson 1974: 71). By 1963, Onitsha had a population of 163,000 (Dodson 1974: 71).

In 1960, All Star Printers became the first publisher to specialize in pamphleteering (Dodson 1974). Obiaga, the owner of All Star Printers in 1971,

revealed to Dodson in an interview that he “produced more than 50 different pamphlets” and that he “printed about eight a month with an average run of 6,000 copies—a total of more than 3.4 million copies in six years” (Dodson 1974: 141). Local publishing and printing became big business in the early 1960s. In 1964 alone, over forty-one new printing and publishing companies were established in Onitsha (Schmidt 1965: 79). Also in the early 1960s, bookshops that traditionally sold textbooks and school supplies started printing and selling pamphlets (Dodson 1974). These new printing and publishing outfits plus the incorporation of pamphlets into bookshop offerings produced a boom in the market literature which lasted until the late 1960s and the onset of the Biafran war.

The designation of these pamphlets as “Onitsha market literature” did not literally refer to the origins of the literature within the confines of the market itself. Not all of the activity involved in the pamphlets—writing, publishing, printing—occurred at the market. Much did occur there, but there were also bookshops and printers clustered on roads leading from the main market to the interior of the city (Dodson 1974). The inclusion of the word market as a descriptor these disparate pieces of creative work leads me to question what markets mean as a place for Igbo people.

ONITSHA MARKET AS A GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE

Robert Sack's geographical understanding of place at the intersection of nature, social relationships, and meaning (see figure 2.4, 2001a) provides a framework for understanding the Onitsha market. According to Sack, a unique feature of the lives of human beings is our faculty as place-makers (Sack 2001b). Place is the backdrop for our human projects, such as reproduction of social and cultural life. Place is not synonymous with space or location.

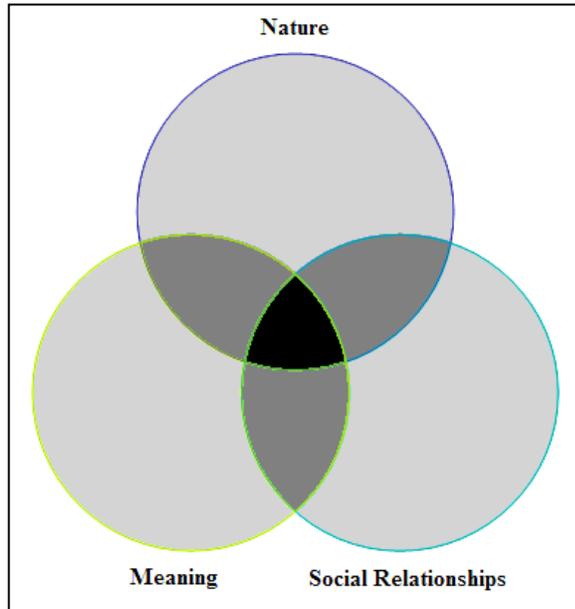


Figure 2.4: Robert Sack's understanding of place at the intersection of nature, meaning, and social relationships. From Sack 2001a.

Place “is an area that we bound and control and use as an instrument” (Sack 2001a: 107). Place is located in space, but is more than cold, empty space. As Sack (2002: 114) has explained: “we create places—delimited and controlled areas of space that contain rules about what may or may not take place—so that projects can occur.” In creating places, we employ our geographical imaginations to transform space into a place that reflects the way we understand the world. What is Onitsha market like, then, as a place, encompassing realms of nature, social relationships, and meaning?

Onitsha market as a place first encompasses aspects of nature, including products of nature to be traded, and also transformations of nature into industrial products to be traded. A visitor to Onitsha market in 1966 explained it as “less a market than a full-scale assault on the senses where colour [sic] howls in the cloth section and the scent of soap and spice and humanity drugs the will to resist” (Young 1966: 38). You could hold any part of the world in the Onitsha market, as products—the result of the transformation of nature by human labor—from every corner of the world were available for purchase (Njoku 1990).

In terms of social relationships, Misty Bastion (1992: 2-3) explained that “Igbo markets serve as the primary conduits for meeting people and seeing what the world has to offer.” Markets are places of exchange—literally and symbolically. Prior to the early 1900s, the market in Onitsha was held once every four days, reflecting the Igbo belief in the number four bringing good fortune and wishes (Njoku 1990). Market duties were not typically egalitarian in Igbo culture. Igbo markets were historically controlled by women, while men handled long-distance trade (Njoku 1990). This changed in the early 1900s when, upon death of the chief market woman, the colonial officials denied the community the right to appoint a new market woman (Bastion 1992).

Igbo markets are imbued with concepts from Igbo cosmology, or way of making sense of the world. Anthropologist Misty Bastion’s (1992) extensive work on the subject provides invaluable insights into the meaning of the market as a place. First, she has explained that a backbone of Igbo cosmology is the idea of usefulness,

both while alive and after death (Bastion 1992: 11-12). Being useful, both at the individual family level and the larger community level, ensures balance and the continuation of Igbo peoples. To be useful, one must also be transparent, and transparency comes from socialization (Bastion 1992: 13). Bastion argued that “the space in Igbo towns that is most conducive to transparency is the market space” (Bastion 1992: 15). She went on to explain how markets have changed spatially in accordance with colonial policy urban plans: “before the transformation of Igbo markets into ‘modern markets,’ every marketplace was open ... all transactions were made publicly and transparently ... and the market space was a reflection on this necessary transparency” (Bastion 1992: 14-15). The market was central to ideas of self-worth, and this worth was expressed through harmonious market transactions.

To summarize the idea of market as place following Sack’s (2001a) design, the market physically embodied the world, is the primary arena of social exchange, and reflects Igbo ideas of transparency and usefulness. It was these ideas of the market as place that unified Onitsha market literatures. Indeed, these ideas were echoed in the authors of Onitsha market literature, and their explicit purposes to entertain and teach.

ONITSHA MARKET LITERATURE—AUTHORS AND AUDIENCE

Acclaimed Nigerian author Chinua Achebe (in Obiechina 1971: foreward) once described Onitsha market literature as “concerned not to provide exotic entertainment but to tackle seriously in the light of their own perception the social

problems of a somewhat mixed-up but dynamic, even brash, modernizing community.” Emmanuel Obiechina (1972: 13), who has studied this genre extensively, has explained that “the authors are involved in providing guidance to the masses caught in the crises of these sweeping changes.” No distinct separation exists between authors and audience; indeed, the authors “are part of that audience and they share the same problems, and in the mode of expression, they also know how to put things to catch the interest of that audience” (Nwoga 1965: 29). Obiechina (1972) explained that most authors had recently emerged from the social position of that of the readers, and thus intimately understood their concerns and desires. Dodson (1974: 242-250) interviewed pamphlet authors and found that the majority of them wrote as a form of self-expression rather than to make money. Most pamphlets sold at such a low price that overhead costs were barely regained, much less substantial profits made. Authors produced pamphlets to feel *useful*, in the Igbo’s cosmological sense of the term.

The market literature appealed primarily to elementary and secondary school students, primary school teachers, traders, taxi-drivers, mechanics and white-collar workers, and adult education classes (Obiechina 1972: 10-11). Dodson once asked readers of these pamphlets whether or not they felt compelled to change an idea or action after reading a pamphlet. Sixty-three percent of his Onitsha respondents answered yes, that a pamphlet did compel them to change in some way (Dodson 1974: 231). Charles Larson (1967: 43-45), an American secondary school teacher in the mid-1960s in Onitsha, said the Onitsha authors could potentially mold the minds

of thousands upon thousands of young people, as he saw his students and others consume the literature with great fervor.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has illuminated the specific historical and geographic situation in which the Onitsha market literature phenomena developed. Authors carry their personal situations into the literature they write. They are part of larger economic, cultural, and political configurations. They write about modernity from a local context, a specific place encompassing realms of nature, meaning, and social relationships, and seek to transform each. The next chapter dives into the literature itself by way of both content and discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 3:

Modernity in Onitsha Market Literature

In the previous chapter, I located Onitsha market literature historically both in terms of the urban context and the local history of publishing. We will move now to exploring the literature itself. This chapter is multifold. First, I describe the collection of Onitsha market literature at The University of Kansas (KU)—in terms of quantity and later as a representation of the literature as a whole. The methodology used in this research is then outlined. The remaining part of the chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the negotiations of tradition and modernity in the literature, as well as an examination of the spatial patterns within the literature.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS ONITSHA COLLECTION

Thomas Buckman, a former director of libraries at KU, studied publication, development, and libraries in Nigeria in the mid-1960s. In his research, he came across hundreds of titles of Onitsha market

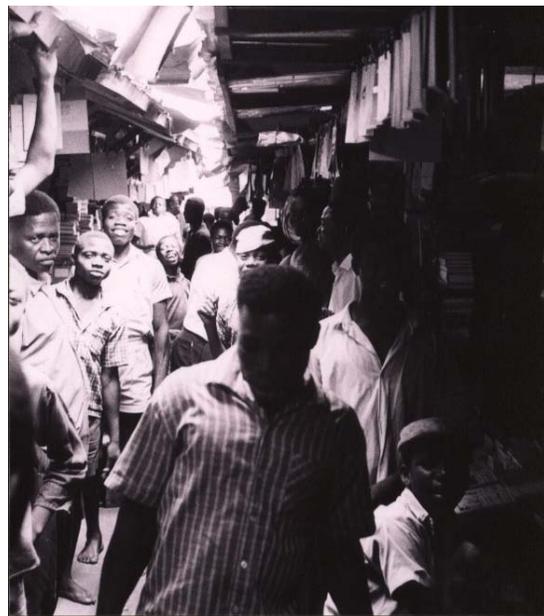


Figure 3.1: Youths in the bookstalls of the Onitsha market, 1965. Courtesy of Thomas

literature (see figure 3.1 and 3.2). He regarded this literature as “represent[ing] a unique form of popular literature in Africa and reflect[ing] the serious concerns and social tensions of many of the people” (Buckman 1966: 2).



Figure 3.2: In the bookstalls of the Onitsha market, 1965. Courtesy of Thomas Buckman.

He was captivated by the eager reading public and noted that the popularity of Onitsha market literature “is evidence of the fact that there is a great thirst for general reading matter among the growing literate population” (Buckman 1966: 2). He also attributed their popularity to the price: each pamphlet cost approximately \$0.35 (Buckman 1966). This price was affordable, even for people with low incomes such as students, vendors, and workers. Buckman collected almost one hundred pamphlets, all of them in English rather than Igbo, which are now housed in the

Spencer Research Library at KU. It is through this collection of Onitsha market literature that I examine the negotiations of tradition and modernity in Onitsha.

