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The Maps in *Gulliver's Travels*

By FREDERICK BRACHER

THE most popular books during the reign of Queen Anne, excluding theological and religious works, were accounts of voyages and travels, geographical works, and atlases. Arber¹ attributes the vogue for this kind of book to the huge success of James Knapton's publication of Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* in 1697, which led other publishers to follow suit; and W. H. Bonner,² following up this hint, has shown in detail the growth and extent of voyage-literature after Dampier. It was during this "Silver Age of Travel" that such standard collections as those of Harris³ and the Churchills⁴ were published, and the popular interest in such works was exploited by Defoe in a number of books and later satirized by Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*.

Along with the interest in voyages went a demand for maps. Herman Moll, probably the best, and certainly the best known, of the cartographers working in England during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, rose, on the wave of popular interest in maps and atlases, from the humble obscurity of a Dutch immigrant engraver to the comfortable dignity indicated by his later signatures, "Herman Moll, Geographer," and to fellowship with Sir Samuel Stukeley and the antiquaries, scientists, and artists of his club. Moll published a number of atlases, ran a successful periodical, the *Atlas Geographus*, from 1708 to 1717, and engraved hundreds of maps, some as illustrations to travel books and some to be sold at his shop "over against Devereux-Court, between

¹Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.* (London, 1903-6), III, viii.

²*Captain William Dampier, Buccaneer-Author* (Stanford University Press, 1934), pp. 50-67.

³John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or, A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . (London, 1705).

⁴Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1704).

Temple Bar and St. Clement's Church, in the Strand."⁵ He is one of the two contemporary figures mentioned by name in *Gulliver*, where he is described, no doubt with irony, as "my worthy friend Herman Moll." Moll's maps probably gave the average Englishman of the day his picture of the world, and they were so popular that imitation and copying became a serious problem. On a map of the world (1709) included in his *The World Described*, Moll complains of the danger of his maps being copied in Holland and "brought over hither . . . and sold under other names, to their Profit, and to ye manifest defrauding of us." It is ironical that Moll's name should have survived in literary history largely because of a publication in which his maps were copied, *Gulliver's Travels*.

When Lemuel Gulliver's *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* was published by Benjamin Motte in October, 1726, it followed a long and popular precedent in containing a set of four maps, one for each voyage, plus a plan to illustrate the movement of the Flying Island. These maps appeared in all the editions published by Motte; they were even reproduced in the pirated Dublin editions of 1727.⁶ They were re-engraved, with some minor errors, for Faulkner's Dublin edition of 1735, and they appeared in all the later eighteenth-century editions collated by Williams.⁷ Modern editors almost always reproduce them, and,

⁵No complete bibliography of Moll's work exists. Lists of his books and maps may be found in the article on Moll in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; in Bonner, p. 65; and in P. L. Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1909-20)—cf. references to Moll in the indexes to the various volumes. When Moll came to England in 1688, he was already an engraver of maps. Phillips (III, 177) lists a map of America signed "H. Mol schulp" in Sir Jonas Moore's *A New Geography*, published in London in 1681; and a Moll map of Hamburg is listed by Phillips (IV, 139) with the date 1686. By 1695 Moll had engraved a number of maps for *Thesaurus Geographicus*, published in that year by A. Swall and T. Child in London. His most productive period was the first two decades of the eighteenth century, but long after his death in 1732 his maps were reproduced in geographical and travel books.

Bonner (p. 65) says that the phrase "maps by H. Moll" was a profitable addition to a title-page, and he lists, among major voyage-collections featuring Moll maps, Harris' *Navigantium*, Dampier's voyages, Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, William Funnell's *A Voyage Round the World*, and Defoe's *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*.

⁶Cf. *Review of English Studies*, III, 469; and *The Library*, 4th ser. IX, 189.

⁷*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Harold Williams (London, 1926), p. xcvi f.

considering the number of editions of *Gulliver*, they must certainly be among the most widely circulated maps in our literature.

Scholars and editors have generally assumed that the maps were added to the volume by the publisher, without Swift's authorization, but not enough has been known about the maps themselves to make this more than a guess. As to their source, Bonner⁸ cites some Moll maps in the *Atlas Geographus* and Harris' *Navigantium*, but his references are confused,⁹ and in any case the maps in these volumes differ considerably in size, outlines, and place names from those in *Gulliver's Travels*.

