

The Maps and Mapmakers that Helped Define 20th-Century Lithuanian Boundaries - Part 3: The Second Partition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 1793 – Its Description and Depiction in Maps

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In the previous – and second – installment of this series, I ended by saying that the Second, 1793, Partition was inevitable – on that, scholars agree. Where I might differ with some is in my agreement with Norman Davies, who has said: “The Partitions were a necessary part of the process whereby reform had to be obstructed if Russian supremacy was to be maintained. The Republic of Poland – Lithuania was not destroyed because of internal anarchy, it was destroyed because it repeatedly tried to reform itself.”¹ When legal reform failed, revolts followed, revolts which Russia had to suppress – but only with the agreement and assistance of Prussia and/or Austria, each of whom demanded territory for their help.

My research regarding the First Partition showed that both its written descriptions and map depictions often wildly varied, and were mostly incomplete and inaccurate. Does that pattern repeat itself for descriptions of the 1793 Partition? (I will confine myself, as always in this series, to discussing what happened to GDL territories as they were constituted prior to the First Partition.) Absolutely! Here is a selection of descriptions of GDL losses from some of the same sources I quoted in the previous installment, as well as some new sources:

1. “The Russians annexed the remainder of White Russia up to the Dnieper and Daugava rivers, including the city of Minsk.”² [Sadly, because this is by a Lithuanian historian, this is not just an unfortunate choice of name for a GDL voivode since the 14th century, not a Russian province, but it is also incomplete.]

2. “Russia took 100,000 square miles of the eastern provinces, thereby annexing the remainder of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.”³ [An eminent British historian and his team of advisors and editors get it completely wrong.]

3. “...Russia received the lands of the palatinate of... Minsk, the eastern part of Vilnius palatinate, [and] the land of Brest...”⁴ [Only partially correct.]

4. “Russia received the... Minsk Voivodeship, and parts of the Vilnius Voivodeship, Nowogródek Voivodeship, Brest Litovsk Voivodeship and the Volhynian Voivodeship.”⁵ [Incomplete.]

5. “The Russian empire of Tsaritsa Catherine II progressively annexed almost all of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: ...the city of Minsk in 1774...”⁶ [Perhaps just a typo on the date, which should be 1793, but also a woefully incomplete summary of the Second Partition by one of my favorite historians.]

6. “By this second partition of Poland, the eastern Polish province of... Lithuania [was] absorbed by Russia.”⁷ [Yet another prominent historian in his time, an American, gets it completely wrong.]

7. “In 1772 the western provinces of Belarus were annexed to the Russian Empire and in 1795 Riecz Pospolitsa [Polish for the Polish Republic] was divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia.”⁸ [The government of Belarus not only gets the First Partition results wrong, it simply forgets about the Second Partition.]

8. “In the First Partition... Russia took northeast Belarus... In the Second Partition... Russia took 250,000 square kilometers in Ukraine and Belarus.”⁹ [The many scholars the author credited with having “corrected many embarrassing errors” in his book failed to catch these two.]

9. “The second partition was far more injurious than the first. Russia received a vast area of eastern Poland, extending southward from its gains in the first partition nearly to the Black Sea. To the west, Prussia received an area known as South Prussia, nearly twice the size of its first-partition gains along the Baltic, as well as the port of Gdansk (then renamed Danzig). Thus,

¹ Norman Davies: “God’s Playground: A History of Poland, Volume I – The Origins to 1795.” Columbia Univ. Press, 1982, p. 527

² Juozas Jakštas: “Lithuania to World War I,” in “Lithuania: 700 Years,” edited by Dr. Albertas Gerutis, 6th Edition, Manyland Press, 1984, p.109

³ Norman Davies: “God’s Playground: A History of Poland.” New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1982, p. 537

⁴ Z. Kiaupa, J. Kiaupienė, A. Kuncevičius: “The History of Lithuania Before 1795.” Vilnius: Lithuanian Inst. of History, 2000, p. 355

⁵ Adam Nowicki: “Dzieje Polski: od czasów najdawniejszych do chwili bieżącej.” Księgarnia Polska, 1945 p. 152, as quoted in

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Partition_of_Poland

⁶ Timothy Snyder: “The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999.” New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2003, p.25

⁷ Israel Smith Clare: “Library of Universal History, Vol. VI – English Reformation to the Fall of Poland,” New York, R.S. Peale, J.S. Hill, 1897. p. 2471

⁸ <http://Belarus.by>: The official website of the Republic of Belarus

⁹ Daniel Stone: “The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795,” Vol. IV, “A History of East Central Europe,” Seattle, Univ. of Washinton Press, 2001

Poland's neighbors reduced the commonwealth to a rump state and plainly signaled their designs to abolish it altogether at their convenience."¹⁰ [The US Library of Congress is given as the source of this misinformation.]

