

**Nigerian Marriage Advice Booklets:
1962–2009**
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PAS Working Papers

Number 25

Series Editor

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Nigerian Marriage Advice Booklets, 1962–2009

Abstract

This working paper focuses on the themes, authors, and changing modes of production of 152 booklets published (or purchased) in Nigeria relating to marriage. The author obtained them from bookshops mainly in Ibadan and Lagos, from church bookstores in Ado-Ekiti and Kabba, but also from motor parks in Lokoja, Kaduna, and Zaria, from 1988 to 2010. The majority of these small booklets were published in Ibadan (69 books), with an additional 29 books published in Lagos. Many include the names of authors, publishers, and dates of publication. Most were written in English, while a few were written in Yoruba. Some also include short biographies of booklet authors, most of whom are men, although more recently an increasing number of booklets were written by women, which has implications for discussions of gender and marriage. While related to Onitsha market fiction and dream interpretation booklets, they focus on the ongoing decisions and dilemmas associated with marriage. The booklets also reflect changing aspects in print technology. While early booklets were published by licensed presses, some more recent publications reflect self-published efforts—with attractive color photographs rather than simple monochrome drawings. Indeed, most recently, digital copies of marriage advice booklets may be purchased through the internet, suggesting the ongoing importance of being up-to-date that these booklets represent.

Nigerian Marriage Advice Booklets, 1962–2009*

Elisha P. Renne

...The more humdrum topic of marriage is the prevailing theme in popular ‘how-to’ literature in West Africa.

---Stephanie Newell, *West African Literatures* 2006: 116

Researchers have been fascinated over the years by the plethora of pamphlets and booklets on a range of topics published in Nigeria since the late 1940s, first associated with Onitsha market in Anambra State, southeastern Nigeria (Obiechina 1974; Thometz 2001). Several studies of Onitsha market literature, which proliferated in the early 1960s, have been published (Beier 1964; Hogg and Porter 1900; Lindfors 1974, 1975; Mezu 1972; Newell 1996; Porter 1990; Solanke 2014). They examine several market fiction themes—love, marriage, letter-writing, history, and language-learning—as well as the process by which men became authors and their relations with publishers and printers (Zell 1979). The difficulties along with the successes of maintaining their publishing businesses after the Nigerian civil war have also been considered (Anafulu 1973; Dodson 1973).¹

Publishing houses have also been established elsewhere in Nigeria. In Ibadan, in southwestern Nigeria, the Daystar Press, “the publishing arm of the Christian Council of Nigeria,” began publication of booklets and textbooks in 1964 (Anonymous 1975). Rather than focus on

*My thanks to Kelly Coffey for her assistance with the layout of this working paper.

¹ Examples of Onitsha Market fiction may be found in several US library collections. The Charles R. Larson collection of Onitsha Market pamphlets, held by the University of Texas-Austin Library, includes over 100 pamphlets and booklets collected by Charles Larson from approximately 1947 to 1972. The University of Kansas Onitsha Market Literature collection, located in Kenneth Spencer Research Library, includes 100 books, the titles of which are listed on the library website, exhibits.lib.ku.edu/exhibits/show/onitsha/ku-onitsha-collection/partial-collection. Indiana University Library-Bloomington also has an Onitsha Market Literature collection with a list of 170 books, see www.indiana.edu/~afrcol/onitsha-market-literature. Smaller collections may be found at the University of Florida-Gainesville Library and the Brown University Library.

hymnals and other Christian texts, this press was known for booklets which discussed contemporary social issues relating to Christian courtship and marriage as well as “books that teach” about family life. These issues became an increasing concern of parents and their children as earlier practices associated with arranged marriage, bridewealth payment, and traditional marriage were abandoned as more young people with western education sought to distance themselves from the past. Subsequently, several church-related presses were established in Ibadan such as Scripture Union (Nigeria) Press, Christmat, and Spring of Life Ministries. Other presses were established in Lagos (e.g., Faith Publishers) and Enugu (e.g., Christian Services Publications). In 1977 Macmillan Publishers Nigeria Ltd. (originally publishing out of Lagos and later in Ibadan) introduced the Pacesetters Series, which provided readers of English with action-packed fictional accounts of changing aspects of modern urban life (Coulson 1987).² Since the 1980s, a plethora of booklets and short novels mainly published and sold in Kano provided readers of Hausa with stories of love and romance, referred to as *littattafan soyayya* (literally, books of love; Whitsitt 2002; see also Furniss 1996, 1998). While the Pacesetter novels and Kano romance stories are not considered here,³ there are marriage booklets from smaller presses in Kaduna, such as Sarumedia Publishers Ltd., that offer booklets on Muslim husband-wife relations. While the booklets collected in Kaduna and Zaria were written for Muslims,⁴ the majority of the marriage books discussed here were written for Christians living in southwestern Nigeria.

² Some of these novels, such as *The Undesirable Element* (Sule 1977) and *The Delinquent* (Sule 1979) focused on the consequences of the fast life-styles of young women and men.

³ Graham Furniss deposited over 2,000 Hausa books of fiction to the SOAS archives at the University of London (Furniss and Adamu 2012: 90).

⁴ However, one booklet for Yoruba Muslims (purchased in Ibadan) was published by the Imam of the Najomo Islamic Da’wah Centre in Abeokuta.

This working paper focuses on the themes, authors, and changing modes of production of 152 booklets published (or purchased) in Nigeria relating to marriage. I obtained them from bookshops mainly in Ibadan and Lagos, from church bookstores in Ado-Ekiti and Kabba, but also from motor parks in Lokoja, Kaduna, and Zaria, from 1988 to 2010. The majority of these small booklets were published in Ibadan (n=69), with an additional twenty-nine books published in Lagos. Many include the names of authors, publishers, and dates of publication. Most were written in English, while a few were written in Yoruba. Some also include short biographies of booklet authors, most of whom are men, although more recently an increasing number of booklets were written by women, which has implications for discussions of gender and marriage. One benefit of having actual copies of these booklets is that they reflect changing aspects in print technology in booklet production. While early booklets were published by licensed presses, some more recent publications reflect self-published efforts—some with attractive color photographs rather than simple monochrome drawings. Indeed, most recently, digital copies of marriage advice booklets may be purchased through the internet, suggesting the ongoing importance of being up-to-date that these booklets represent.

Historical circumstances contributing to the production of marriage booklets

In the mid-19th century coastal city of Lagos, Nigerian returnees from Sierra Leone, known as Saros (formerly enslaved in Nigeria, freed by the British antislavery squadron, often relocated in Sierra Leone, but then returned to southern Nigeria; Mann 1986; Spitzer 1974) contributed to missionary conversion efforts and the founding of churches there and elsewhere in Nigeria. The first Church Missionary Society (CMS; Anglican) church was built at Ebute Ero in July 1852 and was overseen by the Reverends Charles Andrew Gollmer and Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a Saro

returnee. It was, however, the St. Paul's Breadfruit Street Church, established in Lagos in December 1852 that became one of the most famous examples of these CMS missionaries' efforts. While the CMS missionary Gollmer, born in Germany and later residing in England, was responsible for the construction of a mud church building at Breadfruit Station in 1854 and several English CMS missionaries subsequently headed the church, Reverend James Johnson, born in Sierra Leone of Liberated African parents, became the missionary-in-charge of the church in 1874. This shift in CMS leadership was reflected in the appointment of Crowther as Bishop of the Countries of Western Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions in 1864. In Nigeria Saros were also involved in setting up schools associated with their churches. Earlier in 1869, Reverend Thomas Babington Macauley joined the Lagos Mission, which was responsible for establishing elementary and secondary schools. Thus "Breadfruit Church was used both for church and school purposes" (Lucas, Awe, and Oduwobi 2005: 6).

