

(Dis)entangling the local, the national, and the international: civilian internment in Germany and in German-occupied France and Belgium in global context

STIBBE, Matthew <<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7269-8183>>

Available from Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive (SHURA) at:

<https://shura.shu.ac.uk/30971/>

This document is the Published Version [VoR]

Citation:

STIBBE, Matthew (2022). (Dis)entangling the local, the national, and the international: civilian internment in Germany and in German-occupied France and Belgium in global context. In: KOWNER, Rotem and RACHAMIMOV, Iris, (eds.) Out of line, out of place: a global and local history of World War I internments. Cornell University Press, 25-51. [Book Section]

Copyright and re-use policy

See <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/information.html>

CHAPTER 1

(Dis)entangling the Local, the National, and the International

Civilian Internment in Germany and in German-Occupied France and Belgium in Global Context

Matthew Stibbe

Since the 1990s, an increasing body of scholarly work has addressed the complex issue of civilian internment during World War I in different local, national, regional, and imperial settings.¹ Scholars are also beginning to explore the interconnected and global nature of this phenomenon² and its links to a broader “dynamic of destruction” incorporating economic blockades, forced migration, violence against enemy soldiers and prisoners of war, the use of gas, air, and submarine attacks, the deliberate targeting of cultural treasures by invading armies, and the 1915 Turkish genocide against the Ottoman Armenians.³ Yet there are still some important gaps in our understanding of particular camp systems, including, as Uta Hinz noted in 2003, in the case of imperial Germany, where the exact motives for the internment of more than 100,000 enemy civilians over the course of the war, most of them French and Belgian nationals, remain obscure and unexplained.⁴ This is even more surprising given the prominent place of internment in the propaganda war between Germany and its enemies during the years 1914 to 1918.⁵

Previous literature has dwelt on three aspects of the internment question. First it has been interpreted as a means by which nation-states sought to monitor and persecute alien minorities in wartime. The lead here was taken by France and Britain, which were the first states in 1914 to implement measures against enemy citizens living in their midst, including expropriations,

expulsions, and incarceration. Similar ordinances were also introduced in their respective colonies and dominions, as well as in German overseas territories in Africa and the Pacific overrun by Allied troops in the opening months of the conflict.⁶ Second, the development of internment into a worldwide phenomenon during the war has been attributed to two main factors, retaliatory measures introduced by Germany and Austria-Hungary in autumn 1914 affecting British and French nationals living there, and the decision made by countries that subsequently joined the Allied camp—including Italy in 1915, Portugal and its Atlantic and African possessions in 1916, the United States, Panama, and Brazil in 1917, and Siam and Haiti in 1918—to follow the Anglo-French example when it came to the treatment of enemy aliens, albeit with certain local variations.⁷ Finally, things came full circle when France and Britain took the lead again in permanently expelling former German and Habsburg internees in 1919–20, including from their overseas colonies and dominions, a process that went hand in hand with French *épuration* (purification) measures in the “regained” border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.⁸

This metaview of civilian captivity in World War I is not necessarily unique. In fact, it is very close to the narrative put forward by the German Reichstag’s Committee of Investigation into the causes and consequences of the war in its final report, published in 1927, which held Britain and France responsible for instigating mass internment in 1914 and portrayed German measures as purely reactive.⁹ It also explains the focus on Ruhleben, the camp near Berlin used by the German authorities to house British civilian internees during the war, in subsequent historiography.¹⁰ Over and over again, the German Foreign Office made clear that the Reich was holding these prisoners in retaliation for the alleged mistreatment of German nationals in Britain and the British empire, and that they were in effect bargaining counters. In November 1916 Johannes Kriege (1859–1937), the head of the Foreign Office’s legal department, even offered an “all for all” exchange of civilian prisoners between Germany and Britain in a speech in the Reichstag, a proposal that was subsequently rejected by the Imperial War Cabinet in London.¹¹

However, while Ruhleben makes a very good case study for understanding the experience of World War I captivity, not least as its inmates left behind so many written sources, it was not at all typical of internment camps in Germany.¹² Its proximity to the German capital, the comparatively low turnover of prisoners, and the protection from abuse offered by the fact that Britain and its overseas colonies and dominions held up to ten times as many Germans, meant that this camp developed a remarkably rich cultural life, with sports, theater, educational courses, and a range of other “national”

pursuits marking it out as the site of a particularly vibrant "community at war."¹³ Above all, though, Ruhleben stood out because its inmates were relatively well fed, even in 1917–18, and were not required, at any stage in the war, to perform forced labor. This placed it at the positive end of a long continuum of different types of camp and camp experience.

