Early in August, 1918, Jefferson and Coester boarded a craft at Rio de Janeiro bound for New York. They were bringing home to the United States a rich South American experience, Jefferson's assurance that the German populations of Argentine, Brazil, and Chile felt no special sympathy for the German cause, and a wealth of materials from which later emerged *The Rainfall of Chile*, *Recent Colonization in Chile*, "Actual Temperatures of South America," "Pictures from Southern Brazil," *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, "An American Colony in Brazil," and "Real Temperatures Throughout North and South America."

The passage from Rio to New York was not pleasant. Germany was at war with the United States and the world. Jefferson and Coester found themselves traveling north from Brazil on board a steamer carrying frozen beef to the British Army in France. The boat put in at Charleston for orders and was sent to New York via shallow water to avoid German submarines. Crossing Chesapeake and Delaware Bay entrances in deep water, the beef steamer was obliged frequently to change its course to avoid the dangers of an encounter with any lurking German submarines. Jefferson reports passing close to one burning tanker in Chesapeake entrance which had been torpedoed the previous night. The unusual circumstances had obliged the steamer to pass close off Palm Beach and Atlantic City, far inside the usual ocean routes, which pleased Jefferson, who took more than fifty photographs of the Florida and Georgia littoral.
On landing at New York, Jefferson hurriedly took himself to the American Geographical Society building to report the successful completion of the “ABC Expedition.” On arriving at the Society’s House, however, Jefferson was not to report to Bowman his activities of the last several months, rather was Bowman to report to Jefferson on his and the American Geographical Society’s activity of the recently passed months. The Society was a hive of industry. It was serving as headquarters to the Inquiry, a body of experts, gathered together by Colonel House on the advice of President Wilson, to collect data that might be needed at the settlement of the World War after the cessation of hostilities. A traditional policy of isolation from the Old World coupled with no immediate experience of European peacemakers and war settlements left the United States without direction yet with a disinterested outlook through the Inquiry years of 1917 and 1918. This disinterested attitude toward Europe was the very potential of the American contribution to an enduring peace. The challenge of individual wants and national interests would surely be present; non-German Europe wanted its pound of flesh, wanted to “bleed the boche” while he was weak, wanted to humiliate the military machine as a salve to decades of suffering at the hands of German military arrogance. The European victors were not ready to forgive or forget the butchering of ten million bodies on European soil, nor the anguish, grief, and sorrow of four years war. Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood were still close, the possession of land had become a passion of European peoples all heady with national interest, who remembered countless billions of property damaged. Hunger was constantly present while peace raced with anarchy. Land laid waste by the war had to be restored, normal commercial and industrial life of warring countries had to be re-established, aggressors were to be punished, idealists dreamed of the New Jerusalem, and 27 different states were represented besides the five British Dominions. An impoverished and an impatient Europe, hungry for a “to the Victors belong the spoils” settlement, was being represented in the Council of the Big Four by a Lloyd George who was obliged by pledge to the English electorate to “hang the Kaiser,” by a Clemenceau encouraged by a Foch anxious to extend French territory to the left bank of the Rhine, and by an Orlando, so intent on satisfying an Italian national interest that his delegation retired from the Paris Peace Conference when Italian claims to Fiume met with determined opposition.

These interests, whims, displays of strength were recognized; that was one of the tasks of the Inquiry. President Wilson, originator of the Inquiry and later self-appointed leader of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in Paris, envisaged an enduring peace hammered out
on the anvil of abstract justice which would make the world safe . . . . But a lasting peace could be wrought from the dismembered scene only if the issues were laid bare before the assemblage of European delegates. The President's faith in human nature encouraged him to believe that, confronted with fact and truth welded into a reasoned instrument of recommendation, the leaders and people of Europe would forego a settlement that catered to her immediate individual and national interests. Colonel House's Commission, the Inquiry, was just that body established to search for fact and truth. The Paris variety of Wilsonian idealism was born with the Inquiry: democracy, self determination, accommodation, justice became guide lines to Inquiry endeavors.

Following a brief residence in the New York City Public Library, the Inquiry was relocated in a suite of rooms on the third floor of the American Geographical Society in New York, November 10, 1917. Soon the Inquiry had expanded its operation to dominate the building whose resources included 50,000 books, over 47,000 maps, and an unknown number of periodicals. From November, 1917, until early in December, 1918, the Inquiry, one hundred and fifty workers strong, labored at the Society's house under guard. This was the scene a surprised Jefferson encountered on his return from South America. Traveling through Chilean desert, Andean pass, Argentine Pampa, and Brazilian plateau from the early days of 1918, he had received no news of this development from Bowman, owing in part to Bowman's preoccupation with the task in hand yet more probably to the desire for secrecy. Yet another surprise was due Jefferson—Bowman, who had recently assumed acting directorship of the Inquiry from an ineffective Mezes, proposed to Jefferson that he direct the map making program for the Inquiry. Jefferson, married to his second wife Clara only two years previously, had spent already some nine months away from home and family life in Ypsilanti. He had firmly resolved to stay home for a while and devote time to the family; thus he had written in letters home from South America, thus he spoke to Bowman. But above all else was Isaiah Bowman quietly persistent and determined. A few hours after Jefferson had reached Ypsilanti a letter arrived:

Dear Professor Jefferson:

The so-called Inquiry, which is working under the auspices of the Department of State in gathering material for an eventual peace conference is in great need of a cartographer. The number of people in the United States who can handle a large cartographic program in a scholarly way is so small that I scarcely know where to turn for assistance. I have been waiting for your return from South America in the hope that you could give all your time to this work. After talking with you,
I recognize your obligations to the college and to your family and do not wish to urge the matter too strongly. Nevertheless if you could spend the coming month, or practically all of September in New York working upon the map program, I am sure your ideas and work would give us a great start in the right direction.

I hope you will consider the matter very seriously, both from the professional standpoint of the work itself, and from the standpoint of national service, and come for at least a month if it is possible to arrange it.

Sincerely yours,
Isaiah Bowman

Bowman certainly knew how to win Jefferson to his cause. The lure of an opportunity to dissect Europe at the American Geographical Society surrounded by maps and thinking men was too much of a temptation. Bowman had reasoned that much. He recognized Jefferson as one of the most competent cartographers of his day and one well versed in European lore. Also of great significance to Jefferson in his moment of decision were, "the pathetic letters I have received from Gallois and Chisholm." One such letter from Gallois, Jefferson had retained in a privileged file:

... I know that the Germans pretend now that their troops had been the target of some shooting. In the region where I was, I can assure you that no one shot outside of the regular troops. And with what could the peasants have shot? With hunting rifles and revolvers against men whose gun range is 1000 meters or more? When you have seen, as I did, the unhappy people running ahead of the enemy with all they could carry, in cars, in carts, often in baby carriages you realize that the horde did not think about resisting, and still less at provoking retaliation.

What is the strangest thing in this war is the German mentality. It looks as though a crazy wind has blown on this country. Nobody thinks any more, everything that the Government says is believed word for word. It is with great stupor that I read in the Zeitschrift of the Berlin Geographic Society, an article called "Belgium" by our friend Partsch where he affirms that the whole responsibility falls on the King of the Belgians who entered, said he in the conjuration planned by the Occidental nations against Germany, and on the advice of his advisers for resistance contrary to the right of the people, and suggested it to the population.

They have shown, adds-he, cruelty and dissimulated savagery that before was believed to characterize only the low plebs of the big towns and Partsch is certainly honest. He believes naively that Belgian
women blinded the poor German soldiers not capable of the least cruelty and other similar stories. It is despairing. One should not be amazed if there cannot be anything in common any more between a nation with such a mentality and the nations that force themselves to see clearly in everything and put good faith above everything.

