



BEATA KONOPSKA

Department of Cartography and Geomatics

Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

beata.konopska@o2.pl

The cartographic materials auxiliary in the determination of the borders of Poland during the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920) in the light of archival records

Abstract. The work indicated in Polish literature as the cartographic basis for the negotiations of Polish issues at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920) is Eugeniusz Romer's *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski (Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland)*. Given the complicated fate of the atlas, the position of its author in the Polish delegation, and the multidisciplinary and importance of the conference, it is worth considering whether this atlas really played such an important role, or whether this is merely a statement, a repeated assignment of this role, to stave off concealment or lack of knowledge about other cartographic materials developed and used for the same purpose. Therefore, the main aim of this study was to determine the level of use of cartographic documents other than the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* in lobbying and official negotiations of Polish issues before and during the Paris Peace Conference. The research task was associated with an extensive archival query, which confirmed the fact that dozens of maps survived, mainly manuscripts, which were prepared before and during the conference. It should be concluded that the maps of E. Romer's atlas constituted one set of many equally important cartographic documents which were used by the negotiators at the Paris Peace Conference.

Keywords: history of the 20th century cartography, Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Versailles, Polish borders

1. Introduction

The Paris Peace Conference, which convened after the end of World War I, lasted from 18 January 1919 to 21 January of the following year. Its provisions, enshrined in the Treaty of Versailles, gave rise to a new European order. The conference was attended by 27 allied and associated countries, as well as India and four British colonies. The decisions were the responsibility of the Supreme Council, made up of representatives from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan; however, in practice – because of Italy's weakness as a partner and Japan's lack of interest in European affairs – the decisions were undertaken by Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the US President, David L. George, the British Prime Minister, and Georges Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister and chairman of the conference. Each of the countries forming the Supreme Council was represented by five delegates and representatives,

who sat on all 52 commissions. Representation from other countries was more modest; each was allowed between one and three places among the delegates and a limited right to participate in the commissions (A. Garlicki 1989, p. 41). Poland was officially represented by Roman Dmowski and Ignacy J. Paderewski. Their actions were supported by a team of several dozen people, made up of politicians, scientists, experts, publishers and journalists. Among the experts were specialists from various disciplines, including historians, geographers, geologists, ethnographers and statisticians.

In designing the new borders in Europe, the politicians were reliant on cartographic materials. The documents and memories of the participants of the conference show that they used maps developed before and during the sessions. For example, the Czech delegation were officially supported by the 'Cartographic Office', while the Polish delegates, R. Dmowski and I.J. Paderewski, had cartographic materials

prepared by the 'Geographical Office'; according to the literature, they also used maps provided by other units of the Polish National Committee.

In *Pamiętnik paryski (1918–1919) (Parisian Diary)*, written by E. Romer during the conference, the eminent geographer describes conversations about the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* (1916), as well as other maps that he reviewed, checked or ordered from the country. The *Geographical and Statistical Atlas*, released in a timely and innovative manner, has been the subject of various studies and analyses (S. Gurba and J. Mościbroda 1982; W. Wilk 1999; J. Mościbroda and M. Sirko 2004). Today, it belongs to the few cartographic publications found in the quite substantial bibliographic database (F. Uhorczak and J. Wąsowicz 1960, pp. 137–138). There is a perception among some Polish cartographers that it was this cartographic publication that played a major role in the negotiation of Polish issues before and during the Peace Conference. This commonly held perception, which also encompasses publications in fields other than the history of cartography, stems not so much from the indication of the atlas as a basis for the negotiations, as from a failure to identify the other cartographic materials which were used during the official and unofficial meetings. Therefore, the main research question was to determine the level of use of cartographic atlases other than the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* in lobbying and official negotiations of Polish issues before and during the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920). This research question is accompanied by a number of other specific questions – above all: what were these maps and how was their content presented, who were their authors, how and when were they developed and what issues were they used to address? There is also the vital question of whether and where these maps have been preserved.