METHODOLOGY

*How can I go forward when I don't know which way I'm facing?
How can I go forward when I don't know which way to turn?*
- John Lennon, "How"

Before starting this research project, I had only read a handful of Onitsha pamphlets. My first step in this thesis, then, was to read, become familiar, and spend some time with examples from this collection of literature. After reading about forty of the ninety-seven pamphlets available at KU, I noticed many of the same themes, and even segments of texts, reappearing. Discussions of love, work, school, success, and modern life surfaced in nearly every one. With these ideas in mind, I turned to Emmanuel Obiechina (see 1971, 1972, 1973), the most prominent scholar on Onitsha market literature, for guidance on how to understand and organize my analysis and discussion of the pamphlets.

Obiechina (1973: 16-17) has separated Onitsha market literature written in English into two distinct categories: fiction and nonfiction. In the nonfiction category, he distinguishes three types of pamphlets: advice for young people dealing with issues of romance and relationships, general advice on life, and local interest and Igbo culture. The fictional pamphlets also come in three forms: dramatic stories about love and marriage, stories of African political leaders, and general topic novels. I used this typology to divide the KU collection. Within each type, I further grouped

the literature into subgroups according to theme (see Table 3.1; see Appendix 1 for complete table, including titles of literatures in each subgroup, see Appendix 2 for the list of the pamphlets in the sample group). Grouping similar literatures within each type enabled me to construct a more representative sample. One pamphlet was randomly selected from each subgroup (for a total of twenty pamphlets) to form the set of literature examined in this research.

Table 3.1: classification of Onitsha market literature

<i>Category</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Subgroup (number in collection)</i>
<u>Nonfiction</u>	Romance and relationships	Marriage guides (6)
		How to write love letters (5)
		Bachelor's guides (4)
		Guides on love and dating (9)
		Warnings or signs to proceed with caution (7)
	General advice on life	General life lessons (6)
		Proverbs and sayings (2)
		For schools and public speaking (4)
		How to write English for school and business (4)
	Local interest	Political issues (3)
Cultural issues (3)		
<u>Fiction</u>	Dramatic stories of love and marriage	Character focused (9)
		Idea focused (8)
	Stories about political leaders	Nigerian (2)
		Other African (6)
		American (3)
		European (1)
	General novels on a variety of issues	Money (6)
		Success (2)
		Miscellaneous (7)

The primary objective of this research project—understanding cultural changes resulting from negotiations of modernity as reflected in Onitsha market literature, and how this effects place—was accomplished by using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. I employed coding, a method of quantifying qualitative data, to highlight the common themes present in each category of texts, as well as across categories. Coding consists of developing a system of identifiers—words or themes—and counting how many of the texts contain each theme (Cope 2005: 224). Upon initial reading of the texts, I identified ideas present and compiled a list of these ideas in each pamphlet. I then examined the list of ideas and grouped them into themes. Finally, I went back to the texts, and identified which themes are discussed in the other texts of the sample group (see Appendix 3 for the complete table of themes coded in the sample texts). The front cover of each pamphlet in the sample was also coded, and I counted how many times European, Indian, and African people were represented.

The themes identified during the coding process formed the starting point for qualitative analysis. Qualitative methods—specifically content and discourse analysis—help to discern and understand the larger systems of meaning and subjectivity present within a text (Shurmer-Smith 2002, Waitt 2005). I also use the interpretative foundation of hermeneutics to explore how Western ideas of modernity are imagined and reproduced by Onitsha authors. The crux of hermeneutic frameworks is the “study of interpretation and meaning” (Barnes 2000: 334). Hermeneutics has been linked with deconstructions of discursive structures of

“otherness,” as developed by Edward Said (1978). David Livingstone (2000: 92) has explained that “experience of geographical difference necessarily inaugurates a sequence of hermeneutic events in which meaning is reciprocally made and re-made.” In encountering the “other,” or a phenomenon that represents geographical difference, people engage in interpretation of events, symbols, and texts. These interpretations, then, constitute new systems of meaning and understanding. In this research, I interpret how the authors understand “what it is to be modern” (Appiah 1992: 32).

Discourse analysis takes the results from interpretative studies further and considers power structures and relationships that affect the way people conceptualize and live in certain places. Geographer Gordon Waitt (2005: 168) has explained that “discourse analysis examines how discourses are constituted and circulated within texts and representations, which in turn function to produce a particular understanding or knowledge about the world that is accepted as truth.” So what is a discourse? Discourses, broadly, are socially constituted, acceptable ways of thinking about a specific topic, or “a specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced” (Gregory 2000: 180). Discourses come into being, Waitt (2005: 171) has explained, through “relative rule-bound set of statements that impose limits on how we construct our thoughts and statements.” Through these discursive structures, certain ideas are privileged as “true,” and thus emerge as boundaries upon acceptable ways of thinking and doing. “The meaning of an object,” continues Waitt (2005: 171), “is fashioned through a pattern of discursive structures repeated across a number of texts.” The answers to the question of “what it is to be

modern” will be further investigated using discourse analysis. Now, instead of noting the existence of statements or ideas hinting at what modernity means, I investigate how these statements are situated within the larger text, discerning the contexts, relationships, and activities in which these ideas manifest themselves. I also pay close attention to wording and the ways in which authors persuade readers to accept their ideas as valid (Waitt 2005).

The final part of my analysis consists of noting and interpreting spatial patterns and relationships expressed within the pamphlets. I focus on locations where certain activities or ideas are expressed, and see if a connection exists between what is being said and the place where it is occurring. Do expressions of love, for example, occur inside the confines of a parental house, a private room, or in a public place? The location of ideas can help us understand the social construction of certain relationships or activities. I incorporate these understandings within the discussion of discourses.

RESULTS: CONTENT AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The twenty pamphlets that make up my sample contain an eclectic mix of ideas and styles of writing. Some provide sample letters on a wide variety of topics, while others are dramatic interpretations of historical events in Europe and America. Five themes, however, emerged from the coding process as dominant throughout the collection of texts. These are: nationalism, religion, being modern, traditions, and gender relationships.

Before expounding on these themes, it is important to note that many of the authors express their intention for these pamphlets to be used as guides in navigating the new postcolonial place, Onitsha and Nigeria. Over half of the texts sampled are explicitly didactic. Typically authors discuss this in the preface, by stating, for example: “this pamphlet ‘Guides for Engagement,’ deals principally with rules guiding a suitor, how he has to make his choice and how he should behave at the time of his engagement” (Maxwell 1962: preface). The language used is normative, urging readers to conform to social expectations. E. M Adibe (1964: 1), in his preface to *A Handbook on public speaking, introduction, don’t [sic] greetings and general instructions, (For schools and colleges, teachers, traders and workers)*, explains that “the book teaches parents, husbands, house wives the modern way of meeting their civic responsibilities in the home.” Another author explains that his pamphlet “is a book written by an African for Africans and other races who are interested in things of Africa” and that “good books, always help many people, to know about certain things, relating to the affairs of their day to day lives” (Stephen 1962: preface). Authors suggest to readers that situations or experiences within the pamphlets are part of everyday life. This normative presentation potentially influences readers to conform their lives to situations and experiences presented in the pamphlets. Indeed, these pamphlets have had an effect: sixty-three percent of Onitsha residents in 1974 stated that a pamphlet compelled them to change in some way (Dodson 1974: 231). By assimilating the information presented, readers are offered the opportunity to join the ranks of the modern world.

Nationalism

Onitsha market literature peaked during the dawn of independence in Nigeria. Over half of the authors engage specifically with questions of independence and nation building. They inspire their readers with powerful speeches from African political leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah: “Those who are asleep must wake up. Those who are awake must walk. Those who are walking must run. There is no turning back” (in Abiakam 1965, 21). Independence has come, and authors are trying to stake a claim on social change in this new, free space. Wifred Onwuka (1964: preface), in his preface to *How to study and write good letters, applications, compositions, telegrams, agreements, better sentences, important letters, speaking in public and teach yourself good English*, testified, “My principal aim in producing this book is to contribute my quota towards the educational building, progress and development of Nigeria and the world in general.”

For eight of the twenty pamphlets, part of this development of Nigeria was the installation of democratic political systems. Authors conveyed the meaning and benefits of democracy both through words of political leaders and fictional stories. One pamphlet contained the inaugural speech of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the governor general of Nigeria (he later became the first prime minister). In his speech, Azikiwe (1960: 6) explained that Nigeria would be a representative democracy, and credited European countries for laying a solid political foundation during colonial rule. Stephen Felix’s (1962) pamphlet discussed democracy within a fictional story. After

the death of a selfish, dictatorial leader, the elders of the community congregated and talked about the future. One elder claimed, “I do not believe, that this ought to happen in a free society, where democracy, is daily harped on” (Felix 1962: 56). Elders asserted the preference for political democracy. Azikwe (1960: 16) exclaimed in the final moments of his inaugural speech that: “Independence has come and the world has rejoiced with us. We have proved to be worthy pioneers of human freedom in Nigeria. What remains for us to do now is to dedicate our lives anew to the fascinating task of nation-building.”

In chapter 1 of this thesis, I quoted Gyekye’s explanation that modernization does not mean westernization, but rather updating aspects of the tradition to fit the mold of the modern world. This is not the message presented in these pamphlets. The authors unabashedly embrace western, democratic political institutions without translating them to fit local circumstances. This is part of the self-created modernity that Gyekye urged. In this case, though, the authors replace the traditional political institutions with a democracy modeled on the British regime. It is through the passing of tradition, Gyekye has argued, that the new, self-created modernity will come. We will now turn to ideas that influenced this exciting nation building, at least as seen in the Onitsha market literature’s navigation of the excitement.

Religion

By far the most widely discussed idea in the literature is spirituality and religion, discussed both in general terms of “God” and specifically ideas of

Christianity. Wrapped up in the predominate Christianity is the historical pairing of religion and educational systems as I discussed in chapter 2. For this reason, I consolidate Christianity and education together in the theme of religion.

Christianity

Many theorists of modernity (see Giddens 1990, Ogburn 1998, Dallmayr 2004) contend that with the modern comes a sense of disenchantment with the world, that science and rationality replace worldviews that had the supernatural as their cornerstone. Onitsha authors challenge this equation, and instead place “God” and Christianity at the center of many affairs. Sixteen of my sampled pamphlets discuss Christianity and seventeen speak about God. Readers are taught that the only good friends are “true Christians” that “pray for good luck and success of one another” (Abiakam, 1964: 34) and that “man conquers his problems first by prayer” (Njoku 196-: 35). In his pamphlet *The Life history and last journey of President John Kennedy*, Onwuka (196-: 10-11) praises the life and politics of JFK, and specifically equates his courage and goodness to his Catholic faith. With a few exceptions, the pamphlets ignore Islam, though Muslims were certainly part of the population of Onitsha (Bastion 1992).