10. "With the treaty of the second partition, signed on 4 January 1793, Russia took the remaining part of Lithuania, and Prussia annexed Danzig (Gdańsk), Thorn (Torun), and Wielkopolska (Great Poland). Austria received nothing, and the small part of Poland that remained (with a population of four million) was under Russian protection."¹¹ [This source cites four other authors, including Norman Davies, already cited here as being in error, as responsible for its faulty summary.]

11. "The Grand Duchy of Lithuania lost its lands to the east of the Druya-Pinsk line, that is, part of the palatinates of Polotsk and Vitebsk that were still under Lithuanian control after the First Partition, as well as the Palatinate of Minsk and eastern parts of the palatinates of Brest, Vilnius and Navahrudak. It came to 117,500 square kilometers [45,367 square miles], approximately half of the entire territory of the GDL. Lithuania was deprived of about a million of its residents."¹² [The only completely correct description.]

Once again, only this last source – the same one identified in my article about the First Partition – appears familiar with the actual January 23, 1793 treaty language describing the GDL lands Russia would annex:

"...lands and regions located on the line indicated on the map [I have not seen any evidence that this map still exists], beginning by the settlement of Druya in the corner of Semigallia on the left bank of the River Daugava. From there, it continues through the Narach and the Dubrava and turns towards Stolptsy along the edge of the Palatinate of Vilnius. Then it goes to Nyasvizh, then to Pinsk, and continues further, crossing Kanev between Vyshhorod and Naovogreblya by the Galician border, along which it goes towards the Dniester. The border then goes along the Dniester, and ends at the Yahorlik, Russia's present border on this side. Thus all lands, cities and districts indicated here will belong for ever to the Russian Empire."¹³

The January 23, 1793 treaty signed by the Kingdom of Prussia and the Empire of Prussia, revoking Commonwealth reforms, and slicing up additional Commonwealth territory, was agreed to by deputies (bribed and coerced by nearby Russian soldiers)

to the July 23, 1793 Grodno Sejm (assembly) – the last held by the Commonwealth. Russia and Prussia wanted official, legal approval from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of their demands.

Historic GDL lands that Russia actually annexed in the Second Partition:

1. **The remaining three-quarters of the Minsk Voivodeship** (*Minsko vaivadija*) – the part west of the Dnieper River (*Dniepro upė*), including the city of Minsk itself. The voivodeship as a whole had been part of the GDL since the 14th century

2. **The remaining slice of Polotsk Voivodeship** (*Polocko vaivadija*) – the part south of the Daugava river (*Dauguvos upė*) not taken by Russia in the First Partition. The area had been a vassal of Lithuania since 1240

3. **The remaining slice of Vitebsk Voivodeship** (*Vitebsko vaivadija*) – the part west of the Dnieper river (*Dniepro upė*) not taken by Russia in the First Partition. The voivodeship had been in the GDL since 1503

4. **The eastern third of Vilnius Voivodeship** (*Vilniaus vaivadija*), in the GDL since 1413

5. **The eastern half of Nowogródek Voivodeship** (*Naugarduko vaivadija*), part of the GDL since 1507

6. **The eastern half of Brest Litovsk Voivodeship** (*Brastos vaivadija*), a voivodeship originally created from the southern-most part of Trakai Voivodeship (*Trakų vaivadija*) in 1566

¹⁰ U.S. Library of Congress, as paraphrased at <http://countrystudies.us/poland/11.htm>

¹¹ http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/partitions_of_Poland.aspx

¹² Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė: "The Territory and Borders from the 13th to the 18th Century," from "The Borders of Lithuania," Baltos lankos publishers, 2010, p. 25

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 25

Depictions of the Second Partition – and how they changed over time to eliminate “Lithuania”:

Now let’s look at how lands lost in the Second Partition have been depicted by mapmakers, then and now. First, maps published immediately after the partition.

In 1793 English mapmaker William Faden’s 1792 "Map of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with

their Dismembered Provinces" (Fig. 2), originally engraved to show the results of the First Partition, was hurriedly re-engraved with a dotted line and colored to show – in yellow – lands annexed by Russia in the 1793 Partition. The southern boundary of the GDL is hard to see, but what is easy to see is the east to west extent of “Lithuania.”