2. Research methodology and nature of the source material

In order to formulate a response to the research question, a query was carried out in the Archives of New Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych – AAN) in Warsaw, reviewing corpora made up of documents imported from Paris on the activities of the Polish National Committee,

the Polish Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and the Bureau of Congress at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the next query was conducted at the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and Museum (WWP), Staunton, Virginia, USA, covering digital collections mostly from 'World War I Correspondence'.

The Polish National Committee (Komitet Narodowy Polski – KNP) was established in 1917 with the aim of representing Polish issues in the international forum, among other things. It was formally recognised in the second half of 1917, and in November 1918 its representatives were permitted to participate in international conferences and peace negotiations. Officially, KNP was active until August 1919, but in practice it began the transfer of records in January 1919 to the Polish delegation, which took over its role.

The discovered cartographic sources are primarily maps and manual cartographic sketches, which can be divided into different groups, with scale being the main criterion:

- small scale maps (hand-drawn or printed), showing the full range of the former Polish territories, hand-drawn with the signature (or initials) of the author or auditor, displaying various issues: territorial, ethnic, language, literacy, historical; maps drawn and published before the outbreak of World War I, mainly from the German geographical atlases, used for colonial issues among other things; maps printed in various types of brochures and press propaganda from the conference period, representing different themes;

- medium scale maps (Polish, German), primarily representing the proposed borders against a settlement and transportation network background or showing parts of former Polish territories with thematic content marked by hand;

- topographic maps (mainly German), printed maps with thematic content marked by hand or imprinted, mainly in red, e.g. territorial issues or the occurrence of mineral resources, distribution of industry, etc., this group included a well-preserved hand-drawn plan of Gdańsk;

- large scale maps representing the course of selected sections of the Vistula and the Bug rivers, developed by District Waterways I and II;

- other maps, hand-drawn cartographic sketches and maps found in the notes, presenting a different cartographic quality, on different

topics, including territorial matters, distribution of settlements inhabited by Poles in the Americas, etc.

3. Analysis of the cartographic materials in the historical context

The query carried out with the above-mentioned AAN corpora and at the WWP revealed the preservation of many maps and documents that referred to the use of various forms of cartographic presentations during the lobbying activities before and during the conference and during the official negotiations. The query unearthed an unexpectedly large number of maps. Therefore, the author of this article discusses only selected items. The focus is mainly on the maps and hand-drawn sketches depicting the various proposals for the border lines; several typical thematic works are also identified, showing thematic content applied manually onto ready-printed maps. Some of the maps are untitled, which significantly impedes their unequivocal identification. Maps in brochures and propaganda publications are generally omitted.

3.1. Selected maps in use before the official opening of the Peace Conference

Studies of the international situation after the end of World War I suggest that most of the territorial and compensation issues had already been roughly outlined before the start of the Paris Peace Conference. When it came to Polish issues, the main role was played by President Wilson, although his attitude towards these issues was defined not – as is widely believed – by the influence of I.J. Paderewski, but, according to A. Garlicki (1989, p. 2), by the analysis of the future of Europe and American interests in the region. According to H. Parafianowicz (2001, p. 63), it was mainly the diplomats and politicians who were responsible for the popularisation and mythologisation attributed to W. Wilson (and the US) in the reconstruction of the Polish state. However, over time, as Parafianowicz notes, their statements differ somewhat – he gives the example of R. Dmowski himself: initially, when he was personally lobbying for support from Wilson on Polish issues, he saw him as an advocate, but later referred

to him with some remove in his paper *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa (Polish Politics and Rebuilding the State)*, written in the mid-1920s. He did appreciate the fact, however, that Wilson defended Polish issues during the Paris Conference. Just before leaving for the United States, he told Dmowski: “You remember, you once asked me in Washington for a map of the future Poland. It’s true, you didn’t get everything, but you must admit that what you have is not so far from what you demanded” (H. Parafianowicz 2001, p. 63, after R. Dmowski 1989, vol. 2, p. 99).