European missionaries and African catechists were also working further inland—in cities such as Abeokuta, Ibadan, Lokoja, Ilesha, and Ogbomoso. Churches associated with the CMS (now Anglican), Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist missions were founded. In 1855 Anna Hinderer (1877: 126-127) reported the first Christian marriage performed in Ibadan where she and her husband, David Hinderer, directed the CMS church:

August 13th [1855]. –We have had our first Christian wedding, and very nice and simple it was. We superintended the dinner; and the speeches (for Africans can make fine speeches) were surprising to me, so marked in their Christian tone. The bride and bridegroom were quite touched by then and their eyes filled with tears.

Along with Sunday services, the church also had a Sunday school for learning to read the Bible:

August 13th [1855]. Our Sunday school numbers between forty and fifty adults, all in earnest to learn, and it is surprising what progress they make in reading. They buy the translations of the Scriptures as soon as they come out, and treasure them up as gold; but by the rest of the people, till their own eyes are opened, these are looked down upon as

contemptible, and are called book-followers, forsakers of their forefathers and despisers of their gods, who have given them strength, power, and everything.

This distrust of the European missionary presence, dislike of their attitudes toward Africans and African religions, and resistance to the increasing British presence undermined European conversion efforts outside Lagos (Ajayi 1965: 201). Thus, while Egba chiefs in Abeokuta “raised no objection to their children being initiated into the white man’s mystery of reading and writing,” they had no interest “in the missionaries’ spiritual dispensation” (Ayandele 1966: 12).

Saro Christians living in Lagos, however, continued their efforts in establishing churches and schools there. Many of these early Christian converts had received western education in Sierra Leone, which facilitated their roles as successful import-export businessmen and professionals. As members of the Lagos educated elite described by Kristin Mann (1986: 4–5), many performed European-style wedding ceremonies in the late 1800s. Their wealth also enabled their children’s attendance at church-sponsored schools and facilitated these families’ adoption of British cultural practices such as new forms of dress, written marriage materials, and child-rearing practices associated with western and church education. “By the late nineteenth century an educated Christian subculture existed in Lagos, centering on the churches and schools and including not only Saro and Amaro [returnees from Brazil] but also a few local Yoruba” (Mann 1986:18).

Some of the earliest examples of printed booklets discussing the issue of marriage were written by Saro Christians, such as Keyinde Okoro, who published the booklet, *Views of Some Native Christians of West Africa on the Subject of Polygamy*, which was printed in Lagos by the General Printing Press in 1897. (As will be seen, the issue of polygamy continued to be a topic discussed in marriage booklets published in Nigeria one hundred years later.) Some of the presses used in southern Nigeria had been brought by British missionaries. For example, Reverend Henry

Townsend published the first newspaper in southwestern Nigeria, *Iwe Irohin* in 1859 (Omu 1967), with a printing press attached to the CMS mission in Abeokuta (Afolabi 2015). Others relied on presses in England for their materials. Bishop Crowther translated five books from the New Testament into Yoruba, which were published by the CMS Press in London in 1851.⁵ He later revised the 1851 translations of the New Testament in 1856, which were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London (Awoniyi 1989). In addition, A. F. Buxton ordered hymnals for Reverend Crowther in English, Igbo, and Yoruba for the Niger Mission station. Although the CMS printing press introduced by Townsend was destroyed during the uprising against European missionaries in Abeokuta following British annexation of Lagos in 1867 (Ajayi 1965: 201), “by the end of the 1880s, not less than five printing presses had been established in Lagos” (Afolabi 2015). This growth in printing press capacity was driven in part by the growth of newspaper publications, but also by mission and school needs for printed materials.⁶

The effects of churches, schools, and colonial courts on traditional marriage practice

The presence of printing presses, the publication of church-related books and pamphlets, and the establishment of primary and secondary schools contributed to the education of young Christian men (and some young women) in Lagos. In the early 20th century, Nigerian Christians began to found churches and schools in more rural areas. In the small rural town of Itapa-Ekiti, for example, the Methodist church was started by two men who had travelled to Ago-Iwoye (Ijebu) and Lagos, respectively, to work as laborers (Ojo n.d.: 13). After returning to their different sections of Itapa-

⁵ “In the summer of 1851, Crowther came to England and working with Rev. J. F. Schön, he revised his translations of St. Luke, the Acts, St. Peter [1 and 2] and St. Jude and these were published that year” (Ajayi 1960: 52).

⁶ For a discussion of the growth of newspaper publishing in Lagos, see Barber (2016).

Ekiti, they came together in 1903 to establish the Methodist Church Nigeria, Itapa Branch. At first, they held open-air services and despite considerable resistance by practitioners of traditional religious beliefs in the town, they built a church in 1922. The following year a grant was received for the building of a Methodist primary school and students began attendance in 1930. The initial class was small as some followers of Yoruba traditional religion feared that their children would be converted to Christianity; however, as people saw the benefits of literacy for their children, student enrollment expanded. In 1949 the school was allowed to offer a full standard six education (Ojo n.d.: 26).

The establishment of churches and schools in other rural towns and villages in southwestern Nigeria followed a similar, if not precisely the same, pattern. What followers of Yoruba traditional religion feared came to pass as more and more people converted to Christianity in places such as Itapa-Ekiti. Furthermore, their children educated in primary school began to view practices associated with traditional marriage differently from their parents. For their parents, marriage had long been considered a process that led to the union of two extended families, with arranged marriage playing a critical role in this practice (Bird 1959; Olusanya 1990). A woman go-between (or relative) of the parents of a young man would approach the parents of the intended bride—who might be a very young girl—to come to an agreement over how to proceed. If the marriage offer was accepted and appropriate rituals were performed, the prospective husband would work for the bride's family for an agreed period of time (as brideservice). Alternately, a certain amount of money, referred to as bridewealth, could be given by the husband's family. After payments had been made, a range of goods were given to the bride and her family and planning for the marriage ritual was begun. Referred to as "bringing a wife" (*igbeyawo* in Yoruba), the particulars of this ritual varied depending on the area of Yorubaland involved and the social

statuses of the families involved (Ekundare 1969; Fadipe 1970; Guyer 1990; Karanja 1987; Ibejigba 1985; Ojo 1966). Yet it was common that the prospective bride and groom had neither met nor even seen one another. And in the case of a widow, following a mourning period, she was not free to marry whom she chose but was “inherited” by a junior brother of her husband (Ajisafe 1924).

As more young men and women became exposed through church and schools to different ways of viewing and doing marriage, however, they began to question the authority and traditions of their parents. They started to see marriage as the union of a man and a woman based on love and mutual attraction, rather than determined by the choices of their parents. Some, but not all, also began to see polygyny as similarly old-fashioned,⁷ based on their readings but also as their witnessing the monogamous marriages of missionaries such as Bishop Crowther and his wife, Susan Asano Crowther.

Following the establishment of colonial rule in Nigeria in 1903, the introduction of customary courts in many communities reinforced this trend and procedures for divorce were instituted. For example, in 1918 in Kabba District Native Authority Court in northeastern Yorubaland, rules for divorce and child custody were instituted. British colonial officials sought to end the practice of arranged marriage, which they associated with slavery and as such, sought to “free” women through the introduction of divorce. One assistant district officer, writing in 1931, described the rules of the new tradition:

- (1) A man may divorce his wife by driving her from his house; he cannot claim return of any dowry [bridewealth]; and
- (2) A woman may divorce her husband by returning the dowry paid on her (Bridel 1931).

