

# The PORTOLAN

Issue 117 Fall 2023

JOURNAL OF THE WASHINGTON MAP SOCIETY

Page 8

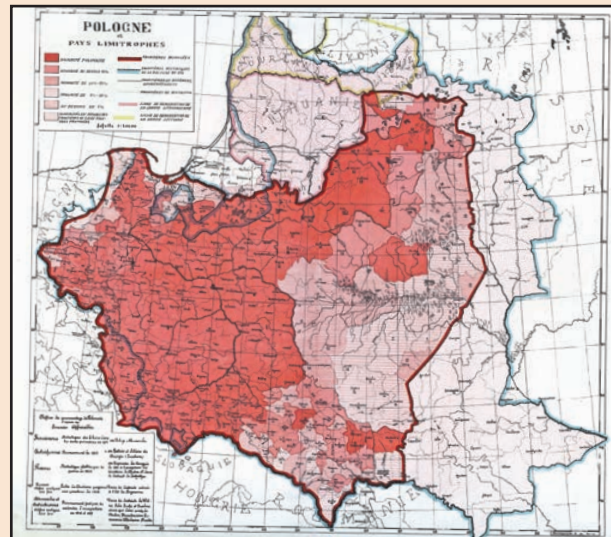
## How Doctored Ethnic Maps Helped Determine the Eastern Boundaries of Post-WWI Lithuania and Poland

by Andrew Kapochunas

Polish mapmaker/future delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference Roman Dmowski's aspirations for free Poland's boundaries "evolved" 1908–19.



1908 R. Dmowski: "Carte Politique et Ethno-graphique de la Pologne," from "Atlas do dziejów Polski..." Pink = 50-100% Polish [www.mapywig.org](http://www.mapywig.org).



1919 R. Dmowski: Polish territorial demands at the Paris Peace Conference with "Dmowski's Line" on an ethnographic map now showing, in darkest red, "Polish majority," and a blue border depicting "Poland's"—not the Commonwealth's—borders in 1772. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/show-content/publication/edition/470154?id=470154>.

### In This Issue

page 27

In Conversation with  
David Rumsey  
by John Hessler

page 30

Mapping the First  
Cases of COVID-19  
by John Hessler

page 31

Maps in Current Exhibits at the  
National Portrait Gallery  
by Ronald Grim

page 35

USNS Marie Tharp – Navy  
Renames Survey Ship  
by mil.com

page 48

WMS Business  
Meeting 2023  
by Harold E. Meinheit

page 50

WMS Annual  
Dinner 2023  
by Tom Sander

<https://WashMapSociety.org>



**WASHINGTON**  
**MAP SOCIETY**  
EXPLORING THE WORLD OF MAPS

## OFFICERS, 2023–2024

**Jeffrey Katz**  
President

**Ron Grim**  
Vice President/Programs

**Peter Porrazzo**  
Treasurer

**Harold Meinheit**  
Secretary

## OTHER DIRECTORS 2023–2024

**Kris Butler, John Docktor, Cassandra Farrell, Tom Litke, Carissa Pastuch, Andy Rhodes, Tom Sander, Eliane Dotson**  
(*ex-officio*)

**Thomas F. Sander**  
Editor, *The Portolan*  
Fulfillment, *The Portolan*  
[wms.ThePortolan@gmail.com](mailto:wms.ThePortolan@gmail.com)

**Matt Mingus**  
Book Reviews Editor, *The Portolan*  
[reviews@wmsdc.org](mailto:reviews@wmsdc.org)

**Louis Miller**  
Recent Publications, *The Portolan*  
[louis.miller@maine.edu](mailto:louis.miller@maine.edu)

**Manuel Knight**  
Advertising/Institutional Liaison  
[manuel.knight@gmail.com](mailto:manuel.knight@gmail.com)

## SEND ALL NON-PORTOLAN CORRESPONDENCE TO:

**John W. Docktor**  
3158 Gracefield Rd., Apt. 103  
Silver Spring MD 20904-0817  
[washmap@gmail.com](mailto:washmap@gmail.com)

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

**Richard Pflederer** – Chair  
**Cyrus Ala'i**

**Imre Josef Demhardt**  
**Ralph E. Ehrenberg**  
**John R. Hébert**

**Peter van der Krogt**  
**Eliane Dotson**

Webmaster  
[webmaster@wmsdc.org](mailto:webmaster@wmsdc.org)

**The Word Express, Inc**  
*Portolan Design and Layout*

*The Portolan* (ISSN 1096-1925) is published three times per year by the Washington Map Society. The Society is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization under section 501(c)(3) of the IRS code. All donations are tax deductible to the extent allowed by law. Annual print subscription rates: US: \$65 (1st yr student rate \$25); Canada \$70; All other countries: \$85; Single Copy to U.S: \$14.00; Canada \$17; Other countries: \$21. Annual digital subscription rates: New member \$25 first year; then \$40. All payments are to be made in U.S. currency. Internet Address: <https://WashMapSociety.org>. Address all editorial correspondence to the Editor. Viewpoints of the authors do not necessarily reflect those of the Society.

© 2023 Washington Map Society

# Contents – *The Portolan* – Issue 117 – Fall 2023

President's Fall 2023 Letter <i>Jeffrey Katz</i>	2
Ristow Prize Competition 2024	3
Washington Map Society Meetings, Fall/Winter 2023	4
Exhibitions and Meetings	5
Map Site Seeing	7
How Doctored Ethnic Maps Helped Determine the Eastern Boundaries of Post-WWI Lithuania and Poland <i>Andrew Kapochunas</i>	8
In Conversation with David Rumsey <i>John Hessler</i>	27
Mapping the First Cases of COVID <i>John Hessler</i>	30
Maps in Current Exhibits at the National Portrait Gallery <i>Ron Grim</i>	31
Join The Editorial Advisory Board	34
Ten Key Points for Map Collectors <i>Rodney Shirley</i>	34
USNS Marie Tharp – Navy Renames Survey Ship <i>mil.com</i>	35
Book Reviews: Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Cartography of the Americas <i>Roberto Chauca</i>	36
The Invention of the Maghreb: Between Africa and the Middle East <i>Laura Townsend</i>	38
More City than Water: A Houston Flood Atlas <i>G. Riley Hetherington, III</i>	40
"Westward the Course of Empire": Exploring and Settling the American West, 1803–1869: Books and Maps from the Collection of J. C. McElveen, Jr. <i>Michael Gunther</i>	42
Surveying in Early America: The Point of Beginning, An Illustrated History <i>Andrew Adamson</i>	44
Mapping Fairy-Tale Space: Pastiche and Metafiction in Borderless Tales <i>Keri Stevenson</i>	46
Index to Our Advertisers	47
WMS Business Meeting, April 19, 2023 <i>Harold E. Meinheit</i>	48
WMS Annual Dinner, May 19, 2023 <i>Tom Sander</i>	50
Cartographic Notes <i>Tom Sander</i>	52
Recent Publications <i>Louis Miller</i>	53

## From the Editor

This issue covers a wide range of cartographic interests. With Russia now trying to redraw their border with Ukraine, it is most timely that Andrew Kapochunas enlightens us with border-making following World War I—the video of his January presentation on related material is in the Members Area of the WMS website. David Rumsey is an icon of the cartographic world, and we are pleased to have captured an insightful conversation he had about maps, past and future. COVID looms again as we enter the Fall months, and an article looks back at the first COVID cases. Those able to visit the National Portrait Gallery in Washington in the coming months would do well to read Ron Grim's map observations of his visit there—links in the article take you there if you are unable to personally visit. For the first time ever, this journal is carrying six book reviews on an amazing range of map topics. Our fall issue contains its usual reports on the WMS business and dinner meetings of last Spring. Louis Miller presents his first compilation of Recent Publications—yet another cartographic feast! Enjoy!

*Tom*

# How Doctored Ethnic Maps Helped Determine the Eastern Boundaries of Post-WWI Lithuania and Poland

By Andrew Kapochunas

Mark Monmonier, in his “How to Lie with Maps”<sup>1</sup> says, at the chapter titled “Maps for Political Propaganda,” “A good propagandist knows how to shape opinion by manipulating maps. Political persuasion often concerns territorial claims, nationalities, national pride, borders, strategic positions, conquests, attacks, troop movements, defenses, spheres of influence, regional inequality, and other geographic phenomena conveniently portrayed cartographically. The propagandist molds the map’s message by emphasizing supporting features, suppressing contradictory information, and choosing provocative, dramatic symbols. People trust maps, and intriguing maps attract the eye as well as connote authority. Naïve citizens willingly accept as truth maps that are based on a biased and sometimes fraudulent selection of facts.”

The rebirth of Poland [commonly and mistakenly defined as both the historic Kingdom of Poland (KP) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC), as the result of hundreds of years of mislabeling by mapmakers] was one of America’s major goals when it entered the First World War.<sup>2</sup> The only new state creation mentioned in U.S. President Woodrow Wilson’s January 8, 1918 “Fourteen Points” speech to Congress, was point XIII: “An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations...” While Wilson’s verbiage did not say “indisputably majority Polish populations,” he supported the creation of a Poland only within regions where there was a Polish majority.<sup>3</sup>

This article will show that, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, propagandist-mapmakers, intent on restoring a “republic” that never was (republics don’t have monarchs elected by nobles), created ethnic maps that either inflated the actual presence of Polish-speakers, or depicted percentages for Polish-speakers that appear not to have been based on reliable government census data. Such maps successfully resulted in Wilson’s cartographic team promoting post-WWI eastern Polish boundaries that included areas where Poles appeared to be in the minority, areas contiguous to Lithuania and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

An understanding of the reasons for those boundary suggestions begins with knowledge of the boundaries and

ethnic makeup of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) before and after the 1569 Union of Lublin, which created the PLC. In **Figure 1** the GDL is colored in three different shades of green, while the KP is colored pink. In **Figure 2** the reduced GDL is colored green, and the enlarged KP is colored pink. The enlargement of the KP at the expense of the GDL was the price paid by the GDL, concerned with the increasing threat of both the Empire of Russia in the east, and the Livonian Order in the north, for political and defensive union. One of the points of contention was the Polish demand to be able to settle in and own land in the GDL. Lithuanian negotiators refused, and the Polish king responded by annexing much of the GDL’s territory—representing over half of today’s Ukraine, with wide approval from the local gentry.<sup>4</sup> Nobles there were eager to capitalize on the economic and political opportunities offered by the Polish sphere, and by and large, wanted their lands to become a part of the Polish Crown.<sup>5</sup> Lithuanians were forced to return to the negotiating table, but still objected to the Polish demand for full incorporation of the GDL into the KP. Lithuanians finally agreed to a partially-self-governing state within the PLC with its own ministries, laws, treasury, and army.<sup>6</sup>

The GDL, originally a warrior state which existed as a hereditary monarchy from 1230 until 1572 (with a brief period as a Kingdom from 1251–63), and then as an elective monarchy in union with the KP until 1795, was “...a curious organism, ruled from Wilno/Vilna/Vilnius in the north by a Lithuanian aristocracy which was gradually Polonized. Yet the mass of the populace, like the language of administration, was Ruthenian. After the constitutional union with Poland in 1569, it maintained its separate identity...”<sup>7</sup>

As a result of the union, hundreds of thousands of Eastern Slavic: Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian<sup>8</sup>—but not “Polish”—speakers, the ethnic majority of the GDL (current estimates are that only 10–15% of the GDL at its greatest extent were ethnic Lithuanians,<sup>9</sup> who made no attempt to impose their language)—became part of the KP. Claiming them as “Poles” will be seen as an essential element supporting Polish post-WWI boundary aspirations.