The topic of maps submitted to W. Wilson appeared several times in the archival materials. The first maps probably reached him in the spring of 1917. Information on these maps can be found in the WWP collection, ‘World War I Correspondence’, in the correspondence of George J. Sosnowski to W. Wilson on 18 April 1917. As shown in the commentary, Sosnowski sent three maps of the Polish territories showing the partitions of Poland: “I enclose three maps of English make showing plainly the three partitions of Poland, with a small indicating which States by such partition and in what manner. Poland should have just reparation from those States for all the misery to which she has been subjected during the last 125 years by crimes committed upon her living body”¹. Another document describing the Polish territorial losses during the subsequent annexation shows: “On Map I, the territories in Silesia, marked by blue pencil, are very rich in coal fields. These territories are today populated by Poles, the majorities in the different districts differing from 40% to 80%. It was the coal and coke by-products industry that made Prussia so rich and formidable. This district, although lost by the Poles before the first partition, should be restored to them, and this will forever hamper Prussian and German preparations. The lost Sea territories, marked by blue pencil, were artificially depopulated of the Slavic element; these should also be returned to the Poles. We must always have before us, in dealing with the Polish question, the fact that although in some districts the Poles are in minority, such minority

¹ WWP21237, George J. Sosnowski to Woodrow Wilson, [18 Apr. 1917]; Sent to: Woodrow Wilson; <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=2393> (access: 17.04.2016).

was created by the most cruel methods employed by both Prussia and Russia”².

In a letter written on 27 October 1918, sent from the USA to Maurycy K. Zamoyski, Vice-President of the National Committee in Paris, R. Dmowski recalls his US meetings, including one with Colonel E.M. House, writing: “I went there with maps to confront the territorial issue”, as well as meetings with R. Lansing and W. Wilson: “At the end of the interview, Wilson asked to be presented with a map showing the Polish borders we had drafted, along with a note explaining for each province why we needed it and what right we had to it”³. This request was probably a response to the map that was shown to him at the time and which W. Wilson later commented on during one of the meetings of the Supreme Council, referring to that meeting: “I met with Mr Dmowski and Mr Paderewski in Washington and asked them to identify the Poland they expect, and they showed me a map, on which they demanded the return of a whole part of the globe”⁴. Based on the documents stored at the Warsaw Museum of Independence, J. Niklewska (2016) determined that R. Dmowski did indeed send W. Wilson a map, in October 1918, of the political division of the pre-war Polish territories and their language areas, a historical map of Poland illustrating the nationality of children in elementary schools under Prussian rule, and a map of the proposed Polish borders with an explanatory text⁵. In the remainder of the letter, Dmowski confided that developing the maps and commentary for Wilson took him a long time. At the end of the letter, he announced to M.K. Zamoyski that, along with the letter, he would also send “two copies of each of the three maps (Romer’s historical map, the pre-war territory map and a map of the proposed territory)”. The included maps are: 1. the ‘Historical Map of Poland’ (which Dmowski calls ‘Romer’s Historical’), which looks

like an adaptation of Table VI of W. Semkowicz’s ‘History’ from the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* in terms of the basic historical content, although the geographic base is completely different from the one in the *Atlas*, 2. ‘The Proposed Frontiers of Poland’⁶ – including Upper Silesia and Gdańsk, with parts of East Prussia, Vilnius and Minsk, up to the Daugava River, and to Kamieniec Podolski in the south-east, 3. ‘The Political Subdivision of the Polish Territory Before the War and its Linguistic Areas’ within the Polish pre-partition, bordering Sweden and the Black Sea, with the administrative divisions and proportions of Polish language – a sketch showing the outline of Poland and parts of the German, Bolshevik and Ukrainian borders⁷. In October 1918, the American experts (the so-called House Commission) and Prof. R.H. Lord’s subcommittee received a mandate to develop a new map of the Polish lands under Prussian rule for the American delegation to the Peace Conference. The map was developed by Stanisław Zwierzchowski, a native of Poznań province and a professor at the University of Michigan (M. Seyda 1927, in J. Niklewska 2016).