Young women who had been married through their husbands’ payment of bridewealth to their fathers were free to divorce and remarry the men whom they chose if they were able to repay the

⁷ According to Webster (1964: 90), however, “The UAM [United African Methodist] (Eleja) was the only African church which was founded as a revolt against mission insistence upon monogamy.”

bridewealth sums. Thus, in February 1939, the judge ruled in favor of the defendant—a young woman’s father—documented in a court case record from Kabba District Court as follows:

Defendant states: Surely I made a promise that my daughter will marry plaintiff when I received the said £1.5 but when my daughter grew up, she does not will to marry the plaintiff again and I cannot force her to do so. Therefore I am ready to refund £1.5 to the Plaintiff (Renne 1992: 223).

Young women and men used various strategies to evade arranged marriage agreements. Young men working as teachers in urban schools would encourage their girlfriends to visit them. After such visits, young women might become pregnant. The pregnancy served both as evidence of her fertility and as a guarantee of her desire to marry the young man.⁸

These factors—the establishment of customary courts that enabled divorce and the dissolution of arranged marriages along with ideas about modernity associated with western education—had a profound effect on social practices relating to marriage (Burnham 1987). Yet church leaders and some women who had converted to Christianity were uneasy with the idea of premarital sex, children born out of wedlock, and divorce. For them, the marriage booklets published first in Onitsha and subsequently by church-related presses in Ibadan, Lagos, Osogbo, and other Nigerian cities and towns provided an alternative set of rules and practices for getting engaged, planning marriage ceremonies, raising children, and living a productive and happy married life.

⁸ Earlier strictures concerning virginity were reinterpreted as old-fashioned and at times, unhealthy (Renne 1993). These beliefs were countered in several marriage books.

“How-to” marriage booklets

Marriage booklets discussed here represent four different periods of publication (Table 1). The earlier Onitsha market booklets and Ibadan Daystar Press books were published mainly in the 1960s. During the 1980s, booklets began to be published in several cities, including Ibadan, Lagos, Enugu, Owerri, Kaduna, and Jos. Booklets published in the 1990s were mainly from Ibadan and Lagos (with others from Enugu, Benin City, Kaduna, Minna, and Abuja), while the fifty books published in 2000–2009 came from Ibadan, Lagos, Onitsha, Kaduna, Abeokuta, Oyo, and Oshogbo. In addition, there are thirty-five booklets with no dates of publication. The booklets for these different decades and places of publication may reflect when and where they were collected. It appears that the greatest numbers of marriage booklets (n=87) were published in 1990–2004, which also coincides with the period when these booklets were collected (from 1988–2010).

Table 1. Marriage booklets by date, place of publication, and gender

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of booklets</i>	<i>Places of publication¹</i>	<i>Gender of author² (M/F)</i>
1960-1975	6	Onitsha, Ibadan	6/0
1980-1989	21	Ibadan, Enugu, Lagos, Owerri, Kaduna, Jos, Zaria	17/4
1990-1999	41	Ibadan, Enugu, Lagos, Benin City, Minna, Abuja, Kaduna	36/5
2000-2009	50	Ibadan, Onitsha, Lagos, Abeokuta, Oyo, Oshogbo, Kaduna	45/5
No date	35	Ibadan, Enugu, Lagos, Ilorin, Zaria; foreign	30/5
Total	151		132/19

¹ All booklets were purchased in Nigeria.

² These numbers refer to sole-authored books published by women within the time period; co-authored books by women and men are not included here.

The Daystar Press booklets, published in Ibadan during the 1960s, provide a good place to start for a consideration of the themes and objectives of these marriage booklets. Education was the main objective of Daystar Press, and its booklets focused on courtship and procedures for marriage. These booklets also stress Christian ideals along with “how-to” practices. Thus, in the booklet, *Friendship Between Girls and Boys*, the author of this 1962 Daystar Press publication relates the school learning of arithmetic to the four rules of religion, referred to as the “Arithmetic of Life:”

Add God’s grace to life.

Subtract sinful action from life.

Multiply good manners in life.

Divide the gifts of talents among friends (Anonymous 1962).

One aspect of this booklet is particularly interesting. While emphasizing friendship among boys and girls, the author spends a good deal of space discussing the attractions and problems relating to premarital sexuality. This focus appears to reflect both the shift from virginity before marriage to proof of fertility before marriage and Christian church leaders’ disapproval of this trend. In chapter 3, “Sexual Intercourse outside Marriage,” and chapter 4, “Further Advice,” the author observed two ideas about premarital sexuality, “particularly by young women, and both of them are false... The first is the idea that young people will be healthier if they experience sexual intercourse. Some people actually believe that it is definitely unhealthy to abstain from it” (Anonymous 1962: 16). This idea probably reflects the revised thinking about virginity, which was considered to be antisocial and could result in infertility (Renne 1993, 2003). This way of thinking is related to the second wrong idea described in this booklet:

“Nowadays very many people have sexual intercourse outside marriage. The idea that it is wrong is old fashioned and out of date. If so many people do it, it must be alright, so why shouldn’t I do it too?” Let us realize what this is. It is the devil’s way of tempting you. He

often tries to make goodness seem old fashioned, and to appeal to people's idea of what is modern and up-to-date (Anonymous 1962: 16).

While these arguments may convince some readers, the pressure to confirm one's fertility and the hope that a pregnancy would cement a marital relationship led other readers to ignore them. Indeed, one booklet notes pressure on sons coming from parents who want to ensure that grandchildren will ensue from their marriages, a point underscored by sociologist, P. O. Olusanya (1970: 155):

A new safeguard [against infertile wives] has, however, been introduced; by and large, a girl must become pregnant before the marriage (whether customary or under the ordinance) is contracted. Of course, the woman herself is as anxious to bear children as her husband.

Other later booklets have sought to counter the negative images of virginity as antisocial and unmodern by different images, which relate virginity to Christian beliefs about morality, marriage, and sexual discipline. Several marriage booklets published by church-related presses focus on the ideal of virginity. For example, the booklet, *The Place of Deliverance Ministration in Marriage* (published in Ibadan in 2002), includes a section on the spiritual dangers of premarital sex: "For sex is a blood covenant and when it is done out God's approved framework [marriage], it amounts to entering into an unholy and ungodly blood covenant... (Adeagbo 2002: 21). This interpretation of the blood associated with the [breaking] of the hymen leads this author to argue against families using a white cloth during the wedding night to ascertain whether a bride is a virgin.

The tradition was to discourage immorality and help would-be brides to maintain chastity. However the involvement of blood makes the practice susceptible to demonic manipulations... The better way to discourage immorality and premarital sex among our youths will be to bring them up in the way of the Lord (Adeagbo 2002: 26).

Another booklet, *Pre-Marital Sex*, focuses on the consequences for health of sexuality before marriage. In chapter 10, "Sex Superstitions," the author argues against the idea "That abstaining from sex before marriage can lead to infertility later in life" (Williams 2001: 33). Rather, he notes

that premarital sexuality can be unhealthy, possibly leading to sexually transmitted disease and abortion. The author continues in the following chapter with advice to young women on “How to Remain Intact” prior to their marriages. In its discussion of pregnancy and human anatomy, this booklet is similar to an earlier Daystar Press booklet, *Discussions in Preparation for Marriage* (Anonymous 1968). One proposed discussion session focuses on “The facts of sex,” which includes diagrams and an appendix with detailed information on reproductive organs.