**FIGURE 1.** "POLSKA w. ostatniem dziesięcioleciu XV w." [Poland in the last decade of the 15th century]. Objaśnienie [Legend]: pink: "Ziemia Korony Polskiej" [Lands of the Polish Crown]; dark green: "Ziemia Litewskiego" [Lithuanian Lands]; orange: Duchy of Prussia, Moldavia; pale green: "Ziemia utracone przez rozzejm 1494 r." [Lands lost by the Truce of 1494 (as an outcome of the first Lithuanian–Muscovite War, 1487–1494, the first territorial loss of the GDL to the Grand Duchy of Moscow)]; medium green: "Ziemia utracona 1500 r." [Lands lost in 1500 (in the second Lithuanian–Muscovite War)]. Eligiusz Niewiadomski, from the 1920 edition of his "Atlas do Dziejów Polski." [Atlas of Polish History]. From the Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1494-1500\\_Atlas\\_Niewiadomski\\_1920\\_p14\\_Polska\\_w\\_ost\\_10leciu\\_mapywig.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1494-1500_Atlas_Niewiadomski_1920_p14_Polska_w_ost_10leciu_mapywig.jpg) The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1430 encompassed an estimated 930,000 km<sup>2</sup> (360,000 sq mi).<sup>10</sup>

**FIGURE 2.** "POLSKA za Stefana Batorego r. 1586. Podział ziem według Unii Lubelskiej r. 1569" [POLAND under Stefan Batory, 1586. Division of lands according to the Union of Lublin, 1569]. Objaśnienie [Legend]: pink: "Ziemia Koronne" [Crown lands]; green: "Ziemia Litewska" [Lithuanian lands]; orange: Duchy of Prussia, Courland; purple: "Inflanty wspólność Litwy i Korony" [Livonia, joint property of Lithuania and the Crown]. Eligiusz Niewiadomski, from the 1920 edition of his "Atlas do Dziejów Polski" [Atlas of Polish History]. From the Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1586\\_Atlas\\_Niewiadomski\\_1920\\_p15\\_Polska\\_za\\_Stef\\_Bator\\_mapywig.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1586_Atlas_Niewiadomski_1920_p15_Polska_za_Stef_Bator_mapywig.jpg) The reduced GDL in 1572 had lost 66% of its lands to the Kingdom of Poland, and now encompassed just an estimated 320,000 km<sup>2</sup> (120,000 sq mi).<sup>11</sup>





**FIGURE 3.** "A Map of the Kingdom of Poland," 1762, Thomas Kitchin. Courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps, La Jolla, CA. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1762\\_kitchin\\_a\\_map\\_of\\_the\\_kingdom\\_raremaps.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1762_kitchin_a_map_of_the_kingdom_raremaps.jpg).



**FIGURE 4.** "Poloniæ Regnum ut et Magni Ducat. Lithuaniae" [Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania] 1758–63, T.C. Lotter, M. Seutter. Courtesy of Old Times Rare Books, Perugia, Italy. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1762\\_63\\_lotter\\_polonia\\_regnum\\_ut\\_et\\_magni\\_lithuania\\_cesgia2.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1762_63_lotter_polonia_regnum_ut_et_magni_lithuania_cesgia2.jpg).

For hundreds of years after the union, and continuing to this day, many mapmakers, like Kitchin, as in **Figure 3**, mislabeled the PLC "Kingdom of Poland" or "Poland," labeling the GDL, if at all, as if it were a province of the

KP rather than an equal partner. Other mapmakers, like Lotter, as in **Figure 4**, correctly labeled the GDL.

1795 saw the last of three partitions of the PLC by the Habsburg monarchy (which had gained about a total of



**FIGURE 5.** “Литовской губерния” [Litovskoi (Lithuanian) guberniya]. 1800, A.M. Vil’brekht St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, via wikimedia. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1800\\_Lithuanian\\_governorate\\_map\\_wikimedia2.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1800_Lithuanian_governorate_map_wikimedia2.jpg).

18% of PLC lands), the Kingdom of Prussia (which had gained about 20% of PLC lands), and the Empire of Russia (which had gained about 62% of PLC lands<sup>12</sup>). Russia either created or enlarged 12 provinces—or guberniyas—with its territorial gains. After the 1815 Congress of Vienna, Russia created a semi-autonomous entity called “Congress Poland” out of some of those guberniyas, a puppet state in a personal union with Russia.<sup>13</sup> After the failure of the 1830–31 November Uprising (also known as the Polish–Russian War) by Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians, Russian Emperor Nicholas I issued the Organic Statute in 1832,<sup>14</sup> according to which Congress Poland lost any autonomy and became an integral part of the Russian Empire until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Meanwhile, the label “Lithuania” for areas where ethnic Lithuanians lived, continued to show up on maps of Russia—initially as part of a guberniya name, as in **Figure 5**, until 1840, and then as an ethnic area on 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century maps by German, Russian and even some Polish mapmakers, as in **Figures 6** and **7**.

Not all mapmakers chose to continue to identify Lithuanian lands. Jan Bansemer, one of a number of Polish politician/geographer/mapmakers who fled to France after the 1830–31 November Uprising, created an influential atlas in 1837<sup>15</sup> meant to keep alive hopes for Poland’s independence not only among the 50,000 people forced to leave Poland in autumn 1831<sup>16</sup> but among those who stayed. His ethnicity-by-language map from that atlas, a detail of which is shown in **Figure 8**, mistakenly depicts

“Poland’s” boundaries as those of the PLC. Of note, his area colored dark yellow = Lithuanian language, includes not only Wilna/Vilnius, the GDL’s historic capital, never part of the KP, but also regions to the south and east of it, including Grodno and Lida. All three cities would, after WWI, be promoted as “Polish” at Versailles by Polish attendees, as were large areas colored light pink identified as “Rusniak-” and “Slavique”-speaking (meaning non-Polish Slavic languages). In addition, the eastern half of Russia’s future Kaliningrad Oblast, also known as Lithuania Minor, was correctly identified as majority Lithuanian-speaking.

In 1863 Edward Stanford expanded on Bansemer’s mislabeling with his “Map of the Kingdom of Poland,” **Figure 9**. Nowhere on this map is there a label or marginalia for the PLC, for the GDL, or for Lithuania. Instead, Stanford mistakenly claims on the map that “The Kingdom of Poland extended over all the territory coloured yellow, red and green on this map, and the Polish tongue continues to be the national language.” “National” is not defined, but, in this context, it can’t mean legal/official: the official languages of the Commonwealth were Polish and Latin in the KP, Ruthenian and Lithuanian in the GDL.<sup>17</sup>

Maps like Stanford’s informed the attitudes of American, French and British Versailles negotiators towards Polish-Lithuanian post-WWI boundaries. Key to the boundary recommendations for post-WWI Poland by Wilson’s cartographic experts, was Isaiah Bowman, director of the American Geographic Society, who had said “A map was as good as a brilliant poster, and just being a



**FIGURE 6.** "Mapa gubernij: Wileńskiej, Kowieńskiej i Grodzień" [Map of the guberniyas of Vilna, Kovno and Grodno]. 1882, Vilnius. Courtesy of Tomaš Nenartovič's 2014 dissertation at Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1882\\_13\\_Kalendarz\\_domowy\\_COMP602.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1882_13_Kalendarz_domowy_COMP602.jpg).

map made it respectable, authentic. A perverted map was a lifebelt to many a foundering argument."<sup>18</sup> How true this was will be seen in his own group's Polish boundary proposals in 1918–19 at Versailles.

There were only two government censuses that could have impacted Polish ethnic data in the areas to the east and south of Lithuanian lands before Versailles border recommendations, and both inferred ethnicity by language.

(Inferring ethnicity by language on maps goes back to at least the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> How that inference can go wrong was recently made clear to me by Karen Nathan, a subscriber to my blog LithuanianJournal.org: her mother and grandparents, living in Kaunas, Lithuania, considered themselves Litvaks—Lithuanian Jews, but according to her



**FIGURE 7.** "Mapa Litwy i Rusi (Litwa, Białorus, Podole, Wołyn i Ukraina)" [Map of Lithuania and Ruthenia (Lithuania, Belarus, Podolia, Wolyn and Ukraine)]. 1911, J.M. Bazewicz, Warsaw. Courtesy of the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1911\\_bazewicz\\_mapy\\_litwy\\_i\\_rusi\\_elibrary\\_mab\\_lt\\_3\\_COMP.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1911_bazewicz_mapy_litwy_i_rusi_elibrary_mab_lt_3_COMP.jpg).

mother, Ruth Lowenstein, German was what educated, upper-middle class Jews spoke in the city, to distinguish themselves from their Litvish-speaking origins in the shtetl. Her grandfather, a lawyer, had gotten his degree in Heidelberg, and became the Corporation Counsel and Vice President of the City Council of Kaunas. Her grandmother and grandfather both also spoke French and Russian, in addition to German and Yiddish. Her mother and grandmother left Lithuania in 1940, the grandfather in 1941 thanks to a visa from Chiune Sugihara, the Japanese Consul in Kaunas.)