Structures and stories from Christianity are also employed by the authors to communicate important messages. The “Ten Commandments of Love for Boys and Girls,” for example, is used in two different pamphlets: *Beware of women* (Njoku 196-) and *The African bachelor’s guide and lady’s guide* (Diala 1963). Highbred

Maxwell (1962) employs the biblical story of Sampson and Delilah to illustrate the dangers of women to his readers. For more practical advice on Christianity, readers can turn to Adibe's (1964: 23) *A Handbook on public speaking, introduction, don't greetings and general instructions (For schools and colleges, teachers, traders and workers)*, specifically the section on "Don'ts in Churches." Here readers are instructed on proper dress, proceedings, time, etiquette, and expectations of attending church.

Education

Authors commented on education in a variety of ways in fifteen of the twenty pamphlets sampled. For some, fictional characters were students, struggling to balance education and social life (see Iguh 1962). Many pamphlets contained a series of sample letters on subjects ranging from love and engagement to savings and exam questions, many of these purportedly written by students. K. C. Eze's (1964) pamphlet *Teach yourself how to study and write important love letters*, for example, contains a series of letters to and from students in various stages of academic development. J. J. writes to Beatrice, for example, "How are you getting on with your studies? This is very important I must tell you and it will be very bad if you neglect your studies [and] play away the time" (Eze 1964: 33-34). Typically, these letters model appropriate behaviors and questions to inquisitive readers. Other authors convey the importance of education to their readers. Okenwa Olisah (1965: 42-43), a widely popular Onitsha author (see Obiechina 1974), explains to his

readers: “Education is one of the most important things in this world which our modern boys and girls are now seeking for.”

In addition to expounding the benefits of education, pamphlets were also concerned with educating their readers on specific subjects. Four of the pamphlets include extensive sections of “questions and answers” to inform readers on issues of local and international importance. Here are a few sample questions from Onwuka’s (1964: 47-54) pamphlet: “Who discovered disease germs? Who discovered Victoria Falls? Who invented the sewing machine? Where was Shakespeare born? Is Cleopatra dead? Do newspapers always tell the truth?” This extensive question-and-answer section is followed by lessons on English grammar and vocabulary (Onwuka 1964: 54-60). Authors impart knowledge they have gained to help readers with any deficiencies they may have.

Much of the discussion of religion and education also encapsulates issues of personal relationships with the opposite sex. Gender relationships are discussed at length below, but it is important to note here that, according to many of the Onitsha authors, being formally educated is a desirable quality, particularly in men. Cy Diala (1963: 18) in *The African bachelor’s guide and lady’s guide, (to be read before marriage and after it)*, quotes one young woman as having said, “the young man who is social, sociable and intelligent is my choice, most especially the young man who is very fluent in English.” Personal relationships are tied to this larger idea of what it means to be modern.

Separating Christianity and education from the larger projects of colonization and missions is impossible. Institutionalized western religion and education have emerged as dominant through the years of negotiations between it and tradition, as the Comaroffs and Afigbo shed light on in chapter 1. In promoting both Christianity and education as highly desirable, if not compulsory, the Onitsha authors essentially say that tradition is not adequate. Moreover, the authors put themselves and their readers in a position of cooperation with the west. By marrying eruditeness and faithfulness, they exclude both traditionalists and Muslims from participating in this modern world. They authors carve out a position for themselves, and people like them, in the new Nigeria.

Being Modern

“Look all I want to tell both of you now is that you can’t and must never impose the stone age life on any body in this atomic age” (Iguh 1962, 31).

The above phrase was said by Peter, a young student, to his father and his father’s friend in regard to their attempts to stop Agnes (Peter’s older sister) from frequenting her boyfriend’s house. This dialogue, part of the pamphlet *Agnes in the Game of Love*, exemplifies the admiration for modernist ideas. This subject was on the mind of over half the Onitsha authors. They talked about “being modern” and how “modern girls and boys” or “people of nowadays” were expected to carry themselves. Onitsha authors link the modern and the contemporary much the same

way as has Jennifer Robinson (2006). Much of this discussion focuses on urban living, money, and private ownership.

Urban Living

Though “city” is mentioned in only three of the twenty pamphlets, the undercurrent of city life and urbanization is present throughout. A multitude of discussions about professional occupations, such as bankers (five times), doctors (seven times), and teachers (seven times), suggest urban associations, rather than rural, locations to carry out functions of the modern world. Lagos, the largest city in Nigeria, is specifically mentioned in eight of the twenty pamphlets, while villages are discussed in only three. Onwuka (1964) gave a detailed explanation of the preference for urban living in the modern Onitsha:

I would like to be swept forward in the current of modern life even at the cost of being somewhat dizzy with the motion. We do not want to be left in the backwater of an antiquated age which constitute life in a village. No one will for a moment, under-value the quietness, the sweatness [sic], and even the poetry that the green fields, the blue skies, the colourful scenery of a village hold up before our eyes. But modern life is full of activity. There is much to do all round, so much to change and to build anew.... The City and not the village is the place where most of this work can be done (24-25).

The city is the place of opportunity and activity. For the authors, much of this activity focuses on work and other ways of making money. Again, we see Robinson’s (2006) ideas of contemporary, and that people do not want to be left behind in an antiquated era. The authors locate, the same way Robinson (2006) does, the nexus of this contemporary life to be the city. The spaces of the modern are not in

villages; the city is where this new, modern place can be built anew and there is much work to be done. This work in the city is not agricultural, but industrial and service work aimed at amassing money.

Money

Conversations about money surfaced in thirteen out of the twenty sampled pamphlets. Three pamphlets have money as their central topic (*Money hard to get but easy to spend* [Olisah, 1965], *How to start life and end it well* [Raphael 1964], and *Experience in life, is key to success* [Stephen 1962]). As with all topics in these creative pamphlets, deliberations around the subject of money and finance took myriad shapes. Money is praised by most, particularly for its utility in accomplishing other goals. Authors explain that money is needed, for example, to expand a trading business (see *Handbook on public speaking, introduction, don't greetings and general instructions, A. (For schools and colleges, teachers, traders and workers)* [Adibe 1964]), build a house and have nice things (see *The African bachelor's guide and lady's guide* [Diala 1963]), and to have a happy marriage (see *Guides for engagement* [Maxwell 1962]). Raphael (1964: 5) explains that "Money is the talk of the town. It is the topic of the day. Money is very important to human beings, for without it you cannot buy anything that can help you get ahead in this world." Money is the vehicle through which being modern is attainable.

Though most authors applaud money, readers are also instructed on the adverse affects wealth can have on a person. In *How to Play Love*, we hear the story

of a rich man who refused to share his bounty with neighbors in need, and shortly thereafter death informed him of his impending demise (Stephen 1962). As this rich man reflected upon his life, he realized that his trouble started after his grand display of greed. Repeatedly, readers are warned against this temptation. In his pamphlet, *49 Wise sayings, 72 idioms, 44 questions & answers and some speeches of world leaders, past and present. Speeches made during the Napoleonic wars, second world war and extracts of speeches made by Winston Churchill on Hitler, etc*, Abiakam (1965: 26) quoted Nnamdi Azikwe, the first prime minister of Nigeria, as saying “To no person no matter how wealthy should we sell our soul.”

Practical matters were of great concern to the authors, and in regards to money they informed readers of the importance of savings. Seven of the twenty pamphlets asserted the necessity of saving money, and most of these pamphlets placed importance of banks in saving money. Olisah (1965: 19) told readers to not “bury your money in the ground, because ants can eat it up, and wonderful thieves can discover it and dig it out and make away with it.” Saving money, the authors say, is necessary for the future, because you never know what is going to happen in this life.

Private Ownership

Authors also tout the necessity of buying Onitsha market literature pamphlets. Arthur Richards, author of the forward to *The African bachelor's guide and lady's guide*, wrote: “I wish every young man and woman should possess this pamphlet” (in Diala 1963, foreword). Two pages in Olisah's (1965) pamphlet *Money Hard to get*

but easy to Spend are devoted to the importance of owning and buying this piece of work. He tells readers to buy it and “present it as a kola to your visitor” because, he continues, it “entertains more than 2 bottles of beer” (17). The pamphlet can be a “kola to your visitor:” kola nuts are traditionally presented to important visitors upon arrival at an Igbo house (Ifemesia 1979). Here we see authors engaging in tradition, translating the new into an understandable form.

An emphasis on money, work, and ownership—the cornerstones of capitalism—reflect the dominant development paradigms at the time. These ideas were pushed as solutions to poverty and as necessary tools in independent Africa. Authors encouraged readers to abide by some of the strategies of neoclassical economic development: individualism, the market, and savings (see Smith 2000: 541-545).

As we learned from Appiah (1992), economic growth results not only in increased social mobility (see Mabogunje 1965) but also a shift in responsibility from the community level to the individual. The success of the individual, rather than community, takes center stage. This shift is also intimately linked to democracy and political individualism. But the authors do not wholly embrace money; they repeatedly warn readers of the dangers of greed and the evils of money. This is where negotiation comes in. Authors at once encourage the tenets of the western institutions as the way to modernity and caution readers as to the dangers of complete assimilation.

Traditions

Aspects of traditional social structures or customs were discussed in thirteen of the pamphlets sampled. General African traditions, as well as Igbo-specific traditions, were both considered by various authors. *Songs of Africa*, a unique pamphlet of poetry by Okogie (1961) One pamphlet, *Ibo native law and custom* (Olisah 1963), reports on a variety of traditions unique to Igbo people, such as the Ozo title taking, inheritance customs, and popular names. In the preface to this pamphlet, Olisah (1963: 7) wrote that readers will be informed of customs of “this dynamic tribe.” He makes a point of this dynamism; changes experienced by readers in this modern world can still be understood as part of Igbo culture because of its fluidity. This echoes the ideas of accommodation and cultural change by Soyinka (1976) and the Comaroffs (1991), that the way in which people approach the modern is framed by their local culture and experience. One aspect of local experience that six of the authors discuss in detail is bride price.

Bride Price

Bride price is the giving of gifts (money, foodstuffs, luxury goods, etc.) to the bride’s family as compensation for the loss of a daughter; it does not signify buying a wife, but gives thanks to the bride’s family (see Afigbo 1982). In a most unexpected pamphlet, *The Statements of Hitler before the world war*, bride price was extensively discussed. This fictional pamphlet deals with the conflict between England and Germany during World War II. At the end of the pamphlet, the author, Olisah (1963:

12), switches gears and talks about how the war impacted Nigeria. He explained that “there is a strong allegation particularly in the Eastern Nigeria, that the soldiers were responsible for the high bride price...when the soldiers returned from war, they began to pay high bride price, [and] thus set a very unfortunate example.” Other authors also complain about the rising bride price (see Akuneme 1964). In *The African bachelor’s guide and lady’s guide*, Diala (1963) suggested to Nigerian economists that they study the potential problem of depopulation resulting from the inability to pay prohibitively high bride prices. He contended (Diala 1963: 42) that “Nigeria may therefore soon suffer from depopulation and may in future even be threatened by the danger of lack of man-power in her trade, industry, the civil service and the professions.” Bride price is acceptable, but limits need to be placed upon it to ensure the participation of people from all social classes.