Aside from discussions about matters prior to marriage, two Daystar Press booklets outline the range of marriages that are available to young women and men. These include marriage under the ordinance marriage (church marriage and registry marriage) and polygamous marriage (customary marriage and Islamic marriage). In the booklet, *Getting Married?* (Anonymous 1964; Fig. 1), the benefits of church marriage are discussed along with a brief description of the order of the ceremony. In chapter 3, “Why Be Married in Church?,” the advantages of monogamous marriage rather than polygamous customary marriage are considered. The author notes that while a man may marry up to four wives in Islamic marriage, customary Christian marriage need not entail polygamy. In the Daystar booklet, *Marriage and Home-Making in Nigerian Society* (Akande 1971: 34), the items needed for the customary Yoruba engagement ceremony are listed. Indeed, some families combine aspects of customary marriage, such as the engagement ceremony and forms of church marriage. Not surprisingly, many of the booklets clearly support church marriage and argue that such services need not be exorbitantly expensive.

Changing social context and marriage practices

Several marriage booklets raise the issue of residence and the importance of the married couple maintaining a respectful connection with extended family members but also asserting a separate

life from their parents (Fig. 2). In the booklet, *Getting Married?*, the question, “Where are you going to live?” is raised. In response, the author writes:

Aim at setting up your home in a house apart from members of your extended families. Naturally you will be happy if your house is within reach of some of your relatives and old friends. But it is your home, and you have a better chance of building it up according to your own ideas and beliefs if you are independent of your families from the start (Anonymous 1964: 30),

A discussion of this topic—the assertion of the married couple as an independent social unit—is considered in many booklets published after 1990, which reflects the virtual end of the practice of arranged marriage.

With this new emphasis on the couple, several recent marriage booklets provide advice on how to address marital difficulties and to avoid divorce. Several booklets included chapters directed specifically to the husband or the wife, as in booklets written by Don Odunze—*The Devoted Husband* (n.d.) and *The Ideal Housewife* (1985), published in Enugu in southeastern Nigeria. In the booklet for husbands, the author reminds men that their wives need to be provided for, noting that women are often better with money than men. He also writes that their good health is vitally important for the family and that family planning should be observed. In the booklet for wives, he emphasizes the importance of wives’ care for their husbands, emphasizing the importance of good food. In a section on providing support for one’s husband who is the household head, the author discusses supports various subjects—wives’ not showing gratitude or not honoring their husbands—with references to the Bible. For example, he cites Ephesians 5:22–23) and notes that: “The Bible even makes this obedience issue so strong that it says that the wife “should obey in ALL THINGS” (Odunze 1985: 49).⁹

⁹ Newell (2006: 120) discusses how this Biblical passage has been interpreted by men and by women (see also Newell 1996).

Dele Ijagbulu has also written several booklets specifically for wives and husbands, which were published by the Olu-Ibukun Counselling Centre in Ibadan. In *For Wives Only* (parts 1 and 2), the two booklets are organized by days of the month, with each day focusing on a positive action that wives may take to address marital discord. For example, on 10 January, the entry entitled, “Watch these attitudes,” the author observes: “Let all wives learn to give their husbands to God. Let them thank God for making him just as he is. You see, you cannot *remake* him, that is the Spirit’s work, not yours. Take heart, very soon God will do it” (Ijagbulu n.d.: 10). Similarly, in the booklet *For Husbands Only*, men are advised in the introduction, “Listen, listen, listen:”

No interruptions when she’s talking. To do that is to crush her ego. When she begins, I draw closer, listen, nod my head once in a while... Even if I am hearing the story the seventh time, I still listen... At times, it’s not interesting, I make it so by putting genuine smiles and adding embellishments... even when it’s boring, “Love endures all things” (Ijagbulu n.d.: 24).

Aside from these booklets specifically written for wives and for husbands, Dele Ijagbulu has also published booklets on the logistics of marriage through the Olu-Ibukun Foundation in Ibadan with titles such as *Building a Happy Home* (Books 1-4, n.d.), *Seven Facts about Marriage* (1998), and *Sexual Harmony in Marriage* (1990).

Similarly, Christian Matthew has published nine booklets with the Ibadan press Christmat Publication, with titles such as *Christian Marriage Ceremony Made Easy* (2005). Aside from advice on “doing marriage,” he also has written several pamphlets concerning specific marital problems as well as advice about divorce and remarriage. In *Who Should Re-Marry?*, he argues that those who are living together (and may be raising a family) but who are not married legally, they are not technically married so they are not remarrying should they separate. However, he is deeply against divorce which he sees as a “parachute” from an unhappy marriage: “Why do you

think that remarrying is the only way out of the problem you are [in]?” (Matthew 1998: 30). He believes that the only people who should remarry are widows and widowers.

In subsequent books, he employs dramatic titles which are evocative of the popular Pacesetter novels. They include “*She is a Witch; Divorce Her!*” (2001), *The Best Way a Responsible Woman Can Handle an Interested Shameless Dog* (2003), and *3 Flaming Arrows of Marriage Killers* (2004). In these booklets, the author’s arguments are similar to his advice regarding remarriage. Husbands should not divorce a wife, even if he suspects she is a witch: “If I now want to push her out, it means I cannot counter her force; she, as a witch is stronger than I, a Christian...?” (2001: 26). In the case of profligate husbands, wives should not divorce them but rather consider ways to reinterest them (2003: 31). Likewise, “false fact, unforgiving[ness], and influence from outside”—the three “flaming arrows of marriage killers,” should not lead couples to divorce.

Marriage books and women authors in the 21st century

These three books are part of those published between 2000 and 2004. One of the main changes in these more recent booklets are the number of booklets written by women or cowritten by husbands and wives. Of the booklets published during this period, at least five were written solely by women.¹⁰ This gendered author shift raises some issues not discussed in earlier books which were mainly written by men (Newell 1996).

One topic which these women-authored booklets consider is the relationship between new wives and in-laws. While urban married couples live separately from the husband’s parents, the

¹⁰ Five books written by women do not have dates of publication.

relationship of a new wife with them is something that several authors consider. For example, Yinka Obanikoro (2003: 72-73) advises:

A wise partner would be following the Biblical principle to leave the parents to cleave to her partner. A wise partner should try to build a new relationship with her partner as well as with her new family... By this approach, the in-laws would not be conceived of as devils.

Another topic not explicitly mentioned as contributing to a successful marriage concerns family health. Veronica Gbaruko (2003: 58) notes that “As a Christian, you are a spirit, you have a soul and live in a body. The health of your spirit should be taken care of. You are made as a tabernacle. The spirit lives in the tabernacle. The tabernacle needs to be taken care of.” She mentions diet and hygiene as well as breast examinations and the use of trained midwives during childbirth.¹¹

Finally, the importance of training one’s children—both boys and girls—to contribute equally to the upkeep of the house is discussed by Elizabeth Famoriyo (2000: 24):

Whenever my mother did her cooking with expertise, she expected us to watch and this included my brothers. There were no sacred cows in my family. My brothers were made to do all the household duties.... I grew up in an environment where boys were not made into demigods by their mothers. My brothers are better cooks than their wives.

While such advice may not be attainable by all women readers (or acceptable to all men), they suggest how conceptions of what constitutes a successful Christian marriage continue to change.

Islamic marriage books

Of the thirteen marriage booklets that discuss Muslim marriage, ten were published in Nigeria. Three other booklets were published in Pakistan and South Africa, but they were purchased in Nigeria.¹² The booklets published by Sarumedia Publishers Ltd. (Kaduna) constitute a four-part series, entitled “Husband-Wife Relationship”. These booklets have a similar organization as the

¹¹ Obanikoro (2003) devotes an entire chapter to pregnancy, its symptoms, and nutritional requirements.

¹² Two were purchased in Kawo motor park in Kaduna and one was purchased at Kola Bookshop in Zaria.

Christian marriage booklets published in southern Nigeria. The first booklet, *Muslim Youth and Selection of Life Partner*, includes chapters that discuss the importance of marriage, “criteria for spouse selection,” preparations for marriage, and the practice of Muslim marriage. The second and third booklets discuss the rights of Muslim wives and husbands with numerous references to the Qur’an and the Hadith, while the fourth booklet deals with couples’ intimate relations, with excerpts from the commentaries of Islamic scholars. The author wrote these booklets as a means of “educating and informing young men and women about the foundations and establishment of marriage...” (Ibn Abubakar 1998: xi).