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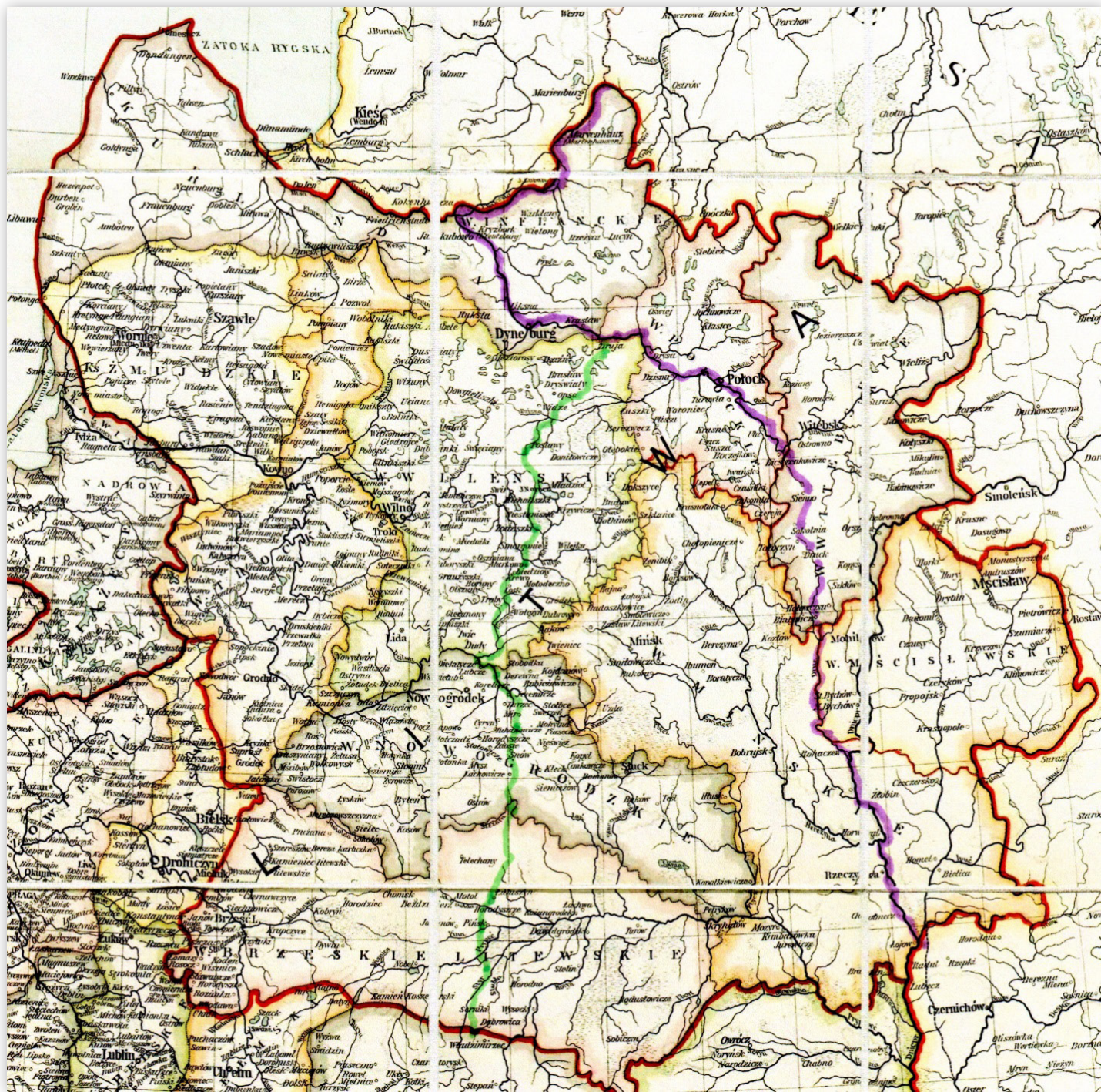


Fig. 1. 1895. Jan Babirecki: Detail from "Polska w Roku 1771," from his atlas "MAPA Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," published by Spółka Wydawnicza Polska w Krakowie. Areas east of the added purple line were annexed by the Empire of Russia in 1772; areas between the added green line and purple lines were annexed by the Empire of Russia in 1793. Image from RCIN Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes: <http://RCIN.org.pl>

Fig. 3 is another repurposed map of the area, drawn by Thomas Kitchin and published by Laurie & Whittle in London, May, 1794: "A NEW MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND, WITH ITS DISMEMBERED PROVINCES, AND THE KINGDM. OF PRUSSIA." It shows territories lost by the GDL in the First

and Second Partitions. Once more, the breadth of territory lost by the "Great Dutchy of Lithuania" is clear.