I apologize for allowing myself to be so involved. I did not expect to write to you at such a length, but how to restrain one's heart from talking? What I also want to tell you is that we are all just as resolute as on the first day and that we all feel that the future of our country is at stake. We will not fail. Our troops behaved admirably; our young men are and still will be heroic and how many fell and walked to their death without regret. It is a destroyed generation. Of all the ones you knew the youngest are in the army: Herbette, Baulig and the others. Demangeon and de Martonne are with me at the Geographical Service, Vacher who before the war had a very serious surgical operation is not in shape to walk. Maybe you remember a young student called Brienne who was with us at Brive. He was killed in the Argonne and how many more with him among our best students. Denis has had one brother killed but fortunately nothing has happened to him yet. There is no family that does not have its victims. I have a son who was severely wounded and whose right hand is still paralyzed and he thinks only about returning to the front. It is a beautiful youth and everywhere the spirit of the public is excellent. There will not be any faltering and since the war is a war of harassment we will see who will hold the longest. Neither the English nor we will give in. The Russians can move back but their army is always solid and their reserves in men inexhaustible.

Believe me your devoted,
Gallois

Bowman's selection of Jefferson as Chief Cartographer to the Inquiry was one of the most vital decisions made by any one man which affected the composition and performance of the American Commission which was destined to negotiate Peace at Paris. A concise, rapid, and initiate cartographic team was pivotal to the entire work of the Inquiry. Bowman was undoubtedly imbued with a realization of the importance of the chief cartographer's post, for he kept this position open for ten months after the formation of the Inquiry, permitting Cyrus Adams and John Storck to give their part-time help to the acquisition and drafting of maps that were thought needed. Early in June, 1918, a "Guide of the Map Program" by John Storck was released, which contained a vague statement concerning the assets of the cartographic program, its wants, some recommendations and a miscellany of mechanical problems as
that of the spelling of place names. It is clear from this account that the Inquiry map program was little advanced at that time.

Jefferson soon caught the spirit of Inquiry fever and began to gather together maps already in the American Geographical Society collection and the State Department, ordering those that were needed, and compiling those that would be needed. He selected as his first assistant Charles Stratton, a student who had graduated from the Michigan State Normal College in 1914. Stratton had pursued geography as his major area of study, excelling in map making under Jefferson. Stratton was always willing to learn, eager to please, precise in form, and the possessor of an approach and personality that complemented well that of Jefferson. Other members of the Inquiry associated with its mapping and cartographic section include: C. Besswerger, W. J. Blank, J. W. Braback, W. Breisemeister, M. Cawood, S. Davis, D. Johnson, D. Krisch, A. K. Lobeck, W. F. Mathews, H. Nagel, H. D. Ralphs, Ellen Semple, E. Taidor, R. Wiget, and C. Wittenberg. The work of the cartographers, who by late October numerically comprised the largest section of the Inquiry, proceeded smoothly, and by mid-November the equipment of the cartographic section included: 100 copies each of 60 base maps of problem areas; approximately 1,000 maps from collections of the American Geographical Society; 5,000 books in diplomatic history, colonial history, geography, economic resources and ethnography; “present archives” consisting of reports and manuscripts and correspondence files.

On November 30, 1918, Jefferson received a letter from Secretary of State Lansing confirming Bowman’s recommendation:

You are hereby appointed to the staff of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace as Chief Cartographer, your salary to be at the rate of $550.00 a month, to begin on December first.

The actual and necessary expenses of transportation and subsistence will also be allowed.

R. Lansing

Jefferson was Chief Cartographer of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in Paris and significantly at a salary only inferior to those of Director Mezes ($825 per month) and I. Bowman, A. Young, and C. H. Haskins ($600 each per month). His qualifications which were responsible for his appointment to this position warrant attention.

It was clear that by 1918 Jefferson was a champion of the cartographic cause. He had been drawing maps since his days with the Argentine Geographical Society, had continued this habit through his high school teaching years, under Davis at Harvard and at the Michigan State Normal College where he had introduced courses in mapwork.
Bowman well knew of Jefferson's enthusiasm for "putting it on a map," for he had studied under Jefferson, 1901-1902, had been his assistant at Ypsilanti's Normal, was aware that Jefferson collected atlases with the same zeal that he collected books, had traveled to Davis and Harvard at the suggestion of Jefferson, and later used Jefferson's map outlines when he taught at Yale from 1905-1915. Following Bowman's departure from the Normal, he and Jefferson maintained a steady correspondence with each other that kept them both informed of the other's works and thoughts; in these letters Jefferson frequently described maps planned and accomplished. The impress of Jefferson's conception of geography on Bowman was profound and maps were a vital part of Jefferson's geography. After Bowman had been elected Director of the American Geographical Society in 1915, Jefferson took the opportunity to be firm with his former pupil and insist that bigger and better maps should be an important part of the Society's new leadership. "I am contending for recognition of the map as the geographer's language. If you do not join me in this I shall feel that you are no credit to your teachers." In the same vein Jefferson insisted that the American Geographical Society should prepare a good base map of North America. "Everybody needs a good base. The A. G. S. will get it all back in sales if it will let us have them! Make one at 1:7,000,000 another about 1:30,000,000. There must be an immense demand, for in my dark corner, all unknown and unadvertised as I am, come in to me orders enough for my little base maps to make quite a little income. You ought to make the best base possible and advertise it earnestly." Jefferson's cartographic influence was further felt at the Society when it prepared city maps of the United Kingdom, Europe, North America and Japan for his Presidential address to the Association of American Geographers in December, 1916. When Bowman wrote Jefferson, "A recent ruling of the Council makes it possible for me to allot space rates to maps which in my judgment are contributions of equal or greater importance than the text," he was meeting a Jefferson request. Later in the month the Council of the Society encouraged this cartographic trend by appropriating more money for such work after viewing Jefferson's 1916 Presidential address "city maps."

In July 1917 Jefferson's *Notes on the Geography of Europe* was published, essentially for the use of his classroom students. Of the book, Bowman commented, "I am delighted with your Geography of Europe . . . . I know of no one in this country who is doing such good work in map reproduction and certainly no one else is publishing such stimulating comment." The twenty-nine maps of the book bear witness to Jefferson's continued interest in cartography, while the work itself
provided an indication of Jefferson's continuing interest in Europe. Prior to publication of his *Notes on the Geography of Europe* he had published several articles concerning Europe—"Caesar and the Central Plateau of France,"18 "Man in West Norway,"19 "The Culture of the Nations,"20 "New Density of Population Map, Europe,"21 "The Distribution of British Cities and the Empire,"22 and several more concerning or involving cartography, "Note on the Expansion of Michigan,"23 Twenty-Eight Exercises on Topographic Maps,24 About Nets for Map Drawing,25 On Drawing Michigan,26 World Diagrams—A Supplement to Teachers Geography,27 Commercial Values—An Atlas of Raw Materials of Commerce and Commercial Interchanges.28 By 1918 Jefferson was competent in the use of several European languages—French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, Greek and Latin—a significant and meaningful accomplishment both for his European studies and for work with the Inquiry, since representatives of many foreign powers visited the Society's rooms in New York to express their hopes, their country's national interests, their anxieties. Jefferson had visited Europe twice in the year 1889, again in the years 1904 and 1911. A vigorous and extensive correspondence with many of Europe's leading geographers, some of whom he encountered personally on the occasion of the 1911 geographer's trip through Wales, England, and France for the scheduled 1911 International Geographical Union Congress, Rome, and again during the 1912 W. M. Davis Transcontinental 13,000 mile Excursion of the U.S.A., helped develop Jefferson's appreciation for Europe and Europeans. He was well read in European history, ethnography, economics, soil patterns, and land forms, but above all was he aware of man in Europe. *Man in Europe*29 was indeed the title of the next geography book he wrote concerning Europe, published in 1924. Jefferson intended to extend his population studies and attempt to make the war intelligible to the world. He wrote Bowman a brief outline of his ideas which received further elaboration in *Notes on the Geography of Europe*—30

*Cities, towns, and villages and their relations to the tilled land, the great plains inevitably the basis of all strong peoples and vigorous civilizations, the present war merely the most violent stage in the struggle for the hegemony of the great plains of northern Europe, where Germany felt hemmed in between Russia on the East and France on the West, while the plain of England was envied her safe aloofness across the channels silver strand . . . *

Bowman, whose geographic interest was centered in South America, knew little of Europe; Bowman through the experience of association, also knew how to work with Jefferson. The arrangement proved admirable.
Interestingly, Charles Seymour has written of the functioning of the Inquiry:

My impression is that in the earlier stages of the Inquiry Bowman turned constantly to Jefferson for advice and that the latter exercised strong influence on the studies made during the autumn of 1918. In fact I should say that three men ran the Inquiry: Bowman, as virtual executive officer and in his organization of research actual chief of the organization; Lippmann with the clarity of his journalistic sense as organizer in the presentation of materials and conclusions of research; and Jefferson, as director of techniques. His influence with Bowman certainly continued at Paris.

