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Swift's use of the Literature of Travel
in the composition of Gulliver's Travels.

by David Francis Jones, M.A., BPhil., Submitted for the
degree of P H.D. to The University of Warwick, Department
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Summary

The primary aim of this thesis is to identify and assess the correspondences which occur between Gulliver's Travels and non fiction travel writing to which Swift is known to have had access before and during the period of composition. Books of travels listed by Harold Williams in Dean Swift's Library (Cambridge, 1932) have been consulted. In particular, the thesis examines the possible contribution of travel documents published by Hakluyt and Purchas. The method of research employed has been to concentrate upon themes such as the veracity of travel writers, stylistic features, primitive savages, strange islands, magic, attitudes to voyaging, bows and arrows, pygmies and giants, motives for travel, law and customs. The first chapter summarizes known and possible influences, considering the broad combination of fabulous and imaginary prose travel with Swift's mock realism. The second chapter develops the analysis of literary parody and considers the uneasy satirical relationship between travel lies and Gulliver's ironic veracity, with particular reference to magic and astrology. Chapters 3-7 comprise five regional studies of several themes which have been considered of special relevance to Gulliver's Travels, following this survey of travel writing.

The conclusions reached in the course of the thesis relate to the allusive power and ironic depth of Gulliver's Travels. Whereas R.W. Frantz, W.A. Eddy, Arthur Sherbo and others have noticed incidental parallels in real travel literature, no comprehensive study exists of the subject as a whole. The thesis treats Hakluyt and Purchas in detail in working towards establishing the conventions of travel writing which are partly imitated and partly mocked by Swift. The extent to which it is intended that the reader should be conscious of the real travel background is also explored. Although source hunting can be an unprofitable activity, the large number of correspondences between Gulliver's Travels and the literature of real travel upon which the work is partly based suggest Swift was more conversant with voyages and travels than may have been presumed. These travel features appear to have been carefully intermingled with recognizable Homeric, Rabelaisian and Lucianic elements.

Abbreviations Used

PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Society of America
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MP	Modern Philology
N & Q	Notes and Queries
PQ	Philological Quarterly
HLQ	Huntingdon Library Quarterly
MLS	Modern Language Studies
RES	The Review of English Studies
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MLR	Modern Language Review.

Introduction

In the composition of Gulliver's Travels Swift had many intellectual models from which to work.¹ Whatever sources he may have had are not confined to real and imaginary prose travel literature, and the full meaning for Swift of travel and its associated ideas eludes brief summary. It is necessary to acknowledge the broad tradition of prose satire to which Gulliver's Travels belongs and to evaluate the significance of the travel background, not as a discrete feature, but as an integral component of an imaginative whole. The provenance of Gulliver is complex, and to some extent, speculative. Thus the aim of this study is not to offer a literal reading of hypothetical borrowings, but to attempt to achieve a deeper perception of Swift's intentions in the construction of this elaborate literary joke which is scarcely concealed in Gulliver's Travels.

Swift's opinions of travel writers are easy to confuse with those of his creation, Gulliver. We know that Swift considered Thomas Herbert's prolix travel writing the work of a coxcomb. We know also that he is scathing about the grave remarks 'of those illustrious and right eloquent Pen-Men, the Modern Travellers'.² It is less certain how far to distance the creator from the hero traveller who, albeit ironically, censures travel writers as 'tedious and trifling' guilty of consulting less the 'Truth than their own Vanity or Interest or the Diversion of ignorant Readers' and who 'impose the grossest Falsities on the unwary reader'. Travel writers were proverbial liars and notorious plagiarists, some impression of which factors is felt in Gulliver's Travels.

Chapter 1

The Travel Dimension

'To steal a hint was never known,
But what he writ, was all his own'
(On The Death Of Dr Swift)

It is an axiom that Gulliver's Travels is in part based on the author's reading of books of travels. It is well known that Swift read travel books at Moor Park, according to a list compiled in 1697-8. He was also reading travel literature in 1722 during composition of Gulliver's Travels, according to a letter to Vanessa from Loughall which reports his reading 'I know not how many diverting Books of History and Travells'.¹ The contents of his library included several volumes of special interest. A search of Harold Williams, Dean Swift's Library (Cambridge, 1932), reveals travels by Francois Bernier, Peter Martyr, Thomas Herbert, Jan Huggen Van Linschoten, Lionel Wafer, Joseph Addison, and the great collections of Hakluyt and Purchas.² Other authors central to the background of Gulliver's Travels include Lucian, Montaigne, La Fontaine, Homer, Cervantes, Bacon, Rabelais and Montesquieu. The aim of this chapter is to survey the books actually owned by Swift and to consider additional possible source material.

A manuscript catalogue of Swift's books compiled on 19 August 1715 includes Captain William Dampier's 'Travels' (1698), 'Le Blanc's Travells' and Bernier's 'Grand Mogul' together with an account by Jan Nieuhof of an embassy to the Emperor Cham of China.³ Such evidence drew Harold Williams

to remark that 'Travellers' tales and voyages of discovery were always favourite reading with Swift, and the form of satire he adopted grew in part out of this interest, in part also from the readiness with which this device can be adapted to general or particular satire'.⁴ In a recent summary of Swift's reading of travel literature, Arthur Sherbo has emphasized its importance in general terms, but says 'surprisingly enough, in view of the fact that Swift usually employs recognizable literary genres as vehicles for his satires and adopts the language and conventions of those genres, there has been relatively little more written on the possible influences of travel literature on Gulliver's Travels since R.W. Frantz commented on resemblances between reports of primitive savages and the Yahoos'.⁵

Traces of real travel should, however, be allied to the parallel tradition of travel mockery. In this vein, Lucian's A True History, favourite reading of Swift, satirizes imaginary journeys which tell of 'huge beasts', 'cruel men', 'strange ways of living', citing Homer's Odysseus as 'their guide and instructor in this sort of charlatanry'.⁶ The epitome of the traveller's lie became the tale told to Alcinous in the Odyssey, IX-XII which involves 'winds in bondage, one-eyed men, cannibals and savages; also about animals with many heads, and transformations of his comrades wrought with drugs'.⁷ In A True History Lucian mocks the fabulous stories which humbugged their readers. Later, More's Utopia also attacked 'stale travellers' wonders' such as Scyllas, greedy Celaenus and folk-devouring Laestrygonians.⁸

The fabulous elements of Gulliver's Travels belong to the ancient tradition of travellers' lies and exaggeration. In addition, Gulliver's promises of veracity parody

contemporary travel writers, whose notorious invention of marvels capitalized on the current Eighteenth Century craze for novelties. They also became notorious for tedious information about winds, tides and long winded digressions on manners and customs. The popularity of Gulliver's Travels was due in part to a fascination for travel, exploration of remote seas and continents, commercial expansion, trade and empire with rumours of marvellous tribes, strange creatures and undiscovered islands.

As will be seen, Swift employs travel as a realistic framing device at the beginning and end of each of the four voyages, very much in the style of William Dampier or Lionel Wafer. He interweaves the conventions of travel like a colourful thread through the fabric of the whole narrative, switching between the prosaic, factual observations in the mode of Dampier, and exotic, fabulous elements of the kind much parodied in the Lucianic tradition. The bewildering interplay of pseudo-realism and self-mockery, straining all credulity, contributes to Swift's ferocious irony. Such irony was missed by the mythical Irish Bishop in the often quoted letter from Swift to Pope who said 'that Book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it'.⁹

Swift borrowed from imaginary prose voyages devices such as the elaborate plea for credulity in the criticism of the printer in the 'Letter From Gulliver to His Cousin Sympson' and in the pastiche of a publisher's address 'to the Reader'. Other influences from imaginary voyages occur in such creations as the use of giants and pygmies, the Flying Island, Glubbudrib and rational horses. On the other hand, from real travel Swift borrowed recognisable

conventions, such as the provision of nautical information; descriptions of storms; mutiny; escape from pirates; bartering with natives; promises to write a more detailed, specialist account; names of ships and their captains and the handling of the narrative in terms of escape or survival.

Gulliver's Travels is likely to have been influenced by a wide spectrum of narratives, and Swift's literary method is sumptuously allusive: his borrowings most carefully engineered to create the vexing impression of not being easily placed within a single literary or geographical world.

Yet Gulliver's Travels exhibits an outer framework of realism. William A. Eddy's survey of possible predecessors of Gulliver's Travels attempted to classify certain types of narratives.¹⁰ Philosophical voyages can, like Plato's Republic and More's Utopia, be accounts of imaginary commonwealths with no narrative structure, whereas narrative types of the philosophic voyage can be fantastic travels by Europeans, which, despite some realistic strokes, are not credible, such as Lucian's True History. Such voyages can be extra-terrestrial, subterrestrial or terrestrial. Eddy rejects the phrase 'extraordinary voyage' as used by Geoffrey Atkinson in The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature Before 1700 (Columbia, 1920) to describe in a specialized sense a limited group of French, realistic fiction, because the word 'extraordinary' undervalues the inherent realism of such voyages. Realistic voyages are fictitious narratives purporting, like Gulliver's Travels, to be veritable accounts of voyages made by a European to an existent country, intended to be credible when written, however fantastic.

Gulliver has been closely identified with Dampier.

Gulliver mentions this real traveller in 'A Letter from Gulliver To His Cousin Sympson' together with his intention 'to publish a very loose and uncorrect Account of My Travels; with Direction to hire some Gentleman of either University to put them in Order, and correct the Style, as my Cousin Dampier did by my advice, in his Book called, A Voyage round the World'. Swift owned the third edition of Captain William Dampier's New Voyage Round the World (London, 1698). Sir Walter Scott rightly explained 'the character of the imaginary traveller is exactly that of Dampier, or any other sturdy nautical wanderer of the Period'.¹¹ Swift is attributed with the employment of Dampier's authentic style of travel journal writing.¹² The connection with Dampier is a literary device to feign authentication of Gulliver's Travels, thereby expressing irritation at the printer's errors; provision of maps prefacing each voyage and record of abundant information pertaining to travel, such as names of ships, calculations of latitude and longitude; tides and wind. Together with other plausible paraphernalia these are intended to provide a veneer of authenticity and pose as serving to disarm the reader's suspicion. As a bonus, the opportune kinship with Dampier is known to have been a contributing factor in the book's popularity in exploiting a craze for travel books in the Eighteenth Century. Such enthusiasm had been aroused by exotic descriptions of remote nations by Elizabethan voyagers, which whetted an appetite for marvellous adventures.

A series of small echoes of Dampier's New Voyage reverberate in Gulliver's Travels. For example, Gulliver promises not to trouble the reader with excessive details about nautical matters, as in 'A Voyage to Lilliput', when he states 'It would not be

proper for some Reasons, to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of our Adventures in those Seas' (Book I, chapter 1, p.20). The same economical device occurs in the account of the 'solemn Embassy from Blefuscu' which Gulliver curtails with the intention not to 'trouble the Reader' (Book I, chapter 5, p.54). Also Gulliver's comments on his 'Sea-Language, as not proper in many Parts' suggest Dampier's own comments about 'being a seaman' who could not be expected to 'affect politeness'. Dampier divested himself of 'sea-phrases' to gratify the 'land-reader'.¹³ Dampier advises correction of maps in A New Voyage (p.137). Gulliver also lends advice to map makers (Book II, chapter 4, p.111, and Book IV, chapter 11, p.284). Dampier builds canoes which utilize manatee skins (p.33). Gulliver constructs a canoe using the skins of Yahoos (Book IV, chapter 10, pp.281-282). Dampier's account of the little black monkeys on the uninhabited island of Gorgonia which dig out shells by the sea side with their claws, suggest Yahoos.¹⁴ Elsewhere, Dampier rewards his Indian guides with beads, knives and looking glasses, and Gulliver refers to 'Toys, which Travellers usually carry for Presents to the Savage Indians of America and other Parts' (Book IV, chapter 2, p.228).

Dampier's voyage to the Bay of Campeachy in the Gulf of Mexico is executed with the intention 'to cut logwood'. Gulliver's 'Voyage to the Houyhnhnms' begins from Portsmouth as an expedition 'to the Bay of Campeachy, to cut Logwood' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.221).

Dampier and Gulliver differ in descriptive technique. Gulliver's Travels lacks the vast amount of information which Dampier offers about flora and fauna. Dampier vividly describes nuts, fruit, birds, food, sugar, salt, fish, pigeons,

tortoises, seals, raccoons, turtles and rice. In Gulliver's Travels the purpose of reducing this is to emphasize the inhabitants of the countries visited by Gulliver and, without marring the outer resemblance of his travel account to works of real travel such as Dampier's, minimize natural and topographical descriptions. Even when such occur, as in the mention of the 'excellent fish' in Brobdingnag, the reference is notable for the size of the fish in proportion to those of Europe as opposed to their natural qualities (Book II, chapter 4, p.111).

The realistic strokes akin to Dampier which contribute to giving the impression of the real journal of a sailor are counterbalanced by possible influences from fantastic and cosmic voyages which have no affinity with the truth and are themselves proverbial for travellers' lies. One such immensely popular voyage is Francis Godwin's The Man in the Moone: Or a Discourse of a Voyage thither. By Domingo Gonsales. The Speedy Messenger (London, 1638). This voyage is made by Domingo using his 'Gansas', or wild swans, trained to fly to the moon. This is both an 'imaginary' and 'extraordinary' narrative which, according to Marjorie Nicholson, differs from both since they 'led not to outposts of civilisation upon our maps, but away from earth to another world'.¹⁵

Godwin's story of the shipwrecked mariner foreshadowed both Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver. It begins with the corroborative details of a real voyage, then, conveyed to the moon by birds, this philosopher-traveller finds a Brobdingnagian world proportionately ten, twenty or thirty times bigger than ours. Their lunar world, with twenty-eight feet tall men, determined position in society according to height and stature,

and in passages which might anticipate Gulliver's Travels, show the mere mortal, Domingo, regarded as inferior to the Lunarians, as Gulliver is among the Houyhnhnms. The lowest group of people is like terrestrial men, only a degree above brute beasts and regarded as 'bastard-men', just as Gulliver is ranked among the Yahoos. Godwin's moon is an exotic land or utopia where food was plentiful, men and women were chaste, where there were no lawyers or prisons. Anticipating the calm acceptance of death by the rational Houyhnhnms, Godwin describes the attitudes of the best Lunarians, the upper class of whom lived longest, though they were not immortal.

Another imaginary, fantastic voyage frequently connected with Gulliver is the Histoire Comique Dans La Lune by Cyrano de Bergerac, the first edition of which appeared in 1650. This voyage may have been known to Swift, although Harold Williams expressed reservations about this possibility in Dean Swift's Library, saying 'it is possible that Swift may have read these voyages. The fact remains that they never seem to have been among his own books' (pp.89-90). It is right to acknowledge the doubtfulness of Swift's debt to Cyrano and Godwin, but the parallels between the moon voyages and Gulliver's Travels are worth stating.¹⁶ W.A. Eddy has regarded Cyrano's second romance, the Histoire Comique Du Soleil as a source for Laputa and 'A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms'.¹⁷

The voyage to the moon by Cyrano De Bergerac involves his first landing in what first appears to be a strange world inhabited by savages, which, it transpires, is the other side of his own world, New France in Canada. His flight through space is by means of a flying chariot from which he perceives several earths like ours and planets

round them. However, the force of the air becoming increasingly refined, he eventually feels his box beginning to fall. This may have suggested Gulliver's fall into the sea, following his flight through the air 'with prodigious speed' by means of the eagle (Book II, chapter 8, pp.140-141).

Next, Daniel Defoe's The Consolidator: Or Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. Translated from the Lunar Language. By the Author of the True-born English Man (London, 1705) provides an important link with Laputa. Defoe attempts to turn the tables on the 'moderns' of his day by implying that all the inventions on which they prided themselves had been known centuries earlier to the Greeks. Swift's experiments in Laputa have a different emphasis and ignore the Chinese element in Defoe's work. The Consolidator treats the moon as a fountain of extraordinary knowledge brought to earth by the 'famous Mira-Cho-Cho-Lasmo', record of whom is found in the great libraries of China. The secrets of the lunar regions were revealed to the Chinese, in comparison to whom, English experimenters are childlike and 'all our Philosophers are Fools'. Defoe's moon world permits the traveller to examine our earth through vast telescopes. Gulliver's Travels, which purports to discover 'remote Nations of the World' is paradoxically, of course, a view of European civilization on a large scale, which satirizes our disorder, vice, corruption and absurdities.

A link with Lilliput occurs when Gulliver falls asleep on the grass, having drunk 'about half a Pint of Brandy' which made him 'much inclined to sleep' (Book I, chapter 1, p.21). This is a possible allusion to the convenient anaesthetic device of drinking a certain dozy draught that sets Defoe's moon traveller into gentle slumber.

'A Voyage to Laputa' is the most completely dependent upon sources, according to Marjorie Nicholson.¹⁸ For example, the experiments have been shown to depend on actual experiments conducted by the Royal Society. The brilliance of the third voyage is partly due to two factors: the ingenious manipulation of source material, such as the devices of Godwin and Cyrano and, secondly, its conspicuous departure from the other voyages of Gulliver in travelling out of the terrestrial world. 'A Voyage to Laputa' departs from parody of the accepted patterns of the voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag which precede it. Within the tradition of cosmic voyages Gulliver observes the people on the Flying Island like his predecessors through his 'pocket perspective'. Yet, whereas Cyrano and others made their travellers fly through interstellar space, Swift reverses the convention when the 'vast Opake Body between me and the Sun, moving forward towards the Island' appears overhead (Book III, chapter 1, p.156).

The magnetic adamant in the construction of the island and the enormous loadstone in the Astronomers' Cave bear strong resemblances to properties of William Gilbert's magnetic dipping needle. This phenomenon has a possible bearing upon the magnetic influence of Balnibarbi which has been shown to be an ingenious exaggeration of Gilbertian theory.¹⁹ Swift probably noted a Gilbertian terrella upon a visit to the Royal Society, changing the measurements from inches to miles. The diameter of our world of 7837 miles, is reflected in the 7837 yards, or the four and a half miles, which is the diameter of Laputa. Swift's little world of Laputa rises, flies and descends, constantly governed by the magnetic force of the larger world of Balnibarbi, which at the same

time it governs.

The scientific influences on Book III contrast with shadows of the Odyssey which also appear. Homer is a pervasive influence, not least in the chapters which concern Glubbubdrib, (Book III, chapters 7 and 8). Homeric allusions are to Odysseus's visit to the underworld, the City of Cimmerians in the Land of Dreams, where the souls, the phantoms of the dead have their habitation in the Odyssey, XI. Also, the account^{of} Circe opens with reference to the floating Aeolian Island (Book X). The sorcery and miraculous features of the Odyssey may take place in a fictional wonderland, but they are not mere marvels unrelated to geography. W.B. Stanford and J.V. Luce have drawn attention to recognizable geographical areas within which the Odyssey is set.²⁰ Just as 'A Voyage to Laputa' is connected to a familiar geography in beginning as a voyage to the East Indies, so Homer appears to have set his ancient narrative in coastal districts such as the Ionian Islands and the Libyan, Sicilian and Tyrrhenian Seas.

As well as Homer, Swift read works by Plutarch and Philostratus. Plutarch's Lycurgus, with its account of Sparta, contains important hints for Gulliver's Travels.²¹ The values of the society of Sparta may be said to have informed the rational commonwealth of the Land of the Houyhnhnms. In Plutarch's account, key ideas are simplicity of diet; the attack on luxury and extravagance; thirst for wealth; rational approaches to the care and education of children; patient endurance of toil; prohibition of commerce with other nations. Some ideas are preserved in the Houyhnhnms. The Master of the Houyhnhnms could not believe that 'Nature, who worketh all Things to Perfection, should suffer any Pains to breed

in our Bodies', and Gulliver admiringly notes that they are austere and healthy because 'their Fundamental is, that all Diseases arise from Repletion' (Book IV, chapter 6, p.253). The training of Houyhnhnms youth 'to Strength, Speed and Hardiness', the ruthless subjection of Yahoos by their masters and the universal concentration upon 'Temperance, Industry and Cleanliness', are aspects which probably derive from Plutarch.²²

The health of the Houyhnhnms may also be associated with the description by Sir William Temple of the life and culture of the ancient Indian Brachmans in the Essay 'Upon Antient and Modern Learning'.²³ The temperance of the Brachmans was 'exemplary' and if the Brachman ever did fall sick 'they counted it such a mark of intemperance that they would frequently dye out of shame and sullenness, but many lived one hundred and fifty and some two hundred years' (p.10). For Temple, the Spartan ideas of Lycurgus 'seem wholly Indian, especially in the care and education of children, austere temperance of diet, patient endurance of toil and pain, use of gold and silver only in temples and the defence of commerce with other nations' (p.14). 'It may look like a paradox', says Temple, 'to deduce learning from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude' (p.14).

Swift also knew the Life of Apollonius and the Imagines of Philostratus. Swift's copy of Philostratus was annotated on the blank leaves where his opinions were scribbled. In 1814, Sir Walter Scott remarked on the account in the Imagines of the capture of the sleeping Hercules by pygmies as a model for the first scene in Lilliput.²⁴ In the Life of Apollonius, the Brachmans of India are regarded by Apollonius as philosophers, who love peace and place a low value on gold and

silver, emphasize moderation and good sense.²⁵ The biography of Apollonius is a quite fanciful account of the miracle monger and wandering philosopher of the First Century A.D. who forms the 'scheme of an extensive voyage'.

Apollonius's tale of his visits to the Magi and the Brachmans recounts great wonders such as a piebald woman, miraculous healing of the blind and lame, occult themes, mythical creatures such as peacock fish, dragons, man eating animals that shoot arrows, magic stones, griffins and a phoenix. Although none of these travellers' lies appears to have been taken up by Swift, there are also important suggestions for Lilliput, Lagado and the Yahoos and, in a possible hint for Lilliput, Philostratus also describes pygmies (II, 143 and III, 331). In a suggestion for Lagado Apollonius visits a 'castle of Sages', and enters into a series of dialogues with the philosophers who have the gift of divination, quitting earth, walking on the sun and being rendered invisible by a floating cloud. The men are 'unfeignedly wise, for they seem to have the gift of foreknowledge' (III, 251). Apollonius also notices yahoo-like apes which 'inhabit the pepper trees, for these were black bushy haired and were dog-like in features and as big as small men' (III, 335). Gulliver's veneration of the Houyhnhnms is parallel to the worship of the Brachmans by Apollonius. Finally his proficiency in speaking foreign languages matches the claim of Apollonius to know all Languages.

From the Imagines, a series of lectures and rhetorical exercises to display the powers of the Sophists, intended to stimulate the imagination and aesthetic taste, Swift's borrowings from the pygmies' attack on the sleeping Hercules for the attack by Lilliputians on the sleeping Gulliver, are

selective. Most significantly, the warlike nature of the pygmies with bows and arrows is preserved. Swift adopted a sense of proportion in the relative sizes of the pygmy horses of their carts and their use of an axe on stacks of grain, believing that they are trees.²⁵

Discussion of pygmies appears in some of Swift's favourite reading. In the introduction to Polite Conversation, Swift notes that he has 'read Mr. Thomas Brown entire, and had the honour to be his intimate friend, who was universally admitted to be the greatest genius of his age'.²⁷ Tom Brown's 'Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors' concerns the existence of pigmies and investigates their origins, if 'by pygmies we understand a dwarfish race of people, or lowest diminution of mankind'.²⁸ Brown concludes that 'if dwarfes were ever extant, they were surely some kinde of Apes' and 'Wee shall not conclude impossibility, or that there might not be a race of Pygmies, as there is sometimes Giants' (I, 333). 'Circumstantiall relations' were conflicting, some saying they 'fight with cranes, but Menecles in Atheneus affirmes they fight with Partridges, some say they ride on Partridges and some of the backs of Rams' (I, 332).

In Tom Brown's Amusements Serious and Comical Swift would have encountered use of the voyage metaphor to attack contemporary vices.²⁹ Brown satirizes 'all the conditions of Human life without being infected with the vanities and vices that attend such a whimsical Perambulation' (p.5). This playful mock voyage begins 'There is no amusement so entertaining and advantageous as improving some of our leisure time in travelling, thus giving a loose to our souls that have been upon the stretch, by diverting them with agreeable reflections on the manners of the different countries we

journey through, and the constitutions of the several people the places we visit are furnished with' (p.5). Brown's third 'Amusement' consists of an entertaining satire of the iniquities of London as observed by a visiting Indian who might have 'dropped perpendicularly from the clouds' (p.11). The reader is asked to imagine 'what an indian would think of such a motley herd of people, and what a diverting amusement it would be to him to examine with a traveller's eye all the remarkable things of this city' (p.10).³⁰ The capricious idea of the amazement of a mere savage at the antics of so-called civilized society is used so that the Indian is able to look 'at certain things which the prejudice of custom makes to seem reasonable and natural to us' (p.10).

In Brown's hands the voyage metaphor is a perfect form for treating the diversity of subject matter and for providing opportunities for humorous digression 'since they are all nothing but amusements' (p.37). Brown drops his Indian travelling companion when it suits him and digresses in the manner of a loose travel account. It is a principle feature of travel journals, whether satirical fiction or real documents, that they should embody looseness, for the traveller pins his observations upon the sights he meets with in the course of his journey and does not order his writing in thematic form. Brown remarks 'I will still keep in my hands the power to change, if I think fit, at every period, my figure, subject and style, that I may be less tiresome to the modern reader; for I know well enough, that variety is the predominant taste of the present age' (p.37).

Brown's Amusements Serious and Comical offers both an intentional looseness of composition, well advertised to the reader, and a satirical view of society presented in the form of

an imaginary voyage. In addition, Brown's account of the visit to the 'philosophical or virtuosi country' might have influenced 'A Voyage to Laputa' in its mockery of pedantry and false learning.³¹

This amusing 'Country of Experimental Philosophy' almost matches Lagado in ridiculousness. Brown describes the absurdities of haughty Geometricians, and the scientists' collections of rarities, including 'galls of doves, the eye-teeth of flying toads, the eggs of ants, and the eyes of oysters. Here they weigh the air, measure heat, cold, dryness and humidity; great discoveries for the public advantage of mankind!' (p.77). One scientist is improving nature by

dissecting atoms and mites in cheese, for the improvement of the Anatomical Science; and a third was transfusing the blood of an ass into an astrological quack; of a sheep into a bully; and of a fish into an exchange woman which had all the desired effects, for the quack proved a sot, the bully a coward, and the tongue-pad was silent. (p.77)

Notable also is the satire of quacks with their ridiculous remedies such as the removal by means of a loadstone of a knife which had been accidentally swallowed by a boy.

After a long consultation, one of these two remedies was agreed on, viz. that the patient should swallow as much aqua fortis as would dissolve the knife into minute particles, and bring it away by siege; but the other remedy was more philosophical, and therefore better approved, and that was to apply a loadstone to his arse, and so draw it out by magnetic attraction. But which of the two was put in practice I know not, for I did not stay to see the noble experiment, though my particular friend, Dr. W—d was the first that proposed that remedy, and he is no quack, I assure you. (p.81)

Such amusement may well have influenced the Academy of Projectors in Lagado. Brown's satire is significant more for

general ideas than for particular details, but should not be underestimated.

Essential to an understanding of Gulliver's Travels and its forerunners are the two fantastic voyages written by Lucian: A True History and Icaromenippus, Or the Sky Man.³² The purposeful exaggerations and the marvellous character of the adventures were directly imitated by Rabelais, Cyrano de Bergerac and Swift.³³ Lucian's parody of supernatural writing of poets and historians in A True History consciously avoids all semblance of reality and mocks the proverbial lies of travellers by such elaborate fabrications as glass anchors, seas of milk, men called cork feet running over the sea, men with no bodies, glass clothing, men with removable eyes. Lucian is reluctant to tell us about them 'for fear that you may think me lying on account of the incredibility of the story, but I will tell you notwithstanding' (p.279).

Swift purchased in 1711 D'Ablancourt's 'three little volumes of Lucian in French'.³⁴ He also probably knew the Dryden Lucian which was published in four volumes in 1711, the first volume of which appeared in 1696. His knowledge and enjoyment of Lucian's works provided no models for the composition of Gulliver's Travels, the provenance of which is more eclectic. Nevertheless, Lucian's satirical energy and the play upon travellers' lies in this ridiculous travelogue are of special relevance.

Lucian's oblique method of teaching, later used by More and Swift, is intended to enforce awareness of difficulty, to highlight problems of belief and paradoxes of experience which require to be weighed in a sophisticated intellectual balance. Appalling simplifications can result from trying to understand Lucian or Gulliver's Travels in terms of simply

reversing their apparent emphasis. Such an approach leads to a sad neglect of wit.

Through Lucianic and Swiftian lenses mankind is sometimes regarded as ugly and immoral, but especially in Gulliver's Travels, the sensitive reader cannot miss the art of teasing. This pervades such passages as the King of Brobdingnag's conclusions about 'the Bulk of your Natives' being 'the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth' (Book II, chapter 6, p.132). In Icaromenippus, which involves a fantastic journey up to the heaven in the moon and the sun, the traveller obtains a view of the chaos and wickedness of the world below him as he perches, resting, 'looking down on the earth from on high' (p.287). This view encompasses adultery, murder, conspiracy, poison, plundering, forswearing, and 'men fearing and falling victim to the reason of their closest kin' (p.295). In addition, men who were supposed to be philosophers were revealed to be 'lazy, disputatious, vainglorious, quick-tempered, gluttonous, doltish, addlepated' (p.317).

As important to Swift as Lucian was Rabelais, whose extraordinary voyage of Pantagruel, with its strange ports and islands, its lusty humour and its powerful, satiric overtones, leads to lands and seas as strange and fantastic as anything ever conceived by voyagers to a new world in the moon. The fourth and fifth books of Rabelais are concerned with the voyage of Pantagruel and Panurge from the World of Error in search of Truth, which is represented as being located in a bottle. It is conceivable that Swift may have known Rabelais through the translation by Urquhart and Motteux. W.A. Eddy suggests that Swift read Rabelais in English, the 'high

reputation and favourable reception accorded to this translation make it quite probable that we are following the same text with which Swift was familiar'.³⁵ The fact remains that he owned a French edition of the works of Rabelais which he annotated.

Swift refers directly to Rabelais on several occasions. In one contribution to the Examiner Swift refers to 'the story of a giant in Rabelais, who used to feed upon windmills, but was unfortunately choked with a small lump of butter before a warm oven'.³⁶ Also, in correspondence to Bolingbroke Swift refers to Rabelais, Book II, chapter 29: 'How Pantagruel won a very strange Victory over the Dipsodes and the Giants'.³⁷ As Eddy has pointed out, Swift directly quoted from Rabelais when he referred to one of the Abstractors of Queen Whim's court, whose profession is paralleled in the occupation of one of the professors of Lagado. 'For as to your scheme of raising one-hundred-and-ten-thousand pounds, it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was to squeeze out Wind from the Posteriors of a dead Ass'.³⁸ The physician's experiments in Lagado with the bellows and the dog bear a similarity to Rabelais, despite the use in Gulliver's Travels, not of an ass, but a dog (Book III, chapter 5, p.181).

The influence of Rabelais upon composition of the Lagado episode is especially strong. 'The fifth and last Book of the heroic acts and sayings of the Good Pantagruel, which contains the visit to the Oracle of the Divine Bacbuc and the Verdict of the Bottle, the securing of which was the whole purpose of this long voyage' offers a number of hints for the composition of the Lagado episode, especially in the Queen's activities after dinner and the 'diverse Employments of the officers of the Quintessence, and how the Lady engaged us in

the capacity of abstractors'. By the Queen's Command, the gentlemen of the household perform strange and amazing cures for the incurables. These activities concern curing the Pox by touching invalids with clogs; curing fevers by hanging a fox's tail over the patient's belt and curing consumptives by the simple remedy of making them monks for three months (v.21). The Abstractors then draw up water in nets; make lanterns out of bladders; turn clouds into brass stoves (v.22). What is remarkable about Swift's use of such material is the finesse with which he adopts the spirit of Rabelais, artfully leaving aside the latter's ideas for crazy experiments, in favour of his own, whereas some borrowings do occur elsewhere.

The invented languages of Gulliver's Travels are parallel to Rabelais's Utopian, tongue twisting humour in the made up languages of Book II, chapters 7 and 9. Never far from Rabelais's sense of humour is the proverbial joke about travellers' lies, and he makes much use of this in the swearing of an oath of veracity in the amusing prologue to Book II. The population of Utopia is given as '9876543210 men, not counting the women and small children' (III, 1). Such facetious exactitude is a playful mockery of travellers' tales. Rabelais succeeds brilliantly in the combinations of minimal realism with hilarious absurdity. For example, Pantagruel's arrival at the Island of Ennasin, in Book IV, chapter 9, begins with details about the wind from the west 'blowing, changing occasionally to that breeze from the south west which is called the "garbino", and a whole day passed without our discovering land'. However, within a few lines, the reader learns of inhabitants of a triangular island, like 'red-painted Picts' who 'have noses shaped like the ace-of-clubs' who, it transpires, are ridiculously intermarried.

The uneasy relationship with the truth, used with ironic force by Rabelais is also pervasive in Gulliver's Travels. In one sense, source studies have tended to ignore Swift's irony in attempting to elucidate parallels and borrowings.³⁹ Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the hackneyed storm scene in the beginning of Gulliver's voyage to Brobdingnag (Book II, chapter 1, p.84).

E.H. Knowles has shown this storm to be nearly a verbatim version of a passage in Samuel Sturmy's Mariner's Magazine, 1679.⁴⁰ Swift's use of the passage parodies the jargon of nautical 'Sea Yahoos'. The set piece acts also as a bridge between the verisimilitude of the voyage itself and the ensuing visit to a land of giants. The storm scene involving Gulliver could be regarded as an allusion to Rabelais, because Pantagruel survives a great storm at sea which similarly parodies mariners in references to 'Mizzen-sail, mizzen top-sail, lug-sail, main-sail, studding-sail, and sprit-sail. He then had the top-sail hauled down, also the fore-topsail and main-top-sail, and lowered the mizzen-mast and all the yard-arms, leaving only the ratlins and shrouds'.⁴¹

Rabelais constructs a great storm scene with literary bravura, remarkable for the thoroughness of its nautical language. The scene, imitative of that in the Aeneid, combines an element of the mock epic. Both Swift and Rabelais used authentic nautical terminology. Rabelais based details of the giant whale on actual seamen's descriptions, for example, and used actual voyaging information in the presentation of little penknives from Perche to the delighted natives. The scene develops into allegory when he incorporates events in Europe when, for example, the voyagers meet a ship bound for what must be the Council of Trent and, as a result, runs into

bad weather. Swift's use of actual mariner's language within such a storm scene shows a colourful blend of parodic and realistic intentions which is devoid of allegory and of classical allusion. In connection with storms, Rabelais refers to classical authors when he states 'You can read about them in Apollonius, Pherecydes, Strabo, Pausanias and Herodotus' (Book IV, chapter 20, p.495). He makes reference to Aeneas in a passage about death by shipwreck, saying 'Aeneas, in fact, during the storm that surprised his fleet near Sicily, regretted that he had not died at the hands of the brave Diomedes. He declared those that had perished in the fires of Troy three times and four times blessed' (Book IV, chapter 22, p.501).

