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The Geography of "Gulliver's Travels"

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Source: *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Apr., 1941), pp. 214-228

Published by: University of Illinois Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27704741>

Accessed: 17-01-2020 16:44 UTC

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*

I

It is a commonplace that *Gulliver's Travels* is patterned after the real voyages of Swift's age, which it either travesties or imitates. It lacks the supplement, describing the flora and fauna, so often appended to voyages; but it has the connecting links of detailed narrative, the solemn spirit of inquiry into strange lands, the factual records of latitude and coasts and prevailing winds, and (most of all) *the maps*.

I have no quarrel with the present-day emphasis upon the philosophical background of *Gulliver's Travels*; that is a characteristic contribution of the scholars of our generation. But it seems strange that in more than two centuries of study of a book of travels (even imaginary travels), no one has ever taken the trouble to look carefully at the maps and to report his findings.

According to a letter to Swift, written November 8, 1726, Dr. Arbuthnot "lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map to search for Lilliput."¹ That old gentleman is now presumably dead; the results of his investigation are long overdue.

II

All writers on the subject have commented on the realism of Swift's method throughout *Gulliver's Travels*. In the islands which Gulliver visited, this realism is secured not only by the careful maintenance of scale, but even by the essential probability of things. As Leslie Stephen remarked,

Swift's peculiarity is in the curious sobriety of fancy, which leads him to keep in his most daring flights upon the confines of the possible. In the imaginary travels of Lucian and Rabelais, to which *Gulliver* is generally compared, we frankly take leave of the real world altogether. We are treated with arbitrary and monstrous combinations which may be amusing, but which do not challenge even a semblance of belief. In *Gulliver* this is so little the case that it can hardly be said in strictness that the fundamental assumptions are even impossible.²

We have no way of knowing what the map-maker thought of the strange book of voyages, but there is in the maps themselves no indication that they were considered as a joke. They are inexact enough—as I shall point out later; but they seem to be

¹ Swift's *Correspondence* (ed. F. E. Ball), III, 358.

² *Swift* (London and New York, 1889), p. 171.

designed in accordance with a serious tradition. The sketchiness of the maps—the total lack of some details which were necessary to complete them as working maps even at that day—seems to indicate not only his caution, but also the probability that he was not a professed cartographer. More likely he was a laborious drudge of the booksellers, seeking to place these fanciful countries in some credible relationship to the maps of Moll and the so-called "Waggoners." It would be delightful if one could believe that the map-maker, like Arbuthnot's old gentleman, took the geography seriously.

Whatever they have thought of the fanciful countries, modern writers have commonly assumed that Swift attempted to make the "real" parts of the voyages completely realistic. In the editorial notes of one recent textbook we are assured that errors in geography were due to the incomplete knowledge of geographers:

In each of the voyages Swift placed his imaginary land in identifiable relation to parts of the world that were known, but not accurately known, to Englishmen of his own day.³

In a special study of the voyager Dampier we are told that Swift excelled even Defoe as a writer of imaginary voyages:

The sweep of imagination is grander, the purpose more artfully disguised, the frame on which the story hangs just as true to real accounts.⁴

In the latest critical edition of *Gulliver's Travels* the editor informs us that

Swift took a great deal of pains to make these sections of the narrative as plausible and circumstantial as possible. . . . Swift was bold enough to supply fairly exact data concerning the positions of these countries, although two errors (in the first chapter of the first voyage and the first chapter of the third voyage) and an insufficiently detailed paragraph in the next to the last chapter of the fourth voyage have led to some misunderstanding. . . . If this initial error is corrected all the rest of the geographical data which have caused confusion fall neatly into place. . . . the geography, was carefully worked out, . . .⁵

These assumptions of the essential accuracy of the geography

³ *English Prose and Poetry 1660-1800*, ed. O. Shepard and P. S. Wood (Boston, 1934), p. 995.

⁴ W. H. Bonner, *Captain William Dampier: Buccaneer-Author* (Stanford University, 1934), p. 156.

⁵ *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. A. H. Case (New York, 1938), pp. 350-52. I have quoted only excerpts, but I have not distorted the sense.

of *Gulliver's Travels* are groundless. Not only are the fanciful regions of Brobdingnag and Laputa quite unlike those shown on the maps of the First Edition; even if we allow for all possible errors from slips of unsupervised printers in faraway London, and for the probability of still greater errors from editorial attempts to correct the text, the geography of the book is so incredible that we must assume (1) that Swift intended an extravagant burlesque on voyages, or (2) that he was ignorant of geography, or (3) that he intended a burlesque and knew too little geography to carry it out accurately.