Very early in December, 1918, the material that the Inquiry had assembled was loaded into three army trucks, carried to the U.S.S. George Washington, and deposited on board. On the morning of December 4, the Inquiry specialists, their assistants, clerical personnel, the French Ambassador, Italian Ambassador, American Ambassador to England, Commissioner Plenipotentiary Henry White, together with the President, Mr. Wilson, assembled for departure to Paris. The George Washington left that same day bound for Brest; hence it was arranged that the American Delegation to Negotiate Peace would continue their journey to Paris by train. For ten days the American argosy of peace pitched and lurched its erudite way across a winterous Atlantic. “On board, fourteen of these men, the Inquiry specialists, were called in to Mr. Wilson’s office on the George Washington on the voyage to Europe and told that he relied on them to keep him informed at every point of the discussion of matter that he should have in mind—they had access to him he added at any moment for this purpose.” At this time the President inspired the scholars of the Inquiry in proclaiming, “Tell me what’s right and I’ll fight for it. Give me a guaranteed position;” the President impressed the same group with his sincerity when he insisted that if the forth-coming conference failed “he would be ashamed to return to America, would look around for an out-of-the-way spot, Guam perhaps, to retire to . . . the world is faced by a task of terrible proportions and only the adoption of a cleansing process can recreate or regenerate the world.” These and other Wilsonianisms did much to develop in the American Delegation a community of purpose together with a sense of obligation above and beyond the mere selection of facts and figures. It was on board the George Washington and more especially while Wilson was blessing some food before an evening meal, that the President’s simplicity and reverence for life moved Jefferson to rethink his obligations with the delegation which he now more clearly recognized as a moral force. No longer did Jefferson consider the making and supervising of maps to be his only concern; he would lend his
energies to the conference whenever they were needed.

The ten-day voyage of the George Washington gave all members of the Peace delegation time to think, time to digest their statistical work in New York, and time to recognize the responsibilities and obligations which the Paris conference would confer upon them. Jefferson reports, the promenading on deck, the salt of the sea singing in the air around their persons, did them all good.

The entry of the George Washington into France was imposing. Jefferson wrote:

Yesterday was most moving when we came into Brest. The night before we were accompanied by five destroyers and a battleship, the Pennsylvania, which led us across the Atlantic. This morning nine other dreadnoughts joined us and twenty four destroyers from the British station. The day was bright, with mists ahead, on the land. The escorting warships drew in close and formed an imposing picture with bright sunlight on their clean grey sides. Only the two destroyers that had come across the ocean with us were streaked with gaudy camouflage. Near noon nearly a dozen French warships came out on the right of our line each firing the Presidential salute of 21 guns as they came abreast, a fearful din. We did not answer. As we drew close to the anchorage the dreadnoughts formed two lines down which we passed very slowly. The crews of all the ships stood at attention along their sides and the band on each struck up the Star Spangled Banner as we came opposite, closing with a cheer as the next ship began. Then we dropped anchor at the end of the line and our guns fired the President's salute of 21 guns. Followed a long series of receptions by French officials who came out on a tender with military and naval notables, among them Admiral Sims and General Pershing. Rather a feature of the ceremonies was Sim's gruff inquiry of Pershing, how in Hell he did it, which made a foreign statesman's lady ejaculate. Then a tedious preparation of landing and the landing, more speeches and receptions ashore and the President's train is off. Ours started two hours later, most luxuriously supplied with food and even drinks. However we soon passed the President as we could arrive in Paris at 7:30 but he must not reach Paris before the time for official reception at 10!

I am quite content not to be President . . .

The American Delegation to Negotiate Peace was housed in the Hotel Crillon, fronting the Place de la Concorde, close by the Champs Élysées and the Tuileries, not far from the Seine. Jefferson reports “we have beautiful quarters in a heated, luxurious hotel with white bread, butter and sugar, all we want,” and from this vantage point wrote on his first day in Paris, while standing on a table:
Paris is tremendous. It is making a holiday of the reception to Mr. Wilson, and all the world is on the street. Such crowds! Soldiers everywhere, not so trim looking as at home. So many uniforms soiled and stained and rained on, so many shoes sodden with water. They are terribly earnest-looking and business-like, these French soldiers. Not so fine-looking, nor so young as our boys, middle-aged men innumerable. There is much variety in their uniforms too, and many English and Americans, but the horizon blue tinges the crowd. It was fine when the President drove down the Rue Royale in an open carriage, a little body of cuirassiers accompanying, but the blue ranks edging the front of the crowd along the whole immense distance in sight. The Place de la Concorde fronts our hotel. It is immense and wide open. In groups about it are almost endless parks of captured German cannon. Yet space remained for thousands and thousands of spectators. But the roadway was wide open between the blue borders on either side. The crowd was not noisy. There was some cheering of course, some firing of guns, and the surface of the crowd alive and amove with waving hats. Some noise of trumpets, and the oddest scurrying of people across open backgrounds to get to viewpoints. One girl is hustling along a hand cart, on which she means to stand. Two others are running with a step ladder they mean to set up behind the soldiers. Come to think of it I am standing on a table back of a second story window myself like many others. But somehow it was wonderful. It seemed as if France, all the French people were here.

It is astonishing how little of fine clothing is in sight too, here in Paris, the beautiful, the lovely city. Are all the fine-clothed people that thronged these streets foreign visitors now barred from the scene? Or have the French exhausted themselves in more vital things? I do not know the answer, but I am immensely impressed by the crowd. Mostly the soldiers, except American ones, have mother, wife, or sweetheart on their arms.

Another strange thing about the Parade was its brevity. No national hymns were played, only some bugle calls. I have come to feel an almost veneration for the President as I have learned to know him and listen to him explaining his hopes and aims. But I seemed to see him fall into insignificance beside the great people assembled here to welcome him. Not that he is less the great ideal statesman beside them, but France is so impressive.

