

These resources developed by Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, 1550 – 1700 are free to download and use. However, we would appreciate your feedback in the questionnaire here (<https://goo.gl/forms/OB4qDaKujnwyEh5P2>), which will be invaluable in supporting the further funding and development of such resources and associated events.

About the TIDE project (Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, 1550 – 1700)

TIDE (Travel, Transculturality, and Identity in England, 1550 – 1700) is a five-year project funded by the European Research Council and hosted at the School of the Arts, University of Liverpool. The project brings together an international, multilingual, and multidisciplinary group of researchers, whose task is to investigate how England perceived and responded to those who moved between or across languages, nations, religions, and cultures in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Throughout this period, the English realm was as much a destination as it was a point of departure. French and Dutch Protestants arrived in their hundreds and transformed the nature of English industry, even as the English geographer Richard Hakluyt advocated the establishment of colonies in North and South America. English and Continental European responses developed in tandem with each other when it came to tackling the problem of transcultural movement and migration – travellers and displaced figures, whether exiles, labourers, or refugees, Gypsies or Africans, were marked by their ‘betweenness’, either in terms of racial or ethnic identity, religion or language. And these demarcations and stereotypes took form, the ways in which individuals thought about difference – between countries, between races, between a human being from this part of the world and one from another – developed rapidly as well, and began to take recognisable shapes and forms.

This is an active and growing field of scholarship. We are increasingly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, attending to the impact of such cross-cultural encounters from a number of disciplinary perspectives. However, in a field that tends to be framed predominantly in terms of cultural clash and boundaries, there is both room and a need to explore a different perspective, one that allows us to understand the full implications of transculturality and betweenness. In a period marked by mobility, what did it mean to belong, or not to belong? What did it mean to move between cultures, countries, languages, faiths? How did you see yourself, and how did others see you, when you did so? Were assimilation and segregation the only two options available? Could one not be both this and that, a third thing, both part of the world one had left and the world one occupied?

By examining how different discourses tackled the fraught question of human identity in this era, TIDE aims to open a new perspective on encounters between people of different countries, traditions, and belief systems. The project will produce new knowledge about the unique role played by literature. Even as the project illuminates how some of our key concepts of cultural difference and identity took place in a historic context, that research is being used by award-winning authors to generate new literature about our encounters with those same issues today.

In addition to our historical research, and our work with contemporary writers including Fred d’Aguiar, Sarah Howe, and Nikesh Shukla, TIDE is involved in a range of public engagement activities that operate in three key areas:

- **Education and Policy:** This includes working with schools and policy makers on influencing the national curriculum and collaborating with think tanks on their reports and publications.
- **Literature and Culture:** This comprises exciting new writing initiatives, local museum outreach through workshops and temporary exhibits, working with theatre companies, and creating larger networks of collaboration with national and international museums.
- **Community and Society:** TIDE aims to liaise with local trusts, higher education widening participation schemes, and community groups and programmes to confront ongoing issues of transculturality and belonging.

You can visit our website, www.tideproject.uk, and follow us on Twitter @ERC_TIDE



Letter by John Smith to Queen Anne, included in his General History of Virginia (1624)

The small time I stayed in London, divers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with me to see her, that generally concluded, they did think [...] they have seen many English ladies worse favoured, proportioned, and behavioured, and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queen Majesty honourably to esteem [Pocahontas] both publicly at the masques and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have deserved [...]. Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe [Pocahontas] the service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her [...] She remembered mee well [...] saying, 'You did promise [my father] Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I [call you 'father']'. But I durst not allow her that title, because she was a King's daughter; with a well-set countenance, she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's Countrie, and cause feare in him and all his people (but mee), and [yet] feare you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so will I be for ever and ever your Countryman.'



OBJECTIVES

- To learn about English involvement in the 'first empire' in the Atlantic, including firsthand encounters between the English and Native American groups
- To integrate English ideas about cultural 'others' within a broader understanding of Tudor and Stuart concepts of social and political life.
- To discuss cultural relativism and bias in historical sources.
- To examine English responses to world cultures in the early modern era.
- To situate English writings about Native American beliefs into a wider narrative of Christian/non-Christian global encounters.