The first census relevant to post-WWI border considerations was the 1897 census of the Empire of Russia—the Empire's first and only overall census, whose results were published 1898–1905. (A second Russian census was scheduled for 1915 but was cancelled because of the war. The next full-scale Russian census did not occur until 1926.) The only other government census tabulating



**FIGURE 8.** Detail of “POLAND and the Neighbouring Countries according to the Languages of the Inhabitants.” 1837, J. Bansemer, London, from the James Wyld-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...” Courtesy of the website Topographic Maps of Eastern Europe: An Atlas of the Shtetl (<https://easteurotopo.org/>). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1837\\_Bansemer\\_Poland\\_and\\_Neighboring\\_Countries\\_according\\_to\\_Languages\\_of\\_Inhabitants\\_easteurotopo.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1837_Bansemer_Poland_and_Neighboring_Countries_according_to_Languages_of_Inhabitants_easteurotopo.jpg).

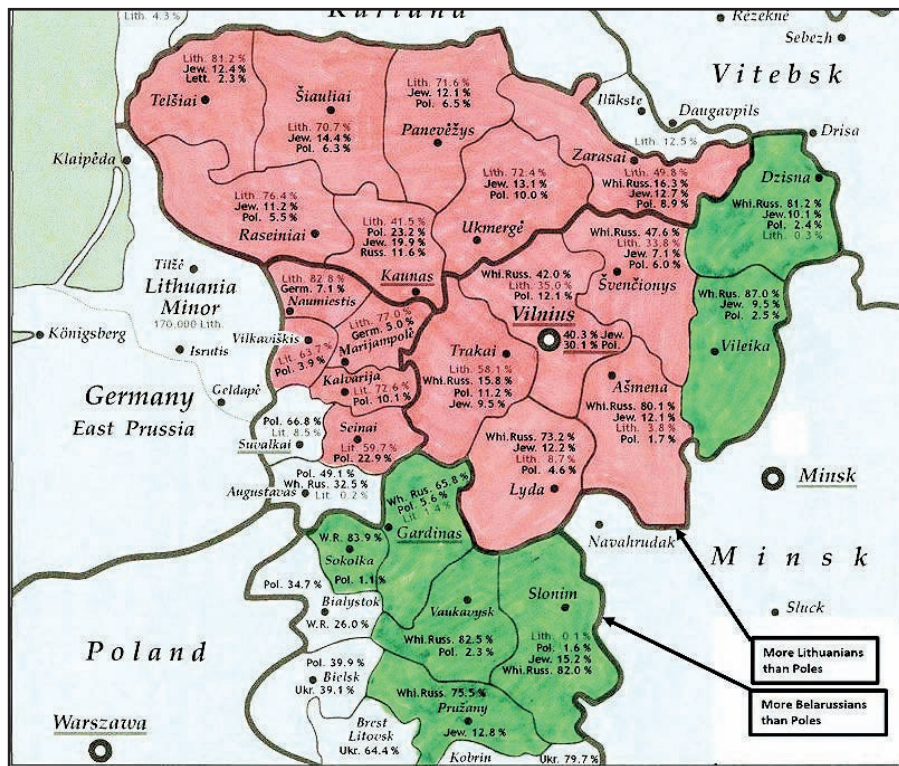


**FIGURE 9.** “Map of the Kingdom of Poland.” 1863 E. Stanford London. Courtesy of Altea Gallery, London. <https://alteagallery.com/products/PROD100003206/18823.jpg>.

Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. Belarusian-speakers were categorized as “White” Russians, Ukrainian-speakers as “Little” Russians, as compared with “Great” Russians, speaking Russian. Why? Remember that ethnic Lithuanians were minorities in the GDL, and, by the same token, “Without Ukrainians, Russians became a ruling minority rather than a majority.”<sup>20</sup> “Great” Russians comprised only 44.3% of the total population, so adding Ukrainians (17.8%) created a clear majority. Were there attempts by Russian census officials to inflate the number of Russian-speakers at the expense of Poles, Lithuanians, and others? Absolutely: a census-day report to the organizing body noted that the chair of one Polish census district had instructed registrars in his jurisdiction to mark Russian as a person’s native language if they answered the question “Do you speak Russian?” in the affirmative. At the very least, this was a conscious attempt to show the increased use of Russian by non-Russians. In a more serious sense, the district chair was attempting to show a decrease in the area’s Polish population. Similar cases probably went unreported, a fact census officials acknowledged themselves.<sup>21</sup>

Within Vilnius city, 40.3% identified as “Jewish (Yiddish)” vs. 30.1% Polish. Within the larger district of Vilnius, White Russians (Belarusians) were 42.0%, Lithuanians 35.0%, and Poles 12.1%. **Figure 10** is a map by V. Birstonas which used my calculations from the census for several languages, altered by me to show areas in three Russian guberniyas—(Kovno, Vilna and Grodno)—and in the northernmost part of Suwalki province—where Lithuanian-speakers outnumbered Polish-speakers, in purple, and where Belarusian-speakers outnumbered Polish-speakers, in green.

ethnicity in the area before 1919 was one conducted by occupying Germans from December 1916 to January 1917. The 1897 Russian census included the areas of future



**FIGURE 10.** “1897 Lithuania Census.” Showing districts in pink where there were more Lithuanian—than Polish-speakers—with the exception of Vilnius City, where the census showed the population of self-identified Jewish- (Yiddish-) speakers as 40.3%, and 30.1% as Polish-speakers. Districts colored green show where there were more Belarusian-speakers than Polish-speakers. A. Kapochunas changed the coloring of a map created by V. Birstonas. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1897\\_LithuCensusVyB.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1897_LithuCensusVyB.jpg).

The Russian Revolution of 1905–07 against the Tsar, nobility, and ruling class was spurred by Russia’s humiliation in losing the Russo-Japanese War, which ended in 1905.<sup>22</sup> It inspired hopes of independence from Russia both in Lithuania and Poland. At a December 1905 political conference in Vilnius, 2,000 Lithuanian activists agreed with future first president (in 1919) of Lithuania Antanas Smetona that the idea of “Lithuania” no longer corresponded to GDL borders, but only to the Russian guberniyas Vilna, Kovno and Suwałki, and areas where Lithuanians predominated.<sup>23</sup>

In 1909, Roman Dmowski, Polish future delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference and Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, published an ethnographic map, **Figure 11**, which echoed 1897 Russian census results showing the scarcity of Polish speakers in Vilna guberniya except for Vilnius city.

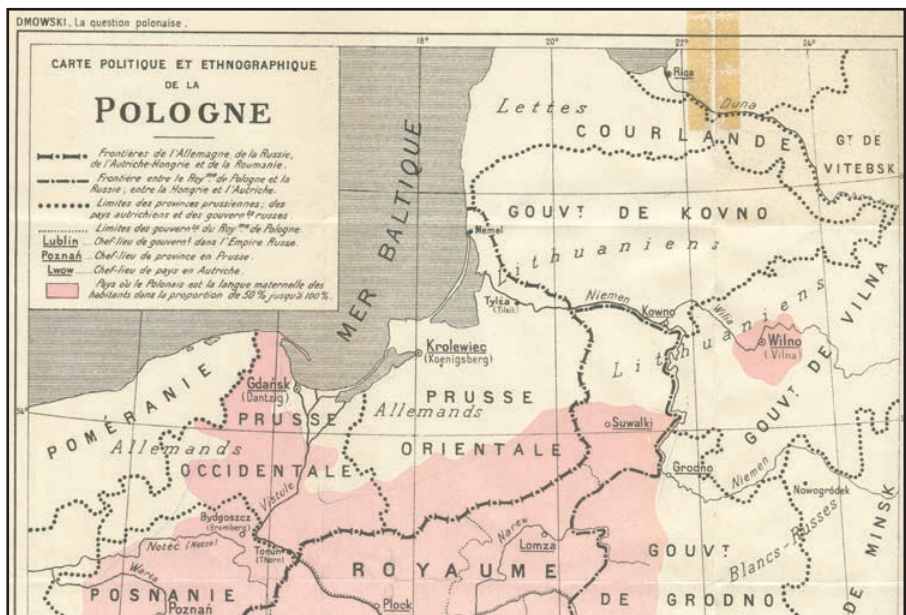
Dmowski’s vision for a reborn Poland in November 1918, as World War I was ending: a homogeneous, Polish-speaking/Roman Catholic-practicing nation that would civilize Lithuanians: “Dmowski did not view Lithuanians as having a strong national identity, viewing their social organization tribal. Those areas 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 Lithuanians.*”<sup>24</sup> (He might not have been aware that novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky had insisted, as a fellow prisoner in Siberia, a Polish nationalist, related in his memoirs, that “Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland had forever been the property of Russia,” and would, without Russia, be mired in “dark illiteracy, barbarism, and abject poverty.”<sup>25</sup>)

Dmowski’s vision differed from that of General Józef Piłsudski, Poland’s Chief of State from November 1918 to December 1922: he envisioned a multi-ethnic federation “Międzymorze” (Polish for “Between-Seas”), stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, consisting not only of Poland and Lithuania, but also Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia and Estonia.

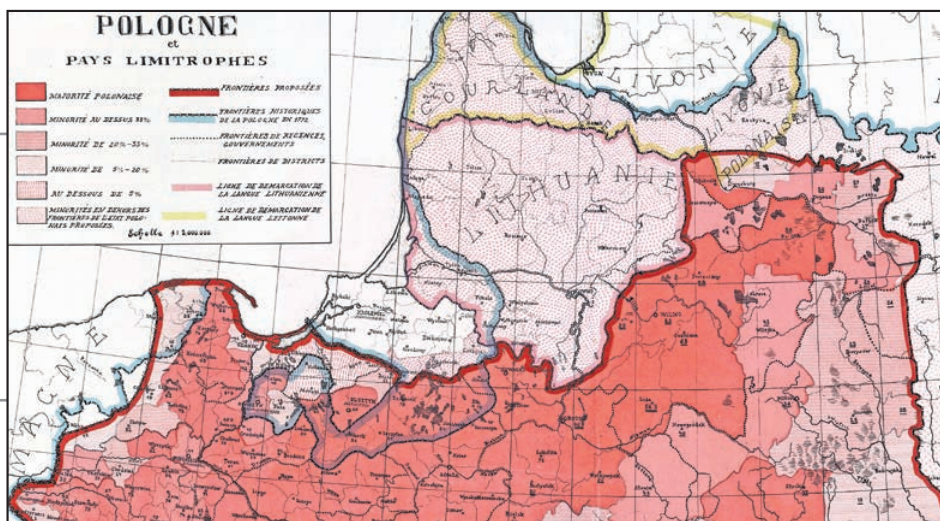
Dmowski’s 1919 map with demands for Poland’s borders, based on claimed majority Polish ethnicity, and distributed to Versailles participants, took an expansive leap from his 1909 map. There was a “Dmowski Line” on his new map, with darkest red depicting Polish majority, as shown in **Figure 12**. Ethnic maps by others produced in the interval show an uneven but increased progression of Polish majority, with no identified sourcing.