One more repurposed map published circa 1793, originally showing only the First Partition, by the German Matthäus



Fig. 2. 1793. Detail from William Faden's: "A Map of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Dutchy of Lithuania, with their Dismembered Provinces," dated 1792, but re-engraved and colored to show the results of the 1793 Partition. From Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico: <http://bvpb.mcu.es/>

Lotter: "Mapa Geographica Regni Poloniae ex novissimis..." (Fig. 4) had a 1793 legend, color key and lines added to the plate (Fig. 5).

So, there were at least three maps from well-known mapmakers/publishers available within a year of the Second Partition

which showed that both partitions involved, to a great extent, GDL lands. Nowhere on those maps do we see "Belarus," "White Russia," or "Russia Alba." So why would some historians – Lithuanians included – leave out the GDL in their descriptions of the Second Partition, and include, instead references to a country – Belarus – that did not exist until over

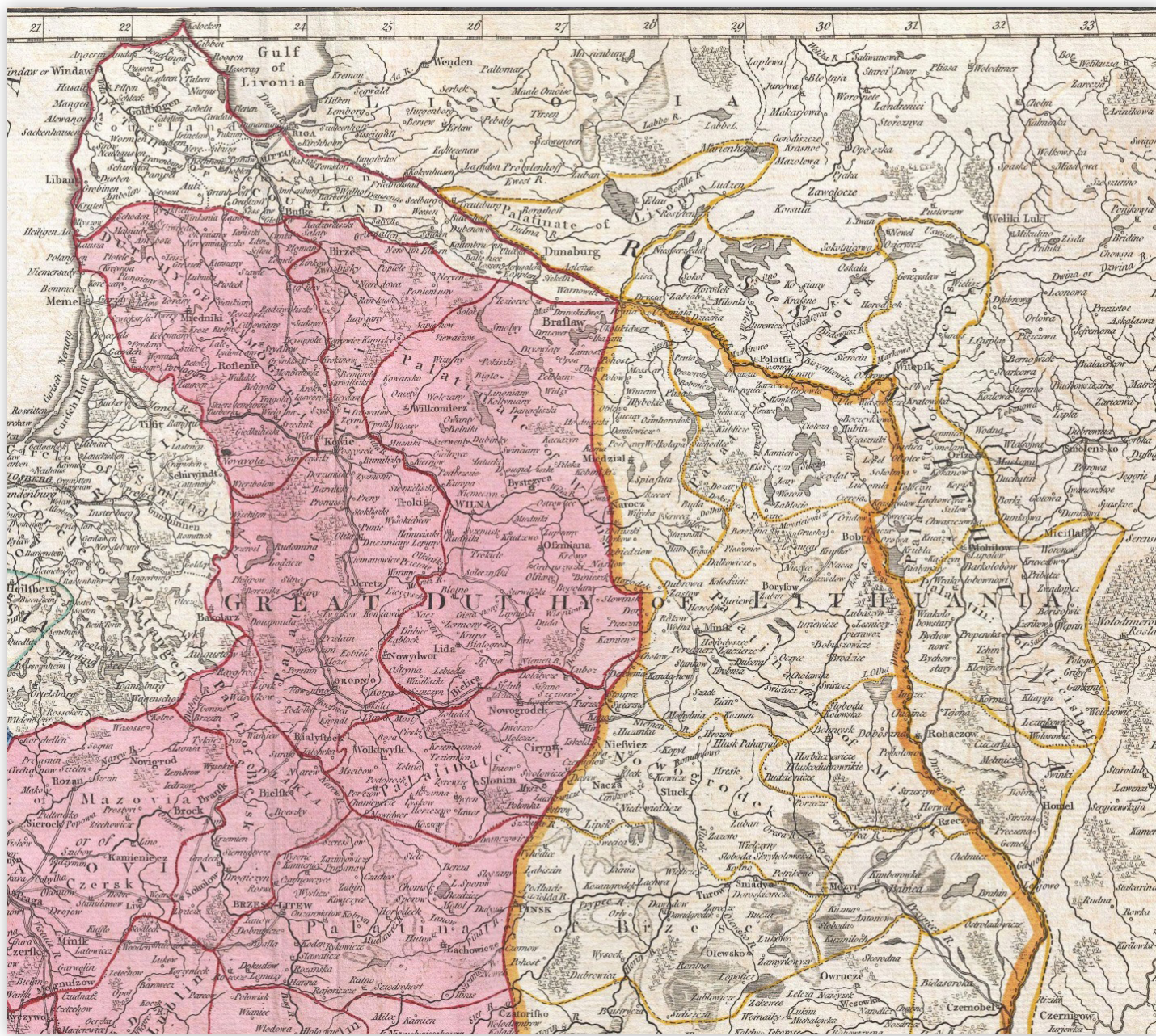


Fig. 3. 1794. Detail, Thomas Kitchin (mapmaker) - Laurie & Whittle (publishers): "A NEW MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND, WITH ITS DISMEMBERED PROVINCES, AND THE KINGDM. OF PRUSSIA." London. From www.geographicus.com

a hundred years later? While the lost lands in the first two partitions are now predominantly in today's Belarus – Belarus was not the country partitioned. As we saw in the last article in this series, 19th and early 20th century mapmakers of the area facilitated the rewriting of history and determination of newly-independent Lithuania's borders in the 20th century.