TEXTUAL DISCUSSION POINTS

- Who were John Smith, Pocahontas, and Queen Anne?
- When did Pocahontas visit England?
- Is it possible to know Pocahontas' thoughts and feelings in this letter? Are there any dangers in assuming we can know such things from this document?

WIDER RELEVANCE DISCUSSIONS

- Think about how different cultures preserve their identities and beliefs. What are the disadvantages of studying Native Americans (who have oral cultures) through English writings, for example? How can different pieces of evidence (buildings, clothes, poems) tell us different things about history?
- How can historical examples of English encounters with non-Christian religions help us engage with different belief systems and socio-political issues in Britain today?
- In what ways does investigating long-standing relations between different faiths and peoples help us question some of the rhetoric of contemporary media discourse?

FURTHER RESOURCES

- Maps and first-hand accounts of life in the early Virginia colony: http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html
- John White's watercolours of Algonquians, painted in Roanoke (modern-day North Carolina) in the mid-1580s: http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/jamestown.html
- Untold stories of generations of migrants: www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk

ACTIVITIES*

- How stories develop: what happens when different groups of students are given the bare-bone elements of a story and asked to write a narrative from different points of view? What do they keep, expand, ignore? What happens when another group uses that story to then write their own?
- Questioning sources and historical bias: compare John Rolfe's 'love letter' to the Mattaponi account of Pocahontas' kidnapping and conversion.
- Watch clips from the 1995 Disney film, Pocahontas. Ask pupils for their general impressions about these clips before, and after, discussing the English colonization of Virginia. How do their responses and reactions change as a result of reading excerpts from John Smith, John Rolfe, and Mattaponi/Native elders?
- Use English sources discussing Native American spirituality, Hinduism, Judaism, and Islam to engage with the English awareness of different world religions in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.

*Relevant sources included in the sample selection of additional material

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Pocahontas - Lesson/Activities

Letter by John Smith to Queen Anne, included in his *General History of Virginia* (1624)

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Textual discussion points:

- Who were John Smith, Pocahontas, and Queen Anne?
- When did Pocahontas visit England?
- Is it possible to know Pocahontas' thoughts and feelings in this letter? Are there any dangers in assuming we can know such things from this document?

Wider relevance discussions:

- Think about how different cultures preserve their identities and beliefs -- what are the disadvantages of studying Native Americans (who have oral cultures) through English writings, for example? How can different pieces of evidence (buildings, clothes, poems) tell us different things about history?
- How can historical examples of English encounters with non-Christian religions help us engage with different belief systems and socio-political issues in Britain today? In what ways does investigating long-standing relations between

different faiths and peoples help us question some of the rhetoric of contemporary media discourse?

Activities (relevant sources included below):

- Understanding how stories develop: what happens when different groups of students are given the barebone elements of a story and asked to 'write' the story from different points of view? What do they keep, expand, ignore? What happens when another group uses that second story as the basis to write their own?
- Questioning sources and historical bias: compare John Rolfe's 'love letter' about Pocahontas (they were married in 1614) to the Mattaponi account of Pocahontas' kidnapping and conversion
- Media: watch clips from the 1995 Disney film, *Pocahontas*. Ask pupils about their general impressions about these clips before, and after, discussing the English colonization of Virginia. How do their responses and reactions change as a result of reading excerpts by John Smith, John Rolfe, and by Mattaponi/Native elders in their version of events?
- Use English sources discussing Native American spirituality, Hinduism, Judaism, and Islam to engage with the English awareness of different world religions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Further resources:

- Virtual Jamestown website, including maps and first-hand accounts of life in the early Virginia colony, http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html
- John White's watercolours of Algonquians, painted in Roanoke (modern-day North Carolina) in the mid-1580s
http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/jamestown.html
- Pocahontas story on www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk ('An American Princess in London')
- Short video by anthropologists showing Pocahontas' descendants visiting the British Museum, <https://vimeo.com/11765396>

Pocahontas - Additional Material

Images of Pocahontas/Algonquian Indians through the eyes of contemporaries:



An engraving of Pocahontas made when she visited England (1616)



John White's watercolour of Algonquian mother and child (1580s)

Excerpt from the letter of John Rolfe (1614), writing to governor Sir Thomas Dale about the reasons that he married Pocahontas

[I married Pocahontas] for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature, named Pocahontas. To whom my hearty and best thoughts are, and have a long time been entangled, and enthralled in so intricate a labyrinth. Almighty God, who never fails those who invoke his holy name, led me by the hand...I never failed to offer my daily and faithful prayers to God, for his sacred and holy assistance... [and] I looked about wearily and with good circumspection, into the grounds and principal agitations [inside of me], which should thus provoke me to be in love with one whose education has been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed...It is not for worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lord's vineyard, there to sow and plant, that [I marry Pocahontas.] Likewise, her appearance of love to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capability of understanding, her willingness to receive good impression, [stir me] to reveal the spiritual works of the Lord.



A reconstruction of the interior of a Powhatan home at the time of Pocahontas

From Dr Linwood 'Little Bear' Custalow and Angela L. Daniel 'Silver Star', *The True Story of Pocahontas: The Other Side of History* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2007), adapted from pp. 9-60.

This is the oral history account of Pocahontas held by the Mattaponi tribe in Virginia.

Everyone loved Pocahontas for her laughing and joyous nature. Although Wahunsenaca [Powhatan, her father] had other children, he had a special love for Pocahontas, and she, in return, had a special love and respect for her father. All their actions were motivated by their love for each other[...] and for her people.

Pocahontas was about ten years old when the English colonists arrived during the spring of 1607. Captain John Smith was twenty-seven years old when he arrived [...] He was not an upper class Englishman of high social status. Instead, he was an adventurer. When the English colonists reached the shores of Powhatan land, various Powhatan *werowances*, or tribal chiefs, sought to entertain them and procure friendly relations and trade [...] Rather than going in and destroying English colonists, they wanted to make them allies and part of the Powhatan nation.

Many of the Powhatan people were afraid of the English because they used "thunder sticks" to kill them. They had begun to believe that Smith was like a deity because of his gun and sword. When Smith went into any village, he would take four or five armed English colonists with him. They would traumatise the people with their weapons, demanding food. As they left, Smith would throw down a few blue beads, claiming to have "traded" with the Powhatan people. [...]

Although Smith alleged years later that Pocahontas saved his life during a four-day ceremony in the process of his being made a Powhatan *werowance*, his life was never in danger. His life did not need saving. Wahunseneca gave Smith his word that Smith would be released. Smith's fears was either a figment of his own imagination, or an embellishment to dramatize his narrative. Pocahontas would not have been in the ceremony to save him because the priests would not have allowed Pocahontas to be there [as a young girl].

Smith and Pocahontas' father, Wahunsenaca, pledged their friendship to each other. In Powhatan society, one's word is one's bond. A bond is considered sacred. Our people could not conceive of deception because one keeps one's word. Our people, including Pocahontas, did not perceive deception within Smith; however, it later became clear that he had no intention of honoring this new relationship. Wahunsenaca's agreement with Captain John Smith sealed the friendship and bond between the Powhatan and the English, providing all the more reasons for the Powhatan to send food to the starving colonists during their first winter. [...]

When Pocahontas came of age [in 1613], her father had given her in marriage to a special warrior of the Potowomac tribe named Kocoum, a younger brother of Chief Japazaw, one of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca's closest friends. Due to rumours that English colonists wanted to kidnap Pocahontas, it was felt by Pocahontas' closest loved ones that it would be wise for

Pocahontas to “hide” from the English colonists. Pocahontas and Kocoum were advised to go live in Kocoum’s home village.

The plot to abduct Pocahontas was an effort on the part of the English colonists to buy more time. They were required to find a way to be financially profitable and self-sustaining [...] Since they had not found gold, other endeavours were explored, such as glassmaking and tobacco. The English wanted to bring in more men and weapons to strengthen their position.