Orgelbrand’s Universal Encyclopedia, considered the first modern Polish encyclopedia, published an ethnic map in 1912, **Figures 13a** and **13b**, based on Russia’s 1897 census results. A year later, in 1913, without benefit of claimed new input, Józef Gruenberg created his own version of



**FIGURE 11.** “Carte Politique et Ethnographique de la Pologne” [Political and Ethnographic Map of Poland]. Paris, from the 1909 French translation of R. Dmowski’s 1908 book “*Niemcy, Rosja a sprawa polska*” [Germany, Russia and the Polish Cause], published as “*La question polonaise*” [The Polish question]. From the Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1909\\_25\\_Dmowski\\_COMP15.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1909_25_Dmowski_COMP15.jpg).

**FIGURE 12.** Detail “*Pologne et Pays Limitrophes*” [Poland and Neighboring Countries]. 1919 R. Dmowski. Darkest red depicts areas with a majority of Polish-speakers. From the Bibliothèque nationale de France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53121207b/f1.item.zoom>.



Polish ethnicity in the same area, **Figures 14a and 14b**, radically changing both colors and percentage segments.

In 1915, two years after the Gruenberg map was published, and again with no new government census from any entity available, the Polish Union of Progressives in Warsaw published their own version of Polish ethnicity, **Figures 15a and 15b**, with most percentages higher than Gruenberg’s.

Meanwhile, an ethnic map including the same area, **Figures 16a, 16b, and 16c**, created and printed in 1915 by the British Ordnance Survey, published in 1916 by the Royal Geographic Society (RGS) at the direction of the Geographic Section of the General Staff, depicted a different situation: Poles were not represented east and south of Vilna city. In preparation for the peace conference that

was expected to follow World War I, the British Foreign Office established a special section responsible for preparing background information for use by British delegates. This map is from “Maps of Poland, Number 49.”

A 1916 ethnic map, **Figure 17**, was created by Polish cartographer Eugeniusz Romer, and published in Vienna for his atlas of Poland. It, too, showed minimal Polish presence east and southeast of Vilnius. Smuggled west, the atlas was used by Isaiah Bowman, a friend of Romer’s since 1913 to prepare maps for Versailles boundary proposals. Bowman became the first director of the American Geographical Society in 1915 and was its head until 1935. When the US entered the First World War in 1917, Bowman placed the resources of the AGS at the government’s service, and he was asked to

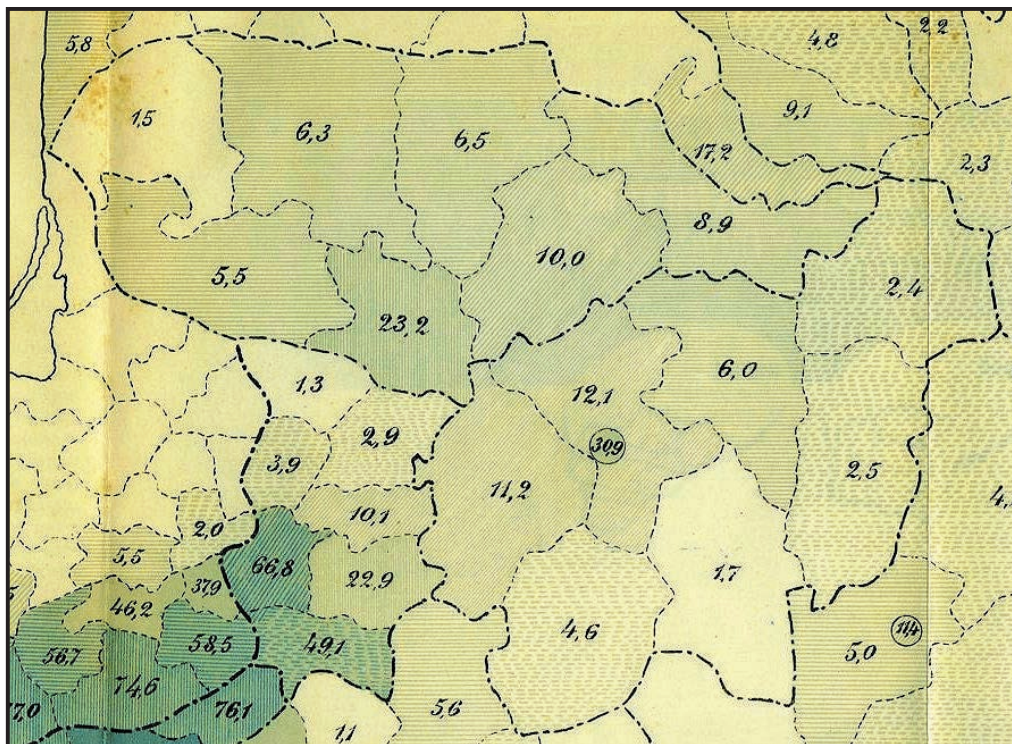
gather and prepare data to assist with a future peace conference once the fighting stopped. He played a major role in determining distribution of land areas and national borders as part of the 1919–20 Paris Peace Conference.

1918 was a significant year for Eastern Europe:

- January 8: President Wilson gives his “14 Points” speech to Congress, the 13<sup>th</sup> point asking for the creation of an independent Polish state.
- February 16: Lithuania declares independence from Russia. Estonia declares February 24, Latvia November 18. None are invited to attend the peace process in

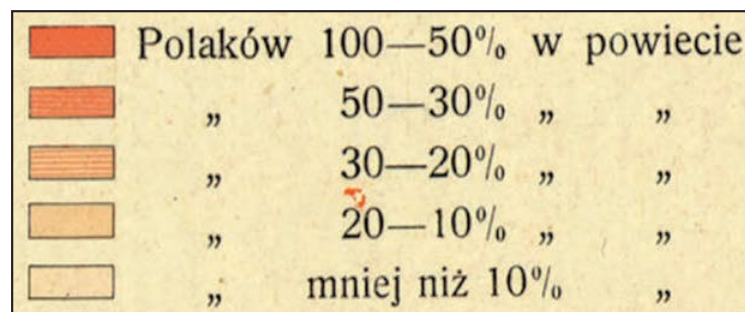
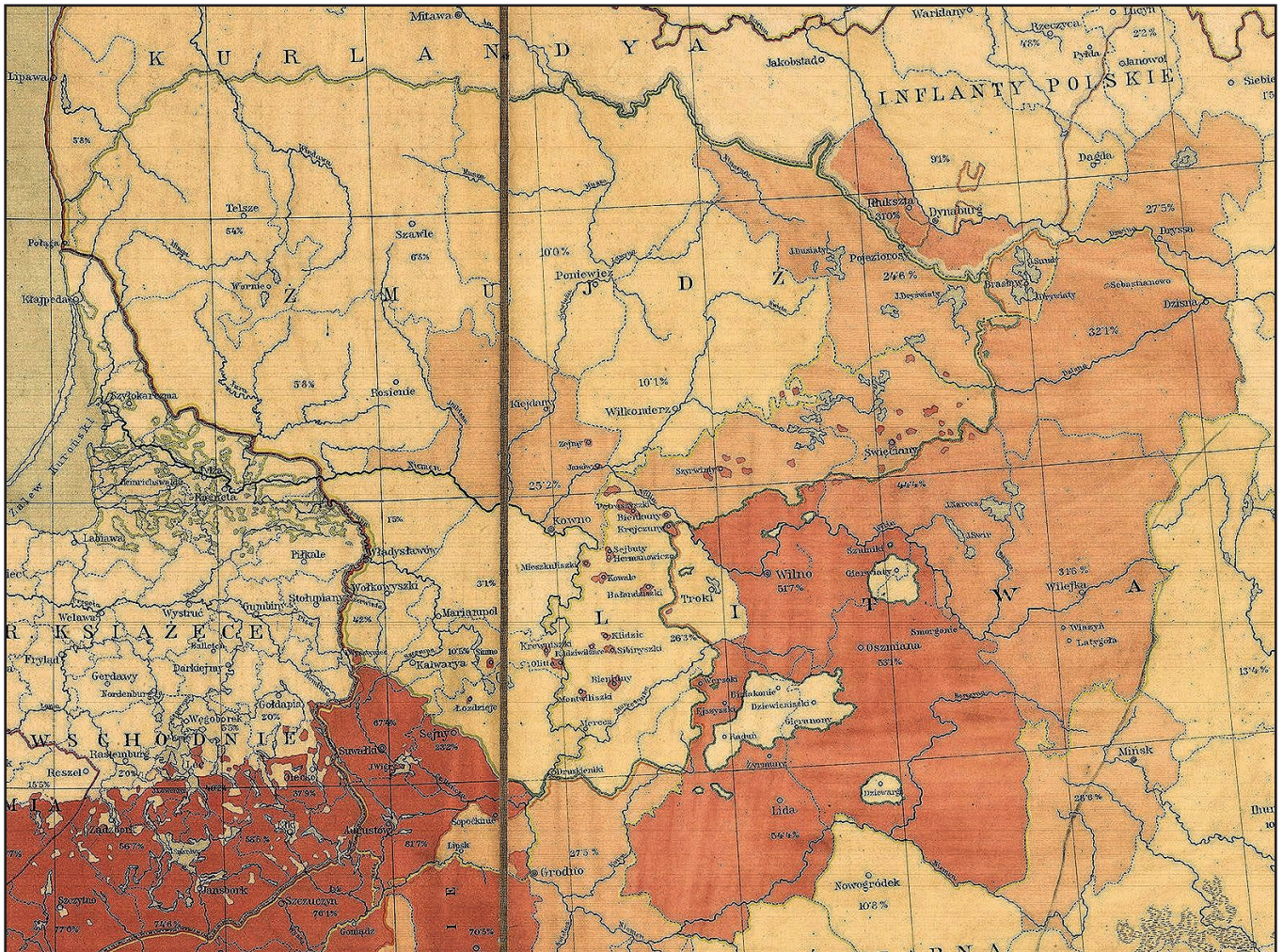
Versailles, but 30 countries, including Poland, are. The US would not recognize their independence for more than four years, until July 28, 1922. While neither Estonia nor Latvia had previously been independent countries, Lithuania had been a recognized country for over 500 years but had been marginalized by many mapmakers for nearly 700 by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

- November 11: Poland declares independence from Russia; the US recognizes it January 22, 1919, a little over two months later; Poland is invited to participate at Versailles.



