

The Maps and Mapmakers that Helped Define 20th-Century Lithuanian Boundaries - Part 5: The Role of Ethnic Maps and their Makers in Determining Lithuania's Post WWI Borders

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In my previous four articles, I showed you how the boundaries of historic Lithuania changed from 1771 (Fig. 1) to 1914 (Fig. 2), at the brink of World War I.

In this article, I'll take you from 19th and early 20th century ethnic maps, to the end of World War I and maps intended to influence Versailles experts deciding on postwar borders, and to final Versailles Peace Treaty recommendations of June 28, 1919, for the borders between Lithuania, Poland and Belarussian S.S.R. (Fig. 3).

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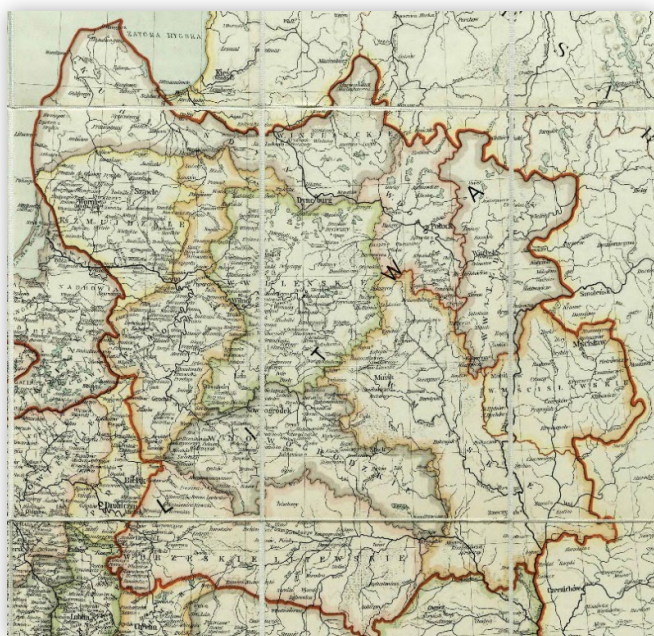


Fig. 1: Detail, Jan Babirecki: "Polska w roku 1771," Kraków. <http://www.rcin.org.pl>



Fig. 2: 1916 Benedykt Hertz: "Mapa szesściu gubernji Litwy i Białej Rusi." [wikimedia](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mapa_szesściu_gubernji_Litwy_i_Białej_Rusi_1916.jpg)

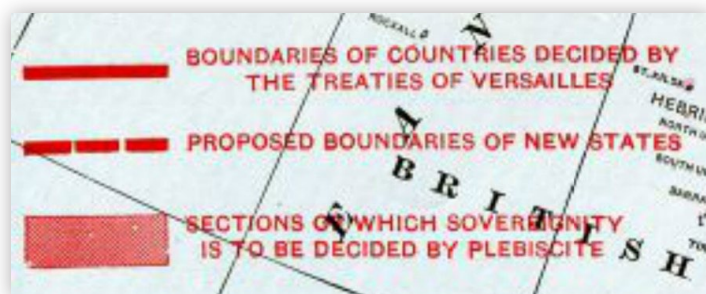
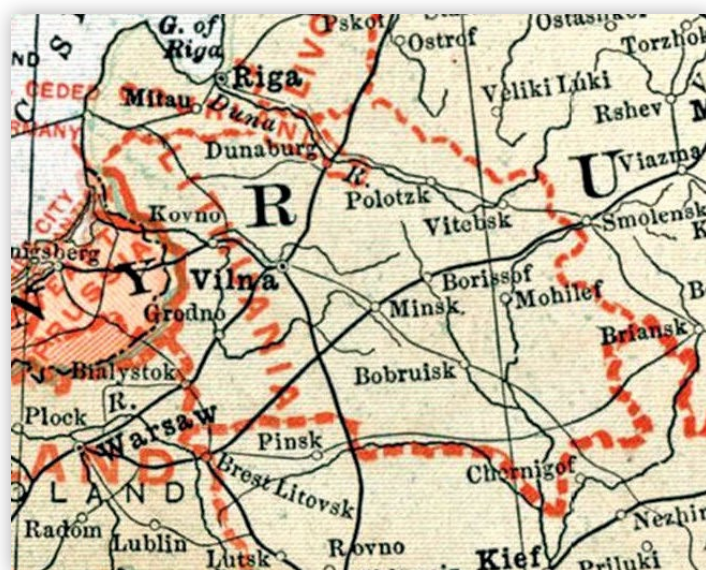


Fig. 3a/3b: 1920 Detail: "Europe," from "The New Reference Atlas of the World," Hammond & Co., collection of Roy Winkelman at Maps ETC: <https://etc.usf.edu/maps>

19th century Ethnographic maps of the historic Lithuanian area

With the first and only Imperial Russian Census taking place in 1897 (with final results not published until 1905), 19th century ethnographic maps, which claimed to be based on language, had to rely on either city censuses, or by feedback from lords of the manors. (The second Russian Census was scheduled for December 1915 but was cancelled because of the outbreak of

World War I in July 1914.)¹ The next Russian census occurred at the end of 1926. Notice how all the maps show the Vilnius

area – as well as Memel and Lithuanian Minor, within East Prussia – as having a majority of Lithuanian speakers.

