

APPENDIX I
THE INQUIRY

The Inquiry originated⁽¹⁾ in April 1917 when Col. E. M.

House brought a group of experts together for purposes of conducting various geographic, ethnic, historical, economic and political questions likely to confront the peace conference.

At its fullest it had 18 divisions each headed by a specialist.

The records include typewritten reports and memoranda frequently accompanied by speciality maps, a series of specially drafted base maps and block diagrams of problem areas on which were superimposed various data, often hand-colored, for inclusion with the Inquiry reports.

On the basis of these reports recommendations were prepared by the Intelligence Section of the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace in two reports called the "Black Book" and the "Red Book."

1

Handbook of Federal World War Agencies and Their Records, 1917-1921, P. 271.

The former appears in David Hunter Miller's "My Diary of the Peace Conference", Volume IV, Pp. 209-281, as Document No. 246, "Outline of Tentative Report and Recommendations Prepared by the Intelligence Section in Accordance with Instructions for the President and the Plenipotentiaries, 21 January 1919", and in the Reports of the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace, 185.112/1. The "Red Book" was a part of Woodrow Wilson's papers now available at the Library of Congress.

The map titles listed below have been taken from "Inventory A" prepared by Mark Jefferson, Chief Cartographer to the Inquiry, submitting the maps to the Library of Congress¹, 1919. The following maps, selected as immediately applicable to the problem of the frontier for eastern Poland, include maps constructed or annotated by the Inquiry. Other subjects such as transportation, climate, agriculture have been omitted.

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The maps including hand-drawn originals, fair drawings, and reference maps used by the Inquiry, are all stored now in the Department of State. A selection of these are on file at the Map Library of the Division of Geography and Cartography, Department of State. The remaining maps which represent the bulk of the Inquiry collection are in less accessible storage.

The maps are arranged under general subject headings.

The following particulars are given where possible:

1. Title and scale.
2. Catalog number. Names of countries preceding a number refer to the regional card file in "Inventory A."
3. Brief description, if available.

BOUNDARY MAPS

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
1. Ukraine	1:100,000	N. D.	54	Administrative boundaries, railroads, principal cities and rivers
2. German-Russian Boundary	N. S.	5 March 1918	495	According to Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
3. German-Russian Boundary	1:3,200,000	11 Nov. 1918	496	According to Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
4. Russia: Languages and Proposed Boundaries	1:3,000,000	2 Nov. 1918	508	
5. Boundary of Ukraine	N. S.	12 Nov. 1918	534	After Article II of Treaty of Peace between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey and Republic of Ukraine, 19 February 1918 at Brest-Litovsk
5. Seat of Ukraine	1:8,700,000	25 Nov. 1918	537	

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
7. Poland, Lithuania and Western Ukraine	1:6,000,000	10 January 1919	657	Alternative boundaries and language lines
8. Russia	N. S.	11 January 1919	662	All boundaries by Robert H. Lord except those for Rumania
9. "Ambitions of Our Friends".	1:3,200,000	22 March 1919	758	Conflicting claims of Italy, Greece, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slavakia, Poland and Ukraine
10. ibid	1:6,000,000	11 April 1919	758a	
11. Bolshevik Russia	1:14,000,000	26 March 1919	763	Proposed encroachments on old Russia outlined with new countries, and present front of Bolshevik forces
12. Latvia and Lithuania	1:3,000,000	23 April 1919	782	
13. Polish-Ruthenian Linguistic Frontier in Galicia	1:1,000,000	9 Nov. 1918	856 (Poland 86)	
14. Northeastern Ethnographic Boundary of Poland	16 miles to the inch	7 May 1918	858 & 874 (Poland 42)	Shows conflict of authorities
15. "Minimum Demands"	1:1,000,000	N. D.	860	Submitted by Polish Premier to Berlin and Vienna according to indirect advices of the "Lokal-Auzeiger" (Daily Review of Foreign Press, 15 June 1919)

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
16. Northeastern Ethno-graphic Boundary of Poland	16 miles to inch	7 May 1918	874 (Poland 68)	Shows conflict of authorities
17. Treaty Line of 9 February 1918	1:2,700,000	11 April 1918	878 Russia 12	Shows territory covered by Polish Army
18. Frontiere de Russe, de Prusse, et d'Autriche	100 Km. to the inch	30 April 1918	880 Poland 40	Historical boundary lines of Poland, railroads, forts, etc.
19. Approximate Frontier where Polish population predominates	1:1,250,000	10 March 1918	925	With frontiers of Poland and of the Austrian and Prussian provinces which have a large Polish population
20. The Four Polands	1:1,000,000	14 June 1918	Poland 39A (928)	ibid. Shows conflict of authorities
21. The Four Polands	66 2/3 mi. to inch	16 March 1918	Poland 39 (929)	Lord's Report "A Comparative Study of the Various Solutions of the Polish Question."