A room in the Hotel Crillon became his home for the next six months. He came to know it well. He ate at the Hotel Crillon, slept at the Hotel Crillon, met friends and geographers at the Hotel Crillon, and made maps at the Hotel Crillon. The purpose of the arrangement was doubtless to save time, to keep the men of the American delegation
constantly at work, but this result was unkind on a Jefferson who worked so intensely and whose body would have appreciated an enforced walk to the Crillon from another place of habitation. His room and its four walls became a bother to him: he knew its size, shape, the color and design of its wallpaper, the iron bed that was his sleeping place, the view of the Champs Élysées and the Square before the Seine. He knew the flaws of the ceiling, the plumbing, the way his clothes hung in a closet, the creak of the floor boards, and the habits of the hotel attendants. Alone with his work, he knew he had to be alone, no one could help him with it even if they wished, he yet had a faithful and reliable second in command in Charles Stratton. Further, Jefferson's group of draftsmen proved one of the most efficient at the Paris conference. Jefferson was a man alone at Paris . . . alone in middle age, alone without his Clara and children, without his home, his books, his correspondence, deepest friends of the Normal, and also his students. He had come to Paris directly from the Inquiry work, and he had been urged to New York, place of work of the Inquiry, by Isaiah Bowman barely a few days after completing a tiring and unsettling A.B.C. excursion. Never sustained by the delightful illusion of success, Jefferson committed his life and integrity irrevocably to the struggle, seemingly never to tire. Sustained by ideas, and the quietly exuberant, and of course, inner optimism of his understanding, he found time to explore the material domain of his resources as a man and a writer. This latter exploration was probably brought on by the mood of Paris. A man had to look to himself for hope and encouragement, not to a society harassed and badly frightened after more than four years of war. Jefferson began to maintain a diary. It was his talisman. The diary did not become a formal log of events in the world peace headquarters, but a simple sketch of happenings to which he had been witness during the course of each day. The scenes he depicted on sheets of “American Commission to Negotiate Peace” letterhead paper, held together by a shoelace through holes made by a knitting needle or some similarly crude device, are above all, realistic. Jefferson was not writing for posterity. He could hardly have envisioned his rudely scrawled and tersely compiled thoughts being included one day in archival deposits as a vital part of the recorded history of the Peace Conference. The diary was maintained for the period, January 17, 1919 to May 13, 1919.37 Entries convey the tone of Conference work; its earnestness, hard pace, the mingling of scholarly minds, a sense of social exchange, the clash of national interest, the leavening force of idealism. The diary, hitherto unknown, leaves one a little breathless from a first reading, but the writer had the ability to single out meaningfully from the fabric of the days' events those issues and circumstances that warranted record, then
to paint them with large Jeffersonian sweeps of the pen. Personal irritations, too, were recorded. Of much concern to Jefferson was the inability of the hotel to satisfy his breakfast habit—continental style, and in his room at 8:00 a.m. For Monday, January 27, the entry in his diary reads:

*Breakfast in room at 8. How unFrench. Coffee with milk, American preserved cherries, prunes, pineapple and peach and two fried eggs and two slices of cold toast. Well served, but the toast hard, cold, and unbuttered. Hot toast cannot be had. The coffee is usually quite warm. There are no croissants so the old time petit dejeuner is out of the question. But I think the whole hotel is demoralized by our unsuccessful attempt to serve American food in France.*

Numerous other references in his diary to breakfast inadequacy doubtless contributed to his lack of happiness while at Paris. Jefferson was quite particular about what he ate and when he ate it. (During his work with the Inquiry in New York, his wife had regularly sent him loaves of home baked bread.) His attempts to have legitimate French bread smuggled into the hotel were thwarted. What may have seemed trivial to officials of the moment may well have conspired with other personal irritations to encourage his departure from Paris at an earlier date than might otherwise have been.

The American delegation, accommodated in the Hotel Crillon, converted that same hotel into delegation headquarters. Jefferson, his assistants, (Stratton and Lobeck) and draftsmen, were given two rooms in which to continue the cartographic program commenced in New York. The personnel of the cartographic section from Inquiry days had been changed. A new group of men fluctuating in number from 5 to 25 now constituted Jefferson's draftsmen, the number of draftsmen depending on the map needs of the Delegation and the availability of men. The men, borrowed from the American armed services, frequently had no knowledge of cartography, and had to be taught on the job. Among the more regular of the draftsmen were Stubbs, Blank, Morgan, Young, Maher, Deitch, Harp, White, VanTrees, Fryer, Carrier, Wheat, and Wittenberg. Jefferson had power to have slackers and inefficient men court marshalled, though he never did use it. However, he frequently sought replacement for incompetents. The draftsmen's living conditions were frequently not good and began to irritate a Jefferson overburdened with numerous trivial yet time-demanding matters in addition to his direction, supervision, and participation in the map-making program. On January 4, 1919, he sent the following memorandum to Bowman concerning a 24 year old junior partner in a New York law firm who was responsible for all photostat work.  

*Memorandum . . . to improve conditions of Corporal Huber. Stratton*
got facts from Huber who is an unwilling informant. Huber is in charge of the photostat room. He sleeps with 8 soldiers—overcrowded, food is unsatisfactory, impairing his health. Room is not heated at all. He has two machines. Soldier help is not enthusiastic at all. He even lacks a table.

Reactions were slow to come from higher-ups. Jefferson became more irritated and more burdened as the winter wore on, as adequate accommodation was not secured for his made-over soldiers who wished to return to their homeland and as personnel were taken from him after he had trained them. As a product of these discontents he early desired to leave Paris and return to Ypsilanti. Hardships he would overcome but continued affronts to his opinion of what was reasonable drove him from Paris. On January 25th he sent a communication to Bowman announcing that his cartographic section was hopelessly overworked, and that his own son, Theodore Jefferson, was in France, available and a conscientious worker with experience in map making who could help the section. Bowman relayed the information and on January 28, Mezes sent a memorandum to Secretary Grew:

*Mr. Stratton, Assistant to the Cartographer, is quite overwhelmed by the work that falls to him. He is making every effort to keep up, but the task demands further assistance than is available. During the past week this Division has produced over 300 maps for the Commission. I recommend that if it be practicable the detail of Lieut. T. Jefferson of the Air Service be obtained from the military authorities for this purpose. He has had training in map work, and in kindred subjects that would make him to serve here admirably. Prompt action would be greatly appreciated.*

*Lieut. Jefferson's address is: Air Service, U.S. A.A.P.O. 724 (Issoudun).*

The matter was dealt with by the Commissioners Plenipotentiary Friday, 31 January. The minutes of that meeting include the following:

*Herbert read to Lansing, White, Bliss, House . . . a memorandum prepared by the Secretariat, regarding a desire expressed by Dr. Mezes, to have Lieut. Jefferson of the Aerial Service in France assigned to the Commission as an assistant to the cartographer. General Bliss stated that he had received a confidential letter from Secretary Baker assigned to the Commission. General Bliss believed that too many assignments had already been made through personal friends and that the question of further assignments should not be considered until a study could be made of the present personnel on the Commission.*

On February 3, 1919:
Mr. Herter again brought up Memorandum No. 10 in regard to the assignment of Lieut. Jefferson to assist Mr. Stratton, assistant to the cartographer, and again the Commissioners requested that this question be postponed until the investigation of the Committee upon which Mr. White and General Bliss were both serving, had been completed.

Jefferson's request had been an honest one and he felt abused by the manner of his rejection. He felt abused when other of the "experts" ordered maps from his office at a moment's notice, then criticized them freely and liberally after their completion without an awareness of inherent difficulties associated with the making of that specific map.

Early in February, the space allotted the cartographic program was increased to five rooms and an engraving apparatus was made available. Armed soldiers were posted outside the map rooms from morning till dusk and only the correct pass would gain admittance. Jefferson worked long hours with his map-making group, counselling, advising, suggesting, but always himself working on the maps. Bowman, concerned for Jefferson's health, mentioned time and again that his former teacher should try to delegate more work and responsibility. But that was not the Jefferson habit. He was regularly first to work in the morning, after breakfast in bed—a little indulgence that helped overcome the "invariably cold toast so unpalatable"—and last to leave the map rooms in the evening. His strength as leader of the map program derived from his own productive hand and from his personal example, which served as a model to the draftsmen. Jefferson was very happy in the knowledge that his maps were appreciated; enthusiasm in the delegation for his maps temporarily concealed his fatigue. "Am I busy? Rather! And they like my maps." He did not attend the receptions given for Colonel House or Secretary of State Lansing, did not have time to see the King of Italy who passed outside his map rooms December 18, 1918. His work was with the map, improving it, trying to make it speak. Determination, concentration and perseverance were his strengths. "It is a little touch of artistic sense, I think, that makes my work acceptable in maps. Surely I have a divine discontent with most of those I make." Late in January he wrote,

I do not study at all, apart from devising ways of showing up ideas on maps, which seems to go pretty well but is exhausting, especially overcoming the opposition of those who don't see what I am driving at. I have authority to have my own way, but always try to win them over, rather useless. The maps do it pretty often, my words rarely. I think I must be a very poor persuader.