The maps in *Gulliver* were copied from a map by Moll, but not from any so far suggested as a source. In 1719 Moll engraved "A New & Correct Map of the Whole World Shewing ye Situation of its Principal Parts. Viz the Oceans, Kingdoms, Rivers, Capes, Ports, Mountains, Woods, Trade-Winds, Monsoons, Variation of ye Compass, Climats, &c." The map is on two sheets of "Elephant paper"; the title engraved on the sheet containing the eastern hemisphere varies slightly from that given above. The map was "Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill and Tho. Bowles in St. Pauls Church Yard" and "Sold by H: Moll, where you may have his New Atlas or Set of Twenty-seven Two-sheet Maps, bound or single, all Colour'd according to his Direction, over against Devereux-Court," etc., as well as by "I. King at the Globe in the Poultry near Stocks Market." In another advertisement inscribed on this map, Moll states that he has "finish'd a New and Compleat Atlas or Set of 27 Two-sheet Maps." In other words, the 1719 world map was the last of a set which could be obtained singly or bound together. The Huntington Library copy is contained in a tall folio volume catalogued under the title *The world described; or, a new and correct sett of maps: shewing the several empires, kingdoms, republics . . . in all the known parts of the earth . . .* [1709-1736?].

By comparing this map of Moll's with the maps in *Gulliver's*

⁸P. 176.

⁹Since the map in *Atlas Geographus*, III, 818, is a map of Japan, it could hardly be the source for Plate I, as Bonner suggests. I have not been able to check his citation of a map in LeComte's *Nouveaux Memoires sur L'Etat present de La Chine* as the original of Balnibarbi.

Travels, it is evident that the actual coast lines in the *Gulliver* maps (as distinguished from the mythical lands) were copied from Moll. Three of the maps (Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Houyhnhnm-land) were obviously traced directly from Moll's map; they correspond exactly in size, in outline, and, with a few exceptions noted below, in place names and spelling. The map accompanying the voyage to Laputa is not quite so accurate a reproduction, since the copyist reduced it in scale approximately one half. Hence he could not trace it off the original, but had to redraw it as accurately as he could. But the correspondence of coast lines, place names, and spelling is unmistakable. Conclusive evidence that Moll's 1719 map is the source is found in an oversight on the part of the copyist. On the map of Lilliput, in copying the place names along the coast of Sumatra, he included the word "Sunda" in large letters between the islands of Nassow and Sillabar, as though it were another island. On Moll's map, the word "Sunda" appears in the same place, but it is only half of an extended superscription, "Sunda Islands," and the second word is on a part of the map not used by the copyist. In short, the *Gulliver* map-maker was tracing and copying literally what he found on his chosen section of Moll's map without noticing its relation to the map as a whole.

It is possible to make some deductions as to the procedure followed by the maker of the *Gulliver* maps. He had the text of the book to give approximate locations of the mythical countries, but these could only be approximate, since Swift's directions are confused and inconsistent. On each map, he tried to frame the ocean surrounding Swift's mythical land with an authentic coast line copied from Moll. In the upper right-hand corner of the first map, for example, he traced the coast of Sumatra (omitting the names of two islands, though reproducing the islands), and then, with a fine disregard for scale, drew in the islands of Lilliput and Blefuscu to the southwest. Finally, he arbitrarily placed Dimens Land (modern Tasmania) in his lower right corner, though this brings it thousands of miles too far west.

For the map of Brobdingnag, following Swift's hint that the peninsula was joined to America, his authentic frame is the California coast. On Moll's map, the northwest coast of America

extends only a little way beyond "the Straits of Annian" in 50°N. Immediately above is a boxed inset map showing the variation of the compass. The copyist traced Moll's coast of California, copying off all place names, and then added, in the space occupied by the boxed inset on Moll's map, the peninsula of Brobdingnag, again completely out of scale, and in what would be Moll's latitude 56°-60°N.

On the map accompanying the Third Voyage, the shape of Japon, Iesso and Companys Land is unmistakably Moll's. Place names are the same except for a few errors in copying and the omission, presumably for lack of space, of Prince's Island and Inaba. Moll's map ends at 160°E, so that Balnibarbi is located in an area not shown by Moll.