ETHNIC MAPS

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
1. Russia: Languages	1:3,000,000		501	
2. Russia: Languages	1:3,000,000		502	
3. Main Disputed Elements on the Eastern Front	66 mi. to the inch	Feb. 1918	857 (Russia 8)	
4. Ethnic Map of Poland	N. S.	3 Oct. 1918	870 (Russia 69)	Figures from E. Romer
5. Limits of Polish Population 50% and Over	N. S.	10 Apr. 1918	871 (Poland 35)	
6. Nationalities in Vilna-Pruduo Region	N. S.	N. D.	873A (Russia 34)	According to the census taken by the German authorities 1916-1917
7. Jewish Population of Poland 1893-1909	N. S.	N. D.	877C (Poland 87)	
8. Distribution of Polish-Speaking Population in Eastern Galicia	1:1,000,000	14 June 1918	909 (Poland 35A)	

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
9. Increase and Decrease of the Percentage of Polish Population 1893-1910	N. S.	N. D.	910A (Poland 88)	
10. Percentage of Polish Population in Poland and Lithuania	N. S.	4 Feb. 1918	907 (Poland 7)	Based on Russian census of 1909 with percentages found by German authorities for the provinces of Grodno and Wilno
11. The Polish Area: The People	16 mi. to the inch	7 May 1918	915 (Poland 43)	Distribution of Population by Administrative Districts
12. Distribution of Polish Speaking Population in Eastern Galicia	N. S.	24 Apr. 1918	924 (Poland 36)	
13. Number of Roman Catholics in Each Parish	1:1,000,000	23 May 1918	918 (Poland 47)	Based on Table XIV (Inset) of Romer's Atlas.
14. Proportion of Parishes to Population	1:1,000,000	ibid	919 (Poland 53)	Boundaries of dioceses also shown; based on Plate XIV of Romer's Atlas

MAPS ON LAND TENURE

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
1. Land Ownership	1:1,000,000	23 May 1918	884 (Poland 44)	Distribution of large estates based on Table XVII of Romer's Atlas

MAPS OF MINERAL RESOURCES

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	CAT. NO.	DESCRIPTION
1. Mineral Map of Poland and Adjacent Terr.	1:950,400	8 Nov. 1918	890 (Poland 70)	Compiled from Official and other publications
2. Coal Deposits in Cieszyn, Galicia and Bukowina	N. S.	4 Feb. 1918	891 (Poland 21)	From the atlas "Coal Resources of the World"
3. Erdolanalysen: Galizien Reverbirgamt Drohobycz	N. S.	ibid.	893 (Poland 22)	Tables of analyses of Galician Petroleum. From Angler-Hofer: Das Erdol, Volume I, Table XIV

TITLE	SCALE	DATE	INQUIRY MAP NO.	DESCRIPTION
4. Erdolanalysen: Galizien Revierbergamt Jaslo	N. S.	Ibid.	894 (Poland 21)	ibid., Table XIII
5. Erdolanalysen: Galizien (Schulzs) Ungarn	N. S.	Ibid.	895 (Poland 23)	ibid., Table XV
6. Galicia, Bukowina and North Huntary. Distri- bution of Oil Districts	N. S.	Ibid.	896 (Poland 19)	
7. Ubersichtskarte der Erdolfundorte in den Karpathian	N. S.	Ibid.	897 (Poland 20)	From Engler-Hofer: Dar Erdol.
8. Die salinen und soolequellen Galiziens und der Bukiwina mit bezug auf das zugekorige verzeichniss	N. S.	Ibid.	898 (Poland 25)	From Jahrbuch des K.K. Geologischen Reich- anstalt 1876, V. 26

Maps concerning the problem of the eastern frontier of Poland of necessity must reflect the character of its organic evolution. Boundary problems and their solution are not accidental phenomena in a vacuum but rather represent an organic historical progression of human affairs and relationships. Upon this hypothesis this study has organized a selective treatment and analysis of selected maps. Such maps functionally may serve purposes of illustrating reports, historical studies or propagandistic theses, other times they may be intergral parts of official documents serving as media supplementary to a text defining boundary proposals, agreements, and declarations. On account of such wide uses of maps this study includes ^{these various} ~~all~~ types of maps in order to maintain at least that outline of organic unity which pervades a given boundary problem.

Not the least of the phases of a boundary-map study is the location and availability of such maps. Occasionally boundaries

may exist only in an official note without ever having been reduced to a cartographic form. Such seems to have been the case in the Curzon Line problem; the Curzon Line existed only in the official note which gave the line its name. Too, the inaccessibility to official documents beyond one's own country may mean an imperfect presentation of a study. In such instances semi-official maps may fill such gaps. These are maps which, while not a part of a formal document, are either published and/or distributed by official governmental organizations. In this category would be offices of information of a government, research units of a foreign office, or maps published under high governmental auspices; all of three types are included in this study, to wit, maps distributed (and probably) published by the Polish Ministry of Information, map published by the British Foreign Office, and maps in the Great Soviet World Atlas (published under the auspices of the Council of People's Commissars). In addition, maps included are those appearing as a part of the records of the Paris Peace Conference; maps of the Inquiry, and

maps included in David Hunter Miller's "My Diary of the Peace Conference" which consists of official documents, notes, memos, and private correspondence on official affairs concerning the Peace Conference.

