1.

Marriage in Early New Zealand

Contradictory accounts of interracial relationships characterise their history in New Zealand, beginning with the very first meetings between Pākehā and Māori in the decades before 1840. Cross-cultural intimacies forged during the period 1769 to 1840 have been variously characterised as fleeting and casual encounters, temporary or seasonal marriages, a form of sexual hospitality, a feature of an established 'sex industry', or monogamous relationships based on affection following the forms and conventions of Māori marriage traditions. Intimate relationships certainly encompassed a great variety of forms and practices in early meetings, and these were largely reflective of the differing circumstances under which interracial sex could take place prior to 1840, as well as the intensity and duration of cross-cultural contact over that period. This diversity was not always obvious to visitors, who tended to apply western understandings of morality and marriage to indigenous cultures. To them, Māori marriage customs were a commercial transaction lacking in emotion or romantic love, while the acceptance of pre-marital sex fostered a view that fathers, brothers and uncles traded women for goods.[1] Europeans saw an absence of a marriage rite and so-called 'easy divorce' as further evidence of Māori sexual immorality, going so far as to describe interracial relationships as prostitution.

Into this world entered traders and sailors, who settled onshore on a semi-permanent basis, and built up intimate ties with Māori women. Their work in the extractive, resource-based timber, shipping and whaling industries was connected to a trade in goods, as well as in women's bodies. As we shall see, while several different forms of marital patterns existed alongside each other in the decades prior to 1840, the most common form was temporary marriage, which lasted as long as the ship was in port, and tended to be monogamous in character and affectionate in nature. A 'sex trade' and love matches could exist within the same culture, and Māori used both to govern newcomers, but they also welcomed formal alliances through marriage, in a manner that followed recognisable local practices and rituals. By 1840, when around two thousand mostly male newcomers had settled on the land and created communities, a particular marriage culture had evolved that followed Māori marriage customs, but also drew upon practices from the maritime world, which were more civil than religious in form and spirit.

Voyagers and visitors

From the moment Poverty Bay was sighted by James Cook and his crew on 6 October 1769, newcomers associated Māori sexual behaviour with a set of 'degrading' practices, including polygamy and 'easy divorce'. During a six-month circumnavigation of New Zealand's coastline, Cook and his crew spent 56 days onshore. The scientific objectives of the voyage required long periods at anchor to allow for the gathering of data, which happened with regularity, and the time on land offered ample opportunity to observe local women and sexual customs.[2] These early meetings were tentative, and cautious, and were characterised by sexual propriety and decency, with visitors careful to follow the customs of the local people. Joseph Banks observed that

> such of our People who had a mind to form any connections with the Women found that they were not impregnable if the consent of their relations was asked, & the Question accompanied with a proper present it was seldom refused, but then the strictest decency must be kept up towards the Young Lady or she might baulk the lover after all.[3]

Women were cautious of the strangers.[4] At Tolaga Bay, Banks described the local women 'as great coquets as any Europeans could be, & the Young ones as skittish as unbroken fillies'.[5] Young women were able to exert a measure of sexual freedom, but married women were off limits. French explorer Marion du Fresne, who spent April to July 1772 in the Bay of Islands and communicated with local Māori in the Tahitian language, was warned against them.[6]

Despite some uncertainty, communities of Māori were interested in these strangers and their goods, and were hospitable and willing to interact and to trade. But while men could arrange for a measure of comfort if they followed local custom, not all prospective suitors were successful. When anchored at Totaranui in February 1770, Banks observed that

> One of our Gentlemen came home to Day abusing the Natives most heartily, whom he said he had found to be given to the detestable vice of Sodomy; he, he said, had been with a family of Indians [Māori], & paid a price for leave to make his addresses to any one Young Woman they should pitch upon for him; one was chose as he thought who willingly retired with him, but on examination prov'd to be a Boy, that on his returning & complaining of this another was sent who turned out to be a Boy likewise; that on his second complaint he could get no redress but was laught at by the Indians: Far be it from me to attempt saying that that Vice is not practised here; this however I must say, that in my humble opinion this Story proves no more than our Gentleman was fairly trick'd out of his Cloth, which none of the Young Ladies chose to accept of on his terms, & the Master of the family did not chuse to part with.[7]

Historian Chris Brickell cautions against use of this as evidence of Māori acceptance of homosexuality, but this intimate moment does demonstrate some of the rules, community restrictions and protocols placed upon sexual behaviour.[8] Premarital sex was allowed, but it had to be sanctioned, carefully negotiated and a gift given that was commensurable with the rank of the young lady. The terms of negotiation were also clearly set by Māori, not the newcomers, even if this was not clear to the suitor at the time.