Bride price represents an interesting amalgamation of tradition and modern. Economists, operating in a neoclassical paradigm, were urged to study the effect of high bride prices—an aspect of tradition that has no relationship to capitalism. Authors do not advocate for the complete abandonment of this traditional institution, but want to find a way to make it fit in the modern economy. They confirm what Gyekye (1997: 271) has argued, that “traditions are not irreconcilable with modernity.” Authors do not attempt to unpack the modern from the west, as recommended by Robinson (2006), but try, rather, to squeeze together the modern, the west, and the tradition.

Gender Relationships

The themes discussed up to this point all manifest themselves in a reconfiguration of gender roles and relationships. Most scholarly research involving Onitsha market literature deals with these gender issues and the active exclusion of women (see Chukukere 1995, Newell 1996). Only a handful of pamphlets in the broad Onitsha market literature genre were written by females (Obiechina 1973), and none of the twenty literatures in the sample group were female authored. Men, therefore, shaped gender roles in this media outlet and narrated this new face of patriarchy to their readers.

Eleven pamphlets sampled in this research discussed ideas of romantic love, and ten of these conveyed the importance and difficulties experienced within marriage. Love is never defined, or even discussed in conceptual terms. What to do with love, though, is thoroughly explained. Authors urge readers to marry for love's sake, not because of family pressure or fleeting outward appearances (see *Guides for Engagement* [Maxwell 1962]). Unmarried women are called "harlots," and men are taught to beware of women who are only after the pocketbook (see *Money hard to get but easy to spend* [Olisah 1965] and *Beware of women* [Njoku 196-]). Ten pamphlets contain exemplary love letters that readers can copy or follow in creating their own (see *Teach yourself how to study and write important love letters*). These letters contain thoughtful accolades, such as "I love you more than my eyes" (Abiakam 1964: 7) and ways to ask girls for their love. Abiakam (1964: 16) explained that "correct love letters are impressive and will surely convince the reader. It gives

respect to the writer and at the same time makes one bold in the social field of education.” Men are encouraged to be rational in the “game of love” and develop the skills necessary for love and marriage (Eze 1964: 78). Here “love skills” are aligned with education, social worth, and individualism. Readers are instructed on writing and reading love letters—activities that that are done alone, as an individual.

DISCUSSION

Authors of the pamphlets guide readers through the “social problems of a somewhat mixed-up but dynamic, even brash, modernizing community” (Achebe in Obiechina 1973: *x*). In chapter 1, we learned from Appiah (1992) that writing as a form of communication is loaded with western universalism, exclusive rather than expansive. Through repetition of a set of perceptions and representations, authors construct meanings of, and impose limits on how readers conceptualize and articulate the new, postcolonial landscape.

Pamphlets covers can be used to reveal the representations through which the major discourses were produced. I have tabulated the frequency of different cover images on the cover of pamphlets (see table 3.2). Twelve of the twenty use photographs as covers. Of those, five display black people (men), six show white people (men and women), and one presents an Indian woman. Of the five photographs of black people, three of these are men wearing western suit/tie/jacket combinations, one is a picture of Dr. Azikwe, and one shows Patrice Lumumba. By

displaying the three ordinary black men in western clothes, the authors are normalizing the relationship between western societies and the modern African man.

<i>Description of Front Cover</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Title and Author name only	4
Illustration / drawing	4
Picture of Africans / Black people	5
Picture of European / White people	6
Picture of Indian people	1

Table 3.2: pamphlet covers

We see that the modern is correlated with the western. This union is reinforced by the use of photographs of white people on six of the pamphlet covers. Most of these pamphlets with white people on the cover deal with issues of romantic love and the benefits of the modern, nuclear family for educated people, modeled on the western experience.

The representations that the authors produce, as geographer Joanne Sharp (2000: 330-331) has explained, “are not independent of the author’s location within a variety of social, cultural and economic systems.” In chapter 2, we learned who the authors were: younger, educated, typically Christian, professional men who wanted to contribute to the development of Nigeria. They are firmly embedded in the emerging literate, working class of the city (Obiechina 1973). These positions of the authors are reflected in the content present across the pamphlets.

In chapter 1, I explored ideas of modernity by African scholars Gyekye, Robinson, Appiah, and Soyinka, as well as anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff. From Gyekye, we learned the historical origins of modernity to be in the west, but

also to contain pieces of western traditions. Following this, Gyekye urges for a self-created modernity in African, whereby Africans selectively choose aspects of both the tradition and the modern. Related to this self-created modernity is the idea of accommodation of Soyinka and Appiah—that new ideas can be accommodated into extant worldviews, and that the knowledge base of a culture is expansive rather than detractive. From the Comaroffs we see that experiences of these self-created modernities are local, translated through local traditions with which people approach new ideas. Robinson ties these negotiations and accommodations to certain times and locations: cities at a specific kairos. Although they disagree on many facets, these scholars all concur that modernity does not mean westernization. Being modern rather implies the use of new technologies and institutions to help answer meaningful questions of how to be modern and make the necessary changes in light of ones situation and cultural background.

The scholarly view of African modernity is not the one presented by the Onitsha authors. These pamphleteers boast of being western, and insist on the use of western religion, education, and marriage institutions for the betterment of their communities. They unapologetically reproduce western social relationships, especially the configurations of power in patriarchy and capitalism. Onitsha authors use western institutions, especially political and religious, to transform their situations, but they do so in a way that is innovatively mimetic. By mimetic I do not mean purely imitative, but rather the construction of a subject (a norm, an institution, an identity, etc.) through the normalization and imitation of an “Other” (in this case

the West) that is “almost the same, but not quite” (Bhabha 1984: 126). Bhabha helps us to understand that colonial discourse was always partial and ambivalent, so mimicry could never be fully complete. In other words, Africans could be Anglicized, but could never be English (Bhabha 1984: 130). Bhabha has contended that mimesis centers on ambivalence: “In order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference” (Bhabha 1984: 126). In constantly producing difference, mimicry at once imitates and repeats colonial/western discourse and also exposes the ambivalence of the discourse itself, and by doing so disrupts its authority (Bhabha 1984: 129). In being mimetic, Onitsha authors simultaneously imitate and disrupt the authority of the west in their discussions of what it means to be modern.

Obiechina (1973) helps us understand the mimesis of the pamphlets in his comparison of them with intellectual writers such as Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka. He explained that “both groups are concerned to provide insight into contemporary West African life,” but “the pamphlet authors concern themselves with surface appearances, while the intellectual authors look for underlying causes and explanations” (Obiechina 1973: 118). Surface appearances are transformed as the traditional comes into dialogue with the western, and through mimetic events they creatively reconfigure both the modern and the traditional. They negotiate the “raw experiences of contemporary life” (Obiechina 1973: 118), and more often than not, privilege the modern/western, as the path to follow in independence. Westernization is a tangible experience for the Onitsha authors: “My grannie cannot now make a

complete Ibo sentence without throwing in a word or two of English: Westerisation has actually come to town in the rural villages” (Akuneme 1964: 16).

People do not automatically embrace all aspects of westernization; “cultural consumers are not dupes” (Appiah 2006: 110), they think through and selectively choose aspects of western life. African scholars are explicit about this negotiation, whereas Onitsha authors are not. In the pages of the Onitsha pamphlets the negotiations are embedded in the author’s instructions on what it is like to be modern. Discourses of modernity are bound to westernization politically, religiously, and interpersonally.

As representations, texts are not constructed independently of an author’s experience. Neither are they immune to the influence of other texts. Indeed, texts are produced “in light of other texts,” and as such are “an important part of the formation of shared discourses” (Pamela Shurmer-Smith 2002: 128-129). This relationship, called intertextuality, can also help reveal discourses. In the analysis section above, I compared the content of the sample pamphlets to reveal a common set of concerns and themes. In two pamphlets, *The African bachelor’s guide and lady’s guide* (Diala 1963: 21-22) and *Beware of women* (Njoku 196-: 13-14), there are even whole pages that are nearly identical.

As a collection of texts produced in a central location by people with similar cultural, social, and economic conditions, we also can compare the discursive structures of Onitsha pamphlets to other texts. Many people, for example, have noted the use of Shakespearean dramatic techniques and mimetic plots in the pamphlets (see

Obiechina 1973, Ulansky 1967). Scholars attribute this to both the fantastic nature of Shakespearean writing itself and to the secondary school requirements in Nigeria (Obiechina 1973). This practice serves once again to reinforce the relationship with the West in the construction of modern, popular culture (Larkin 1997).

Striking similarities exist between ideas of romantic love in Onitsha market literature and the South African *Drum* magazine from the 1950s, which once again trace back to western roots. Literary critic Dorothy Driver (1996: 239) has explained that ideas of romantic love in *Drum*, “were first formulated as a means of liberation from traditional rural patriarchy as an entry into modernity but then came to ensnare the men instead.” She (1996, 239) argued that such stories in *Drum* illuminated a new feminine sexuality—one that was at the same time comparable and lethal to men’s. Many Onitsha pamphlets contain stories following this same plot (see *Agnes in the game of love* [Iguh 1962]) or statements advising men to be wary of the devious motives of women (see *Beware of women* [Njoku 196-]). Women characters repeatedly defy the wishes of their traditional, rural fathers by choosing their own marriage partners. This resistance to patriarchy is praised, but a new patriarchy emerges in the marriage relationship. Women are shown new roles as subservient domestic partners, focusing on serving their husbands and children. Women are at once defiant and submissive. Authors negotiated the changing forms of patriarchy, at the same time liberating and domesticating women within the discourse. Women were no longer expected to abide by traditional rules, but also not permitted to engage in the modern world the same as men. Being modern, for Onitsha authors, is still

bound up with the production of particular forms of patriarchy, manifest in the reconfiguration of gender relationships, and ultimately the reign of patriarchal forms of Christianity.

