

was not deemed to result from having two 'half-caste' parents but from having one who was 'full-blood' and one who was white. The 'half-caste' with two 'half-caste' parents shared with the three-quarters and the one-sixteenth non-categories the property of taking more than three generations to be bred white. Thus they were extending the life of the fringe-camp. In other words, the system sought to impose a negative or descending exogamy, a *nuhim* without exchange whose target was not black genes but Indigenous community, not physical but social relations.¹⁹³

Genetic arithmetic represents an obsessive form of applied structuralism in which anomaly can be proportionately expressed as the degree of overlap between two ideally discrete sets. Yet, since such a formula assumes symmetry, it ignores power (this is a major difference between academic structuralism and the official mentality that I am reconstructing here). For the whole point of assimilation was not that mixtures of black and white were anomalous. On the contrary, as the abductions demonstrate, it was quite acceptable to introduce black into the white. It was the converse – white augmenting the black – that was anathema. Though this asymmetry is simply an expression of the logic of the descending opposition, it also demonstrates that biology cannot have been the problem. If Aboriginal genes had really been believed defective, the system would not have sought to incorporate them into the white stock. Thus we need a refinement that can account for two concurrent oppositions: a real – asymmetrical or descending – opposition, together with its ideological disguise – a balanced polarity in which anything interstitial was anomalous.

The distinction in question is expressed in logic as the difference between a contradictory and a contrary opposition. A contradictory opposition includes the whole world and excludes middle terms. An example is white versus non-white. A contrary opposition admits middle terms. An example is white versus black. As the arithmetic of assimilation demonstrates, colour (or race) is a contrary opposition. It has degrees and proportions. Accordingly, it cannot account for the asymmetry whereby, though the category 'white' can stand admixture, the category 'black' cannot. As before, therefore, we should return to the relation of invasion, governed by the logic of elimination. Here, the opposition is straightforwardly contradictory: one or the other, invader or invaded. To specify the cultural logic of assimilationism in relatively formal terms, therefore, we can say that the asymmetry in the contrary (race/colour) opposition demonstrates the priority of the contradictory (invasion-related, zero-sum) opposition, with which the

at the Government aboriginal stations at Point Pearce and Point McLeay, in South Australia. This may be the beginning of a possible problem of the future. A very unfortunate situation would arise if a large half-caste population breeding within themselves eventually arose in any of the Australian states. It seems to me that there can be only one satisfactory solution to the half-caste problem, and that is the ultimate absorption of these persons in the white population' (Cleland in Commonwealth of Australia 1937: 10). Bleakley was consistently less concerned about this issue (see, e.g., 1961: 315). In his 1928 report to the Federal Government (Bleakley 1929: 17), he divided the inmates of the 'Half-Caste Bungalow' in Alice Springs into four categories rather than the original three recommendations that the 'three creature caste' be divided into 'Aboriginals'



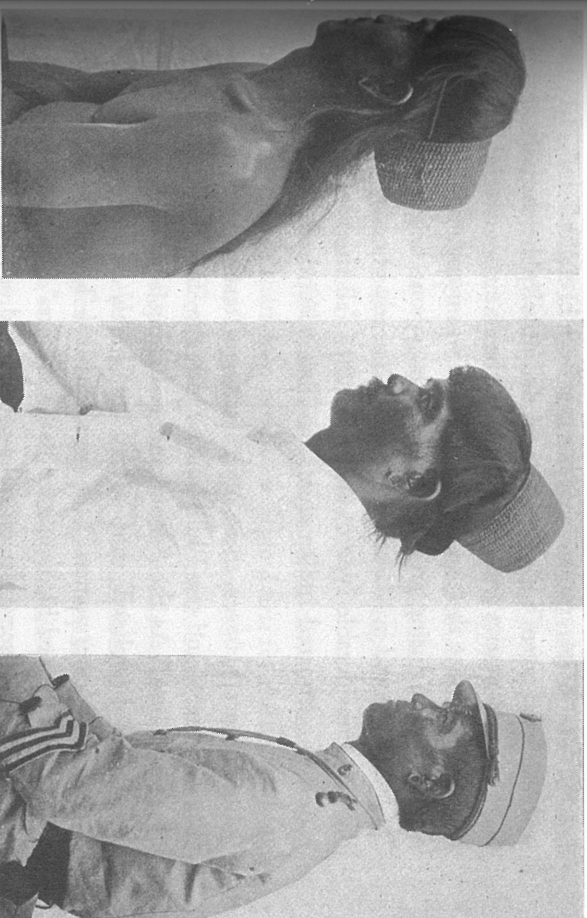
THREE GENERATIONS
(Reading from Right to Left)
1. Half-blood—(Irish-Australian father; full-blood Aboriginal mother).
2. Quarter-blood Daughter—(Father Australian born of Scottish parents; Mother No. 1).
3. Quarter-blood Grandson—(Father Australian of Irish descent; Mother No. 2).