Even before the start of the conference, KNP sent out the maps to various institutions and organisations that lobbied on behalf of Polish issues. For example, in October 1918, maps of Poland prepared by Prof. Grabski were sent to Rome, 200 maps of the Prussian partition were submitted to the Press Department of KNP, 50 maps of Poland and 10 defined as ‘blank’ or ‘blind’ maps were sent to the Supreme Command of the Polish Army, a package of maps was also sent to the Polish Military Mission of Siberia and the US Army, the latest map of the Polish borders was sent to the Department of Moral and Material Care at KNP, 10 copies of ‘our propaganda maps’ and R. Dmowski’s map were sent to the Office of KNP’s General Secretariat, three maps of Poland according to the design of the Committee were submitted to the Economic Office at KNP, and one map of Poland was sent to the address of the Geographical Institute at the University of Montpellier, and to the Comité de

² WWP21238, Partition of the Republic of Poland, [18 Apr. 1917]; Sent to: Woodrow Wilson; <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=2720> (access: 17.04.2016).

³ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 139, pp. 30–48.

⁴ *Sprawy polskie na Konferencji Pokojowej w Paryżu w 1919 r. Dokumenty i materiały (Polish Issues at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Documents and Materials)*, Vol. 1, p. 302, after J. Niklewska, *Roman Dmowski, droga do Polski (Roman Dmowski, the Road to Poland)*, Warsaw 2016, p. 262.

⁵ MN, AD, A100/34, p. 10; after J. Niklewska, op. cit., p. 177.

⁶ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 139, pp. 30–49, 59–62.

⁷ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 122, pp. 73–72.

Secours aux Anglais in Belgium⁸. In November 1918, KNP submitted 94 maps from the 'propaganda library' to 37 people lobbying in Polish issues, and 20 maps and more than 1,100 books were sent to particular people in December, so that by the end of 1918 there remained 2,365 maps in the library. A further 22 maps were sent out in January 1919⁹.

In October 1918, the KNP Propaganda Office received an order from the Central Polish Agency in Lausanne for 10 copies of 'Romer's Atlas', which was executed via 'pick-up' from bookshops; for example, 'Polonia' in Lausanne provided J. Rozwadowski with copies of the atlas in April and June 1919 (the bookshop sold a total of 30 copies of the atlas in June for 780 francs, with a 25% discount). In addition, the 'Mr Władysław A. Strzembosz edition' of the map of Poland was sent to Switzerland (and also to Portugal) from the Deputy Director of the Polish Library in Paris¹⁰.

3.2. Selected maps from the period of negotiation of Polish issues during the Conference

The map to which several references were made in the context of W. Wilson, the American delegation and the conference agenda was the so-called 'Conference Map', the 'Committee Map', both in the archival documentation and in the literature (J. Niklewska 2016; E. Romer 1989).

On 2 February 1919, in a confidential note addressed to R. Dmowski, M.K. Zamoyski, J. Wielowiejski and K. Skirmunt, E. Piltz wrote about the work of the Commission set up under the presidency of A. Tardieu to determine the borders of Poland from the point of view of France: "following lengthy discussions, the Committee Map was adopted as the basis, with few changes"; E. Piltz goes on to describe the changes introduced in the process of the borders being set by the Committee in terms of the map's outline. The 'Table of work' from that period – probably used for the matter described – includes a list of maps that illustrate texts