Along the top of the map of Houyhnhnmland, the southern coast of New Holland is accurately traced, though Moll does not draw the coast line north of Sweers Island. The place names are duplicated, and the spelling is the same except for two slight errors. On Moll's map, the final *s* on "I. St. Francois" is blurred and looks like the outline of another island, and the copyist accordingly printed "I. St. Francoi." Moll has "I. Maetsuyker," which the *Gulliver* map reproduces as "I. Maelsuyker"; apparently the copyist (or the engraver) mistook the crossing of the *t* for part of a guide line for lettering. According to Moll's map, Houyhnhnmland extends approximately from 41°S to 49°S and from 110°E to 117°E (London meridian).

A number of errors in spelling indicate that the maps were drawn by one man, working from Swift's text and Moll's map, and engraved from the drawings by another man, who misread some of the names.¹⁰ The most convincing example occurs on the map accompanying the Third Voyage. According to Swift, the seaport of Luggnagg is "Glanguenstald." The map-maker, apparently an amateur, began the lettering of this word too close to the island, and, not having room to complete it, printed the last five letters above the first part of the word. The engraver apparently mistook this for two words, the letters of which he

¹⁰This has been noted by J. R. Moore, "The Geography of *Gulliver's Travels*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XL, 226.

could not quite make out. He accordingly prints "Sialo" and "Glangurn," as though they were two separate towns. Another example of the engraver's misreading on the same map is "Dimeris Strats," where Moll, and hence presumably the map-maker, have "Dimens Straits." An exhaustive list of similar errors, many of them probably due to the engraver's inability to read the (hand-written?) names on the drawings from which he engraved the plates, may be found in Professor Moore's article.¹¹

The source of the authentic portions of the *Gulliver* maps is certain; the question of the authorship and purpose of the maps is more difficult to determine. Harold Williams¹² is conservative in his summary: "There is no evidence to show whether or not Swift was responsible for that touch of realism added to his narrative by the four maps. The suggestion may have come from him; but, as he never saw proofs of the text, the plates were almost certainly engraved without reference to the author of the *Travels*."

There is some evidence, though of a negative kind, suggesting that Swift gave tacit approval to, if he was not responsible for, the inclusion of the maps. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that he did not strike them out of Faulkner's edition of 1735, along with the other "trash" and "new things foysted in," about which he complained so bitterly to Ford.¹³ Faulkner's edition represents the closest approximation to Swift's original manuscript, and in that edition, though parts of Motte's text were stricken out, the maps remain.¹⁴

In his correspondence from 1727 to 1734 Swift complains fre-

¹¹P. 226 and *passim*.

¹²P. lxxix.

¹³*The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1935), pp. 161 f.

¹⁴Faulkner went to the expense of having the maps re-engraved, as is proved by errors in copying: e.g., "Blefuscu" appears in Faulkner's map as "Blefuscut," and there are differences in lettering and in the ornamental ships and sea monsters.

It should be noted in passing that the maps were printed separately and tipped in when the books were bound. Intaglio printing was done with a roller (cf. the map of Houyhnhnmland in the Huntington Library copy of the large paper edition of 1726, where the bottom line of the border has failed to print, presumably because the roller was not run completely across the plate). Hence, the

quently of the errors, omissions, and additions in the Motte editions, but nowhere does he specifically mention the maps as being spurious. This failure to complain about the maps, if they were unauthorized additions, is the more surprising since Swift's works indicate some interest in maps in general. In addition to mere figures of speech ("like a just map," etc.), there are passages which show a critical interest in the process of map-making. The passages in *Gulliver's Travels* are well known: Gulliver criticizes Herman Moll for an error in the longitude of New Holland,¹⁵ and offers to lend his assistance to the geographers of Europe, who "ought to correct their Maps and Charts, by joining this vast Tract of Land (Brobdingnag) to the North-west Parts of *America*."¹⁶ One of Swift's footnotes to the *Tale of a Tub*¹⁷ refers to "O. Brazile" as "an imaginary Island . . . placed in some unknown part of the Ocean, meerly at the Fancy of the Map-maker." Finally, in *On Poetry, a Rhapsody*, occurs the famous criticism of seventeenth-century Dutch map-makers:

So Geographers in *Afric*-Maps
With Savage-Pictures fill their gaps;
And o'er unhabitable Downs
Place Elephants for want of Towns.

maps were not in the gatherings, and even if Swift read Faulkner's proof of the text, he might not have seen the maps. In any case, he did not take pains to have the maps stricken out.