In dialogue with the western ideas and forms are Igbo and African traditions. This is most evident in the use of proverbs and instructions within the stories and pamphlets. Proverbs in African cultures are “the oil with which words are eaten” and the use of them brings one “into communion with the [traditional] community” (Edeh 1985: 47-48). By using proverbs, Onitsha authors assert the relationship to, and Edeh (1985: 47-50) would argue, the primacy of traditional wisdom. Nigerian literary scholar Kehinde (2003: 376) has explained that by asserting the “intertextual links between oral and written texts, the postcolonial writer always participates in his nation’s decolonization project (literary and political).” Onitsha authors participated in the exciting task of decolonization and nation building by both contributing to popular culture and making normative statements as to what is an acceptable part of modern Nigeria. When readers engaged with the pamphlets, they “read themselves into the national consciousness” (Rowley 1996: 137). Reading is an individual activity, and this brings us to the final aspect of the modernity presented by the Onitsha authors: brash individualism.

Although the place of the individual within the traditional Igbo and African societies has been debated (see Mbembe 2001), it is loosely agreed upon that the individual was promoted only in service and betterment of the larger community. The community was the building block of culture and life. In the Onitsha pamphlets,

however, individualism is the cornerstone of modernity. Individual freedom enables the negotiation of political, religious, and interpersonal norms and behavior.

Behavior had a spatial component: admired characters or actions were spatially linked to urban areas, while censured behavior was relegated to the countryside. Uneducated, illiterate characters who spoke broken English inhabited the timeless, traditional space of the countryside or village, while educated, professional, independent young people dwelled in the ordered space of the city or town. Authors modeled acceptable behavior in this new postcolonial nation by strategically positioning characters within the pamphlets, often through the construction of binary opposition, such as urban/rural, modern/tradition, western/African, male/female, rational/ foolish, where the first idea in each group is the site of privilege. These binaries serve to “ground the meaning” of discourses and create “socio-spatial identities which are conceived of in binary terms” (Hubbard et al. 2002, 132). These binaries are constructed so that the superior term, for example modern, “can only be understood in relation to its inferior other” (Hubbard et al. 2002, 133).

CONCLUSION

Language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture.

- Ngugi wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the Mind*.

This discourse of modernity produced by the Onitsha authors contributed to the sculpting of day to day life in both decolonizing and postcolonial Onitsha, Nigeria. I have endeavored in this chapter to explore and compare the content of

twenty sample pamphlets, as well as the discourses produced from this content.

Discourses affect the way people reflect upon and envision their lives by selectively infusing meaning and shaping what is acceptable as truth. These meanings are grounded through binaries, which help create socio-spatial identities. In the next chapter, I take these ideas of modernity and try to understand how this could affect the relationship between self and place. I will not make claims that with modernity came a disconnection of people and place, but rather the ways in which people interact with place necessarily change as their understanding of themselves and the requisite social relationships change as culture changes.

CHAPTER 4:

Self and Place

In the preceding chapter, I argued that the authors of Onitsha market literature produced discourses of modernity that reconfigured meanings and power, especially relating to politics, religion, and interpersonal relationships. I further claimed that the modernity presented in the Onitsha pamphlets embraced and promoted westernization in contrast to a modernity presented by African intellectuals, which emphasized using western institutions or technologies to help answer local questions of progress. The two groups, however, arrive at the same point: a polyvocal, localized modernity that blends ideologies and institutions.

Onitsha authors and African intellectuals also intersect in their recognition of the change in the constitution of individual identity and subjectivity that has ensued in the postcolonial world: a shift from the individual being intimately entwined with the welfare of the community to the individual as the primary determinant (see also Mbembe 2001). In this chapter, I explore how this individuation of self and subjectivity has affected people's interactions with place. I seek out how geographers understand the relationship between self and place, and also consider questions of self and identity formation in Africa broadly, and Igboland specifically. I rely on insights

from humanistic geography, especially Robert Sack, African philosopher Achille Mbembe, and suggestions from geographer Steve Pile on the connection of bodies and spaces. This section is largely exploratory and by no means a complete analysis of the constitution of self.

That self and place are interrelated and even co-constitutive has long been of interest to phenomenologists and phenomenology-inspired geographers (see Schatzki 2001, Buttimer 1976, Casey 2001, Pile 1996). For Robert Sack, places are constructed to “match our projects and ideals, both individual and collective” (Entrikin 2002: 107). The project in much of the Onitsha literature is de- and post-colonizing cultural, economic, and political structures through a dialogue between tradition and modernity. Assuming these projects mirror concerns of the general population, people will make places that offer opportunities for education, trade, changing family structures, spiritual or religious engagement, and economic development. Indeed, Onitsha today is a bustling urban center of trade and education (Bastian 2002). Onitsha, in a sense, embodies the messages of the Onitsha literature. For Sack, then, places embody our personal and collective ideals; people make places.

The mediator between self and place, for many phenomenologists, is the body as “the self experiences and actively engages places (and vice versa) by way of the body” (Schatzki 2001: 699). Schatzki (2001: 699), a philosopher, explained that “the thinking subject with ends, emotions and perceptions realizes its intentions and receives sensations, by way of the body, which is connected with the mind.” The

body as mediator between self and place relies on a construction of self that privileges individual, embodied experience. That is, the body is connected to both the place and the mind. The mind is the self's storehouse. The mind translates embodied experiences into ideas about both the places and the self. The self, distinguishing itself from others and experience, consequently "lives increasingly in a segmented and differentiated world" (Tuan 1982: 141). The self is an individual.

Not all societies or cultures define self in such a segmented way. Though much of Tuan's (1982) book, *Segmented Worlds and Self*, gushes with generalizations of complex continents and communities, his ideas on individualism as a western concept reveal much about this phenomenological relationship between self and place. Tuan claims that individualism and the self are ultimately western products, and explains that in the west, "the self has grown apart from others in prideful and nervous sufficiency" to such an extent that "we are islands, each a world of its own" (Tuan 1982: 151). Tuan further explains that in many other cultures, particularly cultures with a recent history of literacy, "the boundary between self and society is much less sharply drawn" and that for some, the "self is more social than individual" (Tuan 1982: 141). Nigerian scholar Chieka Ifemesia (1979: 67) has echoed this in a discussion of the Igbo conceptualization of self: "In Igbo cosmology, nothing is absolute. Everything, everybody, however apparently independent, depends upon something, upon somebody else." Interdependence, for Ifemesia, is the foundation of Igbo social and cultural life, as well as the defining aspect of self.

Is this all that different from ideas of the self in the west? Often, talk about the self in phenomenology is wrapped up in talk about subjectivity, or the essential nature of an individual detached from the outside world. For phenomenologists, though, this subjectivity is inseparable from intersubjectivity; a person cannot be dissociated from the realm of interaction with other subjectivities—a person does not exist independent of other people. Anthropologist Richard Werbner (2002: 2) has explained that “subjectivities may be defined as political, a matter of subjugation to state authority; moral, reflected in the conscience and agency of subjects who bear rights, duties, and obligations; and realized existentially, in the subjects’ consciousness of their personal or intimate relations.” He argues that subjectivity and intersubjectivity are inseparable (Werbner 2002: 3); that is, the self cannot be divorced from the social. It is this idea that will first be considered, and later his idea of structural subjugation.

So really, it seems that this talk of the self and the social in the west and in Africa are similar, not a universalized same but a human similarity; thus, we cannot “talk of cultural imperialism structuring the consciousnesses of those in the periphery” (Appiah 2006: 111). Everything filters through the subjective and the intersubjective—the self and the community—before an individual makes a choice, conscious or not, to act or react. It is this way that Onitsha authors selectively chose aspects of western modernity to encourage their audience to adopt. They were not mechanical automatons, but rather cognizant individuals facilitating negotiations between tradition and modernity and facing them in a particular *kairos* and setting.

Does the embrace of individualism in Onitsha pamphlets signify a shift from interdependence between the self and the social to a definition of self that is segmented and independent? If the subjective and intersubjective cannot be understood independently from one another, as we have learned from phenomenology (Werbner 2002), then the Onitsha idea of self cannot be independent of the social. Perhaps the self becomes more segmented, disconnected from the social, but not independent. In the psychological constitution of self in Africa and the west, then, similarities exist: the self and the community cannot be understood independently of one another. The self is at once individual and collective; gradation exists, from very individual to very interdependent.

What does this mean for the mediating role of the body in the relationship between self and place? Here, I turn to African philosopher Achille Mbembe and his ideas about African bodies. He has explained first that “‘living in the concrete world’ involves, and is evaluated by, [a person’s] eyes, ears, mouth—in short, his/her flesh, his/her body” (Mbembe 2001: 17). The body, then, is the medium of experiencing and encountering the world, or place. Mbembe links the body to historical processes of violence that remain effective still today. The body, in colonized Africa, was the site of violence. African bodies were animals, “body-things” that held no proof of spirit or capacities, property of the colonizers to use for instrumental ends (Mbembe 2001: 27). Colonizers thought, he has explained, that “It is this body, these features, these muscles, that make up the sum total of the native’s ‘being.’ The colonized does not exist as a self; the colonized *is*, but in the same way as a rock *is*—that is, as

nothing more” (Mbembe 2001: 187). The violence perpetrated by the denial of existence of Africans by colonizers “insinuates itself into the economy, domestic life, language, consciousness” (Mbembe 2001: 175). Violence was not only embodied by the physical body of the colonized, but also embedded in the institutions and structures within which the physical bodies lived life. At the same time that colonizers imagined African bodies as things, so the African person or subject experienced this violence through the body.

Related to the idea of violence and the manifestation of colonial power in the bodies of the colonized is the relationship of bodies to one another. Geographer Heidi Nast, in her 1998 article “The body as place,” examines the embodiment and spatiality of power relationships in Kano, Nigeria, in the late 1980s. She observed and experienced the embodiment of power in royal Kano: female slaves prostrate in front of her, and herself made to kneel and bow in the presence of royal wives (Nast 1998: 103-109). She noted the “physical demands” of power structures and how these changed as the situations of power changed. In this sense, Nast argued, the body is place, for the negotiations of power take a bodily form. During colonialism there were relationships between bodies, bodies laden with power and bodies perceived as empty receptacles of colonial policies.

Colonizers denied consciousness to the African bodies they interacted with. We all know that this is a false inference, that African people have bodies and also have agency in creating their world. Earlier, we examined Schatzki’s (2001) concept of self and place being mediated through the body, which is ultimately connected to

the mind. The body and mind in this model are dissimilar, separate yet connected. Schatzki has located the connection between body and mind physically, in the pineal gland (Schatzki 2001: 699). Igbos also, according to Igbo scholar Emmanuel Edeh (1985), have an idea of the body and mind as being separate, yet connected. Igbo philosophy maintains that a soul can leave the body at any time without resulting in physical death (Edeh 1985: 83). Fainting, for example, entails the soul leaving to take care of spiritual or supernatural affairs; when the fainted person has awoken it is taken to be a sign that the soul has back to reside in the body (Edeh 1985: 83-85). At the same time, Igbo philosophy sees the “soul, which is the immaterial element, as having obscure external appearances” and also discreet “physical needs” (Edeh 1985: 82) such as food and water. The soul/mind dwells in the body, yet is not a permanent resident. Body and mind, then, are separate entities.