III

The ignorance of geography in Swift's time is often greatly exaggerated. The era was one of exploration and of an intense interest in the literature of travel. There were, to be sure, some blind spots on the map—especially all the northwestern part of North America, the eastern peninsula of Siberia, the eastern and southern parts of Australia, and the vast southern region (which has in our own times shrunk to the narrower confines of Antarctica)—the shadowy Austral Land which had remained for a century or more such a favorite among the imaginary voyagers. This latter area is often left white on modern maps, to indicate the ice which interrupts navigation during much of the year. The islands in mid-Pacific were little known. And there was a shadowy fringe of an imaginary and much-doubted continent, stretching across the Pacific (south of the line of the Aleutian Islands on modern maps). This imaginary continent was called Company's Land, from the supposed discoverer, Captain Uriez (1643), who explored for the Dutch East India Company.

In some places there was much guesswork, as in the assignment of lakes and rivers in the interior of Africa. Maritime nations, particularly Holland and Spain, were disposed to keep discoveries as trade secrets. Worst of all, knowledge tended to stagnate at a few high points reached in the past. Bowen's map of Australia for Volume One of Harris's *Voyages* (1744) was "exactly Copied" from the original by Tasman in the Stadt House at Amsterdam, a map based on Tasman's discoveries precisely one century before this volume appeared. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, the most reliable information about the northern California coast came from Drake, the first

Englishman to enter the South Seas. As most of the voyagers complained (and as Swift mockingly echoed them), this backwardness was largely due to the lethargy of the map-makers. But the navigators, with a more excusable caution, contributed to it by avoiding the less known courses.

Longitude could not be accurately reckoned at sea, so that navigators were constrained to keep the latitude carefully and to depend on dead-reckoning for the longitude. When one could ascertain the longitude, there were several systems of computing it—as from one's own capital or from Ferro (an island in the Canaries, by definition 20° west of Paris). Moll's map of the world for Dampier's voyages⁶ shows the longitude from Ferro; but in his maps for *A New Description of England and Wales* (1724) and for Defoe's *Tour* (1724–1727), and in the usual practice of English sailors, reckoning was from London.

On the whole, there is no serious difficulty in following early eighteenth century travellers on a modern map—whenever they were trying to tell the truth. The incomplete geographical knowledge of the age would give Swift some pretext for setting his fancy free in the Pacific, but it would not explain the errors and contradictions which are to be found in each of Gulliver's voyages.

IV

Gulliver reported that the dominions of Brobdingnag reached "about six thousand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth."⁷ Mr. G. R. Dennis annotated this with a very cautious remark that "It will be noticed that on the map Brobdingnag is made very much smaller; but, as Sir Henry Craik suggests, this may be due to the engravers."⁸

Precisely so. On leaving Brobdingnag Gulliver was picked up

⁶ Cf. Moll's map in the Argonaut Press reprint of the 1729 (Seventh) Edition of *A New Voyage Round the World* (London, 1927), facing p. xxxviii; cf. also J. Masefield's ed. of Dampier's *Voyages*, reprinting the 1717 (Sixth) Edition (London, 1906), I, facing p. 14. Capt. Woodes Rogers (*A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, 1712) consistently reckoned longitude from London, although his subordinate, Capt. Edward Cooke (*A Voyage to the South Sea*, 1712), commonly reckoned from the last important landfall (from Grande, the Falklands, Cape St. Lucas, Java-Head, etc.) or (following the Spanish charts) "from the Westernmost Point of the Island Gran Canaria, the largest of the Canaries" (II, 319).