[Scholars who continue to say that Pocahontas was betrayed by other Native Americans] is deeply offensive to Powhatan descendants. It insinuates that the Potowomac valued material possessions over the love and commitment to their relatives. Mattaponi sacred oral history states that men returned to Pocahontas’ home and killed her husband, Kocoum. Pocahontas did not realise her husband had been murdered. Her son survived because [...] Little Kocoum was handed over to the other women in the tribe.

This abduction must have been very hard on Pocahontas. She was only about fifteen to sixteen years old. She must have been frightened. She had been forcibly separated from her husband and child and her father was out of reach. She was on a strange ship, being taken into a strange culture. Pocahontas’ kidnap had a tremendous emotional impact on the Powhatan people, who had been friendly to the settlers. They could only hope that the English would not hurt her. All the Powhatan people had a remorseful feeling about it, but her father even more so. Wahunsenaca went into despair over the abduction of Pocahontas.

Was Pocahontas afraid? Of course she was. How could she not have been? She had been ripped from her loved ones, separated from her husband, from her small child, from her father, her friends. Being constantly watched over by the English colonists, she could not have escaped. She was brave, but she must have been terrified. Pocahontas submitted to the English settlers purely as a means of survival. While Pocahontas was held captive, efforts were made to convert Pocahontas to Christianity and to teach her the English language and English manners. From the English perspective, the Powhatan people were “savages” and “pagans”. The English told Pocahontas that her father did not love her. In 1613, Pocahontas was converted to Christianity and was baptised. She was given the Christian name Rebecca. Mattaponi sacred oral history tells us very little about Pocahontas’ time in captivity, her conversion to Christianity, her baptism and her marriage. [Did she accept] Christianity as a way to survive? Was it a means of trying to appease the English? Or did Pocahontas accept the new faith as an attempt to look good for her people and in hopes that in return the English would be more lenient to her people? It is hard to say whether Pocahontas truly converted to Christianity or not. Pocahontas may have embraced certain aspects of Christianity, as much of the Christian faith parallels Powhatan spirituality.

European-American writers and scholars have long claimed that Pocahontas thought her father had deserted her. They have asserted that Pocahontas turned her back on her people and Powhatan ways and embraced the English ways. This is not so. Pocahontas was ripped from her family against her will. She was not allowed to return.

Disney’s *Pocahontas* (1995)

Native Americans have pointed out many discrepancies in the representation of Algonquian Indians in *Pocahontas*, and the lived reality of indigenous peoples in English America. Watch several clips from the film, first before you have discussed the topic, and then afterwards.

Youtube suggestions: 'Savages' and 'Savages Part II/Pocahontas' Sacrifice'; 'Pocahontas, the kiss and John Smith v. Kocoum fight scene'.

Make a list of inaccuracies and differences between the Disney version, and the Mattaponi version of Pocahontas' life, included above. Differences might include:

- The depiction of Pocahontas as a young woman in the film, rather than a 10 or 11-year old girl
- Pocahontas' love for, and rescue of, John Smith (no historical evidence of this happening - this love affair is entirely fabricated)
- Discussions of 'race' in the film, at a time when race did not exist as a category of difference in the early seventeenth (this a product of slavery and cross-cultural relations from the late seventeenth century)
- 'Chief' Powhatan/Wahunsenaca's resolve to kill Smith (according to oral history, Wahunsenaca liked Smith and wanted to incorporate him into the tribe)
- Pocahontas not being in love with Kocoum, when in reality she married him and had a child with him; omission of Pocahontas' capture by the English.

Additional resources and activities:

- Compare depictions of Native Americans in *Pocahontas* to the images of Algonquians by the watercolour artist John White, painted in the mid-1580s. Do these depictions have any similarities? Are there any accurate aspects of Pocahontas in the cartoon? Why do you think Disney chose to portray Pocahontas this way? This can also be compared to the Native Americans in Disney's *Peter Pan* (1953), or the controversial Cleveland Indians sports logo.
- Watch clips or music videos from contemporary indigenous musicians and artists. Youtube suggestions: A Tribe Called Red, 'Stadium Pow Wow', or parody videos from 'The 1491s', who play on ongoing stereotypes about Native Americans in society. The important thing to note is the fact that indigenous groups are *living cultures* with vibrant traditions and innovations that continue today.
 - Anthropologists at the British Museum created a five-minute film about Pocahontas' descendants visiting London and commenting on the relationship between the English and Native Americans, which you can view here: <https://vimeo.com/11765396>
- Look up 'Powhatan's mantle' - a Native American 'cloak' that dates to the seventeenth century and is now held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. This is said to have belonged to Pocahontas' father, although it may be from the late 1600s. Drawing on your renewed understanding of English colonization in early America, discuss why Native American objects are in English museums. If you were a curator writing a paragraph about this object and about English-Native American relationships in the seventeenth century for visitors, what might you write?