The analysis of maps which follows is organized on a historical-chronological basis. Short historical summaries concerning boundary lines are intended to provide an explanation of their origin and evolution, ^{for purposes of comparison} ~~of the various boundary lines~~. The political forces involved in the evolution of the problem as such are omitted, and no judgment is expressed concerning the political implications of the various boundary proposals or lines.

The frontier problem of Poland centers on the Riga boundary (Treaty of Riga 18 March 1921), and on the Curzon Line which has been re-introduced by the Soviet Union to displace it. These two frontiers have had, in the main, two separate histories, though they were not entirely exclusive of each other. The Riga boundary, however, was the result of exclusively Soviet-Polish negotiations following the termination of the Soviet-Polish war

of 1919-1920, while the Curzon Line was of British composition of at least two frontier proposals evolved in the Paris Peace Conference. These two proposals, moreover, were evolved not without some reference to Congress Poland and in turn, to the Partitions of Poland. Hence the analysis is arranged under four sub-headings: boundary maps of Poland before World War I, maps of the Paris Peace Conference, maps of the Curzon Line, maps of the Riga frontier. It must be underlined that the discussion of the maps and their organization is somewhat arbitrary. Many maps contain various selections of lines and, therefore, could be re-arranged under headings other than those under which they appear.

I. SELECTED BOUNDARY MAPS OF POLAND UP TO WORLD WAR I

A. Maps of Poland Before the Partitions:

Maps of Poland before the partitioning of Poland indicate the territorial history of the east European "shatter zone". These serve to present the administrative delineation of the lands in Polish possession or under its suzerainty. Conflicting

historical claims of Poles, Ukrainians and Russians refer constantly to the various interpretations advanced by each of these claimants.

The following maps include historical and modern issues presenting various treatments of the historical aspects. The older maps present, within the limits of the earlier cartographic standards, the interpretation of the political constituency of Poland for their day; the other maps present various syntheses of historical Poland before the Partitions:

1. Pologne. About 1635 ^{Starovolisk} ~~Stravolsks~~, Beauplan, Hartnoch and other authors:

The map, by these Amsterdam cartographers, presents the component political units of Poland by palatinates.

The location of place names, geographic grid, and drainage pattern are not accurate. The map compares well with the following two maps.

2. Pologne. 1696, by H. Ialot - Color.

The map was drawn for the Duke of Burgundy. The map is accompanied with a chart presenting the political organization of the Kingdom of Poland at the close of the 17th. Century.

3. Polen und Litauen. 1790, F. Müller of Vienna - Color.

The map shows Poland before the Second Partition. It is interesting because it presents the voivodships of Poland including Chelm (Kholm), the districts of Lodomeria, and Galicia in Austrian Poland. In their claims for a Ukrainian Republic the Ukrainians refer to these districts.

4. Vareations des Frontiers de l'Etat Polonaise du X Siecle a 1770. 191--. Color. 1:3,000,000.

Appearing as Plate 5 in the Atlas of the French pre-Paris Peace Conference Study "Travaux du Comite d'Etude," this map presents a synthesis of the principal territorial changes of Poland. It presents the following data:

1. Limits of the Germanic and Slavic Worlds from the 9th. to the 10th. Centuries.

2. Poland of Boleslaw the Brave, 992-1025.
3. The Kingdom of Poland at the beginning of the 12th. Century to the death of Boleslaw III in 1139.
4. The Kingdom of Poland at the close of the 14th. Century (death of Casimir the Great, 1370).
5. Territory re-united to the Kingdom of Poland in the 15th. Century (East Prussia and Podolia).
6. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the close of the 15th. Century.
7. The Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 1569.
8. The vassal states with dates of acquisitions.
9. The frontiers of Lithuania and Mowcow in 1449, 1494, 1522, 1563, 1618 (Treaty of Deoulina) and 1667 (Treaty of d'Androusson).
10. Livonian Poland.

These data are expertly executed in a manner that makes for clarity and legibility.

5. (Untitled). 194--. Author not indicated. Mono-chrome. 1:6,000,000.

A historical map presenting the historical composition of Poland outside its 1939 frontiers from the year 1001 to 1772, distinguishing between territories belonging to it and those held in fief. The small scale has allowed only a highly selected identification of component political units.

The data are presented on a simple base consisting of a full coordinate grid system drawn at two-degree intervals, a highly selected stream pattern, and a small choice of place names.

The map was obtained from the Polish Ministry of Information.

Call Number 7925(B)

6. Mapa Historyczna Polski (1770) (Historical Map of Poland). 192--. Author not indicated. Color. 1:4,000,000.

This Polish map presents Poland just before the First Partition. Four insets at 1:10,000,000, present Poland at the

beginning of the 12th. Century, Poland under Casimir the Great in mid-13th. Century, after the First Partition, and a map of the Three Partitions.

The map also lists the political structure of earlier Poland, its duchies and principalities in 1770.

The data are poorly executed on a base consisting of a geographical grid with two-degree intervals, a relatively detailed stream pattern, relief through poorly-interpreted plastic-shading, and a generous selection of place names.

Call Number 14492
(Monochrome)

7. Polska w Wieku XV (Poland in the XV Century):

192--. Author not indicated. Color. 1:4,000,000.

This is one of a set of three Polish maps. This map presents the territorial-political structure of Poland by a delineation of the component duchies and palatinates in the 15th. Century.