⁷ *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. G. R. Dennis (London, 1899), p. 113. All citations are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

by a vessel which had reached a longitude of 143° E. and a latitude of 44° N.,⁹ and he was told that he was at least a hundred leagues from any land.¹⁰ The eagle which had carried him southward from the southern extremity of Brobdingnag had presumably brought him from a latitude of approximately 50° . At that latitude the lessening of the earth toward the North Pole has become so considerable that *a degree of longitude* (which amounts to 69 statute miles at the equator) *has lessened to approximately 45 miles*. Six thousand miles, at 45 miles to the degree, would extend for about 133° of longitude, or considerably more than a third of the way around the globe on the fiftieth parallel. The ship's captain had reached a longitude of 143° E. before rescuing Gulliver. If the eastern end of Brobdingnag lay directly north of there, the western extremity would lie due north of Hamburg. If the western end of Brobdingnag lay in a longitude of 143° E., the eastern limit would be somewhere north of Saginaw, Michigan.

The absurdity of this dimension becomes greater as one moves farther north in Brobdingnag. There is nowhere any hint that the extent of that country does shrink near the Pole; Gulliver explicitly suggested that he travelled in a radius of 2,000 miles from the capital city,¹¹ and that this was by no means the whole extent of the kingdom. One student has asserted roundly that "Brobdingnag is Alaska."¹² Now the southern line of Alaska (if we leave out of account the narrow extensions to the southeast and southwest) lies near the sixtieth parallel, at which latitude a degree of longitude has shrunk to approximately 35 miles. From the eastern extremity of the main body of Alaska, 6,000 miles westward would take us to the longitude of Archangel, almost exactly half-way around the world. The area of all Alaska is given as 590,884 square miles. If for a rough computation we consider Brobdingnag a rectangle, six thousand miles one way by four thousand the other, its area figures out at 24,000,000 square miles—something more than forty times as large as Alaska, or almost exactly three times as large as North America, or not very far below half the total land area of the world.

The north and south dimension proves to be even more impossible. A maximum of 5,000 miles north from the sixtieth

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹² W. H. Bonner, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

parallel would carry Brobdingnag over the North Pole and down on the other side to the approximate latitude of Munich and Vienna. Even from the more probable position of 50° in the North Pacific, 5,000 miles would extend over the Pole to a latitude south of Stockholm and north of Riga.

Worse still, the dimensions of Brobdingnag allow for no shrinkage at the North Pole, where in fact one could walk latitudinally around the world in three short steps. Any such length as a maximum of 6,000 miles, laid latitudinally, would cover the North Pole with infinite folds, like a vast tent collapsed when the supports are removed.

Was Swift so little in the habit of consulting a globe that he could not visualize the corrections needed for a map on Mercator's projection? Was he merely (like too many of his editors) inattentive and unimaginative? Or was the seeming blunder a part of an immense hoax, together with the solemn proposal that the vast weight of Tartary needs some counterpoise to balance it?¹³

A partial explanation is to be found in the egregious errors of early writers regarding the fictitious Company's Land. As late as 1748, twenty-two years after *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, the editor of the second volume of Harris's *Voyages* still retained the fabulous account of Captain Uriez's discovery of the great continent of Company's Land (1643), described adjacent countries of high trees and rocky mountains and barren coasts in a way which suggests Brobdingnag, and still surmised the possibility of a continent from California to Japan. Here again there was little or no allowance for the narrowing of the degrees of longitude away from the equator; here again the distance was overestimated,¹⁴ although at no such extravagant rate as in Brobdingnag. Worst of all, the editor expressed a stubborn appeal to "reason" in the face of all scientific discovery to the contrary:

That there is some Country or other between *California* and *Japon*, is a Point I believe no reasonable Man ever doubted, though it must be confessed, that no such Country has been ever hitherto clearly discovered: . . .¹⁵

This is only a partial explanation. The editor of Harris's *Voyages* did not put his imaginary country so far to the north that a

¹³ *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 113.

¹⁴ Harris's *Voyages* (London, 1744-1748), II, 390-92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

degree of longitude would be reduced as greatly as in *Gulliver's Travels*, he made the continent only 4,800 miles long instead of 6,000, and he gave it apparently no extraordinary width. What in Harris's *Voyages* was an already discredited legend, retained against all evidence by the stubborn scholasticism of an untravelled editor, became in the Voyage to Brobdingnag a mathematical absurdity.