Seventeenth-century English responses to world religions:

English travellers often commented on other societies and religions. Note the way they recorded some of their impressions, and think about the links between these assumptions and perspectives, and similarities or differences in contemporary news and media.

Powhatan religious belief, from Thomas Harriot, *A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1590).

Some religion they have already...They believe there are many gods, which they call *mantoac*, but of different sorts; and one chief and great God, which has been alive from all eternity. Who they affirm made the world, making first other gods...and after the Sun, Moon, and Stars. First they say were made waters. For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children. And in such sort they say they had their beginning.

But they have no letters or means to keep records of the past, only keeping tradition from father to son. They think that all the gods are of human shape, and therefore they represent them in the fortunes of men. They call [their main god] *kawasha*. They place him in houses or temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings to them.

[The Algonquians] also believe in the immortality of the soul, and that after this life, as soon as the soul is departed from the body, it is either carried to heaven, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the further part of their world towards the sun set, there to burn continually: the place they call *popogusso*.

Description of Hindus and Jews by Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (c. 1625)

The inhabitants in general of Indostan were all anciently gentiles, called in general Hindoes, belonging to that very great number of those which are called Heathens which take up almost two thirds of the number of the people who inhabit the face of the whole earth. The Hindoes, the ancient inhabitants of East India, they are a very industrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular callings, believing that the bread sweetest, and most savoury, is that which is gained by sweat [toil]. They work, as we say, tooth and nail, employing their ears and toes, as well as their fingers, to assist them in holding the threads of silk in the making of some things. They lay hold to the present time, the opportunity, to set upon their businesses which they are to do today.

Jews long ago borrowed the custom of worshipping God in groves, or under green trees. Both men and women before they go to their devotions, wash their bodies, and observe their times of devotion by their washings, worshippings, and prayers to God: which must all be done with purity of hearts.

Edward Terry's description of 'Mahometans', or followers of Islam, in the same text

It cannot be denied, that there are some things in the precepts which Mahomet hath prescribed to be received and observed by his followers that are good, laid down in eight commandments, which are these:

First. That God is a great God, and the only God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God.

Second. That children must obey their parents, and do nothing to displease them.

Third. That every one must do to another that, and only that, which he would have another to do him.

Fourth. That every man, five times every day, must repair to the mosque, or church, to pray there; or wheresoever he is, he must pray every day so often; if not in the church, then elsewhere.

Fifth. That one whole moon in every year every man, come to years of discretion, must spend the whole day between the rising and setting of the sun, in fasting.

Sixth. That every one out of his store must give unto the poor liberally, freely, and voluntarily.

Seventh. That every one except those votaries which renounce marriage, must marry, to increase and multiply the sect and the religion of Mahomet.

Eighth. That no many must kill or shed blood.

And here the thing being rightly and seriously considered, it is a very great shame that a Mahometan should pray five times every day, that pagans and heathens should be very frequent in their devotions, and yet Christians negligent in that great prevailing duty. For a Mahometan to pray five times every day, whatsoever diversions might hinder him, and for a Christian to let anything interrupt his devotion.

Description of Jews by Lawrence Aldersey in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* (1589)

For my further knowledge of [the Jews], I went into their synagogue upon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their service or prayers, very devout. They receive the five books of Moses, and honour them, by carrying them around their Church, as the Papists [Catholics] do their cross. The Psalms they sing as we do, having no image, nor using any manner of idolatry. Their error is, that they believe not in Christ, not yet receive the New Testament.

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