about the borders. The first one complemented a text discussing "The maximum and minimum borders of south-eastern Poland based on historical and statistical evidence, the state of Polish ownership and the strength of Polish culture, taking into account the transportation and strategic needs". The topic is accompanied by the following names: B. Bator, O. Halecki, J. Czekanowski. The second map covered "The maximum and minimum borders of north-eastern Poland based on..." [text as above], and this issue was assigned to W. Kamieniecki, M. Kościałkowski (Vilnius) and H. Mościcki. According to the list, the third map comprised a group with the description "The borders of the former western Austrian partition..." [text as above], with one name, J. Buzek, appearing beside the subject. The next map covered "The western border of the Prussian partition..." [text as above] – Upper Silesia and Wielkopolska – here, the responsibility for the issues rested on J. Buzek (Kraków), Duda (National Archives in Kraków) and B. Chrzanowski (Poznań). The next map, "The northern border of the Prussian partition..." [text as above] covered Gdańsk, East Prussia and Prussian Masuria; this work was assigned to J. Buzek and B. Chrzanowski. The next, "The area of the Polish State and general motives of its borders..." [text as above], went to R. Rybarski and W. Wakar. The texts describing the western border of Cieszyn Silesia, western and southern border of Orava, Spiš and Čadca, and the boundary of West Prussia are without map annotations, as is the case with many other issues¹¹.

In mid-March the Territorial Commission, chaired by France, presented the proposals for the Polish-German border which were written about by E. Piltz. Poland would get all of Upper Silesia, Great Poland (Wielkopolska), Pomeralia, Gdańsk, and four districts on the right bank of the Vistula river with the Warsaw-Gdańsk railway line; meanwhile, the Commission left the affiliation of Masuria to the results of a plebiscite. This proposal was opposed by David Lloyd George, Prime Minister and delegate to the United Kingdom, in relation to the right bank districts and Gdańsk. In a diary entry dated 28 March 1919, Cary Grayson writes of how that day, D.L. George found W. Wilson

⁸ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 348, pp. 13–16, 22, 34, 39, 41, 49, 64, 106, 110.

⁹ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 349, pp. 24–27.

¹⁰ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 347, pp. 1, 12–13, 37–39.

¹¹ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 122, pp. 3–4, 74.

studying the map of Europe: „The President said: «Yes, and I can't help but recall the feeling I had when as a boy I was studying geography. This seems as puzzling as it did when as a boy I studied all of the unknown country west of the Mississippi. The contrast is very striking to my mind. And in following out these maps it vividly recalls the study of geography in my boyhood days.» In the afternoon the Supreme War Council discussed the Polish situation again, without reaching a definite decision.”¹²

As a result of the negotiations, the project presented to the German delegation also introduced a plebiscite in Warmia and Gdańsk as a free city under the control of the League of Nations. At the end of May, the Supreme Council received the comments from the German delegation, wherein Germany questioned the decisions concerning Upper Silesia and Gdańsk, but the Polish response, prepared by experts from the Bureau of Congress, used German statistical material to undermine the German claims. However, the effect was limited. Poland's claim to Upper Silesia was also challenged by the British delegation. As a result of the dispute, the Polish issues were transferred to the Commission for the Eastern Border of Germany, which also convened under the chairmanship of France. Eventually, the Free City of Gdańsk was created and Masuria, Warmia and Upper Silesia were assigned to plebiscites. In total, the area granted to Poland was 20% less than proposed by the Territorial Commission.

Without a doubt, these controversies concerning the Polish border – at the heart of which lay the new distribution of power and influence on the continent, with the shape of the Polish borders only a side-effect – intensified the level of cartographic activity.

In March 1919, the High Command of the Polish Army offered the National Commission maps of Poland developed by the Topographical Department (in five colours in the format 50×60 cm). The Committee, pledging to bear the cost of map printing, recommended the presentation of the western border along the lines already established at the conference and the Lithuanian border in the form of a “quite visible isolation”, as well as the railway network

and possible outline of the mountains. As source material, the Committee sent the Command a copy of the map of recovery of the Polish borders according to the latest design set by the delegation, along with 50 ethnographic maps¹³.