As the other voyages do not lead to Brobdingnag, they cannot be expected to furnish such Gargantuan dimensions; but all were, in their way, incredible enough. The piratical crew of the fourth voyage, who sailed on past the Cape of Good Hope for the explicit purpose of marooning their captain, were not satisfied with putting Gulliver off at one of the usual landing places for pirates on or near Madagascar. They went on and on, out of any known course, until they confessed that they had no idea where they were,¹⁶ and put him off some 4,000 nautical miles or more (or, if we accept the suggestion that he was marooned near the southeast end of Tasmania, some 6,000 miles) east of the Cape, by far the longest voyage of the sort in the annals of piracy. If the land of the Houyhnhnms was where Gulliver seemed to place it, west of the southwestern extremity of Australia, he was able, in leaving the country, to travel 1,500 or 2,000 nautical miles eastward in a canoe of stitched Yahoo skins, *in an actual sailing time of sixteen hours at a speed which he estimated at no more than a league and a half an hour.*¹⁷ To be sure, Gulliver had a "very favourable wind," but his "little sail" was obviously some sort of magic carpet.

In the first voyage Gulliver was wrecked northwest of Van Dieman's Land in a latitude of 30°2' S.¹⁸ But when he afterwards left the adjacent island of Blefuscu, only eight hundred yards from Lilliput, he set out manfully for the islands to the *northeast* of Van Dieman's Land,¹⁹ some thousands of miles away by land and water, straight across the continent of Australia. In the third voyage his ship had reached 46° N. and 177° W.;²⁰ but he found the neighboring island of Luggnagg at "about" 29° N.

¹⁶ *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 231, 295. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159. The longitude is given as 183° in *Gulliver's Travels*, because in Swift's time longitude was reckoned eastward up to 360°. In modern usage longitude is reckoned eastward and westward to 180°.

and 140° E.—although he suggested that these two positions were not very much more than 150 miles apart.²¹

Some of the positions on the map would be quite as impossible as the voyages by which they were reached. The merchant from Tonquin who rescued Gulliver near Brobdingnag would not have been in mid-Pacific when he reached 44° N. and 143° E.;²² at that point he would have been well in the interior of Hokkaido (Yezo), one of the larger Japanese islands. If one accepts the direction *northwest* in the strict sense in which it would be used by a navigator, Gulliver's first shipwreck was not to the west of Western Australia but in the interior of South Australia.

These geographical blunders become contagious, until they affect the modern scholars who study the book. The editor of a very careful edition of *Gulliver's Travels* says that the map-maker was forced to move Tasmania far to the *east* (he means *west*).²³ The author of the most painstaking study of the sources of *Gulliver's Travels* is led by this Puck-beguiled spirit of geography to say that Defoe's Captain Singleton crossed Africa from east to west, and came out—not on the Guinea Gold Coast—in *the Sudan!*²⁴

V

Not only do the ships and canoes move incredible distances, by water and by land; the larger vessels are blown about by storms beyond anything in maritime record. And yet such storms seem so common in these waters that the captains accept them with a strange equanimity. In the voyage to Laputa, Gulliver's ship is blown from somewhere near Tonquin, in Indo-China, to a distant part of the Pacific, about 46° N. and 177° W.²⁵ The captain who brought Gulliver back from Brobdingnag, likewise, had been blown from Tonquin directly out of his course for some thousands of miles.²⁶

The voyage to Brobdingnag, of course, excels all others in this respect. Gulliver's captain had sailed from England for Surat, on the northwest coast of India; but he was eventually blown to the North Pacific! No wonder that this captain, during

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²³ *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. A. H. Case (New York, 1938), p. 351.

²⁴ W. A. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels: A Critical Study* (Princeton, 1923), p. 35.

²⁵ *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 159.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

the one brief interval of "perfect calm" just after he had been blown past the Molucca Islands before transferring to the next storm which routed him to the northeast, knew his good luck could not last. For he, "being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened the day following: . . ." ²⁷ Insult is added to these geographical injuries by Gulliver's carping criticisms, as when he insisted that Moll's map showed Australia three degrees too far east²⁸—at that latitude a bagatelle of considerably less than 180 nautical miles to explain a discrepancy of perhaps 2,000.

Amid such confusion one learns to expect almost any happening. The course outward from England is a mere matter of putting up the sails to see where the wind will drive; the return voyage is incredibly calm and prosperous, even when the ship is sailing in exactly the opposite direction.