Aisha Lemu, the author of two booklets published in Minna, Niger State, also focus on Muslim Husband-Wife relations. She notes that her first booklet, *The Ideal Muslim Husband* (1987), “is now popular as a wedding gift for bridegrooms” (Lemu 1993: 1). In this booklet, she addresses the practice of polygyny, which is criticized in Christian marriage books. She cites the Qur’an concerning the imperative of treating wives equally and if the man cannot do so, he should have only one wife. In the companion booklet, *The Ideal Muslim Wife* (1993), she observes that, “Much depends on the attitudes of the wives themselves.” She provides a discussion of some of the possible problems for cowives as well as how to address them.

These northern Nigerian marriage booklets differ from the booklet, *Marriage under the Sharia & Yoruba Custom* (Taiwo 2001), published in Abeokuta. At several times in his discussion, the author notes the mixed nature of Yoruba society in southwestern Nigeria—where both Muslims and Christians regularly interact, at times within a single extended family. In addition, Yoruba women—both Muslim and Christian—are not subject to the practice of seclusion (in Hausa, known as *kulle*), although both are expected to wear modest dress. The issue of polygamy, however, does distinguish Christian and Muslim marriages in southern Nigeria, although the

author notes that some African churches allow polygamous marriage as does Islam. The author, Masud Taiwo, refers to the passage in the Qur'an mentioned by Aisha Lemu that Muslim men should marry the women they can justly care for—either polygamously or monogamously: “The Almighty Allah who allows both systems to operate side-by-side is wiser than us all... The success and failure depend on the practitioners.” Yet this author is disturbed by the growing influence of Christian social life on Muslims living in southwestern Nigeria:

The rate at which most of the educated Muslims nowadays imitate the Christians in all facets of life especially in marriage and burial is greatly alarming....The Christian cut cakes at marriage ceremony and exchange marriage ring which, to them is a symbol of monogamy and the nominal educated Muslims nowadays do the same just to show that they, too, are civilized like their Christian counterpart (Taiwo 2001: 24).

In this way, the discussion of Muslim marriage from a southern Nigerian perspective is distinctive, from both northern Nigerian Muslim and southern Nigerian Christian marriage booklets.

Changing print technologies

These booklets also reflect changes in print technologies. The earlier Onitsha and Daystar Press literature covers often consist of simple drawings or photographs with a monochrome background. While the print type is clear and regular for the Onitsha volumes, the type appearance of the early Daystar publications is irregular and is printed on low-quality paper. The booklets published from 1990–1999 vary in appearance. With some, the quality of the printing varies from page to page, while in others, the printing, paper, and covers are extremely well-done (Fig. 3).¹³ Booklets published after 2000 reflect the shift toward digital print publications and many have attractive color photographs for covers (Fig. 4).

¹³ Production of the booklet, *The Pastoral Care of Marriage and Family Life in Nigeria*, by Reverend Anthony Gbuji, printed by the St. Paul Press Training School in Ibadan, in 1998 (and reprinted in 2006), is very professional.

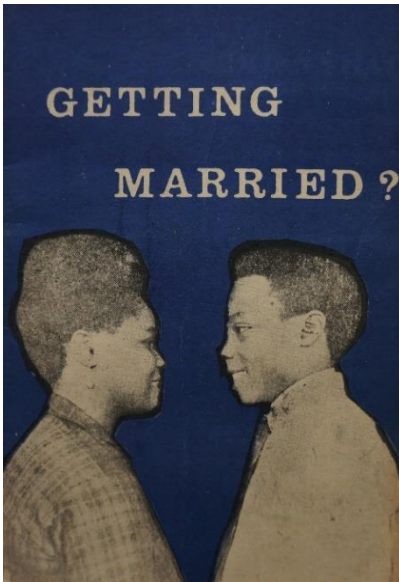


Fig. 1. Daystar Press first published the booklet, *Getting Married? A Handbook for Young People*, in Ibadan in 1964, illustrates the early use of photography in booklet covers. This popular booklet was later reprinted in 1970 and 1996.

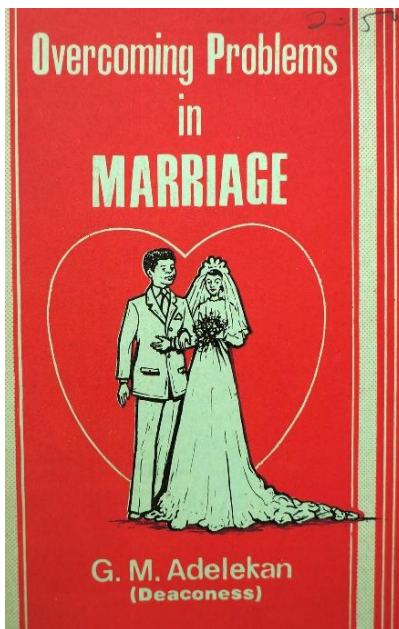


Fig. 2. The booklet, *Overcoming Problems in Marriage*, published in Ibadan in 1984, by Deaconess G. M. Adelekan emphasizes the independence of the husband and wife, citing Genesis 2:24. There are also chapters on spousal responsibilities and child-rearing, with citations from the Bible to reinforce the author's advice.

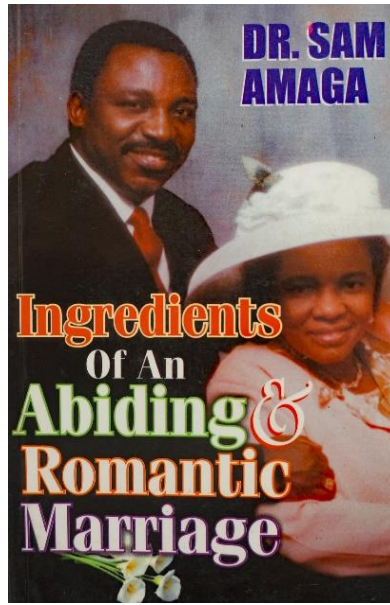


Fig. 3. The booklet, *Ingredients of an Abiding and Romantic Marriage*, by Dr. Sam Amaga was first published in Lagos in 1994 and was republished in 1998, 2000, and 2001. It consists of ten short chapters, on various topics with numerous Biblical references.

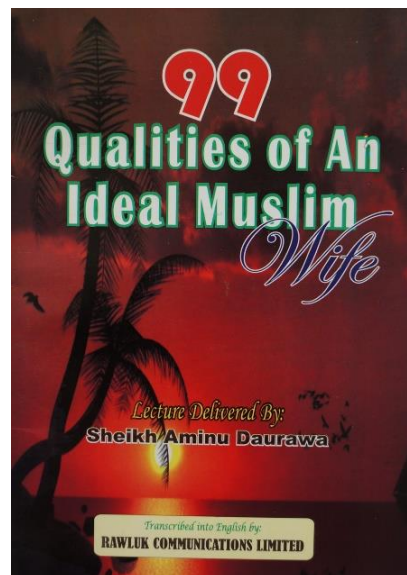


Fig. 4. The booklet, *99 Qualities of an Ideal Muslim Wife*, was published in 2009 in Kaduna by Rawluk Communications Limited. Both this booklet and the booklet by Sam Amaga illustrate the more sophisticated printing technologies which enabled the use of color photographs for booklet covers.