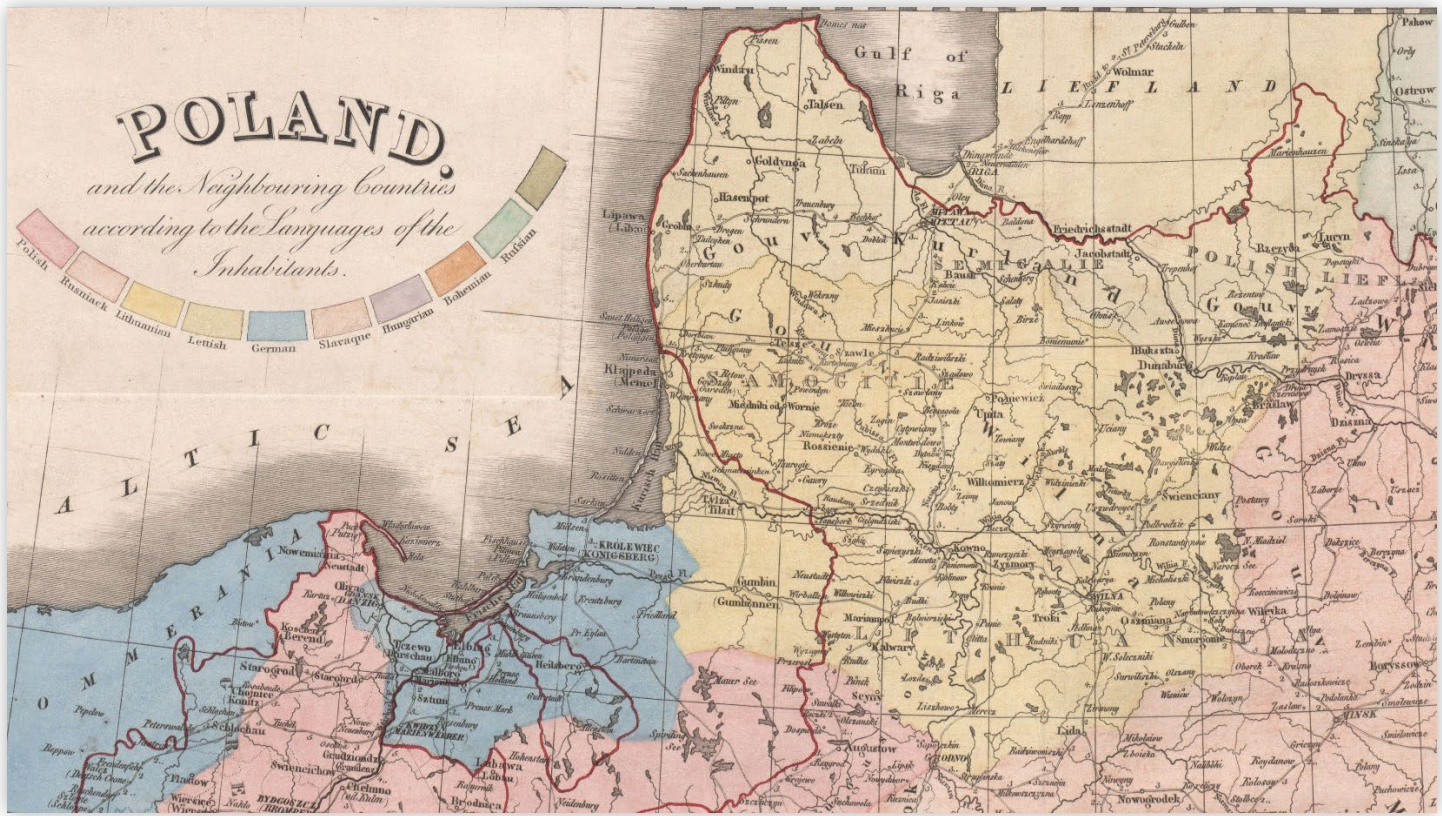
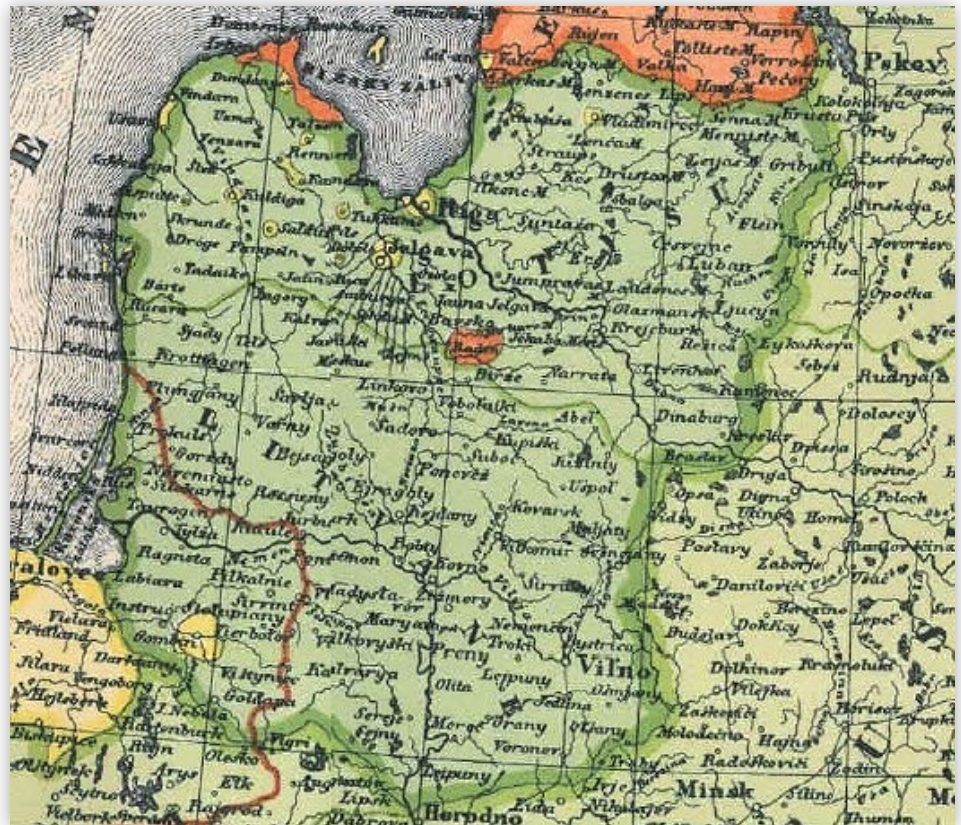


Fig. 4: 1837 Jan Marcin Bansemer - Piotr Falkenhagen-Zaleski: "POLAND and the Neighboring Countries according to the Languages of the Inhabitants," from the James Wyld London-published "Atlas Containing Ten Maps of Poland Exhibiting the Political Changes That Country Has Experienced During the Last Sixty Years, From 1772 to the Present Time..." <http://www.eurotopo.org>



▲ Fig. 5: 1838 Augustin Grosselin (historian/geographer/linguist) - Alexandre Delamarche (publisher): "Carte Ethnographique de L'EUROPE," Paris, from "Atlas de géographie physique, politique et historique." Vilnius University Library: <https://biblioteka.vu.lt> via Tomas Nenartovic