The beginning of the storm in Gulliver's Travels is noticed by the knowledgeable captain John Nicholas who 'bid us all prepare against a Storm' (Book II, chapter 1, p.84). The captain is said by Rabelais to have 'observed the fluttering of the weather pennant on the stern and expected a fierce squall followed by a sudden hurricane' (Book IV, chapter 18, p.490). Swift's storm reinforces the affinity of Gulliver's Travels with real travel literature at this juncture, to distance 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag' from imaginary voyages. However, the reader's expectations are quickly surprised by the appearance of the 'huge creature' wading in the sea.

The interplay of realism and fabulous details in Gulliver's Travels is never meant entirely seriously. Swift's humour undercuts the switches from the real world of voyaging to the artificial world of the imaginary voyage. It is a delicate flowering of a combination of jocular and solemn elements within the traditions of travel writing that leads to such force of impression upon the reader.

The jocularity of Rabelais is apparent in the long

catalogues of abuses in Gulliver's Travels. For example, Gulliver reports that the King of Brobdingnag dismissed 'the historical account I gave him of our Affairs during the last Century; protesting it was only an Heap of Conspiracies, Rebellions, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments; the very worst Effects that Avarice, Faction, Hypocrisy, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Rage, Madness, Hatred, Envy, Lust, Malice and Ambition could produse' (Book II, chapter 6, p.132). Such powerful lists condemn the vices of the so-called civilization of Europe, which is defended by Gulliver on account of his 'Laudable Partiality' to England. However, the salvo of contempt for fallen humanity is devoid of the moderating, friendly humour evident in Rabelais. Gulliver's lists avoid the conviviality and focus the reader's attention on unpleasant aspects of his own society as in Gulliver's list of evils which are conspicuously absent in the tranquil Land of the Houyhnhnms (Book IV, chapter 10, pp.276-277). Such is Swift's intention, as expressed in the often quoted letter to Pope, 'the chief end I propose to myself in all my labours is to vex the world rather than divert it'.⁴² Swift's invective was addressed to the world in general and not individuals as 'Upon this great foundation of Misanthropy (though not Timon's manner) The whole building of my Travells is erected'. Indeed, the narrative of Gulliver's remote world of imaginary voyaging maintains a persistent ironic fire upon the stark reality of man's deplorable moral condition. For this reason Swift creates an atmosphere of horror in some of the episodes in 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag'. This can be perceived in the exploits of the malicious dwarf and the descriptions of the giant rat which Gulliver is compelled to attack with his hangar. These are shocking and nightmarish, as opposed to weird monsters of

preposterous travellers' invention in the style of Sir John Mandeville. Gulliver's Travels maintains an ironic distance from imaginary travel books, but simultaneously preserves a realistic and recognizable dimension. The mention of Dampier has been discussed above, but Swift also refers to Herman Moll, England's best cartographer, working 1700-1725, who supposedly ignores Gulliver's advice about correction of maps of New Holland (Book IV, chapter 11, p.284). The maps themselves, prefacing the four journeys which are an extension of the parody of useless knowledge, begin as recognizable geographical representations, but become ridiculous distortions.⁴³ In the persona of Gulliver though, Swift preferred to invent his own imposter, rather than choose to inherit a real or fictional model.

Swift probably knew forged travel books by Denis Vairasse D'Alais and George Psalmanazar which were elaborate travel hoaxes. The fictitious Histoire des Sevarambes, 2 vols (1677), the first part of which appeared two years earlier in English as The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi (London, 1675) was followed in 1679 by a part II, the authorship of which is disputed.⁴⁴ In the preface, the author pretends simply to be editing documents and contrasts imaginary utopias. According to the preface the documents were the authentic production of a Captain Siden, who had passed them to his physician when on his death bed, with instructions to prepare them for the press. Such claims to authenticity are behind the Publisher's Letter and Gulliver's Letter to his Cousin Sympson. Other instances of elaborate documentary apparatus to accompany fictitious travel books have been discussed by John J. Richetti in Popular Fiction Before Richardson (Oxford, 1969).

There is likely to be a connection between Gulliver's Travels and George Psalmanaazar, whose famous imposture as a bogus native of Formosa to invent a complete history and description of that island is referred to in A Modest Proposal in which he is called 'the famous Salmanaazar, a Native of the Island Formosa'.⁴⁵ The passage in A Modest Proposal contains much detail from George Psalmanaazar, An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, An Island Subject to the Emperor of Japan (London, 1705) culled from Chapter XXVII entitled 'Of the things which we commonly eat'. He recommends the eating of the carcase of an executed criminal as 'rare, delicious meat' and referred to by Swift as 'a prime Dainty'.⁴⁶ Similarities also include ironic details in A Modest Proposal which have probably been taken from Psalmanaazar, such as the youth and plumpness of the girl who had been executed; the executioner as butcher, the delicacy of the product, and its popularity among the upper classes. Swift evidently knew that Psalmanaazar's counterfeit travels were ingenious parody; his traveller's lies wild and sophisticated; not a genuine hoax, but an entertaining and extended joke.

Psalmanaazar may also have provided Swift, through the counterfeit description of Formosa, with a clue for his gibe at the Dutch in 'trampling on the Crucifix'. Dutch residents in Japan made no scruple about trampling upon the crucifix to retain trade relationship with the country.⁴⁷ The source for Psalmanaazar's description of Formosa is believed by Dr. Takau Shimada to be George Candidus's Account of the Island of Formosa in the East Indies published in Awnsham and John Churchill's A Collection of Voyages.⁴⁸ However, the origins of the mention of Yefumi cannot stem from the Churchill

brothers' collection which does not refer to it. More likely, Takau Shimada argues, Psalmaanaazar borrowed from another source, probably, an English translation of Francis Gemelli Careri, Giro Del Mundo (1699) which was also contained in the Churchill collection.⁴⁹

None other than Gulliver's 'worthy friend', Herman Moll, the eminent Dutch Cartographer, also gave an account of Yefumi, relevant to Gulliver's Travels (Book III, chapter 11, p.3). An article by Hermann Real and Heinz Vienken illuminatingly compares the account in Moll's Thausaurus Geographicus, which is part two of The Compleat Geographer: Or, The Chorography and Topography of All The Known Parts of the Earth, fourth edition (London, 1723), p.129. It is stated here that christianity is eradicated, according to the Dutch themselves. Trampling on the crucifix, therefore, does not derive from any malice on Swift's part: Moll's work proves that the Japanese permitted the Dutch to land there only after rejecting Christianity in all its forms. 'And in regard that they contemn the Pictures, Crosses, Rosaries, and other Superstitions of the Jesuits, and trample on what those knelt to, the Japanese are content to take their Answer: that they are Dutchmen, and believe them not Christians' (p.129).

J. Leeds Barroll, Elizabeth R. Napier and Maurice Johnson have pointed out that Swift might have gathered material from Engelbert Kaempfer's The History of Japan (1727), despite the discrepancy in dates of publication.⁵⁰ Takau Shimada has remarked also on the likeness between the description of the kingdom of Luggnagg and that of the ambassadors from Holland in Arnold Montanus's Atlas Japonensis (London, 1670).⁵¹ Gulliver 'has to be confined till he could receive Orders from Court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped

to receive an answer in a Fortnight' (Book III, chapter 9, p.204). The corresponding passage in Montanus's Atlas Japanensis reads

The arrival of the Netherlands Ambassadors, Spec and Peter Segerszoon, was immediately made known to the chief of his Imperial Majesty's Council, being ... with entreaties that they might be permitted as soon as possible, to the Presence and Audience of the Emperor. The Ambassadors receiv'd in answer, That they were heartily welcome from so far a Country, and troublesom a Way, through ... Which Consequidonne perform'd bringing the Netherlanders the next Day to the Imperial Palace, but could not be admitted, the Emperor being busied, his Vice-Roys, so that they were forc'd to stay and wait his leisure. (p.115)

Other similarities between Gulliver's Travels and the Atlas Japanensis have been discussed by the same author.

Johnson, Kitagaki and Williams, writing about the possible influence of Engelbert Kaempfer, The History Of Japan, suggest a number of parallels which may be summarized as follows. Firstly, they attest the evidence in Kaempfer's book for the splendid isolation of Japan which is picked up in Gulliver's Travels in Gulliver's comment that 'my Intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that Kingdom' (Book III, chapter 9, p.203). However, Swift plays down the isolation of Japan in other references to the country, insisting that the vessel on which he returned from Lilliput 'was an English Merchant-man, returning from Japan by the North and South Seas' (Book I, chapter 8, p.79). There is 'a strict Alliance between the Japanese Emperor and the King of Luggnagg' (Book III, chapter 7, p.193). There is thereby 'a perpetual Commerce between this Kingdom and the great Empire of Japan' (Book III, chapter XI, p.215). Such slight inconsistency, or shift of emphasis, shows manipulation of sources. In first presenting Japan as isolated

but then as a trading nation, Swift builds agitating inconsistency into the narrative, in order to vex the reader.

In 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading'

Johnson, Kitagaki and Williams argue that Swift derived hints for the characterization of the Japanese people from Kaempfer. If he had read Kaempfer he would have encountered descriptions of strange trees, plants, animals, birds and fishes possibly alluded to in Gulliver's censure of travel writers who invent 'Descriptions of wonderful Animals both at Sea and Land' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.291). Swift might have read about the Yahoo-like inhabitants of the island of Ieso; encountered a 'pygmy island'; read about horse-like figures combining intellect, refinement and benevolence; considered a floor kissing performance before the Emperor which suggested Gulliver's antics in Luggnag (Book III, chapter 9, pp.204-5). Kaempfer is also held to offer a Japanese prototype for the professor's word machine in the Academy of Projectors in Gulliver's Travels (Book III, chapter 5, pp.182-85). The character of Gulliver himself might also have been partly influenced by Kaempfer's references to the condescending interpretations of other nations.

In 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading' the authors pay particular attention to histories and reject travel books as important sources. Exceptions are the accounts of Japan by John Saris and Will Adams which were published by Purchas and are held to be of utmost importance for having determined Gulliver's condescending attitudes and for his reluctance to return to barbarous Yahoos. On the basis of historical evidence, the authors repudiate the claim by A.E. Case in Four Essays on Gulliver's Travels (Princeton, 1945) that the pace of Gulliver's trip from Tokyo to Nagasaki

was 'a practical impossibility' (p.66). Leaving aside the inconsistencies over times and dates throughout Gulliver's voyaging, the information provided by historical evidence is that such a speed would indeed have been easy to accomplish.⁵³

Far more certain is Swift's knowledge of the Hakluyt and Purchas collections of voyages both of which he owned. Purchas, His Pilgrims, in 5 vols. (London, 1625) and Hakluyt, Collection of Voyages by the English Nation are listed in Harold Williams, Dean Swift's Library (Cambridge, 1932). The editions read by Swift and the documents published therein by Purchas and his predecessor, Hakluyt, can be identified in the case of Purchas, but an element of doubt exists over the Hakluyt collection which could be Divers Voyages (1582), Principall Navigations (1589) or the enlarged Principal Navigations (1598-1600).

Some details of the publishing history of these works are needed, and in this we are assisted by The Hakluyt Handbook, edited by D.B. Quinn, Hakluyt Society, 2 vols. (London, 1974). The contents and sources of the major Hakluyt works are given herein (II, pp.328-459). The voyages are catalogued under 'the order of all the voyages comprised in this whole work in generall together with the names of the persons, the Authors of them, and the annotations of the courses of yeeres and quarters of the worlde, wherein they were performed'.

Beginning with Purchas, all references are to Maclehose edition, 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905-1907) which is an exact reprint of the text of the four volume, 1625 edition which Swift had.

The full title is Purchas his Pilgrimes. In five Bookes. The first contayning the voyages ... made by ancient kings ... and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne

world, etc 4 vols. (London, 1625). To these four volumes of collected voyages is usually added, as a fifth volume, the fourth edition of the 1613 Pilgrimage. This explains the library catalogue entry 'in 5 vols'. The full title of the Pilgrimage is Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all ages ... in foure parts. This first containeth a ... historie of Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent ... with briefe Descriptions etc, (London, 1613) fol. It is important to note that the fourth edition known to Swift as the fifth volume of Purchas his Pilgrims is ... Much enlarged with additions ... and three whole treatises annexed, one of Russia and other northeasterne regions by Sir Jerome Horsers; the second of the Gulf of Bengala by Master William Methold; the third of the Saracenian Empire, translated out of the Arabike by T. Erpenicus (London, 1626), fol. In the Glasgow edition pages of the original text have been inserted in square brackets in the margin, the quaint headlines printed as Table of Contents and printing of some letters modernised.

The edition of Hakluyt owned and read by Swift is Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the Earth at any Time within the Compasse of these 1500 Yeares: divided into three severall parts, according to the Religions wherunto they were directed (London, 1589). References are to the facsimile, edited by David Beers Quinn and Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1965). As the sale catalogue does not refer to a number of volumes it is perhaps more likely that the one volume edition is meant. Given that Principal Navigations (1598-1600), the later edition, omits the entertaining but bogus travels of Sir John

Mandeville which it is possible Swift knew, it is more likely that Swift knew the earlier edition.

Hakluyt applied more stringent criteria for inclusion of documents in the collection of travels in the second edition. Mandeville was rejected by him as a travel liar. It is interesting to note publication in 1725, during the period of composition of Gulliver's Travels, of an anonymous English translation of Sir John Mandeville's 'Cotton' text, which became very popular and was frequently reprinted.⁵⁴ Swift is said to have used a Mandeville source for Gulliver's fire extinguishing actions in the Lilliputian Imperial Palace.⁵⁵ H.J. Real and H.J. Vienken suggest Swift obtained the idea from his copy of Hakluyt's version, but, Swift may have been thinking of an English translation. Of course, he might have been thinking of Rabelais at this juncture.

Mandeville could have provided Swift with a range of weird monsters, none of which was adopted. Mandeville describes one footed 'Sciapods', hissing cave dwellers, monsters with heads of dogs, creatures with no heads, giant cannibals, giants with two heads and four eyes, and people with horses' feet. It is feasible that Swift borrowed suggestions for the giant creatures in Brobdingnag. Mandeville describes a giant rat in his Travels which recalls the giant rat 'the Size of a large Mastiff' in Gulliver's bedroom (Book II, chapter 1, p.93). Mandeville refers to 'ratons als great as hounds' which Swift may have translated into the Kafka-like nightmare of the huge rat in Brobdingnag. Mandeville describes other gigantic creatures, including bats as large as pigeons, and it is conceivable that Swift invented the giant dog, birds like vast swans, huge frogs, monkeys, insects as large as partridges with a recollection of Mandeville. When, for example, Gulliver bruises his

shin against a massive snail, the incident could be entirely of Swift's own making: it is equally possible that he remembered a passage in Mandeville.⁵⁶

Mandeville describes giant creatures which could have been suggested by the Odyssey.⁵⁷ These are 'folk of great stature, as they were giants, horrible and foul to the sight; and they have but one eye, and that is in the midst of the forehead'. He also describes pygmies who 'have no mouth' or tongue with which to speak. They 'hiss and make signs as monkeys do, ilk one til other, and ilk one of them wots well what other means'. He later describes Yahoo-like folk who 'go on their hand and on their feet, as they were four-footed beasts, and they are rough and will climb trees als lightly as they were apes'.

The 'huge Creature walking after them in the Sea' which Gulliver fears is a 'Monster' could be an allusion to Mandeville, who described cannibal giants 'als mickle of stature as they were giants of twenty eight or thirty foot long' who 'will gladlier eat man's flesh than any other', wait for ships to appear and then, like Swift's giant Brobdingnagian, 'wade into the sea to take the men'.⁵⁸

In Mandeville's colloquy with the King of Egypt the vice and barbarism of supposedly Christian Europe are mocked. After all the courtiers had been commanded to depart, Mandeville and his host spoke in private in terms which may have influenced the conversations between the King of Brobdingnag and his English visitor. The Saracen, King Nasir, said that Christians were 'beasts out of reason', because of their drinking and gluttony. They were puffed up with 'pride and vain glory'. Christian men are so proud, so envious, so great gluttons and so lecherous, and therefore so full of

covetise that for a little silver they will sell their daughters, their sisters, yea, their own wives to let men lie by them (p.98). This material is similar to the contempt of the King of Brobdingnag for the corruptions and vices revealed to him by Gulliver (Book II, chapter 6, p.132).

In another similarity, the floor kissing ritual practised by Gulliver before the King of Luggnagg is like the antics of Mandeville before the King, or 'Sultan' of Egypt. Gulliver crawls and licks the floor in Luggnagg (Book III, chapter 9, p.204). Mandeville reports 'als soon as he has sight of the Sultan, be it at a window, or elsewhere, him behoves kneel down and kiss the earth, for such is the manner here to do reverence to the Sultan, when any man will speak with him.'⁵⁹

It is not certain that Swift was familiar with Mandeville's fictitious Travels, but in view of some parallels, the work may be considered a possible contributory source. The Egyptian Sultan's scorn for European civilization; the giant creatures which may have contributed ideas for the bestiary of sections of 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag'; the floor kissing episode before the Sultan of Egypt as a possible source for Luggnagg make Mandeville at least worthy of consideration, along with other fictitious travels.

Two other imaginary, bogus travel books have been suggested. R.W. Frantz has suggested a source for Gulliver's equally fictitious cousin 'Richard Sympson'. J.R. Moore has considered Tyssot de Patot's voyage of Jacques Massé. 'William Sympson's' A New Voyage to the East Indies might have inspired an element of Lilliput.⁶⁰ R.W. Frantz discusses Gulliver's description of Lilliputian and other writing habits (Book I, chapter 6, p.57). Swift is said to have made something new of his sources: to the three kinds of writing described in Sympson, including

the predecessor of 'aslant from one Corner of the Paper to the Other, like Ladies in England', Swift adds yet another method: 'from down to up', solemnly ascribed to 'the Cascagians'. John R. Moore argued for another realistic imaginary voyage as a source: Tyssot de Patot's Voyages et Aventures de Jacques Massé (1710), giving a number of loose resemblances such as Massé's and Gulliver's both being surgeons and the disapprobation of war in Swift and Tyssot.⁶¹

It is conceivable that Gulliver's Travels may have been influenced by the fictitious travels of 'William Sympson' and 'Jacques Massé', but a degree of caution has to be exercised in the adoption of these voyages as sources.

Swift possessed a copy of Thomas Herbert's A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile, begunne Anno 1626 into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian Monarchie, and some Parts of their religion, language, habit and other matters concerning them. Together with the proceedings and death of the 3 late ambassadors, Sir Dodmore Cotton, Sir Robert Shirley and the Persian Mogdi-Beg (London, 1634). His annotations, written and signed in 1720, read 'If this Book were stript of its Impertinence, conceitedness and tedious Digressions, it would be almost worth reading, and would then be ^{two thirds} smaller than it is'.⁶² Swift owned the 1634 edition, but was familiar with the later edition published in 1677, as he wrote on the same page 'The Author published a new Edition in his older Days with many Additons upon the whole more insufferable than this ...'. Apart from Herbert's superabundance of classical 'ornaments' Swift would have read about strange, primitive tribes, as well as a host of vain exaggerations, distortions and implausibilities of the kind he makes Gulliver condemn as 'ornamental

Descriptions of strange Plants, Trees, Birds, and other Animals; or the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with which most Writers abound (Book II, chapter 8, p.147).

Swift's library also contained Joseph Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, etc in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703 which was first printed in 1705. Swift owned the first edition 'with the Author's compliment'. Addison's book was twice published before Gulliver's Travels: the editions in 1705 and 1718 becoming extremely popular, and the work went through at least thirteen editions in the Eighteenth Century. Addison was generally regarded as a model writer after the success of the account of his Grand Tour which commenced in 1699, following the well established ritual for English gentlemen anxious to improve their education. Charles Batten considers Addison as a prime example of non fiction travel literature. 'In an age anxious to learn about the world in which it lived, the travel account joined pleasure with instruction in what became, perhaps, one of the most characteristic forms of the century'.⁶³ Addison's handling of the narrative of his experiences and, in particular, the reliance on passages from the Classics to describe the countries through which he travelled, were criticized by some readers. Such criticism appeared in A Table of all the Accurate Remarks and New Discoveries, in the most Learned and Ingenious Mr Addison's Book of Travels, Company of Long-and-String-Bow-Makers (London, 1706).⁶⁴ However, Addison had explained in the Preface of Remarks on Several Parts of Italy that his aim was 'to have taken care particularly to consider the several passages of the ancient Poets, which have any Relation to the Places and Curiosities that I met with'.⁶⁵

It was a clearly defined convention of Eighteenth Century travel literature that a writer must not talk about himself. He must offer his reader an objective account, devoid of personal feelings and responses to the sights he encountered. Addison's relation of his personal experiences violated this convention. For example, he explains that he was fortunate to attend an opera, that he made a mistake in what he saw, that he received certain advice from merchants.⁶⁶ But

Addison's lack of personal information about eating and sleeping that might have been expected by a modern reader illustrates the difference between an expectation for unrestrained autobiography on the one hand and the formal demands of narrative convention on the other.

Addison's interest in antiquities, supported by a staggering number (141 in total) of *classical quotations* reflected a lifelong passion for the classics. However, he did try to convey some clear image of the places he described and to present his material in a novel manner. His later essay, 'on the Pleasures of the Imagination' published in the Spectator, emphasizes 'those Pleasures of the Imagination, which arise from the actual View and Survey of outward Objects; And these, I think, all proceed from the sight of what is great, uncommon or beautiful'.⁶⁷ Addison believed in providing his readers with charm, variety and the contribution of what is 'new or uncommon'. The tradition in which Addison wrote about his Grand Tour demanded conventional description within a clearly defined framework of the travel journal as 'pleasurable instruction'.

That Gulliver's Travels owes little to such formal non-fiction conventions of travel writing is significant. Although there are small allusions to European, non-fiction

travel accounts, these form a relatively minor focus within the broader patterns of literary parody. An example is Gulliver's 'Collection of Rarities' containing such items brought home from Brobdingnag as the comb contrived out of the King's beard and the collection of wasp stings 'like Joyners Tacks' (Book II, chapter 8, p.146). Such collections and the listing or examination of items in people's houses or in museums are commonplaces of European travel diaries. However, Swift studiously ignores the descriptive qualities of non-fiction European travel. His descriptions of cities in Gulliver's Travels lack the copious detail of scenes provided by Addison. A full description of the city of Genoa, for example, illustrates Addison's comprehensive approach. A traveller desiring to report on such a city might follow Addison as a model with his 'many beautiful palaces', and 'gay and lively houses' amidst a picture colourfully visualized for the reader (p.23). Contrasted with this, Gulliver's report of Mildendo, the metropolis of Lilliput, only refers briefly to streets, houses, city walls. Far more significant is the ridiculous view of the interiors of the apartments, seen by Gulliver with his 'Face to the Windows of the middle Stories, which were left open on Purpose' (Book I, chapter 4, pp.46-7). Similarly, straightforward description is eschewed in the account of Lorbrulgrud. Although the reader is promised a view of the city, none is forthcoming, and the effect is anti-climax. Lorbrulgrud is introduced when Gulliver says 'To satisfy my curious Reader, it may be sufficient to Describe Lorbrulgrud' (Book II, chapter 4, p.112). With an element of bathos, the ensuing account reports not architectural details, but the barest facts with 'This City stands upon almost two equal Parts on each Side the River that passes through. It

contains above eighty thousand Houses'. The narrative then proceeds to change direction in the ironic exaggerations of sizes and distance. The city is 'fifty four English Miles', and the King's Palace 'no regular Edifice, but an Heap of Buildings about seven Miles round: The chief Rooms are generally two hundred and forty Foot high'.

In Lagado, the effect is rather different in providing an opportunity for satire of building needlessly according to the latest fashions. A parallel with Addison does occur in the people. In Lagado the houses are in ruins and the 'People without Food or Cloaths' (Book III, chapter 4, p.177). Addison reports that the wretchedly poor subjects of the Pope are neglected by their rulers in Italy who are 'so taken up with men's souls, that they neglect the good of their bodies' (p.91). Addison found 'nothing so remarkable as the beauty of the country and the extreme poverty of the inhabitants' (p.91).

The influence of Addison's account of his grand tour needs to be considered in the light of Swift's presentation of Gulliver himself. Gulliver is not a gentleman travelling to Europe for the benefit of his experience and education; nor is he a scholar. He has an affinity with Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century voyagers, and, as a sailor travelling to 'remote Nations' of the world, would not be expected to adorn his narrative with 'Ornaments of Learning'. In this context, the literature of voyaging which Swift is known to have possessed provides a stronger influence. The presentation of Gulliver may in part derive from real travellers such as Lionel Wafer and Francois Bernier. Swift owned Wafer's first edition of A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of

America, giving an Account of the Author's Abode there ... with remarkable Occurrences in the South Sea (London, 1699).⁶⁸

Wafer was a surgeon, like Gulliver, and provided a detailed account of his life among the Indians of the Darien region. Swift also may have consulted the Voyage de Francois Bernier, Contenant La Description des Etats du Grand Mogul, de L'Hindoustan 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1699). He may also have read from his library the Latin edition of Jan Nieuhof's An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China, Delivered by their Excellencies P. Goyer and J. de Keyser, ... and ingeniously described by Mr. J. Nieuhof ... englished by J. Ogilby.⁶⁹

Not all scholars would agree that Gulliver is cast in the mould of real voyagers such as Lionel Wafer and Francois Bernier. Obviously, his character owes a considerable debt to imaginary voyages, as has been pointed out. For instance, B.H. Chamberlain noticed a parallel between Gulliver's Travels and an imaginary voyager named Wasaubiyauwe.⁷¹ In

'Wasaubiyawe: the Japanese Gulliver' Chamberlain gives an account of this imaginary voyage to a land of giants and the 'Land of Perennial Youth and Life' which was accomplished on the back of a stork at the rate of a thousand leagues a day. This flight transcends the limits of the universe, and Wasaubiyauwe encounters men and women seventy feet tall who express surprise at him. This surprise at a mere mortal matches that of the inhabitants of Brobdingnag who examine Gulliver minutely and have to pronounce that he is a 'Relplum Scalcath' (Book II, chapter 3, p.104). Wasaubiyauwe is addressed as 'such an extraordinarily tiny creature', indistinguishable from an elf.⁷² Wasaubiyauwe describes items

which are given proportionate scale: grains of rice are equivalent in size to a Japanese musk melon; chop sticks are the length of a palanquin bearer's pole. The natives whom Wasaubiyauwe regards as inferior beings, and who are uncivilized and crude in terms of systems of law and government, actually populate a perfect land. The inadequacies of his perceptions may be compared to Gulliver's view of the people of Brobdingnag.

The blinkered view of an alien society is also a feature of 'A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms'. The veneration of Houyhnhnms, like the initial rapture at the sight of Struldbruggs, is shown to be misplaced or distorted. The purpose of Gulliver's voyages is, naturally, to focus attention upon the corruption of Europe, as opposed to remote nations and to deflate man's pride. The delicate perspective of our self importance which Swift constructs clearly draws upon a number of models. In addition to sources already discussed, Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes (1721), which it is thought by Harold Williams that Swift knew, could be relevant to this type of perspective of human nature and society.

W.A. Eddy confirms Swift's fondness for oriental tales and Montesquieu in particular.⁷³ The Persian Letters, a combination of oriental tale, philosophical essay and epistolatory fiction, was inspired by the Seventeenth Century spirit of exploration.⁷⁴ Fellow travellers, Usbek and Rica observe the curiosities of the manners of European society, mainly French, and compare their impressions with their own Persian culture. This method is used to challenge the assumptions of civilized society.

The evidence to suggest that Swift knew Montesquieu's Persian Letters is admittedly fragmentary. Nevertheless, the

satirical purpose in both Gulliver's Travels and Persian Letters of bringing man down to size is a common element. Gulliver's strictures on travel writers who achieve popularity by plagiarism echo Montesquieu's letter on the subject of authors which includes 'Of all Authors, there is none I despise more than Compilers, who forage far and wide for scraps of other Men's Works, which they piece into their orb, like to many dabs of green turf in a flower garden: they are not a whit superior to those that work in a Printing house, who distribute the Characters, which being put together make a book, towards which they furnish 'nothing but manual labour' (I,p235). Montesquieu mocks the Spanish travellers who 'have made vast discoveries in the New World, and are not yet acquainted with their own Continent' (II,p22). The absurdities of French fashions, as extravagant as the garments of the Laputans, are said to be so surprising that 'the son does not know the picture of his own Mother, so strange the dress she was drawn in is now grown: he takes it to be the picture of some American, or only a grotesque crochet of the Painter's' (II, p. 91). The dialogue with the King of Brobdingnag over the terrible effectiveness of destructive weapons reminds us of Montesquieu's 'I often tremble for fear at last some invention will be found out of a shorter way to destroy mankind, and to depopulate whole Nations and Kingdoms' (II,p111). To the 'ravages of Chymistry' is added yet another 'scourge' of discovery of new nations: 'What have we gained by the Compass, and the discovery of so many new Nations, but a communication of their distempers rather than their Riches?' (II,p112). Indeed, all Gulliver gains from his discoveries is the distemper of loathing of his fellow creatures. His motive in publishing an account of his voyages is 'the Publick Good'.

This aim is parallel to Montesquieu's traveller who writes 'I insinuated to him, that my Travels might be useful to the Publick ... This, Rustan, was the motive of my Travels' (I, p.26).

A letter about Christian society in Persian Letters expresses amazement at intemperateness, insolence, neglect and violence. From the standpoint of the Persian travellers, Europe appears corrupt: 'These Barbarians have so far deserted all the Arts that they have neglected even the Art Military: while the Nations of Europe grow more and more knowing every day, they remain in their ancient ignorance; and seldom mind to take advantage of their new inventions, till they have been soundly drubbed by means of them a thousand times' (I, p. 68). In Gulliver's Travels the concepts of learning, government and civilization in Europe are constantly challenged.

Finally, a parallel between Gulliver's exhibition to the populace in Brobdingnag may be linked to the letter from Rica at Smirna about the curiosity of the Parisians when he appears among them.

The Inhabitants of Paris have a Spirit of Curiosity in them, that is perfectly extravagant. When I arrived here, I was stared at as if I had drop'd from Heaven: old and young, women and children, all must have a sight of me; if I went abroad, every body got to their windows: if I walk'd in the Tuilleries, immediately a Circle was form'd round me: the women made a Rainbow about me, varied with a thousand colours. If I went to the public Shews, presently a hundred Spying-glasses were levell'd at my strange figure: in short, never was man so much seen as I was. I sometimes smiled to hear people that had hardly ever stirred out of their chamber, whisper to one another; It must be confessed, his Air is truly Persian. And which is most wonderful, I found Pictures of me wherever I went. I saw my self multiplied in every Shop, upon every Chimney; so fearful were they that they shou'd not see me enough.

Yet all these Honours are but burthensome. I did not imagine my self to be any thing so curious, or so extraordinary: and tho' I have a very good opinion of my self, I never dreamt I

shou'd have disturbed the peace of a great City where no body knew me. This made me resolve to lay aside my Persian habit, and put on an European dress, to find whether any thing so admirable wou'd remain in my countenance. This tryal brought me to a true knowledge of myself: when stript of my foreign ornaments, I saw my self prized at my true rate: I had great reason to be angry with my Tailor for making me lose, in a moment, all the public esteem and consideration: for I at once sunk into a most terrible Nothingness: (I, pp.106-7)

The spirit of the above passage is exactly captured in Gulliver's experience. In Brobdingnag he is a public spectacle, forced to perform antics for the amusement and astonishment of the multitude (Book II, chapter 2, pp.95-99).

As he travels between different countries, Gulliver becomes so accustomed to the strange people he visits that human beings appear unusual to him when he returns. After the experience of Brobdingnag he becomes 'confounded at the Sight of so many Pigmies: for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine Eyes to the monstrous Objects I had left' (Book II, chapter 8, p.143). The shifts in perspective become predictable in the first three voyages, but are surprisingly subject to astringent ironic treatment in the closing chapters of 'A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms'. He hates the 'Yahoo-Species', manifested in his intolerance of his human kind and his preference for his horses, with whom he lives 'in great Amity' (Book IV, chapter 11, p.290). The concluding chapter reverts to a conventional leitmotiv of 'The Author's Veracity' and the 'Censure of those Travellers who swerve from the Truth'. However, his outburst directed against planting colonies and the brutality of conquest of supposedly savage nations creates the impression of disturbance and alienation.

The ironic fire of this outburst against colonization derives in part from its allusive quality, created by Swift

from a dense pattern of associated ideas, but more particularly from Montaigne's Essais, an undated French edition of which is listed in the sale catalogue of his library.

Swift adopted the liberal ideas of Montaigne which appear in the essays I.xxxi ('Des Cannibales') and II.vi ('Des Coches'), but modulates them radically. The innate bias of man; the barbarism of European conquest of primitive nations; the essential innocence of those nations wrongly held to be wild savages by their cruel destroyers: all these concerns are powerfully expressed by Montaigne. Gulliver's belligerence is out of all proportion to his experience as a great traveller of the world and avid reader of travel books, which he has 'been able to contradict' from 'his own Observation'.

The tone of Gulliver's remarks contradicts also the spirit of the Elizabethan voyagers whose colonial exploits were praised by Purchas and Hakluyt in the great age of discovery and exploration. If the final chapter is read with Montaigne and the Elizabethan voyagers in mind, the effect is a neutralization of Gulliver's humane liberalism. The impression gained is of Swift's making Gulliver pay lipservice to a tradition of thought in a set piece of raging against 'this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a modern Colony sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.294).