In 1831, Leonard Chodźko (1800–1871), University of Vilnius-educated Polish historian, geographer, cartographer, publisher, aide-de-camp to France's General La Fayette in 1830, and activist of Poland's November 1830 Uprising (who had been living in Paris since 1826), published "Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne sous le rapport géographique, statistique,

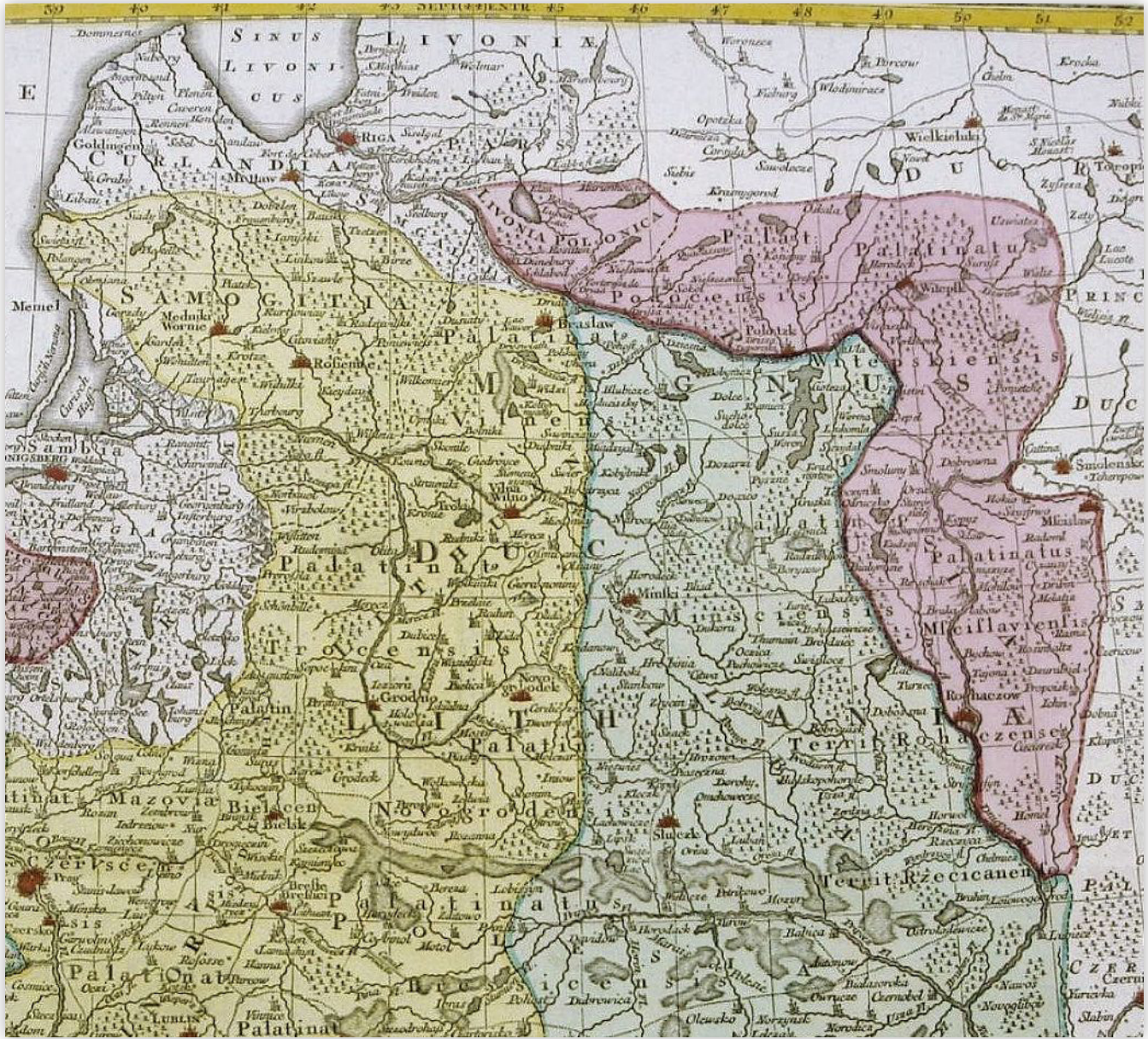


Fig. 4. 1793: Detail, Matthaues Lotter's "MAPPA GEOGRAPHICA...REGNUM POLONIAE ET MAGNUM DUCATUM LITHUANIAE," Augsburg. From www.alexandremaps.com