The Igbo conception of the duality of body and mind/soul hints at a larger integration of the seen and the unseen in the Igbo conception of life. Until now, many of the ideas discussed seemed similar, if not equivalent, in western and African ideas of body/self and body/place. The belief in the existence and agency of the supernatural in daily life is a distinguishing aspect of Igbo philosophy. The supernatural manifests itself in animals and nature, and in actions or events, such as a tree falling or strong storm at a conspicuous time (Nwala 1985: 30-43). The intersubjectivity, the social/community, includes the mystical. This is evident, too, in the way Igbo places are built, to foster interaction between the different realms of community. For example, public gathering spaces are generally under an old tree that

itself contains soul/mind, or the preservation of ancestral burial grounds in the forests (Nwala 1985).

This seen/unseen dichotomy is by no means unique to Igbos or Africans generally. Steve Pile has researched the imagined supernatural spatiality, or psychogeography, of New Orleans (Pile 2005). Modernity, with its package of rationality and order, was thought to liberate people from superstition and the supernatural; it was believed to lead to disenchantment with the world (see Weber discussed in Ogburn 1998). Whether or not this has happened is not within the scope of this research. Rather, I want to understand that, for some, the body is mediator between self and place, but that the self contains differing ideas of community, some encompassing realms other than the human. The body is simultaneously engaged in dialogue with the self and with place, translating one into the other, infusing meaning in one another.

In the preceding discussion, I teased out ideas of self in Africa and the west and concluded that they are comparable though not identical. Words spoken by Publius Terentius Afer, a North African slave in second century A.D Rome, speak clearly to the situation at hand: “I am human: nothing human is alien to me” (in Appiah 2006: 111). Thus far, the discussion has been mainly that of how people conceive of self, and the role of the body in mediating self and place. Agency can be inferred from these discussions, as people, though defining self differently, imbue the self with agency to transform places and thought. People and bodies, though, do not operate free from relationships with others. Enter discourse from stage left.

As Werbner (2001: 1-5) has explained, people are subject to a number of authoritarian discourses and structures: moral, political, existential, etc. Discourses shape relationships between people by prescribing socially constituted, acceptable ways of thinking about, or acting on, a specific topic. As we saw in chapter 3, they are grounded through the construction of binary oppositions, which often contain spatial prescriptions. The body becomes the site of negotiation, embodying discourse. The body moves through the according to spatial components of discourses, and thus space becomes differentiated by power. There emerges gendered space, racial space, and countless others. In Onitsha market literature, we saw the construction of rural space as traditional, not modern and thus something undesirable. Female characters were encountered indoors; female space was constructed through gendered discourse into private space. A body does not simply mediate the relationship between self and place, but also embodies and translates power relationships through acceptable spatial interactions.

In an effort to make places, we are limited by discourses of power and structure. There is always resistance. This is where Sack (2002: 115) talks about creating places that “help enhance our awareness of reality;” to move beyond discursive structures of power to create places that enable people, all people, to live a full life. In a sense, this was the project of the authors of Onitsha market literature: they helped readers navigate the swiftly changing cultural, political, and economic landscape so that they could better participate in the modern world.

CHAPTER 5:

Conclusion

Can anyone really add up two oranges, three hoes, four traditional healers, two roadside mechanics, and five beaded crowns? The answer, we know, is not sixteen. But the intrinsic and overt productive processes of these parts do offer us an insight into the lived culture of a society. Exhuming, for instance, the remnants of those listed items—including the skeletons of the healers and mechanics—we can deduce, reconstruct, a framework of that society’s principles of reproducing itself, of sustaining and enhancing life.

- Wole Soyinka, from “Twice bitten: the fate of Africa’s culture producers”

The preceding pages have been, in essence, an exhumation of literary remnants from the 1950s and 1960s to understand one aspect of how a particular society reproduced itself. What was revealed in this exhumation was that the society experiencing vast changes in social, political, and religious constitution. The goal of this research was to explore cultural change as a result of the negotiations between tradition and modernity in post-colonial Onitsha, and to see how these ideas affected people’s interactions with place.

To understand these changes, I explored ideas of prominent African scholar Wole Soyinka and Africanist anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff on the process of cultural change in African communities. They have argued that African cultures are accommodative; they absorb and creatively transform aspects of other cultures through a local lens. In the Onitsha market literature, the new ideas being transformed are those ideas about what it means to be modern.

Writings of African scholars Gyekye, Robinson, and Appiah were consulted to learn more about modernity: the concept itself and how it relates to cultural change in Africa. Gyekye argued that modernity originated in the west, but becoming modern for African cultures does not mean becoming western. It means, rather, selectively utilizing western institutions and local traditions in the making of a self-created modernity. Robinson illustrated how much of this self-created modernity happens in cities at certain opportune moments. She explained that the modern is synonymous with the contemporary, and that cities are loci of creative, transformative activities, such as literature. Appiah took us through differences of the construction of knowledge in Africa and the west to show how oral cultures are accommodative to new ideas. He echoed Soyinka's call of accommodation, and showed that writing and literature are signs of a new way of understanding, which he related to modernity.

Chapter 2 was devoted to locating Onitsha market literature within the broad economic, political, and social contexts of the time. I explored the historical development of the city, in relation to both tradition and colonialism. Onitsha was a colonial center, with a large number of government offices and by far the largest number of schools and churches in the region. Education and religion were intimately linked—both were provided by the various missions in the area. Many of the Onitsha authors had come from these mission schools, and had thus been indoctrinated to the ideals and conventions therein. They took these messages to their readers in various forms, including parables and instruction lists.

Teasing out the messages of the authors and how they relate to the previous discussions of what it means to be modern was the task of chapter 3. Content was compared across twenty pamphlets to reveal their creation of discourses of modernity. Nationalism, religion, education, being modern, traditions, and gender relationships emerged as dominant themes. Authors creatively negotiated and accommodated these ideas into their understanding of what it meant to be modern. Accommodation was mimetic, simultaneously imitating and resisting western discourses. Nationalism was embraced; readers were shown that being modern meant being Nigerian, not Igbo. As this western idea was embraced, it resulted in the rejection of colonial subjugation. Christianity and western education were praised as the path to being modern. They provided the ideological tools of equality, independence, and the material experience of western education. Readers were shown that being modern meant living in cities, working, having money, and being an individual. Traditions, such as bride price, were deliberated within the pages of the pamphlets, and served as a microcosmic example of the broad cultural negotiations taking place. Gender relationships were the final theme explored. The pamphlets revealed a reconfiguration of patriarchy from the dominance of the father to the dominance of the husband in interpersonal relationships. Women were instructed on how to be modern, and men's construction of women centered on ambivalence. Spatialities of these discourses were also examined. Modern existence was restricted to the city, and the construction of binary oppositions through characters in the literature served

to delimit desired spaces. These themes together culminated in a changing idea of self and person in the modern era.

Chapter 4 discussed the idea of self in African and western cultures, and compared how each relates to place. Robert Sack has argued that our primary project as humans is making places that ideally enable people to live a healthy and fulfilled life. I took this to be the same project of the Onitsha authors, and their pamphlets reveal ideas and discourses that shaped the way readers made subsequent places. I found that African and western ideas of self and how self relates to place are fundamentally different, but still comparable. The body, in both instances, serves as intermediary between the self and the place. This results in the physical embodiment of social relationships and power, limited by discourses with spatial components. People are more than bounded bodies; bodies are the medium of the self in encountering the physical place.

Contrary to the view of modernity from African scholars in chapter 1, Onitsha authors do not separate westernization from modernity. Authors embraced western institutions and imitated western cultural values. This potentially leads to a different understanding of the constitution of self, which then has ramifications for how one interacts with, and makes, places.

My interest in cultural change, the negotiations and tensions between tradition and modern, and the link between self and place come directly from my experiences in Benin. Perhaps my desire to compartmentalize contemporary African cultures into tradition and modern comes from my positionality—American, female, western

educated. I do think something can be said about the swift changes that have taken place in Nigeria over the last fifty years, and that a striking feature of these changes is the sheer volume of western culture (ideals, institutions, etc.) that have been accommodated. One could discuss and hegemony at this point power, in both economic and political terms, but I am more interested in how everyday people experience changes around them. This is what first drew me to Onitsha market literature: pamphlets written by common, Nigerian men for the common, Nigerian people. They provide a window through which one can see what people were thinking about, dealing with, and how the place was changing.

The Biafran war essentially ended the production of Onitsha market literature (Obiechina 1973). Today other mediums of expression flourish, particularly films, music, and internet sites from which we can learn what concerns people are dealing with. Scholars have begun studying many of these aspects (see Larkin 1997), but exciting possibilities remain for future research.

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**APPENDIX 1: CLASSIFICATION OF ONITSHA MARKET LITERATURE
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS COLLECTION**
(with call numbers for easy referencing)

Nonfiction pamphlets about relationships between men and women, love, romance.	Marriage Guides	Akaosa, Mrs. Chinwe. <i>Woman's pride is her husband</i> , A. Revised and enlarged by Felix N. Stephen. Onitsha, Nigeria, Mrs. P.E. Unaigwe, [ca. 1962?]. C 3268.
		Azoh, D. A. <i>Colourful wedding and a happy home</i> , A. Onitsha, Nigeria, Laz. Ohaejesi & Brothers, [ca. 1960?]. C 3274.
		Maxwell, Highbred. <i>Guides for engagement</i> , Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, Students Own Bookshop, [ca. 1962?]. C 3276.
		Njoku, Nathan O. <i>Guide to marriage</i> , A. Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca.1962?]. C 3277.
		Njoku, Nathan O. <i>How to marry a good girl and live in peace with her</i> . Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca.1960]. C 3263.
		Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>About husband and wife who hate themselves</i> . Onitsha, Highbred Maxwell Students Own Bookshop, [196-?]. 3/- edition. Printed by Eastern Niger Printing Press. C 3560.
		Abiakam, J. C. <i>How to write and reply letters for marriage, engagement letters, love letters, and how to know a girl to marry</i> . Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [ca. 1963?]. C 3280.
	Love letters	

		Eze, K. C. <i>Teach yourself how to study and write important love letters.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Prince Madumelu, [1964?] C 3286
		Ohaejesi, Michael Chidi. <i>How to write love letters and win girls love. 95 love letters and how to compose them.</i> By M. Chidi Ohaejesi. Onitsha, Nigeria, M. C. Ohaejesi and Brothers, [ca. 1962?]. C 3279.
		Speedy Eric. <i>How to write love letters, toasts and business letters.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [1962?]. C 3289.
		Speedy Eric. <i>How to write successful love letters.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [1962?]. C 3290.
	Bachelor's guides	Diala, Cy. <i>African bachelor's guide and lady's guide, The, (to be read before marriage and after it).</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [1963?]. C 3273.
		Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>How to live bachelor's life and girl's life without much mistakes. By the strong man of the pen.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, Okenwa Publications, ca. 1962]. C 3261.
		Stephen, Felix N. <i>Life story of boys and girls, The.</i> Onitsha, [Nigeria], Chinyelu Printing Press, [ca. 1962?] C 3314.
		Ude, A. O. <i>Nigerian bachelor's guide. "A book every man and woman should read before and after marriage."</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Ude's Publishing Company, [1963?]. C 3271.
	How-to guides on how to approach women,	Abiakam, J. <i>How to speak to girls and win their love.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers, [1964?]. C 3272.