Thus it can be appreciated that Gulliver's Travels can be set against differing traditions. The travel dimension provides structure and pseudo-realism, but in the Lucianic tradition, Swift's borrowings are highly allusive. Indirect references to travel and its associated ideas run through the whole work and have been variously picked out by scholars. However, any 'hints' which Swift adopted in the narrative and

in the presentation of Gulliver to the reader, as a vehicle for his satire, are intended more to be recognized than obscured. Indeed, the essential irony depends on our being aware of the conventions of imaginary and real voyages. Swift's originality lies in fusing both the traditions. Thus the reader encounters advice to map makers, nautical details as well as pygmies, giants, flying islands and rational horses. The joke consists in the versatility of allusions culled from such a combination of sources.

Notes to Introduction

- 1 References are to The Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift, edited by Herbert Davis, 14 vols (Oxford, 1939-68), XI, Gulliver's Travels, revised edition (1959). Subsequent references are to Prose Works and to Gulliver's Travels.
- 2 A Tale of a Tub to Which is added the Battle of the Books and The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, edited by A.C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol-Smith (Oxford, 1920), p.276.

Notes to Chapter 1

- 1 The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, edited by Harold Williams, 5 vols (Oxford, 1963), II , p.430. Subsequent references are to Correspondence.
- 2 Full references are given in the course of this chapter.
- 3 See T.P. Le Fanu, 'Catalogue of Dean Swift's Library in 1715', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37 (1927) pp.263-75.
- 4 Gulliver's Travels, p.xiv.
- 5 Arthur Sherbo, 'Swift and Travel Literature', MLS, 9 (1979), pp.114-127, p.115. See also R.W. Frantz, 'Swift's Yahoos and the Voyagers', MP, 29 (1931), pp.49-57.
- 6 Lucian, A True History, translated by A.H. Harman, Loeb Classical Library, The Works of Lucian, 8 vols (1921), I, p.251. Subsequent references are to A True History.
- 7 A True History, p.251. The Greek word translated as 'cannibals in this Loeb translation is here Omophagoi: 'raw eaters'. Other translators, Paul Turner (Harmondsworth, 1961, p.250) and Lionel Casson (New York, 1968, p. 14) also translate the word as 'cannibal' which is reasonable since Lucian is referring to man-eating episodes. See Claude Rawson, 'Narrative and the Proscribed Act: Homer, Euripides and the Literature of Cannibalism', in Literary Theory and Criticism, Festschrift in Honor of René Wellek (1986), pp.1159-1187.
- 8 The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St Thomas More, edited by Edward Surtz and J.H. Hexter, 14 vols (London, 1965), Utopia, IV, p.53.
- 9 27 November 1726, Correspondence, III, 188.

- 10 See William A. Eddy, Gulliver's Travels: A Critical Study (Princeton, 1923). Subsequent references are to Eddy.
- 11 See Kathleen Williams, Swift: The Critical Heritage (London, 1970), p.307.
- 12 For a detailed discussion see William H. Bonner, Captain William Dampier: Buccaneer-Author (Stanford, 1934), pp.156-181.
- 13 See William Dampier, A New Voyage Round the World, edited by James Williamson (London, 1939), p.4. Referred to subsequently as A New Voyage.
- 14 See A New Voyage, p.123.
- 15 Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Voyages to The Moon (New York, 1960), p.219. Subsequent references are to Voyages to the Moon.
- 16 See Eddy, p.52.
- 17 See W.A. Eddy, Cyrano De Bergerac and Gulliver's Travels (1923).
- 18 See Voyages to the Moon, p.190 and M. Nicholson and Nora Mohler, 'The Scientific Background of Swift's "A Voyage to Laputa"' Annals of Science, 2 (1937), pp.405-430.
- 19 Voyages to The Moon, pp.192-193.
- 20 In The Quest for Ulysses (London, 1974), pp.118-119.
- 21 See Plutarch, Lycurgus, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (1948), I, 205-303.
- 22 See Gulliver's Travels, Book IV, chapter 8, p.269.
- 23 Sir William Temple, Miscellanea, the second part in Four Essays: I. Upon Antient and Modern Learning ... third Edition (London, 1692), edited by J.E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1909), p.10.

- 24 The Works of Jonathan Swift D.D., Dean of St Patrick's Dublin: Containing additional Letters, tracts and Poems, not hitherto published; with notes and a Life of the Author, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 19 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-1824), IX, 6-9.
- 25 Philostratus, Imagines, with an English translation by Arthur Fairbanks, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1931). Hereafter referred to as Imagines. Plutarch, Life of Apollonius with an English translation by F.C. Conybeare, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1912). Hereafter referred to as Life of Apollonius.
- 26 Imagines, II, p.22 and pp.229-231. See also Homer's allusion to the war between the pygmies and the cranes in the Iliad, III, 4-10, and Swift's reference to Ctesias, Prose Works, I, 104.
- 27 Prose Works, I, 221. See also A Tale of a Tub, p.lvi.
- 28 The Works of Sir Thomas Brown, edited by Robbin Robbins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), Pseudodoxia Epidemica, I, 330.
- 29 See Tom Brown, Amusements Serious and Comical and Other Works, edited by Arthur L. Hayward (London, 1927).
- 30 See Chapter 3 for Swift's device of the visiting Indian.
- 31 See especially Tom Brown, Amusements Serious and Comical, pp.76-8.
- 32 A True History, I, 249, See also Icaromenippus, or the Skyman, II, 269-323.
- 33 For a summary of the influence of Lucian and Rabelais see Eddy, pp.17-18.
- 34 Prose Works, II, 96.
- 35 See Eddy, pp.57-60 and p.57n.

- 36 Prose Works, III, p.38, Examiner, No.19, December 1710.
See also François Rabelais, The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel, translated by J.M. Cohen (London, 1981) Book IV, chapter 17, p.489-7 subsequent references are to Rabelais.
- 37 Correspondence, II, 129, September 14 1714.
- 38 See Eddy, p.59 and Prose Works, XII, p.22., 'An Answer To A Paper Called "A Memorial of the Poor Inhabitants... of Ireland"'.
39 See also Rabelais, Book I, chapter 17, p.74 for a parallel to Gulliver's fire extinguishing in the Lilliputian.
- 40 See N & Q, 4th series, I, p.223.
- 41 Rabelais, Book IV, chapter 18, pp.490-492.
- 42 Correspondence, III, pp.102-3, to Alexander Pope, September 29 1725.
- 43 See Frederick Bracher, 'The Maps in Gulliver's Travels', HLQ, 8 (1944), pp.59-74. See also J.R. Moore, 'The Geography of Gulliver's Travels', JEGP, 40 (1941), p.226.
- 44 See Geoffrey Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature Before 1700 (London, 1920), pp.87-9.
- 45 Prose Works, XII, p.113.
- 46 George Psalmanaazar, An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, An Island Subject to the Emperor of Japan, second edition (London, 1705), pp.112-13. The Formosan project only became apparent the year after the first edition. See Daniel Eilon, 'Gulliver's Fellow Traveller Psalmanaazar', British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies (Autumn, 1985), pp.173-178.
- 47 Gulliver's Travels, Book III, chapter 11, p.216. See also Takau Shimada, 'Possible Sources for Psalmanaazar's Description of Formosa', N & Q (December 1983), pp.514-516. Subsequent references are to Shimada.

- 48 The Churchill Collection of Voyages, edited by T. Osborne, 8 vols (London, 1752).
- 49 See Shimada, p.515 who quotes the relevant passage from Careri's Circumnavigation.
- 50 See J. Leeds Barroll, 'Gulliver in Luggnagg: A Possible Source', PQ, 36 (1957), pp. 505-7. See also Elizabeth Napier, 'Swift's "Trampling upon the Crucifix": A Parallel', N & Q, 224 (1979), pp.544-8. See also Maurice Johnson, Kitagaki Muneharu and Philip Williams, 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading', Moonlight Series, No. 4 (Kyoto and Japan, 1977). Hereafter referred to as A New Reading.
- 51 See Takau Shimada, 'Possible Sources for Gulliver's Travels', PQ (1984), pp.125-30.
- 52 Engelbert Kaempfer, The History of Japan, translated by J.G. Scheuchzer, 2 vols (London, 1727) reprinted, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1906). This work is central to the argument of 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading'.
- 53 See Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading, p.47n.
- 54 See Malcolm Letts, The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, Hakluyt Society, 2 vols (London, 1953), I, xxix, Subsequent references are to Mandeville.
- 55 H.J. Real and H.J. Vienken, 'Gulliver and Mandeville', N & Q (December, 1983), p.152.
- 56 Compare Gulliver's Travels, Book II, chapter 5, pp. 117-18 and Mandeville, I, 136.
- 57 See Mandeville, pp.141-143.
- 58 See Mandeville, p.199 and Gulliver's Travels, Book II, chapter 1, p.85.
- 59 See Mandeville, p.59

- 60 See R.W. Frantz, 'Gulliver's Cousin Sympson', HLQ, I (1938), pp.329-34. See also Frantz's essay on primitive Hottentots in 'Swift's Yahoos and the Voyagers', MP, 29 (1931-2), pp.49-57.
- 61 J.R. Moore, 'A New Source for Gulliver's Travels, ^{Philology} Studies in 7 38 (1941), pp.66-80.
- 62 Prose Works, V, 243.
- 63 Charles L. Batten, Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth Century Travel Literature, (London, 1978). Subsequent references are to Pleasurable Instruction.
- 64 See Pleasurable Instruction, p.12.
- 65 The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison, edited by A.C. Guthkelch, 2 vols (London), I, p.18. Taken from Tickell's edition of Addison's Works (1721), collated with the first (1705) and second (1718) editions.
- 66 Joseph Addison, Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, in the years 1701, 1702, 1703 (London, 1705). pp.183, 217, 229.
- 67 Spectator 412, Monday 23 June 1712. See also the previous number, Spectator 411, Saturday 21 June, being the introduction to 'Pleasures of the Imagination'.
- 68 References are to the edition by L.E. Elliot Joyce, Hakluyt Society, LXXIII (Oxford, 1933).
- 69 Swift owned Nieuhovii, Legatio Batavica ad Magnum Tartariae Chanum Latinae per Geo. Hornium (Amsterdam, 1668). Ogilby's translation appeared the following year (London, 1669).
- 70 References are to Peter Martyr, De Orbe Novo, edited by Francis Augustus Macnutt, 2 vols (London, 1912).
- 71 See Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 7 (1879), p.285. Subsequent references are to Chamberlain.

72 Chamberlain, p.302.

73 See Eddy, p.27.

74 Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, Persian Letters, translated by John Ozell, Garland Foundations of the Novel, edited by William Grabes, 2 vols. (New York, 1972). Subsequent references are to Persian Letters. Ozell's translation appeared in 1722.

Chapter 2

Conjuring and Astrology : Aspects of Narrative Credibility

Gulliver's conspicuous veracity is confounded most obviously by the fabulous elements of Gulliver's Travels and his 'extreme Love of Truth' is humorously undermined throughout the 'faithful History' of his 'Travels for Sixteen Years and above Seven Months'. Swift's irony utilizes the flexible interplay of both realistic and fabulous components. In the Glubbudrib episode, for instance, 'the Island of Sorcerers or Magicians' is reached by the realistic means of 'a small convenient Barque' for the voyage from the port of Maldonada, a town 'about as large as Portsmouth' (Book III, chapter 7, p.193). Yet the narrative of the tribe of magicians who call up from the dead 'vast Numbers of Illustrious Persons' has, of course, no realistic intention whatever and reflects *some details* of Odysseus's adventures among the ghosts of the dead. Also, these 'Visions of the World in every Period of Antiquity' are in keeping with the 'comical parody' of Lucian who, in A True History, 'delights in telling all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way'.¹

The mockery of travellers as proverbial liars can be distinguished from the exaggerations and fabrications perpetrated by travellers. As the events in Glubbudrib and elsewhere are in part influenced by The Odyssey and imaginary travels, evidence suggests they are connected with actual accounts of magic, necromancy and astrology. The incongruous combination of brazen lying of humorous intent with an edge of authentic appropriateness lends an effective twist to Swift's handling of the fabulous dimensions.

Aspects of conjuring, magic and superstition were closely associated in voyagers' accounts of tribes in Africa, America, West Indies and the continent of India, with religious beliefs and tribal rituals. These were often noted by European travellers and frequently abominated. It has been said that 'European travellers wrote to please their audience as well as to inform. Religious beliefs were of no interest; they were pagan error'.² The voyage literature which was available to Swift in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas as well as the works by Sir Thomas Herbert and Peter Martyr purvey an abundance of 'barbarous customs', pagan idolatry, lurid festivals and necromancy. Although their accounts of such practices tend to overemphasize horrible aspects, they nevertheless lend substance to Gulliver's first impression of the Houyhnhnms as 'Magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some Design' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.226). Such accounts written by travellers may also underpin aspects of the Glubbdubdrib visions and the curious astrological activities of the inhabitants of Lagado, who live in unremitting terror of the destruction of the world. Also, Gulliver's initial rapture at meeting the Struldbruggs suggests to him the possibility of making 'wonderful Discoveries' and of 'confirming our own Predictions; by observing the Progress and Returns of Comets, with the Changes of Motion in the Sun, Moon and Stars' (Book III, chapter 10, p.210).

Whereas Swift may have intended partly a satire of the follies of prognosticators, real travel books, with their proverbial excesses and bias, are equal satirical butts. The eschatological anxieties of the citizens of Lagado and the phantoms of Glubbdubdrib are thus teasingly ironical about the imaginary and the genuine travellers. In terms of general

background, it is common knowledge that foretelling the future is a feature of The Odyssey and More's Utopia. Homer refers in the Odyssey to Telemus 'son of Eurymus, skilled in divining, living among the Cyclops as a aged seer'.³ The Utopians believe that the dead mix freely with the living and observe everything they do. Utopians 'pay no attention to omens, fortune telling or any of the superstitious practices that are taken so seriously in other countries'.⁴

Swift enjoyed satirizing John Partridge, the 'vulgar Almanac-maker' in Isaac Bickerstaff's Predictions for the Year 1708 and his facetious article, The Accomplishment of the First of Mr Bickerstaff's Predictions. Being an Account of the Death of Mr Partridge, the Almanac-Maker upon the 29th inst. (1708).⁵ The folly of astrologers who are 'a few mean illiterate Traders between us and the Stars; who import a yearly Stock of Non_sense, Lies, Folly and Impertinence, which they offer^{to} the World as genuine from the Planets' was a topical satirical target.⁶

Jean Bodin's Les Six Livres de La Republique (1579), a treatise on astrology, was also lambasted. Swift described 'his whimsicall Discourses upon Astrology and the influence of the Stars upon human Nature' as not 'otherwise accounted for than by some odd Turn in the Author's Brain, or a Vanity to shew his Acquaintance with Sciences out of his Way'.⁷

In The Mechanical Operation of The Spirit Swift refers to 'certain Fortune-tellers in Northern America, who have a way of reading a Man's Destiny, by Peeping in his Breech'.⁸ The astrological apprehensions of the people of Lagado also relate to Montaigne's accounts of Indian superstitions. Montaigne condemns the hypocrisy of civilized Europeans in regarding as barbarous the use of prophets by the cannibals

in the essay I, xxxi ('Des Cannibales'). The cannibals were said to consult their prophet before undertakings in war but were reputed to butcher him if his predictions transpired to be erroneous. It is not so much the savage cruelty of murdering the false prophet which should preoccupy so-called civilized Europeans, but the latter's own blindness to their own misdeeds.⁹ He subsequently shows that the cannibals, far from being cruel savages, have their own sincere religious beliefs and believe in a heaven of their own according to the teaching of their prophets who incite them to virtue and duty within a moral framework of resoluteness in war and affection for their wives.¹⁰

In II, vi ('Des Coches') Montaigne describes civilized Mexican Indians who, despite being thought savages, believed their universe was facing imminent destruction, on account of the desolation brought by the Spanish.¹¹ The universe, they believed was divided into five ages, of which four had completed their span, according to the lives of five consecutive suns. The terrors of the people of Lagado in the third voyage of Gulliver are similar to the eschatological beliefs of the Mexicans as they are described by Montaigne.

Their living under conditions of continual terror may also be compared to an account of Icelanders by Dithmar Blefkens whose narrative is in Purchas. These Icelanders lived in continual dread because of the 'miserable howling of the ice', believing 'the soules of the damned are tormented in this ice' (XIII, 506).

Mockery of astrologers by Rabelais occurs in The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel. The freak 'Week of three Thursdays' is caused by movements of the suns and moon, since the sun had 'strayed a little to the left, as we forgive our

debtors, and the moon veered more than ten feet from her course'.¹² In a passage of brilliant Old Testament parody and pseudo-science Rabelais expounds theories of the origin and antiquity of the great Pantagruel. When the moon veered off course,

the movement of trepidation in the firmament, which is called Aplanes, was clearly observed. For the middle Pleiad left her companions and declined towards the Equinoctial, and the star called Spica left the constellation of the virgin and moved away towards the Scales; which are very alarming happenings, and so hard and difficult that the astrologers cannot get their teeth into them. Their teeth would have been pretty long, indeed, if they could have reached as far as that. (Book II, chapter 1, p.171)

There is also just as much amusement at the advice about 'Homeric and Virgilian Lotteries' as to how Panurge's marriage will turn out, with reference to *prognostication and divination* by dice, by dreams and random openings of the works of Homer and Virgil.¹³

Like the Laputans, the Chinese are reported in Purchas to be obsessed by the twin subjects of mathematics and astrology. Diego de Pantoia describes 'the King of China ... his musicians and mathematicians'.¹⁴ These mathematicians are said by de Pantoia to 'have no sound understanding ... yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any comet do appeare, or any such ^{like} thing in the skie, to enforme the king thereof' (XII, 405). A college of 'mathematicians' at Nanquin is described 'of better building than Astrological science' (XII, 320). Astrologers stand on top of a high mountain on an open plain 'to contemplate the stars,' watching for any 'comets or ^{other} alterations in the sky, thereof to give the king notice, and what it portends' (XII, 357). De Pantoia describes huge astrolabes 'marked with Chinese

characters which everything signifieth; the four and twentie constellations of the Zodiacke, answering in the number doubled to our twelve signes' (XII , 357).

De Pantoia's description of certain 'Bonze' wizards who are 'the most base, contemptible and worst people in all China', may be compared to 'Bonse' magicians of Japan, who observe eclipses of the sun. The Bonse 'said the sunne hid himselfe by night behind a hill called Siumi, rooted in the sea foure and twentie miles deepe. And for ^{the} eclipses, they said that god Holochan caused that of the sun, covering it with his right hand, and that of the moon with his left'.¹⁵

The Houyhnhnms understand the nature of eclipses and are credited with limited knowledge not of astrology but astronomy. 'They calculate the Year by the Revolution of the Sun and the Moon, but use no Subdivisions into Weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the Motions of those two Luminaries, and understand the Nature of Eclipses' (Book IV, chapter 9, p.273).

Another traveller to China, Father Ricius, reports that the Bonze conjurers exorcise devils, 'arrogate also to bring downe or to stay rains, and other publike and private fortunes, most impudent imposters, either lyars or magicians'.¹⁶ This account is corroborated by Richard Cocks.¹⁷

Gonzalo de Oviedo, His Summarie and General Historie of the Indies which is contained in Purchas includes observations of a conjuring tribe known as Piaces. These magicians could speak with spirits and foretell the future. He says 'the professors of this sect were called Piaces. They gave themselves to the knowledge of naturall things, and used certaine secret magicall operations and superstitions,

whereby they had familiaritie with spirits ..., at such times as they would take upon them to tell of things to come' (XV, 158).

Darien Indians were reported by Lionel Wafer to have conjurers known as 'Pawpawes'. Wafer's New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America contains descriptions of their 'diabolical conjurations' which were performed 'on drums, conches, shrieking and wailing. They stored the bones of their dead in hammocks in the huts of the villagers and had visions which 'could be nothing else but necromancy and magic'.¹⁸ Wafer is careful to assert his own veracity in the preface where he warns the reader 'though there are some matters of fact that will seem strange, yet have I been more especially careful in these, to say nothing but what according to the best of my knowledge is the very truth' (P.lxviii). Wafer's account of the Pawpawes includes scenes of raising the devil 'att their pleasure'.

Hakluyt includes Anthony Jenkinson's report of certain holy men who possessed the gift of divination of the future. Jenkinson's journey to Russia and to Persia was undertaken between 1557 and 1561. His voyage into Russia of 1557 was followed by The Voyage of Anthony Jenkinson from the Citie of Mosco in Russia, to Boghar in Batria, An 1558. During this journey 'certain Tartars of our companie, called holy men ... caused their caravan to wait while they sat down to pray and devine howe wee should prosper in our journey, and whether wee should meete with any ill companie or no'.¹⁹

Another voyager in Hakluyt reports the existence of astrologers who were regarded as wise men by the Wiroan Indians of Virginia. According to Thomas Hariot, the Wiroan Indians believed the English sailors were gods, since they

had no women with them, and could not seemingly, therefore, have been born of women. Because the Indians could not conceive of bullet wounds, their astrologers decided they had been occasioned by supernatural means. These 'astrologers' linked bullet wounds to an eclipse of the sunne which had been observed 'the same yeere before in our voyage hitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible, and also of a comet which began to appeare, but a few dayes before the beginning of the said sicknesse'.²⁰

Other accounts of Virginia pay particular attention to the superstitions of the Indians, their 'fopperies and blind idolatries'. William Hawkins, for example, describes a king who is 'very much adored of the heathen comminality, insomuch, that they will spread their bodies all upon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides. They use many other fopperies and superstitions, which I omit, leaving them for other Travellers which shall come from thence hereafter'.²¹ It is probably to this type of account that Swift is alluding in 'the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage people, with which most Writers abound', referred to by Gulliver (Book II, chapter 8, p.147). Such customs were described in another account of an Indian tribe known as Werowance.

This Virginian tribe is reported to perform 'divers conjurations' to enable them to predict the future. 'One they made when captain Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his country-men would arrive there, and what he there intended'.²²

In the territory of the Werowance Indians 'their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamavukeneere unto which is a house temple or place of Powhatans. Upon the top of certain red, sandy hills in the

woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Divels, and Tombs of their Predecessors'.²³ The faces of the priests are painted 'as ugly as they can devise', and, in a passage which reminds one of the Laputans with their flappers and music in Gulliver's Travels, are said to carry out their devotion which 'was most in songs'; in their hands 'they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller'. The Werowances dread their gods or 'Oke' and sacrifice children to them, attaining the rank of priest by means of a test of divination, whereby 'divers platters of broth' are set,

of which some are poisoned; and he whose divination finds out the poysoned, is much esteemed and made a Quiyoughcosuck. These are ^{the} degrees to become Priests or Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Oke, or Devil, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes which are their other Gods, would let them have no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them. (XVIII, 453)

One traveller in Purchas is led to a long series of magical performances among 'the Youghtanunds, Matapanients, the Payankatiks, the Nantaughtacunds, the Onanmanients, upon the Rivers of Rapahanocke, and Patanomecke, and backe again by divers other Nations, to the King's habitation at Pamaunk, where they entertained him with strange conjurations'.

Earely in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat spred on each side; on one of which he was set, the guard went out, and in came a great grim fellow skipping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weesels skins stuffed with Mosse, their tailles tied together, and meeting on the crowne of his head; round about the tassell was a coronet of Fethers; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a hellish voyce, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other divels

rushed in with like trickes, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red stroakes along their cheekes. These having danced a prettie while, three more came in as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white stroakes over their blacke faces. (XVIII, 470)

Their 'rites of conjuration' also involve a 'savage geography', as Purchas terms their belief in a flat world; 'round like a trencher, and themselves in the midst' (XVIII, 471). It is worth noting that the Lilliputians hold theories about the earth which they too 'consider to be flat' (Book I, chapter 6, p.57).

For Hakluyt, the savages encountered by the English voyagers were ignorant pagans 'thirsting after Christianitie' (p.703). It was the duty of Europeans to convert them to Christianity: a purpose to which Gulliver alludes in his praise for 'devout and able Pastors . . . to Propagate Christianity' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.294). Hakluyt writes

Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatrie, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as maye appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which wil put to their helping hands, and applie themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules (p.703).

The account of the Virginian Indians in Purchas shows that attempts at conversion were made, but the Indians were intractable.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, many used their best endeavours, chiefly with the Werowances of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, whom though wee could not as yet prevaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleieve, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes

did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to the President, at James Towne, men with Presents, intreating them to pray to his God for Raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance, doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Devill, not knowing their Creator. (XVIII, 453)

Many travellers expressed shocked disapprobation and seemingly invented strange marvels, as in a report by Robert Gainsh. His version of The Second Voyage to Guinea, set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Locke and Edward Castelyn, in the yeere 1554 is printed in Hakluyt.²⁴ Gainsh's

Chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the observation and ordinary custome of the Mariners, and as I received it at the hands of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who allso with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by conjecture, but by the art of sailing, and instruments pertaining to the mariners' facultie. (p.89)

In the account of Africa which follows 'marvellous and very strange' sights are described in spite of his professed veracity. 'Inhabitants' dwelling on one side of a river are remarked upon 'who are of high stature and blacke, and on the other side, of Browne or tawnie colour and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true' (p.94). Gainsh describes several fabulous tribes, including 'people without heades, called Blemines, having their eyes and mouth in theyr chest. Likewise Strucophagi, and the naked Ganphafantes: Satyrs also, which have nothing of men but only shape' (p.95). Myth, hearsay and rumour must have contributed to some of the far fetched stories related by travellers. For example, a report of witchcraft used by Mexican Indians by Henrie Hawkes in A Relation of The Commodities of New Spain (1572) which is published by Hakluyt. It was said that the Spanish were

unable to discover the cities of the Indians because of Indian witchcraft which cast 'a miste upon them, so that they could not see them'.²⁵ Another fabulous story insists that idol worship delivered the people of Moscovia from calamity such as plague, hunger or war and that the superstitious practice of choosing sacrificial victims meant that they were slain and then miraculously brought back to life again. This account is entitled The Newe Navigation and Discoverie of the Kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1552: enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chanceler, Pilot Major of the Voyage.²⁶

Thomas Herbert's exaggerated account of Some Yeeres Travells in Africa and Asia, which Swift derided, condemns the natives of Madagascar for their magical pursuits. One of them who was 'doubtless magical', stopped the rain in Herbert's presence by stabbing the ground with his knife, 'muttering black art as we apprehended to some hobgoblin'. Suddenly the 'skie cleared and more noise affrighted us' (p.28). The more sensationalist aspects of Herbert's book include descriptions of Lethyophagi who violated the graves of the dead and 'fed barbarically on their carcasses' (p.17).

In the same vein, the De Orbe Novo of Peter Martyr, also owned by Swift, contains erroneous facts about customs and religious practices of the world. Peter Martyr's stories were based, on his own admission upon the accounts of other people, notably Dominican monks whom he deems 'trustworthy witnesses' and believed to be 'above suspicion' (II, 391). He also relied on the evidence of home-coming explorers for tales of magic islands, incredible barbarism, wild savages, cannibals scouring the forests in search of human prey; revolting customs 'worthy of Laestrygones' and other spectacular sights.

Peter Martyr describes the curing of fevers by worship of idols or zemes, and other 'magical incantations'.

It is the augurs, called bovites, who encourage these superstitions. These men, who are persistent liars, act as doctors for the ignorant people, which gives them a great prestige, for it is believed that the zemes converse with them and reveal the future to them.

If a sick man recovers the bovites persuade him that he owes his restoration to the intervention of the zemes. (I, 172)

Then there is a similarity with the Houyhnhnms whose 'Fundamental is, that all Diseases arise from Repletion' (Book IV, chapter 6, p.253). Peter Martyr says of the bovite

Finally he removes the piece of meat he was carrying in his mouth like a juggler, and begins to cry, "This is what you have eaten in excess of your wants; now you will get well because I have relieved you of that which you ate." If the doctor perceives that the patient gets worse, he ascribes this to the zemes, who, he declares, are angry because they have not had a house constructed for them, or have not been treated with proper respect, or have not received their share of the products of the field. Should the sick man die, his relatives indulge in magical incantations to make him declare whether he is the victim of fate or of the carelessness of the doctor, who failed to fast properly or gave the wrong remedy (I, 173).

In Gulliver's Travels the satire of physicians retains some nuances of such tribal medicine.

One great Excellency in this Tribe is their Skill at Prognosticks, wherein they seldom fail; their Predictions in real Diseases, when they rise to any Degree of Malignity, generally portending Death, which is always in their Power, when Recovery is not: And therefore, upon any unexpected Signs of Amendment, after they have pronounced their Sentence, rather than be accused as false Prophets, they know how to approve their Sagacity to the World by a seasonable Dose (Book IV, chapter 6, p.254).

According to Peter Martyr, the natives of Hispaniola

consulted zemes about their future, having fasted for fifteen days. The arrival of the Spaniards had been foretold to them by the Zemes who declared 'that within a few years a race of men wearing clothes would land in the island and overthrow their religious rites and ceremonies, massacre their children, and make them slaves. This prophecy had been taken by the younger generation to apply to the cannibals; and thus whenever it became known that the cannibals had landed anywhere, the people took flight'. (I, 176)

The caciques consulted the zemes in a prophetic delirium, prophesying 'victory or defeat, if a war is to be undertaken, or whether the crops will be abundant, or the coming of disaster, or the enjoyment of health, in a word, whatever first occurs to him' (I, 174). Peter Martyr also reveals they questioned devils concerning the future, 'calling them up by means of incantations'. These devils foretold 'rain, drought, the temperature, illnesses, and touching war and peace; business affairs, journeys, new enterprises, loss and gain; they also ask them what should be thought of the arrival of the Christians, whom they detest because they occupy their lands, impose laws, and force them to adopt new rites and customs, and to abandon their natural tastes' (II, 391).

Peter Martyr wished to 'state how these half-naked and uncivilised barbarians understand and practise magic, secondly to describe their funeral ceremonies, and finally to speak of the belief in a future life', beginning with 'professors of the art of magic who are called piaces' (II, 388). These 'professors of magic' learn the bogus arts of healing with magical incantations, and 'their pupils bring certificates of their knowledge from their piace teachers just as is done at Bologna, Pavia, and Perugia, amongst those who obtain the

title of Doctor. Nobody else may practise medicine' (II, 389). Questioned about the future, the piaces told monks abandoned in the country of Chribichi, that Christians would arrive to save them. The monks asked the piaces if the desired vessels would soon arrive, and the piaces foretold the day of their arrival, the number of their crew, describing the appearance of the sailors, and giving many other particulars. 'Everything they said was true' (II, 391).

Peter Martyr does not assert his own veracity. In Gulliver it becomes a self-conscious obsession with obvious ironic connotations. Gulliver's stated motive in travelling is his 'sole Intention' to write an account for 'the Publick Good' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.292). Unlike Peter Martyr and others, he arrogantly boasts that 'this Work of mine can possibly meet with no Censurers: For what Objections can be made against a Writer who relates only plain Facts that happened in such distant Countries, where we have not the least Interest with respect either to Trade or Negotiations?' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.292). His claim to be 'studious of Truth' and never to swerve from his self-imposed maxim that he would 'strictly adhere to truth' is ironically contradicted by the unreality of his voyages. Equally strong is his inquisitiveness to explore the world. His 'insatiable Desire of seeing foreign Countries drives him on his voyages in conjunction with his 'evil Destiny'. He is 'condemned by Nature and Fortune to an active and restless life' (Book II, chapter 1, p.83). His 'unfortunate voyages' continue because of 'the Thirst I had of seeing the World, notwithstanding my past Misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever' (Book III, chapter 1, pp.153-4). His travels, therefore, are the outcome of eager curiosity and a sense of destiny comparable to

that of Robinson Crusoe who suffers a 'Distemper of Wandering', calling him to defy his father. In much the same way, Gulliver cannot stay at home with his family, and although he is not disobedient like Crusoe, in the differing circumstances of Gulliver's Travels cannot resist the call of the urge to travel.

His quest for knowledge or experience and his thirst for discovering the 'Remote Nations of the World' retain not only the parodic imitation of the ambitions of sailors, but also a paradoxical, intellectual curiosity which is comparable to that of Odysseus. The eagerness of Gulliver to explore the world, is a pale imitation of the passion of the 'much enduring' Odysseus who exemplifies the Greek tradition of a concern to learn more about God, man and nature, described by W.B. Stanford as 'the most characteristic feature of the whole Greek tradition'.²⁷ The unexplored territories of Odysseus's fabulous wanderings provide special opportunities for acquiring fresh knowledge, and his adventures arise from his essential curiosity. In Gulliver, Swift inverts the tradition of the quest for knowledge in the Odyssey and also mocks the spirit of reckless, purposeless exploration of our real world which signally failed to improve the moral condition of man, and revealed the brutish part of human nature with the barbarity inherent in civilization.

W.B. Stanford considers 'Odysseus's "desire to know" is most clearly illustrated in the episodes with the Cyclops and the Sirens. Odysseus himself asserts that his original motive for landing on the Cyclop's island was to see whether its unknown inhabitants were "violent, savage and lawless, or else hospitable men with god-fearing mind" - almost as if, in modern terms, he wanted to do some anthropological

research'.²⁸ The purity of the motives of the heroic Odysseus makes Gulliver's curiosity mean in comparison and the outcome of Gulliver's Travels is not discovery or knowledge, but repugnant misanthropy.

Purchas condemned the traveller who returned with affectations and absurd vanities. The Preface to His Pilgrimes explicitly reproves such vices among young gentlemen who 'bring home a few smattering termes, flattering garbs, Apish cringes, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises ... without furthering of their knowledge, of God, the world or themselves'. Gulliver's aspirations to cosy intimacy with the Houyhnhnms and reluctance to return to live with European Yahoos needs to be viewed against a background of earlier Seventeenth Century travel. Voyaging then came to be regarded by some as a neglect of education and duty at home for the sake of idle indulgence abroad. The main goal (public utility) was described in 1642 by James Howell as 'The most materiall use therefore of Forreine Travel is to find out something that may be applyable to the publique utility of one's own country'.²⁹ The popular criticism was of the vanity of the traveller who travels only 'to please his fantasie, ... like some squire of dames that doates upon every beauty and is evry day love-sick anew'.³⁰ Gulliver perfunctorily acknowledges such aims in the final chapter - 'a Traveller's chief Aim should be to make Men wiser and better, and to improve their Minds by the bad, as well as good Example of what they deliver concerning foreign Places' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.291). Such popular noble aims of travel books are referred to in the letter to Swift from Anthony Henley in July 1709 in which he writes of a popular travel book 'Dr Sloane is of opinion, that modern Travels

are very behovefull towards forming the mind and Enlarging the thoughts of the Curious part of Mankind'.³¹

Gulliver's Travels draws also from the desire expressed by Dampier to see foreign countries. Gulliver's 'Cousin Dampier', in the preface to A New Voyage Round the World (London, 1697), tells his readers of the remoteness of the regions visited, 'divested myself of sea-phrases to gratify the land reader', promised not to 'trouble the Reader', yet writes 'I dare avow, according to my sphere and poor abilities, a hearty zeal for the promoting of useful knowledge, and of anything that may never so remotely tend to my country's advantage' (p.7).