From the surviving maps and cartographic sketches depicting territorial issues, the following stand out: a sketch of the border of the German Empire after 1871, the western border of the Polish Kingdom of Bolesław Krzywousty, as well as a map of Poland with borders from 1772, along with highlighted feudal areas, drafted borders and the proportion of the population speaking Polish (with parts of Silesia and East Prussia lying beyond the designated borders). The maps prepared for discussions of individual sections of the western border are also of interest, such as: the ‘Map of the western border of Poland’ at the scale of 1:1,000,000 prepared by the Bureau of Congress, the ‘Ethnographic map of the Prussian partition’, the ‘Map of Royal and Ducal Prussia’ on at the scale of 1:1,000,000, developed in Toruń on 8 March 1919, the ‘Map of East Prussia’ with the proposed Polish border and areas more than 50 percent inhabited by Poles, the ‘Map of the Silesian Basin’, the ‘Map of distribution of the Polish population within the ethnographic borders and nearest borderlands’ made by the Polish Progressive Union, and the ‘Transportation network map’. The ‘copy of the Peace Treaty document dated 7 May 1919’ presents the western Polish border, the plebiscite area, the Free City of Gdańsk, the part of borders of the former districts, and the parts of Germany ceded to other countries (hand-drawn)¹⁴. The hand-drawn documents include a coloured plan of Gdańsk – a detailed topographical drawing with a number of objects described – at the scale of 1:10,000 with descriptions in German and the legend in French¹⁵.

The materials related to the issue of the southern border and the possible plebiscite in the Duchy of Cieszyn include analyses of the five conceptions of the border lines in the form of comments and cartographic sketches from

¹² WWP17118; Cary Grayson: Peace Conference Diary Entry, 28 Mar. 1919; <http://www.woodrowwilson.org/digital-library/view.php?did=597> (access: 17.04.2016).

¹³ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 318, pp. 8–9.

¹⁴ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 1690, pp. 1–4; ref. 1693, pp. 1–3; ref. 1697, pp. 1–3; ref. 1699, pp. 1–4; ref. 1701, pp. 1–3; ref. 1695, pp. 1–5; ref. 1696, pp. 1–4; ref. 1691, pp. 1–3.

¹⁵ AAN, corpus 40, ref. 34. p. 193.

11 April 1919, developed "according to the last map of Prof. Popiołek"¹⁶. Other maps preserved include 'Polonais sur le Versant sud des Carpathes', at the scale of 1:500,000, which represents the proportion of Poles in Silesia, Spiš and Orava, 'Pays du peuple Tcheco-Slave', a map showing proposals for the borders of Cieszyn Silesia and Opole at the scale of 1:750,000, developed by A. Dudziński and E. Romer, and draft maps of the south-western Polish borderlands with corrections made by E. Romer¹⁷.

The rivers constituted separate items of interest during the conference. The maps retained in the conference documentation were used by the Subcommission for the Internationalisation of Rivers in dealing with matters of 'international river systems'. These are the detailed *Mapa Bugu (Map of Bug)*¹⁸ (descriptions on the map in Cyrillic), authenticated with the signature of Mateusz K. Puciata, head of the II District Waterways, and *Plan rzeki Wisły od klm. 103 do 287. Roboty wykonane, roboty projektowane (The Vistula River Plan from 103 to 287 km. Work completed and work planned)*¹⁹ signed by J. Ćwikel, head of the I District Waterways. Puciata was also the author of the 'Maps of the Polish state waterways' at the scale of 1:2,000,000, which indicated the rivers and canals that required adjustment and reconstruction, and the dangers of their potential internationalisation.

In addition to the maps of the past, proposed or part-agreed boundaries in the post-conference documents, there are many thematic studies which supported the specified border concepts. These include population and economic maps, such as the 'Map of mineral resources, mineral springs and spas of the Polish borderland area', along with commentary, prepared by Walery Goetel in January 1919. In order to present the contents, the author used the 'Map of the Polish Lands – South', printed in Cieszyn at the scale of 1:600,000. Another of Goetel's maps is the 'General map of Poland's mineral resources' at the scale of 1:1,500,000, together with a list of places where raw materials