Jefferson, now 56 years of age, was severely taxing his strength, taking too little exercise and not sufficient rest: on Sunday, February
ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE, PARIS, 1918-1919. (From the papers of Charles Stratton deposited with the Wisconsin State University, River Falls, Wisconsin.)
23, 1919, he fainted while bathing in his room and found himself the following week with a heavy cold, probably influenza. This merely confined him to bed for two days. Then he was back at work, motivated by will power and the spring warmth of Paris, to the consternation of Dr. Lamb, Delegation physician. Later, when Jefferson requested permission to leave the conference early in June, his task completed, Bowman wrote Secretary-General Grew:

Professor Jefferson has devoted himself to the work of the Peace Conference in such a manner that I have been anxious about his health a number of times; in fact, he has actually been ill for several days at a time. All of the map work of the Commission centered in his office, and it was a case of working half way through the night to keep the wheels going, especially as he was undermanned during the first half of the work, just when the pressure was greatest.

The value of the map had long been recognized prior to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Invariably, throughout the history of European peace negotiation, the map had been an integral part of settlement equipment; yet at Paris the map suddenly became everything. Never before had an American collection of maps been so carefully scrutinized, so accurate, so purposive in their numbers, so effective an instrument in negotiating peace. The ability of the map to show meaningful relations, to infuse life into columns of meaningless statistics, had not changed through the years beyond the increment contingent upon the advance of cartographic technique, but new objectives were in evidence at Paris. A just peace was sought by the Wilson-led American delegation; a peace that would not bow to the heady desires of European national interests, but a peace sought which would enable Europeans to live amicably together. But what was justice in the aftermath of the World War—the American delegation sought the answer in the map. Maps 6' x 4', 3' x 2', 11" x 8", 6" x 3", language maps, boundary maps, port maps, ethnographic maps, religion maps, city maps, coal maps, cereal maps, relief maps, political maps, outline maps were only some of the several hundred compiled, catalogued, and filed by Jefferson and his team. Territorial decisions would at least be taken in a minimum of ignorance. Men's similarities and differences—the very stuff of war—would be noted. If justice were not meted out, it was not for lack of cartographic data, but from a lack of ability to define justice.

Did the principle of justice permit the separation of East Prussia from Germany by the Polish Corridor, or did it demand that Poland be excluded from access to the sea and Polish populations be left under German rule? The principle of viability pointed toward the decision
that Czechoslovakia be allowed to maintain the historic Bohemian frontier; the principle of self determination demanded with equal force that the frontier be altered, so as to throw the German-speaking Bohemian group into the Reich.

With the map and the abstract principle of Wilsonian justice, ill-defined as it was, some three thousand miles of new boundaries were created about the former states of central Europe: Bowman was later able to write of this arrangement, "At no time in the history of Europe have political boundaries more closely expressed the lines of ethnic division or political sentiment." 

The map won acceptance as the most convenient method of carrying information in a workable and readily usable form. It reduced 10,000 words to a concise expression. The map, with no word wastage, began to replace the memorandum. The map became the universal language of the American delegation at Paris and the international language of the conference: a cartographic precedent. Copies of the original maps compiled by Jefferson and his team were collected, reduced, and entered in the Black Book (European matters) or Red Book (Colonial matters) of the American Delegation, which were constantly being consulted by the diplomats. In his diary for Friday, March 21, Jefferson entered:

Yesterday Warrin told me that over at a meeting at the English Commission quarters the other day Lloyd George wanted to see the [Alsation] boundary of 1814. They could not show him any. Finally, someone remembered the American Black Book. There was one there, and they pulled out our map for him!

Nearly thirty years later he was to recall the matter in a letter to Alfred Meyer:

Picture the Big 4 at Paris lying prone in Mr. Wilson's parlor on a 2 millionth of Europe till Mr. Lloyd George jumped up and asked for the little black bible of the Americans containing the same things on the scale allowing each map to be reproduced as a 7" x 11" sheet. The large map is too unmanageable.

The American delegation was not the sole possessor of maps at Paris. Especially noteworthy was the mapwork and collections of maps rendered available by the Royal Geographical Society of Britain and the Service Géographique of France, though all delegations had their own maps. Bowman has suggested that some delegations used the map as an instrument for the advancement of national interest:

Each one of the central European nationalities had its own bagful of statistical and cartographic tricks. When statistics failed, use was made of maps in color. It would take a huge monograph to contain an
analysis of all the types of map forgeries that the War and the Peace Conference called forth. A new instrument was discovered—the map language. A map was as good as a brilliant poster, and just being a map made it respectable, authentic. A perverted map was a lifebelt to many a foundering argument. It was in the Balkans that the use of this process reached its most brilliant climax.

It is not known how many maps the section produced while in Paris. Frequently a map was made in a great hurry for one of the other sections of the American Delegation to illustrate relations that could hardly be expressed otherwise. Record was not always kept of such swiftly made, hand-drawn maps and duplicate copies were not made of them. Seymour and Day, with their requests for maps of Austria-Hungary and the Balkans respectively, probably made the largest individual demands on the cartographers. Maps needed by the other divisions of the American Delegation were noted by Jefferson. He would type a work order sheet for each map that was needed and assign the work to a draftsman. Many of these orders have been saved and sheets 1-64, 100-102, 486-792 are currently with the National Archives, in Washington D.C. Examples of the plan of these work orders made in New York and Paris by Jefferson are reproduced:

No. 534  Boundary of Ukraine

Base  Tracing from Stieler's Handatlas.  
For State Dept. Treaty Illustrations  
Date  Nov 12  
Treatment  
Tracingcloth outline of boundary between Poland and Ukraine with the cities mentioned in the treaty lettered in and boundaries of the countries included in the single page area. To measure 4\(\frac{4}{10}\) by 7\(\frac{7}{10}\)". Germany, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine to be lettered on. And any rivers put in all detail that come close to the boundary of the Ukraine. From this drawing a zinc etching is to be made.

Draughtsman  Besswanger, 5 hrs.

Material  
Article II Treaty of Peace between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey and the Republic of Ukraine of Feb. 9, 1918, at Brest Litovsk.

Delivery  

Plates received and forwarded to Miss Bache-Wiig, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C., November 25.
12 prints received Nov. 25.

No. 694a Chantong Province, Railroads (694 corrected)

Base, Section of International Corporation Map of China

Date Feb. 26, 1919

For Capt. Hornbeck

Treatment

A corrected copy of 694

30 copies ordered 1:3,000,000

35 photostats received March 1, 1919

25 photostats received March 12

Material

Corrected copy of 694 with Typewritten instructions by Capt. Hornbeck.

Draftsman Blank

Delivery

31 to Capt. Hornbeck March 1, 1919

1 to Dr. Bowman, March 1, 1919

28 to Mr. Wei, March 14

In Paris maps were not made only for specialists of the American delegation; Bowman requested Jefferson maps on orders from higher officials on numerous occasions and for other delegations . . . for example:

a) map 519 (National Archives). Rumania Language map. For professor De Martonne. Draftsman—Winget; 85 hours.


Bowman told me China needed maps—30 copies to defend herself against Japan which was well prepared. I agreed to push it. Supper with Profs. Leith, Tower, and then Bowman joined us. Told him his map was being photostated, ready with one negative at eight. I worked on instructions to treat negatives in white to paint the thirty positives tomorrow. . . . Saturday morning, February 1, white work was finished before noon and photostats ready early p.m. at 3, I had colored one copy. Bowman came over to see. Approved but wanted more Japan added on map and a larger Shantung province. Designed that on our big China Base and sent up to photostat at 6 p.m. All first photostats done in color. Thirty-one copies at 7 p.m., Feb. 1.

c) Mark Jefferson, Paris Peace Conference diary page 66, Tuesday, February 11, 1919. “. . . Seymour asked me to mount four Rumanian sheets, 1 millionth map for an English specialist. We buy the sheets from the English Government. We did it. Sent up two drawings to engrave . . . .”
And as Bowman has written: 50

All delegations at the Peace Conference of Paris made wise use of the American maps and of the so-called Black Book and Red Book of the American delegation. These "books" were assemblies of proposed solutions of conference problems, the former of European problems mainly, the latter of colonial problems . . .