Also, Lionel Wafer outlined in A New Voyage and Description of the isthmus of America (1699), a principal design to 'say nothing but what, according to the best of my knowledge, is the Truth'. His motive was to furnish his readers with an accurate description of the region of 'the Isthmus of Darien, where I was left among the wild Indians'.³²

For Hakluyt, voyaging provided opportunities for 'an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole realme in general, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the savages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficiltie'.³³ It is likely that Gulliver's vindication of his failure to take formal possession in the name of the sovereign of the countries he visited, 'the only objection that can be raised against me as a traveller', is an adroit allusion to the great age of Tudor exploration, discovery and planting. This combination is crowned by the preposterous joke about the impossibility of colonizing the fabulous creatures recently visited.

The popular theme of criticism of travel writers in Gulliver's Travels is, additionally, a probable echo of Montesquieu's Persian Letters. 'The Persian Genius' is elevated because 'we always follow Nature in the simplicity of our customs, and hate an affected Singularity of Manners' (II, 5). It is, therefore, assumed to be the business of the traveller to collect accurate information about other cultures likely to be of use to his compatriots on his return, but it is also his duty to revalue and respect the virtues of his native society and manners.

Certainly, for Montesquieu's travellers, the motive was to provide a Journal which 'might be useful to the publick' (I, 26). On the other hand, Montesquieu notes that the Spanish have 'made vast Discoveries in the New World, and are not yet acquainted with their own Continent: they have Ports in their own Rivers as yet unknown to them; and in their Mountains whole Nations which they never heard of'.³⁴ The curiosity of travellers to unexplored lands had been exploited by Lucian and Philostratus. At the beginning of A True History Lucian states 'The motive and purpose of my journey lay in my intellectual activity and desire for adventure, and in my wish to find out what the end of the ocean was, and who the people were that lived on the other side'.³⁵ Likewise, in The Life of Apollonius Philostratus reveals the motives for the journeys of Apollonius to be thirst for knowledge of the Magi and the Brahmans of India: or eagerness 'to learn and to investigate things in foreign countries'.³⁶

Thus, as a traveller-hero, Gulliver reflects classical precedent and experiences of the Elizabethan voyagers, not the Eighteenth Century gentleman travelling for his education or professional development.

Montaigne also exposes the limitations of European knowledge and the extent of man's blinkered attitude in Essays II, vi ('Of Coaches') and I, xxxi ('Of Cannibals'). Whereas Europeans proudly marvel at their own inventions of printing and artillery, he points out that 'other men, at the other side of the world, in China, enjoyed them a thousand years earlier'.³⁷ Man's image of the world is false, being limited to known territories; knowledge of great governments and great nations pitifully limited in scope. 'Under the old Greeks and Romans' such empires would have gently

trimmed and done away with what there was of barbarism and would have encouraged and strengthened the good roots that nature had there implanted, not only introducing in the cultivation of the soil and the adornment of the cities the arts of this part of the world so far as they might have been necessary, but *also adding the Greek and Roman virtues to those of the native country.*³⁸

The irony beneath Gulliver's Travels consists in the vanity of a traveller hero, cast in the mould of restless explorer, a devourer of novelties, whose country is supposedly more civilized than those he explores.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 See A True History, p.251.
- 2 Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850 (Madison, 1964), pp.23-24.
- 3 The Odyssey, IX, lines 445-528
- 4 Utopia, p.159
- 5 Bickerstaff Papers, Prose Works, II, 151 -155.
- 6 Prose Works II, p141
- 7 See Marginalia Prose Works, V, 244.
- 8 A Tale of a Tub etc. p.286.
- 9 Montaigne, I, xxxi ('Des Cannibales'), p.281.
- 10 Montaigne, I, xxxi ('Des Cannibales'), p.279.
- 11 Montaigne, II, vi ('Des Coches'), p.1243.
- 12 Rabelais, II, I, p171.
- 13 See Rabelais, II, pp.10-13.
- 14 Purchas, XII, 405.
- 15 Purchas, XII, 320.
- 16 See Purchas, XII, p462.
- 17 See Purchas, III, p530.
- 18 See Lionel Wafer, A New Voyage, pp.24-25.
- 19 Hakluyt, p.354.
- 20 Hakluyt, p.762.
- 21 Purchas, III, p50.
- 22 Purchas, XVIII, p451.
- 23 Purchas, XVIII, p450.
- 24 See Hakluyt, pp.89-98.
- 25 See Hakluyt, p.547.
- 26 See Hakluyt, pp.280-292.

- 27 W.B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero, second edition (Oxford, 1963) p.75. Subsequent references are to The Ulysses Theme. See also Sir Ernest Barker, Traditions of Civility (Cambridge, 1948), p.6.
- 28 The Ulysses Theme, p.76.
- 29 See James Howell, Instructions for Forreine Travel (London, 1642), p.73.
- 30 Bishop John Hall, Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel (London, 1617), p.8.
- 31 Correspondence, I, p147, Anthony Henley to Swift, July 1709. Sir Hans Sloane published the first volume of the famous work, A voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbadoes, Nieves, St. Christopher's and Jamaica (1707). Volume 2 did not appear until 1725.
- 32 Lionel Wafer, A New Voyage, P.LXViii.
- 33 Hakluyt, p.704.
- 34 Montesquieu, Persian Letters, I, p22.
- 35 A True History, p.253.
- 36 The Life of Apollonius, p.143.
- 37 Montaigne, Essays, II, p1234.
- 38 Montaigne, Essays, II, p1237.

Chapter 3

North America

Swift's knowledge of the New World must have sprung from a variety of sources. His time between 1689 and 1699 as personal secretary to Sir William Temple at Moor Park was partly occupied in reading travel books and involved him in diplomatic and colonial matters of the day.¹ We know that he actually met an American visitor to England. We know from correspondence of his interest in prominent colonial figures, namely William Penn, William Burnet, Robert Hunter and George Berkeley. The sale catalogue of his library contained works by Bacon (proponent of plantations and author of New Atlantis), Montaigne's Essays, Peter Martyr's Letters (1670). Topical moral and political issues of the day, such as coinage in Ireland and Irish emigration to America because of poverty and 'rack-rents', are dealt with, with reference to America in the Irish Tracts.

Swift met at least one American while he was at Moor Park, where he 'had many humourous anecdotes and incidents' from Mr. Thomas who was visiting Sir William Temple, his first cousin.² Particularly important as well is the visit to England of the Iroquois kings in 1710.³ The extraordinary, savage visitors came to London in April 1710 when Swift was in Ireland, but their tour of the Thames, the theatres, Bethlehem Hospital, and the work house was widely reported.

The Dublin Intelligence from March 28 to May 9 reported, amongst a host of other details, the kings' brief stay in Ireland on their way to England, details of their audience with Queen Anne, their activities in London. Furthermore,

the reference in A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit to 'The Iroquois Virtuosi' might have arisen directly from Swift's knowledge of the visit.⁴ However, this could be doubtful on the grounds that the 1704 text of the Discourse did not contain the passage which pre-dates the Indians' visit. The Fifth Edition of 1710 contains additional footnotes, but no evidence of other additions. It is more probable that Swift was thinking of an epigram by Boileau printed in Sir William Temple's Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning which he saw through the press in 1701.⁶

The value of the four Iroquois chiefs as a satiric device arising from the fact that familiarity has not closed their eyes to the absurdity of English customs, is revealed in Addison's Spectator no. 50 for Friday 27 April 1711 which describes their visit to London. Furthermore, Lemuel Gulliver's observations on the strange peoples whom he visits, and Swift's remark to Stella in his Journal for 28 April 1711 that he has provided a 'noble hint' for this number of The Spectator attest the significance of the Indian visit.

Irvin Ehrenpreis and James L. Clifford have considered notes made by Swift in a letter to his mother in 1698, printed in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, about the North American Indians and Niagara Falls. Swift probably knew Louis Hennepin's Nouvelle Decouverte d'un Tres Grand Pays Situé dans L'Amerique (1697) and Nouveau Voyage d'Un Pais Plus Grand que L'Europe (1698). Swift actually mentions Hennepin in the letter.⁶ The most likely source for Swift's notes is Hennepin's Description of Louisiane (1683) which state about Niagara Falls, 'It is terrifying the way the water foams and boils, thundering unceasingly. When the wind is in the south, the roar can be

heard for more than fifteen leagues'.⁷ It is conceivable that Swift might have remembered Hennepin's account when he came to describe the fall of Gulliver's box into the sea when he returned from Brobdingnag in Gulliver's Travels (Book 2, chapter 8, p.141). Here the box fell into the water with a sound 'louder in mine ears than the cataract of Niagara'.

Swift's correspondence reveals at least a surface knowledge of colonial affairs and an acquaintance with prominent American figures. Gulliver's Travels was written at a time of Swift's mounting concern over Irish emigration in the 1720's. It was a theme to which he returned on more than one occasion. Writing to John Barber in 1737 about colonies of 'Irish Beggars' Swift expressed disgust at the raising of rents 'to four times the value of what they formerly payd; which is beyond all I have ever heard even among the worst screwing Landlords of this impoverished kingdom; and the consequence hath already been, that many of your Tenants in the said Town and Lands are preparing for their Removal to the Plantations in America; for the same Reasons that are driving some thousands of Familyes in the adjoining northern Parts, to the same plantations'.⁸

Intelligencer xix, which gives an account of conditions in County Down in the form of a letter from a country gentleman there with two hundred tenants, comparing coinage and barter with the wild indians around the American colonies, states that 'some Thousand Families are ^{gone or} going, or preparing to go from hence, and settle themselves in America. The poorer Sort, for want of Work; the Farmers whose beneficial Bargains are now become a Rack-Rent too hard to be born'.⁹

Swift's acquaintances included Colonel Robert Hunter who, prior to his capture by the French, was set to become Lieutenant Governor of the colony of Virginia. Hunter had

intended to send for Swift as the first Anglican Bishop of Virginia in 1707. Hunter became Governor of New York and New Jersey in 1710 after his release from prison, Swift is said to have met Hunter in London on a number of occasions between 1701 and 1704.¹⁰

Hunter's successor as Governor of New York and New Jersey was William Burnet (1688-1729), eldest son of Swift's old enemy the arch Whig and violently anti-Catholic Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Comments made in the Irish Tracts on the subject of the problem of Irish emigration show Swift's pleasure at Burnet's difficulties, 'I cannot but observe, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency Burnet, (O fili, nec tali indigne parente!) hath not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals by his oratory in the style of a command, to settle a Revenue on his Vice-Royal person'.¹¹

William Penn (1644-1718) was another prominent acquaintance. Swift, in a first meeting with Penn in The Journal to Stella on October 7, 1710 notes 'Mr. Harley came out to me, brought me in, and presented me to his son-in-law, Lord Doblane (or some such name) and his own son, and, among others, Will Penn the quaker; we sat two hours drinking as good wine as you do ...'.¹² Swift refers to Penn in his 'Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons' (1729), attempting to challenge the popular view of Pennsylvania as a beautiful country and, therefore, suitable for Irish emigration. Swift assures his readers that Penn had told him 'His country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the Northern winds from Hudson's bay and the frozen sea, which destroyed all Plantations of Trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables'.¹³

Swift's acquaintance with George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne (1685-1753) is particularly significant. Shortly after

the appearance of Gulliver's Travels, Berkeley published in 1726 'verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and learning in America' which provides a highly idealised view of the colony as a 'seat of innocence' in a 'happy clime' where a new 'golden age' would rule far away from the decadence of Europe.¹⁴ Berkeley's disillusionment with English learning led to his desire to establish 'the Bermuda Project' in which Swift became involved. In support of this attempt to convert 'the savage Americans to Christianity by a College to be erected in the summer Islands otherwise called the Isles of Bermudas' Swift wrote to Lord Carteret, urging his assistance. Swift called Berkeley 'an absolute Philosopher', saying that 'for three years past [he] hath been struck with a Notion of founding an University at Bermudas by a Charter from the Crown... He hath seduced severall of the hopefulest ^{Young} Clergymen, and Scholars here'. The college was to be founded for Indian scholars and missionaries.¹⁵ Swift's concern for the American project was shared to some extent by Gay, Arbuthnot and Pope. The project was, despite public interest, doomed ultimately to failure.¹⁶ What is significant is Swift's enthusiasm for a missionary scheme to convert American Indians from their wild state of nature, shown at this time. America might have been regarded by Swift as a barbarous country, but it was also a country where 'nature' and 'virtue' might ultimately rule.

The intellectual optimism of Berkeley, contrasting with the debacle of the South Sea 'Bubble', and the savagery of Indians, colonists alike, may be compared to the views of Francis Bacon in The New Atlantis. Bacon's utopian island was in the Pacific, which might have islands and continents not yet come to light - Australia was yet to come out of it. But he refers to the inundation of an Atlantic continent, and

the shrinking Atlantic shelf of America. Hence the American Indians were but remnants of a people; 'marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must accept your inhabitants of America as a young people: younger a thousand years, at the least, than the rest of the world'.¹⁷ Bacon regarded the New World as a baby: the old World as its aged parent. In the essay 'Of Coaches', Montaigne expresses a similar view.¹⁸

Reports of the New World influenced More's Utopia. Montaigne understood the relativism of human conditions and beliefs. He criticised the hypocrisy of Europe and the Old World in exploiting the harmless 'infant' New World. Reports of the New World by Vespucci and More's brother-in-law, John Rastell were instrumental in bringing about a picture in Utopia of a perfect commonwealth. Uncivilized nature thus prompted a reassessment of contemporary Europe. Vespucci had claimed the Indians lived rudely, but were ready to be moulded into a new order of society.

As far as Utopia was concerned, no perfect model could be found, and the ultimate state described is a product of reason. The key to developing the concept of Utopia was Vespucci's revelation that the American Indians held everything in common. Swift's knowledge of More's book, crucial as it is in a number of other ways, put him in touch with sources and influences: Utopia is, in terms of its conventionality and originality, a window into the pagan classics, Plato's Republic, medieval influences, the popular Travels of Sir John Mandeville (containing the utopian island of the Bragman), the Christian Gospel with its exaltation of the simple life and brotherly love, Italian Humanistic sources and travellers' accounts of the New World.¹⁹

Amerigo Vespucci's Quatuor Navigationes may have been known to Swift, and some influence of the work can be detected. For instance, Vespucci says of the Indians, 'They observe no laws and execute no justice'. Law and lawyers becomes a satirical target in Gulliver's Travels. More's Utopia also treats the same subject, inasmuch as the Utopians, in spite of their stress on training, do have laws. More may have been thinking of Plutarch's Lycurgus who believed so much in the value of education as the best giver of laws that he forbade them to be put in writing.²⁰ More undertakes to emphasise the necessity of laws for the Christian, communist state.

Gulliver scoffs at the Houyhnhnm attitude to European laws in the course of his dialogue 'On the State of England' with the Master of the Houyhnhnms who 'was at a Loss how it should come to pass that the Law which was intended for every Man's Preservation, should be any Man's Ruin' (Book IV, chapter 5, p.248). The laws of Brobdingnag are minimal, expressed 'in the most plain and simple Terms' and do not permit equivocation. Ironically implying good sense and clarity as attributes of any legal system, Swift, however, makes Gulliver decry the Brobdingnag people who are 'not mercurial enough to discover above one Interpretation' of a law and cannot 'boast of any extraordinary Skill' in judgement or advocacy (Book 2, chapter 7, p.136). Civilisation proper cannot depend upon the notorious over-ingenuity of lawyers or upon complex arcane laws incomprehensible to the populace. In exposing Gulliver to the reader's censure: Swift was probably remembering the Utopians who 'absolutely banish from their country all lawyers, who cleverly manipulate cases and cunningly argue legal points. They consider it is a good thing that every man should plead his own cause and say the same to the judge as he would tell

his counsel'.²¹

Vespucci's account of simple American Indians living without laws might have seemed a glimpse of Utopia to writers familiar with the notorious excesses of the law in Europe. The account might also be seen in a critical light as a statement about the primitiveness of the savage Indians, manifestly lacking the trappings of civilisation: clothes or God. Descriptions of the Indians emphasized their wild humanity. If normal humanity was gentle, white, intelligent and decorous, abnormal humanity was obstinate, pagan, free and red. In the more fantastic accounts of the Indians tainted with horror at their moral depravity, concern for the souls of the wild men was mixed up with paradoxical concerns: Europeans admired their physique, wanted their gold and lands.

To Hakluyt, Purchas, Peter Martyr and Vespucci, the Indians were exotic, but guilty of moral crimes such as the violation of taboos. Their wrong cultural practices included nakedness, cannibalism, sexual promiscuity, lawlessness, communism, and yet the Europeans who observed them projected onto the natives of the New World a dreamlike distortion: a dream of Edenic innocence. The manner of their conquest attracted condemnation.

In criticizing Spanish imperial policy, Las Casas in 1519 charged that the natives were being treated '... just as if they were pieces of wood that could be cut off and transported for building purposes'.²² His account of the Indians is idealistic as well as being expressive of disgust at Spanish exploitation and inhumanity. Spanish opinions of the Indians, he says, are pure fiction to discredit them. 'Man eatings, sodomies, idolatories and other vices of Americans' were customs 'pretended by Spaniards'.²³ What was in reality a 'peaceable, lowly and milde nation which offendeth none' had

been blackened with 'execrable deeds'. According to Las Casas, the Indians were 'very poore folk, humble, patient and peace loving'. They lived 'without brawls and strugglings, without quarrels, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no means desirous of revengement (Purchas, XVIII, p.86). They ate a simple diet, were 'very gentle, very tender'. They were 'lambs so meeke ...' suffering at the barbarous hands of Spanish 'wolves, tigers and lions'.

In a recent essay, entitled 'The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish', Hayden White has argued that the term 'wild men' is oxymoronic. 'The Natives of the New World were allied to natural objects to be consumed, transformed, or destroyed as their conquerors or owners desired'.²⁴ Idolization of the Indians only occurred after their exploitation by Europeans. Christianity did not conceive of the idea of humanity outside the confines of the church or civilization. Indians were to be regarded as humanity 'gone wild', possibly even as a breed of super animals like dogs, bears or monkeys: which would account for their violation of taboos. The savages were like the Yahoos in their animality. It was also suggested that the Indian savages were a breed of degenerate men (descendants of a lost tribe of Israel) or a race of men destitute of reason and moral sense by the harsh climate.

The lies of travellers of the kind mocked by Gulliver, both fictional in purpose or historical in intent, are at the heart of the matter. In the account of the travels of Hythlodæus in Utopia More writes, 'For on those subjects we eagerly inquired of him, and he no less readily discoursed; but about stale travellers' wonders we were not curious. Scyllos and greedy Celaenos and folk devouring Laestrygones and similar frightful monsters are common enough, but well and wisely trained citizens are not

everywhere to be found'.²⁵ The Homeric reference to gigantic cannibals who slew the companions of Odysseus is surprisingly close to some of the extravagant lies about the American Indians.²⁶ Like Lucian, Erasmus refers to Ulysses' 'monstrous lies about Lotus-Eaters, Laestrygones, Circe, Clyclops and a great many other wonders of the same sort, relying to be sure, upon the ignorance and rudeness of the Phaecians'.²⁷

First descriptions of American Indians were anomalous. John of Holywood's Sphera Mundi (1498) describes them as 'Blue in colour and with square heads'. Similar fantastic lies abounded and have been discussed by Lewis Hanke in Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World (Chicago, 1959).²⁸ The earliest picture of the Indians was a German wood engraving of 1505 believed to have been by Johann Froschauer of Augsburg. The inscription, which is closely based on Vespucci's words reads, when translated from the German,

This figure represents to us the people and the islands which have been discovered by the christian king of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well shaped in body. Their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are a little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts. No one else has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends, therein they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in smoke. They live to be a hundred and fifty years old. And have no government.

Reports of such nakedness, incest and cannibalism caused popular misconceptions, leading to a European myth evident in *making* the ideas for 'Preventing the children of poor people from being a burthen to their parents, or their country, and for making them beneficial to the Publick', purport~~ed~~^{ed} to have American

origins - the 'very knowing American acquaintance' of the author of A Modest Proposal, confesses to have heard of the expedient of cannibalism from 'the famous Sallmanaazor, a Native of the Island Formosa' who reported the sale of the dead bodies of executed criminals as delicacies for the public to consume.

Whatever tales were circulating about the American colonies and the wild savages surrounding them in the 1720's, the contemporary image of America was then coloured by all the past: the debate about colonization and conquest; the fantastic reports of wild men and savages. Gulliver alludes to such colonial issues in the final chapter of Gulliver's Travels, where the natives are more sinned against than sinning: a theme from Montaigne, Las Casas and Bacon. In A Short View to be Taken of Great Britain and Spain, Bacon took up a familiar subject, 'The policy of Spain hath trodden more bloody steps than any state in Christendom'.²⁹ Nor did Hakluyt, also known to Swift, ignore the theme of Spanish cruelty in pointing to the devastation of the West Indies as they exploited them and then moved to the mainland.³⁰ But in the closing pages of Gulliver's Travels the hero begins to sound less like the representative Eighteenth Century explorer and more like the disillusioned, travel weary Elizabethan voyager. None of Gulliver's voyages is remotely colonial in intent, yet the awkward climax of outrage against colonialism in Gulliver's invective against European colonization, achieves a disturbing tone, which is ostensibly humanitarian, but, beneath the surface, vexingly out of context.

Swift may have been echoing the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century travellers in this attack on 'a modern colony'. The reputation of savages was also interesting. Writing to Pope

about the English colonies in America, he says they are 'much more civilized than many counties in England', and was 'grieved to find' Pope had made no distinction between the 'savage old Irish' and 'the English Gentry of this Kingdom'. 'If you will blame us for slavery, Corruption, Atheism, and such trifles, do it freely' he writes, 'but include England'.³¹

The colonies were the recipients of Irish misery and poverty:

Trade is the only incitement to labour: where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve. or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all unnecessary mortals..to America, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked.³²

The miseries of poverty and starvation had led to the establishment of colonies of 'Irish Beggars', as Swift wrote to John Barber.³³

The record of English colonial achievement in North America is far from impressive. Virginia was only established at great cost in human and financial terms. It was only the presence of the Indians and their surplus food which enabled the colonists to survive. Bad diet, overcrowding and disease often made life for emigrants wretched. They found it hard to adapt, to live off the country and cope with the hostile environment, because they began with false ideas both about America itself and the kind of life they could expect to lead there. As O.W. Ferguson reveals in Swift and Ireland (Urbana, 1962), such false ideas were in part the results of deliberately deceptive promotional propaganda, much of it naive and pernicious nonsense, and in part the natural assumptions of men who had almost no means of

imagining a world different from their own. The grim reality came as a shock to many. While some recovered, many were sent home as soon as possible to denounce there the projectors and all their works: hence the 'slanders' so often mentioned by the apologists.³⁴

Typical of the glowing reports of America by the Elizabethans is that of J. Rosier, a version of which was available to Swift in Purchas.³⁵ D.B. Quinn, in England and the Discovery of America (New York, 1974), and in New American World reaches the same conclusion. Rosier's account of America, referred to above, was based on the 1605 adventure of the 'Archangel', which sent out by Sir Thomas Arundell, the Earl of Southampton's brother-in-law, under Captain George Waymouth, conducted a north west passage in 1602. Arundell hoped to find a refuge for catholics returning from the continent after the end of the war, and Waymouth succeeded in interesting certain Plymouth merchants in the prospects of rich fishing grounds. This was one fortunate and promising voyage - to Pentecost Bay, its neighbouring islands and the St. George River. As reporter of the expedition, Rosier portrayed the waters teeming with fish; a land 'whose pleasant fertility bewraieth it selfe to be the garden of nature' and 'a people of very good invention, quick understanding, and ready capacity'. This influential account was first published as A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage made in this present Yeare 1605, by Captain George Waymouth (London, 1605). Hakluyt's first documentary publication, the Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent to the same (1582), confined to North America, as well as the Principal Navigations (1589) owned by Swift were openly promotional in intent.

Voyage literature in the time of Hakluyt was subject to

strict state control, its purpose being propagandist to attract as many subscribers and volunteers as possible for the voyages of reconnaissance and colonization. Thus the accounts of Frobisher, Gilbert, Carleill, Peckham complied with these criteria in that they were promotional, encomiastic and didactic. Hakluyt stressed that the twofold purpose of planting was 'trafficke' and the conversion of the ignorant, pagan savages thirsting for God. Letters patent to Raleigh, Gilbert and others emphasised the need to relieve 'the miserable and wretched state of their sillie soules'. Christopher Carlile aimed to 'entreat savages to forsake their barbarous and savage living and grow to such order and civilitie and order with us ...'.³⁶ Hakluyt praised Gilbert's voyage to America as 'pleasing to Almighty God', 'as profitable to men as it is lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well as grateful to the savages, as gainful to the christians' and a 'commendable enterprise' (p.703). The picture of America which Hakluyt drew was idealistic,

The climate milde and temperate, neither too hote, nor too cold, so that under the cope of heaven there is not anywhere to be found a more convenient place to plant and inhabit in: which many notable gentlemen both of our owne nation and strangers, (who have been travaillers) can testifie: and that those countries are at this day inhabited with savages (who have no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatrie, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those parts) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which wil put to their helping hands, and applie themselves to the relieving of the wretched and miserable estate of these sillie souls. (p.759)

In this account of 'the nature and manner of the people' Hakluyt is very restrained in his summary. He stresses the need for colonists to trade with the Indians who, despite their ignorance were very ingenious, simple people. 'The Discourse

of Thomas Harriots Touching Virginia' states,

In respect of us they are a people poore and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: notwithstanding, in their proper manner (considering the want of such meanes as wee have), they seem very ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and artes as wee, yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by howe much they upon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts, to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they shoulde desire our friendships and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. (p.759)

Harriot considered the Indians safe to trade with and 'not to be feared, but that they shell have cause to feare and love us'. The Wiroance Indians were amazed at the objects shown to them by members of Harriot's expedition: 'Most thungs they sawe with us, as Mathematicall instruments, sea compasses, the vertue of the loadstone in drawing iron, a perspective glass whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde fireworks, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading ...' (Hakluyt, p.760). Similar amazement is evinced by the Lilliputians in Gulliver's Travels, (Book 1, chapter 2, p.35).

A search of the collections of voyages of Hakluyt and Purchas provides many instances of Indian life which became common knowledge. Their fear of men in shining armour and of horses is often mentioned in voyages to America.³⁷ Barter with trifles, bows and arrows, nakedness, worship of the sun and moon, devil worship, painted faces: all these are commonplace in Hakluyt. Savages who pursue Gulliver in Gulliver's Travels and shoot poisoned arrows at him use the common features. In addition, other Indian influences are scattered throughout. The Houyhnhnms have no letters.³⁸ They also have flint tools, but no iron (which is a characteristic of primitive tribes).³⁹

Gulliver builds a 'Indian Canoo'.⁴⁰ Gulliver takes 'Toys which Travellers usually carry for Presents to the Savage Indians of America and other parts'.⁴¹ Also, his description of Houyhnhnm houses with low roofs, timber and wattle might be drawn from actual travellers' descriptions of Indian cabins such as that noted by Samuel Chamberlain in Canada whose account is published by Purchas.⁴² According to Chamberlain the Indian cabins were constructed likewise with timber, and low in size. Such dwellings were occupied by as many as ten households together, their roofs being made of bark.

Purchas XVIII contains much American material. The volume is described as 'contayning voyages to and land travels in Florida, Virginia, and other parts of America'. Commonplace details comprise: canoes, bows and arrows, nakedness, face painting, Indian amazement at loadstones, sun and moon worship and barter with trifles. Two examples may suffice to illustrate a selection of these categories.

Another voyage by George Waymouth (1605) describes Indians who 'much marveiled' at their loadstone. They 'Used bows and arrows and darts headed with a sharp bone, one of which I darted among the stones and brake it not'. The Savages 'seemed to accept with great kindness' trifles of bracelets presented to them.⁴³

Images of Indian life in Hakluyt are consistent with the impressions gained from reading Purchas. Thomas Harriot's 'A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia' is a typical account which, moreover, began a long tradition of English observations of America, continuing throughout the Elizabethan and colonial periods, involving explorers, sailors, merchants, speculators, missionaries, government officials, soldiers and rogues. Those accounts 'mixed the veracious

with the fallacious in proportions familiar to travellers since Herodotus'.⁴⁴

It is mostly Gulliver's Travels, book 4, chapter 12, which seemingly makes some possible use of Hakluyt information. Hakluyt's Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation not only supplies cogent reasons for planting colonies, but also refers to specific commodities to be gained by expeditions to North America. Gulliver sets out to proclaim his 'veracity, his design in publishing this work', and the chapter answers objections not to have enlarged His Majesty's dominions by planting colonies. Furthermore, he refers to methods of planting colonies and commends his native country, reaffirming the rights of the crown 'to those Countries described by the author'. Typically, the chapter heading is misleading to the reader who, instead of meeting eulogies about colonization, encounters instead the blistering attack on European butchery performed in the name of colonial interest.

The tension in this chapter is in part due to the admixture of humanitarian objections to European cruelty of the kind expressed by Montaigne, and partly the opposite view. Hakluyt is the prime exponent of this view, having advocated a productive relationship with the Indians, the need to exploit the American mainland before the Spanish and the possibility of great riches. Gold, silver and tobacco (nowhere to be found in Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa or the Land of the Houyhnhnms) were good enough lures to the prospective traveller. Hakluyt's belief in colonialism is expressed in 'Western Planting',

In the Ende, what success his voyage had, who list to read the Decades, the historie of the West Indies, The conquest of Hernando Cortez about Mexico and those of Francisco

Pizare in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may knowe more particularly, all which their discoveries, travailes, and conquests, are extant to be had in the English tongue. This devise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dream.

But the sequel thereof, hath since waked out of dreams thousands of souls to know their creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: and hath since made sufficient prooffe, neither to be fantasticke, nor vainly imagined.

Withall, howe mightilie hath it enlarged the dominions of the crown of Spaine, and greatly enriched the subjects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is wel knowne that sithence the time of Colombus his first Discoverie, though their planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath been transported and brought home into Europe greater store of golde, silver, pearl, and precious stones, than heretofore hath been in all ages, since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore hartily wish, seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy at the length, to await some of our worthy councillmen, out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we all hath so long slumbered:

That wee may nowe not suffer it to quail for want of maintenance, that by these valiant gentlemen our Countrey men is so nobly begun an enterprise. For which purpose I have taken upon me to write this simple short treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as have been and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this journey ...

... to prove that the voyage, late enterprised for trade, traffike and planting in America, is an action leading to the lawful enlargement of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the Realme in general, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Savages, and a metter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie. (Hakluyt, p.704)

The substance and tone of this passage is reflected in Gulliver's answer to 'tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflecters, Detectors, Remarkers, proving him 'an Author blameless'; despite his not having taken possession of lands in the name of the sovereign, and not having collected a great wealth of gold and silver.

Particular words and phrases are similar: the references to 'trade', 'Cortez', 'gold and silver', 'enlarge his Majesty's dominions'. The echoes of Hakluyt provide subtle reminders of

the ideals of the great age of English exploration and discovery. The echoes of Bacon, Montaigne, Las Casas in 'A Free Licence given to all Acts of Inhumanity and Lust; the Earth reeking with the Blood of its Inhabitants: And this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a modern Colony sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People' provide subtle reminders of Truth and historical reality (Book IV, chapter 12, p.294).

Gulliver's Travels begins and ends in the travel mode with travel realism, which is intentionally flawed by Swift. The four voyages are framed, in departure and return, in voyaging details: longitude, latitude, winds, tides, storms, pirates. The final voyage and its coda, Chapter 12, concludes in a brilliantly suggestive incorporation of American colonial past and present in such a way as satirically to undermine Gulliver's purpose in writing his travels: 'The Publick Good' and his maxim 'strictly adhere to Truth'. Man's pride, European inhumanity, the Elizabethan colonial dream meet in this chapter which ends in savage, anti-social bigotry directed against English Yahoos. Savagery was not confined to wild American Indians, although it was associated with them, notably in the atrocities committed by the English savages with the American name of 'Mohocks' in March 1711/12 which were widely reported in newspapers and pamphlets. Their barbarities gave rise to hysteria in London at the time and horrified Swift, who asked Stella 'Did I tell you of a race of Rakes calld the Mohacks that play the devil about this Town every Night, slitt peoples noses, and beat them etc?'.⁴⁵

Nationhood and patriotism recur as themes in Gulliver's Travels, and they meet up with colonialism in the final chapter. The pride and folly of the hero are displayed in a

dazzling battery of ironic strokes. The American under-currents are by no means the least of these, and are employed to expose British and European pride. Gulliver's words begin to sound particularly hollow, 'But this Description, I confess, doth by no means affect the British Nation, who may be an Example to the whole World for their Wisdom, Care, and Justice in planting Colonies'.

Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 For further information on this subject see Richard L. Brengle, 'Very Knowing Americans, Jonathon Swift and America: His Reputation and Influence, 1720-1860', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1962). A brief summation of English views on the savage redskin from the Renaissance to 1800 is given in Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian In English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven, 1925), pp.1-36.
- 2 Emily Macrae, 'The Wallace Family', William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, xiii (January, 1905), pp.181-82.
- 3 For a full account see Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings (Oxford, 1952), pp.1-16. See also Swift's Journal to Stella, edited by Harold Williams (Oxford, 1948), I, pp.254-55.
- 4 See also Albert Matthews, 'The Iroquois Virtuosi', N&Q, CLXXVI (10 June 1939), 410-11.
- 5 A Tale of a Tub, p.263 and li-liii.
- 6 In 'Swiftiana in Rylands English MS.659 and Related Documents', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XXXVII (March, 1955), pp.368-392.
- 7 See Louis Hennepin, Description of Louisiana translated by Marion E. Cross (Minneapolis, 1938), p.21.
- 8 Correspondence, V, pp.18-19.
- 9 Prose Works, vol XII, pp.58-59.
- 10 Steele praised Hunter ('Eboracensis') in 'Tatler', 69, 'On True Distinction', 16 September 1709. Hunter was

- known to Pope. See The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, edited by George Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), II, pp.135-136. On the question of Swift's Virginian bishopric see also Louis Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland, (Oxford, 1954), pp.54-59 and C.H. Firth, 'Dean Swift and Ecclesiastical Preferment', RES, II (January, 1926), p.4. Although some commentators have regarded the offer of the bishopric as a joke, Swift was affectionate towards Hunter, referring to him as 'Notre prisonnier Hunter, Le plus honnête garçon du monde' Correspondence, I, p.120, 12 January 1708/9.
- 11 Prose Works, XII, pp.76-77.
- 12 Journal to Stella, edited by Harold Williams, 2 vols (Oxford, 1948), I, p.45.
- 13 Irish Tracts, 1728-1733, edited by Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1955). p.76.
- 14 The Works of George Berkeley, edited by Alexander Campbell Frase (Oxford, 1901), IV, pp.365-66.
- 15 Correspondence, III, p.31.
- 16 The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, edited by George Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford, 1956), II, pp.324, 330, 333, 358.
- 17 The Works of Francis Bacon, edited by J. Spedding, III, p.143. Subsequent references are to Bacon, Complete Works.
- 18 Montaigne's Essays, II, vi, p.1235.
- 19 See Utopia, pp.cliiii-clxxix.
- 20 'They have very few laws because very few are needed for so educated persons', Utopia, p.195.

- 21 See Utopia, p.489 and p.195.
- 22 Purchas, XVIII, 184.
- 23 Purchas, XVIII, p.84.
- 24 Hayden White, 'The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish', in First Images of America: The Impact of the New World On The Old, edited by Fredi Chiappelli (London, 1976), p.121.
- 25 Utopia, p.53.
- 26 Homer, The Odyssey, X, pp. 10-13.
- 27 Utopia, p.307n.
- 28 Reprinted Bloomington (Indiana, 1970), p.4.
- 29 Bacon, Complete Works, VII, p.26.
- 30 See A.L. Rowse, The Elizabethans and America (London, 1959), p.47.
- 31 Correspondence, V, p.58, June 1737, to Pope.
- 32 Maxims Controlled in Ireland, Prose Works, XII, p.136.
- 33 Correspondence, V, p.19, 30 March 1737, to John Barber.
- 34 Kenneth R. Adams, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire (Cambridge, 1984), pp.12-13.
- 35 Purchas, XVIII, pp.335-60.
- 36 Richard Hakluyt, Principall Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, 1589), Facsimile edition by David B. Quinn and Raleigh Ashleigh Skelton (1965). Swift owned the 1589 edition of Hakluyt. See p.721. Subsequent references are to Hakluyt.
- 37 Of native's terror of horsemen see Montaigne's Essays, I, xxxi, p.278 and II, vi, p.1236.
- 38 Gulliver's Travels, Book 4, chapter 9, p.273.
- 39 Gulliver's Travels, Book 4, chapter 9, p.274.
- 40 Gulliver's Travels, Book 4, chapter 10, p.281.

- 41 See Gulliver's Travels, Book 4, chapter 2, p.228.
See also Purchas, 'We gave them knives, hatchets for exchange, which they esteeme much, we also gave them beades ...' (XVIII, p.404).
- 42 Purchas, XVIII, p.212
- 43 Purchas, XVIII, pp.343-344.
- 44 Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763 (New York, 1957), p.251. See also M. Kraus, The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins (New York, 1949), and William L. Sachse, 'The Migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660,' The American Historical Review, LIII (1948), pp.251-278.
- 45 Journal to Stella, II, pp.508-9. See also Prose Works, VII, pp.26-27 and Correspondence, I, p.293.

Chapter 4

Northern Lands

Arctic voyages of discovery and exploration which were available to Swift through Hakluyt and Purchas cover a wide geographical region: the Arctic coast of North America, Russia, Iceland, Greenland (Meta Incognita) and a range of islands. Intrepid European sailors like Martin Frobisher searched for a north west passage. There was routine trade in Russia under the auspices of the Muscovy Company. Voyagers observed Eskimoes, Samoyeds, Tartars and Laplanders and other natives of the ice covered shores. Although the task of observation was made difficult by their proneness to do battle or take fright, vivid pictures of brutish people emerge. More than one observer comments upon their eating raw fish and flesh. Travellers often found themselves skirmishing with Greenlanders or Eskimoes. Hakluyt and Purchas abound with epic struggles fought against man and natural danger, notably ice, snow, storms, starvation and bears.

The themes pertinent to Gulliver's Travels may be grouped under ten heads. These are: the traveller in distress, 'toys' for savages and barter, Gulliver's ships, whales, weapons, canoes, longevity, giants, pygmies, travellers' lies and barbarism.

Whereas some themes are here suggested as simple parallels, others are more complex. Barbarism, for example, here includes such elements as primitive life, cruelty, cannibals, superstition and paganism, 'simplicity' of the natives, the wearing of seal skins, animal skins and birds' feathers, and the painting of savage faces.

Northern lands are referred to in Gulliver's Travels: Greenland, Tartary and 'the frozen sea'. Having been battered by the storm during the voyage which takes him to Brobdingnag, Gulliver does his utmost to avoid the Arctic. Despite the storm, he says 'Our Provisions held out well, our Ship was staunch, and our Crew all in good Health; but we lay in the utmost Distress for Water. We thought it best to hold on the same Course rather than turn more Northerly, which might have brought us to the Northwest Parts of great Tartary, and into the frozen Sea' (Book II, chapter 1, p.84). In Brobdingnag, Gulliver remarks in an ironic swipe at the cartographic pretensions of travel books, 'it was ever my Opinion, that there must be a Balance of Earth to counterpoise the great Continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to correct their Maps and Charts' (Book II, chapter 4, p.111). His supposedly broad experience of voyaging is alluded to in the boast that he has seen a whale 'somewhat larger in Greenland' than the whale in Brobdingnag which passes for a rarity 'in a Dish at the King's Table' (Book II, chapter 4, p.112).

Elsewhere, Swift compared Laplanders, Icelanders and Tartars to the plight of the Irish poor. In A Letter on the Fishery he writes 'I believe the people of Lapland, or the Hottentots are not so miserable People as we: for Oppression supported by Power will infallibly introduce slavish Principles'.¹ Also A Short View of the State of Ireland refers to the 'miserable Press, and Dyet and Dwellings of the People' so poor as to make you think you are 'in Ysland'.² Tartars are cited as a race, though primitive, nonetheless able to survive with only 'blood and milk'. They are said to practise the eating of raw flesh allegedly common among Eskimoes and other Northern peoples.³ In A Modest Proposal Laplanders are regarded with 'The

inhabitants of Topinamboos' as very primitive.⁴ Northern lands then are reputed to be primitive and the region treated as hostile and dangerous.

The hero of Gulliver's Travels finds himself on a number of occasions in distress and danger. Hardship, the weather and certain threatening situations test his powers of survival. That Gulliver manages to escape from these various predicaments serves to impress the reader with his bravery or ingenuity. Having first illustrated the hardships of Gulliver, examples of parallel sufferings in narratives of real sailors will be adduced. Swift more than reflects hardship and survival, and there is throughout a subtle undercurrent of parody. Gulliver is driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Diemen's Land in 'A Voyage to Lilliput'. 'Twelve of our Crew were dead by immoderate Labour, and ill Food; the rest were in a very weak condition' (Book I, chapter 1, p.20). On the return voyage, his rescuer, Peter Williams, 'thought I was raving, and that the Dangers I underwent had disturbed my Head' (Book I, chapter 8, p.79). The fictional sufferings of the crew are a reflection of the sufferings of real travellers to northern regions.

The repeated emphasis upon travelling as endurance occurs in a storm during the next voyage to Brobdingnag. Gulliver's flight through the air at the return stage in a box also causes him great distress. 'Perhaps many Travellers have not been under greater Difficulties and Distress than I was at this Juncture; expecting every Moment to see my Box dashed in pieces, or at least overset by the first violent Blast, or^a rising Wave'. He continues his alarmed speculations, fearing 'Or, if I escaped these Dangers for a Day or Two, what could I expect but a miserable Death of Cold and Hunger!' (Book II, chapter 8, p.142).

The first words to his rescuer, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, also play upon the familiar difficulties of real sailors whose accounts were published by Hakluyt and Purchas. 'I answered I was an Englishman, drawn by ill Fortune into the greatest Calamity that ever any Creature underwent' (Book II, chapter 8, p.143). Despite the tendency periodically to exaggerate his fictional sufferings, there is an ironic restraint which professes brevity and control. He modestly refrains from troubling the reader when set adrift in the course of the Laputan voyage, 'with a particular Account' of his distress (Book III, chapter 1, pp.155-156).

By the time he reaches the Land of the Houyhnhnms the announcement that he is distressed has a familiar, predictable ring. He states 'I am a poor, distressed Englishman, driven by his Misfortunes upon your Coast' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.226).

A search of narratives published by Hakluyt and Purchas reveals a number of travellers who vividly describe their own desolation and sufferings through ice, hunger, loneliness and storms. Swift contrives to unbalance Gulliver's heroisms through irony and yet succeeds in preserving the timbre of travel documents from which certain passages have here been selected in order to reflect the emphasis upon the theme of mariners' sufferings as an integral and familiar feature of real travel.

'The Discoveries of M.M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni' begins with a shipwreck, followed by attack by natives, continuing

In the yeere 1380 Master Nicolo Zeno being wealthy, and of a haughtie spirit, desiring to see the fashions of the world, built and furnished a Ship at his owne charges, and passing the straits of Gibralter, held his course Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. But a violent tempest assailing him at sea, hee was carried hee knew not whither,

till at last his ship was carried away upon the Ile of Friseland; where the men and most part of the goods were saved. In vaine seemes that deliverie, that delivers up presently to another Executioner. The Ilanders like Neptunes, hungry groomes, or his base and blacke Guard, set upon the men whom the Seas spared. (Purchas, XIII,p.413)

Purchas includes the vivid account of a shipwreck suffered by Piero Quirino in a violent storm in the middle of December: a graphic picture of 'unsupportable trouble and grief'. The men were without food, 'without clothes to cover us' and suffered greatly from the cold which became 'more vehement, possessed the whole body, procuring a dogged and raging appetite and hunger, so that every one sought to devour that which was hid in a corner, and whatsoever hee had next at hand, wheresoever hee could find it'. Unfortunately, twenty-six died of starvation, cold and disease, but a few survived.

Now being utterly destitute of all sustenance of meate and drinke, wee went wandering upon the Sea shore, where Nature gave us food to maintayne life, with certaine Perewinckles, or Shel-fish and Barnacles. And of these, not as many nor when wee would, but in very small quantitie. And removing the snow in some places, wee found a certaine Herbe, which together with the Snow wee cast into the Caldron, and when wee thought it was boyled, wee eate it. Nor could we satisfie our selves therewith, and thus weelived for thirteene dayes together, with small charitie amongst us, by reason of the great scarcitie of all things and extreme famine, leading rather a brutish life, then the life of men. (Purchas, XIII, p.424)

The men constructed a crude shelter from sails, their eyes 'were swolne that wee could not see' and their scanty garments became infested with vermine and lice which swarmed over them in such number that they could be picked off in handfuls. In this manner they were 'leane, pale, afflicted and but half alive'. Nothing in Gulliver's Travels can compare, in terms

of suffering, with the horrors faced by the real voyagers. Quirino describes as one of the worst, the sounds of multitudes of crows feeding on their dead companions. They 'rent the ayre with their croking, feeding themselves upon them' (Purchas, XIII, 427).

Ice and cold were, of course, often remarked upon in these voyages. As Thomas Edge reports, the country of Greenland itself was something of a misnomer, 'Greenland is a place in Nature nothing like unto the Name; for certainly there is no place in the world, yet knowne and discovered that is lesse greene then it. It is covered with snow ...' (Purchas, XIII, p.31). The savage snow and ice-covered wastes of the north feature in many documents. William Gourdon writes about the life of Samoyeds in 1614, emphasizing the terrible frost,

The tenth the Frost was so extreame, that wee lay still and could not proceed. The eleventh, being Sunday, the Frost continued extreame, we removing, there were few in the companie that had not some part of their faces frozen, and myself, although I was something better provided than any of them, yet I had something to doe to keepe my self from freezing, going on foot most part Southeast and by East 15 miles. The twelfth the Frost was so extreame, that there was no looking forth, but lay still all day. (Purchas, XIII, 257)

In a voyage with the Muscovie Company to Cherry Island and the North Pole Jonas Poole describes with wonder the 'great store of snow which froze as fast as it fell' (Purchas, XIV, p.2). Robert Fotherby, in a 'Voyage of Discoverie to Greenland, etc, anno 1614' records pack ice and the effects of the falling snow,

The thicke snowie weather continued all this time, which was very uncomfortable to us all, but especially to the men that rowed; and as the snow was noysome to their bodies, so it did begin to astonish their mindes, as I well perceived by

their speeches, which proceeded upon this occasion. The snow having continued thus long, and falling upon the smooth water, lay in some places an inch thick, being already in the nature of an ice compact, though not congealed, and hindered sometimes our shallops way; this I say caused some of them, not altogether without reason to say, that if it should now freeze as it did that night when we came over Red-Cliffe Sound, we should be in danger here to be frozen up. (Purchas, XIV, p.76)

Frobisher describes his crew's anxious watch as the ice begins to crush their ship in Hakluyt (p.620). Hakluyt also prints John Davis's account of a sea 'so fettered with ice, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 July all our shrouds, ropes and sails were so frozen and compassed with ice' (p.784). The effects of ice are described by Robert Salmon, another northern traveller,

This ice hath put in young Duke of Hull into Horne Sound, his ship being much torne with ice ... his voyage is utterly overthrowne, for he hath lost one shallop with sixe men and another shallop broken with the ice, his Ruther Irons being all broken, his Steeme broke away close to the Woodings, also George did meete a Fleming of Flushing, burthen two hundred tuns, the which he thinkes is cast away with ice, for the ice did beate her very sore. (Purchas, XIV, pp.99-100)

The 'Voyage of Captain George Weymouth intended for the Discoverie of the North-West Passage towards China' gives a fearsome description of the terrible noise made by the moving ice, 'at nine of the clocke at night we heard a great noyse as though it had been the breach of some shore. Being desirous to see what it was, we stood with it, and found it to be the noyse of a great quantitie of ice, which was very loathsome to be heard' (Purchas, XIV, p.311). It is a ~~strange~~ that Gulliver was in 'distress for Water', yet, by sailing a more northerly course, could have obtained water by emulation of Captain Weymouth who loaded a rowing boat with ice which

later made 'good water'.⁵

Gulliver's Travels contains possible allusions to other perils of the sea such as examples of mutiny, and falling into the sea. During Gulliver's voyage from Japan, a sailor falls 'from the Fore-mast into the Sea' (Book III, chapter 11, p.217). Frobisher notes an incident when a sailor fell similarly into the sea during a storm in Hakluyt (p.622).

Survival details are common minutiae of real travels. When, for example, Gulliver manages to survive by finding birds' eggs to eat in the first chapter of 'A Voyage to Laputa' he mirrors William Barents who, in his voyage into the North Seas, took eggs from a cliff for food (Purchas, XIII, p.147). Antonio Zeno mentions the same device in finding an abundance of fowle and birds' eggs (Purchas, XIII, p.416).

When Gulliver is forced by James Welch into the long boat and put ashore 'in desolate Condition' at the start of 'A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms' the mutinous intentions of the new captain possibly reflect details of Henry Hudson's account of a mutiny in Purchas,

In the meane time Henrie Greene, and another went to the carpenter, and held him with a talke, till the master came out of his cabin (which he soone did) then came John Thomas and Bennet before him, while Wilson bound his armes behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him, he should know when he was in the shallop. Now Juet, while this was a doing, came to John King in the hold, who was provided for him, for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at bay, and might have killed him, but others came to helpe him: and so he came up to the master. The master called^{to} the carpenter, and told him that he was bound: but, I heard no answer he made. Now Arnold Lodlo, and Michael Bute rayled at them, and told them their knaverie would shew itself. Then was the shallop haled up to the ship side, and the poore, sicke and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabins into the shallop. The Master called to me, who came out of my cabin as well as I could, to the Hatch way to speake with him, where, on my knees I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to doe as they would be done by. They bad me keepe my self well, and get me into my cabin; not suffering the Master to speak with me. (Purchas, XIII, 397)

All the 'poor men' are put in the shallop while the mutineers ransack the ship, free to pillage, ransack chests and rifle all places. Despite significant discrepancies Swift's account of a mutiny against Gulliver may adopt the spirit of Hudson's encounter. Although Hudson and his companions are not actually marooned (merely removed to the boat while robbery takes place on board the ship) the liveliness of the incident might have inspired Swift to write the James Welch episode. Particularly relevant in both accounts are the reported interchanges between mutineer and captive. Hudson beseeches them to remember themselves: Gulliver 'expostulates' with his assailants 'but in vain'. Gulliver is eventually put ashore to face the unknown. Hudson tells us that the shallop was cut adrift and never seen again. It is feasible that Swift utilized the imaginative possibilities in such a mutiny, adopting the device as a realistic bridge between the verisimilitude of sailing and the fantastic shores or the Land of the Houyhnhnms.

Gulliver's Travels adopts from the context of voyages to northern lands the familiar device of bartering with primitive savages and the duping of innocent natives by the presentation of shining looking glasses, knives and other trifles. Such peace offerings are reported in the Arctic when Frobisher 'Truckt' with savages 'for a few skins and darts and gave them beads, nails, pinnes, needles, and cordes, they poynting to the shore as though they would show us great friendship'.⁶ Gulliver's gifts to the Houyhnhnms of knife and bracelets in his attempts to secure their friendship also relate to such practices. Henry Hudson gives the Eskimoes a knife whereupon the recipient

tooke the knife and laid it upon one of the Beaver skinnes and his glasses and buttons on the other, and so gave them to the Master, who received them; and the savage tooke these things which the master had given him, and put them into his scrip again. Then the master shewed him an hatchet, for which hee would have given the master one of his deere skinnes. (Purchas, XIII, p391)

James Hall's 'Voyage forth of Denmarke for the Discovery of Greenland, in the yeare 1605' also provides an example,

On Sunday the third of August, the Savages seeing our curtesie toward them, bartered Seales Skinnes and Whales finnes with us: which being done, wee went to our boat, and rowing away, three of them taking their boats, rowed with us up the Foord, calling to other of the people, telling them and making signes to us, of our dealing towards them. Then they ^{also} came to us and bartered with us for old Iron and Knives, for Seales skinnes and cotes made of seales skinnes, and whales finnes and rowed still all with us. (Purchas, XIV, p346)

Also, William Baffin bartered in Greenland with six men in canoes. In exchange for 'salmon peale' he gave them 'glasse beads, counters and small pieces of iron, which they doe as much esteeme, as we Christians doe Gold and Silver' (Purchas, XIV, 410). The dearth of iron provides a subsidiary connection with the Houyhnhnms who have no contact with other nations, 'know not the use of iron' and have only flint tools which serve 'instead of wedges, Axes and Hammers'.⁷ They employ flint tools to cut hay and reap oats, this practice being consistent with primitive societies.

Only those savages who had iron brought to them were able to use it in the Arctic. Dithmar Blefkens comments that the natives of Iceland 'use iron, but such as is brought unto them. You shall scarce find a man, who hath not iron Nayles in a Bagge wherewith Horse-shoes are fastened' (Purchas, XIII, p. 506). John Davis in Hakluyt notes that the Eskimoes were desperate to steal iron from English sailors (p.782). Piero

Quirino met fishermen who barter stock-fish 'in all their payments ... instead of coyned money. These they take to Denmark, Sweden and Norway to exchange for heather, cloathes, iron, pulse and other things whereof they have scarcitie' (Purchas, XIII, p.430). William Baffin befriended a woman with a child at her back who hid herself among the rocks. She took 'pieces of iron and Such like which they highly esteeme, in change thereof they give us seales skinnes, other riches they have none, save dead seals and fat of seals' (Purchas, XIV, p.403). Some Eskimoes, however, brought tobacco in exchange for knives and beads. These Eskimoes were reported by Hudson to wear copper round their necks and to smoke red copper tobacco pipes (Purchas, XIII, p.363).

It is now well known following Maurice J. Quinlan's exhaustive study of the names of ships that all of Gulliver's ships bore names identical to those of real ships of the time.⁸ Contemporary newspapers could have provided daily accounts of shipping which contained familiar names of ships. Herman J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken have suggested that Swift used such realistic names as 'The Hopewell', 'Swallow', 'Antelope' and 'Adventure' in order to 'undercut the fantastic character of Gulliver's travels'. The name 'Hopewell' is associated with northern voyages by ships, three of which were busy either whaling or exploring the unknown shores of the North. The name 'Hopewell' is linked with Greenland in particular. Jonas Poole encounters in this region a ship called 'the Hopewell'; 'Thomas Marmaduke being master' (Purchas, XIV, p.37). Master John Knight sails to Greenland 'in a Barke of fortie Tunnes, called 'The Hopewell', well victualled and manned at the cost of the worshipful Companie of Moscovie' (Purchas, XIV, p.353). In Hakluyt, Frobisher's ship of the third and last voyage to

Greenland in 1578 is also a 'Hopewell' (p.630).

Swift is careful to provide the name of the captain or commander of the ship: the voyage writers were naturally scrupulous about this. Thus the third voyage to Laputa opens with the visit to Gulliver's house of the Commander of the 'Hopewell', named as Captain William Robinson (Book III, chapter 1, p.153).

As well as the names of ships, Greenland was associated with whaling. The reference in Gulliver's Travels to whales may show a familiarity with northern voyages. In Brobdingnag there are whales which, when cast up on the rocks, provide the people with a hearty meal. Sometimes they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud. Gulliver saw a whale in a dish at the king's table 'which passed for a Rarity'. He proudly remarks that he has seen one 'somewhat larger in Greenland' (Book II, chapter 4, p.112).

Thomas Edge's description of Greenland in Purchas contains a detailed summary of the different species of whales and their uses.

We will have you together with our own people and Mariners imployed in this Voyage, to Observe and diligently put in practise the executing of that businesse of striking the Whale, as well as they: And likewise to know the better sorts of Whales from the worser, whereby in their striking they may choose the good, and leave the bad. And to that end we doe set you downe here under, the severall sorts of Whales together with the differences of goodnesse betweene the one and the other, as we have gathered the same information from men of excellencie in that businesse: who make knowne unto us, that there are eight severall kindes of Whales, all differing the one from the other in quantitie and qualitie. (XIV,p31)

Edge's catalogue comprises the Bearded Whale 'which is black in colour, with a smooth skinne, and white under the chops; which whale is the best of all the rest' and the Sarda, the Trumpa and others together with details about the collection

of blubber, Ambergreese and Spermaceti.

William Baffin encountered English sailors who had killed many whales in the Arctic regions. Baffin notes that 'there was another Whale killed in Greeneharbour, in the killing whereof there was a man slaine, and a boat overwhelmed, by too much hast of following him after the harping Iron was in him' (Purchas, XIV, p.54).

Robert Fotherby's 'A Voyage of Discoverie to Greenland ...' includes several passages about whales. Harpooning ^{was} a difficult procedure, as Fotherby reveals

we rowed towards our ship, and as we entered into Fairehaven, there came a whale that accompanied us into the harbour leaping and advancing himselfe almost quite out of the water, falling headlong downe againe with great noise; we hasted aboard our ship, and I sent forth both our shallops to strike this whale if they could, and told Master Mason of her coming in, who also went forth in his shallop: but it seemes the whale past under the ice which lay yet unbroken betwixt the North harbour and the South harbour, for they could not see her againe

The next day there came more Whales in, and Robert Hambleton, our Masters mate strucke two, which unluckily escaped; the first for want of helpe, the Gamaliels shallop being in chase of another whale, and our own little shallop not able to row against a head-sea to assist the other: so that at length the Whale having towed the shallop forth to sea, the harpingiron came out. (Purchas, XIV, p68)

A letter of James Beversham to Master Heley from Fairehaven reports the killing of sixteen whales (Purchas, XIV, p96). The author 'Had thought to have added a large discourse of occurents betwixt the Dutch and English in Greenland this 1618 and had prepared it for the presse'. However, the insolencies of the Dutch 'were intolerable to English spirits', thus causing him to refrain from publication. The relevance of this anti-Dutch passage in the whaling letter of Beversham might be seen in 'A Voyage to Laputa' when Gulliver falls 'into company of some Dutch Sailors belonging to the "Amboyna"

of Amsterdam' (Book III, chapter 11, p.217). Swift's anti-Dutch satire has other sources, but it is interesting to observe other examples of hatred of the Dutch in travel literature also. Beversham actually makes excuses for the behaviour of the Dutch 'advising my Countrymen not to impute to that nation what some frothy spirit vomits from amidst his drinke'. In spite of the 'lothsomnesse' of the behaviour of Dutch whalers, he says,

Every Body hath its excrements, every great House its Vault or Jakes, every Citie some port exquiline and dunghils, evry campe the baggage; the World ittselfe a Hell: and so hath evry nation the retriments, scumme, dregs, rascalitie, intempered, distempered spirits, which not fearing God nor reverencing Man, spare not to spue out that to the dishonor of both, which saving the honor of both can scarsly be related after them. A Difference is to be made of relation and personall faults, of which we have said enough in the East India quarrels, twixt ours and the Dutch. (Purchas, XIV,p.97)

According to several northern voyages whaling was a profitable, if hazardous procedure. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gulliver links whales with Greenland in Brobdingnag. Swift may have encountered hints of this nature in Purchas. Jonas Poole writes, in 'A briefe Declaration of this my Voyage of Discovery to Greenland, and towards the West of it ...', 'I soppoused my selfe neere Groenland, as it is laid down by Hudson and others, and called Hold with hope: I ranne neere fortie leagues to the Westwards of the Eastermost part of the said land, as it is laid downe, and by my accounts I was to the Southwards of it, neere the latitude 74 degrees, where I saw abundance of whales by the sides of the ice' (Purchas, XIV, pp.35-36).

The primitive tribes which are described in Purchas include Eskimoes who may be linked to the Lilliputians. For

example, the association of bows and arrows with savages may relate to Gulliver's Travels. The warlike Lilliputians, ignorant of gunpowder, surround the hero with 'their Bows and Arrows just ready to discharge' (Book I, chapter 2, p.36). The Lilliputians are amazed by their captive's 'Iron pillars' (Book I, chapter 2, pp.35-36). In the Land of the Houyhnhnms Gulliver 'walked very circumspectly for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.223). The subject of primitive fear of modern weapons occurs in Purchas. 'The First Navigation of William Barents, alias Bernards into the North Seas; written by Gerat de Veer' when

one of our men shot a Musket towards the sea, wherewith they were in so great feare, that they ranne and leapt like mad men: yet at last, they satisfied themselves, when they perceived that it was not maliciously done to hurt them: and we told them by our interpreter, that we used our peeces in stead of Bows; wherewith they wondered, because of the great blow and noyse that it gave and made: and to shew them what we could doe therewith, one of our men tooke a flat stone about halfe a handfull broad, and set it upon a Hill a good way off from him: which they perceiving and thinking that we meant somewhat thereby, fiftie or sixtie of them gathered round about us: and yet somewhat farre off, wherewith hee that had the Peece, shot it off, and with the bullet smote the stone in sunder: wherewith they wondered much more then before' (Purchas, XIII, p.56).

In the account of John Davis in Hakluyt, Eskimoes are similarly armed:

They eat their meat raw, they drinke salt water, and eat grasse and ice with delight: they are never out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, but only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then under a warme rocke. Laying his boat upon the land he lyeth down to sleepe. Theyr weapons are all darts, but some of them have bows and arrows. (p.782)

There is also ⁱⁿ Hakluyt the account of the attack on Frobisher

by savages with bows and arrows who are 'altogether voyde of humanitie' (p.626). The weapons of the tribe are said to be 'bowes, arrowed, darts and slinges' (p.628).⁹

In Purchas the sun-worshipping Greenlanders are buried 'in the outlands neere the seaside on the tops of hills under stones ... and neere unto this grave where the body lyeth, is another, wherein they burie his Bow and Arrows, with his Darts and all his other Provision, which he used while hee was living' (Purchas, XIV, pp.377-378).

In 'A Discovery of Greenland', James Hall orders a gunner to shoot his piece towards savages who 'rowed all away making a howling and hideous noise' (Purchas, XIV,p330). Hall remarks upon their 'Darts, Bows and Arrows' (XIV,p331). Their bows are 'fast tyed together with sinews; their Arrowes have but two feathers, the head of the same being for the most part of bone, made in the manner of a Harping Iron' (XIV,p334).

Henry Hudson saw Eskimoes with bows and arrows. John Coleman, an Englishman, was 'slaine with an Arrow shot in his throate and two more hurt' according to an account in Purchas (XIII,pp364-365). William Barents reported wild men among the Samoyeds who threatened to shoot their interpreter (XIII, pp.54-55). The bows of the Samoyeds were said to be made of 'gentle and flexible wood; their bows headed with sharpened stones or fish bones' (XIII,p173). These reports are consistent with the comments of Jonas Poole in Purchas. The natives' 'instruments for warre are Bows and Arrowes, very dangerous, they have long spears' (XIII,p264).

In addition to their bows and arrows, the natives are frequently associated with canoes. In Gulliver's Travels, the hero constructs 'a sort of indian Canoo' using Yahoo skins stitched together (Book IV, chapter 10, p.281). He stops all

the chinks with Yahoo tallow to prevent leaks. Such pictures of savages in canoes abound in northern travel documents.¹⁰

Descriptions of Eskimoes in Hakluyt contain similarities.

Their canoes are made of stitched leather and their sails 'made out of the guts of beasts sewn together' (p.628).

William Baffin describes in Purchas the long boats of Greenland made of wood but bound together 'with shivers of whales fins, and covered with seales skinnes, being some two and thirty feete in length, and some five feete broad' (XIV,p370). It is not so much the manner of construction which is important but the mention in Gulliver's Travels of canoes themselves which, though an insignificant detail, nevertheless contributes to creation of travel realism.

The natives of Iceland were renowned also for their longevity. A report by Dithmar Blefkens of Iceland and Greenland informs us that

they give themselves to hardness, and fishing from their infancie; for all their life consists in Fishing. They exercise not Husbandrie, because they have no fields, and the greater part of their foode consisteth in fish, unsavourie Butter, Milke and Cheese. In stead of Bread they have Fish bruised with a stone. Their drinke is Water or Whay. So they live many yeares without medicine or Physitian. Many of them live till they bee one hundred and fiftie yeeres old. And I saw an old man who sayd he had^{men} lived two hundred yeeres. Nay, Olaus Magnus in his twentieth Booke sayth, that the Iselanders live three hundred yeeres. (Purchas, XIII, pp.498-499)

This account provides some substance for Gulliver's argument that diseases are linked to diet in Book IV, chapter 6, p.252. The Houyhnhnms believe that illness arises from 'repletion' or over-indulgence (Book IV, chapter 6, p.253). The picture of Icelanders who are not subject to greedy excess may be interpreted as a lesson for self-indulgent, so-called civilized nations.

Northern voyages also supply references to giants. The very origins of giants in folklore are bound up with northern lands and mythology. Swift's conception of the Brobdingnagian giants deriving obviously from Homer's Cyclops or Polyphemus may, nevertheless, have been informed by these real travel reports.

In the first place there is an account by Arngrim Jones of 'The first Inhabitants of the Northerne World, supposed to be Giants expelled from Canaan' (Purchas, XIII, p.533), in which he states

I think the first inhabitants of the Northerne world, were of the number of Giants, nay mere Giants: men that inhabited the mountaines of an huge and sometimes a monstrous body, and of monstrous and exceeding strength: and that they were the Posteritie and remnant of the Canaanites, expelled from the Territories of Palestina about the yeere of the world 2500 by Josua and Caleb. (XIII,p.537)

Referring to early histories he reports that a giant of fifteen cubits was slain by four men in Norway. Giants were reported in Norway, in Risaland and among Goths and 'fighting giants of Nephilheimar and Karnephill'. Giants also inhabited Iceland. Gulliver touches on these types of legends in Brobdingnag. Reading 'a little old Treatise' which always lay in the bedchamber of Glumdalclitch he reads about man as a 'diminutive, contemptible and helpless ... animal' (Book II, chapter 7, p.137). This book asserts that man was originally much larger and 'also that there must have been Giants in former Ages; which as it is asserted by History and Tradition, so it has been confirmed by huge Bones and Sculls casually dug up in several parts of the Kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled Race of Man in our Days'.

Travellers mentioned pygmies in the northern regions.

This series of references to diminutive races might be related to Gulliver's impishness in comparison to the Brobdingnagians and, in Lilliput, be associated with his attitude to his diminutive hosts. Dithmar Blefkens, having discussed giants in Purchas, mentions 'Pigmies' which 'represent the most perfect shape of men'. A monk told them

They are hairy to the uttermost joynts of the fingers, and that the Males have beards downe to the knees, But although they have the shape of men, yet they have little sense or understanding, nor distinct speech, but make shew of a kind of hissing, after the manner of geese; that his Abbot kept two of them in his monasterie, male and female, but they lived not long, and that they were unreasonable creatures, and live in perpetuall darknesse. That some say, they have warre with the Cranes, that hee knew not. (Purchas, XIII, p.513)

Blefkens refers again to pygmies 'wee sayled therefore to the other side of the Iland toward the north, to the country of the Pygmies or Nova Zembla that by the Mouth of the White Sea, wee might come to the Scythian, or Tartarian Sea' (p.516). Henry Hudson reports a country of people 'of small stature' in his account of Greenland (Purchas, XIII, pp.416-417). There are other reports of savages, who had Lilliputian statures. John Knight, for example, refers to 'very little people, tawnie coloured, thin or no beards, and flat nosed, and Man-eaters' (Purchas, XIV, p.362).