occurred. On the map, in addition to the locations and the extent of occurrence of the main raw materials, the author inferred the borders of the former partitions and the ethnographic borders, and in the commentary to the map he stipulated that it should be used only with an explanation of the contents by specialists, since the main purpose of the map was to draw attention to the poverty of raw materials in central Poland and their wealth in the borderlands, especially in the south. Another map is the hand-made 'Map of mineral resources in Volyn'²⁰, with highly detailed content. The above-mentioned thematic maps are included on the list of items sent to Paris on 26 April 1919: 1. The 'Map of [Polish] population distribution' (from S. Kontkiewicz's paper on the indivisibility of coalfields), 2. The map for the paper 'Polish demands in relation to Hungary', 3. The 'General map of Poland's mineral resources' (W. Goetel), 4. The 'General map of the Duchy of Cieszyn', 5. The 'Map of the Polish lands – South' (W. Goetel), 6. The 'Map of mineral beds in Volyn', 7. The 'Map of the Polish lands – South', 8. The 'Statistical map of the land of Minsk', 9. The 'Map of German colonies in the Russian State', 10. The 'Map of sugar mills and refineries of the Russian State', 11. The 'Map depicting the ratio of Polish to Russian ownership in the region of Lithuanian-Belarusian lands', 12. The 'Map of Poland' (published by the Social Press Office), 13. The 'Map depicting the ratio of Polish to Russian population in the region of Lithuanian-Belarusian lands'²¹.

4. Conclusions

The archival query carried out at the AAN and WWP unearthed a surprisingly large number of maps, as well as documents describing cartographic material or indicating an intention to develop specific maps. The documents that discuss how to use the maps prepared for the unofficial and official discussions, and the reactions of politicians to their content, as well as the strained relationships between politicians and experts, should be considered extremely

¹⁶ AAN, corpus 40, ref. 17, p. 96.

¹⁷ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 139, pp. 70–75, 145–147.

¹⁸ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 1460, pp. 1–4.

¹⁹ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 1708, pp. 1–2.

²⁰ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 794, pp. 3–9; ref. 792, pp. 1–9; ref. 1702, pp. 1–4.

²¹ AAN, corpus 39, ref. 1709, p. 3.

valuable. The wide dispersion of the documentation makes it difficult to analyse all of it. The organisation of the preserved cartographic and descriptive material requires additional in-depth studies.

Due to the results of the study, it should be stated that the assumption adopted in the introduction, that the archival queries in the selected 'post-Paris' corpora held at the AAN and WWP would lead to cartographic materials that are important for Polish history of cartography, was correct – although, it would seem, quite limited. There is a high probability of finding additional materials in other collections – for example, the Archive of the Museum of Independence in Warsaw, the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Polish Library in Paris.

The collected material allowed the realisation of the research task, which was to discover the cartographic elaborations that were useful in the lobbying and official negotiations of Polish issues before and during the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920); a few dozen cartographic elaborations were identified apart from the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland*. On this basis, it can be stated that all kinds of maps – hand-drawn and printed, in the form of cartographic sketches and professionally produced – played an important role in determining the details of the new order in Europe, both in Paris and in Poland, before and during the conference. However, an unexpected finding was the fact that no maps from the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* were encountered in the reviewed corpora, and only a few references to these maps were found in written documents. This means that there remains some doubt as to whether the *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland* was the most important cartographic source during the conference, and at the earlier meetings in the USA.

In view of the dispersion and the surprisingly large amount of preserved cartographic material, in most cases it was not possible to answer the

specific questions posed in the introduction. Each site requires a separate, detailed study.

5. Final remarks

The number of maps developed by all delegations during the Paris Peace Conference is further evidence of the strength of cartographic communication and the universality of the language of maps. During the conference, maps were one of the forms of communication between the delegates and representatives of each country. In this context, the Woodrow Wilson statue in Poznań, established by I.J. Paderewski in 1931, was not only an obelisk of gratitude commemorating the chief negotiator of the Paris Conference, but also a symbol of the essence of these negotiations – “President Wilson stands on the map of Poland” (*Kurier Poznański*, 01.07.1931, p. 3). The statue, sculpted by Gutzon Borglum – a prominent American artist, creator of the famous four presidential heads at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial – was destroyed during World War II. Photographic documentation of the unveiling of the statue on 4 July 1931 is stored in the National Digital Archive (ref. 1-U-5100-6).

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