Fig 5. 1793: Detail from Lotter's map, showing awkward plate addition of Second Partition lines and coloring.

géologique etc.” It included his map of the Second Partition, a detail of which is Fig. 6. Now, there is no label or boundaries for the GDL. Instead, there is “Lithuanie,” the label beginning at “Kalwary” (Kalvarija) and extending just past Minsk, with “Samogitie” labeled to the north, and “Russie Blanche” to the east. South? “Russie Noire.”

Six years later, in 1837, two expatriate Poles in London,

Jan Marcin Bansemer (decorated military veteran of the 1830 uprising, writer, political activist and mapmaker) and Piotr Falkenhagen Zaleski (financier, economist and political activist) collaborated on compiling and publishing a seminal historical atlas: “Atlas Containing Ten Maps of Poland Exhibiting the Political Changes That Country Has Experienced During the Last Sixty Years, From 1772 to the Present Time...” One of those ten maps (Fig. 7) was “POLAND in 1793, after the



Fig. 6. 1831: Detail, Leonard Chodźko: "Des Etats de l'Ancienne Pologne..." (States of the Former Poland...), Paris. From RCIN via www.easteurotopo.org

Second Partition.” Taking their cue from Chodźko, patriotism took precedence over historical accuracy in their creations: the label “Lithuania” is now barely visible, and limited, east to west, to the area that had been Vilnius Voivodeship.

One of the most popular German historical atlases: the third, 1880, edition of Spruner and Menke’s “Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und die neueren Zeit,” contained

“Polen nach der zweiten Theilung 1793” (Poland after the second Partition, 1793): Fig. 8. The GDL is unlabeled, and all that remains of the Commonwealth after the Second Partition is labeled “Republik Polen.” “Kurland,” however, historically under Baltic-German influence, is labeled and given boundaries within the “Republik.”



Fig. 7. 1837: Detail, Jan Marcin Bansemer - Piotr Falkenhagen Zaleski: "POLAND in 1793, after the second Partition," published 1837, London, in "Atlas Containing Ten Maps of Poland..." From www.easteurotopo.org

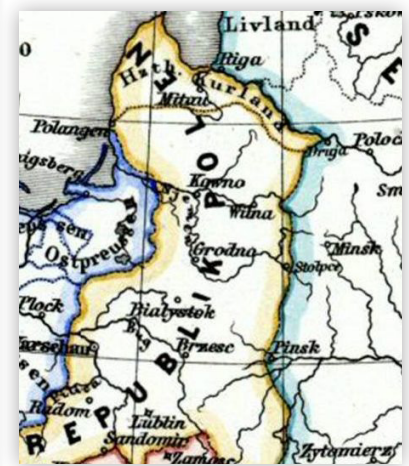


Fig. 8. 1880. Detail, “Polen nach der zweiten Theilung 1793” (Poland after the second Partition, 1793), from Spruner and Menke’s: „Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und die neueren Zeit,” Third Edition published in Gotha, Sweden, by Justus Perthes. From www.maproom.org

20th Century Maps of the Second Partition

In 1908, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, in his map "Rozbiory Polski r. 1772, 1793, 1795" (Partitions of Poland), (Fig. 9) from the 1908 edition of his "Atlas do Dziejów Polski...", dispensed with any mention of Lithuania at all – it's all about "Polski."

"The Cambridge History Atlas" of 1912 included "Poland: The Partitions" (Fig. 10), wherein the label "Lithuania" starts at an area that soon be annexed by Prussia (then to become part of "Congress Poland" until WWI), and ends at the Second Partition line, and is given no greater importance than that given to "Courland," "Samogitia, and "Podlesia." There is neither

mention of the GDL, nor of its southern boundary.

Józef Michał Bazewicz's 1918 "Polska w czasie 3 rozbiorów" (Fig. 11) from his "Atlas historyczny Polski," shows Russian-annexed lands in the Second Partition in blue, and not only leaves out any mention of Lithuania, but of Vilnius as well.

In 1921, the year the Peace of Riga established the border between Lithuania and Poland that was to last until World War II, the "Polski Atlas Kongresowy" was published, including "Drugi rozbiór Polski (1793)" (Second Partition of Poland) (Fig. 12).