Figure 8. From A.O. Neville's *Australia's Coloured Minority* (1947)

down through common service. While he had believed "unconquerable" the "well-known dislike of the Moro to eat with the Filipino, a feeling which is reciprocated with interest," eight months' experience showed that Muslims, Christians, and animists "amalgamate with but little friction," and separate messes had been abolished. Harbord noted proudly that in the Constabulary, what he called "tribal lines" were "disappearing."⁵⁷

Narratives of upbuilding, capacity, and homogenization within Filipino military units were enfolded in a much-reproduced photographic series generated by Dean Worcester, probably in the early 1910s. Drawing on familiar before-and-after genres common to U.S. reform literature, it featured three successive profile shots of the same Igorot man at progressive stages. In the first, leftmost image, the man slouches shirtless, wearing only a small woven hat on the back of his head. In the second, he sits further upright, dressed in the white cotton uniform of a low-ranking Constabulary officer, ostensibly two years later. In the third, an additional two years later, he sits fully erect in a lieutenant's uniform. The series vividly brought together in a single cartoon the overlapping definitions of imperial progress. It was an image of collaboration as civilization that implicitly referred back to the terrors of the war: here was a "savage" who, far from eluding U.S. soldiers, was becoming one. The series was also a narrative of imperial masculinization, of a child-race developing into erect, martial manhood. As some Filipino nationalists might have noted, it was an image that—as had the popular reception of the Philippine Exposition at St. Louis—dangerously blurred the lines between Christians and non-Christians: read backwards, it suggested that just beneath the surface of every civilized Filipino remained a savage one. Perhaps most subtly, the series put the Constabulary at the center of accounts of the emerging Philippine nation, representing progress among Filipinos as a whole.⁵⁸

Philippine Constabularymen and Scouts were not only representative of an "evolving" Filipino polity but played an increasingly important role in the self-representation of the United States itself. Their symbolic use would reveal the ways that nation-building in the Philippines and the United States were mutually constitutive projects. Philippine Scouts brought from the world's fair in St. Louis, for example, played a notable part in Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural ceremonies on March 4, 1905. The *New York Times* described the day both as unprecedented, with pageants that had "never been equaled in Presidential inaugurations," and as deeply nationalizing, having "attracted the greatest outside crowd to the



EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE CONSTABULARY.

1. Bombo Igorot on entering the service, 1901. 2. After a year's service, 1902.
3. After two years' service, 1903.

This photographic series, labelled "Educational Value of the Constabulary," taken by Dean Worcester supposedly over several years, crystallizes many of the key elements of the U.S. colonial racial formation in the Philippines, with its progressive, evolutionary sequence; its transformation of "savagery" into "civilization"; its masculinization and "upbuilding" of its slouching subject into an upright man; and its equivalence of civilization and political collaboration, in this case through the Philippine Constabulary. The image works simultaneously through posture, dress, and haircut to reinforce messages of assimilation as well as homogenization; nation-building is represented as the eradication of difference between Philippine peoples. Reproduced from Chamberlin, *Philippine Problem*, 1898–1913, with permission of The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.