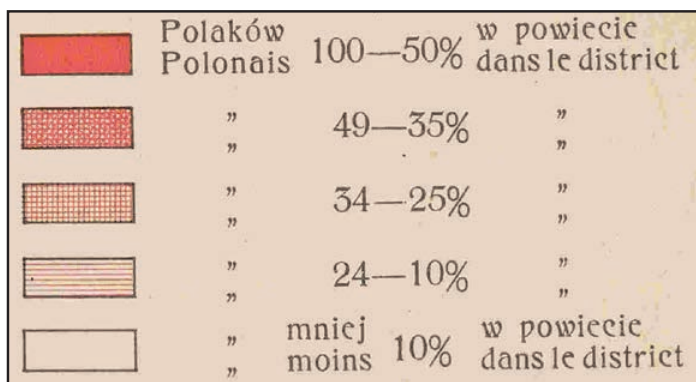
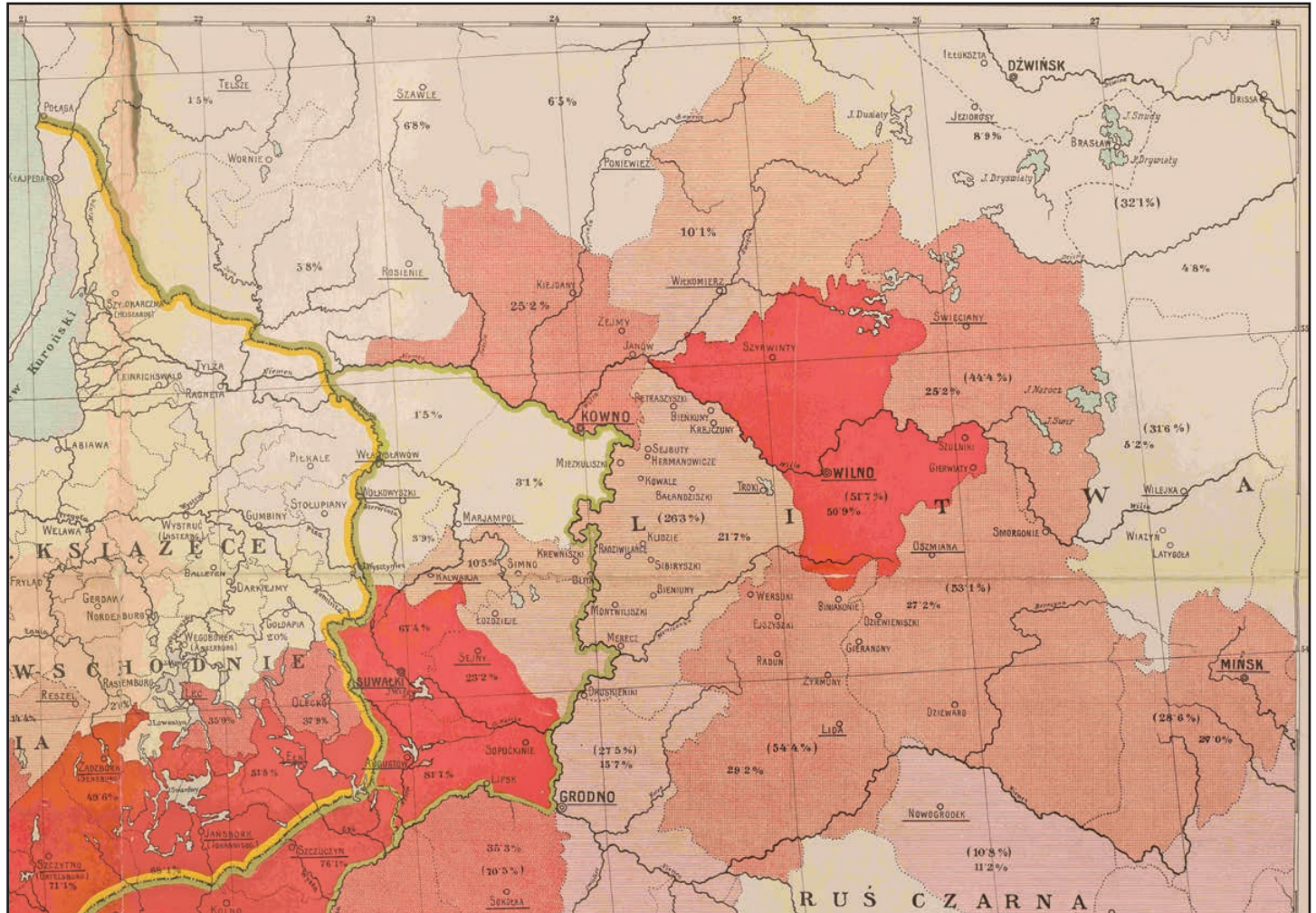
**FIGURE 13a.** Detail “Mapa Etnograficznosta Statystyczna” [Statistical Ethnographic Map]. 1912 S. Orgelbrand, Warsaw, from his “Encyklopedia Powszechna” [Universal Encyclopedia], the first modern Polish encyclopedia. From the website Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG) (<http://www.mapywig.org/>). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1912\\_Polska2.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1912_Polska2.jpg)

**FIGURE 13b.** Detail, Legend “Mapa Etnograficznosta Statystyczna” [Statistical Ethnographic Map]. 1912 S. Orgelbrand, Warsaw. From the website Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG) (<http://www.mapywig.org/>). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1912\\_Polska2.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1912_Polska2.jpg).



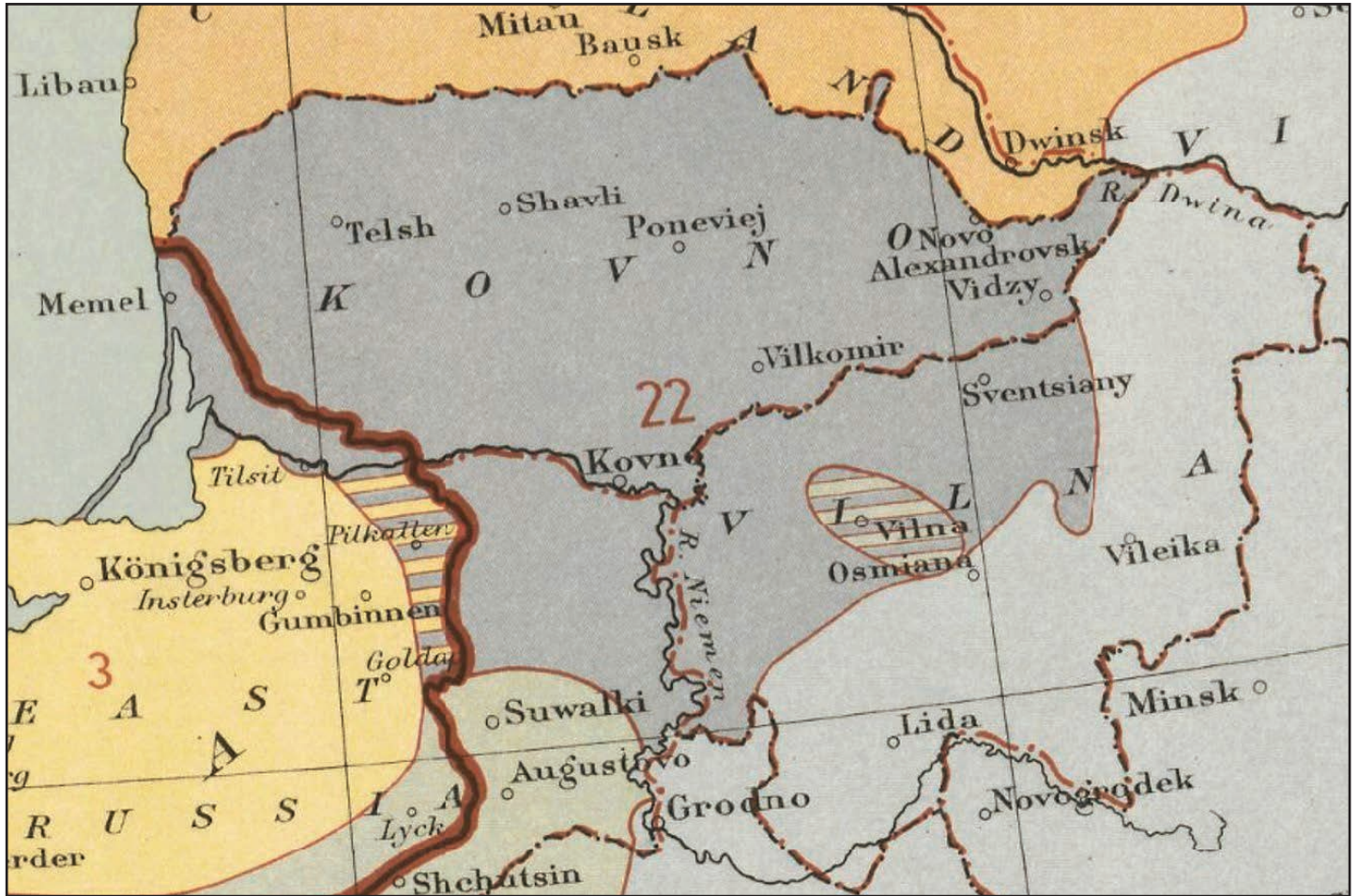
**FIGURE 14a.** Detail “MAPA ROZSIEDLENIA LUDNOŚCI POLSKIEJ...” [Map of the Polish Population in the Former Commonwealth and neighboring countries]. 1913 J. Gruenberg, Vienna. The darkest red areas are 50–100% Polish. Courtesy of Antiquariat Daša Pahor, Munich, Germany. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1913\\_gruenberg\\_ethnographic\\_map\\_of\\_polish\\_lands\\_www\\_pahor\\_de.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1913_gruenberg_ethnographic_map_of_polish_lands_www_pahor_de.jpg).

**FIGURE 14b.** Detail, Legend “MAPA ROZSIEDLENIA LUDNOŚCI POLSKIEJ...” [Map of the Polish Population in the Former Commonwealth and neighboring countries]. 1913 J. Gruenberg, Vienna. The darkest red areas are 50–100% Polish. Courtesy of Antiquariat Daša Pahor, Munich, Germany. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1913\\_gruenberg\\_ethnographic\\_map\\_of\\_polish\\_lands\\_www\\_pahor\\_de.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1913_gruenberg_ethnographic_map_of_polish_lands_www_pahor_de.jpg).