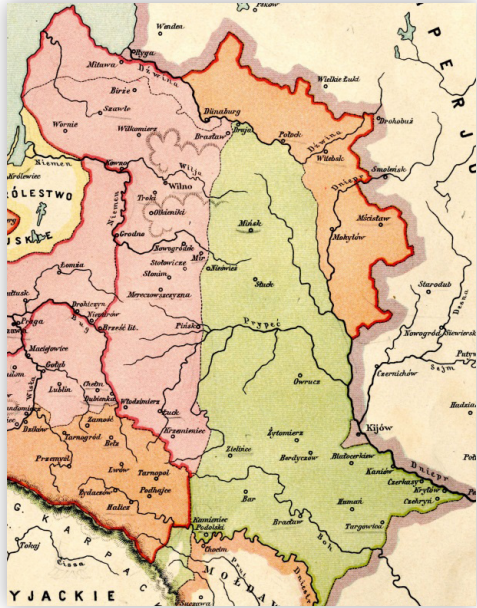


Fig. 9. 1908. Detail, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, "Rozbiory Polski r. 1772, 1793, 1795," from www.mapywig.org

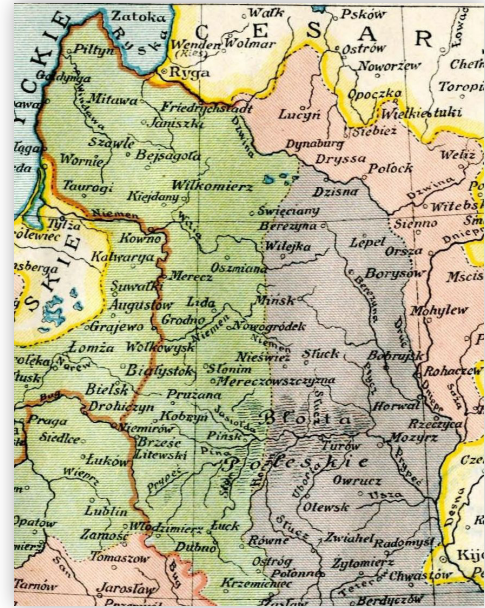


Fig. 11. 1918 Detail, Józef Michał Bazewicz: "Polskaw czasie 3 rozbiorów" (Three partitions of Poland), from www.mapywig.org

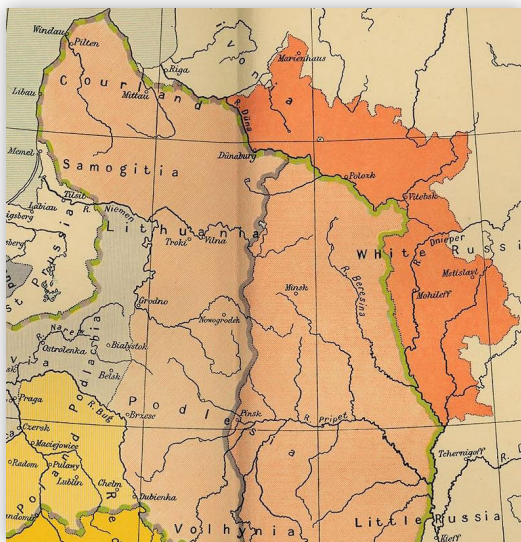


Fig. 10. 1912, detail, "Poland: The Partitions," from the Cambridge Modern History Atlas." From University of Texas at Austin, via www.emersonkent.com

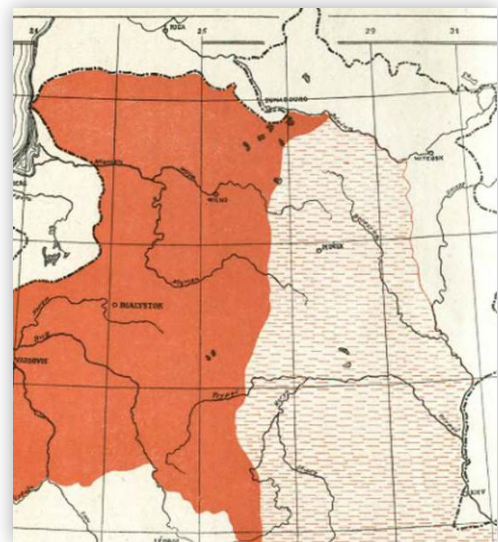


Fig. 12. 1921 Detail, "Drugi rozbiór Polski (1793)" (Second Partition of Poland), from "Polski Atlas Kongresowy," from www.RCIN.org