While some travellers emphasised Māori women's modesty and decency, others routinely asserted their immorality. In 1769 French officers on the *Saint Jean Baptiste* found the dances of welcome, an important part of hospitality,

'indecent' in gesture and movement, designed to 'entice' and 'stimulate the indifference of the European spectators'.[9] When the *Resolution* anchored at Totaranui in 1773, Cook thought the women's displays of indecency and immodesty were encouraged by his crew, who 'are the chief promoters of this vice, and for a spike nail or any other thing they value will oblige their wives and daughters to prostitute themselves whether they will or no and that not with the privicy decency seems to require, such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans'.[10] In 1778 the HMS *Adventure* anchored at Queen Charlotte Sound. Again, a variety of encounters with women took place, encompassing modesty and caution on the one hand and sanctioned sex on the other.[11] Transactional sex seemed to be available too, as the women 'offer'd themselves for sale with as much ease & assurance as the best Strand walker in London, and indeed during our Continuance there, we found them the cheapest kind of traffick we could deal in'.[12]

To some observers this exchange of goods equated to a sex trade, while others regarded these transactions as forms of marriage in which intimate and affective bonds were sometimes forged. One sailor on the *Discovery* formed a mutual attachment with a young woman that was characterised by little verbal communication but much tender tactility and a desire for co-habitation.[13] The scientist George Forster, who was on board the *Resolution* in 1773, noted how one young woman was 'regularly given in marriage by her parents to one of our shipmates' and that she was 'faithful to her husband' in 'rejecting the addresses of other seamen, professing herself a married woman'.[14] John Ledyard, corporal of the marines on the *Resolution*, discovered that one of his men had decided to become tattooed, because 'he was conscious that to ornament his person in the fashion of New Zealand would still recommend him more to his mistress and the country he was in'.[15] When *The Prince Regent* was about to leave northern New Zealand in 1820, after ten months in the country, the women on the ship were ordered off after having 'lived on board and with the same persons since we returned from Shukehanga [Hokianga]. They imitated as far as they could the English manner of dress, conformed themselves to English customs, and showed as much regard for their protectors as they could for their real husbands.'[16] Some men chose to desert ship for their partner. When Robert Hill's vessel was at anchor at Whangaroa, he absconded and was welcomed into the community. On being recaptured, he was placed

in custody but disappeared again. He was eventually found in a hut embracing his lover, 'crying and sobbing in the same melancholy manner as is customary with these islanders after a separation of any length of time'.[17]

As more ships visited the Bay of Islands, and more of them stayed for longer periods of time, the character of interracial relationships changed and monogamy became a defining feature of the accounts.[18] In May 1820 the *Dromedary* and *Coromandel* arrived in the Bay of Islands, carrying missionaries as well as trade goods.[19] Anglican missionaries, by this time firmly established in the northern reaches of the country, linked women's supposed sexual degradation to Māori men's desire for muskets.[20] Ships officers and crew had a very different experience. In his statement that 'several women lived on board' the *Dromedary*, Alexander McRae pointed to the practice of temporary marriage.[21] Dr Fairfowl, who was also on the *Dromedary*, witnessed chiefs 'offer[ing] their sisters and daughters for prostitution', but noted that they 'expect a present in return'.[22] One of the core features of Māori marriage is the gift-exchange, but this practice incited contradictory interpretations of marital culture when it was witnessed by outsiders. Where some visitors saw it as evidence of the cementing of an affectionate bond, others saw it as prostitution. Gift-exchange was a normal rite followed in Māori marriage custom, and its presence in the establishment of these short-term relationships suggests that they were socially sanctioned and were limited to unmarried women.