Additional areas of interest relating to Nigerian marriage booklets

Marriage books: Authors and publishers

As has been discussed, the beginnings of press printing in Nigeria and its association with some early southern Nigerian missions contributed to an expansion in the number of publishing houses in the country. Several presses that published marriage booklets were operated in conjunction with religious organizations. For example, the Baptist Press (Nig.) Limited, Ibadan, printed booklets, such as *The Widow, The Fatherless and the In-Laws* (Adelekan 1997). According to the *African Book Publishing Record* (1975), there were twenty-seven publishers listed for Nigeria, with eight in Ibadan. Only two of them were involved in publishing marriage booklets; however, there were many smaller presses, some associated with church and mission establishments, which were not listed in the *Publishing Record*.¹⁴ In the 1990s and thereafter, several booklets were privately printed, using computers and the services of business centers with digital printers. Indeed, this process has continued with the digital marriage eBook, *Relationship Unfeigned* by Nike Adekunle, is available from Amazon for Kindle readers in 2016.

References to dreams, spirit spouses, and the devil

Another area that a close reading of these marriage booklets reveals is the reference to dreams in several marriage advice booklets. For example, a dream is described by the author of *The Place of Deliverance Ministration in Marriage*:

In February 1992, one sister told me her story...she was engaged to a man.... Shortly before the wedding, she dreamt that a man (demon) told her to forget about that other brother, the he (demon) will take good care of her. In that dream, the man brought out a wedding ring and put it on her finger. Then she woke up (Adeagbo 2002: 17).

¹⁴ Neither the Baptist Press (Nig.) Limited, Ibadan, nor the St. Paul Press, Ibadan, are included in this list.

“Not long afterwards, her earthly fiancé told her that “he felt that she was another man’s wife and there is no point getting married.” The reverend attending to this woman realized that the problem was that in her dream, she was married to a spirit husband and insisted that the spirit wedding ring be removed from her finger. As the author of this booklet notes, “This was presented to illustrate how one can enter into ungodly covenants through dream” (Adeagbo 2002: 18). Indeed, some authors of marriage advice booklets have also written booklets on dream interpretation.

In their coauthored marriage booklet, Kenneth and Evelyn Onyeme mention dreams in the context of marriage for women: 1) as a problem for “over-spiritual sisters [who] want to see God in the dream” to confirm a marriage choice, 2) having a spirit husband in one’s dreams, and 3) knowing when one is being spoken to in a dream by God or by the devil. In his booklet, *Dreams Interpretation & Deliverance Prayers*, Kenneth Onyeme (2002: 19) offers the following interpretation of a dream described under the heading, “Marriage/Pregnancy:” “When you dream and find yourself wedded or married to someone unknown to you and you have never naturally approached each other for marriage, it is an evil dream. It can be spirit wife/husband attack, which can lead to possession. This may make wedding almost impossible naturally if not prayerfully taken care of.”¹⁵ There are two marriage booklets that specifically address the issue of spirit and spiritual spouses.¹⁶ The authors distinguish between spirit spouses that are considered to be associated with evil bush spirits (*alujanu*) and spiritual spouses which, while associated with the devil, are viewed as fallen angels which have a connection with God.

¹⁵ In an earlier Onitsha market booklet, *Dream Book (A Dictionary of Dreams)*, marriage has an equally negative, but different, interpretation: “If you dream you are married tells of death. That you will one day die and leave this world for a happier one.”

¹⁶ The books are: *The A-Z of Spirit and Spiritual Husbands and Wives* (Ofoegbu 2002) and *Evil Spiritual Marriage is Real* (Oluwasegun 2000).

Several booklets—for both Christians and Muslims—mention the devil as the source of marital problems. As Christian Matthew notes (2001: 14):

Rather than swallowing the egg of insult from our spouses so that the devil might not hatch it, we display it to the devil in case he has a need of it. Any time there is a slight misunderstanding in the living room, none of the spouses would bother to bolt the door... We forgot that every singular action that interests the devil in our homes is recorded by his agents whom he has nicely positioned against our homes.

Similarly, Muslim husbands are told to remember the importance of their wives and children:

The obligation of providing Deeni [Islamic] guidance and moral training for one's own family is a sacred trust which Allah Ta'ala has imposed squarely on every *hākim* (ruler) of a family. Instead of the *hākim* of the house involving himself in the discharge of his sacred duty of the Tabligh¹⁷ to his wife and child, we witness the spectacle of greater concern and priority shown to others... Shaitān [Satan] approaches man even under Deeni guise to deceive him and to cast him into deviation...[and] by degrees blur his vision until he ultimately succeeds in ensnaring man into his clutches (Mujlisul Ulama n.d.: 13).

As Satan (or the devil) is mentioned in both the Qur'an and the Bible, these references in these marriage booklets should not be surprising.

Dress

Dress is another topic that is frequently mentioned in these marriage advice booklets in various ways. Several authors warn women about their dress, that it should be modest and not be inordinately revealing. Another author advises churchgoing women to dress without extravagance so as not to shame women who cannot afford expensive fancy dress. Muslim women are advised not to appear in public without wearing a hijab or veil.

¹⁷ Tabligh refers to a member of the Islamic movement, referred to as Jama'atu Tabligh in Nigeria. One of the main concerns of this movement is the renewal of Muslim belief and practice by emulating the lifestyle of Muhammad. While this booklet was published in South Africa, I purchased a copy in the Kawo Motor Park, Kaduna, in 2003. However, followers of the Tabligh movement are more commonly found in southwestern Nigeria (see Oladimeji 2012).

Aside from this general advice, some books—particularly those which discuss Christian marriage—include sections on wedding dresses. For example, according to E.A. Adeboye (1994: 25), who writes in his *Journey to Marriage*:

Your wedding dress must be such that you can use it again. Some people spend thousands of naira on a dress they will use only once. This is a waste of money. On the day of judgement, God will ask you to explain why you wasted so much money on an ordinary dress... I always appreciate those who wear gowns that can be worn again. Some people want to wear dresses with very long tails. After the wedding, what do you do with such a dress?

While some couples, like Pastor Adeboye and his wife, wore handwoven *aso-oke* cloths at their wedding, the expansion of bridal shops in Lagos and Ibadan which sell expensive white wedding gowns suggests that some women prefer wedding dresses “with very long tails” (Renne 2010).

Conclusion

The use of market literature such as marriage advice booklets provides another perspective on social life in the late 20th-and early 21st centuries in Nigeria. The booklets illustrate persistent preoccupations of those who are married or hope to do so, in particular finding the right marriage partner and relationships with in-laws. They also show how changes in Christian belief and practice, e.g., the shift toward Pentecostal Christianity has affected interpretations of dreams and the spirit world.

Since the majority of booklets were collected in Ibadan, Christian booklets predominate. It is unclear whether Muslim marriage booklets—in English, Hausa, or Arabic—represent a later phenomenon or whether simply fewer booklets were published on this topic. It would be important to consider booklets relating to marriage published and sold in Kano—in Hausa (or *Ajami*) as well as in Arabic texts.

These marriage booklets suggest other areas for future research as well. While Newell (2006: 115) notes that marriage booklet purchasers are somewhat ecumenical in their selections, it would be useful to consider marriage booklet publication in relation to the histories of particular churches and their presses: for example, the Baptist Press (Nig.) Limited, Ibadan; the Roman Catholic church's St. Paul Press Training School, Ibadan; and the several Pentecostal church presses, including Christ the Redeemer's Ministries, Lagos (see also Epperson 1957). An examination of the relationships between these church publications and printers would also be useful.