Late 20th-early 21st Century depictions of the Second Partition

It is commonly said, even among Lithuanians, that Lithuania disappeared from the map after the Third, 1795, Partition. Readers of this series of articles already know that happened, depending on the mapmaker, well before 1795. A selection

of contemporary depictions on the Internet for the “Second Partition of Poland” (search for “Second Partition of Lithuania,” and you get the same results) gets you:



Fig. 13, from www.ancestry.com

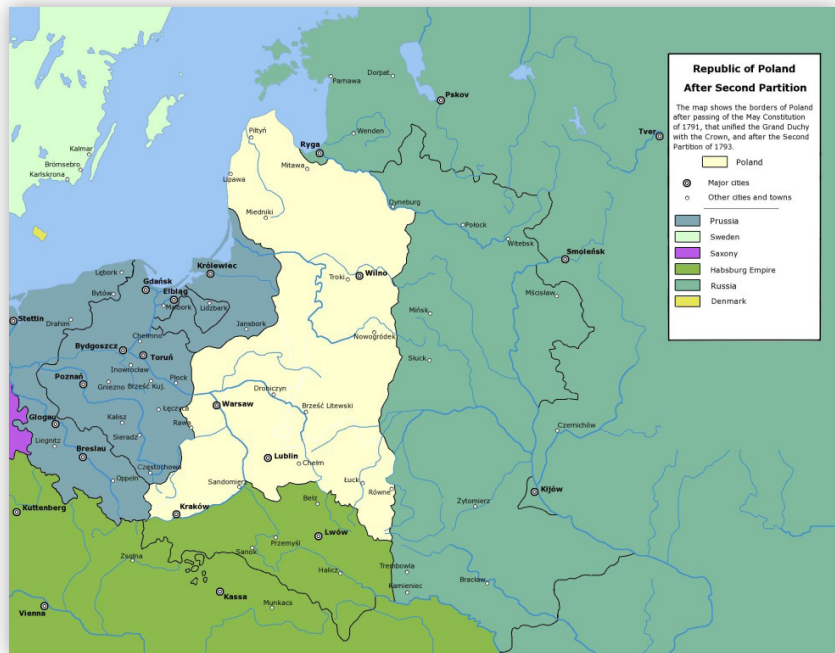


Fig. 14, Halibutt, “Republic of Poland After Second Partition,” from [wikimedia](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Republic_of_Poland_After_Second_Partition.jpg)

In Fig. 15, the last contemporary example, “Žmudzė” (*Žemaitija*) gets a shout-out (and identifies the anonymous mapmaker as either Polish, or replying on Polish sources), along with “Ruś Biała” (*White Russia*) and “Ruś Czarna” (*Black Russia*), but the GDL and Lithuania are nowhere to be seen.

The Second Partition’s terms and annexations led to the Insurrection of 1794, also known as the Kościuszko Uprising (*Tadas Kosciuška*), after the Lithuanian general. The “Lithuanian” General, you ask? His 1806 will begins: “Know all men by these presents that I, Thade Kosciuszko, formerly an officer of the United States of America in their Revolutionary War against Great Britain, and a native of Lithuania...do hereby will and direct that at my decease...”¹⁴

The uprising failed, and the Third, 1795, Partition, would officially eliminate the GDL – but not “Lithuania,” as you will see in the next article in this series – from the map.

(To be continued.)

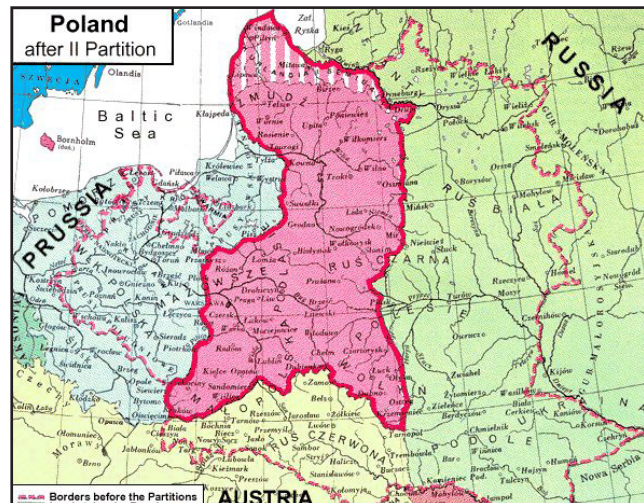


Fig. 15. “Poland after II Partition,” from the Web Chronology Project: www.thenagain.info/WebChron/Introduction.html

14 “The Massachusetts Law Society Journal,” Vol. XX, December, 1949