Short-term gain made through temporary marriages in the form of goods was acceptable as long as it did not affect the future prospects of a young woman. In one case, the son of a master of a vessel was publicly accused of attempting to seduce the sister-in-law of a chief.[23] She claimed that 'one of the sailors had given her a nail, and promised her another, if she would consent to grant him certain favours; but she refused, and would not by any means be prevailed upon, telling him, she was the wife of another man, and consequently tabooed [tapu]. She confessed, however, that she kept the nail the man had given her; but persisted in declaring that no criminal connection had taken place between them.'[24] The offer or acceptance of goods did not equate with a sanctioned relationship in this instance, and nor did it always in fact indicate that a sexual encounter had occurred.

Although many observers regularly portrayed Māori women as subject to coercion from men to have sex, it appears that they had a certain degree of

autonomy in entering these relationships: they could reject offers, they could encourage a relationship, and they could also negotiate personal and material conditions before committing to a partner. However, it is difficult to make generalisations about the degree to which women had control over these encounters,[25] as the available archives, written mainly by elite white men, leave the historian with a very uneven record in which Māori women are described and acted upon, rather than being autonomous individuals with their own desires. In addition, there is the question of coercion of Māori women by their own kin. Research by Bruce Biggs, Berys Heuer, Kathryn Rountree and Anne Salmond has found that family and community monitored women's relationships, and the amount of control or choice a woman had in these situations was connected to her social rank.[26]

Short-term visitors to northern New Zealand in the 1830s continued to define interracial sexual relationships as casual and commercial in character. In 1834 W. B. Marshall found 'a country where chastity is not esteemed a virtue in the unmarried female'.[27] He claimed that transactional sex was common at Kororāreka (Russell) and was 'carried out under the immediate sanction of the masters of ships belonging to England and her colonies'.[28] Edward Markham sojourned at Hokianga and the Bay of Islands for nine months in the early 1830s, and regarded Māori women as sexually lax and promiscuous, a state of affairs he felt was encouraged by male relatives for commercial gain 'as they [the Stranger, or White man] give the Father a Musket or the Mother a Blanket'.[29]

We cannot dismiss the possibility of a sex trade existing in early New Zealand. An argument that the mere existence of a form of gift-exchange within these early negotiations indicates that the relationship established was a 'marriage' is too simplistic. In his work on cross-cultural encounters at Hauraki, Paul Monin found that two main forms of gift-exchange co-existed, functioning as a form of barter and sale on the one hand, in which exchanges of material goods could take place on the spot, while the other involved negotiation and drew the recipient into a set of social relationships, duties and obligations.[30] Because gift-exchange could be both a communal and an individual practice, sexual relationships could also be negotiated in a similar manner.[31] When Edward Markham gave a shirt to the father, a box of lucifers to the mother and a 'handkerchief to the young lady herself', he was drawn temporarily into a nexus of social obligations, but direct exchange was also possible, as when he gave a woman 'pipes and tobacco'.[32]

Sex was also more likely to be treated as a commodity when the woman was not of chiefly rank.[33] From the 1830s, when traders and whalers set up onshore for a stretch of months or years, and many for life, the social functions of gift-exchange became more significant as the cement of long-term relationships, which tended to follow the form of customary marriage and to draw newcomers into Māori families and communities.

Settling on the land

The scientific voyages of the late eighteenth century were superseded by the arrival of ships and crew with commercial objectives in mind, drawn by the extractive industries of flax, sealing, whaling and the timber trade. From the early 1800s whaling vessels and British naval ships called into northern harbours for provisions and timber. About 50 ships visited northern parts of the country between 1806 and 1810, increasing to 92 between 1815 and 1822, followed by a substantial increase in the 1830s as the colonial whaling trade matured.[34] Some men took the opportunity to abandon ship. *The Hunter*, out of Port Jackson (Sydney), visited Hauraki for timber spars in 1799, and several men stayed on in the region rather than go to India, including Thomas Taylor, who entered into a relationship with a local woman.[35] *El Plumier* and the *Royal Admiral* arrived in Hauraki in March and April 1801 respectively, and both encountered Taylor, who provided information as well as assistance to them.[36] In 1804 the *Lady Nelson* anchored at a bay opposite the Cavalli Islands, where a prisoner, James Cavanagh, absconded.[37]

Taylor and Cavanagh were part of a small group of men living with Māori in the early decades of the nineteenth century who were popularly known as Pākehā-Māori. Others such as Jacky Marmon, Barnet Burns and John Rutherford were welcomed into Māori communities once they proved their worth. Prior to 1824 Pākehā-Māori lived with tribes on sufferance or as captives, that is, if they managed to survive in the first place.[38] With the introduction of muskets into tribal warfare from the mid-1820s, their status increased as their knowledge and skills became useful, when they fought alongside people who were now their kin and acted as mediators between cultures. Many of these men accepted marriage, which was a common feature of their life in New Zealand, primarily because it tied them to a patron and gave them protection.[39]