Northern voyages also have their share of exaggerations and travellers' lies. Purchas includes an absurd, Brobdingnagian detail of a twenty two yard whale, a single eye alone of which required six horses and a cart to transport it, in a letter by William Goodlard (XIV, pp.107-108). A Man stood upright in the eye cavity; 'three men stood upright in his mouth and into his nostrils any man might have crept'. The element of exaggeration in this description could be the kind

of thing mocked by Gulliver in his censure of travel writers (Book II, chapter 5, p.147 and Book IV, chapter 12, pp.291-292). Whatever Swift might owe to Lucian's True History and other satire of travel lies, he must have encountered in real travel literature a range of far fetched possibilities for Gulliver's Travels.

In addition to Goodlard's whale, Hudson reports seeing a mermaid near Iceland, in an account which is more sensational than factual.

This morning, one of our companie looking over boord saw a Mermaid, and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was come close to the ships side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after, a sea came and overturned her: from the Navill upward, her backe and breasts were like a woman's (as they say that saw her) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke; in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a porpoise, and speckled like a Marcel. Their names that saw her, were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner. (Purchas, XIII, p. 318)

Such fabrications also appear in the narrative by Dithmar Blefkens who reports a sea monster near Iceland

whose name is unknowne. They judge it a kinde of Whale at the first sight, when he shewes his head out of the sea, he so scarreth men that they fall downe almost dead. His square head hath flaming eyes on both sides fenced with long hornes, his body is blacke, and beset with black quills; if he be seen by night, his eyes are fiery, which lighten his whole head, which he putteth out of the sea, nothing can either be painted or imagined more fearfull. (Purchas, XIII, pp.508-509)

Blefkens goes on to describe a dog fish which 'putteth his head out of the sea, barketh, and receiveth his whelps sporting in the sea again into his belly while they come to more growth'. He does disassociate himself from these stories by saying 'Neither could any man perswade me these things are

true'. Stories of gigantic whales, dog fish that bark and mermaids that stare at sailors illustrate the amusing extremes of supposedly authentic voyagers who could, nonetheless, not resist the temptation to spice their stories with wonders and marvels. Such distortions appear also in the accounts of primitive peoples.

Writing of Eskimoes, Frobisher assumes,
them to be cannibals

I think them rather Anthropophagi or devourers of men's flesh than otherwise for there is no fleshe or fishe which they find dead (smell it never so filthyly) but they will eat it as they finde it, without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.
(Hakluyt, p.629)

Nor would William Baffin's men approach Greenlanders, in the exaggerated belief that they were man eaters (Purchas, XIV, p.378). Nicolo and Antonio Zeno describe fishermen who encountered cannibals 'which devoured many of them' (Purchas, XIII, p.415). They are savages who, despite the 'vehement cold' are naked, fierce and 'eat their enemies' (Purchas, XIII, p.416). Voyagers paint such pictures of men whom they believe to be at their most savage - whether true or fictitious. Dithmar Blefkens gives an account of other 'barbaric' practices, such as the smearing of the excrement of young virgins on the prows of ships to ward off evil spirits. They live underground, offer their daughters to 'Germaines', wash in their chamber pots, have no civilized towns and cities. Blefkens notes that they make water under the table, while their companions grunt like swine to cover the noise.¹¹

Primitive practices and reports of cannibalism might have contributed to images of the 'alter ego' of civilized, western

man, represented by Gulliver himself, despite his moral failings. To Blefkens, the Greenlanders were indeed 'barbarians'. He says 'I lived miserably amongst the barbarians, sicke and unknowne' (Purchas, XIII, 517). Although it is wrong to generalize, the northern peoples were regarded in Hakluyt and Purchas as primitive, even barbaric by explorers and traders in the region.

They were, however, sometimes seen as childlike and innocent. John Davis describes Eskimoes in Hakluyt as 'very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing' (p.778). They are 'very simple in their conversation' (p.782). Their manner of speaking is primitive, being 'very hollow and grunting in the throat'. They worship the sun as pagans, wearing outlandish dress consisting of skins of animals and feathers of birds.

Voyages to northern regions reinforce the impression of the cultural and social differences between the European travellers and the apparently primitive eskimoes and others. Swift exploits such contrasts in the attitudes of Gulliver to Lilliput and to the pacifism of the King of Brobdingnag, with obvious ironic consequences. In the broader context, Gulliver's Travels is informed by an awareness of the hardships of voyaging in northern waters and elsewhere. In terms of geographical perspective also, Swift maintains a realistic and consistent viewpoint in the small but important references to the frozen North and Greenland.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 Prose Works, XIII, p.112
- 2 Prose Works, XII, p.10
- 3 Prose Works, XII, p.19
- 4 See Prose Works, XII, p.116
- 5 See Gulliver's Travels, Book 11, chapter 1, p.84
and Purchas, XIV, p.310.
- 6 Hakluyt, p.791.
- 7 This subtle nuance of primitiveness among the Houyhnhnms stems from a number of sources including More's Utopia and occurs also in Vespucci's voyages, although Swift was not necessarily familiar with the latter. See Gulliver's Travels, Book IV, chapter 9, p.274.
- 8 See Maurice J. Quinlan, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships', P Q, 46 (1967), p.412. See also Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships once more', N & Q (December, 1983), p.518.
- 9 See also Purchas, XIV, p.334.
- 10 For example see also Purchas XIII, pp.371-372.
- 11 See Purchas, XIII, 431-433. Martin Bronviovius on the society of Tartars under the Chan (Purchas, XIII, pp. 461-491).

Chapter 5

Africa

What limited knowledge of Africa there was, at the time of composition of Gulliver's Travels, was probably highly coloured by spectacular exaggerations. Reports of this little known continent were based on accounts of wild, naked savages who indulged in raw flesh eating, cannibalism and human sacrifice. It has been suggested that such reports were based less on the truth, than upon a fascination for human beings apparently unrestrained by civilization.¹ European interest in Africa before the 1720's combined obsessional curiosity about exotic freedoms of the savages with factual reporting. Travel writers tended, however, to be most drawn to

precisely those aspects of African life that were most repellent to the west and tended to submerge the indications of a common humanity. This love of the extraordinary was partly a reflection of a much older European interest in the exotic - an interest blending genuine intellectual curiosity with a libidinous fascination for descriptions of other people who break with impunity the taboos of one's own Society.²

There is some evidence to suggest Swift was familiar with at least some such accounts, in this case, one concerning the African Hottentots, also described with revulsion by William Dampier in A New Voyage Round the World (London, 1697).³

The accounts of Hottentots, themselves even more unpleasant than Swift's Yahoos, illustrate the combination of repulsion and amazement discussed by Curtin in The Image of Africa. Their perceived disgustingness is comparable to that of several tribes, described at inordinate length by Thomas Herbert,

whose digressions in Some Yeeres Travels into Africa were thought impertinent, conceited and tedious by Swift in 1720.⁴

Interest in exotic types of behaviour is neither an occasional feature of much travel writing, nor an outlandish aspect of such narratives. Indeed, such contrasts between Western Civilization and man's primitive cousins, sometimes acknowledging the former's unworthiness, are central issues. Savage customs, though, became identified with a particular type of exaggeration for which travel writers were taken to task. The entertainment of the reader with barbarous practices and the excesses of digressions and embellishments were commonplace. Circumstantial details in Gulliver's Travels create a partial impression of humorous veracity. Gulliver ironically relishes truth, but he also delights in deriding travel liars and claims to be 'studious of Truth, without affecting any Ornaments of Learning, or of Style' (Book II, chapter 1, p.94). He is indignant that travel writers who eschew plain matter of fact, give fabulous accounts which impose 'the grossest Falsities on the unwary Reader' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.291). Captain Thomas Wilcocks expresses admiration for the 'Plain Relation' given to him on the return voyage from Brobdingnag. Gulliver condemns the descriptions of 'the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with which most Writers abound' (Book II, chapter 8, p.147). African travels by a few intrepid Europeans provided the Eighteenth Century reader with such exotic images and must have been one of the really 'Remote Nations of the World'.

African travel does pay particular attention to 'barbarous customs'. If we take cannibalism as an example, it can be seen how the traveller voiced outrage and repulsion more often than he limited himself to clear, objective reporting. Anyway,

there is reason to doubt the authenticity of such accounts, and the reader of travels needs to be on his guard for exaggeration. The reader gains an accurate impression of the Hottentots in Dampier and Herbert. Their clothing, assagais, method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language are seemingly accurate. These aspects were all correctly described by European travellers, in the opinion of the historian George M'Call Theal. But it was incorrectly assumed that they were cannibals merely because they were observed to eat the raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies.⁵ For example, a Dutch traveller, whose reports are published by Purchas, describes a tribe of cannibals on the Gold Coast who eat the dead after battles 'drest and eaten as good as meate' (VI,p366). Andrew Battell and others concentrated upon the sensational aspects of the cannibals. He referred to the Gagas of Angola as 'the greatest cannibals and Man eaters that be in the world and feed chiefly upon man's Flesh' (Purchas, VI,p.378).

Edward Lopes is another traveller to comment upon ferocious cannibals in the same volume of Purchas. In the Congo he reports having seen a tribe of Giacchi reputed to be very dreadful, turning their eyelids backwards in a devilish way, their black bodies 'deformed like beasts in the field and they feed upon man's flesh' (VI, p.515). Lopes was horrified to discover a shambles of men's flesh in the Congo in his account of the kingdom in Purchas (VI, pp.426-427). In the same region he gives a description of the Moenemugi:

A Cruell people they are, and a murderous, of a great stature and horrible countenance, fed with man's flesh, fierce in battle, & valarous in courage. Their weapons are Pavises or Targets, Darts and Daggers: otherwise they goe all naked. In their fashions and daily course of living, they are very savage and wilde: They have no king to governe them, and they leade their life in the Forrest under Cabbins and Cottages like Shepherds. (VI, 489)

Opinions of tribes like the Moenemugi and Giacchi are not confined to Purchas. Thomas Herbert continues in the same vein. His Some Yeeres Travels into Africa and Asia ... notes Africans who 'kill the men and women neighbouring them' and then 'whole dead carcasses they devour with a vulturous appetite'. Herbert satisfies himself with the thought that their heinous crimes are rewarded by foul diseases and he sees justice in their being 'worn out by old age and worm eaten by the pox' (p.10). Herbert described the cannibals as 'sanguinary barbarians'. Their customs were 'Lewd and detestable', in particular their habit of offering their own bodies to the shambles where they were disjointed and sold on the stalls as meat. Quoting Juvenal, Herbert writes that these cannibals devour breasts, arms, eyes 'like dainty meat'.

Swift's disapproval of Herbert is consistent with the familiar long history of the satire and deprecation of travel liars. Herbert was criticised because his book purported to tell the truth, whereas the writer of imaginary travels could be as absurd or fantastic as he wished. Lucian's True History, which ironically makes fun of travel lies, tells the reader not to expect the slightest truth. Real travellers, like Gulliver, were often quite sanctimonius about their own veracity.

Writing in Purchas, the author of 'The Voyage of Sir

Francis Alvarez ... 'is careful to testify to the truth of his story about Ethopia',

I sought to know a great part of the countries, kingdomes, and signiories of the said Prete Janni, and their customes and usages, some by sight, and some others by the report of credible persons. And ever, as I came to the knowledge of them, so I put them downe in writing, that is to say, delivering such things as I saw, as having seene them; and things reported, as received by hearing: and therefore I sweare and protest upon my conscience that I will not wittingly report any untruth. And even as I hope and trust in our Lord God, that my confession shall be true unto my lives end, so likewise shall this my present writing be true: for he that lyeth to his neighbour, lyeth to God. (VI,p,518)

As well as Gulliver's protestations of veracity 'Richard Sympson' provides additional corroboration. Although Gulliver has fallen into the familiar trap for writers of travels of appearing 'a little too circumstantial', Sympson persuades the reader that 'there is an Air of Truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the Author was so distinguished for his Veracity, that it became a Sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at Redriff, when any one affirmed a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr Gulliver had spoke it'.⁶

A search through narratives in Purchas, the African chapters of Dampier, A New Voyage Round the World and Herbert, Some Yeeres Travels into Africa ... has provided ten links with Gulliver's Travels: a ship's name; arrows and darts; barter and 'trifles for savages'; iron preferred to gold; face painting; an island of horses; canoe building; law and lawyers; burial of the dead; speech and language. These topics will be analyzed accordingly. Afterwards, some ideas are discussed concerning the possible genesis of the Yahoos.

Firstly, the ship on which Gulliver sails to Laputa in Book III is named 'The Hopewell'. Thomas Herbert sails to the

Red Sea in a ship of identical name in Some Yeeres Travels into Africa ... (p.34).⁷

Secondly, in 'A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms' Gulliver is struck in the left knee by an arrow discharged by a savage before he could escape far enough into the sea. Fearing the arrow to be poisoned, he paddled out of reach of their darts and 'made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could' (Book IV, chapter 11, p.284). It does not require much knowledge of travel books to create savages who use poisoned arrows, but the fact remains that mention of such savages is actually very common in African travel and may point to a useful 'hint' to the author of Gulliver's Travels. Besides, savages and their bows and arrows appear in the Similar Lilliputians who fire a hundred arrows into Gulliver's left hand (Book I, chapter 1, p.22).

Thomas Herbert describes natives of Loanga who are 'excellent archers' in Some Yeeres Travels into Africa ... and who dip their arrows in poison juice of Quacumburez. They use long darts 'barbed with iron, very sharp and bright, but envenom'd sometimes' (p.10).

Other examples occur in Purchas. 'A Report of the Congo' by Edward Lopes includes an account of a 'savage and rustical nation' who use bows and arrows (VI, p.503). Other examples were recorded in Guinea, where Richard Jobson describes a naked people who make 'Bowes, Arrowes, Aponers, and Assagayen' (VI, p.251). Edward Lopes was particularly impressed with the rapid firing of arrows by a savage tribe who have bows 'small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with serpents skins of divers colours'. Their arrows are 'short and slender, and of a very hard wood, and they carry them on their Bow-hand. They are so quicke in shooting, that holding eight and twenty

shafts or more in their Bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first arrow light on the ground' (VI, p.425). These archers have been seen to kill birds 'as they flie in the aire'.

Elsewhere in Purchas, there is the example of the King of Tombuto, described by John Leo, who 'hath always three thousand horsemen, and a great number of footmen who shoot poysoned arrowes, attending upon him' (V, p.522). Andrew Battell describes a race of Lilliputian-like people to 'the North east of Mani Kesock' who are 'a kind of little people called Matimbas; which are no bigger than Boyes of twelve yeares old' (VI, p.401). Battell is writing about the provinces of the Congo called Bongo, Calongo, Mayombe, Manikesocke, Motimbas. These little people all carry bows and arrows, even the women. 'And one of these will walke in the Woods alone, and kill the Pongos with their poysoned Arrowes' (VI, p.401). The Pongos are a kind of monster to Andrew Battell, described as a giant ape, 'More like a giant in stature than a man' (VI, p.398).

Edward Lopes's account of the Kingdom of the Congo in Purchas notes inhabitants of Mozambique who are 'Rusticall and rude, and of colour blacke. They go all naked. They are valiant and strong Archers' (VI, p.509). Others, Lopes writes, 'are of the colour which the Spaniards call Mulato, betweene black and white. Very warlike they are, and given to their weapons, which are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts of very light wood, strengthened with Iron, whereof they make the heads of their Darts, which are crooked like hookes' (VI, pp.511-512).

The primitive savages are often associated with bows and poisoned arrows. There might also be a link with the proposal made by Gulliver to the King of Brobdingnag to reveal the secret of gunpowder, supposedly an invention belonging to more

civilized nations. Gulliver's horrific picture of the destructive powers of gunpowder earns the rebuke that 'He was amazed how so impotent and groveling an Insect as I (these were his Expressions) could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and in so familiar a Manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which I had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines' (Book II, chapter 7, pp.134-135). The effect of this is to make Gulliver seem as nasty and destructive as some of the inhabitants of Lilliput. Gulliver understands the situation in simplistic terms. The King of Brobdingnag should be forgiven for his ignorance because he has not encountered civilized ideas. He has lived 'wholly secluded from the rest of the World, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other nations' (Book II, chapter 7, p.133). His 'Narrowness of Thinking' is hence understandable. European travellers who thought themselves superior, were not necessarily so just because their weapons were powerful guns and canons.

The third correspondence of barter provides additional evidence for Swift's use of a travel motif in Gulliver's Travels. Gifts of worthless trinkets were presented to savages in order to placate them. Gulliver himself remembers this custom on his first encounter with the Houyhnhnms and 'took out some Toys, which Travellers usually carry for Presents to the Savage Indians of America and other Parts, in the hopes the People of the House would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly' (Book IV, chapter 2, p.228). It is commonplace in most regions. Thomas Herbert's Some Yeeres Travels into Africa ..., for example, supplies two ready instances. 'Mirthful Sailors swap beads for mutton and beef, larks, ostrich-egge-shells,

Tortoises or the like' (p.17). Sailors 'Got cattle and sallats for refreshment in exchange for Trifles' (p.19).

The fourth point concerns money and gold. The central theme of Gulliver's Travels Book IV, chapter 6 is money, while in his discussions with the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver tells them how 'the rich Man enjoyed the Fruits of the poor Man's labour' (Book IV, chapter 6, p.251). The Houyhnhnms have no conception of money or its uses and cannot conceive that the bulk of Gulliver's countrymen 'was forced to live miserably' (Book IV, chapter 6, p.251). Problems of social injustice, the gap between rich and poor are closely linked to the subject which was of understandable interest also to travellers and, indeed, to Thomas More in Utopia where money is evil, gold devalued by functional, domestic uses for such items as chamber pots, and iron preferred as a valuable metal.⁸ Connected also with this subject is the Yahoo obsession with digging up precious stones, a base, contemptible habit despised by the Houyhnhnms (Book IV, chapter 7, p.260).

In Richard Jobson's account of Africa in Purchas, there is a description of a place where native values differ from those held by the European traveller. In this place the people use gold for the roofs of their houses and iron for decoration of their noses and ears. Writing of the chief, Jobson says,

I shewed this Bucker Sano a small Globe, and our Compasse, whereupon he told us he had seene with his eyes a Countrey Southward, whose houses were all covered with gold, the people wearing iron rings through their lips and eares, and other places, to which he told us it was foure moones travell. (VI, p.243)

If there are people in African travel available to Swift who are said not to value riches or gold highly in contrast

to their European counterparts, there was widespread poverty. Africa was no Utopia. We read in Purchas about the Congo where the poor are reduced to begging,

As for the poore people, they went wandring like Vagabonds over all the countrey, and perished for hunger and want of necessaries. And for the King with those that followed him ... were oppressed with so terrible a scarcitie of victualls, that the most part of them died by famine and pestilence. For this dearth so increased, and meate arose at so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance (God Wot) they were faine to give the price of a slave, whom they were wont to sell for ten crownes at the least. So that the Father was of necessity constraigned to sell his owne sonne; and the Brother his Brother, and so every man to provide his victualls by all manner of wickednesse. The persons that were sold, for the satisfying of other mens hunger were bought by Portugall Merchants, that came from Saint Thomas with their ships laden with victualls. (VI, p.490)

Swift's Maxims for Controlling Ireland advances the theory that the surplus population in a starving country should relieve that country's burden by being sold abroad for cash. Swift refers to mass unemployment and a third of the population reduced to having to 'support themselves by begging and theiving'.⁹ Swift did not necessarily believe this: it was not practical to compare customs in foreign countries. 'The African custom, or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners' was not seriously a recommendation, any more than the author of A Modest Proposal (1729) advocated eating children as a realistic solution to the ghastly spectre of beggars, starving children in rags, mothers unable to work, begging alms for their children who became thieves for want of work 'or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes'.¹⁰

In Gulliver's Travels Swift is concerned with the creation of remote countries, governed 'by very different Maxims from those in Europe' (Book I, chapter 7, p.67). Examples in travel

of slavery, poverty and hunger, together with reports of the unusual value attached to iron as opposed to gold might have been useful in constructing an exotic, artificial geography which reflects social injustice and suffering nearer home: in England and Ireland.

The fifth link between African travels and Gulliver's Travels occurs in the painting of a mark on the human face: a tribal custom which was of interest to travellers. The Struldbrugs are identified by a 'red, circular Spot in the Forehead, directly over the left Eye-Brow, which was an infallible Mark that it should never dye' (Book III, chapter 10, p.207). Although the mark of the Immortals here described is a birth mark, there occurs a resemblance to a description of the women of Barbary written by John Leo in Purchas. The women manufacture 'a certaine colour with hens-dung and safron' and paint their faces in the following fashion,

They paint a little round spot on the bals of their cheekes, about the breadth of a French Crowne. Likewise betweene their eyebrows they make a triangle, and paint upon their chinnes a patch like unto an olive leafe. Some of them also doe paint their eye-brows: and this custome is very highly esteemed of by the Arabian Poets, and by the Gentlemen of that Countrie ... these paintings seeme to be great allurements unto lust, whereby the saide women thinke themselves more trim and beautiful. (V, p.337)

There is in 'about the breadth of a French Crowne' an echo of a phrase used by Swift in describing the size of the circular spot of the Struldbrugs which is said to be 'as large as an English shilling' (Book III, chapter 10, p.207). It is possible that, consciously or unconsciously, the way Swift uses this phrase, altered from the original 'French Crowne' shows some familiarity with John Leo on Africa. The comparison to 'English shilling' and 'silver threepence' earlier in the

account of the Struldbrugs could be a borrowing.

More than one instance of the custom occurs in African travel. For example, a description of Guinea gives details of a tribe of negroes who slash the flesh of their faces to make themselves attractive and 'under their eyebrows, they make strikes, and on their faces they set white spots, which a farre off shew like Pearles' (Purchas, VI, p.269).

The sixth point of comparison supplies an idea for the hand of the Houyhnhnms and concerns references to islands of horses. An 'Island of horses' was supposed to exist in the Congo (Purchas, VI, 421), and Edward Lopes writes of an 'Isle of Horses' within the 'River Zaire', known as 'Isolla de Cavallo'. No further information is given, and the simple explanation for the interest aroused in these two islands could be that the travellers noted two islands of horses.

The seventh point is a connection between Gulliver's canoe building and Andrew Battell's account. Having cut 'Oak Wattles' with his knife, Gulliver spends six weeks constructing 'a Sort of Indian Canoo, but much larger, covering it with the skins of Yahoos' (Book IV, chapter 10, p.281). He also makes a sail and paddles. The origin of this activity could have come from Andrew Battell in Purchas who rows to the sea and along the coast in a canoe of his own construction

In this lake are many little Ilands, that are full of trees, called Memba; which are as light as Corke, and as soft. Of these trees I built a Jergado, with a knife of the Savages that I had, in the fashion of a boat, nayled with wooden pegs, and rayled about, because the Sea should not wash me out, and with a Blanket that I had, I made a sayle, and prepared three Oares to row withall. (VI, p.390)

Both Gulliver and Battell improvise with the materials to hand, employ their knives in cutting wood, and are concerned to make

boat, sail and oars or paddles.

Law and lawyers constitutes the eighth parallel between Gulliver's Travels and African travel. In so-called civilized nations law and justice are esteemed features. The lack of a highly developed legal system in primitive countries has been held by travellers to be a mark of relative primitiveness in comparison to European standards. In Gulliver's Travels the rational Houyhnhnms, who believe that Nature and Reason are sufficient guides, dispense with lawyers. The Brobdingnaggians express their laws in plain and simple terms, have very few precedents, although they have no great skill in administering the law.¹¹ The ideal of minimal legislation is, of course, fully expounded in More's Utopia, where the population does not require an elaborate and expensive legal system to control it. More was familiar with Amerigo Vespucci's accounts of primitive Indians who 'observe no laws and execute no justice' in the Quatuor Navigationes, and the subject was particularly important to Erasmus and More.¹² It occurs in African travel in the account in Purchas of Guinea by Richard Jobson, who was greatly interested in a tribe which, though primitive, had a workable system which ideally dispensed with the employment of 'Counsellors or Attorneys'.

They use no Counsellors nor Attorneys, but every man must tell his owne tale to the judge, who sends for the accused partie; after whose answer, the Plaintiffe speaketh againe: and in this sort they are each of them heard to speake foure or five times, and when⁷ one speaketh the other must hold his peace till he hath done, for they must not interrupt one the other when they speake, upon paine of corporall punishment, so that although they bee wild men, and without any civilitie or good behaviour; yet therein they use a very good and laudible custome. (VI, pp.312-313)

Jobson's travels supply a ninth parallel of the unusual burial

customs of the Lilliputians who are buried upside down in the belief that the dead will rise (in a flat world) the correct way up 'in eleven Thousand Moons' (Book I, chapter 6, p.57). Jobson is one of several travellers to record strange burials, one of which he describes as being particularly elaborate,

Over the grave there are many sticks of wood laid, close one by the other: the women creepe to and fro over the grave, making a great noyse, with howling and crying, and over that, they lay the earth, and place it, and bind it about the same as if it were a chest: all his goods, as Apparell, weapons, Pots, Basons, Toolles, Spades, and such Household-stuffe, wherewith he earned his living, are carried to the grave, . . . to serve his turne withall in the other world, as they did when he lived upon earth; other of the dead man's friends, bring some thing also to set in the grave for a memory, which is put into the grave with the rest of his goods. If he were one that delighted much in drinking, & loved Palme-wine well when he lived: they will set a pot of Palme-wine by him in his grave, because he should not die of thirst, and what in his life he used, that is given him, and buried in his grave with him. (Purchas, VI, p.344)

The tenth parallel concerns real and imaginary language. Thomas Herbert supplies insights into the actual relationship between primitive men's voices and animal sounds. Savages and animals are seen by him to be allied in their limited spoken communication. In Some Yeeres Travels Herbert describes the speech of savages in South Africa which 'agrees rather with beasts than with men' (p.18). Their names and words are impossible to pronounce or 'inexpressable'. One is reminded of Swift's fictional language in Gulliver's Travels where imaginary words feature prominently.

Herbert provides vocabularies,¹³

One	...	iftwee
two	...	iftum
three	...	iftgwunny
four	...	Hacky

five ... croe
 six ... Iftgunny
 seven ... Chowhauwgh
 eight ... Kishow

Water ... chtamney
 a hat ... twubba
 a knife ... droaf
 a quail ... Guafaco
 nose ... tweam
 sword ... Dushingro

The above selection gives an overall impression of the unusual sounds made by the words.

Gulliver admires the graceful neighing of the Houyhnhnms, listens to the smooth dialect 'not unlike the Italian' of the Laputans who call down to him from the Flying Island and the Dutchman who 'jabbers' (Book III, chapter 1, p.154). In the 'Letter to Sympson' Gulliver distinguishes human beings from their brother brutes, the Yahoos, because they 'use a sort of jabber and do not go naked' (p.8). In considering his fellow human beings, Gulliver 'considered them as they really were, Yahoos in Shape and Disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the Gift of Speech' (Book IV, chapter 10, p.278). In the same book, in chapter 5, he refers jokingly to the English language as 'barbarous' (p.245). The Yahoos make unbearable 'horrible Howlings' (Book IV, chapter 9, p.272). Even at a superficial level, therefore, there is some penetration of Gulliver's Travels of the close association in the mind of a traveller between animals and primitive human beings

and of language as a yardstick of civilization; the more refined or pleasant the speaker, the more sophisticated is his society.

In A New Voyage Round the World Dampier was surprised by the primitive clicking sound made in speech by the Hottentots. The African tongue, for Herbert, in Some Yeeres Travels was like the 'sound of beasts', the people speake 'like beasts', some having 'no letters' (p.20). The Houyhnhnms have no letters either in Gulliver's Travels (Book IV, chapter 9, p.273). This feature is reflected in Purchas, where a traveller notes that the Moci Conghi of the Congo have 'no writing at all in the Congo tongue, no histories, no memorials and calculate time by the moon' (VI, p.500). But for Thomas Herbert, only a few of the natives in the Cape of Good Hope region were 'a little civilized as to their language', a fact he attributes to the frequency of ships calling there from European civilization.

The whole question of the speech and language of primitive African natives links up with the Yahoo-human interrelationship of Gulliver's Travels. The reported speech characteristics of savages also bear resemblances to the Yahoos. Similarities to monkeys, smell, nastiness, dirt are also elements shared by Yahoos and African savages.

In Thomas Herbert's Some Yeeres Travels (p.18), black African natives were descended not from Adam, but from Cham. Their 'monstrous births' were the result of early copulation between women and monkeys. This had also happened in Peru, resulting in a failure 'of the natural law' in South America and Africa. The blackness of the negro arose from his ancestors and not from the heat of the sun or the soil. In Herbert's view, natives of South Africa resembled baboons which 'kept

frequent company with women', an allusion to the theory about the supposed breeding of humans with monkeys (p.18). Their language was not human, but 'apishly' rather than 'articulately founded', another factor which led him to speculate that the savages had 'beastly copulation'.

As well as apish speech and sub-human appearance, the natives of the Cape of Good Hope region are described by Herbert as dirty. They perform Yahoo-like antics, leaping about 'gaping, whooping, groveling, soiling and discolouring their carcasses with juice of herbs, rice, roots, fruits' (p.9). 'Let one character serve for all' he writes. 'For colour they were all chimney sweep, unlike them in this, they are of no profession, except rapine and villainy made one'.

The Yahoos have revolting feeding habits, devouring carrion and rats (Book IV, chapter 8, p.266). They have a 'filthy way of feeding' and eat 'Corrupted flesh of Animals' (Book IV, chapter 7, p.261). In Purchas, negroes in Guinea have similar eating habits,

They use ... Dogs, Cats, and filthy stinking elephants, and Buffolds flesh, wherein there is a thousand Maggets, and many times stinks like carrion, in such sort that you cannot indure the smel thereof; there are likewise little birds as bigge as a Bull-finch, of a grey colour, with red bills, which very cunningly make their nests upon the smallest ends of the branches of trees, thereby to preserve themselves from Snakes or other venemous beasts. Those they eate alive, feathers and all. (VI, pp.272-273).

This traveller, an anonymous Dutchman, is also disgusted by savages in the same country who ease themselves in public at the town's end and who 'pisse by Jobs as Hogs do' (VI, p. 265). Perhaps there is something similar in the nastiness of the Yahoo which 'voided its filthy Excrements' upon Gulliver (Book IV, chapter 8, p.266).

In Herbert's travels the savages of Ethiopia wear cow guts round their necks, live in caves and are called Troglodytes, subdivided into Agriophagi (locust eaters) and Iechyophagi (who violate the graves of dead men and feed barbarically on their carcasses). Dampier's New Voyage, which contains an important description of Hottentots, records the fact that these people wear sheep guts on their legs and smear their bodies with grease and soot. These guts were evidently emergency food supplies, but were infested with lice and fleas. These descriptive details, then, amount to a total picture of dirt and nastiness which might have a parallel in the sub-human Yahoo.

As well as feeding and appearance there are specific points of resemblance between savages and Yahoos. If we compare, for example, their claws, it will be noted that the Yahoos have long claws (Book IV, chapter 9, p.272). A Description of Ethiopian savages by De Bry printed in Purchas records the long finger nails of the savages which could be used as scoops. There is also a similarity of temperament. In African travel there are instances of women who are 'addicted to lechery with foreigners' in Purchas in the description of Guinea. These women reputedly gained 'great credit' for seducing white men or foreigners. There could be a parallel with the Yahoo female who throws herself at Gulliver (Book IV, chapter 8, pp.266-267). His shocked reaction to his own family later is compounded by the alarming realization that he could have been responsible for procreating the Yahoo species 'By copulating with one of the Yahoo Species I had become a Parent of more; it struck me with the utmost Shame, Confusion and Horror' (Book IV, chapter 11, p.289). This could also be regarded as a comic inversion of the traveller's tale about copulation between monkeys and

humans.

Furthermore, Gulliver remarks that the women of Laputa have an 'abundance of vitality' and are 'exceedingly fond of strangers'. The point of comparison may be extended to another narrative in Purchas about savages who seduce Dutchmen for public esteem and 'brag and boast thereof' (VI, pp. 268-269). John Leo describes similar women in Purchas who are 'devils who burn in lust like Younkers', are damnable witches and 'addicted to the custome of seducing strangers' (VI, p.251).

The connection between Yahoo and Human grows powerfully obsessive in Gulliver's mind. Most repellent is their obnoxious smell. 'I observed the young Animal's Flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was somewhat between a Weasel and a Fox' (Book IV, chapter 8, pp.265-266). When in England again the smell of a Human Yahoo continued 'very offensive' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.295). Female Yahoos had a 'most offensive smell' (Book IV, chapter 7, p.264) and Yahoo food smelled 'very rank'. In Dampier's New Voyage there is material which corresponds to the Yahoo smell which Gulliver finds so obnoxious that he had to keep his nose 'well stopped with Rue or sometimes with Tobacco' (Book IV, chapter 11, p.288). Dampier's Hottentots never take off their sheep-skin garments 'but to lowse themselves, for by continual wearing them they are full of vermin' (p.359). Dampier tells us that the American Indians 'daub themselves' with colours which are unsavoury 'enough to people not accustomed to them; though not so rank as those who use oil or grease'. The Hottentots,

besmear themselves all over with Grease, as well to keep their joints supple, as to fence their helf-naked bodies from the Air, by stopping up their Pores. To do this the

more effectually, they rub soot over the greased parts, especially their Faces, which adds to their natural Beauty, as painting does in Europe; but withal sends from them a strong smell, which though sufficiently pleasing to themselves, is very unpleasant to others. They are glad of the worst of Kitchen-stuff for this purpose, and use it as often as they can get it. (pp.358-359)

The Yahoos imitate Gulliver's actions 'like Monkeys; but ever with great signs of hatred' (Book IV, chapter 8, p.265). Their resemblance to Monkeys is an important possible link with travel in Purchas. In Guinea the monkeys are reported as 'Broad and tawnie with white noses and very craftie' (VI, p. 327). In Angola, where they are apparently common, John Leo describes them also in Purchas. There are apes, monkeys and baboons, classified as 'Monne' (with tails) and 'Babuini' (without tails) (V, p.44). Just as Yahoos showed hatred, so monkeys showed cruelty to Andrew Battell in Purchas. They are 'Very fearful to behold and very hurtful' (VI, p.366). This attitude reflects the menace and malice of the Yahoos.