In his return from Lilliput Gulliver was picked up by the captain of a merchant vessel from Japan to England, on the east coast of Australia or Tasmania, at least 2,000 miles from any such known course, calmly sailing home (in a very characteristic direction) "by the North and South Seas."²⁹ This ship was sailing *southeast*, which would have taken it very nearly in the course of Admiral Byrd's voyages to Antarctica, but hardly to England. In his second voyage Gulliver feared that if the ship turned more northerly from the Pacific Ocean it would arrive in "the northwest parts of Great Tartary"³⁰—presumably somewhere near Murmansk or Archangel, and not very far from the England which he had left.

All these absurdities are heightened by Gulliver's total lack of humor and of proportion. He had succeeded in losing (or being separated from) his entire company on every one of his principal voyages, so that he had never come home on any ship in which he set out from England. And yet he insisted, absurdly enough, that the captain of his consort on the fourth voyage was lost by not following his advice:

On the sixteenth, he was parted from us by a storm; I heard since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped but one cabin boy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it hath been of several others. For if he had fol-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

lowed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time, as well as myself.³¹

VI

There are in the First Edition five maps³² which are often reproduced—one for each of the voyages and an additional one to illustrate the movement of the Flying Island.

The most successful of the maps is that showing the land of the Houyhnhnms, which seems to be drawn to scale with considerable accuracy—except for some tendency to shorten the latitude as compared with the longitude. The real places shown on the map are recognizable in their places—except that Maetsuyker Island should be immediately below Tasmania, and of course Tasmania is now known to be entirely separate from Australia. The land of the Houyhnhnms would lie approximately between 40° S. and 48° S., and between 116° E. and 121°10' E., for approximate dimensions of 552 statute miles in length by 314 in width. The point nearest Tasmania would lie about 1,224 miles away—or about 1,326 miles from the eastern side of southern Tasmania, which Gulliver would be obliged to reach in order to meet the vessel from the north.

The map-maker was aided here by the fact that Swift did not limit him by impossible specifications regarding the dimensions and the shape of the island; but he was apparently worried by the difficulty of getting the island within such short sailing distance of Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania). Swift indicated that Gulliver expected to reach the *southwest* coast of New Holland (Australia) by sailing *eastward*; but the map-maker frankly moved the island considerably to the south and east, so that it lies directly in line with the southern end of Tasmania. Even so, 1,224 (or 1,326) statute miles would make a vast distance for Gulliver to sail in his canoe in his total elapsed time of sixteen hours at sea.

For an imaginary map, this plate is very successful; the only serious fault is in the unnecessary and quite impossible voyage which Gulliver is expected to make from the west to the east side of Australia and Tasmania.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 229–30.

³² There are six numbered plates; but of these the fifth is a diagram of the mechanical frame "for improving speculative knowledge" in the Academy of Lagado.

The second best map represents Lilliput and Blefuscu very well, and Sumatra fairly accurately; but the rest is confused. The pigmy islands conform to the story (except that the capital city Blefuscu is not indicated, and that the name of the capital of Lilliput is misspelled Mendendo). Mildendo is correctly shown on the opposite side of Lilliput from Blefuscu, Blefuscu lies to the northeast, and the channel between the two islands is clearly indicated. Necessarily, the islands are far out of scale; the channel between them was said to be only 800 yards wide, and it could not possibly appear on a small map showing Sumatra and Tasmania.

The Van Dieman's Land of the narrative appears on the map as Dimens Land, shown with the fringed outline so often assigned to Tasmania in the older maps. Mr. G. R. Dennis offered an ingenious explanation³³ of the possibility that Van Dieman's Land might mean the northwest coast of Australia; but the name (when used in Australia) applies rather to the extreme north central part, and as Dennis himself remarked, the latitude would in any case be far too near the equator.

Swift's purpose in this is not clear, unless he was deliberately introducing confusion. Australia was ignored throughout; Gulliver passed from the northwest of Van Dieman's Land to the northeast without meeting the obstruction of a continent. The map-maker followed this as well as he was able; he, too, omitted Australia altogether, but he moved Van Dieman's Land far to the west, from 146° E. to about 105° E., so as to bring it immediately under Sumatra, and thus thrust Lilliput well to the west in the Indian Ocean.

It is impossible to work out any scale for this map, or to indicate the latitude and longitude. Sumatra is on a small scale, Lilliput and Blefuscu on a very much larger one, and Van Dieman's Land is a mere shadow, thrust westward out of place by more than 2,000 statute miles.

