Contents

Maps ix
Acknowledgements x
Preface xi
Glossary xiii

BOOK ONE: State & Class

One
Introduction
An Encounter in Unhappy Valley 1
BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

Part I
Conquest 11

Two
The Conquest State of Kenya, 1895–1905 13
JOHN LONSDALE

Conquest: the investment of force 15
The highlanders of Kenya 19
State-building 1: the politics of conquest 21
State-building 2: the politics of control 31
State formation: the vulgarization of power 36
Notes 39
Contents

Three
The Politics of Conquest in Western Kenya, 1894–1908
JOHN LONSDALE 45

Notes 72

Part II

Contradictions & the Development of the Colonial State 75

Four
Coping with the Contradictions:
The Development of the Colonial State, 1895–1914 77
BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

The colonial state and the articulation of modes of production in the world system 78
Our foundations in Kenya’s historiography 82
Peasant production and the foundations of political control 84
Private capital, settlers and the state 88
African labour and the contradiction between estate and peasant production 91
Conclusions: the centrality of the state in the political economy of colonialism 94
Notes 95

Five
Crises of Accumulation, Coercion & the Colonial State:
The Development of the Labour Control System, 1919–29 101
BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

Introduction: explaining the form of the colonial state (1990) 101
Settler production, state coercion and African labour 104
Notes 122
Contents

Part III

Capitalism & the Colonial State in Theoretical & Comparative Perspective 127
Six
The Concept of 'Articulation' & the Political Economy of Colonialism 129
BRUCE BERMAN
Notes 138

Seven
Structure & Process in the Bureaucratic States of Colonial Africa 140
BRUCE BERMAN
Introduction 140
The colonial state as an agency of economic change: articulation and accumulation 145
The colonial state as an agency of political domination 151
Conclusion: centralization, development and the decline of the colonial state 163
Notes 167

Part IV

Pasts and Futures 177
Eight
Up From Structuralism 179
BRUCE BERMAN
Dependency theory and the temptations of structuralism 179
From systemic categories to historical processes: the colonial state as the product/determinant of contradiction and struggle 185
Beyond the limits of structuralism: culture, ideology and historical experience 198
Notes 201

Nine
African Pasts in Africa's Future 203
JOHN LONSDALE
Notes 219
Index to Books One and Two (In Book One only)
Contents

BOOK TWO: Violence & Ethnicity

Part V

Unhappy Valley
The State, Mau Mau & the Path to Violence 225

Ten
Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence:
Colonial Administration and the Origins of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency 227
BRUCE BERMANN
The Kenya Administration: discretion and rigidity 230
The administrator and African politics: protecting the ‘man in the blanket’ from the ‘man in trousers’ 237
Economic growth and the crisis of colonial administration 242
The Provincial Administration and the KAU: the escalating conflict 248
Incumbent authorities and collective violence 252
Notes 257

Eleven
The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: The Problem 265
JOHN LONSDALE
Purpose 265
Problem 269
Historiography 282
Notes 303

Twelve
The Moral Economy of Mau Mau:
Wealth, Poverty & Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought 315
JOHN LONSDALE
Argument 315
Evidence 317
Imperialism and nationalism 322
Nation and tribe 326
Tribe and class 350
Religion and politics 367
Terror 401
Past, present and future 461
Notes 468
Index i