► Fig. 6: 1842 Pavel Josef Šafařík: "Slovanský Zeměvid" (Slavic-settled Territories), Prague, from a 1955 facsimile edition of Šafařík's 1842 "Slovanský Narodopis" (Slavic ethnography). <http://www.historicalbalticmaps.com>

¹ http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/rosstat/smi/stat_2012-10-10.pdf



Fig. 7: 1849 Heinrich Berghaus: "Ethnographische Karte von Europa," published by Justus Perthes, Gotha, from editions of his "Physikalischer Atlas oder Sammlung von Karten..." <http://www.davidrumsey.com>

Since the first independent Poland census was held September 30, 1921, and the first (and only inter-war) independent Lithuania census was held September 17-23, 1923, it was the 1897 Imperial Russian census, which defined "nationality" by the answer to multiple choices of "Mother Tongue," that formed the only statistically-generated ethnographic map. Results of the Russian census are interpreted by counts, percentages and by Russian-census-produced maps at my site, at <http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/1897RussianCensusMaps.html> Using that information, Vytautas Birštonas created a map (Fig. 8) which also is on my site. Using his map as a base, I have created a simplified version (Fig. 9), which, using just two colors, identifies areas where Lithuanian speakers outnumber Polish speakers (red), and where Belarussian speakers outnumber Polish speakers (green). Remember these two maps as you examine both Polish- and Lithuanian-produced ethnic maps from the early 20th century.



Fig. 8: Vytautas Birštonas: "1897 Lithuania Census," created 2016

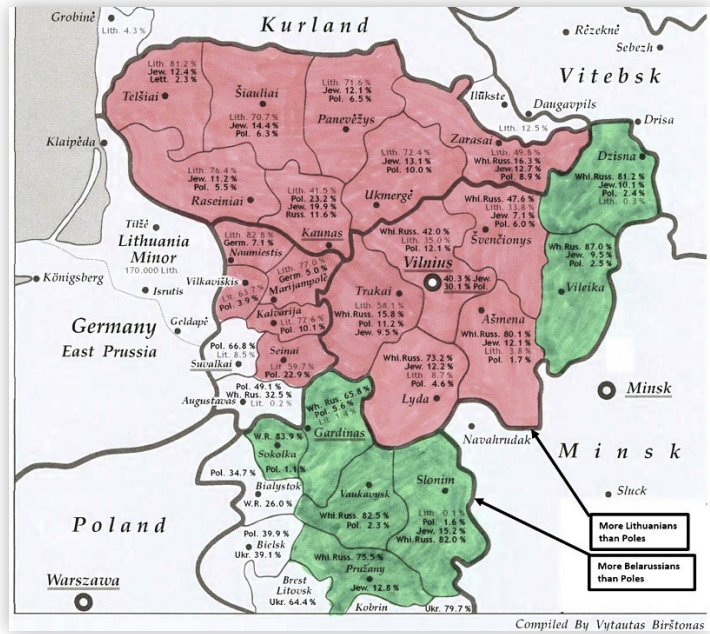


Fig. 9: More Lithuanians (red) & Belarussians (green) than Poles. AK

Early 20th century Polish-produced ethnic maps to support Polish independence

The Polish effort to drum up support for an independent Poland that included Lithuania began years before two key players attended the Versailles deliberations as members of the Polish delegation: Roman Dmowski (mapmaker/founder, in 1897, of the far-right and anti-Semitic National Democratic Party, and political competitor to Józef Piłsudski), and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (pianist/composer/Poland's Prime and Foreign Minister in 1919/political mediator between Dmowski and Piłsudski).

Dmowski was a significant mapmaker of the historic Lithuanian area because of his publication of a series of Polish historical atlases, "Atlas do dziejów Polski zawierający 13 mapek kolorowanych," beginning in 1899, with editions in 1908 and 1920, in which he promoted the historical significance of Poland, often at the expense of Lithuania. Dmowski did not view Lithuanians as having a strong national identity and considered their social organization as tribal. Those areas of Lithuania that had either Polish majorities or minorities were claimed by Dmowski on the grounds of self-determination. In the areas with Polish minorities, the Poles would act as a civilizing influence; only the northern part of Lithuania, which had a solid Lithuanian majority, was Dmowski willing to concede to the Lithuanians². His early plan for Lithuania: autonomy within a Polish state³. This caused Dmowski to have very acrimonious disputes with the Lithuanian delegation at Paris⁴.

Dmowski's 1908 map (Fig. 10) depicts his view of the boundaries of ethnic Poles. Notice the paucity of Poles, except for the city of Vilnius, in eastern Lithuania. The map did not support Piłsudski's vision and gives you an idea of what a Dmowski-defined independent Poland would have looked like.

Polish poet/historian/journalist/editor of the *Wileńskiego Głosu Polskiego* (Vilnius Polish Voice) Czesław Jankowski, concerned for Polish independence aspirations at the

outbreak of WWI in 1914, created "Polska etnograficzna" (Fig. 11). He spoke out against the so-called "Jagiellonian idea," and argued for a focus on Polish ethnographic territory for an effective defense against Russian and German nationalism. Even so, he later had a role in preparing documentation for the League of Nations on why Vilnius should be part of Poland.