The data are compiled on a base including a geographic grid with a one-degree interval, a well-selected stream pattern, and an abundant selection of place-names which become over-crowded in places. Relief is indicated by poorly-rendered plastic shading.

Call Number 13376

8. Polska w Wieku XVII (Poland in the XVII Century).

192---. Author not indicated. Color. 1:4,000,000.

This is the second in the Polish set of three historical maps. Portraying Poland after its boundaries have been forced northward from the Black Sea, it is substantially Poland before the First Partition in 1772 with its constituent duchies and principalities.

The base consists of a geographic grid at a one-degree interval, a well-selected stream pattern, and an abundant selection of place names which become over-crowded in some places. Relief is indicated by poorly-rendered plastic-shading.

Call Number 13377

9. Rzeczpospolita Polska w roku 1771 (Republic of Poland in 1771). 1925. Professor W. Semkowicz.

Color. 1:1,000,000.

A historical wall-map of Poland by a responsible Polish author and published by the Cartographic Institute of Professor E. ^oReimer. The map presents a territorial delineation of the political organization of the Kingdom of Poland including a consideration of the boundaries and historical places from the beginning of the 17th. Century. The boundaries include those of the Kingdom, the provinces of Greater and Lesser Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, condoinina of the Duchy and the Polish Crown, feudal lands, vorvodships, conties and territories, with seats of government for each administrative level. Various historical ecclesiastical centers of the Roman Catholic, Uniate and Orthodox Churches are also indicated.

The data are compiled on a base consisting of a selected stream pattern, a geographic grid with two-degree intervals, a selected road network, and a generous selection of place names in Polish spelling.

The map has been well executed, with clarity of exposition obtained through use of color. Reproduced in monochrome the map loses much of this clarity, but retains enough through good design and technical treatment to make the map sufficiently usable.

B. The Partitions of 1772, 1791, 1795.

The Partitions of Poland can be considered significant to the eastern boundary problem because throughout the period of the occupation of Poland on down through the Paris Peace Conference and even to the present day the Polish attitude has considered the partitions as an illegal act, and that Poland of 1772 legally existed de jure. Hence the earlier claims in 1918 by Polish statesmen called for boundaries that approximated those of 1772. Polish maps on the boundary question often include the frontiers of 1772 as a sort of datum line. The following are a list of selected titles on the partitions:

1. Les Partages de la Pologne de 1770 a 1914.
191--. Maurice Fallex. Color. 1:3,000,000.

The map appears as Plate 6 in the Atlas of the French Study "Travaux du Comite d'Etude" presenting the Partitions of 1772, 1793, 1795, the Duchy of Warsaw of 1807-1815, the Free City of Danzig 1807-1814, Congress Poland of the Congress of Vienna, and the Republic of Krakow of 1815-1846.

The data are clearly presented on a base consisting of a selected stream pattern and a good choice of place names. This is one of the better maps presenting a synthesis of a number of historically-significant data.

2. Regnum Polonium et Magnum Ducatum Lithuanie. After 1772. T. C. Lotter.

A map drawn after the First and before the Second Partition presenting a cartographic interpretation of the boundary changes within the technical limits of its time.

3. Map of the Partitions of Poland. 194---. Author not indicated. Monochrome. 1:6,000,000.

The map distributed by the Polish Ministry of Information is a generalized presentation of the partition relative to the 1939 frontier.

The base map consists of a highly-selected stream pattern, and a few selected place names, as well as a geographic grid with two-degree intervals.

Call Number 7925

~~File Number F307-12~~

C. Poland After the *Partitions*

The period between the Third Partition and the Congress of Vienna saw the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon in 1807 and its extension in 1809. This provided an imprint out of which the Congress of Vienna created "Congress Poland."

The Napoleonic creation is well represented on a map discussed in Section II, A above.

The Congress of Vienna confirmed, with some modifications the Austrian possession of Galicia. The Duchy of Warsaw was abolished and a rump-state of Poland was created and placed under Russian protection. Its boundaries were of direct significance to the problem because they formed a significant point of departure for the discussions in the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference.

1. Mappa Krolestwa Polskiego (Map of the Kingdom of Poland). 1865. M. Ne^{ipant}paracz. Color. 1:504,000.

This is a general survey map including the boundaries of Congress Poland, as well as the provincial, district and judicial boundaries.

These data are compiled on a base including a geographic grid, a relatively detailed stream pattern and abundance of place names.

2. Ziemie Polskie po Kongresie Wiedenskiw (Polish Lands after the Congress of Vienna). 192--. Author not indicated. Color. 1:4,000,000.

This is the third in a set of three Polish historical maps (see Section I, A, 7 and 8) presenting Congress Poland and its provinces, former Polish lands and their provinces, and the Republic of Krakow. Four insets present Poland after each Partition, and the Duchy of Warsaw.

The base map consists of a geographic grid at a one-degree interval, a selected stream pattern and a number of place-names, all with Polish spelling. Relief is indicated by poorly-rendered, generalized plastic shading.