¹⁵At this time there was no accurate method of determining longitude at sea; the chronometer was not perfected and in use until the second half of the century. The undependability of mariners' reports of longitude was extremely troublesome to cartographers engaged in charting newly discovered lands. For the layman, the whole problem was made more confusing by the existence of different systems of numbering longitude on maps. Moll used both London and Ferro, in the Canary Islands, for base-meridians; Sanson commonly used Ferro.

The longitudes given in *Gulliver* are sometimes obviously in error and are difficult to interpret in any case, since we have no way of knowing what base-meridian Swift had in mind. Furthermore, Swift followed the general practice of omitting the signs "E" and "W." Longitude was usually read eastward up to 360°; thus "longitude 183" meant 177°W in modern notation. But this might mean 177° west of London, or of Ferro, a difference of about 18°.

¹⁶*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1941), pp. 268, 95.

¹⁷*A Tale of a Tub*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1939), p. 78.

Another reference to maps, during the very time in which Motte was printing his first edition of *Gulliver*, occurs in a letter of October 15, 1726.¹⁸ It is addressed to Pope and Gay, and acknowledges a "Cheddar" letter from Pope, Gay and Bolingbroke, only part of which has been preserved. Swift says, "I received your map and pictures. By the latter I could not find out the originals, and your map is as much a caricatura of Bibury, as the others must be of I do not know who." This map has not been preserved, but it was apparently a humorous sketch of a place recently visited by the correspondents; Pope, in a letter to Swift on August 22, 1726,¹⁹ reminds him of "the pleasing prospect of Bibury," which, according to Elwin's note, they had seen in the course of a visit to Lord Bathurst's seat at Cirencester during the summer of 1726. But the letter does indicate that amateur cartography was not unknown to the "Three Yahoos of Twickenham."

One more bit of evidence may be cited as possibly bearing on the question of Swift's responsibility for the maps in *Gulliver*. Writing to Ford on November 20, 1733,²⁰ Swift says, "Motte tells me He designs to print a new Edition of Gulliver in quarto, with Cutts and all as it was in the genuin copy."²¹ The word "copy" was used at that time, as it is now, to mean manuscript sent to the printer,²² and if we accept the punctuation given by Nichol Smith, the passage suggests that the "cutts" (i.e., maps) were in the "genuin copy." But the passage might be taken to mean a quarto edition with cuts, and all (i.e., the text) as it was in the genuine copy. If this was Swift's meaning, as seems most likely, the "cutts" probably refer to illustrations, not maps. As early as December, 1727 Motte had proposed to bring out an illustrated edition of

¹⁸*The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. W. Elwin (London, 1871), VII, 81.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, VII, 70.

²⁰*Letters of Swift to Ford*, p. 161.

²¹Motte's quarto edition, designed to anticipate Faulkner's proposed 1735 edition about which Motte was "very uneasy," was never published.

²²Cf. Pope's letter to Swift, Nov. 16, 1726 (*The Works of Alexander Pope*, VII, 86): "Motte received the copy . . . dropped at his house in the dark, from a hackney coach."

Gulliver, and Swift had sent him a list of the passages which might serve as subjects for illustration.²³

It is tempting to imagine the friends of Swift, whom we know to have been amateur map-makers, occupying some leisure hours at Twickenham during the summer of 1726 in preparing maps to accompany the long-heralded *Travels*, which were at the time probably being transcribed so that Swift's handwriting would not reveal their authorship. Ford might have drawn the sketches, or Gay—it is the kind of hoax Gay would have enjoyed. But against any such supposition is one fact which seems to me conclusive: the map-maker clearly had great difficulty in following the contradictory hints as to location given in the text, and produced, in at least one instance, only a desperate compromise. If the map-maker had been one of Swift's companions, he could have asked the author to clear up the geographical anomalies²⁴ of his text.

The most serious muddles occur in Swift's account of the location of Lilliput and of Balnibarbi. Lilliput is said to be to the northwest of Van Diemen's Land in about 30°2'S, which, even according to the maps of the day, would have put it inland in Australia. Furthermore, when Gulliver left Blefuscu he sailed north, to reach if possible one of those islands which lay to the *northeast* of Van Diemen's Land. Professor Case²⁵ points out that if we emend "northwest," in the original account of the location of Lilliput, to "northeast" of Van Diemen's Land, all the difficulties disappear; and it is hard not to agree with him that Swift meant to locate Lilliput off the then completely unknown east coast of Australia. If, as seems to me certain, this was Swift's intention, still the map-maker had no way of knowing it, and he went to work conscientiously to make what sense he could of Swift's garbled directions.