**FIGURE 15a.** Detail, top half “Mapa rozszedlenia ludności polskiej w granicach etnograficznych i na najbliższych kresach” [Distribution map of the Polish population by its ethnographic boundaries] [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915\\_ethnographic\\_range\\_of\\_polish\\_population\\_RCIN\\_DET1.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915_ethnographic_range_of_polish_population_RCIN_DET1.jpg)Detail, bottom half [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915\\_ethnographic\\_range\\_of\\_polish\\_population\\_RCIN\\_DET3.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915_ethnographic_range_of_polish_population_RCIN_DET3.jpg) 1915 Polish Union of Progressives, Warsaw. From The Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes (RCIN).

**FIGURE 15b.** Detail, Legend “Mapa rozszedlenia ludności polskiej...” 1915 Polish Union of Progressives “Map of the Ethnographical Settlement of the Polish Population,” Warsaw. From The Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes in Poland (RCIN). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915\\_ethnographic\\_legend.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1915_ethnographic_legend.jpg)

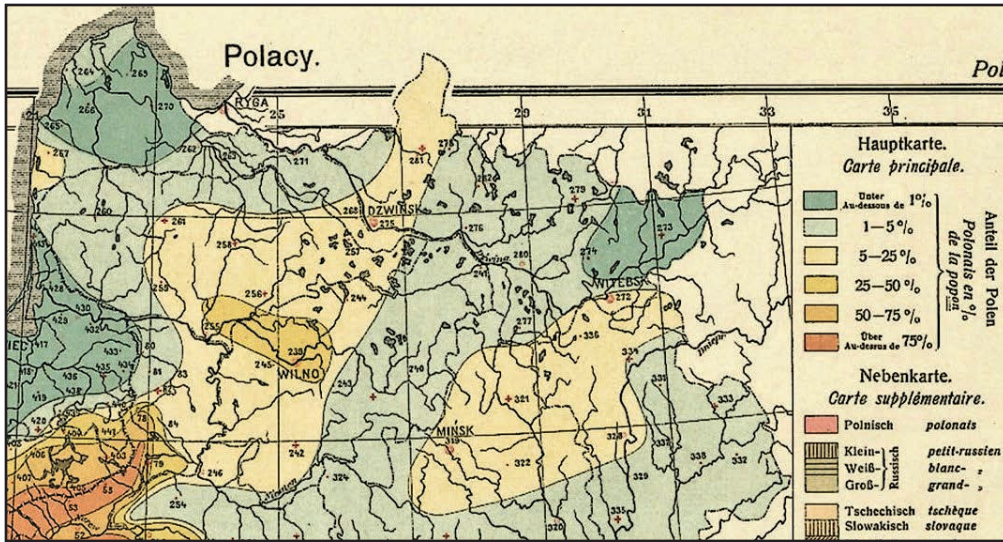


EASTERN SLAV	GREAT RUSSIAN	8
	WHITE "	9
	LITTLE " OR RUTHENE	10
	CZECH	11
	POLES	12

LETT	21
LITHUANIAN	22

**FIGURE 16a.** Detail "Ethnographical Map of Central and South Eastern Europe." 1916 Royal Geographic Society, London. From Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916\\_war\\_office\\_Ethnographic\\_map\\_of\\_central\\_and\\_south\\_eastern\\_europe\\_loc\\_via\\_wdl\\_DET2.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916_war_office_Ethnographic_map_of_central_and_south_eastern_europe_loc_via_wdl_DET2.jpg).

**FIGURE 16b, c Detail, Legend 1 and Legend 2 "Ethnographical Map of Central and South Eastern Europe."** 1916 Royal Geographic Society, London. From Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916\\_war\\_office\\_Ethnographic\\_map\\_of\\_central\\_and\\_south\\_eastern\\_europe\\_loc\\_via\\_wdl\\_LEGEND.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916_war_office_Ethnographic_map_of_central_and_south_eastern_europe_loc_via_wdl_LEGEND.jpg).



**FIGURE 17.** Detail “Polacy” [Poland]. 1916 E. Romer, Vienna, from the first edition of “Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski.” [Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland]. From the website Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG) (<http://www.mapywig.org/>). [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916\\_romer\\_polacky\\_ethnic\\_DET.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1916_romer_polacky_ethnic_DET.jpg).

- November 18: Armistice Day ends WWI after more than four years. But the Treaty of Versailles, officially ending the war, would not be signed until June 28, 1919, and a series of local wars over boundaries in the Polish-Lithuania area would continue until March 1921.

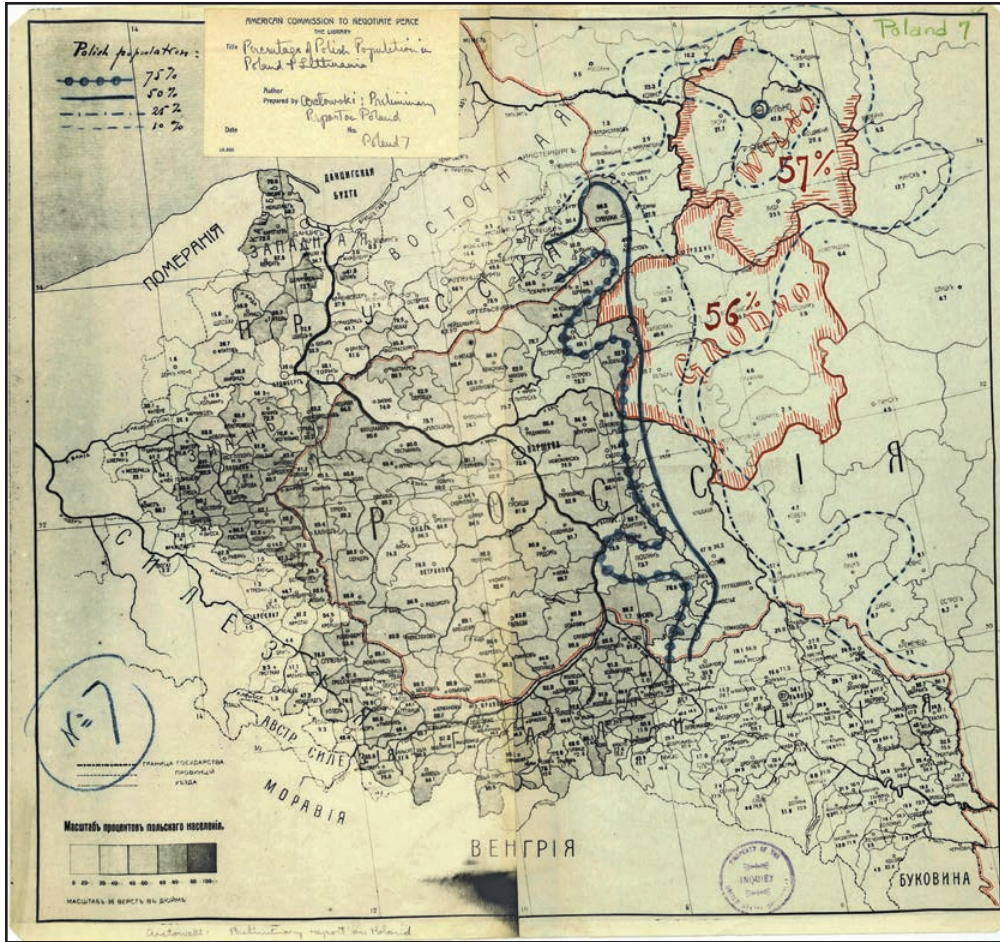
Also in 1918, Polish-American cartographer and geophysicist Henryk Arctowski, part of Bowman’s cartographic team at Versailles, amended a Russian map, **Figure 18**, in his “Preliminary report on Poland: Percent of Polish population in Poland and Lithuania,” for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. While the percent-Polish numbers printed on the map are multiples of what the 1897 Russian census found, with no new sourcing

identified, he added, in large bright red figures, much higher overall percentages, unilaterally making both “Wilno” and “Grodno” guberniyas majority Polish. Arctowski had been supplying information about Bowman’s directives to the team directly to Dmowski since 1917. He saw “nothing wrong with serving two states at once.”<sup>26</sup>

At this point I’d like to summarize, in the table below, what each of the preceding ethnic maps depicted as the percentage of Polish-speakers by districts within Vilna guberniya, using Polish names:

At Versailles, negotiators were regularly sent propaganda maps by nationalists promoting their cause, like the postcard map, **Figure 19**, created and distributed by the Polish National Committee in Lausanne, Switzerland. It has four misleading or false statements:

Vilna Guberniya uyezd/district	1897 Russian Census: Poles	1913 Gruenberg Map: Poles	1915 Progressives Map: Poles	1918 Arctowski Russian Map: Poles	1919 Dmowski Map: Poles
Dzisna	2.4%	24.6%			58.0%
Lida	4.6%	54.4%	29.2%	23.5%	56.5%
Oszmiana	1.7%	53.1%	27.2%	20.8%	63.0%
Swiecziany	6.0%	44.4%	25.2%	21.4%	58.0%
Troki	11.2%	26.3%	21.7%	21.7%	55.0%
Wilejka	2.5%	31.6%	5.2%	5.2%	43.0%
Wilno	12.1%	51.7%	50.9%	47.0%	83.0%
Wilno City	30.1%		51.7%	52.4%	



**FIGURE 18.** "Percentage of Polish Population in Poland and Lithuania." 1918 H. Arctowski manuscript map. From US National Archives. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1918\\_c\\_percentage\\_of\\_polish\\_population\\_in\\_poland\\_lithuania\\_archives.gov.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1918_c_percentage_of_polish_population_in_poland_lithuania_archives.gov.jpg).



**FIGURE 19.** "Just think! There are 30 Million Poles!" c. 1918 E. Roemer for the Polish National Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland. From Steven Seegel's "Mapping Europe's Borderlands," Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012, opposite p. 133 [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1917-18\\_romer\\_just\\_think\\_seegel\\_cropped.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1917-18_romer_just_think_seegel_cropped.jpg).