II. SELECTED MAPS OF THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

A. Maps of American pre-Conference Views.

The American views were formulated on the basis of the studies conducted by the Inquiry. A summary of instructions was prepared, and these together with some small maps are contained in David Hunter Miller's "My Diary of the Peace Conference" in Volume IV, Pp. 209-281, as Document No. 246, "Outline of Tentative Report and Recommendations Prepared by the Intelligence Section in Accordance with Instructions for the President and the Plenipotentiaries, 21 January 1919."

Two concrete proposals were envisaged: (a) Partition of Eastern Galicia between Poland and the Ukraine, or (b) Union of Eastern Galicia with Poland. The former proposal is significant because it bears upon the formulation of Lines "A" and "B", two alternative proposals for Eastern Galicia, formulated by the Conference's Commission on Polish Affairs and its Sub-Commission.

Three maps present these views:

1. Plate IV Proposed ^Bboundaries in Russia.
2. Plate VI Poland, Lithuania, and Western Ukraine.
3. Plate VII Ukraine and Transcaucasia.

The maps are reproduced at a small scale appearing in page-size. The lines are highly generalized on a base consisting of a small selection of place names, a highly-selected stream pattern, and relief generalized by simple hachures.

B. Maps of Boundary Proposals at the Paris Peace Conference.

The study of the problems concerning the delineation of all Polish boundaries at the Paris Peace Conference was made the immediate responsibility of the Commission on Polish Affairs, which, in turn, appointed a sub-commission for the study of the Eastern Frontier of Poland.

The Commission found itself confronted with certain unique problems which basically influenced the nature and character of various subsequent boundary proposals. At the time of the

proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference, Russia was in the midst of its revolutionary upheaval, and the revolutionary government of Lenin, Trotsky and Gicherin was unrecognized by the Allies. As a result the Commission was faced with the problem of disposing territory belonging to a former ally who was without representation; any such dispositions could only be considered provisional because it would be liable to critical review by any recognized future government of Russia. In sharp contrast to this, however, was the relationship of the Allies and Associated Powers to the former Austrian Crownland of Galicia: under the Treaty of St. Germain Austria ceded Galicia to the Allies. These complexities created singular boundary considerations and specific proposals which became the subjects of maps organically related to Curzon Line. Because of these complexities the Commission divided the problem of boundary delineation into two separate and distinct phases: The Northern or Russian, and the Galician.

The northern segment was drawn so as to outline indisputable ethnic Polish areas, such that no Russian Government could question on legal or moral bases. But since it was recognized that a substantial Polish population accured in mixture with white Ruthenians or Ukrainians such a line was necessarily only provisional pending a detailed study on the ground, probably with plebiscite, to delimit a more equitable frontier. Report No. 2, dated 22 April 1919 and No. 6, dated 1 September 1919 by the Commission on Polish Affairs to the Supreme Council, delimited a provisional frontier from East Prussia southwards to a point where the former Austrian-Russian frontier intersected the Bug River, i.e., to the northern boundary of Austrian Galicia. These recommendations were adopted by the Supreme Council in its Declaration of 8 December 1919 outlining a provisional frontier. This Declaration and its frontier is especially significant to the present-day problem because it was incorporated into the proposal of the Curzon Line.

The following are official maps of the Paris Peace Conference representing the developments of frontiers culminating in the Declaration of the Supreme Council 8 December 1919.

1. Pologne. 1919. Commission on Polish Affairs.
Color. 1:3,000,000.

The map presents four proposals put before the Commission for the entire frontier of Eastern Poland: claims by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, a French proposal, and two proposals by the British delegate - one a minimum provisional frontier defining areas undisputably Polish and the other admissible for discussion. The map is a part of Proceedings No. 43 of 8 April 1919¹. The lines are considerably at variance one with another because of the variations in assumptions underlying each one. The Polish proposal was a frontier claim, the French proposal granted Poles the benefit of any ethnic doubt and strategic advantages against Russia, while the British proposals were temporary conservative expedients pending a definitive

¹ Recueil des Actes de la Conference, Partie IV, C(2) "Question Territoriales, Commission de Affaires Polonaises."

2. Proposed Provisional Boundary of the Eastern Frontier of Poland. 22 April 1919. Commission on Polish Affairs. Color. 1:1,000,000 with two Supplements of Urban Localities at 1:100,000.

The map presents a provisional line delineated by the Commission and submitted in its Report No. 2, 22 April 1919 to the Supreme Council.

The line was basic to that defined in the Supreme Council's Declaration of 8 December 1919, however, this map indicates its extension from East Prussia southward to the confluence of the Bug and Naretwa Rivers at the approximate latitude of the City of Chelm (Kholm). This termination was caused by the separate consideration involved in the settlement of the Galician question which was delayed by the Polish-Ukrainian-Russian hostilities.

The Line is outlined on a base consisting of a relatively detailed stream pattern, a geographic grid, and a few place-names. The line is refined in the vicinity of Brest-Litewsk and Grodno on two maps of those areas *at a scale of 1:100,000*

3. Pologne (Boundary of Supreme Council Declaration).
8 December 1919. Supreme Council of Allied and
Associated Powers. Color. 1:1,000,000.