Unique in peace conference history was the map equipment of the American delegation. A full series of base maps of the problem areas of the world. This permitted (with the help of a photostat camera and a trained staff of draftsmen directed by Mark Jefferson) the daily preparation of maps in duplicate for all allied commissions that required them. An erroneous and misleading statement of the map program of the Inquiry and of the use of American maps at Paris appears in Mezes chapter in "What really happened at Paris."

Always there were maps waiting to be made: the demand was seemingly insatiable. On completion of a map Jefferson would scrutinize it. If the map were not satisfactory it would be redrawn. Usually Jefferson would consult his draftsmen while they were constructing the map, and so few maps were rejected. Some months after the American Delegation returned home Jefferson suggested to Bowman that Charles Stratton should compile a list of all the maps prepared by the American Delegation, both in New York and at Paris. Bowman thought the idea a good one, for Stratton had been curator of the map collection both at the Inquiry and Paris Peace Conference Headquarters, but the work was never undertaken. Currently these maps remain scattered in various archival deposits and are not to be found in one convenient collection. Jefferson did manage to collect copies of the maps that left his offices, and occasionally managed to retain a hand produced map, when no other copy had been made, by inquiring after it. In this way he brought back a fine collection of Peace Conference maps to Ypsilanti in the June of 1919. Later at the request of Bowman, Jefferson donated the larger part (329 maps) of his collection to the American Geographical Society, where scholars would have easier access to them. These maps have since been transferred to the Seymour Peace Collection, Yale University. A complete inventory of all the maps produced was never accomplished although Jefferson presented the matter as one of significance to Bowman: 51

I have just received the letter and circular of the National Research Council, division of geology and geography. My capitalisation. Some day it will be division of Geography and Geology, with the wide-content subject first and the narrow one last!

It gave me an idea, a desire to write, to the chairman, to you, to
Stratton, to the librarian of Congress. As I have no stenographer, I am going to pass the idea to you. I cannot write so many letters. I shall have no objection at all to your adopting the idea if you like it.

It is the deliberate organization of a subject-list of important maps, classified by countries and subject matter. Such a working list as we had there in Paris with the gaps (i.e. Cable maps) filled. Besides a brief description of the map with statement of publisher and price, a statement of the libraries where the map was to be found and an arrangement by which photostat copies could be reproduced by those libraries on application, if the map was not obtainable in the market. A committee definitely organized to campaign for difficult maps, like those of administrative subdivisions, mineral deposits, and asking people like the Inquiry members to name desideratum.

Only modern maps, say since 1875 or latest map before that, if none after. Only best maps, accepting badly someones judgment. Stratton could comment on the maps he has a list of admirably, for a starter. I think he has an amazing fund of critical knowledge of the list at present, but of course it will fade with time and soon go.

In fact all the Inquiry members could be useful and I am sure they would be glad to, in view of the great service opened to them. I am not sure whether the Library of Congress or the AGS would be fitter patron.

Why not?

Bowman's reply was favourable to Jefferson's suggestion:52

Thanks, too, for your suggestion of a subject list of important maps, classified by countries and subject matter. An excellent idea. Let us set Stratton to work upon it at once. Nothing that he could do would be more valuable at this time and it would help him in his work . . . It is as precisely as you say! Why not?

But the maps were not assembled in one collection nor has a complete inventory of these maps ever been made. Original maps, photostat maps, and other types of map reproduction rendered more confusing the task of inventory, as did four cataloguing systems which have been applied to this one body of maps. The only readily available inventory, which is of a provisional nature, and which is admittedly incomplete, has been compiled by James B. Rhoads.53

The little known Geographers Commission of the Conference was born on February 2, 1919, when Mr. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Peace Conference, wrote to Secretary Grew of the American Delegation:54

. . . Concerning another matter, it appears as though there is interest in bringing together in a Commission as soon as possible the represent-
atives of the Geographical Services of the Great Powers taking part in the Peace Conference, to study certain cartographic questions relative to the maps furnished to this Conference.

Consequently, I shall be obliged if you will request Mr. Mark Jefferson to assist at the first session of the Geographers Commission which will take place under the presidency of Divisional General Bourgeois, member of the Institute. Director of the Army Geographic Service, 140, rue de Grenelle . . . .

Grew requested Jefferson to attend the first session to be held, February 6, 1919, and informed Mr. Dutasta that he had so directed Jefferson. The Geographers Commission had been brought into existence. It was not a direct creation of the Supreme Council, but was self-constituted upon the motion of Colonel Hedley, Director of the British Geographical Service of the Army, for the purpose of studying, together with representatives of other Governments, "the proposition that the International 1-1 Million Map be accepted as the official map of the Conference."

Members of the Commission initially included Captain Maury—Belgium; Colonel Hedley and Captain Ogilvie—Britain; General Bourgeois, Colonel Bellot, and Captain Pepin—France; Captain Romagnoli—Italy; Colonel Nagai—Japan; and Mark Jefferson—U.S.A. Jefferson was the only civilian on the Commission, neither West Point nor Annapolis recognizing the subject of geography at that time. The group functioned well and the civilian felt quite at ease:

I sit at General Bourgeois' left, Colonel Hedley (U.K.) at his right. At first I spoke in English letting my old friend Major Ogilvie translate for me but very soon I took to French too and get along better. I lack vocabulary somewhat, but find myself appealed to quite naturally to translate when French is needed. I have to laugh to find myself making suggestions to a French General as to the correction of phrases in our procès-verbal or report of meetings! But they are polite and take it admirably.

The first two sessions were held on February 6 and February 10 respectively. At the latter meeting it was agreed that General Bourgeois should send a report of accomplishment to Mr. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Peace Conference, and await his pleasure. Their good work and potential use in helping define and delimit boundaries encouraged a closer attention from the General Secretariat, who on March 28, 1919, announced an official Geographical Commission of the Conference, and that its powers were defined as follows:

Coordination of the cartographic work concerning frontiers;
Selection of the best maps;
Tracing frontier lines; Preparation of instructions for boundary Commissions.

Initially the geographers had been assembled to discuss the scale of maps to be used in the Conference. Extension of the geographers' meetings and the birth of the group as an official commission of the Conference may have been attributable in part to a Jefferson suggestion:57

Having learned that a commission of lawyers of the allied powers was going over the language of the Treaty as it left the hands of the Big Five to make sure that it would be able to meet legal assaults of later days, it occurred to Jefferson that there was an equally important chance here for geographers. The treaties were constructing new boundaries many miles long. Boundaries always offer the best possible grounds of quarrel, if men are inclined to quarrel. The descriptions of these boundaries by men neither acquainted with the ground traversed nor able to read the nature of the ground from maps, would be full of opportunity for real misunderstanding.

What could be more useful than that men who were in the habit of reading maps and could study the ground in our chairs of the French War Offices, should go over the lines as delineated and where the delineations ordered would be impracticable on the ground, or would involve consequences unexpected by their authors, we should make suggestions leading to realization of results intended.

They had been empowered by their several nations to select the maps on which the boundaries proposed should be marked out and to which the treaties might refer, but had no mandate from their governments to study the technical details of boundary description. Jefferson suggested that Captain Pepin, who was present in behalf of Marshal Foch to observe at the meetings, might intimate that if Marshal Foch should ask them to undertake such a study they were sure they could offer useful hints.

At our next session Marshal Foch sent just such a request and they proceeded to comply with it.

Governments must pretend to an infallibility quite beyond their capacities.