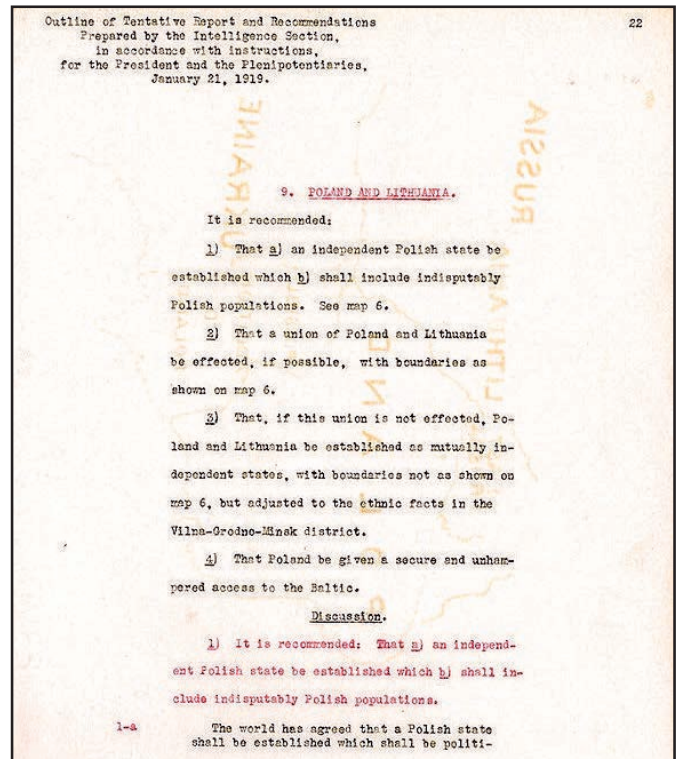
**FIGURE 20.** “Map # 6.” c. 1918 I. Bowman’s cartographic team. From Johns Hopkins University Libraries. [http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1919\\_bowman\\_Poland\\_lithuania\\_and\\_western\\_ukraine\\_johnshopkins.jpg](http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/images/1919_bowman_Poland_lithuania_and_western_ukraine_johnshopkins.jpg).

1. “30 million Poles” actually refers to all Poles, globally, not just the area in red, which is 2. mistakenly faintly labeled “Ancient Polish Republic, Dismembered...,” with 3. no label at all for the PLS or GDL, and 4. darkest red reserved for the highest density of Poles, equating the density in Warsaw with that east and southeast of “Vilno,” which not even the previously depicted ethnographic maps dared to do.

Before coming to Paris, Bowman’s cartographic team prepared a map as part of their initial proposal for post-WWI borders for Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine, **Figure 20**.

On January 21, 1919, Bowman’s map team created recommendations for post-WWI Polish-Lithuanian borders that echoed Dmowski’s aspirations: “It is recommended 1) That a) an independent Polish state be established which b) shall include indisputably Polish populations. See Map 6 [Figure 20]. 2) That a union of Poland and Lithuania be effected, if possible, with boundaries as shown on Map 6 [Figure 20]. 3) That, if this union is not effected, Poland and Lithuania be established as mutually independent states, with boundaries not as shown on map 6, but adjusted to the ethnic facts in the Vilna-Grodno-Minsk district.”

In 1918 Bowman’s cartographic team prepared a map, **Figure 22**: “The Proposed Frontiers of Poland,” Appendix No. 4 to Roman Dmowski’s memo submitted to Woodrow Wilson on October 8, 1918. The areas east



**FIGURE 21.** Typewritten sheet dated January 21, 1919. I. Bowman’s cartographic team’s recommendations for Polish-Lithuanian boundaries. From the Bowman Papers Collection at Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries.

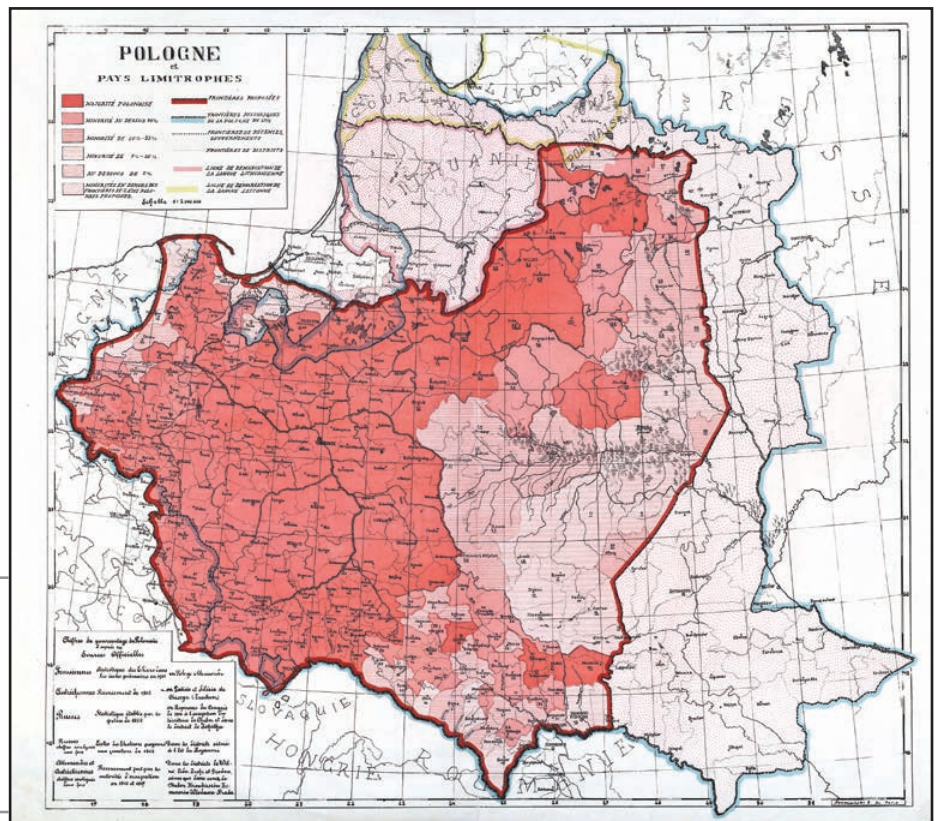


**FIGURE 22.** "The Proposed Frontiers of Poland." 1918 I. Bowman's cartographic team. From the Library of Congress via the website Map Archive of Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny (WIG) (<http://www.mapywig.org/>). [http://www.lithuanian-maps.com/images/1918\\_Proposed\\_frontiers\\_of\\_Poland\\_WWilson\\_papersmappywig\\_COMP.jpg](http://www.lithuanian-maps.com/images/1918_Proposed_frontiers_of_Poland_WWilson_papersmappywig_COMP.jpg).

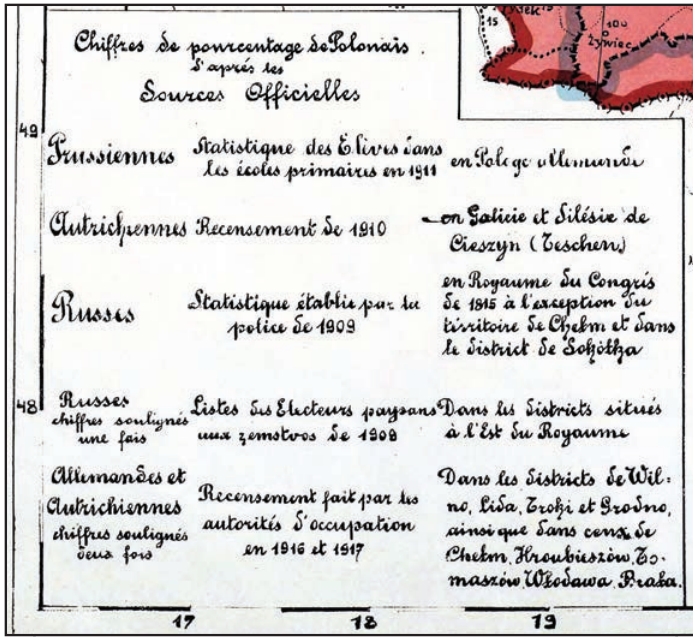
and southeast of Vilnius were, once again, equated with Warsaw as to density of Poles, using the designation of "50–100% Polish." While you might ignore the deliberate mislabeling of Congress or Russian Poland as "Kingdom of Poland," and even the perhaps deliberate misspelling of "Lithuanians" as "Lithunians" in the legend, it's hard to ignore the probable influence of this map on the one Dmowski created and distributed to Versailles negotiators, **Figure 23**.

The basic and undeniable problem with Dmowski's 1919 map is its five "official" sources, **Figure 24**:

1. "Prussienes statistiques, 1911" – Prussian censuses were not performed in the areas of future Lithuania, Belarus or Ukraine
2. "Autrichiennes, 1910" – Neither were Austrian censuses.
3. "Russes, 1909" – Police statistics from Congress Poland are irrelevant.
4. "Russes, 1909" – were Zemstvos (postal) censuses. Twelve guberniyas in the Empire of Russia had no zemstvos: the three Baltic provinces and the nine western governments annexed from Poland by Catherine II.<sup>27</sup> There were, in 1909, only discussions in Russia about adding zemstvos to the western guberniyas of Russia—so where did the



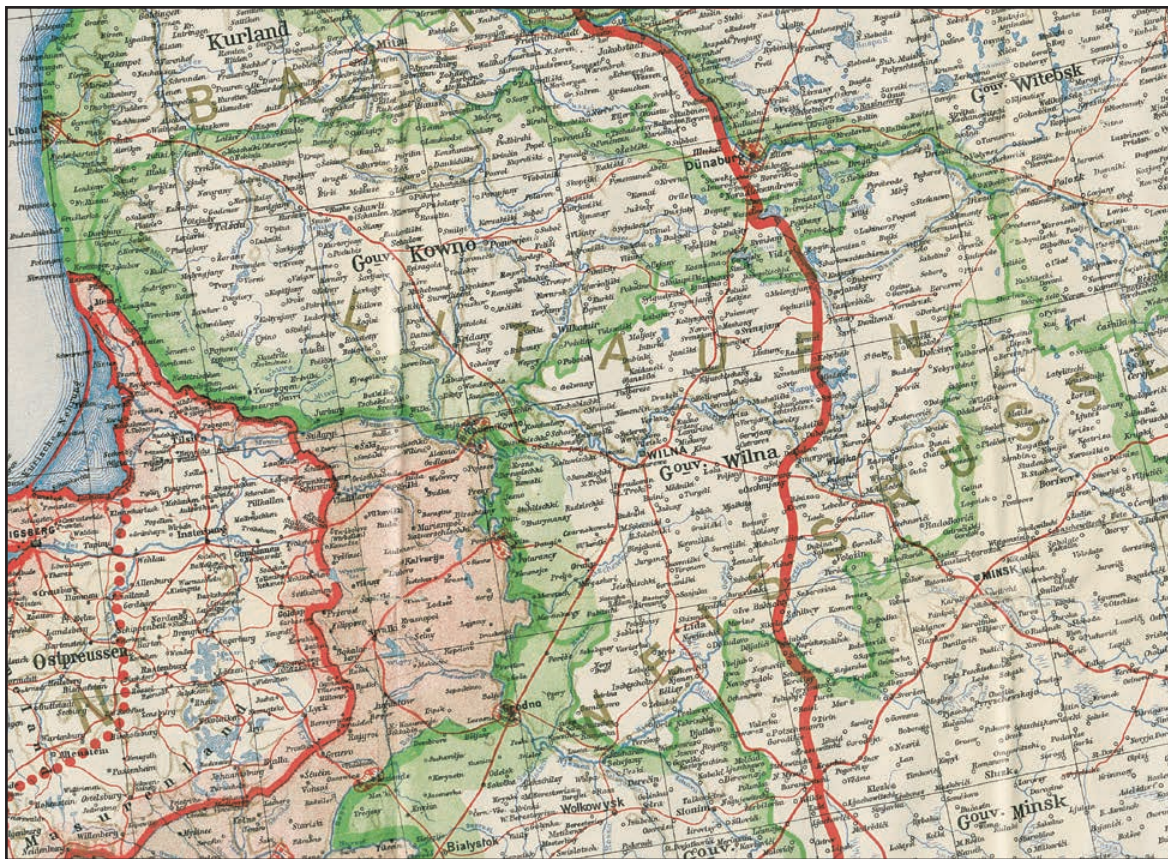
**FIGURE 23.** "Pologne et Pays Limitrophes" [Poland and Neighboring Countries]. c. 1919 R. Dmowski. Darkest red depicts areas with a majority of Polish-speakers. From the Bibliothèque nationale de France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53121207b/f1.item.zoom>.