While this paper has touched upon the history of the printing of Nigerian books and newspapers, connections between stories about marriage in the Nigerian press (including marriage announcements and advice columns) could be examined. Are the authors of marriage advice booklets writing columns in local newspapers as well? Also, how are these booklets on marriage being read: are they used in group readings in churches or as the topics of seminars, as some of the authors of these marriage books suggest? The issue about readership also raises the question about whether these booklets being purchased now? Are Nigerian bookshops still open for business or is the trend toward eBooks and online sources affecting them as well?¹⁸

Finally, while there has been some discussion about publishers, particularly about those involved with Onitsha market literature, little has been written about the authors of these marriage booklets. Many are associated with religious organizations—both Christian and Muslim, some have academic backgrounds, and some are associated with private foundations. It would be interesting to consider authors such as those who publish serial booklets mentioned in this paper

¹⁸ One of the major bookstores in Ibadan, Booksellers (<http://booksellers.ng/>), also provides an online book sales service.

as well as those with publications on overlapping topics such as marriage and dreams. Also, the trend toward women as well as men writers and the implications of this shift might be considered in terms of interpretations of the Bible and Qur'an and changing gender roles.

The marriage booklets discussed here are part of what is sometimes referred to as ephemeral literature, as they appear in print for a short time and then disappear. Yet these booklets are part of a longer social history of Nigeria. They reflect changing religious and legal practices associated with marriage as well as literacy, translation, and new print technologies. These booklets, published in Onitsha, Ibadan, Lagos, Enugu, Kaduna, and elsewhere in Nigeria, also reflect continuing concerns about the proper and moral means of social reproduction.

Appendix

Marriage booklets purchased in Nigeria (these booklets are now available in the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University)

Onitsha (n=13)

1. Abiakam, J. *The Game of Love*. Onitsha: J. C. Brother's Bookshop, n.d.
2. Oforchukwu, Ifezuo. *Improving the Christian Marriage-Relationship in Our Society*. Onitsha: Spiritan Publications, 2000.
3. Okoli, Ernest Simple. *Me & My Wife*. Onitsha: Goodmark Prints Production, n.d.

Ibadan (n=69)

1. Adeagbo, Ola. *Toward a Blissful Married Life*. Ibadan: Spring of Life Ministries, 1998, rev. ed., 2002.
2. _____. *The Place of Deliverance Ministration in Marriage*. Ibadan: Spring of Life Ministries, 2002.
3. Adelekan, G.M. *Overcoming Problems in Marriage*. Ibadan: Ola-Oluseye Printers, 1984, reprinted 1985.
4. _____. *The Widow, the Fatherless and the In-Laws*. Ibadan: Baptist Press (Nig.) Limited, 1997.
5. Adeniran, Biola. *Divine Guidance in Marriage*. Ibadan: Truth Publications, 1985.
6. _____. *Your Marriage Can Be Happy*. Ibadan: Truth Publications, 1985.
7. Akande, S. T. Ola. *Marriage and Home-Making in Nigerian Society*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1971.
8. Akintolu, P. O. *The Will of God in Marriage*. Ibadan: Afolabi Press, 1991.
9. Alagbe, 'Tunrayo. *Pre-Marital Sex: The Implications for the Youth and Their Leaders*. Ibadan: Rehoboth Ventures, 1995.
10. Anonymous. *Getting Married? A Handbook for Young People*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1964; reprinted 1970, 1996.
11. Anonymous. *Discussions in Preparation for Marriage*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1968; reprinted 1971, 1974.
12. Ayodele, Samuel O. *Love, Marriage and Happy Family Life*. Ibadan: Powerhouse Press & Publishers, 1998.
13. Ayonrinde, Akolawole. *Questions Teenagers Are Asking About Marriage*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1985.
14. Ayokunle, Olasupo. *Major Keys to a Successful Christian Marriage and Family*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1997.
15. Bakare, Gideon, and Faith Bakare. *The 'Little Little' Things That Matter in Marriage*. Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Ltd., 2000.
16. Bakare, Gideon, and Faith Bakare. *Choosing a Life Partner without Tears*. Ibadan: Oluseyi Press Ltd., 2000.
17. Ekine, Ekineba, and Funke Ekine. *For This Purpose*. Ibadan: Kraft Books Ltd., 1999.
18. Emmanuel, Oluoyinka. *Right Man Right Woman*. Ibadan: Living Stones Chapel, 2000.
19. Fakunle, Oladepo. *Success in Marriages: A Psychological Approach*. Ibadan: Valuta Educational Publishers, 1992.
20. Famoriyo, E.M. *He Brought Her to the Man*. Ibadan: African BookBuilders Ltd., 2000.
21. Fomum, Zacharias. *Enjoying the Married Life*. Ibadan: Scripture Union, n.d.

22. Gbaruko, Veronica. *Uniqueness of Women in Marriage*. Ibadan: Life Gate Publications, 2003.
23. Gbuji, Anthony. *The Pastoral Care of Marriage and Family Life in Nigeria*. Ibadan: St. Paul's, 1998, revised edition, 2006.
24. Ibitoye, Jonathan Ayodele ['Dele]. *The Power of Love in Marriage*. Ibadan: Christ in Your Heart Publication Ministry, 2001.
25. Ibitoye, 'Dele. *Ami Ife Ninu Idile Alayo*. Ibadan: Christ in Your Heart Publication Ministry, n.d.
26. Idowu, Segun. *Marriage*. Ibadan: Counselling Consortium, 2002.
27. Ijagbulu, Dele. *For the Newly Married Couple: Sexual Harmony in Marriage*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, 1990.
28. _____. *Seven Facts about Marriage*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, 1st published 1998, revised 2006.
29. _____. *Building a Happy Home, Book 1*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
30. _____. *Building a Happy Home, Book 2*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d...
31. _____. *Building a Happy Home, Book 3*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
32. _____. *Building a Happy Home, Book 4*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
33. _____. *For Wives Only*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
34. _____. *For Wives Only, 2*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
35. _____. *For Husbands Only*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
36. _____. *Sexual Harmony in Marriage—For Wives*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, n.d.
37. _____. *For Bachelors and Spinsters Only*. Ibadan: Olu-Ibukun Foundation, 1986.
38. Ikpong, Benjamin, Rosamund Okoroafor, Eunice Okediadi, and Onwurah Onyejekwe. *Friendship between Boys and Girls*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1962; reprinted 1979, 1993.
39. Imonikhe, Success-Bola. *Honeymoon Forever*. Ibadan: Victory Publishing House, 2000.
40. Leigh, Samuel M. *Marriage: Meant to Be Enjoyed*. Ibadan: Scripture Union (Nigeria) Press, 1987, reprinted 1988.
41. _____. *Marriage Crisis: Promotion or Demotion*. Ibadan: Scripture Union (Nigeria) Press, 1993, reprinted 2000.
42. Magbinuori, Tunde. *Marriage: The Heartbeat of God*. Ibadan: Tunik Publications, 2009.
43. Matthew, Christian. *Who Should Re-Marry?* Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 1998.
44. _____. *"She is a Witch; Divorce Her!"?* Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2001.
45. _____. *How to Win Your Husband*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2002a.
46. _____. *To Whom Should I Say Yes?* Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2002b.
47. _____. *The Best Way a Responsible Woman Can Handle an Interested Shameless Dog*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2003a.
48. _____. *How to Save Your Marriage*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2003b.
49. _____. *We Are All Students of Marriage*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2004a.
50. _____. *Flaming Arrows of Marriage Killers*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2004b.