While the timber trade was getting established in northern New Zealand, sealing gangs entered Foveaux Strait at the southern end of the country. Men were dropped off and left for a period that could range from months to several years, giving them plenty of scope to form relationships with local communities, whether economic, affective or both. Just like Pākehā-Māori, these men were able to survive in an inhospitable environment because of their intimate relationships, which gave them protection during moments of danger. Sealer Jack Price owed his life to his wife, Hinewhitia, with whom he was living at Pahia, Foveaux Strait, in 1826.[40] Rising tensions between Price and a competing trader, Robert Kent, caused Price to act rashly. He sullied Kent's reputation amongst Ruapuke Māori, insinuating he was a slave and a man with no authority. Luckily for Price, Hinewhitia's high status prevented the situation from escalating: any attack on her husband would have constituted an attack on her powerful family at Otago and would thus have required a commensurate action in response.[41]

Sealers were small in number and the industry fleeting. It was whaling, and initially bay whaling, as well as the associated timber trade, that brought the largest number of newcomers to New Zealand. Six whaling ships were reported to be active in northern New Zealand in 1801.[42] With its sheltered harbours and mild climate, the Bay of Islands was popular amongst bay whalers who customarily dropped anchor offshore in search of whales and processed their catch on board ship. Bay whalers were highly mobile, often calling into ports to pick up provisions or for relaxation, with stays ranging from a few days, to weeks or months.

By the late 1820s bay whaling had given way to shore whaling, which greatly expanded in the 1830s. Requiring men to live onshore, the industry encouraged the creation of trading posts at port-based communities, and attracted a semi-permanent population to them, often living alongside or with Māori. This expansion occurred as Sydney and Hobart owners entered the industry and looked further afield to build stations. They found the shores of New Zealand ideal: these trading posts could be outfitted and staffed with ease from New South Wales or Tasmania, goods could be safely stored and the oil uplifted on a regular basis. In the North Island, stations were established along the Kapiti coast, in the Hawke's Bay, and along the Waikato and Taranaki coastlines. In the South Island, they proliferated in the far south, at the Marlborough Sounds, and at Banks Peninsula. Whaling stations also operated out of the Chatham Islands.

By 1844 there were 32 stations operating along New Zealand's coasts employing 650 men in all.[43] By 1847 there were reported to be at least 800 men employed at the whaling 'colonies' around Cook Strait alone.[44]

In northern New Zealand a range of extractive industries attracted semi-permanent settlement. By 1835 missionary William Yate found several industries flourishing near harbours around the northern parts of the country, including flax trading at Kāwhia and Thames, and timber trading at the Hokianga, with many more men attached to the trade as agents or provisioners.[45] These men founded small settlements, some with comfortable surroundings. At Hokianga eleven sawyers had settled at Mangamuka in 1834, where they lived in 'mostly weather boarded and lined' houses, 'some of them very nice'.[46] These men were attached to the busy shipbuilding yard at Te Horeke, established in the mid-1820s by Sydney-based merchants looking to profit from the increasing number of ships coming into the Hokianga harbour. In November 1827 Augustus Earle described it as a 'snug little colony' made up of stores, dockyards and private homes.[47] By 1836 there were 90 men living along the banks of the harbour associated in some way with the shipbuilding industry. Ten years later the population had expanded considerably, with 537 Europeans in residence, a number of whom were married to Māori women, and 92 'half-castes' living in the Hokianga and the Bay of Islands.[48]