The third meeting of the geographers which constituted the first meeting of the official Commission was held on April 5, 1919. Other meetings were held at frequent intervals until October 8th, by which time it had convened on 26 occasions. Jefferson participated vigorously in the first 12 sessions of this Commission prior to his departure from Paris on June 1. The personnel of the group remained little changed through those weeks; Major Wynne was immediately added to the British Delegation, and at the ninth Session of the Commission, May 13, Captain
Stoyanovitch representing Serbia was added. Whereas the meeting of February 6 concerned itself with the selection of a Conference map, and the second meeting of February 10 had been a request for direction from the General Secretariat, the meetings from April 5 forward concerned themselves essentially with the study of state boundaries. The subject matter of discussion included: Sessions III-IV—procedure; Session V—Examination of the frontiers of Czecho-slovakia; Sessions VI, VII, VIII—Examination of the frontiers of Germany; Session IX—Examination of the frontiers of Austria; Session X—Examination of the frontiers of Hungary; Sessions XI-XII—Study of instructional procedures to be given to the “Commissions of Delimitation.”

Jefferson participated vigorously in these sessions, which were recorded in a little known but significant Parisian publication of 1932—Recueil Des Actes de la Conference; Partie IV Commissions de la Conference; 9, Commission de Geographie. His contribution included: insistence on the worth of a map 1:200,000 rather than 1:1,000,000 for mapping the new state frontiers; demonstration that the word, “Thalweg,” was the source of much misunderstanding; a written note concerning the effect that river behaviour might exert on international frontiers; presentation of a study concerning Rumanian boundaries.

It was on April 11 that the Secretary General of the American Delegation received the following letter from the General Secretariat of the Peace Conference:

Quai d'Orsay
Paris, 11 April 1919

Dear Sir:

The Secretary-General of the Peace Conference has the honor to inform the American Delegation that, with a view to studying from a technical point of view the tracing of the new frontiers proposed, a Commission of geographical experts comprising principally the representatives of the Geographical Services of the Great Powers; the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, and assisted if necessary by representatives of the Geographical Services of the other Powers, has been formed under the presidency of General Bourgeois, director of the Geographical Service of the (French) Army.

The duties of this Commission are:

a) At present:

1. To choose the best map of large scale for the tracing of frontiers:
2. To transfer to these large-scale maps the frontiers proposed and at present drawn upon 1:1,000,000 maps in conformity with the request of the Central Committee of Territorial Affairs;

3. To study these tracings from a technical point of view, particularly from the point of view of future difficulties of delimitation.

These large-scale maps, as well as the technical observations which the Commission may express, will be communicated to the respective territorial Commissions.

b) In future:

1. To study the definitive tracings adopted by the Supreme Council of the Allies;

2. To prepare the instructions to be given to the Commissions for the delimitation of the new frontiers.

Seal: Peace Conference
General Secretariat

The Delegation gradually came to the realization that no American had ever been appointed to that Commission. Lansing tersely investigated the matter, sending memoranda to Jefferson through both Secretary Grew and Isaiah Bowman inquiring "if an appointment was ever made or whether he [Jefferson] was taking part in these meetings informally."

To Jefferson these terse inquiries bordered on the insolent; they were suggestive of personal advancement on his own initiative without official sanction. On May 12, Grew sent a memorandum to Herter that read:60

*I have explained fully to Mr. Lansing Professor Jefferson's status on the Commission of Expert Geographers. Mr. Lansing agrees that Professor Jefferson is the proper official to represent the U.S. on that Commission and authorizes his appointment.*

Too late. Almost at once Jefferson began to negotiate for his departure from Paris. He sought a replacement for himself on the Commission of Geographers and a skeleton staff for the maintenance of the mapping offices. Charles Stratton and Armin Lobeck wished to leave Paris with him. The cartographers had been seriously overworked and lack of consideration extended them contributed further to their unhappiness. Additionally, the essential work of the cartographic section had been completed. A skeleton staff of Corporal J. T. Deitch and Privates J. E. Van Trees and G. W. Wheat remained in the mapping offices as draftsmen, and Captain Scovell remained in charge of the photostat room.

On June 1, 1919, Jefferson left Paris. It was at this time that nine other members of the American Delegation to negotiate Peace also left
Paris, though their reason for departure was due to marked ideological conflict with the direction of the Peace Conference.

Colonel Theodore Dillon replaced Jefferson on the Central Geographical Committee and promptly informed Grew that "the work of the Geographical Committee does not seem to be important." After absenting himself from some meetings of the Geographical Committee, Colonel Dillon of the U.S. Engineers withdrew from the Peace Conference on August 1 and was replaced on the Commission of Geographers by Colonel D. C. Jones. Whereas Jefferson had played a major role in the work of the first 12 meetings of the Geographical Committee neither Dillon nor Jones attended or contributed much in the latter 14 meetings.

There were moments during Jefferson's five months stay in Paris when he was not in the map room, or sitting with the geographer's commission; in these moments he would "go out into France," perhaps to stroll along the Champs Élysées with Warrin, his favorite walking companion, "who had such a keen power of observation," visit a postage stamp fair with Leon Dominian, enjoy local theater, visit Jean Brunhes, receive Professor Romer or Paul Teleki, or talk geology with E. de Margerie. Yet it was a twelve-mile Sunday stroll alone through Melun, a quaint village with crooked streets, or through the forest of Fontainebleau, that Jefferson considered his pleasantest diversions. These walks enabled him to think. At table in the Crillon he listened much to Lord, Lunt, Dixon, Haskins, Putnam, but conversation did not allow him to think. On his walks he began to collect his thoughts concerning the vandal nation Germany, the Conference, the future. He was agreed with Wilson that the world should seek justice, but Jefferson felt that two Paris Peace Conferences were needed; the first conference to define the nature of the just,—the second conference to apply this truth to the problems of the world. He believed that there was a just solution to territorial adjustment in Europe. The just solution was that which was better than any other. To comprehend the just solution would require thorough understanding of Europe and an infinite amount of thought. He continued to think on this matter until his death in 1949; many scattered pages of handwritten and typed notes bear witness to the bothersome nature of this insoluble for him.

Jefferson had taken a very great interest in the proceedings of the Peace Conference. He had interrupted the write-up of his South American colonization studies (and that was part of the contract with the American Geographical Society), had invested much effort himself on the maps at the conference, had left his recently married second wife alone with the family, while in any case three of his sons had been directly involved in the war. He collected maps from as many delega-
tions as possible, received aerial photographs of the war on the ground and the maps constructed from these—a new phase of military geography—carefully collected the literature which was being distributed by numerous delegations working in their own national interest. He made notes in the margins of works which had special interest for him and which included, "The Psychology of an Upstart Nation, The Bulgars," "The Dodecanese," "The Czecho-Slovaks," "La Question de L'Adriatique," "The Question of Scutari," "The Question of Istria," to "Pan Germanism," "Who Wanted War?," "The Violation by Germany of the Neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg," "How Germany Seeks to Justify her Atrocities," "Conquest and Culture." Yet Jefferson was unhappy. . . dissatisfied.

Jefferson was not satisfied with the territorial settlement of Europe, his anxiety for the "Russian lost lands" could not be stemmed, neither was he happy that "the United States shamelessly allowed the scholars to whisper in the ears of the men with privilege of speech," at meetings of the Big Four "... Mr. Lansing appears quite reckless and cynical of an ignorance he does not acknowledge . . . He does not come informed. Would a lawyer dare to come to court with so little information about his client's case?" He felt the specialists of the American Delegation were being abused when higher-ups began to make their own decisions without concern for the findings of the specialists, and he began to feel his labors were being wasted, witness the entry in his diary:

... they are surely finishing up fast. The Big Four has taken matters out of expert's hands much to the disgust of the experts, who thought their work was going to stand. On German-Bohemian frontier for instance Big Four disregarded a lot of little givings and takings along the frontier and said, "take the old line." In other words the experts did not exercise the sort of wisdom that was wanted. They mistook their role.