Battell found giant monkeys resembling human beings in appearance, called Pongos, which were 'dunnish in colour' and 'like men'. Such giant, hairy monkeys have no speech, nor the skill to make fires, sleep in trees and have 'no understanding more than a beast' (VI, p.398). The giant stature of the Pongo is remarkable, but more relevant is the similarity to men noticed by Battell. Captain Gulliver's letter to his Cousin Sympson displays his attitude to the 'Yahoo Race in this Kingdom',

Yahoo as I am, it is well known through^{all} Houyhnhnmland that by the Instructions and Example of my illustrious Master, I was able in the Compass of two Years (although I confess with the utmost Difficulty) to remove that infernal Habit of lying, Shuffling, Deceiving, and Equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very Souls of all my Species; especially the Europeans. (p.8)

Gulliver's contempt for humanity is expressed in his comment that 'some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a meer Fiction out of mine own Brain' and in the 'unavoidable Necessity' of conversing with his family. The unpleasantness of creatures described in African travel might have contributed to Swift's conception of the Yahoo and the insufferable, arrogant sailor who returns to Redriff only to treat his fellow human beings as animals.

Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 See Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850 (Madison, 1964), subsequent references are to The Image of Africa.
- 2 The Image of Africa, pp.23-24.
- 3 See Daniel Eilon, 'Swift's Yahoos and Leslie's Hottentot', N+Q (December, 1983), pp. 510-512. Eilon suggests Swift read a semi-fictional pamphlet by Charles Leslie. The chief function of Leslie's Hottentot is to act as a contrast between natural man and his distant European cousin. Furthermore, in a letter (20 November 1725) to Stopford, Swift compared the barbarism of the Hottentots to the behaviour of the Irish in an unfavourable light. See Correspondence, III, p. 116. 26 November 1725.
- 4 See Prose Works, V, p.243.
- 5 George M'Call Theal, The Portuguese in South Africa (New York, 1969), p.120.
- 6 Gulliver's Travels, 'The Publisher to the Reader', p.9.
- 7 See also M.J. Quinlan, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships', Philological Quarterly, 46, (1947).
- 8 See Utopia, Book II, pp.149-153.
- 9 Prose Works, XII, pp.135-136.
- 10 Prose Works, XII, p.109.
- 11 See Gulliver's Travels, Book IV, chapter 5, pp.248-250 and Book II, chapter 7, p.136.
- 12 Utopia, Book II, p.195. See also p.489n, for a discussion of More's indebtedness to Erasmus and Vespucci. See also Montaigne, I, xxxi ('Of Cannibals') and

Shakespeare, The Tempest, II, i, 141-162.

13 Thomas Herbert, Some Yeeres Travels, p.19.

Chapter 6

China and Japan

Japan is the one real, exotic nation among the imaginary lands visited by Captain Lemuel Gulliver. Having arrived at the port of Xamoschi 'situated on the south-east part of Japan' he pretends to be a Dutch merchant, knowing that the Dutch had exclusive trading rights in Japan. He survives an audience with the Emperor of Japan in Yedo and begs to be excused the ceremony of trampling upon the crucifix by claiming that he did not have any intentions of trading and had arrived through misfortune. His passage back to England, by means of the ship the 'Amboyna', via Amsterdam, is made possible by his meeting a company of Dutch sailors in Nangasac. The cities of 'Yedo' and 'Nangasac' represent Edo (Tokyo) and Nagasaki.

Six references to Japan occur in the course of Gulliver's Travels, and, six references on the first page of the Chapter detailing the voyage to Japan from Luggnagg (Book III, chapter 11, p.215). In the context of Lilliput there is a reference to 'an English Merchant-man, returning from Japan' (Book I, chapter 8, p.79). 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag' includes Gulliver's advice to 'our Geographers of Europe', when in the 'Proposal for correcting modern Maps', it is stated that 'our Geographers of Europe are in a great Error, by supposing nothing but Sea between Japan and California' (Book II, chapter 4, p.111).

From Luggnagg, Gulliver 'took Shipping for Japan where I knew my Countrymen often traded' (Book III, chapter 11, p.216). The Dutch pirate who boards 'The Hopewell' in 'A Voyage to Laputa', 'spoke with great Vehemence, in the Japanese Language' (Book III, chapter 1, pp.154-155). The reader is

informed of 'A strict Alliance between the Japanese Emperor and the King of Luggnagg, which offers frequent Opportunities of sailing from one Island to the other' (Book III, chapter 7, p.193). Gulliver's 'Intentions were for Japan' (Book III, chapter 9, p.203). This is the ultimate port of call on his third voyage, before return to England.

With the Struldbruggs in Luggnagg Gulliver reflects upon the desirability of longevity which, as will be shown, is also a feature of real travellers' accounts of Japan and China. The preoccupation with long life is closely linked with Balnibarbi and Japan. The interpreter ironically observes 'For although few Men will avow their Desires of being immortal upon such hard Conditions, yet in the two Kingdoms before-mentioned of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every Man desired to put off Death for sometime longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any Man who died willingly, except he were incited by the Extremity of Grief or Torture' (Book III, chapter 10, p.211).

Swift incorporates references to Japan into the narrative as a minor part of an easily detectable broader strategy to manufacture humorous pseudo-realism. The timely mention of recognizable nations underlines the pervasive tension between travel and imaginary travel. The isolated nature of the Japanese State; Dutch trading activities and the reputed desire for long life are ideas which, in realistic fashion, are grafted on to the narrative. The real country of China also serves this purpose and is referred to in relation to handwriting, printing and alphabets.¹

In trying to ascertain how much Gulliver's Travels owes to Japanese influence, signposts of possible significance as well as explicit references to Japan need to be examined.

Trampling upon the crucifix; the exclusive trading rights of the Dutch; the ceremonials of the Japanese court and the use of names of actual Japanese cities may have originated from a knowledge of real travels such as those by Will Adams, John Saris and Richard Cocks, whose voyages to Japan appear in Purchas. In 1728, shortly after publication of Gulliver's Travels, Swift's essay on Japan appeared, entitled An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan.² This work is close in substance to the History of Japan (1727) by Engelbert Kaempfer, and it is possible that Swift drew upon this work.³ An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan constitutes a parallel to the English political situation. When George II succeeded to the throne in 1727, and Walpole remained in power, the latter could only maintain his government by means of bribery and corruption. Trampling upon the crucifix is particularly interesting as it was also described in detail by Gulliver's 'worthy Friend', Herman Moll, the eminent Dutch cartographer.⁴

The Japanese were anti-Christian and were said to require foreigners to demonstrate their renunciation of the Christian faith. 'Dutch willingness to trample upon the crucifix is neither a malicious invention of English anti-Dutch propaganda, nor an insidious concoction of Swift's: it is on the contrary, testified to by the Dutch themselves'.⁵ The custom was apparently topical at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, any way. George Psalmanaazar, in the forged Description of Formosa (1704), gives descriptions of 'yefumi', or trampling upon the crucifix, and may have contributed to awareness of the custom. Like the Japanese, the Houyhnhnms have no contact with foreigners. The Houyhnhnms are 'cut off from all Commerce with other Nations' (Book IV, chapter 9, p.273). This is perhaps an abstruse allusion to the isolation of Japan which was

closed to other nations, apart from the Dutch, during the early Eighteenth Century.

Some account needs also to be taken of the collection of writings on China by the Jesuits: Francis Xavier, Melchoir Nunnes, Valignanus, Ruggerius and Pasius. 'A General Collection and Historicall representation of the Jesuites entrance into Japon and China, untill their admission in the Royall citie'.⁶ These writings about Chinese society fall within the scope of this chapter. In this work, considerable attention is paid to mathematics, astrology, geography and geometry, which have a bearing upon Laputa and Luggnagg. The subjects range from Mathematics and astrology to floor kissing rituals and accounts of cities.

The Japan that Swift had probably read about was an aloof nation. The government there permitted only one European group, the Dutch Company, to trade in its territory, and that in only one harbour, Deshima, off Nagasaki. From time to time it restricted the goods which might be exported. As for China, European trade there was in its infancy. It depended upon imperial permission. In general, in all the major trading areas of Asia accessible by sea, save only one, where Europeans traded at all, they did so by the strict permission of the rulers and on the conditions laid down.⁷

The little that was popularly known about the nation of Japan made it an ideal choice of subject for utopian fiction. Francis Bacon's imaginary travel book, New Atlantis (1627) begins realistically when 'We sailed from Peru (where we had continued by the space of one whole year) for China and Japan, by the South Sea'. It was a secret, dark, mysterious world ruled by the Tokugawa Shogunate from 1639; the regime was anti-christian and basically isolated, save for the contacts

with the Dutch factory at Deshima. The Japanese banned Chinese books on European religion and science; their scholars were cut off entirely from the achievements of the West. Comparatively few people in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Japan ever saw a foreigner. From a historical viewpoint

Those who lived in Nagasaki might occasionally have come across Chinese merchants and sailors, and those who lived along the road to Edo might even have caught a glimpse of a Dutchman in his Palanquin being hurried off on the annual mission to the capital, but most Japanese regarded foreigners (and particularly Europeans) as a special variety of goblin that bore only a superficial resemblance to a normal human being.⁸

The Japanese Emperor immediately assumes Gulliver to be European from his countenance. He speaks to him in 'Low-Dutch', on the assumption that Gulliver was a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in the area. Gulliver's disguise as a Dutchman would be in keeping with the fact that the Dutch did have exclusive trading rights in the area. Gulliver's unwillingness to show the customary servility in trampling upon the crucifix strikes the Emperor as unusual as the Dutch were in fact servility itself on Deshima.

It was not the theological aspects of Christianity, nor more particularly of Catholicism, that had so disturbed the Japanese government in the past, but the fear that native converts to the religion might have conflicting political loyalties, and might even facilitate the invasion of the islands by a European power. The example of the Philippines, conquered by the Spaniards on the heels of missionary activity, served as a warning to the Japanese, and the successive revelation of supposed plots to endanger Japanese sovereignty caused the government to banish first the Spanish and then the

Portuguese. Of the other nations that had traded with Japan, England had left voluntarily, finding the business unprofitable. The Dutch, with a superior flair for trade perhaps, remained. The Japanese government was absolutely determined to erase every trace of Christianity within the realm. Docile Dutch merchants were reputed to be prepared to go to enormous lengths to disavow their religion in order to be allowed to continue making money in the region. Swift's remark to the effect that the Japanese Emperor 'believed' Gulliver 'was the first of my Countrymen who ever made any Scruple in this Point; and that he began to doubt whether I were a real Hollander or no' reveals an historical awareness (Book III, Chapter II, P.216).

Just as Gulliver is sometimes regarded as an oddity by the remote nations he encounters so the Japanese regarded the Dutch as peculiar. The Dutch they described as having 'dark, sallow faces, yellow hair, and green eyes. They seem to appear from nowhere, and are just like goblins and demons. Who would not want to run away from them in fright?'.¹⁰ Donald Keene also quotes a Japanese writer who compared the Dutch to animals who had 'no heels' and who had 'eyes like animals' and were 'Like giants'.¹¹

It appears that the popularly held image of Japan was based largely upon the assumption that they generally mistrusted and looked down upon foreigners, especially the Europeans with trading interests, and viewed their appearances as peculiar. Gulliver's Travels shows evidence of historical correspondences relating to China and Japan. Swift is following history in making the Japanese interpreters speak Dutch. The study of Dutch began in Nagasaki during the second half of the seventeenth century, and by 1670 there were interpreters who could not only speak but read the language.¹²

The Nagasaki interpreters were government officials who enjoyed hereditary positions. Their abilities varied from man to man, and often they were incompetent, it is said. It is remarkable that Japan is the only real country visited by Gulliver, yet Japanese is the only language which he makes no attempt to learn.

Japan was, indeed, one of the 'Remote Nations of the World'. Ships passed within a few hundred miles of the coast of Japan eastbound, but never called there. The policy of isolation, enforced by the Tokagawa Shoguns, had indeed for more than half a century closed Japanese harbours to foreign shipping, and Europeans knew little of the geography of Japan. Nor did the Japanese venture out of their own waters: since 1637 it was decreed that no Japanese subject might leave the country. The Japanese 'Sea-Yahoos' had little practical knowledge of the sea, anyway. The Japanese writer Honda described the helplessness of their vessels when they were carried out to sea in a storm.

Even when the weather improves, the crew are at a loss to tell in which direction to head, and the ship floats about helplessly. As a last resort they cut off their hair and make vows to Buddha and the gods. Then they take out pieces of paper on which have been written the names of the twelve directions, roll them up into balls, and put them into a basket with a hole in its lid (this they call "drawing lots"). The captain and crew in tears, fervently call on Buddha and the gods of heaven and earth to indicate the direction. They grasp the basket in their hands and strike the lid. Then, when one of the pellets jumps out, they pick it up, their eyes blinded by tears of joy, and cry that it is the direction vouchsafed by Buddha and the gods. Then they set their course by it and go completely astray.¹³

The image of Japan to emerge from Will Adams (1554-1620) in His Voyage by the Magellan Straights to Japon, written in two Letters by himselfe, as followeth in Purchas is full of

veneration. Their civilization is of a high level and 'the people of this Iland of Japan are good of Nature, curteous above measure, and valiant in warre: their Justice is severely executed, without any partialitie upon transgressors of the Law. They are governed in great civilitie, I thinke, no Land better governed in the world by Civill Policie' (II, p. 339). Will Adams wonders how he might escape from Japan, 'Now whether I shall come out of this Land I know not. Untill this present there hath been no means, but now, through the Trade of the Hollanders there is means The Hollanders have here, an Indies of money: for they need not to bring Silver out of Holland in to the East Indies' (II, p.338). The return of Gulliver to England by means of Dutch ships follows this precedent. He 'soon fell into Company of some Dutch Sailors belonging to the "Amboyna" of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 Tuns. I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies at Leyden, and spoke Dutch well: the Séamen soon knew from whence I came last ...' (Book III, chapter 11, p.217).

A similar picture emerges from Purchas in the Eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie ... under the Command of John Saris.¹⁴ He describes the Japanese, 'attired in gownes of silk'. Women's physical appearance is described carefully,

their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed up in a knot upon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shaven as the mens were. They were well-faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte. Of stature low, but very fat; very curteous in behaviour, not ignorant of the respect to be given unto persons according to their fashion. (III, p.445)

These women 'of the better sort' are permitted to visit Saris's cabin where, thinking it was the Virgin Mary, they prostrate themselves before a picture of Venus. These women confided with the ship's crew that they were 'Christianos'. It is a word that is used by the pirates in Gulliver's Travels where the Captain 'spoke with great Vehemence, in the Japanese Language, as I suppose; often using the Word Christianos' (Book III, chapter 1, p.155). The report by John Saris of the women worshipping the picture of Venus lends a touch of absurdity to the whole question of trampling upon the crucifix, when 'I gave leave to divers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus, with her sonne Cupid, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to bee our Ladie and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great devotion' (III, p.445).

When writing about Yedzo (the island now called Hokkaido), John Saris gives an account of a different kind of society in which white people use bows and poisoned arrows; they are 'very hairy all their bodies over like Munkeyes'.¹⁵ If this suggests the Yahoos, the reference a page later to size of the 'people of very low stature, like Dwarfes' might suggest the Lilliputians.

Will Adams, though, is the first Englishman known to have landed in Japan.¹⁶ His experience, not least his last years in the land of smaller people, comprises one of the most Gulliver-like lives imaginable. At the height of his powers he felt himself to be adviser to the ruler Ieysu on everything from mathematics, ship-building, and the use of artillery to the arts of government and the wars of Western religion. He wrote that not a request of his was turned down except his occasional pleas to be allowed to go home to England. When

even that door was opened to him later, he - like Gulliver at the end of Part IV - no longer wished to return to his family and his native land! By that time other Westerners were forced to leave Japan, 'persona non grata'. In his letters published in Purchas, Will Adams tells the harrowing story of his trip to Japan. He arrived at Kyushu on 19 April 1600, as the least weak of five men still able to sit up, in the party of twenty-four miserable survivors of the last ship of a five-unit Dutch fleet which had began with 500 men.¹⁷

There are broad similarities between Gulliver and Adams. Both are imprisoned on arrival in Japan, and both are subjected to rigorous questioning. The Emperor called Adams before him on the fortieth day of his imprisonment, 'Demanding of mee many questions more, which were too long to write'.¹⁸ Gulliver is questioned by the King of Luggnagg and 'answered as many questions as his Majesty could put in above an Hour' (Book III, chapter 9, pp.205-6). Gulliver is also seen as some kind of extraordinary creature when among the Houyhnhnms, 'The Curiosity and Impatience of my Master were so great that he spent many Hours of his Leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a Yahoo, but my Teachableness, Civility and Cleanliness astonished him' (Book IV, chapter 111, p.234). In Brobdingnag the Queen questions Gulliver about 'My Country and my Travels' and the first impression is of some 'piece of clockwork', contrived by some ingenious artist. He could not 'conceal his astonishment' when hearing the traveller first speak and summons three great scholars to interrogate him; 'After much Debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only Replum Scalath' (Book II, chapter 3, p.104). The King's contempt for the abuses of European civilization is explained by Gulliver for 'great Allowances

should be given to a King who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other Nations' (Book II, chapter 7, p.133). It is the fact that he is 'So remote a Prince' which excuses such 'Prejudices, and a certain Narrowness of Thinking' (Book II, chapter 7, p.133).

Will Adams is involved in similar discourse with the Emperor of Japan, who exhibits great curiosity about trade, war, religion, the Portuguese and the Spaniards

Now, when I came before him, he demanded of me, of what countrey we were; so I answered him in all points: for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning warre, and peace betweene Countrey and countrey; the particulars whereof were too long to write. After this conference, I was commanded to prison being well used, with one of our Mariners, that came with me to serve me.

Some two days after, the Emper^{or} called me againe, demanding the reason of our comming so farre: I answered, We were a People that sought all friendship with all Nations and to have trade of Merchandize in all Countries, bringing such Merchandizes as our Country had, and buying such Merchandizes in strange Countreyes, as our Countrey desired; through which our countreyes on both side were enriched. He asked much concerning the Warres betweene the Spaniards and Portugals, and us, and the reasons: the particulars of all which I gave him to understand, who seemed to be very glad to heare it. (Purchas, II, pp.332-3)

The malice of the Dutch is dealt with in Gulliver's Travels. The Japanese Emperor warns Gulliver to keep it a secret that he has been excused the ceremony of trampling upon the crucifix to prevent the Dutch cutting his throat (no doubt because it might reflect badly upon their privileged trading monopoly in Deshima). The malice of other Europeans in Will Adams's account is made obvious. Adams owes his life to the benevolent intercession of the Japanese Emperor, who takes pity upon his unfortunate state and turns a deaf ear to pleas from the Spanish and the Portuguese to have Adams 'cut off'. 'At length, the

Emperor gave them this answer, That as yet wee had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his land; and therefore it was against reason and Justice to put us to death'. The Europeans are made to appear more cruel and uncivilized than either the Japanese ruler or the King of Brobdingnag. This reversal of the stereotypes of civilization and barbarism contributes to Swift's satirical portrait of relationships between Gulliver and the King of Brobdingnag and the Emperor of Japan. The remote countries of the world might have been expected to be primitive. Swift made his traveller less the perfect ambassador for his country than Will Adams was in Japan. The rational Houyhnhnms and the pacifist Brobdingnag King expose Gulliver's prejudice and his insecure moral position as a Englishman whose own society is imperfect.

The indications are that Adams did wish to escape from Japan. With the remorse of Robinson Crusoe he describes his visit as 'My Sinfull Pilgrimage'.¹⁹ Although in great favour with the Japanese Emperor, he begged him to be allowed to 'goe out of this land'. He wrote in the letters published by Purchas, 'My desire is, that my wife and two children may heare, that I am here in Japan: so that my wife is in a manner a widdow, and my children are fatherlesse: which thing only is my greatest griefe of heart, and conscience, etc' (II, p.336). The difficulty in leaving a remote country is also expressed in Lionel Wafer's A new Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of South America (1699). Together with Adams's voyage, this source might have suggested to Swift the 'strong impulse' felt by Gulliver that he should 'some time recover' his liberty at the opening of the concluding chapter to 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag'.

The justification given by Gulliver for travelling is his 'insatiable Desire of seeing foreign Countries' which permits

him to leave his wife and family some money and depart forthwith on his next adventure. This is particularly clear at the very end of his journey from Lilliput. At the start of 'A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms', he states that he would willingly have remained with his wife and children 'if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well'.

Swift changes the travel convention whereby the voyager yearns for home and family. Will Adams longs for home, but Gulliver spurns humankind after living with the Houyhnhnms: an inversion of Adams's nostalgia. Gulliver's Travels, as a cycle of four voyages, begins and ends with Gulliver's family whose company eventually becomes an 'unavoidable Necessity'.

Will Adams provides other possible source material for Gulliver's Travels. Gulliver's description of Brobdingnag contains 'A Proposal for correcting modern Maps'.

The whole Extent of this Prince's Dominions reacheth about six thousand Miles in Length, and from three to five in Breadth. From whence I cannot but conclude, 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; and therefore they ought to correct their Maps and Charts, by joining this vast Tract of Land to the North-west Parts of America; wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance. (Book II, chapter 4, p.111)

Similar remarks are to be found in his account of the 'dangerous voyage' to New Holland in 'A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms', in which 'the Maps and Charts place this Country at least three Degrees more to the East than it really is; which Thought I communicated many Years ago to my worthy Friend Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my Reasons for it, although he hath rather chosen to follow other Authors' (Book IV, chapter 11, p.284). The impression of these criticisms is pretentious.

Despite Will Adams's successful arrival in Japan it was discovered that the maps upon which navigation had been based were erroneous. 'Then according to wind and weather, we followed our former intention for Japan, and in the height of thirtie degrees, sought the North Cape of the forenamed island, but found it not, by reason that it lieth false in all Chartes and Globes, and Maps: for the Cape lieth in thirtie five degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. which is a great difference' (Purchas II, p.331).

The adoption by Swift of such an idea might suggest that he was interested in Adams and was able to use what was after all a fairly conventional traveller's comment about maps and their inaccuracies. In Gulliver's criticism and advice to Herman Moll the reader may detect a hint of preciosity which undermines his relationship with the reader.

An additional reference might have been known by Swift in Purchas's version of Father Diego de Pantoia's 'A Letter ... written in Panquin, which is the Court of the King of China, the ninth of March, the yeere 1602'. In this he says, 'For the Reader's better satisfaction, I have here presented him Hondius his map of China, not to shew it, but the erroneous conceits which all European Geographers have of it'.²⁰

'A Voyage to Laputa' begins as a survival narrative involving a storm and escape from pirates, but by the end of the first chapter, Gulliver has been hauled up by means of a chain on to the Flying Island. Forgotten are the skirmishes with pirates; the malice of the Dutch; the shortage of food. In place of travel conventions are subtle allegory and intellectual satire.

The Laputians' obsession with music may be compared to that of the Chinese for whom music was part of a 'sacrifice' and ritual for Confutius, 'the Prince of Learning'. Travels

by the Jesuites to the Far East in Purchas also emphasize music and often cacophony. Father Ricius was present at a musical celebration dedicated to Confutius.

The Priests of the Learned, called Tansu ordered the musike; and in the King's Hall (or Temple rather) dedicated to the Lord of Heaven, this triall was made. The Priests came forth in precious vestures, as if they would sacrifice, who after their wonted rites to the President, fell to their Musike: in which were small brasse Bells, Basons, other as it were Tabors, others of stone, stringed instruments, pipes, Organs blowed with the Mouth, not with Bellows; others resembled Beasts out of the hollow bellie yeelding a sound: all these sounded together with such discording discord as you may imagine. (XII, p.325)

The emphasis upon music in China and Japan continues in John Saris's account which notes that the king's women

sung divers songs, and played upon certain Instruments (whereof one did much resemble our Lute) being bellyed like it, but longer in the necke, and fretted like ours, but had only foure gut strings. Their fingering with the left hand like ours, very nimbly: but the right hand striketh with an Ivory bone, as we use to play upon a citterne with a Quill. (III, pp.445-6)

Richard Cocks further describes music when writing of Japanese superstitions. The pagan feast of Firando ended with three companies of dancers going up and down the town with flags or banners, 'Their musicke being Drummes and Pans; at the sound whereof they danced at every great man's door, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres'. There was banqueting and music of 'Drummes and Kettles'.

The discordant sound of Japanese or Chinese music might have been a factor influencing the development of Book III. In Lagado the metropolis of the whole kingdom, Gulliver is present at a concert which lasts three hours, when he was 'quite stunned with the noise' (Book III, chapter 2, p.162).

Certain parallels between the Laputan Mathematicians and Chinese Mathematicians are noteworthy. Gulliver's first glimpse of the King on his throne and surrounded by 'Globes, and Spheres, and Mathematical Instruments of all kinds' begins a brilliant and absurd parody of mathematical obsession. Mathematicians are regarded as astrologers by Swift and the Jesuites. The King of China, according to Father Diego De Pantoia in Purchas, had 'Eunuches of whom he hath his Musicians and Mathematicians, who, to be briefe, I say, have no sound understanding ... yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any comet doe appeare, or any such thing in the Skie, to enforme the King thereof' (XII, p.405). Just as the watchers of the skies devoted their lives to looking out for comets and ill omens, so the Mathematicians of Laputa lived 'under continual Disquietudes, never enjoying a Minute's Peace of mind' (Book III, chapter 2, p.164). Dreaded changes in the celestial bodies are observed and the destruction of the earth prophesied. This anxiety makes them 'perpetually alarmed with Apprehensions of these and the like impending Dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any Relish for the common Pleasures or Amusements of Life' (Book III, chapter 2, p.165).

According to Father Diego De Pantoia, the Chinese Mandarins were transfixed by European Learning having previously not known of the existence of any books but their own and were greatly interested in mathematical instruments shown to them by the Europeans. They thought

there was no other Writing, nor no other Bookes in the world but theirs: and when they saw ours ... they were astonished, and put out of their errour, doing us alwayes more and more honour: and chiefly they were astonished when we shewed unto

them certayne things in Mathematickes which they knew not, giving clockes to certayne persons which for this end we made of purpose.

His conclusion is that the Chinese, like the Japanese, are a great kingdom, studious and given to learning, gentle, docile, their laws and Government conformable to Reason.

At Nanquin, according to the Jesuits, there 'is a colledge of China Mathematicians of better building than Astrological Science'.²² On top of a high mountain the astrologers stand on an open plain, *Watching Comets*.

in the sky, thereof to give the King notice, and what it portends. In this place, of cast metall are Mathematicall Instruments, admirable for their greatness and neatnesse, the like whereof wee have not seene in Europe. They have continued there in all chance and change of Weather neere two hundred and fiftie yeeres without damage. Of them were foure greater, the one a huge Globe distinguished by Degrees and Meridians and Parallels, as great as three men can fadome: it stood on a huge cube of brasse likewise, upon his Axel-Tree: in the cube was a little doore, sufficient for it to passe when the need was. On the utter superficies was nothing graven, neither stars, nor Regions, whereby it appears that it was either unfinished or purposely so left that it might serve for a Celestiall and a Terrestriall Globe. (Purchas, XII, p.321)

There follows a detailed description of huge astrolabes, marked 'with Chinese characters what everything signifieth; the four and twentie Constellations of the Zodiake, answering in the number doubled to our twelve Signes'.

Swift might have considered the Chinese and Japanese obsession with Mathematics evident in Purchas His Pilgrimes. Whereas the Chinese were interested in European ideas, the Laputians were introverted, although both Japanese and Chinese were also distrustful of foreigners and deeply suspicious of their motives. The comparative isolation of their countries

might suggest a Laputan nation cut off from the outside world, in a geographical sense. Indeed, Father Diego De Pantoia says that the Chinese found strangers 'odious' and the 'dealing with them so suspicious, one sort because they disdayne it'.²³

The fascination of the Japanese and Chinese for clocks and globes of all kinds filters into Swift's depiction of Lilliput. The Lilliputians themselves are 'excellent Mathematicians' and contrive a number of ingenious engines. The contents of Gulliver's pockets provide his captors with endless puzzling. However, they cannot fathom Gulliver's handkerchief, nor his watch which hangs on a 'great silver chain'. The 'wonderful kind of Engine' at the bottom of the chain appears to them to be a kind of 'Globe, half Silver, and half of some transparent Metal' (Book I, chapter 2, p.35). The fact that the Lilliputians have no glass has been noticed by Maurice Johnson, Kitagaki Muneharu and Philip Williams in 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading' (p.11). However, the point may originate from John Saris's account of Edo in Purchas in which he says that 'Glasse-Windows they have none' (III, p.463).

Another parallel with Lilliput occurs in the Japanese material published by Purchas. The Articles upon which Gulliver is supposed to have recovered his liberty in Lilliput show similarities with the 'Priviledges granted by Ogoshama, Emperour of Japan, unto the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith ...'.²⁴ A list of eight items detailing freedoms and legal obligations follow a grand opening paragraph, 'Inprimis, wee give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Brittain, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and company of the East Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, safely to come into our port of our Empire of Japan ...'.

The second example of Japanese influences concerns the fire in Lilliput. The conflagration which threatens to engulf the palace and 'Her Imperial Majesty's Apartment' might conceivably have been suggested by Richard Cocks's description of fires in Purchas. Cocks wrote 'This night about eleven a clock, the old King's house on the other side of the water was set on fire, and quite burned downe in the space of an heure' (III, p.528). He later notes the details of another fire in Firando 'Neare to the yong King's house' in which forty houses were burned to the ground (III, p.538).

We can even trace suggestions for the Yahoos in the writings of John Saris. In 'Intelligence concerning Yedzo, delivered in the city of Edoo in Japan, by a Japanner, who had beene there twice' we read, 'The people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy all their bodies over like Munkeyes'.²⁵

Just as great stress is laid by Adams, Cocks and Saris upon the politeness and generosity of the Japanese so Swift remarks that the Luggnaggians are 'a polite and generous People' (Book III, chapter 10, p.207). They are courteous to strangers but said to be 'not without some Share of that Pride which is peculiar to all Eastern Countries'. It is possible that this notion comes from the isolated nature of the Japanese who disdained trade with Europe, apart from the Dutch factory. It is also possible that the floor kissing ritual before the arrogant King of Luggnagg may have been influenced by the accounts of European travellers who had to resort to obsequious antics to gain the favour of the Japanese. John Saris was astonished by the elaborate formalities which were enacted before he was permitted access to the Emperor at his court at Surungo. In the Chamber of Presence the attendants have to back out of the room and, having led Saris to the room 'dare not looke in

themselves'.²⁶ In spite of warm hospitality the Japanese rulers appeared to enjoy their power.

The matters of longevity and the fear of dying in relation to the Struldbrugg episode have been the subject of critical discussion. J. Leeds Barroll regards the Struldbruggs as a 'reductio ad absurdum' since they represent the logical consequences attendant on the gravity of such a wish' for eternal life. This homily upon the fear of death is fundamentally religious in this case, showing that morality without religion is not possible in this episode. Gulliver's rapture on first encountering the Struldbruggs turns to disillusionment because he has not appreciated the implications. As a surgeon, Gulliver ought not to give judgement upon religion any more than a butcher ought to give opinions upon life and death. Barroll makes the point that Swift is a moral satirist in the clerical tradition, probably influenced by Lucian's On Funerals and the Dialogues of the Dead. The Struldbrugg episode fits in with the predominantly intellectual satire of Book III in dealing with perversion of theological and philosophical doctrine, just as the rest of the book considers perversions of science, mathematics and history.

Father Diego De Pantoia remarks that the Chinese found dying 'a thing so much abhorred' and even refused to speak about it.²⁸ He writes that the Chinese have the folly to presume that they could prolong life.

For this purpose they use a thousand inventions, and take many medecines, which indeed doe shorten their dayes. There are masters and Bookes of this Follie, which usually are grave and rich men. There are many that make themselves very old folks, whom people follow like Saints to learne some rule of life of them, wherein they put all their felicitie. Many doe not beleeve that we are so old as we say we be, and that we doe dissemble: but that in deed we bee an hundred yeeres old,

and that we know this rule to live for ever, and that we doe not Marrie because wee would live long. . .

Such an obsession with longevity matches the horrific irony of the Struldbruggs, regarded initially by Gulliver as a wonder.

The account of prolongation of life, as treated in travels to China, is a significant link with Gulliver's Travels. In the same volume it is said that the Chinese study the subject of long life out of 'Alchimisticall vanitie' and devote their lives to 'precepts and huge bookes'. The question is treated in Purchas, III, in a chapter entitled 'Their Superstitions, Cruelties, Feares of Magistrates, of the Kings Kindred, of strangers, of souldiers. Their Deities and three sects: Priests, Nunnes, Monasteries, Legends, Lyes' (p.453).

Father Diego De Pantoia writes that 'fame went out of us, that wee knew all Countries, and the things and customes of the world, and the materiall and spirituall things of Heaven' among the Chinese. The Chinese assumed their knowledge was unsurpassed

And though our knowledge be but little, in comparison of the knowledge which is in our Countrey: yet being compared with theirs of China, which knoweth nothing of the world, save their own kingdome, which by a common name they call, the World: of God, and of the things of Heaven nothing and of other things little, it was somewhat, and was sufficient to send them home amazed, and alwayes with a desire to returne. (XII, p.355)

Gulliver's complacency over the ills of European civilization is a central feature of Swift's ironic method, notably in Brobdingnag and the Land of the Houyhnhnms. The Chinese and Japanese dimension, is evident in all four books

of Gulliver's Travels and relates to the remoteness of lands visited by Gulliver as well as to other themes such as longevity, mathematics, glass, music and state of learning. Like the fictional Wasaubiyauwe, discussed in Chapter 1, Gulliver unworthily represents civilization, and unlike the Jesuits in China, is never treated as a celebrity or person to whom great respect is due.²⁹ He is paraded as a curiosity in Brobdingnag and treated as a peculiarity elsewhere, with the exception of Laputa. The mysterious country of Japan seems to have informed the satirical conceptions of Gulliver's Travels as a closed nation, thus emphasizing the artificial, inhuman barriers between people, who ought rather to be united in moral purpose and learning.

Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 See Book I, chapter 6, p.57; Book II, chapter 7, p.136 and Book IV, chapter 1, p.226.
- 2 Prose Works, V, pp.99-107.
- 3 Engelbert Kaempfer, The History of Japan, translated by J.G. Scheuchzer, 2 vols. (1727), reprint, 3 vols. (Glasgow, 1906); reissue of the Glasgow edition, A.M.S. Press (New York, 1971). See also J. Leeds Barroll 'Gulliver in Luggnagg: a possible Source' P.Q., 36 (1957), p.505. A discussion of this point is provided in Johnson, Kitagaki and Williams, 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading', Moonlight Series, 4 (Kyoto, 1977). Swift may have encountered the work in some form before 1727, which is suggested as a doubtful date of Publication.
- 4 Moll is mentioned in Gulliver's Travels, (Book IV, chapter 11, p.284). See also Moll's description of this in Herman Moll, Thesaurus Geographicus, which is part two of The Compleat Geographer: or the Chorography and topography of all the known parts of the Earth, 4th edition (London, 1723).
- 5 See Herman Real and Heinz Vienken, 'Swift's "Trampling upon the Crucifix" once more', N & Q (December, 1983), p.513.
- 6 See Purchas, XII, p.129.
- 7 See J.H. Parry, Trade and Dominion: European Oversea Empires In The Eighteenth Century (London, 1970), p.103.
- 8 Donald Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe (Stanford, California, 1969), p.16. Subsequent references are to Keene.

- 9 Engelbert Kaempfer, The History of Japan, III, pp.87-88.
- 10 Keene, p.16.
- 11 Keene, p.17.
- 12 See Keene, p.11.
- 13 Toshiaki Honda, Honda Toshiaki-Shu, edited by Jonjo Eijiro (Tokyo, 1935), pp.211-212.
- 14 Purchas, III, p.357.
- 15 See Purchas, III, p.488. Hokkaido is 'Iesso' in Swift's map (Book III, chapter 1, p.152).
- 16 See 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading', p.8.
- 17 See Purchas, II, p.331.
- 18 Purchas, II, p.333.
- 19 See Purchas, II, p.337.
- 20 Purchas, XII, p.361.
- 21 See also Richard Cocks, A Relation of Master Richard Cokes, Cape Merchant, of What past in The Emperor's Court, Purchas, III, pp.569-570.
- 22 See Purchas, XII, p.320.
- 23 See Purchas, XII, p.357.
- 24 Provided by John Saris in Purchas, III, p.467.
- 25 See Purchas, III, p.488.
- 26 See Purchas, III, p.460.
- 27 See J. Leeds Barroll, 'Gulliver and the Struldbuggs', PMLA, 73 (1958), p.43.
- 28 See Purchas, XII, p.347.
- 29 See B.H. Chamberlain, 'Wasaubiyauwe: the Japanese Gulliver', Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, VII (1879), p.285ff. This comprises translations of the 'Journey to the Land of Giants' and to 'The Land of Perennial Youth

and Life' and has been discussed as a possible influence in Chapter 1.

Chapter 7

East and West Indies

Minor realistic details tend to be concentrated at the beginning and end of each voyage in Gulliver's Travels. Dates, navigational information, names of ships, captains, crews, mutiny, piracy (a commonplace in the Indian Ocean, as in most waters where there was shipping worth robbing), monsoons, storms, use of longboats to explore islands, the need to search for fresh water, all figure in Gulliver's voyages. The observation of land from the top mast of a ship; advice to map makers to correct their maps; examples of unusual foreign languages; the hazardous nature of sea-faring all have originated in real travel. It seems likely that Swift drew upon the actual experiences of the voyagers to the East Indies and the other regions, probably selecting recognizable details that would echo Elizabethan travel. Gulliver's Travels satirizes European corruption while, simultaneously, within the framing perspective of the remote world of a fictional Brobdingnag or Houyhnhnmland, remembering the voyagers. This lends the work a partial travel context in which Swift's imagination could operate on more than one level.

The curiosity to discover little known peoples and remote places in the world is a common motive for travelling, although trade dominated travel in the East Indies. Gulliver has an 'insatiable Desire of seeing foreign Countries' (Book I, chapter 8, p.80). He refers also, in setting out on his third voyage to Laputa, to 'The Thirst I had of seeing the World' (Book III, chapter 1, p.153). Francois Bernier begins his Voyage Dans les Etats du Grand Mogul with an explanation of his desire

to see the world, 'Le desire de voir le Monde, m'ayant fait passer dans la Palestine et dans L'Egypte, ne me permit pas d'en demeurer là'.¹ Bernier was not a soldier of fortune out to gain money by his exploits but a sincere student of human nature who wished to discover the truth about the people and the civilization of India under Shah Jahan during the first years of the reign of Aurangzeb, the last powerful ruler of that dynasty of Grand Moguls. Travellers were expected to report the civilizations which they encountered and kings and inhabitants of remote nations evinced a reciprocal curiosity in the society of their European visitors. The thoroughness and variety of Bernier's account of India may well have shown Swift the kind of political, social and philosophical lengths that were possible in Gulliver's Travels which is a survey of different nations in a fictional world.

This thirst for knowledge was to reach out into anthropology and the study of other nations. Bernier studied that great empire, to research arts and sciences, language, learning, philosophy and morality, religion, the geographical extent of the kingdom, their belief in astrology, weapons of war, their laws and their customs and what they teach their youth about war and literature. Even such details as the following are covered: mechanics, methods of labour, building and architecture, carpentry, making of furniture, clothing, cookery, manufacture of canons and other arms, gardening, navigation, sciences, languages and all the facts to do with the great Mogul court.²

Bernier responded to the curiosity of the age in evoking the life at court in India and the life in the streets of the towns of Agra and Delhi. Europeans, he felt, were afraid to admit that the East had a culture to rival that of France. Bernier was afraid of shocking his contemporaries with his

enthusiasm for Indian music and art: he felt himself to have become 'Indianisé'. He regarded taste as purely relative and was unafraid to describe Indian life with admiring enthusiasm. Although he felt that Islam was sufficiently well known, the Hindu religion was not so well understood even though it was the religion of the majority of Indians. The beliefs and customs of Hindus, whom he calls 'Gentils' are described in detail. Most striking are his accounts of the Suttee or suicide of the widows. This practice is described in great detail also by William Hawkins in his Voyage to the East Indies published in Purchas.³ Hawkins writes

The custome of the Indians, is to burne their dead, as you have read in other authors, and at their burning, many of their wives will burne with them: because they will be registered in their Bookes, for famous and most modest and loving Wives, who leaving all worldly affaires, content themselves to live no longer than their husbands. I have seene many proper Women brought before the King whom, (by his commandment), none may burne without his leave and sight of them, I mean those of Agra.

Bernier, who regards the burning of widows as a barbarous custom, nevertheless gives a full account of this primitive custom, allowing the reader to judge the facts for himself.⁴ Following the death of his friend Daneshmend Khan, Bernier visited his wife with a view to persuading her to go on living. The woman was determined to die and was prepared to dash her brains out against the wall if prevented from burning herself. He describes the nightmarish scene around the body of the dead man in the hut where four or five old women clapped their hands, hair tousled, faces pale and their eyes dry and shining with madness. "Quelle diabolique fureur tu possede? disais-je à part moi". In the end, the body of the man was burned, but Bernier discovered later that he had been successful in saving

the life of the widow. He describes in horrific detail other burnings of widows which did take place, however, along with ceremonial aspects such as anointment with oil. Bernier saw this heathen practice as a superstition and an infernal tragedy.

The custom of 'Les femmes qui veulent se bruler' is an example of religious and social aspects of Indian life that differed greatly to the familiar European way of life. Captain Lemuel Gulliver experiences vastly different societies from his own in England. Just as Bernier attempted to impress the Grand Mogul with the power of the kings of Portugal, France, Holland, Spain and England, so Gulliver sings the praises of his own country to the king of Brobdingnag. Aurangzeb pours scorn on Bernier, comparing the kings of Europe to 'nos petits Rajas' and describing his own dynasty as the kings of the world. He does take considerable interest in the European values just as the King of Brobdingnag and the Houyhnhnms question Gulliver about his own country. Aurangzeb asks Bernier to distinguish for him the states of Europe, their military strength, their fighting methods, their customs, their religions, their governments, their progress, their decadence and the accidents of history, including revolutions.⁵

It is very interesting to compare the less objective and more consciously Christian approach to the Indian way of life expressed by William Hawkins in 'His Relations of the Occurents which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the country of the Great Mogoll'.⁶ Hawkins describes the Mogol's 'strength, Wealth and Government'. The Mogol's horsemen, called Mansibdars are first listed by name: 'Hasuff Chan, Chan Ishan, Abdula Chan, Raga Manging, Ray Durga, Raga Sursing, Ramadas Rechuva, Raga Bassu, Emirel Umera, Mahebet Chan, Chan

Dowran, Sedris Chan, Hogio Bey Mirza, Mirza Cazi, Ettebar'. However, Hawkins becomes outraged at the 'Fopperies and Superstitions' of the Indians, especially when it comes to a description of the King and his adoration by the Heathen Community. 'This King is very much adored of the Heathen Community, insomuch that they will spread their bodies all upon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides'.⁷ There is much condemnation of the great Mogol's desire to watch young men wrestling with lions to prove their manhood: a practice which cost many men their lives and many were 'grievously wounded'. Hawkins greatly disapproved of this 'bloody experiment' whereby poor men were torn limb from limb and their faces clawed apart. The government is of a particularly 'Barbarous kind' according to Hawkins. The King keeps a master hangman who is accompanied by forty other hangmen, wearing on their heads 'a certain quilted cap ... with an Hatchet on their shoulders'. The King has a great liking for pleasure, sleeping much of the day, but also showing himself to his people at noon, watching 'his pastimes, and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts every day sundry kinds of pastimes'.

Attitudes towards barbarism expressed by travellers can be partly explained by a survey of observations of savages and natives described within the East Indies. Again, the pattern of naked, primitive, wild men, often with painted faces, often carrying bows and poisoned arrows emerges from a reading of the travel literature. More often than not they are first glimpsed in canoes from the ships of English sailors engaged in trade in the region.

'Letters concerning the Voyage of John Newberry and Ralph Fitch ... Into the East Indies, in the Yeere 1583' contain

descriptions of Gentiles who

pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eat it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30 or 40 times and used to heave up their hands to the sun and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg always before the left.⁸

Their daughters are married by the age of ten, and the men have seven wives. Generally the common people go about naked and worship idols. They are described as 'much given to prating and dissembling hypocrites' such as the prophet in Patenau whom the authors described not as a great man but as a 'Lasie lubber'.

Newberry and Fitch visited the country of Bottanter and the city of Bottia ruled by king Dermain. The people are seen to be very tall and strong and live in the very high mountains. These mountain dwellers are like the Yahoos: 'people which have ears of a spanne long: if their ears be not long, they call them apes'. The people of Bottia are seen to be naked and 'do eate roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing'.⁹

Fitch and Newberry were mainly interested in unusual and peculiar aspects in Ceylon where the race of Chingalayes was to be found. Their ears are very large and the longer their ears, 'the more honourable they are accounted'. They are described as a naked people, and their king Raia adopted the habit of speaking in public on one leg and 'setteth the other foot upon his knee with his sword in his hand'. His people chiefly went to sea to rob and to steal.

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, Generall of a Dutch Fleet of six ships, which passed by the Magellane straits and South

Sea, unto the East Indies ... published in Purchas contains accounts of savages in boats.¹⁰ A Discourse of the Present state of the Moluccos by Apollonius Schot of Middlesborough describes the natives of the Moluccas as perfidious, ambitious, inconstant, 'hardened in the insolencies and mischiefes which always attend warres'.¹¹ The inhabitants of the islands were thought to be idle and voluptuous.

William Cornelison Shouten (whose voyage to the East Indies is published in Purchas) makes several observations of savage Indians.¹² His overall view of them is one of an extremely primitive race which wears no clothes, is fascinated by presents of little worth such as of nails and beads, is terrified by the sound of gunshots. *They* 'live without care like birds in the wood', carry bows and arrows, are black and paddle canoes.

This view accords with that of James Lancaster, extracts of whose voyages appear in Purchas. Lancaster sees the savages of India as 'black and very brutish'. His description of the natives of the Nicubar Islands as 'tauny' in colour and wearing tails provides another suggestion for the Yahoos.

The repulsive or indecorous side to the savages may indeed have suggested to Swift possibilities for the Yahoos. He would have encountered a number of accounts of very outlandish tribes in India and the islands of the East Indies which were visited by Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. For instance, Purchas, IV contains a vivid picture of primitive dances by naked Indians.

They dance in true measure all naked, only weare a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinnes to their middle, the hairie side inward, a cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinne about their Privities; some had a sole on their feet tyed about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Tripes, which sometimes they would pull off and eat raw. When we threw away their beasts

entrails, they would eate them halfe raw, the blood loth-
somely slavering. (IV, p.148)

A similar description is provided by Nicholas Withington in Extracts of a Tractate, written by Nicholas Withington, which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine Best, a Factor, his adventures and Travels therein.¹³ The people who are described as 'Negros, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: the men have but one stone a peece; the other is cut out when they are young'. They carry bows and arrows of little force and wear the guts of sheep and oxen about their necks 'smelling, which being hungry they eat; and would scramble for our garbage like dogges, and eat it raw and foule'.

The behaviour of Yahoo-like monkeys is observed by several travellers to the East Indies. William Finch's 'Of Divers Waves in the Mogol's Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them' is an example. Describing the city of Cambaya he writes 'About the city are infinite numbers of Munkeyes, leaping from house to house, that they doe much mischief, and untyling the houses, are readie to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall'.¹⁴ In Gulliver's Travels, the Yahoos are equally 'mischievous in Disposition' (Book IV, chapter 7, p.262). One cannot ignore the points of contact between the more primitive indians and the Yahoos and the similarities with mischievous monkeys as they are noted in the travel books which Swift is likely to have read.

The people of Bottia, described by Newberry and Fitch, who eat dead dogs, roots, cats and rats, resemble the Yahoos who feed 'upon Roots, and the Flesh of some Animals, which I afterwards found to be that of Asses and Dogs, and now and then a

Cow dead by Accident or Disease' (Book IV, chapter 2, p.229). The Yahoos imitate Gulliver's actions 'after the Manner of Monkeys' (Book IV, chapter 8, p.265). In the first Chapter of A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms they are deformed, hairy animals with 'Beards like Goats, and a Long Ridge of Hair down their Backs, and the fore Parts of their Legs and Feet; but the rest of their Bodies were bare, so that I might see their Skins which were of a brown Buff Colour' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.223). It is significant, while comparing these creatures to monkeys, that they are particularly agile, able to climb high trees as nimbly as a squirrel using their long, hooked and pointed claws. The monkeys in travel books may not match the Yahoos in their disgustingness, but they are equally agile in their behaviour as observed by European travellers. Gulliver's Travels seems to amalgamate pictures of primitive humans with those of monkeys.

A monkey does, of course, appear in Gulliver's Travels. In Brobdingnag, a horrific monkey actually carries Gulliver up to the ridge of the roof, holds him in one of his paws and feeds him with another. The people throw up stones 'hoping to drive the monkey down' (Book II, chapter 5, p.123). In relative scale this monkey is the size of an elephant. Gulliver tells the king, 'In Europe we had no Monkies except such as were brought for Curiosities from other Places, and so small, that I could deal with a Dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me' (Book II, chapter 5, p.123).

In addition to the primitive Indians and related aspects which have correspondences with Gulliver's Travels a significant difference emerges from a study of the travel books. Voyages to the East Indies are dominated by trade: reasons for trading in the area; the best means of setting up factories;

the most profitable merchandise to carry on board ship; the goods which may be had in exchange in India and the region. The chapter headings to Linschoten's Voyage to the East Indies show such a preoccupation. Chapters deal with spices and herbs, wood and pearls and precious stones. In fact, the travel element is quite small. In Linschoten's book the products of India are described together with their uses or value.

Trading only forms a minor feature of the surface realism of Gulliver's Travels. A Voyage to Laputa, partly undertaken out of a thirst of seeing the world, is nevertheless a trading mission to the East Indies and the first chapter of this voyage gives a description of a chase by pirates after having purchased a sloop in which to trade in the islands around Tonquin (Book III, chapter 1, pp.153-4).

A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms begins with trade with the Indians in the South Sea and orders to make discoveries. Gulliver tells the Houyhnhnms that he has left the land of his birth 'to get Riches, whereby I might maintain my Self and Family when I should return' (Book IV, chapter 4, p.243). At the end there would seem to be a contradiction in his avowal not to have 'the least Interest with respect either to Trade or Negotiations' (Book IV, chapter 12, p.292).

The travels to the East Indies mention precious metals such as gold and silver, the spice trade, silk, nuts, oil, opium and other merchandise. Such trading factors are so common in Indian voyages that readers of Gulliver's Travels might have been expected to detect the minor allusions to them when they arise in the narrative.

William Hawkins describes in Purchas how he has arrived in the East Indies to trade,

for his King

I had a letter ⁷from His Majesty of England, tending to the same purpose, who is desirous to have league and amitie with his King, in that kind, that his subjects might freely goe and come, sell and buy, as the custome of all nations is: and that my ship was laden with ^{the} commodities of our land, which by intelligence of former Travellers, were vendible for these parts. (III, p.2).

Unfortunately, two of their ships were taken by the Portuguese. In spite of the sailor's claim to have a commission to trade with the Grand Mogol, the portuguese captain shows 'Intollerable pride' when he abuses most vilely 'His Majestie, tearing him King of Fishermen, and of an Iland of no import, and a fart for his commission, scorning to send me any answer' (III, p.5). In the first chapter of A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms the crew of Gulliver's ship mutiny against him and desire to turn pirates and plunder the Spaniards.

It is, finally, necessary to mention one or two incidental parallels which occur. At the end of A Voyage to Laputa three members of the crew are said to have died and one man fell from the mast into the sea; 'We sailed with a fair Wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we staid only to take in fresh Water. On the 6th of April we arrived safe at Amsterdam having lost only three Men by Sickness in the Voyage, and a fourth who fell from the Fore-Mast into the Sea, not far from the Coast of Guinea' (Book III, chapter 11, p.217). This is similar to 'The Voyage of M. David Middleton in the Consent 1606' in Purchas which begins 'We anchored in the Roade of Saldania all our men in good health: only Peter Lambert the day before fell off the topmost head, whereof he dyed' (III, p.51). Also, Middleton's descriptions of their using a longboat to fetch water or to go ashore for other reasons provides a suggestion

for Gulliver's Travels. Middleton writes 'The one and thirtieth day, our captaine with M. Davis went in our longboat to viewe the islands, and I myself as we went sounded close aboard the Breach, and had sixe fathomes' (III, p.53). In 'A Voyage to Brobdingnag' we find 'We cast Anchor within a League of this Creek, and our Captain sent a dozen of his Men well armed in the Long boat, with Vessels for Water if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the Country, and make what Discoveries I could' (Book II, chapter 1, p.85).

Finally, one can compare the passage in the Voyage to the East Indies of William Hawkins in which primitive Indians who hold their king in awe to the extent that they have to crawl on the ground and rub their faces in the dirt. In Gulliver's Travels, Gulliver is commanded to crawl on his belly and lick the floor as he approaches the King of Luggnagg, although special allowance is made to ensure the floor is swept clean of the offensive dust normally lying there (Book III, chapter 9, p.204). It is likely that Swift was conversant with this voyage published in Purchas.

In general, the East Indian Voyages describe the natural pattern of departure, discovery and return. The voyages in Gulliver's Travels are set in the same mould. In terms of structure and pattern Swift's four voyages are similar. Other incidental details stem from an awareness of such writers as Bernier and the authors of voyages published in the great collections of Hakluyt and Purchas. As a student of human nature, Bernier's account of the Grand Mogul represents a traveller of a different type from anything else published in books that belonged to Swift. His objective account of this civilization was both admiring and critical.

The West Indian islands together represented, in miniature, a world of competing maritime empires. Most European states with maritime pretensions were concerned, at one time or another, with the West Indies: with territorial possessions there, or claims to them; with trade in the area, in sugar or tobacco, or predatory designs on other people's trade. At the end of the Seventeenth Century, however, the field was somewhat narrowed. Portuguese and Genoese traders had dropped out of the business of supplying African slaves to Spanish settlements. Dutch business was declining, and the three remaining contenders were Spanish, English and French. The reputation of the islands was built on trade with Europe and colonization. In the early Eighteenth Century, the principle European powers interested in overseas trade, or in colonial dominion, or both, were in repeated collision.

One traveller described the West Indians as wild and vicious savages 'Of evill visages, filthy and simple'.¹⁵ In Hakluyt, Hawkins's 'Voyage ... of the Jesus of Lubeck, one of her Majesties Shippess... to the Coast of Guinea, and the Indies' (1564) says that the Indians 'goe all naked, whereof they take no shame' (p.553). These Indians were very friendly, giving them a kind of bread 'in recompense whereof we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse coloured beades' (p.553).

Samuel Purchas himself expresses the desirability of objectivity about the West Indians. No nation is perfect and all knowledge is potentially useful. With reference to the writings of Joseph Acosta, 'a learned Jesuite', he writes 'there is no nation, how barbarous soever, that have not something in them, good, and worthy of commendation; nor Commonweale so well ordered, that hath not something blameworthy, and to be controlled' (XV, p.233). For Purchas, the history of the deeds

of the West Indians is a relation 'of Truth which deserveth to be received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to be rejected, for that it concerns the West Indians'. A knowledge of Indian societies is particularly useful to Europeans because 'It takes away much of that common and foolish contempt wherein they of Europe hold them, supposing that those nations have no feeling of reason'. Of course, it is a feature of Swift's cross cultural satire that the Yahoo race is despised by Gulliver, who venerates his Houyhnhnm masters as 'Perfection of Nature' (Book IV, chapter 3, p.235).

The myth of El Dorado in Spanish America retained its grip on men's minds, although it became modernised and mercantilised. In the late Seventeenth Century sophisticated politicians and business men in Europe no longer accepted, as Sir Walter Raleigh had done a hundred years before, the story of a Golden Man in the interior of Guiana; nor did they regard the Spanish Indies in crude terms, merely as treasurehouses to be robbed whenever possible. J.H. Parry has analyzed the policies of English, French and Dutch towards Spain and towards one another, showing how they were constantly affected by this illusion of inexhaustible flow of bullion from Spanish America and the West Indies, making naval action and piracy against Spanish shipping attractive propositions.¹⁶

Money, for Joseph Acosta, is a perfectly acceptable goal for the traveller. There are practical uses to which gold can be put. Writing 'Of Metals in the Indies and especially of the gold and silver and Quick-Silver' in his Observations touching the Natural Historie at the West Indies he says 'Money is unto us as it were, meate, clothing, house, and generally whatsoever man hath need of'.¹⁷ Every metal has its use. 'Some serve for curing diseases, others for armes and for

defence against the enemies, some are for ornament and beautifying of our persons and houses, and others are fit to make vessels and iron workes, with divers fashions of instruments, which the industrie of man hath found out and put in practice'.

In More's Utopia, Utopians do not use money, keeping it merely for use in an emergency. Silver and gold, the raw materials of money, get no more respect among them than their intrinsic value deserves, which is obviously less than iron. It is argued that whereas we could do without gold and silver, human life would be impossible without iron. It is logical, therefore, that such metals are used for the manufacture of cheap commodities in people's houses, the inhabitants doing everything possible to bring silver and gold into disrepute.

Another reason for this attitude is that Nature has placed out of sight those things which are of no use to us, but places her greatest blessings in full view. Thus earth, air and water are placed on the surface. This opinion is shared by Joseph Acosta. Having stated that 'At the West Indies there are great store of mynes of all sorts of metals, as copper, Iron, Lead, Tinne, Quick-Silver, Silver and Gold', he explains that metals hidden from men by God are not necessarily placed intentionally out of our reach. 'The Creator hath shut up in the closets and concavities of the earth' a diversity of metals to enable man to 'drawe profit and commoditie from every one of them'. Joseph Acosta concludes his remarks about precious metals by saying 'the Holy Scripture doth compare Charitie to Gold'. The greatest excellence gold has, he writes, 'Is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men, for the supreme power and greatness of the world'. He then describes the introduction of leather money and the change from barter to money.

Gulliver says that if he had been born a Struldbrugg he

would 'first resolve by all the Arts and Methods whatsoever to procure myself Riches: in the Pursuit of which, by Thrift and Management, I might reasonably expect in about two Hundred Years to be the wealthiest Man in the Kingdom' (Book III, chapter 10, p.209). Having said this, he condemns the Yahoos for their avarice in digging up shining stones which they heap in their kennels and guard jealously.

Barter is used in Gulliver's Travels to reinforce Gulliver's initial condescension towards horses. The present of a knife and bracelet is supposed to buy a ride on one of the horse's backs, but has the effect of creating embarrassment. He later prepares to give 'two Knives, three Bracelets of false Pearl, a small Looking Glasse and a Bead Necklace' (Book IV, chapter 2, p.228). As the Utopians despise the expensive clothes of a money-conscious civilization, built on materialism, the Indians of the Caribbean did not value their plentiful gold as highly as the Europeans who came to remove it in their ships.

There are significant differences in travel literature in the use of barter in the West Indies and in South America. In the West Indies, barter is mostly a simple exchange: one item exchanged for another of more practical worth. In South America it seems that barter becomes more of a peace offering: a diplomatic gift to secure peace and friendship. It is in this sense that Gulliver prepares to deliver himself to the first 'savages' he should meet and purchase his life from them 'By some Bracelets, Glass Rings, and other Toys, which Sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me' (Book IV, chapter 1, p.223).

In Hakluyt, travellers barter with the Domenican 'Salvages' for tobacco, hens, potato roots, hatchets, knives and bead-stones for 'plantans, pines and potatoes'. Hawkins and Drake

record the fact that most of the English and French barter knives, hatchets, saws and such like tools for Tobacco. On the 1564 voyage to the West Indies Hawkins swaps hens, potatoes and pines for beads, pewter whistles, glasses, knives and other trifles.¹⁸ Such instances show how food was cheaply and easily obtained in exchange for basic tools. They also serve to illustrate the fundamental and obvious difference in values of two different types of society.

Finally, one is left with the picture of the Laputans, driven into idleness and poverty by their scientific leaders who are too busy trying to invent perfect agriculture and building to provide the people with food or houses. In More's Utopia the scientists are more practically minded. They apply themselves to medicine and, by trained research techniques succeed in the invention of printing and the manufacture of paper.

Joseph Acosta's Observations gathered at the West Indies are eccentric in the consideration of climatic reasons for rain in the tropics. This diffuse and rambling pseudo-scientific account verges on the ridiculous, especially when concerned with the effects of sunbeams. 'If the ~~same~~ beams be weake, they draw up no fogge from the rivers, if they be violent, having drawne up the vapours, they presently dissolve'.¹⁹ He explains that men in the Indies cannot free themselves from the snares of their covetousness. They are slaves to their passions and their silver, whereas they ought to be able to live virtuously because of the pleasant climate. Acosta makes homely comparisons, and the heat of the sunbeams is likened to a fire roasting pork, mutton or veale. It is hardly surprising that Purchas exercised editorial discretion after a time and stops him with 'We have abbreviated and to prevent

tediousness cut off a great part of Acosta's Observations'.

In West Indian travels there is no shortage of exaggerations. According to Gonzalo de Oviedo there was a certain 'light dog' known as 'Cagnuolo Leggiero' by the Spaniards which he credits with the invention of music. The dog began singing six notes, one higher than another,

so falling with the same, that the first note is the highest, and the other is a baser tune, as if a man should say La, Sol, Fa, Mi, Re, Ut, so this beast saith ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha. And doubtlesse, it seemeth to me, that as I have said in the chapter of the beast called 'Bardati', that those beasts might be the originall and document to imbarbe Horses: even so, the first invention of Musicke might seeme by the hearing of this beast, to have the first principles of that science, rather than by any other thing in the world.²⁰

Because these creatures are observed to live in the tops of trees, Oviedo is convinced that 'they live onely of Aire: and of the same opinion, are in manner all men of those Regions, because they have never seene them eate anything, but ever turne their heads and mouthes towards that part where the wind bloweth most, whereby may be considered that they take most pleasure in the Ayre'.

Oviedo writes about a great water monster which lifted itself out of the waves so that its head and arms could be seene 'Higher than our caravell and all her masts'.²¹ Although careful to dissociate himself from the tale, Raleigh delights in describing the tribe of Ewaiponoma, a nation of people without heads, whose eyes grow in their shoulders and whose mouths are set in their breasts. Mandeville is said to have encountered these people, and the story, Raleigh claims, is 'attested by reliable merchants'.²² Hawkins repeats a story told him by a French captain about a serpent with three heads and four feet 'the bignesse of a great Spaniell, which for want of a

harquebus he durst not attempt to slay'.²³ Oviedo describes a nation of giants living on an island on the south side of Hispaniola. They were known as the Coronati.²⁴ Acosta also records the existence of a race of giants who 'pulled down trees, as if they had been stalkes of Lettuces', he also claims to have found 'dead men's bones of an incredible bignesse'.²⁵ In Purchas Herrera describes a man who was three hundred years old (XIV, p.476). Other exaggerations abound. One final example even has a germ of truth in it, one suspects. In Purchas also Joseph Acosta describes a 'Learned monkey' in Carthagene which was sent to the tavern from the governor's house in order to fetch wine. He was sent with the pot in one hand and the money in the other,

and they could not possibly get the money out of his hand before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street, and threw any stones at him, hee would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till he had assured his way, then he would returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although he were a good Bibber of wine (as I have often times seene him drinke, when his master hath given it him) yet would he never touch it untill leave was given him. They told me, moreover, that if he saw any woman painted, he would fall upon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them. (XV, p.140)

Monkeys were a source of great fascination to a number of travellers. Describing the 'beasts of those parts' Oviedo found the monkeys like Yahoos, 'filthy creatures' in Purchas. In Cuba and Jamaica he says

the monkeys are of innumerable sorts and shapes: some of them so subtle as they imitate the actions of men, as breaking of pineapples and almonds with stones; some^{will} throw stones at passengers or breake boughs to fall on them as they passe by to breake their heads, and retort the arrowes shot at them, and do other things incredible. Some are as little or lesser

than a man's hand, and some as great as a mean mastiffe.
(XV, p.220)

However fascinating the natural history of the islands may have been to travellers, it was undoubtedly the Indians themselves that was the most interesting aspect. Although regarded as residually primitive they were expected to embrace civilized Christian values and to abandon their heathen rites. Just as More's Utopians began as a race of ignorant savages and were transformed by Utopos into the most civilized nation in the world, so the West Indians were expected to become civilized. Oviedo is typical of those who expressed disgust at uncivilized behaviour. Writing about the 'filthy marriages' of the Cubans, he says

They are in vices like those of Hispaniola, and will be no better Christians than other Indians, whatsoever Peter Martyr writeth from Encises Relations. For I have seene more Indians than they both, and by experience of those nations know, that none or very few of them are Christians of their owne will and accord. (Purchas, XV, p.229)

Gulliver's Travels reveals the opposite process. Paradoxically, unlike the voyagers, Gulliver is seduced to another faith and rejects his own kind. This reverse process leads to Gulliver's mounting misanthropy, as when he returns to England he finds the company of his fellow Yahoos unbearable. The missionary zeal of the Elizabethan European traveller is here redirected against his fellow countrymen, not the supposedly primitive savages he may have encountered while abroad.

Ironically, even his own English language becomes 'barbarous' to him and the 'Arguments and Expressions' of his Houyhnhnm master are admired (Book IV, chapter 5, p.244).

Any nation without written letters was automatically regarded as primitive by travellers. The Cubans gave this impression to Oviedo who writes that they were totally lacking in any 'letters'. He remarks that they were afraid of Spanish letters, thinking that they could speak and would accuse them of wrongdoing in some mysterious way if they were to commit any misdemeanour. Surprisingly, the Houyhnhnms 'have no letters'. Perhaps this fact is to be regarded as an indication of their shortcomings.

Language becomes a powerful feature of the satire of nationality in Gulliver's Travels, and the language barrier is emphasized in each of the four voyages. There are many elements: the incomprehensibility of Sea Yahoo talk; Gulliver's obsequious nonsense, spoken before the court of Luggnagg; the jargon of lawyers 'that no other Mortal can understand, and wherein all their Laws are written, which they take special Care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very Essence of Truth and Falsehood, of Right and Wrong ...' (Book IV, chapter 5, p.250). Lilliput and Blefuscu despise each other's language, taking national pride in remaining different and superior. Their ambassadors speak to Gulliver through an interpreter, 'the Languages of both Empires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each Nation priding itself upon the Antiquity, Beauty and Energy of their own Tongues, with an avowed contempt for that of their Neighbour' (Book I, chapter 5, p.55).

Indeed, the very richness of the humorously imaginary language of Gulliver's Travels may have been inspired by reading travels, and the West Indian Voyages are informative about obscure dialects and smooth or nasal pronunciation.

Notes to Chapter 7

- 1 See p.29 Bernier, Ses Voyages en 5 Tom., 1699 is listed in the Sale Catalogue. This is Voyages ... Contenant la Description des Etats du Grand Mogul, de L'Hindoustan, du Royaume de Kachemire ... 2 Vols. (Amsterdam, 1699). Subsequent references to this work are to the edition by Arthème Fayard (Paris, 1981); hereafter referred to as Bernier, Ses Voyages.
- 2 Bernier, Ses Voyages p.14.
- 3 See Purchas,^{III} p.49.
- 4 See Bernier, Ses Voyages, p.233.
- 5 Bernier, Ses Voyages, p.117.
- 6 Purchas, III, pp.1-15.
- 7 Purchas, III, p.50
- 8 See Hakluyt, pp.210-212.
- 9 See Hakluyt, p.212.
- 10 Purchas, II, p.223.
- 11 Purchas, II, p.228.
- 12 Purchas, II, p.236. See also pp. 248, 250, 251, 258, 264, 272.
- 13 Purchas, IV, p.162.
- 14 Purchas, IV, p.30.
- 15 Antonio de Herrera, 'A Description of the West Indies', Purchas, XIV, p.518.
- 16 See J.H. Parry, Trade and Dominion: European Oversea Empires in The Eighteenth Century (London, 1971).
- 17 Purchas, XV, p.69.
- 18 See Hakluyt, p.553.
- 19 See Purchas, XV, p.4.
- 20 Purchas, XV, p.173.

- 21 Purchas, XV, p.225.
- 22 Hakluyt, p.147.
- 23 Hakluyt, p.521
- 24 Purchas, XV, p.212.
- 25 Purchas, XV, p.238.

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