51. _____. *Christian Marriage Ceremony Made Easy*. Ibadan: Christmat Publication, 2005.
52. Morankinyo, Peter. *Finding and Choosing Your Marriage Partner*. Ibadan: Shalom Publications, 2001.
53. Obanikoro, Yinka. *Your Marriage Can Be Successful*. Ibadan: Abisomo & Company, 2003.
54. Ojo, Foluso Ade. *Getting Married*. Ibadan: Gospel Publishers International, 1992.
55. Olorunfemi, Samuel Jimson. *Freedom for the Divorced*. Ibadan: Triumphant Faith Publications, 2000.
56. Olu-Alakija, Justina. *The Wise Woman [The Home Builder]*. Ibadan: Triumphant Faith Publications, 2001.
57. Oluwaniyi, Jacob Olu. *Oro Igbeiyawo To To Fun Un*. Ibadan: Strong Tower International Ministry, n.d. [Yoruba]
58. Omojola, Emmanuel. A. *Effective Communication in Marriage*. Ibadan: Agape Publication, 1993.
59. _____. *Coping with Pressures in Marriage*. Ibadan: Agape Publication, 1994.
60. _____. *How to Win Spiritual Warfare in Marriage and Life*. Ibadan: Agape Publication, 1996.
- _____. *How to Handle Conflict in Marriage*. Ibadan: Agape Publication, 1998.
61. _____. *Seven Keys to Happiness in Marriage*. Ibadan: Agape Publication, 2001.
62. O'Neill, P. *About Your Marriage: A Guide for Catholic Marriage*. Ibadan: Claverianum Press, 1990.
63. Onifade, Depo. *Marriage is a Serious Business*. Ibadan: Sefer Books Ltd., 2000.
64. Oyedeji, Isaac Tunji. *Handling the But of Marriage, Part 1. Specially for the Youths of Exceeding Great Honour*. Ibadan: Concepts House, 2001.
65. _____. *Handling the But of Marriage, Part 3. The Beauties of Home*. Ibadan: Concepts House, 2002.
66. _____. *She Married Me*. Ibadan: Concepts House, 2003.
67. Oyewo, A. Toriola. *A Hand Book on African Laws of Marriage, Inheritance and Succession*. Ibadan: Jator Publishing Co., 1999.
68. Williams, Kolawole. *Pre-Marital Sex*. Ibadan: Egret Unique Informational Services, 2001.

Lagos (n=29)

1. Adeboye, E. A. *Journey to Marriage*. Lagos: Christ the Redeemer's Ministries, 1994, republished 2004.
2. Amaga, Sam. *Ingredients of an Abiding & Romantic Marriage*. Lagos: Faith Publishers, 1994, 2nd ed. 2000, 3rd ed. 2001.
3. Amaga, Sam. *Miracles for the Singles*. Lagos: Faith Publishers, 2003.
4. Atolagbe, Paul. *Hurried Marriage: Causes & Effects*. Lagos: Truthshare Communications, 2002.
5. Eka, Steve Owan. *I Want to Marry*. Lagos: Gremma Nig. Ltd., 2003.
6. Kumuyi, W.F. *How to Know God's Will in Marriage*. Lagos: Life Press Ltd., n.d.
7. Ofoegbu, Mike. *The A-Z of Spirit and Spiritual Husbands and Wives, Part 1*. Lagos: Holy Ghost Anointed Books, 2002.
8. Ogbe, Joe-Jesimiel. *Understanding Courtship & Premarital Issues*. Lagos: Foundational Books, 1999.
9. Ogonnaya, Henry. *How to Win Your Wife*. Lagos: J&H International Agency, n.d.

10. _____. *Knowing God's Will in Marriage*. Lagos: J&H International Agency, n.d.
11. _____. *Tips to the Newly Married*. Lagos: J&H International Agency, n.d..
12. Okoye, Ifeanyi. *Love Advice*. Lagos: Prifiko Book International, n.d.
13. Olayinka, M.S. *Sex Education and Marital Violence*. Lagos: Lantern Books, 1987.
14. Oloruntowaju, Peter. *Marriage & the Happy Home: For Bachelors, Spinsters & the Married*. Lagos: Arise and Shine Publications, 3rd printing, 2001; 1st published 1991; 2nd printing, 2000.
15. Oluwasegun, Gabriel. *Evil Spiritual Marriage is Real*. Lagos: Achievers' Wisdom Publications, 2000.
16. _____. *The Christian Family Life: Learning How to Fulfill God's Will for a Harmonious Marital Life*. Lagos: Achievers' Wisdom Publications, 2002.
17. Omomia, Austin. *Handling Common Marriage Problems*. Lagos: Christian Outreach Ministries, 1999.
18. Onwumere, Israel. 2003. *Biblical Marriage & Duties of Husband, Wife, Parents, Children, Masters, Servants in the Family, Church, Society*. Lagos: Israel Publishing Ventures, 2003.
19. Onyeme, Kenneth, and Mrs. Onyeme. *How to Find Your Life Partner: Finding God's Will in Marriage*. Lagos: Keneve Evangelistic Publications, 2002a.
20. _____. *30 Things Ladies Must Do to Attract Quick & Successful Marriage*. Lagos: Keneve Evangelistic Publications, 2002b.
21. _____. *What Every Lady Must Do to Avoid Late Marriage*. Lagos: Keneve Evangelistic Publications, 2003a.
22. _____. *Difficult Questions Singles Ask*. Lagos: Keneve Evangelistic Publications, 2003b.
23. Osakwe, Gem. *Honeymooning in the Home: Marriage Bliss Blossoming on Bible Truths*. Lagos: Ababa Press, 2003.
24. Oshewa, Olubanjo. *Your Marriage? How Prepared Are You?* Lagos: Concept Publications, 1999.
25. Oyedepo, Faith. *Making Marriage Work: Exploring Secrets of Success in Marriage*. Lagos: Dominion Publishing House, 1997.
26. Oyedepo, David, and Faith Oyedepo. *Success in Marriage*. Lagos: Dominion Publishing House, 1999.
27. Oyelowo, 'Doyin. *Purity before Marriage: Is It Old Fashioned?* Ikeja, Lagos: Christ Elect Assemblies Ministries.
28. Sam-Amaga, Love. *Secrets of Marital Bliss*. Lagos: Faith Publishers, 1st published 1994, 2nd-2000, 3rd-2002
29. Shoremi, James Ademola. *Handling Difficult Marriage*. Lagos: His Grace Publications, 2002.

Enugu (n=15)

1. Nwobi, Prudence. *Marriage and Family Counselling*. Enugu: PAN-Afric Communication, 1997.
2. Ochiagha, Chinenye. *Love before Marriage*. Enugu: Christian Services Publications, 1990.
3. Odunze, Don. *How to Prepare for Marriage*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1982.
4. _____. *Basics of a Successful Marriage*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1985.
5. _____. *How to Choose Your Marriage Mate*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1985.
6. _____. *The Marriage Killers*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, n.d.

7. _____. *The Devoted Husband*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, n.d.
8. _____. *Children, the Products of Marriage*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, n.d.
9. _____. *The Ideal Housewife*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1985.
10. _____. *My Answers to Marriage and Life's Questions*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1985.
11. _____. *10 Essential Steps to a Stable and Happy Marriage*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1986.
12. _____. *Handling Difficult Times in Marriage*. Enugu: Donze Family Circle Publications, 1990.
13. Ononyima, Taddeo. *Be a Good Wife*. [Enugu]: SNAAP Nig. Ltd, 1987. [Purchased at St. Gabriel's Bookshop, Ibadan.
14. _____. *Be a Good Husband*. [Enugu]: SNAAP Nig. Ltd, 1988. [Purchased at St. Gabriel's Bookshop, Ibadan).
15. Onyeacu, Vitalis. *Joy in Marriage*. Enugu: El-Shaddai Foods, Ltd.,

Kaduna (n=8)

1. Byat, Ayuba. *Questions and Answers on Marriage*. Kaduna: SGG Ventures Ltd., n.d.
2. Daurawa, Aminu. *99 Qualities of an Ideal Muslim Wife*. Kaduna: Rawluk Communications Ltd., 2009.
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