Jefferson did not feel the job was being done well and so wished to leave Paris. This desire to return to the United States was made known in several of the letters he sent to his daughter, Phoebe, in New York. Never could he express himself frankly concerning the "lost lands" in a letter, since this correspondence was invariably censored. In reply to his daughter's inquiry, "why do you wish to come home?" Jefferson once replied, "Ah, it is hard questions that my children ask me," but he did author some of the frustration that had been accumulating in him for several weeks.83

I am a very impractical, foolish person, I admit, but you have no idea how useful to me and others too are the things I learned in my school
and college days and since. I know a lot of things about the geography of Europe that would save heaps of trouble that the Peace Treaty is pretty sure to arrange for as definitely as if the various Peace Commissions were planning it, if it were the common possession of the men who are going to close the affair! and they have listened to no end of tedious information too. They have had a hard time, I fear. Nothing is such a bore especially for statesmen, as to be handed out information.

Seymour has written of Jefferson's irritation and exasperation at the inefficiencies and inadequacies of some personnel:

Jefferson was reserved in manner, rather brusque, direct and uncompromising in expression. He was critical of the memoranda handed him which he was to illustrate with his maps, and reasonably so, for the earlier studies of the so-called "experts" were often "amateurish," and still more often not applicable to the essential point. This was not surprising since we were given very little guidance in the preparation of memoranda. The "Men higher up" did not really know what they wanted. These uncertainties irritated Jefferson, although I rarely heard him complain of them. He liked his job to be clearcut and definite. He was careful never to complain of a colleague, although there were many occasions when I knew that he was exasperated by a sloppy report.

Jefferson was also quite distressed by the attitude of a new post-war France. In his diary for Monday, March 19, he wrote:

France is excessively selfish. She did not and could not win the war. She was saved by England, by Russia and by the United States. But she wants and is ready to cry for an old fashioned (1870) type of victory.

Twelve years later he wrote:

In 1918 I went to Paris with Pres. Wilson in the George Washington as chief of the Division, and was there six months, getting an interesting view of the province of Oran, Algeria on the return. I did not find this visit to Paris pleasant. I had a number of friends in the University, geographers with whom I had tramped and driven across France and Switzerland in 1911 and travelled in our Transcontinental excursion across the U.S. the whole months of August and Sept. 1912. But all these friends—indeed all the Frenchmen I met after the war—were so transformed by the War experience, so insistent in pushing French plans and French ambition, regardless of the effect on other nations that I took no pleasure. I went to France pretty well aware of the details of that country's sufferings and of her immediate innocence of offence, and feeling for her a sympathy that I now feel considerably diminished. When we were discussing the details of certain proposed
boundaries in the Teschen, our French chairman allowed himself to remark—"I don't see why a man should care whether he was a Pole or a Czech." Typical!

On May 31, 1919, after considerable negotiation Jefferson received a letter which read:66

Dear Professor Jefferson,

With the completion of your work with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, we, the commissioners desire to extend to you, on behalf of the government which we represent, as well as personally, our warm thanks for the important services which you have rendered your country while on service here. The task of making peace has been great and arduous, and our country is indebted to those who, like you, have rendered such valuable service to the government.

You take with you the sincere wishes of the Commission for the future.

—Sad, for the signatures are but four, Robert Lansing, Henry White, Edward House, Tasker Bliss. Woodrow Wilson was already too ill to sign.

Permission to leave Paris by June 1 had been granted to Jefferson. Five days prior to his departure he attended the ceremony involving the presentation of the Cullum Geographical Medal to his friend and geographical acquaintance, Emmanuel de Margerie, by U.S. Ambassador Hugh Campbell Wallace at the United States Embassy in Paris. This was one of the rare occasions in Paris when Jefferson ventured into society, but he thought very highly of the work of E. de Margerie:67

This afternoon my phone was used by a young lady to call me and ask me to hold the line a moment. Then the secretary of Mr. Wallace, US. Ambassador to France called me. Mr. Wallace was to confer a gold medal on de Margerie tomorrow at 4, for the geographic society, not the National, but the other, the American and would I be good enough to come? Surely, I knew M. de Margerie, and admired him. I would be very glad to and then I got particulars about the house and so on. Mr. Wallace will be very glad. It will only take you about twenty minutes.

Now my heart doesn't beat any faster when magnates invite me, usually I shudder! Some weeks ago I had a card from Mrs. Lansing to attend her reception to meet the new American Ambassador, Mr. and Mrs. Wallace! I didn't want to go in the least and I didn't. I suppose they like a crowd at those things and I was to be part of the crowd. If you go in the crowd and attract attention somehow you may be presently invited as yourself. This attracting attention is an odd stunt. You might do it probably by standing on your head, but I have a notion it
is better to only do it figuratively. I do not attract attention very well, and do not make a good piece of the scenery so I mostly stay away. Tomorrow, however, I shall not, for here M. Emmanuel de Margerie comes into the story. He is a most charming French gentleman and scholar. I met him first in 1912—Transcontinental Excursion. Man of property, about my age, distinguished French geologist, speaks English very well and knows more American geology than any one I know.

...I am glad to go and do de Margerie what honor I may, even if I do have to go the the American Ambassador's house to do it!

Jefferson and Stratton left Paris on June 1 and travelled south to Carcasonne, where they enjoyed six days of sunshine. Two days were spent visiting ancient buildings in Carcasonne and Nimes and two days in Marseilles. Jefferson bought a vest pocket camera at an "absurd price," but he simply had to take pictures after his stay of privation in Paris. Some of them are reproduced in Man in Europe, 1924. Then aboard the Patria, a steamer of the Fabre line, from Marseilles via Straits of Gibraltar, Lisbon, and the Azores, the two men reached New York 19 June.

During the following months in Ypsilanti he taught a course at the Michigan State Normal College entitled "The New World." He also presented an evening series of lectures to faculty and townsfolk concerning the war and the Peace Conference and gave many addresses in the local community in praise of the League of Nations. He insisted the boundary lines of Europe had been drawn in blood. In 1947, two years prior to his death, he confirmed his gloomy prognostication in an embittered note to himself, "A Song of Victory":68

...the blood of the First World War was not well shed, the treasure was not well spent, men paid the price but did not get what they paid for...an end of war and an advance of civilization.

Jefferson had been convinced "the world was not safe" when he had prepared maps detailing the accomplishment of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and skillfully put the Treaty into approximately 750 words, in a document which details national boundaries in the medium of description.69 He did not consider the Treaty just. Its infamy haunted him until his death. Perhaps the clearest expression of his discontent with the "Russian lost lands" may be found in the first chapter of an unpublished manuscript, commenced in retirement, which he wanted to entitle, "A Geography for Grownups":70

Germany lost World War 1 in 1918 and was penalized by the loss of 28 thousand square miles of territory—a little less than Belgium and Holland together. The Russians counted it an almost unbearable grievance that they, who were first of all the Allies to go to the help of the
invaded Serbians, who were the only Allies to advance promptly and deeply into Austrian and German territory, and who lost far more men in battle than any other of the Allies, should have a quarter million square miles wrested from them in the end! . . . The Soviet leaders pointed to their loss as an expression of the hatred of capitalistic nations for the Bolsheviks in the period from 1918 on, when they—as they saw it—were trying to realize a new experiment in human liberty . . .

**BETWEEN WARS THE LOST LANDS DOMINATED SOVIET MINDS.**

Through this period nothing was more in the minds of the Soviet leaders than this lost border land. What they believed was for them the truth. What the Allies believed was true for them equally. Perhaps God's truth did not exactly coincide with either view. Just such differences have led to war in the past and may again unless enough men and women take more thought than in the past. The Bolsheviks regarded the six nations created from the lost lands as a belt of enemy nations set up to oppose Socialism. The mass of the American people were unaware of the Soviet grievance or that the Soviets regarded themselves as crusaders in a holy war against the Profit-Motive in industry . . .