		<p>Chiazor, Benjamin O. <i>How to be the friends of girls</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, [ca. 1962]. C 3260.</p>
		<p>Madumere, Adele. <i>Way to make friends with girls, The</i>. Onitsha, printed by Trinity Printing Press and obtainable from A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [196-]. 3/6 edition. C 3551.</p>
		<p>Nkwoh, Marius U. E. "Cocktail ladies" (in the series: <i>Facing the facts around us.</i>) University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Eastern Nigeria. [Nsukka, Enugu, Onitsha, Nigeria, M. U. E. Nkwoh, 1961]. Series of radio broadcast over Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation. C 3299.</p>
	dating, love and courting	<p>Nkwoh, Marius. <i>Talking about love (with Mr. Really Fact at the St. Bottles' Church)</i>. In the series "Frankly Speaking." Nsukka [?], Nigeria, [1962?]. C 3269.</p>
		<p>Okonkwo, Rufus. <i>How to make friends with girls</i>. Onitsha, [Nigeria], J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [ca.1963]. C 3262.</p>
		<p>Raphael, Raja. <i>Right way to approach ladies and get them in love, The</i>. [Onitsha, Nigeria, Appolos Bros Press, 196-?]. Scl. Onitsha (Nigeria) novels. BC 5028.</p>
		<p>Stephen, Felix N. <i>How to get a lady in love</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca. 1960?]. C 3270.</p>
	Warnings or signs to proceed with caution	<p>Abiakam, J. C. <i>Never trust all that love you</i>. 6th ed. (enlarged). Onitsha, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [196-?]. BC 5034.</p>

		<p>Njoku, Nathan O. <i>Beware of women.</i> Fegge-Onitsha, Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [196-]. 2/6 edition, printed by New Era Press, Osha. C 3552.</p>
		<p>Njoku, Nathan O. <i>Why boys don't trust their girlfriends.</i> Fegge-Onitsha, Njoku & Sons, [196-]. 2/6 edition, printed by Chinyelu Printing Press. C 3554.</p>
		<p>Nnadozie, J. O. <i>Beware of harlots and many friends; the world is hard.</i> Revised and enlarged by J. C. Anorue. Onitsha [Nigeria], [J.A. Nnadozie], order your copies from J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1965?]. C 3297.</p>
		<p>Okonkwo, Rufus. <i>Never trust all that love you. Fourth edition, (enlarged). The world is so corrupt, that it has become difficult to trust all people.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1964?]. C 3319.</p>
		<p>Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>Money hard but some women don't know. By "Strong man of the pen."</i> Onitsha, published by Madam Chinwe Akaosa and printed by New Era Press, [196-]. 2/6 edition. C 3562.</p>
		<p>Stephen, Felix N. <i>Be careful! Salutation is not love.</i> Onitsha, Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [196-]. 2/6 edition. Printed by H.R.P.P. C 3567.</p>
Nonfiction pamphlets: guides on life and education, and local interest	General life lessons	<p>Eze, Kingsley Charles. <i>How to avoid mistakes and live a good life. Moral instructions on don'ts in public meetings, social gatherings and functions. For boys & girls, workers and traders.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Appolos Brothers Press, [1965]. C 3315.</p>

		<p>Njoku, Nathan O. <i>How to succeed in life. Health, cleanliness, truth, honesty, education, manner, ambition and happiness are the key to success.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [ca. 1960?]. C 3298.</p>
		<p>Odili, Frank E. <i>What is life? (A book of outstanding precaution with genuine facts intended for the course of true living, moral activity, and for self-utility love). And lovely read, in the advance of the book, the story of once rapacious Rufus who wanted whole of himself, and was later perished on the track.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, N. Njoku & Sons, 1961. C 3316.</p>
		<p>Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>How to live better life and help yourself.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, Okenwa Publications, ca. 1963?]. C 3313.</p>
		<p>Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>Way to get money: The best wonderful book for money mongers, The.</i> By Master of Life. [Onitsha, Nigeria, Okenwa Publications, ca. 1962?]. C 3308.</p>
		<p>Raphael, Raja. <i>How to start life and end it well.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, Gebo Brothers, 1964?]. C 3312.</p>
	<p>Proverbs and sayings</p>	<p>Abiakam, J. C. <i>49 Wise sayings, 72 idioms, 44 questions & answers and some speeches of world leaders, past and present. Speeches made during the Napoleonic wars, second world war and extracts of speeches made by Winston Churchill on Hitler, etc.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1965?]. C 3291.</p>
		<p>Eze, C. N. <i>Learn to speak 360 interesting proverbs and know your true brother.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, [ca.1962?]. C 3287.</p>

		<p>Joe, F. B. <i>General guide in English, The. Complete compositions, business letters and 95 modern questions and answers made easy. For elementary schools and colleges. Education makes a person to be wise.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, United Brothers Bookshop, [1965?]. C 3285.</p>
		<p>Njoku, Nathan O. <i>Teach yourself proverbs, idioms, wise sayings, laws, rights of a citizen, English, applications and many other things for schools and colleges.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [1964?]. C 3294.</p>
	For schools, colleges, and public speaking	<p>Abiakam, J. C. <i>How to speak in public. With 300 questions and answers. And general knowledge made easy on facts worth knowing.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1965?]. C 3295.</p>
		<p>Adibe, E. M. <i>Handbook on public speaking, introduction, don't greetings and general instructions, A. (For schools and colleges, teachers, traders and workers).</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [ca. 1964]. C 3296.</p>
	How-to guides on writing in English and business	<p>Abiakam, J. C. <i>How to speak and write better English, good letters, receipts, agreements, compositions, business letters, telegrams and applications.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1964?]. C 3284.</p>
		<p>Azubuiké, Eusebius I. <i>How to make meetings.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, [ca. 1962?]. C 3288.</p>
		<p>Iguh, Thomas Orlando. <i>How to write all kinds of letters and compositions (contained 300 compositions and letters for everybody).</i> Compiled by many authors. Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, [1963?]. C 3283.</p>

		<p>Onwuka, Wilfred. <i>How to study and write good letters, applications, compositions, telegrams, agreements, better sentences, important letters, speaking in public and teach yourself good English.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, Gebo Brothers [and] Students' Own Bookshop, 1964?]. C 3292.</p>
	Local interest	<p>Akinadewo, Samuel. <i>Rag day in Nigerian universities.</i> [1966 Ed.] Ibadan, Progressive Literature Co., [1966]. C 3546.</p>
		<p>Azikiwe, Nnamdi, 1904-1966. <i>Respect for human dignity. An inaugural address by his Excellency Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, P.C., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Federation of Nigeria, 16 November 1960.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Union Publishing Company, [1960?]. C 3324.</p>
		<p>Eziolise, Gabriel O. O. <i>Wrestling, our national sport. (Specially edited for West Africa).</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, R. Ume & Bros., [?], [ca. 1960?]. C 3318.</p>
		<p>Gowon, Yakuba, 1934- <i>From the start to surrender: the story and records of Nigerian civil war for unity, including current affairs of the Twelve States Cabinet.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Appolos Bros. Press, [1971]. BC5027.</p>
		<p>Okogie, M. O. <i>Songs of Africa.</i> Ilfracombe; Devon, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., [c.1961]. Poems, printed in England. C 3325.</p>
		<p>Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>Ibo native law and custom, The.</i> Onitsha, Mr. Okenwa Publications, printed by New Era Press, 1963. Omenalarism series. 3/- edition. C 3561.</p>
Fiction (dramas) pamphlets about political figures	Figures in Nigeria	<p>Nwankwo, Raphael D. A. <i>Bitterness of politics and Awolowo's last appeal, The.</i> A. Onwudiwe [1964?]. Scl. Onitsha (Nigeria) novels.</p>

.		BC 5032.	
		Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>Many things you must know about Ogbuefi Azikiwe and republican Nigeria.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, 1963?]. C 3306.	
		Iguh, Thomas Orlando. <i>Dr. Nkrumah in the struggle for freedom. A drama.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, [1962?]. C 3307.	
		Iguh, Thomas Orlando. <i>Last days of Lumumba, The, (the late lion of the Congo). A drama.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [ca. 1961?]. C 3302.	
		Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>How Lumumba suffered in life and died in Katanga.</i> [Onitsha, Nigeria, obtainable from Mrs. P.E. Inaigwe, ca. 1961]. C 3301.	
		Stephen, Felix N. <i>How Tshombe and Mobutu regretted after the death of Mr. Lumumba. From Stephen's Drama Series.</i> Onitsha, [Nigeria], Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [ca. 1961?]. C 3303.	
		Stephen, Felix N. <i>Trials and death of Lumumba.</i> Onitsha, [Nigeria], Michael Allan Ohaejesi, [ca.1961?]. C 3304.	
		Eze, Louis O C. <i>Pieces to peace: (a historical novel).</i> Onitsha, Mbidokwu Press, [1963]. 2/6 edition. C 3548.	
		Other African figures	Chinaka, B.A. <i>How John Kennedy suffered in life and died suddenly.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [ca. 1964?]. C 3300.
			Onwuka, Wilfred Izeji. <i>Life story and death of John Kennedy.</i> Fegge-Onitsha, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [196-]. 3/6 edition. Printed by Popular Printing Press.

.		C 3559.
		Onwuka, Wilfred Izeji. <i>Life history and last journey of President John Kennedy, The.</i> Onitsha, Gebo and Brothers Students' Own Bookshop, [196-]. 3/6 edition. Printed by All Star Printers. C 3558.
.	European	Olisah, Sunday Okenwa. <i>Statements of Hitler before the world war, The.</i> (Drama). His last words and disappearance. Onitsha, Nigeria, [Okenwa Publications, ca. 1963?]. C 3305.
.		
Fiction stories about love, romance, relationships	Idea focused	Iguh, Thomas. <i>Disappointed lover, The.</i> Onitsha, printed by Trinity Printing Press and obtainable from A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [196?]. 2/6 edition. C 3549.
		Iguh, Thomas. <i>Sorrows of Love, The.</i> Onitsha, printed by Trinity Printing Press and obtainable from A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [196-]. 3/6 edition. C 3550.
		Iguh, Thomas Orlando. <i>Sorrows of love.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [1961]. 2/6 edition printed by All Star Press. C 3265.
		Ohaejesi, Michael N. <i>Sweetness and kingdom of love, The. A most exciting exposition of life and general love. Without love what is life?</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, Michael Ohaejesi & Brothers, [ca. 1962?]. C 3278.
		Okonkwo, Rufus. <i>Game of love, The.</i> A classical drama from West Africa. Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1964?]. C 3259.
		Speedy Eric. <i>Art of love in real sense, The.</i> Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [ca. 1962?]. C 3281.