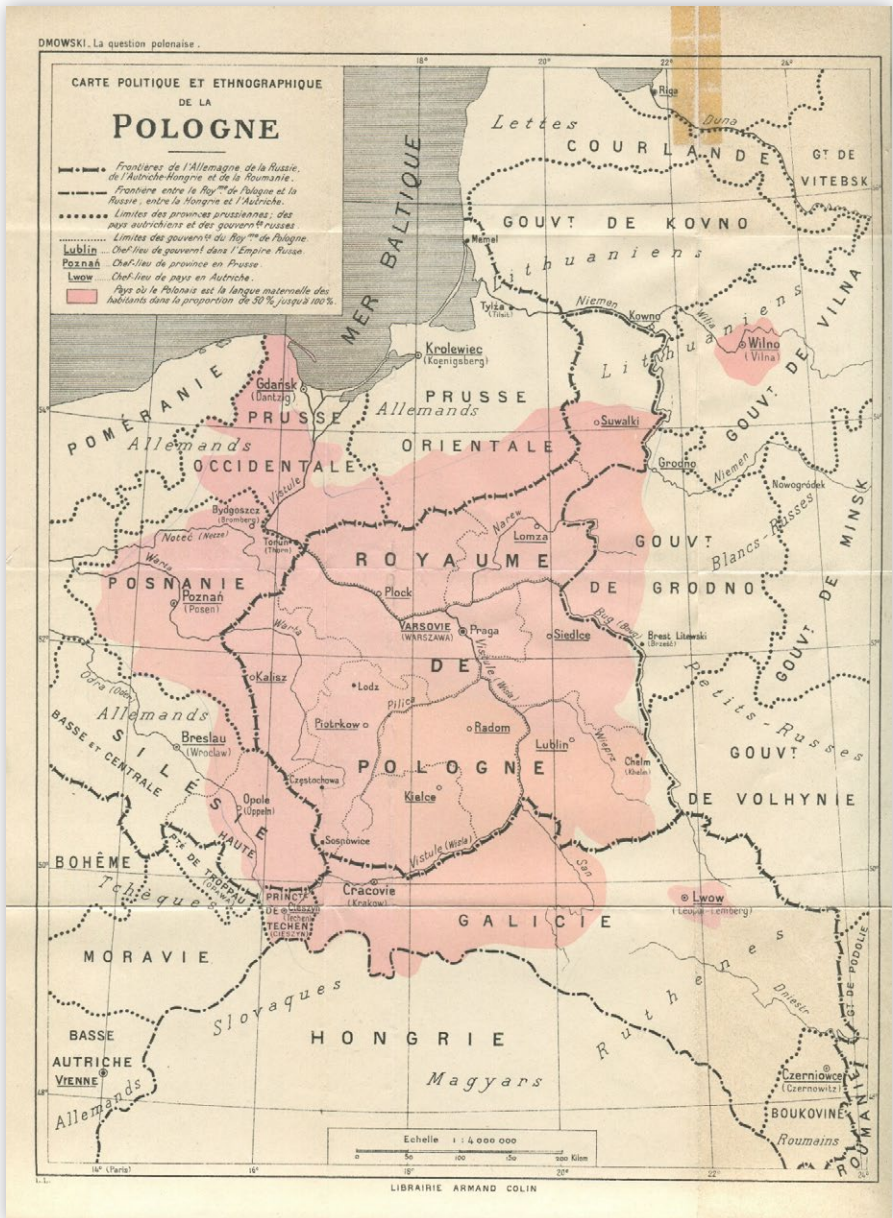


Fig. 10: 1908 Roman Dmowski: "Carte Politique et Ethnographique de la Pologne," from his "Atlas do dziejów Polski zawierający 13 mapek kolorowanych."
<http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/MapsEthnographic.html>

² K. Lundgreen-Nielsen "The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference," Odense Univ. Press, 1979, pp. 131-134 & 231-233

³ A. Walicki "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski," East European Politics & Societies, 1999, 14 (1): 12-46.

⁴ Lundgreen-Nielsen pp. 131-134 & pp. 231-233

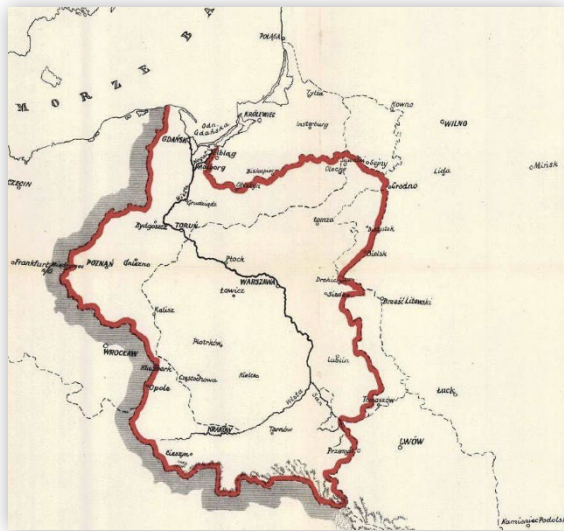


Fig. 11: Detail, 1914 Czesław Jankowski: "Polska etnograficzna" <http://polona.pl/>

Meanwhile, Dmowski, convinced Germany and Austria-Hungary would lose the war, praised Russia's Grand Duke Nicholas's August 14, 1914 "Manifesto to the Polish Nation," which promised his Polish subjects both greater autonomy for "Congress Poland" after the war, and that the Austrian provinces of East and West Galicia, together with the Pomerania province of Prussia, would be annexed to the Kingdom of Poland when the German Empire and Austria-Hungary were defeated⁵. His pro-Russian/anti-German propaganda frustrated the plans of Józef Piłsudski, who, that same month in 1914, "merged his Polish Riflemen and other paramilitary groups to form the Polish Legions to fight on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary against Imperial Russia⁶. Piłsudski considered himself a descendant of the culture and traditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, believing in a multi-ethnic Poland – "a home of nations" including indigenous ethnic and religious minorities that he hoped would establish a robust union with the independent states of Lithuania and Ukraine⁷. Dmowski, in contrast, called for a Poland limited to the pre-Partition Kingdom of Poland, based on a homogeneous ethnically-Polish population and – being a notorious anti-Semite – Roman Catholic identity.