The map of Brobdingnag is even more confused. It follows the Pacific Coast line with a vague approximation from below Monterey (California) to Cape Blanco (Oregon), and then it fades out into legend and guesswork. The longitude is too uncertain to permit calculation, but the latitude works out rather well at somewhere between 51°30' N. and 55° N. The peninsula

³³ *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 19.

of Brobdingnag would seem to be, roughly, about 380 miles long and 250 miles wide—or, not allowing for the irregularity of contour, something like 77,400 square miles (the size of Nebraska, instead of Swift's immense total of 24,000,000 square miles). The peninsula appears, not as a magnificent counterpoise to Tartary, a counterpoise big enough to outweigh Tartary and lift it toward the moon, but as a wen-like projection from the North American coast. Any map of Brobdingnag required, like Demosthenes' requirement for an orator, Boldness; and this map-maker was not bold.

Quite as bad, he had not read the story carefully. Swift wrote that Flanflasic was only eighteen miles from the south coast of the kingdom,³⁴ but the map shows it at the west end, and fairly well inland. The peninsula is rather too narrow in proportion to its length, and there is no sufficient suggestion of the discrepancy between the maximum width of 5,000 miles and the narrower width of 3,000 miles. The two features which are perhaps most satisfactory are the mountains at the east, which cut the peninsula off from the mainland, and the representation of Lorbrulgrud (surely standing for London) on the north bank of a river which follows a course much like that of the Thames.

Plate IV gives a good idea of the operation of the Flying Island over Balnibarbi (except that the continent Balnibarbi has become an island);³⁵ but it contradicts Plate III at so many points that it suggests different workmanship entirely. In Plate IV Balnibarbi is made considerably wider in proportion to its

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144–45.

³⁵ Cf. Lucius L. Hubbard, *Contributions towards a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* (Chicago, 1922). Mr. Hubbard anticipated my discoveries that Balnibarbi is out of proportion with reference to Luggnagg and that Maldonado and Glubbudrib are misplaced. His additional suggestion "that the town of Lindalino and the river that flows through it should be shown on or in Balnibarbi" is unfair to the mapmaker; the passage in which Lindalino is introduced was preserved only in manuscript in Ford's corrected copy at South Kensington, and did not appear in any printed edition before 1899 (Bohn ed., pp. 177–78, note 2). This point alone would seem to clinch the presumption that the mapmaker worked from the printed text alone, not from the manuscript or from any instructions from Swift. I have been anticipated by Mr. Harold Williams (*Gulliver's Travels*, London, 1926, pp. lxxix–lxxx) in observing that in Plate I Mildendo is misspelled and Lilliput and Blefuscu are drawn out of scale with reference to Sumatra. I regret that I had no opportunity to consult the volumes of Hubbard and Williams until this paper was completed.

length, and its contours have become less irregular. The islands to the southwest have disappeared, the city Lagado has been moved from the southeast to the center and placed on a new river (flowing to the northeast), and the city Maldonado (here spelled Malonada), which in Plate III was on the south side of the island Luggnagg, has resumed its proper location as a seaport town in Balnibarbi.

Plate III is more at fault than Plate IV, for it contradicts the story. Gulliver told of a delay in securing passage for Luggnagg (misspelled Lugnagg in the map) which induced him to make a side trip from Maldonado to Glubbudbrib and back again before he went on to Luggnagg.³⁶ The map in Plate III is utterly wrong, showing Glubbudbrib (misspelled Glubdubdrib) as an island *very close to Luggnagg* on the side most remote from Balnibarbi, with Maldonado a seaport in Luggnagg instead of in Balnibarbi. The seaport Clumegnig is misspelled Clanrgnig, and it is placed near the western tip of Luggnagg, not at the southeast.³⁷ The name of the seaport town Glanguenstald³⁸ breaks down entirely to Glangurn Sialo. The probable explanation of such errors is that the engraver worked directly from the drawings without consulting the text, and that he could not read the map-maker's handwriting. Perhaps for a similar reason the engraver assigned the discovery of Balnibarbi to 1701 (instead of 1707).