		<p>Stephen, Felix N. <i>How to play love</i>. Stephen's drama series. Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca. 1962?]. C 3275.</p>
		<p>Umannah, Cyril. <i>They died in the game of love</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca. 1960]. C 3264.</p>
	Character focused	<p>Eze, Charles N. <i>Little John in the love adventure</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, Lawrence N.I. Igwebuikwe, [1964?]. C 3267</p>
		<p>Iguh, Thomas. <i>Agnes in the game of love</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [ca. 1962?]. C 3282.</p>
		<p>Iguh, Thomas. <i>Alice in the romance of love (a drama from West Africa)</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, Appolos Bros. Press, [196-?]. BC5031.</p>
		<p>Njoku, Nathan O. <i>My seven daughters are after young boys</i>. Fegge-Osha, [Onitsha?], Njoku & Sons, [196-?] 3/- edition, printed by New Era Press, Osha. C 3553.</p>
		<p>Nwosu, Cletus Gibson <i>Miss Cordelia in the romance of destiny: the most sensational love intricacy that has ever happened in West Africa</i>. Port Harcourt, printed by Eastern Nigeria Guardian and obtainable from Vincent Okeanu c/o Eastern Bookshop and Unity Bookshop, [196-]. C 3556.</p>
		<p>Obiaga, C. C. <i>Boys and Girls of nowadays. (Jerry and Obiageli in love)</i>. Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe, [ca. 1960?]. C 3266.</p>
		<p>Ogali, Ogali A. <i>Veronica my daughter (a drama)</i>. Onitsha, Appolos Brothers Press, [196-]. 2/6 edition. C 3557.</p>

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF RANDOMLY SAMPLED PAMPHLETS

1. Maxwell, Highbred.
Guides for engagement, Onitsha, Nigeria, Highbred Maxwell, Students Own Bookshop, [ca. 1962?].
2. Eze, K.C.
Teach yourself how to study and write important love letters. Onitsha, Nigeria, Prince Madumelu, [1964?]
3. Diala, Cy.
The African bachelor's guide and lady's guide, (to be read before marriage and after it). Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [1963?].
4. Abiakam, J.
How to speak to girls and win their love. Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers, [1964?].
5. Njoku, Nathan O.
Beware of women. Fegge-Onitsha, Njoku & Sons Bookshop, [196-]. 2/6 edition, printed by New Era Press, Osha.
6. Raphael, Raja.
How to start life and end it well. [Onitsha, Nigeria, Gebo Brothers, 1964?].
7. Abiakam, J. C.
49 Wise sayings, 72 idioms, 44 questions & answers and some speeches of world leaders, past and present. Speeches made during the Napoleonic wars, second world war and extracts of speeches made by Winston Churchill on Hitler, etc. Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [1965?].
8. Adibe, E. M.
Handbook on public speaking, introduction, don't greetings and general instructions, A. (For schools and colleges, teachers, traders and workers). Onitsha, Nigeria, J. C. Brothers Bookshop, [ca. 1964].

9. Onwuka, Wilfred.
How to study and write good letters, applications, compositions, telegrams, agreements, better sentences, important letters, speaking in public and teach yourself good English. [Onitsha, Nigeria, Gebo Brothers [and] Students' Own Bookshop, 1964?].
10. Azikiwe, Nnamdi, 1904-1966.
Respect for human dignity. An inaugural address by his Excellency Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, P.C., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Federation of Nigeria, 16 November 1960. Onitsha, Nigeria, Union Publishing Company, [1960?].
11. Olisah, Sunday Okenwa.
Ibo native law and custom, The. Onitsha, Mr. Okenwa Publications, printed by New Era Press, 1963. Omenalarism series. 3/- edition.
12. Olisah, Sunday Okenwa.
Many things you must know about Ogbuefi Azikiwe and republican Nigeria. [Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, 1963?].
13. Stephen, Felix N.
Trials and death of Lumumba. Onitsha, [Nigeria], Michael Allan Ohaejesi, [ca.1961?].
14. Onwuka, Wilfred Izeji.
Life history and last journey of President John Kennedy, The. Onitsha, Gebo and Brothers Students' Own Bookshop, [196-]. 3/6 edition. Printed by All Star Printers.
15. Olisah, Sunday Okenwa.
Statements of Hitler before the world war, The. (Drama). His last words and disappearance. Onitsha, Nigeria, [Okenwa Publications, ca. 1963?].
16. Stephen, Felix N.
How to play love. Stephen's drama series. Onitsha, Nigeria, Njoku & Sons, [ca. 1962?].
17. Iguh, Thomas.
Agnes in the game of love. Onitsha, Nigeria, A. Onwudiwe & Sons, [ca. 1962?].

18. Olisah, Sunday Okenwa.
Money hard to get but easy to spend. Onitsha, Nigeria, J. O. Nnadozie,
[1965?].
19. Stephen, Felix N.
Experience in life, is key to success. Compiled by Felix N. Stephen. Onitsha,
[Nigeria], J. O. Nnadozie & Bros, [ca. 1962?].
20. Akuneme, D. Nkem.
Elekere Agwo: the quack doctor. Awo-omamma, Eastern Nigeria, Oma
Printing Press, [1964]. Cover reads: Printed by E.N.I.S. Press, Enugu.

APPENDIX 3: TABLE OF THEMES COUNTED IN THE SAMPLED LITERATURE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total
christianity	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	16
God	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17
education	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15
money	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
proverbs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
students	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
alcohol	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
courts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
explicitly didactic	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
marriage	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
love	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
private ownership	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
United States	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
death	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
illiteracy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
modern ladies	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
modern boys	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
"being modern"	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
nationalism	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
nation building	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
independence	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
sharing wealth	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
travelling	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
truth	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total	
African history	1						1		1	1		1	1	1	1			1	1		9	
European history		1					1		1	1		1	1	1	1							9
harlots	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						1		1					9
individual freedom			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
justice	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
men spending on women	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							1		1	1	1	1	9
poverty	1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
democracy			1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					8
importance of children	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
love letters	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Nigerians				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
outward appearances,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
men																						
outward appearances,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
women																						
professionalism			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
progress			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
race relations							1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
reference to Eurowriters	1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
skin color description	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
traders				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
traditions	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
women as gold diggers	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
women as less than men	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
civilized	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
doctors/hospitals	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
English	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
family	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
government structures							1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
government workers				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total		
market	1				1																1	7	
Pan-Africanism							1															1	7
parents involved in marriage	1	1	1	1	1						1	1	1	1			1					1	7
polygamy					1						1					1	1	1	1				7
public speaking			1	1	1		1		1		1	1			1								7
qualities of a man			1	1	1			1	1			1						1				1	7
savings			1	1	1	1		1	1			1											7
teachers		1		1	1	1		1	1			1											7
women should obey	1	1	1	1	1			1	1							1							7
women untrustworthy	1	1	1	1	1	1											1						7
bachelor			1	1	1	1		1								1							6
beware of women			1	1	1	1		1									1		1				6
borrowing money			1	1	1	1		1								1							6
bride price			1	1	1	1					1					1							6
brotherhood of man			1				1			1	1	1	1	1		1			1				6
freedom							1			1		1	1	1	1	1							6
ibos							1				1	1	1	1			1						6
letters	1			1	1	1		1	1														6
marry when you are older	1	1	1	1	1	1											1						6
men with girlfriends			1	1	1	1		1								1							6
money leading to bad things			1	1	1	1		1								1		1	1				6
poison given by women	1				1	1		1								1			1				6
police							1					1		1	1		1						6
political parties							1		1			1	1	1									6
scientific investigation			1				1		1			1	1	1					1	1			6
universities		1				1			1	1		1		1									6
bankers			1	1	1	1		1										1					5
ceremonies	1						1	1			1	1	1						1				5
Civil servants											1	1	1		1	1	1				1		5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total	
defense/weapons							1														5	
economics						1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1							5
European characters	1							1					1		1				1			5
food crops					1	1		1	1					1						1		5
health		1	1			1	1	1									1					5
human rights							1	1		1		1		1								5
reasonable	1			1					1					1		1						5
specialization						1			1		1	1								1		5
success					1	1	1									1						5
wise men solving					1	1	1				1									1		5
problems																						5
women must have	1		1		1			1								1						5
children																						5
women need to be			1	1	1											1				1		5
convinced																						5
women should give	1		1	1				1								1						5
money																						5
work								1					1					1	1			5
asia						1	1			1					1							4
cars	1			1		1	1		1													4
corruption																		1		1		4
divorce	1		1		1						1											4
house		1	1															1		1		4
construction/furnishing																						4
industrialization							1				1	1	1	1								4
medicine	1				1		1													1		4
newspapers	1					1					1	1		1								4
Nigerian history							1		1	1												4
profit						1			1									1		1		4
questions and answers					1	1	1											1				4
spinster								1								1						4
telegrams			1																			4
traditional medicine					1					1			1	1			1					4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total
tribalism	1						1			1	1		1								4
bicycles							1	1		1					1						3
bureacracy							1	1			1										3
characters speak			1												1						3
pidgeon																					3
city	1							1									1				3
cleanliness			1		1			1													3
communism							1						1	1							3
communitarianism							1					1		1	1						3
domestic violence	1							1		1											3
drivers						1		1													3
kola nuts								1									1				3
laziness			1				1											1			3
lorries/taxis	1				1									1							3
television						1					1										3
village life									1					1							3
westernization		1						1												1	3
women don't learn			1		1			1		1											3
Allah										1											2
cash crops																		1			2
doubting thomas															1						2
entreprenuership																1					2
funerals	1					1					1							1			2
Hausa													1							1	2
pagans			1								1										2
sports												1					1				2
traditional courts									1		1										2
traditional religion											1										2
trains																		1			2
United Nations										1	1										2
widows																		1			2
apprenticeship														1							1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	total
bribery							1														1
drumming											1										1
farming																					1
heathens					1						1										1
Kano																				1	1
leprosy																				1	1
missions																				1	1
Poor provision of gov't																				1	1
services																					1
sacrifice to gods											1										1
scarification											1										1
wrestling											1										1