At the end of 1915 Dmowski sailed to London, and "missed no opportunity of besmirching Piłsudski as 'pro-German and 'anti-Allied,' and added to the scare which equated Yiddish-speaking Jews with German agents. He handed lists of Polish activists and Jews to Scotland Yard, and promised Britain's Home Office 'half-a-million or even a million Polish soldiers' who would lay down their lives for the Allied cause, if only the Allied governments would recognize the brand of Polish independence he was now advocating".⁸

In 1916, in Vienna, Polish geographer/cartographer/politician (and future member of the Polish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference) Eugeniusz Romer published the first edition of his "Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski" (*Great Statistical and Geographical Atlas of Poland*), with text and explanations in Polish, German and French (see Fig. 12). "By publishing the Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland, Eugeniusz Romer developed a set of materials to be used both by the Allies (including the American, French and British delegations) and by the Geographical Office via the Polish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) to support Poland's territorial claims. As a result, this work played a major role in shaping the borders of the reborn Republic of Poland."⁹

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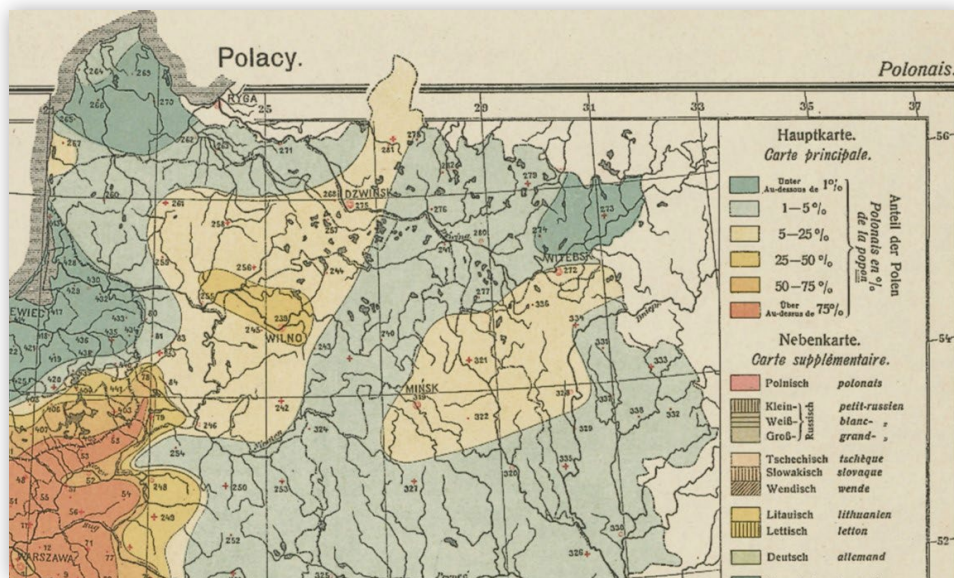


Fig. 12: 1916 Eugeniusz Romer "Polacky," Vienna, from the first edition of his "Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski" (*Great Statistical and Geographical Atlas of Poland*). Note the claimed percentages of Poles in the historic Grand Duchy of Lithuania area: Only the "Wilno" city area has a claimed ethnic Polish population greater than 25%.

⁵ Jerzy Jan Lerski "Historical Dictionary of Poland, 1945-1996." Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996, p. 116

⁶ Norman Davies "God's Playground, Vol. II, 1795 to the Present, Revised" Columbia Univ. Press, 2005, p. 282

⁷ Davies, p. 10

⁸ Davies, p. 285

⁹ Anna Osowska, Dariusz Przybytek "Thematic maps in Eugeniusz Romer's Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland from 1916," Polish Cartographical Review, Vol. 48, 2016, no. 2, p. 86

Polish influence on President Woodrow Wilson and his task force

Just before U.S. entry into the war, in January 1917, Wilson's advisor, "Colonel" Edward Mandell House (*an American diplomat with no military service*), asked Paderewski to prepare a memo on Polish independence. Two weeks later, Wilson spoke before Congress and issued a challenge to what was still the belief in Western Europe: "I take it for granted," he said, "that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, autonomous Poland."

The "February (according to Russia's Julian calendar) Revolution(s)" in March 1917 in Petrograd changed minds, "grudgingly...The first specific joint guarantee by all the Allies for the 'restoration of Poland in its historical and geographic limits' was made, in obscure circumstances, on March 2, 1918."¹⁰

Polish independence became Point 13 of Wilson's 14, announced in January 1918 in an address to Congress.¹¹ In 1917-18, a postcard map created, but unsigned, by Eugeniusz Romer

(Fig. 13) ramped up the rhetoric for Polish independence, and surely found its way to the map experts of Wilson's "Inquiry" group. "Plainly propaganda" according to Steven Seegel's "Mapping Europe's Borderlands." The map was published by the Polish National Committee (*Komitet Narodowy Polski*), formed in Lausanne on August 15, 1917 by Roman Dmowski, with Paderewski as a member. The Committee's goal: support the Allies by creating a Polish Army to fight alongside it in exchange for support for an independent Poland. In September 1917, the Committee was recognized by the French as the legitimate representative of Poland. The British and Americans agreed in 1918. In January 1919, the Committee recognized Paderewski as the legitimate leader in exile of Poland and dissolved itself. Note, on Romer's map, the greatly exaggerated breadth of the darkest red color depicting high density of ethnic Poles. Compare it to the maps in Figs. 8 and 9.