The map presents the delineation of the provisional frontier for the northern or Russian segment of the eastern frontier of Poland as defined in detail in the Declaration of the Supreme Council 8 December 1919. While the Declaration dealt wholly and exclusively with the above-mentioned frontier the map presents plebiscite areas and other frontiers of Poland entirely irrelevant to the eastern frontier. Among these was a line indicated as a "frontier to be delimited on the ground" in Galicia. This type of cartographic irrelevancy in an official map is not only technically incorrect but is additionally deplorable because it is believed⁽¹⁾ that it contributed to the ambiguity which surrounds the evolution and character of the Curzon Line.

1

State Department Report T-462, March 6, 1944, P. 20.

The map carrying a credit line of the French Service Geographie l'Armee includes a geographic grid, relief indicated by contours, a relatively detailed stream pattern, and a selection of place names.

Call Number 8671

III. THE CURZON LINE

The Commission on Polish Affairs in treating the eastern frontier problem in two distinct phases alternated the separate proceedings of each of these phases throughout 1919. The second of these phases, the Galician question, was complicated by numerous political and military events. The Polish insistence on all of Galicia, the temporarily successful Ukrainian agitation for a Western Ukrainian Republic accompanied with a period of Polish-Ukrainian hostilities and the Soviet-Polish hostilities all served to complicate the problem of delineating a frontier in Galicia. The Commission on Polish Affairs and its Sub-Com-

mission at one time considered as many as six various proposals¹. In its Third Report, 17 June 1919, to the Supreme Council the Commission on Polish Affairs recommended a number of possible solutions including two hypothetical lines representing a compromise between the British delegate on the one hand and the other three delegates on the other. Line "A" roughly followed the San River leaving Lwow and two-thirds of the oilfields out of Poland; this line was preferred by the British Delegate. Line "B" followed the Bug River and the eastern boundary of Lwow voivodship, leaving Lwow and the oilfields of Drohobycz in Poland. This line was preferred by the other delegates. Both of these lines, however, were dispensed with when, for various reasons, the Supreme Council on 25 June 1919 authorized Poland to occupy temporarily the whole of Galicia. The lines would have passed into oblivion, as they did temporarily, had they not been brought into prominence in Polish and British maps, and had it not been for the ambiguous delineation of the Curzon Line in Galicia.

¹ Minutes No. 11, Sub-Commission to ^{the} Study the Eastern Frontier of Poland in the records of the Commission to Negotiate the Peace, 181.2132101/11.

The Curzon Line was proposed⁽¹⁾ as an armistice line in a British note signed by Lord Curzon to Soviet Russia, 11 July 1920. The proposed armistice line in the note contained inconsistencies in the outline of the proposed armistice line; the northern segment was the provisional frontier of the Supreme Council Declaration of 8 December 1919. In Galicia, however, the note first ambiguously defined Line "A" and then later specified a line of the military front at the date of the conclusion of the Armistice. The Soviet Government in its proposal on 11 January 1944 erroneously referred to the Curzon Line as "accepted in 1919 by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers."

No official map seems to have accompanied the Curzon proposal which was transmitted, via cable, through a British official at Reval. Because the proposal was rejected by the Soviet Russia the line probably was forgotten. But early in 1944 after the Soviet proposal was made public the British Foreign Office Research Division issued a series of maps, one of which indicated the Curzon Line in Galicia to be identical with Line "A".

The following discussion of maps includes titles whose focus is the Curzon Line proper and various lines pertinent to the problem. The titles include those published by the British Foreign Office Research Division, the United States Department of State, a map illustrating an article in the Soviet publication "IZVESTIYA" and maps either published or distributed

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On 10 July 1920 the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs signed an agreement to the armistice which among other details specified the Line of 8 December 1919 and the line of the military front at the date of the conclusion of the armistice.

by the Polish Ministry of Information. Of particular note is the disagreement between the British and Polish cartographic interpretation of the Curzon Line reflecting its ambiguous nature.

A. Maps of the Foreign Office Research Division.

The maps are drawn at various scales, in a technique which gives them a characteristic uniformity of appearance. The data are usually compiled on a simple base consisting of a selected drainage pattern, a few place-names, and a geographic grid with one or two-degree intervals. The execution is sketchy in character which compiled with a paucity of place-names results only in a generalized presentation of the various lines pertinent to the problem.

1. Frontiers of Poland, 1815-1940. 1944. Color.
1:3,250,000.

It presents a group of boundary lines including the frontiers of 1921-1938, 1815-1914, the Republic of Cracow

1818-1846, the Curzon Line, the Curzon Line in Galicia (see Line "A"), Line "B", the General Gouvernement 1939-1940, the boundary between the Lithuanian and White Russian S.S.R. 1940, the provincial (voivodships) 1938 in Poland, the provincial boundaries of Germany and Prussia, and the 1920-1921 plebiscite areas in former Germany territory.

Call Number 100967

2. Eastern Boundaries of Poland. 1944. Color.
1:3,000,000.

The map presents the following: Frontiers of 1939, 1921-1939, 1815, the former Eastern Galician Boundary, present provincial boundaries with their capitals, Line "B" (one of the proposed western boundaries for Galicia), and the Curzon Line. The Curzon Line is indicated with a separate symbol indicating the British recognition of the dualistic nature of the line's history (see the Foreign Office Research Division Map "The Curzon Line" for comparison).