Maritime trades connected ports and brought worlds into contact and conflict, and also settled newcomers on the land. Men from a range of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds came together at shore whaling and trading stations. While the majority were of British, Irish or Australian origin, New Englanders, Portuguese, South-east Asians, Native Americans and African Americans, Canadians, West Indians and Polynesians also staffed the stations. In 1846 missionary Johannes Wohlers described the set of men living and working in southern New Zealand, where numerous whaling stations had been established, as cosmopolitan in character. To describe them as 'European does not seem to me correctly applicable', he wrote, 'because some of these Pakeha are Americans, Australians and Tahitian Islanders'.[49] American whaler George Stubbs worked out of Kapiti. There were French whalers based on Banks Peninsula and the East Cape, while part-Aboriginal whalers Thomas Chaseland and Ned Tomlin worked at Otago and Hawke's Bay stations respectively. Dutchman James Wynen was based at Port Underwood

before going into trading on his own account; another Dutchman, William Kento, was based on the East Coast; Austrian Frederick Sturm whaled out of Mahia; and William Low, from Antigua, worked at the Taieri station in Otago. Also in Otago were William Apes, a Native American of the Pequot tribe, and Spanish sailor Emmanuel King who worked out of Moeraki. African American John Williams lived with his wife Auwahine at Ōtākou; and further south, John Hunter, who settled at The Neck on Stewart Island, is believed to have been of native Canadian ancestry.[50]

Moving the business of whaling and trading as well as numerous men onto shore on a more permanent footing required careful negotiation, and the acknowledgement that Māori controlled the economic fate of these newcomers as well as their personal safety. Marriage became one of the most important ways in which this transition took place, and along with this came the application of marriage custom to newcomers in a more extensive way than previously. Indeed, all employees of a station, ranging from the manager, through to the clerk, coopers, carpenters and lower ranked sailors, were drawn into communities through marriage. So widespread was interracial marriage at the settlement of Ōtākou, for instance, that surveyor J. W. Barnicoat found there 'were no women they told us belonging to the village [in 1844], probably from the same cause as elsewhere – the whites intermarrying with native women'.[51]

Māori marriage

Marriage came about in Māori society through several processes. One could gain a husband or wife by choice; through political alliance, usually in the form of taumau (the betrothal of children); or through the custom of muru (plunder) or during war by the taking of captives. Māori ethnographer and anthropologist Mākereti Papakura characterises most marriages in Māori society as 'love matches', and women from all classes (except captives) could choose their partners.[52] But even when a couple fell in love, some form of family consent and community agreement to the relationship were still usually required, and a great deal of thought and careful consideration went into arranging such unions.[53] There were also times when chiefly families sought to forge political ties through the practice of taumau, or to use marriage to bring peace between tribes. Betrothals were negotiated by communities, and

were often intertribal: out-marriage was sometimes desired, particularly if the relationship brought advantage to a tribe, hapū or family, and helped to forge or further strengthen economic and political ties.[54]

Other marriages were formalised through the custom of muru of a man's goods. Primarily because marriage played important social, political and economic functions in tribal society, Māori frowned upon any action that could possibly disrupt a betrothal or marriage, cause political strife or upset finely balanced relationships. In order to resolve tensions, they used a number of social controls and procedures to deal with violation of marriage custom or an insult to the prestige of a family. Illicit encounters, particularly pūremu (adultery), were a 'legitimate cause (take) for retaliating against the offenders and collecting compensation', which usually involved the taking of property by muru.[55] According to the ethnographer Elsdon Best enacting muru enabled a community to legitimise a relationship that had not been 'proposed, discussed, and arranged', and meant compensation could be gained.[56]

No matter the rank of an individual or the circumstances of the marriage, the pākūwhā (marriage ceremony) normally involved negotiation between families, gift-exchange to cement the agreement, and feasting after the formal handing over of the bride. This was the framework in which interracial marriages took place, and they tended to follow the practices set out under Māori custom, requiring at the very least public acceptance of the couple and gift-giving to confirm the marriage.

Historians have debated the extent to which marriages forged between Māori and traders or whalers in the pre-1840 decades were simply strategic alliances, simple commercial transactions devoid of love or affection. There were many reasons why male newcomers welcomed marriages, with most couples coming together for a combination of love, comfort, politics and pragmatic need. While visiting northern settlements in the early 1830s, Edward Markham concluded that arrangements between interracial couples there were entered into for pragmatic reasons, to secure the safety of men so they were 'not robbed or molested', in addition to offering domestic comfort and a cure to loneliness. Sentiment was also part of the equation, for Māori women sometimes made their own choices and would 'suffer incredible persecution for the men they live with'.[57] Marriage certainly helped some individual traders to gain an economic footing and social prominence. American William

Webster, through social connections and strategic marriage, developed a 'trading empire' along the Coromandel coastline, importing European goods and exporting potatoes, flax and timber for Sydney firm Abercrombie and Bagle.[58]

