In 1921, Frederick Lugard, now retired but still an influential member of the Colonial Service, published a review essay in *The Edinburgh Review* entitled “The Colour Problem.” One of the books in Lugard’s review, *The Rising Tide of Colour*, by the American Lothrop Stoddard, raised the prospect of “a pan-Coloured alliance for the universal overthrow of the white hegemony at a single stroke, a nightmare of race-war beside which the late struggle in Europe would seem the veriest child’s play,” a possibility Lugard did not dispute. Encouraged by Bolsheviks, who purportedly welcomed miscegenation as a means of bringing about communist revolution, “admixture with alien races” would bring about “the deterioration of the Nordic race-type” and ultimately annihilate the white races. “The union of opposite types, such as the Negro or Australoid with the Nordic,” Lugard noted, explaining Stoddard’s thesis, “rapidly tends to the elimination of the latter, owing to the prepotency of the black race.” As befitting a servant of empire, Lugard took the occasion of the review to pronounce “the true conception of the inter-relation of colour: complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve,” but, in the realm of the physical and the material, of the social and racial, “a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race-purity and race-pride.” The danger of annihilation of whites through inter-marriage with blacks necessitated the establishment of “drastic immigration laws.” “Only by rigidly guarding his frontiers, and by restriction of immigration, can he preserve his race purity and save himself from extinction,” Lugard asserted. As we saw in the last chapter, his concern with establishing boundaries designed to keep Africans and Europeans apart from one another was not new in 1921. What was
new in the years following the Great War was the association he made of boundary crossing with extinction.

The experiences of the Great War introduced a radically new element to the relations between British colonizers and their subjects, infusing older discourses about race and gender with a highly charged valence. In the interwar years of the twentieth century, racial and gendered transgressions took on a degree of danger they had not hitherto possessed, transforming what might have been regarded as social deaths into the possibility of existential annihilation.

The obsession with miscegenation, the violation of boundaries, and the need to establish barriers to stave off annihilation recalls the accounts by German Freikorps of their campaigns against communists and socialists in the years immediately following the war. The proto-fascist Freikorps member, argued Klaus Theweleit in Male Fantasies, dreaded communism as a source of dissolution of self. Representing a disavowal of distinctions between what is mine and what is yours; an effacing of private possessions, whether material or psychic, in a terrifying, “promiscuous mingling,” communism evoked the very terrors of being swamped, engulfed, and swallowed up posed by the working-class women who populated their writings, women who were virtually synonymous with prostitutes in the minds of the Freikorps. Communism bespoke “the mass,” an amorphous entity without boundaries or borders, into which one might sink and never come out again, in the same way that women announced the chaotic, unbounded, uncontrolled disorder of sexual desire and sexual excess. Both threatened the existence of the defined, definite individual self.

Theweleit’s claim that “the alien race appears...to be the most intense embodiment of the terrors represented by the mass” becomes crucial to our understanding of the British response to the Women’s War in 1929, as we will see in Chapter 7. The terrors of the mass could only be neutralized through the invocation of those traits that marked off the British colonial officer from Africans and women, and especially African women. In place of the messy, disorderly, chaotic impulses characterized by southeastern Nigerian women, the imperial Briton posited himself as a defined and structured autonomous individual. Maintenance of his own pure “race seems to protect him from disintegration,” Theweleit argued. Miscegenation, the collapsing of borders separating one race from another inferior one, on the other hand, “would inexorably cause him to disintegrate.” Unable to distinguish boundaries that delineate self from other, fearful that the boundaries that establish the integrity of the self have given way before the