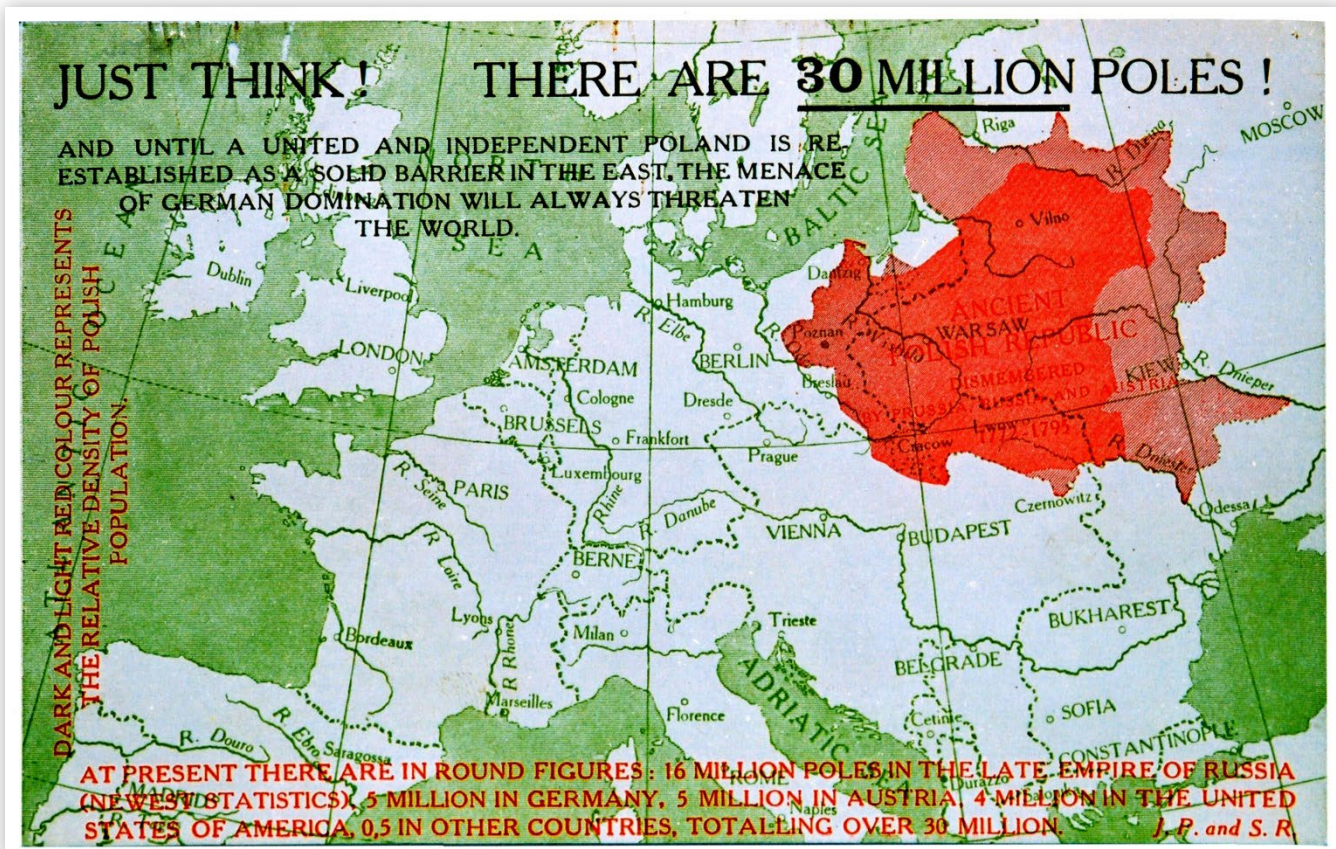


Fig. 13: 1917-18 Eugeniusz Romer: "Just think! There are 30 Million Poles!" A postcard printed in Lausanne by the Polish National Committee, without any reference to Lithuania.

<http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/MapsEthnographic.html>

¹⁰ Davies, p. 286

¹¹ Hanna Marczevska-Zagdanska and Janina Dorosz "Wilson - Paderewski - Masaryk: Their Visions of Independence and Conceptions of how to Organize Europe," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 1996, Issue 73, pp. 55-69.

Lithuanian-produced ethnic maps to support Lithuanian independence

The 1911 map of Lithuania in Fig. 14 by archaeologist/ engineer/publisher V. Verbickas was the first Lithuanian-created ethnographic map of which I'm aware, and the first in a series of such maps making what I consider a tactical and strategic mistake, a map focused on the boundaries of Lithuanian-speakers, only, ignoring both the multi-ethnic nature and the geography of the Grand Duchy, leaving those lines of argument to the Poles.

Juozas Gabrys/Paršaitis was a Lithuanian politician and diplomat, best remembered for his efforts to popularize the idea of Lithuania's independence in the West during World War I, while he oversaw the Lithuanian Information Office in Paris. A detail image of his 1918 map is depicted in Fig. 15a.



Fig. 14: V. Verbickas "Lietuvos žemėlapis su etnografijos siena" (Map of Lithuania with ethnographic borders), published in St. Petersburg by the I'in firm, and in Kaunas by "Lietuvos ūkininko" (Lithuanian Farmer). From the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences: <http://www.elibrary.mab.lt/>

Preparations before the peace talks, and Lithuanian attendees' hopes

In 1917, a year before the end of WWI, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson secretly convened a group of experts to create a groundwork for peace talks. The goal of the group, called "The Inquiry," was to accumulate data that would allow unbiased advice for an American delegation.¹⁶ The group consisted of over 150 scholars, who ultimately created nearly 2,000 reports and 1,200 maps, and its chief cartographer was Isaiah Bowman. When the U.S. entered WWI in 1917, Bowman placed the resources of the American Geographical Society, where he had been Director since 1915, at the government's service. He sailed for France in December 1918 as Chief Territorial Specialist, playing a major role in recommending national

borders. On January 21, 1919, "The Inquiry" published its final report, which came to be known as "The Black Book."¹⁷

Wilson's 14 Points were designed to undermine the Central Powers' will to continue World War I and to inspire the Allies to victory. They were broadcast throughout the world and rained down from rockets and shells behind enemy lines. When the Allies met in Versailles beginning in January 1919 to formulate the treaty to end World War I with Germany and Austria-Hungary, most of Wilson's 14 Points were dropped by the leaders of England and France. Wilson discovered that England, France, and Italy were mostly interested in regaining what they had lost and in gaining more by punishing Germany (Fig. 18).



Fig. 18: 1919 Burt Randolph Thomas, The Detroit News in Review of Reviews, Vol. 59, No. 6, pp. 570

¹⁶ Lawrence Gelfand "The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace 1917 – 1919," Yale Univ. Press, 1963

¹⁷ Gladys Wrigley "Isaiah Bowman," American Geographical Society, 1951, p. 35

Germany found out that Wilson's blueprint for world peace didn't apply to them. But Wilson's call for a world organization that would provide a system of collective security was incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles and would later be known as the League of Nations. (*Back in the U.S. after the treaty was signed, Wilson campaigned to overcome opposition in the U.S. Senate to the adoption of the treaty and membership in the League, but the treaty was never adopted by the Senate, and the U.S. never joined the League of Nations.*)

Points 6 to 13 concerned territorial issues, relating to Russia, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey, and Poland. Point XIII: "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant." Lithuania's territorial claims were not mentioned, were considered part of Polish boundary issues, and Lithuanian attendees at Versailles signed no treaties. (*However, Dmowski and Paderewski signed, on June 28, 1919 – the same day the Treaty of Versailles was signed – the "Polish Minority Treaty," between Poland and Germany, in exchange for Polish independence. Article 93 of the Treaty of Versailles stated that: "Poland accepts...provisions...to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion." 18 In addition, the treaty declared that Poland had to take over a part of debts of Russian state and grant a most favored nation clause in transit trade to "Allied and Associated States" (Articles 14-18)*)