Call Number 100950

3. Polish White Russia. 1944. Color. 1:1,650,000.

The map presents selected historical boundaries: the Polish-Lithuanian boundary 1569-1795, Congress Kingdom 1815-1914, the Curzon Line, frontiers of 1921-1939, and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line. These boundaries are shown within one of the problem areas: "Polish White Russia" (Ruthenia).

Call Number 100966

4. The Curzon Line. 1944. Color. 1:3,050,000.

The map presents the Curzon Line, the two western boundaries for Eastern Galicia proposed by the Commission on Polish Affairs of the Paris Peace Conference and the pre-1938 international frontiers of Poland, the oil fields of Boryslaw, and the railway passes east of the Curzon Line.

The map is most valuable because on it the British Foreign Office identifies the Curzon Line with Line "A" in Eastern Galicia.

Call Number 100951

5. Eastern Galicia. 1944. Color. 1:815,000.

It shows the frontiers of 1938, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Line of 1939, the Curzon Line, Line "B" (one of the Paris Peace Conference proposals for the western boundary of Eastern Galicia) in relationship to the language-religious composition of the population, and a highly generalized sketch of the oilfields of Drohobycz.

Call Number 100976

B. A Map by the United States Department of State.

1. Eastern Frontiers of Poland, 1912-1923. April 1944.
1:2,700,000.

The map presents the eastern frontier problem, achieving a good balance between comprehensiveness of treatment and legible presentation. The map presents the international boundaries of 1914, province and district boundaries and names of Austrian and Russian Poland and the judicial districts of Austrian Galicia. Various lines are superimposed, including the boundary of the area ceded to Ukraine in 1918, the two proposed western boundaries

for eastern Galicia, the provisional eastern frontier of Poland in 1919 according to the Declaration of the Supreme Council 8 December 1919, the armistice (Soviet-Polish) line proposed by Lord Curzon, and the Riga boundary.

There is one error. The symbol for the Riga boundary is continued along the Polish, Lithuania and East Prussian boundary; the Riga frontier established a boundary only between the Soviet Union and Poland.

Call Number 4340

C. Polish Maps¹.

The Polish maps on the problem of the eastern frontier are distinctive because of certain data included on them which have not been noted on other maps, particularly the presentation of the Curzon Line problem.

In contrast to the British depiction of the Curzon Line, the Polish maps indicate the Curzon Line as applicable only to the provisional frontier of the Declaration of 8 December 1919.

This is understandable within the Polish view which interprets the Curzon Line in terms of the prior agreement signed by the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Conference of Spa 10 July 1920 specifying the Line of 8 December 1919 and the line of the Soviet-Polish Military front at the time of the armistice conclusion. Such a combination of lines is generalized on Map title 2 below.

The Borisov Line is named after the town of Borisov, which was proposed as a meeting place for the unsuccessfully-attempted conclusion of a Soviet-Polish armistice; an armistice line was proposed by Lenin, Chicherin, considerably eastward of the Curzon Line and the Riga frontier which is taken by the Poles to indicate that the Riga frontier was not excessive and did not take advantage of Russia. In this same vein the boundaries of 1772 are invariably drawn to indicate the extent of Polish de jure rights and the extent of the reduction which is accepted at Riga.

A third type of line which occurs on Polish maps is the so-called Botha Line. During 1919 when Polish-Ukrainian hostilities were impeding the settlement of the Galician frontier question the Supreme Council formed an Inter-Allied Armistice Commission, headed by a British General Botha, proposed a frontier⁽¹⁾ in May 1919 which left Lwow in Polish hands; presumably this is taken to be added evidence of the recognition of Poland's rights to the city and the area between it and Line "A".

The following are selected map titles of Polish Maps.

1. (Untitled Map). 194---. Author not indicated. Monochrome. 1:2,800,000.

The map appeared in a monograph "About the Curzon Line and Other Lines" by Casimir Smogorzewski, and published by "Free Europe" of London. Six lines with lengthier legends are presented - the provisional frontier of the Declaration of

1

Miller, David Hunter, "My Diary of the Peace Conference", Volume X, P. 321, and Map "Q" in folder of maps.

8 December 1919, Lines "A" and "B" in Galicia, the Borisov Line of Lenin, Trotsky, and Chicherin, the Botha Line of May 1919, the Riga Frontier, and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Line of 1939.

The lines are compiled on a base consisting of a well-selected drainage pattern, a railway net, and place-names.

Call Number 7727

2. Map of Poland. 194---. Author not indicated.
Monochrome. 1:4,000,000.

This map obtained from the Polish Ministry of Information presents six lines with only the briefest identification: the Curzon Line, Botha, and Borisov Lines, as well as a composite of lines generalizing the details of the armistice proposal to which the Polish Minister agreed with Lloyd George at Spa 10 July 1920. These include a line 50 km. to the east of the provisional frontier of the Declaration of 8 December 1919 to which the Soviet armies were to withdraw, the provisional frontier of 8 December 1919, and the Soviet-Polish battlefront of 11 July

1920 which was to serve as the armistice frontier in Galicia.