Whalers recognised the political importance of these alliances, as well as the practical support and value of Māori women to the commercial success of stations. John Lees Faulkner and his wife Ruawahine operated as successful trading partners at Tauranga. Te Ua, the niece of Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha, was a 'skilled boat woman' who worked on the whaling boats at Marlborough Sounds, and 'brought her people to work for [her husband Joseph] Toms'.[59] Marlborough Sounds whalers James Heberley, Dicky Barrett, John Love and William Keenan all married high-ranking Māori women as 'a matter of politics as well as comfort'.[60] Managers and owners of whaling stations also preferred their employees to marry, because it gave them a settled and stable workforce, while also reducing the possibility that sexual indiscretions could upset local politics or be a cause for offence.[61]

Whalers and traders needed to marry well, for a good marriage gave them protection, a patron and land. Generally, it seems as if marriage and rank coincided in the whaling and timber trades, as it did customarily with Māori couples. In northern New Zealand the artist George French Angas discovered that women of the 'better class', including daughters of chiefs, 'frequently form matrimonial alliances with Europeans'.[62] Managers of whaling and trading stations tended to marry into the upper ranks of Māori society, as did storekeepers, clerks or headsmen. Edward Weller, a skilled whaler and manager-owner of a network of stations in Otago and Canterbury, married Paparu, the daughter of a respected Ōtākou leader, Tahutu. His second wife was Nikuru, the daughter of chief Taiaroa. Weller's storekeeper, Octavius Harwood, also married well in 1839, to Titapu, the daughter of chief Pokene.[63] These patterns can be seen at most whaling and trading stations across the country in the 1830s.

When it came to getting married, whalers and traders followed the rites associated with pākūwhā, notably gift-exchange. In 1830 James Heberley joined Jacky Guard's whaling operation at Port Underwood, where he married Mata Te Naihi (Te Āti Awa): 'I bought her for a blanket, she was not a slave, it is a rule to give something to their friends. I then took her to Te Awaiti, and she has raised a large family, we got married as soon as the missionary came amongst us.'[64] Irishman James Berghan, a trader at Mangonui, married the daughter of

chief Ururoa in 1836 and on 31 May that year gave the community 520 pounds of tobacco, one keg of powder, three blankets, a pair of trousers and cash, 'for a piece or parcel of land between Mongonui and Wangaroa'.[65] John Wade (Hake Marama) 'purchased' land near Rangiriri in 1840, which he claimed to have 'paid [for] in trade goods'. He was then living with 'Harata, a daughter of Wetere's', but the land was not sold to him, rather it was gifted to them upon marriage.[66] The gifting of land was an acknowledgement of the relationship, but the acceptance of it required a commensurate gift in response from the husband, and this was often made in the form of goods, a practice that Heberley, Berghan and Wade closely followed, making them typical of the trading and whaling era. Here, Māori established and controlled the terms of engagement.

Those of lesser rank, and especially men with little wealth to their name, followed the alternative conjugal practices of British common-law marriage that were typical of seasonal-based industries. Where men were employed in itinerant industries, particularly maritime trades, the practice of temporary marriage was common, but these were not simply casual relationships; instead, claims historian John Gillis, monogamy prevailed for as long as men lived there.[67] In whaling society, marriages followed these common-law traditions, being secular rather than religious in nature. According to colonial official Edward Shortland, who toured the east coast of the South Island in 1844 and visited many whaling stations in his role as Sub-Protector of Aborigines, couples followed a simple marriage liturgy where the traditional promise to love, honour and obey also included defined responsibilities and duties. A woman vowed fidelity and to dispense hospitality, while a man promised to treat her with kindness, to share resources with her kin and to support the interests of her tribe.[68] These marital arrangements tended to follow the protocol of the community, 'guided by well-defined laws and customs'.[69]

However, not all observers saw marriages made during the whaling and trading era in this light. John B. Williams, the US Consul stationed at Kororāreka, described that community in 1844 as rife with drunkenness and sin, where the beach hosted 'a mixture of nations. They may be mongrel, they may be Creole, they may be bronze, they may be black or may perchance to be white. What a diversity of colors in their frail compositions. All these colored skins.'[70] In the mix of this cosmopolitan population, Williams encountered a marriage culture with its own rites and practices. To him, the