Lithuanian nationalists were hopeful that the conference would settle major issues regarding independence for Lithuania. "Their delegation to Versailles included 11 European-based Lithuanians, headed by then Lithuanian Minister of Foreign

Affairs Augustinas Voldemaras, four Lithuanian-Americans, and one representing Lithuania Minor. Their primary tasks:

- to express strict demands for the independence of Lithuania, rejecting any other political combinations until the issue of Lithuania's independence is properly solved
- the borders of the Lithuanian state have to be established following the ethnographical principle with necessary economic corrections, and the borders going along the seacoast through Liepāja and Klaipėda...with the capital in Vilnius
- the Lithuanian state has to accede to the community of the League of Nations." 19

"The first goal of the Lithuanians was to be admitted to the conference as a belligerent. On February 16, 1919, their delegation arrived at Paris and asked Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, and leader of the French delegation, to be allowed officially to present their case to the conference. Lithuania was not admitted and was treated only as a de facto state." 20 Representatives from the Belarussian S.S.R. also were not admitted to the negotiations – their interests were represented visually via a 1918 map showing their preferred territorial boundaries (Fig. 19).

Once the conference opened, several groups were created to handle the negotiations and shape the new treaties. The Council of Four: the U.S., Great Britain, France and Italy – also referred to as the "Big Four," made the real decisions. 21 In 98 pages, including 23 maps, The Inquiry's report would go on to greatly influence final policy decisions made in Paris, and indeed redraw the map of the world. 22 But not only border proposal maps in the Black Book, but ethnographic maps were often used by American delegates. 23

The Black Book recommended status of the Baltic states? "It is recommended that encouragement be given...to the reunion with Russia of those border regions of the south and west which have broken away and set up their own national governments, particularly the Baltic Provinces [Lithuania declared independence on February 16, 1918, Estonia on February 23, and Latvia on November 18] and the Ukraine, if reunion can be accomplished within a federalized or genuinely democratic Russia...On the other hand, if the Bolshevik government is in power and is continuing its present course



Fig. 19: "Беларуская (тарашкевіца): Мапа Беларускай Народнай Рэспублікі (Russian: Карта Белорусской Народной Республики) (Map of the territory claimed by the Belarussian National Republic) wikimedia

at the time when Russian territorial questions are settled at the peace conference, there seems to be no alternative to accepting the independence and tracing the frontiers of all the non-Russian nationalities under discussion. It may however, be advisable to make recognition of such countries as the Ukraine or the Esth or Lettish republics conditional upon the holding of a referendum some years later upon the question of reunion with Russia.”²⁴

“The committees of experts attached to the delegations of the various powers felt, at the outset, that future Poland and Lithuania would form one state. Their recommendations were largely presented with this assumption even if it was not expressly stated. Isaiah Bowman of the American Intelligence Section believed Memel should go to Lithuania.²⁵ Harvard Professor Frank Golder, the Lithuanian expert in the Intelligence Section, appeared to agree.²⁶ The French Comité d'Etudes and more particularly Professor A. Meillet, in charge of Polish-Lithuanian affairs, said Memel should go to Lithuania within a Polish-Lithuanian state.”²⁷

On January 29, 1919, Poland's Dmowski met with the Allies' Supreme War Council for the first time; his five-hour presentation there, delivered in English and French, was described as

brilliant. The success of his nationalistic ideas, also adopted and propagated by nationalists in other countries (such as Lithuania and Ukraine), contributed to the disappearance of the tolerant, multicultural Polish-Lithuanian identity.²⁸

Polish boundary recommendations for Lithuania and Poland at Versailles

Polish cartographer/Versailles delegate Roman Dmowski submitted two hand-drawn maps, Figs. 20 and 21, as appendixes to his October 8, 1918 memo to President Wilson. It shows “Lithunia” (*an intentional misspelling?*) as a separate entity, along with so-called “Polish Livonia,” within a “Greater Poland.” “Polish Livonia” was actually “*Livonijos vaivadija*” – “Lithuanian Livonia” – within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since 1561. Under the terms of the 1569 Union of Lublin, it (*today's Latgale in Latvia*) became jointly administered with the Kingdom of Poland. In addition, bearing in mind the true ethnic/language breakout in the historic Lithuanian area (as depicted in Figs. 8 and 9) note Dmowski's totally false coloring of the area around and east of Vilnius as “50% to 100% Polish.”

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Fig. 20: Roman Dmowski, October 8, 1918: “The Political Subdivision of the Polish Territory before the war and its linguistic areas,”



Fig. 21: “The Proposed Frontiers of Poland,” both including, in the legend: “Lithuianians” [sic] U.S. Library of Congress via <http://www.mapywig.org>

¹⁸ Text of the Treaty of Versailles Archived 2008-02-14 at the Wayback Machine. <https://archive.org/web/>

¹⁹ Sandra Grigaravičiūtė “History of Lithuanian Diplomacy, 1918 – 1940,” Lithuanian Univ. of Educational Sciences, 2003, p.30

²⁰ Romuald J. Misiūnas “Versailles and Memel,” *Lituanus*, Spring 1968, Vol. 14, No.1

²¹ Wesley J. Reisser “The Black Book: Woodrow Wilson’s Secret Plan for Peace,” Lexington Books, 2012, p. 22

²² Reisser: p. 33

²³ Reisser: p. 38

²⁴ “Black Book” 1919, p. 16

²⁵ Isaiah Bowman: “The New World: Problems in Political Geography,” World Book Co., 1921, p. 194

²⁶ Kazys Pakštas: “Amerikos oficialioji nuomone Lietuvos ribų klausimu 1919m.,” *Aidai*, May 1959, p. 193

²⁷ M. Urbšienė: “Klaipėdos Krašto Istorijos Paraštėje,” *Kaunas*, 1934, p. 14 <https://www.sena.lt/istorija>

²⁸ Walicki, p. 19-20

Five months later, the March 3, 1919 transcripts of the Polish Delegation's positioning to the Paris Peace Conference on the eastern borders of Poland [translated to English via Google]²⁹ show an attempted rewrite of history. I will not attempt to refute all the falsehoods, except the first: "Northwestern Poland" under Russian administration, includes six Lithuanian and Belarusian Governors: Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk,

Mohylov and Vitebsk. ["Northwestern Poland" was actually "Northwestern Krai" (Russian: Северо-Западный край), an unofficial subdivision (krai) of the Russian Empire in the territories of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, NOT, at all, part of the Kingdom of Poland. The lie is easily disproven by the 1916 map of "Litwy i Bialej Rusi" in Fig. 2 and the 1890 map of "Бѣлоруссія и Литва" in Fig. 23.]