**FIGURE 24.** Detail “Sources Officielles” [Official Sources for Percentages of Poles] for “Pologne et Pays Limitrophes” [Poland and Neighboring Countries] 1919 R. Dmowski: “Pologne...” From the National Library of France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53121207b/f1.item.zoom>.

supposed official ethnic percentages from these non-existent zemstvos come from? Howard Lord, Harvard historian, Bowman’s regional specialist on Russia and Poland, and Arctowski’s superior, wrote, in a memo to Bowman, “As representation in the [planned] zemstvos was to be based on nationality, the authorities felt it necessary to present statistics of nationality in the nine western governments; hence, they got together some statistics on that subject in their usual fashion. That is, they virtually faked them.”<sup>28</sup>

5. “Allemandes, 1916–17”—the fifth “official” source, was the only possibly reliable input, a census performed by German occupation officials during World War I (to get a food ration card, you had to participate in the census). But German occupation areas polled did not translate to those of Kovno, Vilna, or Grodno guberniyas: see the German map, **Figure 25**, which shows the occupation’s eastern boundary a few months before the German census. The ethnic data collected by the Germans cannot be compared with the 1897 Russian census. It follows that Bowman, Arctowski and the rest of the American cartographic experts who accepted Dmowski’s map as being based on valid data either failed to investigate its claimed sources, or did, and chose to ignore what they found.



**FIGURE 25.** Detail “Das Russische Kriegsgebiet, Nr. 17” [The Russian War Zone, #17]. 1917 C. Flemming, Berlin, depicting the Russian front as of mid-September, 1917. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin via wikimedia [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/17-Karte\\_des\\_russischen\\_Kriegsgebiets\\_zwischen\\_Ostsee\\_und\\_Schwarzem\\_Meer\\_%281917%29.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/17-Karte_des_russischen_Kriegsgebiets_zwischen_Ostsee_und_Schwarzem_Meer_%281917%29.png).



**FIGURE 26.** Detail “Europe” 1931 Rand McNally. From University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Libraries, Digital Collections <https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/7308>.

*“The 1919 year of maps at the Paris Peace Conference offers a stark reminder about ethical issues of truth and falsity in cartography, the deceptiveness of maps, and the many dangers maps bring...Although one can point out shortsighted measures and unjust decisions made at Versailles—and historians have gushed volumes—it is perhaps easier to understand if the spotlight shifts slightly east why Wilson in his basic ignorance of geography put such trust in his professional experts.”<sup>29</sup>*

While the January 18, 1919–January 21, 1920 Paris Peace Conference finalized peace between the Allied (Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Romania, Canada, Japan and the United States) and Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire), a war primarily for land between Poland and Lithuania raged from May 1919 to November 30, 1920. Although a peace agreement between the two was signed October 7, 1920, the next day General Lucjan Żeligowski, on orders from Polish leader Józef Piłsudski, staged a pretend “mutiny” by Polish troops, and overran Vilnius and Suwałki regions. A Lithuanian counter-offensive was stopped by the Military Commission of the League of Nations. Lithuania declared Kaunas its temporary capital and Żeligowski created “The Republic of Central Lithuania” out of Vilnius city and the surrounding region. The League of Nations began preparing a plebiscite in that region, but it never happened: neither side wanted one.

The March 28, 1921 Peace of Riga ended the Polish-Soviet war, which had been going on since February 1919. Interwar boundaries were set between Poland, Russia (also acting on behalf of Belarus) and Ukraine—but the Polish-Lithuanian border was left for those two countries to finalize. Four million Ukrainians and over a million Belarusians lived within areas ceded to Poland. In two recent estimates, only 15% of the population was ethnically Polish.<sup>30,31</sup>

The Republic of Central Lithuania scheduled elections for January 8, 1922. Only Polish parties and groups proposed candidates. The election was mostly boycotted by non-Poles: only 41% of Belarusians, 15.3% of Jews—only 1.4% of those in Vilnius—and 8.2% of Lithuanians voted. The results went unrecognized both by the Lithuanian government and by the League of Nations, which on January 13, 1922, issued a statement that the elected parliament was not a legal representative of the local population. The Parliament voted, anyway, to incorporate into Poland, and Central Lithuania ceased to exist as of March 24, 1922. The border changes (see **Figure 26** for inter-war borders) were eventually accepted by League of Nations and by the US—but not by Lithuania, which, as a result, did not have diplomatic relations with Poland until 1938.

In conclusion, the combination of virtual erasure of the existence of a separate Lithuanian state by many mapmakers for hundreds of years, and the creation and acceptance

of ethnic maps with exaggerated percentages of Polish-speakers, contributed significantly to the establishment of inter-war eastern Polish boundaries, and to the assignment of land that, based on actual ethnic majorities, should have gone to Lithuania and the Byelorussian SSR (*White Russia*). After World War II, those areas—including much of the Vilnius region—were reassigned to those entities.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Andrew Kapochunas** is a retired computer data consultant and holder of two patents for verifying, correcting and updating global addresses, the founder/webmaster of <http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/> and <https://www.lithuanianjournal.org/>, a member of the Lithuanian Cartographic Society (<https://lietuvoskartografija.lt/>), and Secretary of the New York Map Society since 2014. This article is adapted from his 5 January 2023 Zoom presentation to numerous US map societies; it can be viewed by WMS members at the Members Area of the WMS website.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 M. Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Third Edition, 2018), 101.
- 2 W.J. Reisser, *The Black Book – Woodrow Wilson’s Secret Plan for Peace* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), 93.
- 3 R. Lord, *What Really Happened at Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918–1919 by American Delegates* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1921) 71.
- 4 J. Lukowski, H.A. Zawadzki *Concise History of Poland (1st ed.)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 63.
- 5 P.R. Magocsi *A History of Ukraine (1st ed.)* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996) 149.
- 6 J. Lukowski, H. Zawadzki *A Concise History of Poland (1st ed.)* 64.
- 7 N. Davies, *God’s Playground – A History of Poland, Volume I* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 31.
- 8 N. Riasanovsky, M. Steinberg *A History of Russia*, 7th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 61, 87.
- 9 B. Wiemer *Dialect and language contacts on the territory of the Grand Duchy from the 15th century until 1939*; K. Braunmüller, G. Ferraresi *Aspects of multilingualism in European language history* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003).
- 10 S. Vaitekūnas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės gyventojai* (Vilnius: Science and Encyclopaedia Publishing Institute, 2002).
- 11 Vaitekūnas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės gyventojai*.
- 12 P.S. Wandycz *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. (UK: Routledge, 2001) 120–136.
- 13 H.G. Nicolson *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812–1822*. (New York: Grove Press, 2001) 171.
- 14 T. Demidowicz *Statut Organiczny Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1832–1856* (Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne, Vol LXII, 2010) 1.
- 15 J.M. Bansemer, P.F. Zaleski *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* (London: Wyld, 1837).
- 16 M. Rolf *Imperial Russian Rule in the Kingdom of Poland, 1864–1915*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021) 23.
- 17 [https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/p/Polish-Lithuanian\\_Commonwealth.htm](https://www.cs.mcgill.ca/~rwest/wikispeedia/wpcd/wp/p/Polish-Lithuanian_Commonwealth.htm).
- 18 I. Bowman *Constantinople and the Balkans in What Really Happened at Paris* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1921) 142.
- 19 See the ethnographic maps at <http://www.lithuanianmaps.com/MapsEthnographic.html>.
- 20 D. Saunders *Russia’s Ukrainian Policy (1847–1905): a Demographic Approach* (European History Quarterly 25 (1995) 181–208.
- 21 D.W. Darrow *Census as a Technology of Empire* (Dayton, Ohio: Univ. of Dayton eCommons, History Faculty Publications, 12–2002) 29.
- 22 <https://www.britannica.com/event/Russian-Revolution-of-1905>.
- 23 J. Dainauskas: *Prelude to Independence – The Great Conference of Vilnius, 1905* (LITUANUS: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences, Volume 11, No.4 – Winter 1965 [http://www.old.lituanus.org/1965/65\\_4\\_03\\_Dainauskas.html](http://www.old.lituanus.org/1965/65_4_03_Dainauskas.html)).
- 24 I. Chrzanowski, W. Konopczyński: *Życiorys Romana Dmowskiego* [Biography of Roman Dmowski] 1946.
- 25 E. Batumen, *Novels of the Empire* (The New Yorker, January 30, 2023) 50.
- 26 S. Seegel *Mapping Europe’s Borderlands* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2012) 272.
- 27 T. Emmons, W.S. Vucinich *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) 34.
- 28 Letter of March 14, 1918, from Professor Lord to Isaiah Bowman, pasted inside the front cover of Romer’s 1916 “Atlas Polski” housed at the American Geographical Society Library, AT 644 E-1916.
- 29 S. Seegel *Mapping Europe’s Borderlands* 279.
- 30 A.E. Alcock *A history of the protection of regional cultural minorities in Europe: from the Edict of Nantes to the present day*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000) 73.
- 31 R.L. Buell *Poland – Key to Europe*. (Herzberg Press, 2007) 79.