On Moll's map a true northwest line from Van Diemen's Land to 30°S reaches a point inland in Australia. But if one follows the

²³*The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910-14), III, 439 f.

²⁴These have been pointed out by L. W. Hubbard, *Contributions Toward a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* (Chicago, 1922), p. 93; by Williams, p. lxxix; and with overwhelming detail by Moore.

²⁵*Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Arthur E. Case (New York, 1938), p. 351.

30th parallel farther west, he reaches a point in the Indian Ocean which is at least west-northwest, if not strictly northwest of Van Diemen's Land, and here the map-maker placed Lilliput. For a bordering coast line he had his choice of New Holland to the east or Sumatra to the north. The coast of New Holland was to appear in the map for the Fourth Voyage, so he traced the coast of Sumatra at the top of his map, drew in Lilliput and Blefuscu in the proper latitude according to Moll, and then, to meet the other requirement of Swift's text, drew Van Diemen's Land in the lower right-hand corner. The map, on the whole, suggests that the maker had read the text carefully and made the best he could of its inconsistencies.

The map accompanying the Third Voyage must also have given its maker trouble. The general location, off the coast of Japan, was clear enough, and the map-maker copied the coast line of Japon, Iesso, and Companys Land from Moll's 1719 world map, including the desert island shown by Moll and the two northernmost of the Ladrones, Urac and Timas. He drew in Luggnagg with approximate correctness: on Moll's map it would extend from 26°N to 34°N, and from 150°E to 162°E; Swift says it lies "South Eastwards of *Japan*," in "about 29 Degrees North Latitude, and 140 Longitude." But when the map-maker came to draw in Balnibarbi, he ran into flat contradictions in Swift's text. Balnibarbi is said to be in the neighborhood of 46°N, 183° (i.e., 177°W), but it is also said that Luggnagg (29°N) is northwest of Balnibarbi. Swift erred either in the latitude of Balnibarbi or in the direction of Luggnagg. Dr. Case²⁶ takes the former view, and says that the correct position "is probably about 19°N. 145°W." But it seems to me more likely that Swift, when he wrote of Balnibarbi as part of a continent which "extends itself, as I have Reason to believe, Eastward to that unknown Tract of *America*, Westward of *California*," was thinking of the mythical territory of Iesso (sometimes confused with the equally mythical Companys Land), which appears on many maps of the period²⁷ running east and west

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁷Cf., for example, Moll maps in Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (London, 1703) and *The Compleat Geographer* (London, 1709), II, 225.

between Asia and North America in approximately 45°N . The conflicting opinions of geographers as to the location of, or the existence of, this land suited Swift's purpose admirably. He could locate his mythical kingdom in a region which people had heard of but about which no exact information was available.

On this view, the error is again one of direction; Swift meant to put Luggnagg *southwest* of Balnibarbi. In any case, the map-maker, forced again to choose between conflicting instructions, placed Balnibarbi between 38° and 46°N , ignoring the difficulties in direction. In longitude, according to Moll's map, Balnibarbi extends from 179°E . to 169°W . The map in Book III contains several errors not accounted for by ambiguities in Swift's text. Balnibarbi appears as an island, instead of part of a continent. The seaport of Maldonado is erroneously located on Luggnagg, and this error causes another in the location of Glubbdubdrib, said by Swift to be "about five Leagues off to the South-West" of Maldonado.

All of these discrepancies between map and text suggest that the maps were made without Swift's aid or authority, by someone

N. Sanson, the immensely popular French cartographer whose *Atlas* Gulliver mentions by name, consistently portrayed the land of Iesso on his maps. A collection of Sanson maps of North America, described by H. R. Wagner in *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (University of California Press, 1937), I, 130 f., and now in the Wagner collection at the Pomona College Library, enables one to follow Sanson's changing views on the existence and location of this mythical land. In general, on these maps, Iesso extends east and west from a point just off the California coast almost to Japan, in 40° - 45°N .

A particularly clear depiction of "Tierre de Iesso" (also labeled "Tierre de la Compagnie") is on the "Mappe-Monde Geo-Hydrographique," signed by "le Sr. Sanson" and dated 1674, which is included in *Atlas Nouveau*, published by H. Jaillot, Sanson's successor, at Paris in 1684. This large volume, or a later edition of it, may well have been in Swift's mind when he described a Brobdingnagian book as "not much larger than a *Sanson's Atlas*."