This is the Polish presentation of the complex Curzon Line based on the Polish-British agreement of 10 July 1920, and in contrast to the ambiguous Curzon Line which the British proposed the following day to the Soviet authorities.

The lines are highly generalized on a simple base consisting of stub geographic coordinates, a highly-selected stream pattern and a small selection of significant place-names.

Call Number 7958

3. Map of Poland and Adjacent Countries. 1940.
Author not indicated. Monochrome. 1:6,000,000.

A boundary map of Poland, distributed by the Polish Ministry of Information, presenting a group of lines consisting of the international boundaries of 1938 and 1772, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line of 1939, the Curzon Line, and the Borisov Line. The Curzon Line is drawn to correspond only to the line of the Supreme Council Declaration of 8 December 1919; the

southern portion of the Curzon Line is entirely omitted in keeping with the Polish view concerning the nature of the Curzon Line.

The lines are drawn on a simple base consisting of a highly selected stream pattern, selected place-names of the more important towns and cities, and geographic stub coordinates.

Call Number 7957

D. A Soviet Map of the Curzon Line.

A Soviet map illustrating an article concerning the Curzon Line appeared in the Soviet publication "Izvestiya" 13 January 1944. A description of the map follows:

1. Linya Kerzona (Curzon Line). 13 January 1944.
Izvestiya. Monochrome. 1:2,600,000.

The map shows the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line of 1939 in bold, generalized outline, while the Curzon Line is drawn schematically oriented about the place-names mentioned for the provisional frontier of the Declaration of 8 December 1919,

and Line "A" in the Curzon note. The schematic line as drawn does not compare either with the British or Polish versions. In the article two erroneous remarks are made concerning the line: (a) that the "Curzon Line (was) accepted in 1919 by the Supreme Council, (b) that the Line "was confirmed at the Conference of Allied Powers at Spa" in July 1920.

IV. The Riga Frontier.

The British armistice proposal of Lord Curzon of 11 July 1920 failed to halt Soviet-Polish hostilities which continued until an armistice and preliminary peace conference were opened at Riga, Latvia September 1920. A definitive frontier and final peace terms were agreed to 18 March 1921.

- A. Frontiere de l'Est de la Republique Polonaise.
1921. Delineation Commission of the Polish
Ministry of Public Works. Monochrome. 1:500,000.

The map was compiled according to the provisions of the Mixed Boundary Commission for the Treaty of Riga.

The map is compiled on a base including a geographic grid with one-degree intervals based on the meridian of Ferro. The line of the frontier is oriented to a large number of place-names.

V. The Ribbentrop-Molotov Line.

On September 28, 1939 Soviet Russia represented by Molotov and Germany represented by Ribbentrop partitioned Poland for the fourth time.

A quaisi-official map of the frontier is delineated on five plates of the Great Soviet World Atlas, *Volume II plates 97, 98, 98A, 107-108.*

Politiko-Administrativnoya Karta Ukrainskoy SSR.

Politiko-Administrativnoya Karta Byelorusskoy SSR.

1:1,500,000. 1939. Color.

The line is outlined on these administrative maps of the Ukrainian SSR and Byelorussian SSR.

MAPS OF BOUNDARIES AND BOUNDARY PROPOSALS

This section of the report presents an analysis of boundary maps selected from reports, historical studies, propogandistic publications, and official documents defining boundary proposals, agreements and declarations. These include maps appearing as part of the records of the Paris Peace Conference, maps of the Inquiry (a research group organized under Col. E. M. House to conduct studies for the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace), and maps included in David Hunter Miller's "My Diary of the Peace Conference" which consists of official documents, notes, memoranda, and private correspondence on official affairs concerning the Paris Peace Conference. The inaccessibility of foreign official documents has necessitated considerable dependence on the quasi-official maps published and/or distributed by the Polish Ministry of Information, the Council of People's Commissars, U.S.S.R. (sponsor of the publication of the Great Soviet World Atlas, the Tass News Agency, and the British Foreign Office Research Division).

The problem of the eastern Polish boundary centers on the Riga frontier (Soviet-Polish Treaty of Riga 18 March 1921) and on the Curzon Line proposed by the Soviet Union 11 January 1944. These two boundaries have had two separate histories though they were not entirely exclusive of each other. The Riga frontier was the result of Soviet-Polish negotiations following the termination of the Soviet-Polish War of 1919-1920, while the Curzon Line was the result of a British proposal incorporating among other proposals the provisional frontier of the Supreme Council Declaration of 8 December 1919 and one of two proposals of the Paris Peace Conference. These proposals were evolved not without some reference to Congress Poland and to the Partitions of Poland.

In order to present the evolution of the various boundaries of Poland and the bases for the various Russian, British, and Polish proposals this analysis is organized in the following historical - chronological order:

- a. Boundary maps of Poland before World War I.
- b. Maps of the Paris Peace Conference.
- c. Maps of the Curzon Line.
- d. Maps of the Riga Frontier.
- e. The Ribbentrop-Molotov Line.

It must be emphasized that the maps in this study are organized in an arbitrary arrangement since many maps show more than one boundary line and, therefore, could be placed under several headings. However, each map is placed under the subject heading toward which its major emphasis is directed.