Luggnagg is shown to the east of Japan, whereas it was said to be in the longitude of 140°,³⁹ almost due south of Yokohama. The relative positions of Luggnagg and Balnibarbi are impossible; but that was the fault of the text, in which Luggnagg was put both north-west and south-west of Balnibarbi, at 29° N. and 140° E., and yet only 150 miles from Balnibarbi⁴⁰ (which was near 46° N. and 177° W.).⁴¹

VII

It has been urged that Swift was keenly interested in maps, and that in *A Tale of a Tub* his allusions to *Terra Australis Incognita* indicate an enthusiasm for exploration.⁴² But surely the contemptuous references to *Terra Australis* in that satire are

³⁶ *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 202. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202. ⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.* ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁴² W. H. Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-60.

merely attacks on the doctrine of purgatory⁴³—"that spacious country, where, by a general doom, all transgressors of the law are to be deported; . . ." ⁴⁴

In reality, there is little evidence that Swift liked maps. At his death in 1745 his own library possessed no atlas later than Strabo's Greek and Roman *Geography* (1620 edition) and Moxon's *Tutor to Astronomy and Geography* (1686).⁴⁵ Swift's contempt for the natural sciences seems to have carried over into the field of geography. In *Gulliver's Travels* his ridicule of the errors of the map-makers does not indicate an enthusiasm for the re-charting of the world by the voyagers; it was still another attack on false learning, and it could have been based on a slight acquaintance with almost any book of travels which passed through his hands. Swift's principal journeyings were between Dublin and Moor Park, or between Dublin and London; and they were nearly as restricted and as utilitarian as a commuter's trips. His one considerable journey in contemplation—that to Vienna—was never carried out.

The travel-loving Defoe listed as one of the primary defects of medieval knowledge "GEOGRAPHY without Scale." The medievalists "viewed the Stars without Telescopes, and measur'd Latitudes without Observation."⁴⁶ Of himself Defoe boasted, "I thought myself Master of Geography; and could have set up for a Country *Almanack Maker*, as to my Skill in *Astronomy*; . . ."⁴⁷ One of his biographers has shrewdly remarked that "Topography is the very woof of Defoe's novels and narratives."⁴⁸

Each man despised the other's kind of learning. Swift called Defoe "illiterate," and Defoe expressed scorn for Swift's bookishness in his attack on the "Master of Languages" who "knows nothing of the World, and has never lookd abroad—" "Such

⁴³ *A Tale of a Tub* (ed. Temple Scott, London, 1897), pp. 79, 152-53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁵ Cf. Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library* (Cambridge, 1932).

⁴⁶ *The History of the Principal Discoveries . . . in the Several Arts and Sciences* (London, 1727), p. 234.

⁴⁷ *Review*, Vol VII, p. 455 (Dec. 16, 1710). Cf. also Defoe's account of his own special knowledge of atlases (*Applebee's Journal*, Oct. 30 and Nov. 6, 1725; reprinted in *Lee's Life*, III, pp. 435, 438).

⁴⁸ Wilfred Whitten, *Daniel Defoe* (London, 1900), p. 11.

Learning," wrote Defoe, "I confess, I despise, and covet to be illiterate rather than thus a Scholar."⁴⁹

But the two foremost prose writers of the Age of Queen Anne differed less in their comparative knowledge and ignorance than in their different philosophical conceptions. Defoe was an enthusiast and an optimist; Swift was a sceptic and a pessimist. The projector Defoe was fascinated by the study of far countries and by dreams of expanding trade and colonization.⁵⁰ To the conservative "Little-Englander" Swift, learning was not to be secured by far voyages, any more than *Rasselas* or *The Traveller* could find happiness in distant lands. Perhaps Swift's most characteristic indebtedness to the travellers lay in his borrowing the filth of the Hottentots for his *Yahoos*.

Defoe's projects for making London the most flourishing city in the world included a royal academy of music and a metropolitan university. Swift's grand scheme for the welfare of Dublin called for the endowment of a madhouse. For all his desire to be known as a satirist, Defoe was too much like Johnson's friend who failed to be a philosopher because cheerfulness kept breaking in. Defoe remained to the last an optimistic projector and a prophet of the doctrine of expansion. Swift put the projectors in his *Academy of Lagado*, and he set the voyagers afloat at sea in a *Flying Dutchman's* orgy of adverse winds and incredible geography.

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⁴⁹ *Review*, Vol. VII, p. 455.

⁵⁰ However, Defoe was emphatic in stating that his principal concern was "Improvement of Trade, not Discovery of Countries" (*A General History of Trade*, London, 1713, p. 45). To him, exploration was but a means to the ends of commerce and industrial development.