The coast of Iesso, as it appeared on these maps, probably gave Swift a hint for his location of Brobdingnag. Discussing the size of this land, Gulliver concludes that "our Geographers of *Europe* are in a great Error, by supposing nothing but Sea between *Japan* and *California*: For it was ever my Opinion, that there must be a Balance of Earth to counterpoise the great Continent of *Tartary* . . ." After his involuntary departure from the south coast of Brobdingnag, Gulliver is picked up in the vicinity of 44°N "and of Longitude 143° ."

who had only the text to work from. Professor Moore²⁸ has pointed out that the map-maker probably worked from the printed text, rather than from the transcript of Swift's original manuscript. There is no indication, on map or plan in the Third Voyage, of the city of Lindalino (Dublin), which is mentioned in connection with Swift's satire on the episode of Wood's halfpence and the *Drapier's Letters*. This section of the text was not printed in Motte's editions, being stricken out, as Swift thought, by Andrew Tooke, who apparently was engaged by Motte to edit the manuscript which had landed so mysteriously on his doorstep. The map-maker, argues Dr. Moore, did not include Lindalino for the very good reason that it was not mentioned in the (edited or printed) text from which he worked. If this argument be admitted, it provides one more bit of proof that the map-maker was neither Swift nor a friend who might have seen the work in manuscript.

The preceding discussion, in a sense, serves merely to confirm the probable, if not the obvious. Motte, recognizing the value of this satirical parody of the voyagers which had fallen into his hands, decided to carry the parody one step further. He could not consult the author, even if he had known so early that it was Swift, for Swift was in Ireland. Popular taste demanded maps in books of voyages, and he would give them maps. While the book was being edited, set in type, and printed, he commissioned someone to draw the maps, had them engraved (along with a portrait of Gulliver), and bound them in all editions of the *Travels*.

The identity of the map-maker is an interesting question, though perhaps not of great importance. It is clear, from the errors in spelling mentioned above, that the engraver did not make the map, but merely copied it, none too carefully. This fact would seem to eliminate the two most obvious candidates: John Sturt and Robert Sheppard, who signed, as engravers, the portrait of Gulliver which appeared (in several slightly different states) in Motte's editions. Both of these men were professional engravers, and were frequently hired by publishers to engrave the illustrations for

²⁸P. 225, n.

books published during the first half of the century.²⁹ But even if it be assumed, as is quite likely, that Sturt and Sheppard engraved the maps, the identity of the man who drew the maps is still to seek.

Two other candidates suggest themselves: Andrew Tooke, son of Benjamin Tooke, the bookseller who published Swift's early works, and Andrew Motte, brother to the publisher of *Gulliver's Travels*. Andrew Tooke, at the time an usher at Charterhouse, was, according to Swift,³⁰ the man engaged to edit and modify the manuscript of *Gulliver* before Motte would risk his ears in bringing it out. It is possible that he sketched the maps, and included them with the other unauthorized additions, in the course of preparing the copy for the printer.

As to Andrew Motte, we know that he assisted his brother in editorial work: in 1721 the Mottes brought out an abridgment of the transactions of the Royal Society from 1700 to 1720, illustrated with "above 60 original copper-plates."³¹ Significantly, in view of the carelessness displayed by our map-maker, this edition was "very incorrect," and was so severely criticized by a rival editor that Motte felt obliged to answer in a pamphlet published in 1732.³² Furthermore, we know that Andrew Motte was an amateur engraver and had engaged in book illustration. In 1719, a set of drawings was made by Peter Tillemans to illustrate the proposed *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* of John Bridges. These drawings were engraved by a number of men, including Andrew Motte, a friend of Mr. Bridges.³³ Some of these plates engraved by A. Motte were preserved, and at least one was printed when Bridges' work finally appeared in 1791.³⁴

²⁹Among others, the portrait of Isaac Bickerstaff, which appeared in the first collected edition of the *Tatler*, and the illustrations added to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* were engraved by Sturt.

³⁰*Letters of Swift to Ford*, pp. 154, 162.

³¹John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812-16), I, 213.

³²*Ibid.*, I, 482.

³³*Ibid.*, VIII, 683.