Fig. 22: 1890 Pompei Nikolaevich Batyushkov: "Бѣлоруссія и Литва" (Belorussia and Litva). The British Library via wikicommons

²⁹ <http://www.ibidem.com.pl/zrodla/1918-1939/polityka/miedzynarodowa/1919-03-03-nota-granice-wschodnie.html>

“These lands formed the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which in the 16th century freely joined Poland from 1569 to become an integral part of the Polish State, united in a joint Sejm...the national population – everything that rises above the peasant masses – adopted the Polish language, customs and nationality, and even the peasants who kept their Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ruthenian dialects finally achieved loyalty towards the Polish State. For example, Lithuanians from the Kovno and Vilna governorates took a much more active participation in the last Polish Uprising in 1863 than in the Kingdom of Congress. The efforts of the Russian government, a policy of oppression towards the Poles, was centered especially on [Lithuania].

“Especially since 1864, the whole system of very strict exceptional laws was raised against Polishness, and at the same time the Russian government spread strong anti-Polish propaganda between the peoples of Lithuania and Ruthenia. This propaganda triggered separatist tendencies in Lithuanian people, around 1880, poisoned by hatred of the Polish nation. The demagogic machinations of Russian agents in the Belarussian and Ruthenian lands, to instill a national Russian sense, incited the popular masses against the higher and richer classes. This did not contribute to strengthening Russian patriotism, but it prepared a ground that was prone to anarchy and Bolshevism. The only undeniable effect of this anti-Polish policy was the serious weakening of Polish influence, especially in the eastern part of the country, which at the time of the partitions was also of a decidedly Polish character. This area, including the Kiev region, the eastern part of Podolia and Volhynia, the eastern part of the Minsk Governorate, the Mogilev and Vitebsk governorate, turned into a politically disorganized country... In this land, there is no element strong enough and capable enough to create a permanent government.

“It is for this reason that the Polish State will not regain, however regrettably, this eastern belt of the country.

“The reincorporation of these provinces to Poland would destroy its cohesion and power, which are so necessary for it because of its very difficult geographical situation. At the same time, the fact that the Lithuanian national movement, though still young, has made considerable progress, the Polish government considers that the Lithuanian language area: Kovno province, part of the Vilnius province to the northwest of the Troki, Święciany, and Jezioras lines, the part of the Suwałki Governorate north of Sejny, and finally part of East Prussia, including the lower course and the mouth of the Nemunas, should be organized as a separate country within the borders of the Polish State and should receive a special system based on the rights of Lithuanian nationality.

“On the basis of the above-mentioned principles, the north-eastern, eastern and southeastern border of the Polish state would look as follows: starting from the Baltic coast to the east of Łabiawa [Liepāja], the border follows the coast line

towards the north through Klaipeda and Palanga. Palanga is now located in the province of Courland, to which, along with the area was incorporated in 1841, it belongs to the territory of Poland. The Polish state revives it and extends its recovery to the north of Łabiawa for geographical and economic reasons, reinforced by the fact that half of Łabiawa's population is Polish and Lithuanian...

“The territory reclaimed by the Polish State in its eastern borders includes in the northern part the country of Lithuanian language majority, where 15% to 25% of the population is of the Polish language; further south of the territory having a Polish language majority centered in Vilnius. Further to the south it covers the swamps of Polesie with its sparse population, speaking Polish, Belarusian and Russian, and finally, just south of the territory of Volhynia with a small part of western Podole, inhabited by the population, mostly speaking Russian, where a strong Polish minority represents the only intellectual and economic strength of the country.”

American boundary recommendations for Poland and Lithuania at Versailles

Robert Lansing was U.S. Secretary of State under President Wilson from 1915 to 1920. In 1919, he became the nominal head of the US Commission to the Paris Peace Conference. In his memoirs, he states: “I prepared, on September 21, 1918, a memorandum of my views as to the territorial settlements which would form, not instructions, but a guide in the drafting of instructions for the American Commissioners...”

“*Second:* The Baltic Provinces of Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia should be autonomous states of a Russian Confederation.

“*Fourth:* An independent Poland, composed of Polish provinces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and in possession of the port of Danzig.

“On several occasions I spoke to the President about a program for the work of the Commission and its corps of experts, but he seemed indisposed to consider the subject and gave the impression that he intended to call on the experts for his own information which would be all that was necessary. I knew that Col. House was directing the preparation of certain data [via “The Inquiry’ group], but whether he was doing so under the President's directions I did not know, though I presumed such was the case. Whatever data was furnished did not, however, pass through the hands of the other Commissioners who met every morning in my office to exchange information and discuss matters pertaining to the negotiations and to direct the routine work of the Commission.

“Whatever was the chief reason for the President's failure to furnish a working plan to the American Commissioners, he knowingly adopted the policy and clung to it with the tenacity of purpose which has been one of the qualities of mind that account for his great successes and for his great failures.”³⁰

³⁰ Robert Lansing “The Peace Negotiations” 2005, 1stworld Library

Bowman's Black Book map of Poland and Lithuania (Fig. 23) proposed a Polish state that was much smaller than the one finally created at the Paris Peace Conference (Fig. 3) in January 1920. Much of what was allocated to Lithuania by the

"Inquiry" would end up in Poland, along with areas considered for addition to Ukraine that were also taken by Poland after the conference ended.³¹



Fig. 23: 1919 Isaiah Bowman, "Poland, Lithuania and Western Ukraine. Johns Hopkins Univ. Bowman Papers MS 58 13.13

To be continued.

The next article, Part 6, will take you up to March 18, 1921, when the Riga Peace Treaty finalized the borders of Lithuania, Poland and the Byelorussian S.S.R. until the start of World War II.

³¹ Reisser p. 9

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