³⁴John Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ed. Peter Whalley (Oxford, 1791), II, 546. A plate entitled "The Inward View of the Choir of Peterborow Cathedral" is signed by A. Motte, and several other plates

A priori, it would seem quite likely either that Benjamin Motte asked his brother Andrew to do the maps for *Gulliver*, or that Andrew Tooke was commissioned to do them along with his editing of the manuscript. But there is one serious objection, which applies to both men. It has often been pointed out that the maps in *Gulliver's Travels* display a reckless disregard for scale, particularly in the maps of Lilliput and Brobdingnag, and Dr. Moore³⁵ shows that the map-maker had no more conception than did Swift of the distortions of distance in northerly latitudes which are implicit in the Mercator projection of the globe. Both Andrew Tooke and Andrew Motte were learned men, and by a curious coincidence, both had been professors of geometry at Gresham College.³⁶ It is hardly conceivable that a trained mathematician could have drawn the crude maps of Brobdingnag and Balnibarbi, with their errors of scale and distance and their naive disregard of the most elementary principles of map projection.

On the whole, perhaps the best clue is furnished by the portrait of Gulliver which appears in the Motte editions. It is signed "Sturt et. Sheppard. Sc." The form of this suggests a common method of signing engravings; for example, the frontispiece to *A Tale of a Tub* is signed "B. Lens delin; J. Sturt Sculp." However, the reading *et* in the signature to the Gulliver portrait is made unmistakable by the appearance of the same word, in the same lettering, in the quotation from Persius added to the second state of the portrait. But two men are not likely to share in the engraving of a picture. A much more plausible supposition, despite the ambiguous signature, is that one of them drew the picture and the other engraved it. We know that Sturt had had experience in delineating as well as engraving; he kept a drawing school in St. Paul's Churchyard in partnership with Bernard Lens, and the two frequently worked together for the booksellers, Lens delineating and Sturt engraving. But Lens had died in 1725, and

of Peterborough, though not signed, display the stiff, mechanical style of Motte's work.

³⁵P. 218 f.

³⁶Cf. the articles in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

it seems likely that the Gulliver portrait, executed between August and October, 1726, was one of the early efforts of a new team: Sturt, now a man of 68, delineating and Sheppard, a young man just getting a start in his profession, doing the engraving.

If Sturt and Sheppard respectively drew and engraved the portrait of Gulliver for Motte, it is quite likely that they were also commissioned to do the maps, and worked on them in the same way. "In books of this period a signature is often found only on the first of a series of cuts,"³⁷ and the illustrations added to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* provide a clear example of this practice. Sturt was primarily an engraver of portraits, and maps were just enough out of his line to account for the amateurish treatment of the mythical countries added to the tracing of Moll's map. Sheppard, working from Sturt's map, misread some of the place names and produced the errors noted above.

One question remains to be considered. If Sturt and Sheppard made the maps and Motte added them to the book without Swift's consent or knowledge, why did not Swift make some effort to have them removed in subsequent editions? He was obviously disturbed by the "new things foysted in," and he took advantage of an opportunity to strike out parts of Motte's text when Faulkner was preparing the Dublin edition for which he claimed Swift's supervision, but the maps were re-engraved so that they might be included.

The answer is probably to be found in Swift's disdain for the kind of knowledge embodied in maps, voyages, and geographical works. Quite apart from their lies and errors, which Swift noted so scornfully, the voyages represented increments in that kind of "modern" knowledge, so dear to members of the Royal Society, which, while increasing man's knowledge of the external world, was blandly indifferent to his moral improvement. Swift did not take geography more seriously than was necessary to satirize it; his carelessness with geographic details in *Gulliver* provides additional evidence of his contempt for natural, as opposed to moral, philosophy.

³⁷*A Tale of a Tub*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1920), p. xxiv.

Moreover, his complaints about the "mingled and mangled" version which Motte printed seem to have one primary motivation: his pride as a writer was hurt by having stylistically inferior matter added to his text. But the maps offered no threat to his vanity or his reputation as a writer, since it was well known that the publisher of a book of voyages hired someone like Herman Moll to do the cartography. If, like the obscure references in *A Tale of a Tub*, the inaccuracies of the maps bewildered and irritated the reader, so much the better. The author who reported with delight the story of the skeptical Irish bishop was not one to worry about misleading the amateur geographers in his audience.