More to the point, the four to five thousand British internees held here represented only a tiny fraction of the total number of civilian prisoners in Germany and German-occupied parts of Europe during the war. According to John Horne and Alan Kramer, for instance, at least ten thousand French civilians and thirteen thousand Belgians had already been deported from occupied regions to camps in Germany by the end of 1914.¹⁴ The numbers increased significantly in 1915 and continued to rise thereafter, not least as enemy civilians were now also being deported from conquered territories in the east—from the Government-General in Warsaw and the area known as Ober Ost.¹⁵ France and Belgium nonetheless remained the principal source of internees. In most cases deportation orders appear to have come from military commanders on the ground, with little coordination between the districts assigned to particular armies in the areas behind the front line. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), in a report published in October 1918, painted a picture of mounting chaos, with no central authority in charge of German internment policy, no evidence of rational planning, little concern to ensure compliance with international conventions or preexisting customs of war, and a complete breakdown in accurate record keeping:

Some civilian detainees in Germany appear to have been transferred to prisons in Belgium and occupied France, where they can neither communicate with their families in unoccupied France, nor receive aid parcels, nor have visits from representatives of the neutral powers charged with their protection. We regret that up till now it has proved impossible to obtain any kind of information on the conditions those prisoners are being held in.¹⁶

Using a variety of sources, including the files of the legal department of the German Foreign Office in Berlin, Red Cross publications, and military records held in the Bavarian War Archive in Munich, this chapter will look at the motivations for internment and deportation of civilians from German-occupied northern France and Belgium as a specific case study. A central argument will be that if we want to understand German internment practices, and why they differed in particular contexts, we have to look beyond internment itself as simply being shaped by the requirements of "grand

strategy" (Ger. *große Politik*), state-directed labor, and migratory policies or the subjective need to respond in kind to the worldwide internment of German civilians by Allied countries. Rather, the views of military commanders operating in the occupied rear areas, and their assessment of the changing material, psychological, and security interests of their troops, were also significant determinants. The concluding section will address some of the conceptual implications of these findings for writing the history of World War I captivity specifically as global history. First, though, it will be necessary to offer a general overview of German attitudes towards French civilians in the invaded territories.

German Internment Policies in Occupied France and Belgium

German internment and deportation policies in occupied northern France and that part of Belgium subject to direct military rule were determined to some extent by the administrative structures set up by the German army in the field. Once the initial fighting had ended, a distinction was made between the immediate front-line area (Ger. *Operationsgebiet*), from which almost all French and Belgian civilians were compulsorily evacuated, and the rear area (Ger. *Etappengebiet*, Fr. *étape*), which was divided into six separate districts (*Etappen*) of different size and population density, corresponding to the six German armies operating on the Western Front. Each district was ruled by a rear-area inspectorate (*Etappeninspektion*) and a series of rear-area commanders (*Etappenkommandanten*), who were responsible for labor procurement, policing local communities, and ensuring the security of the occupation troops. The *Etappeninspektionen* in turn were answerable to the army supreme command, the *Oberste Heeresleitung* (OHL).¹⁷

The initial wave of deportations, from September to December 1914, was, as Horne and Kramer rightly note, carried out as a "localized response" to a variety of imagined threats, including fear of spies and irregular fighters (Ger. *Franktireurs*; Fr. *franc-tireurs*) and a perceived need to deter or punish would-be resistance by taking hostages. Since women, children, and men above military age were included among the ten thousand French civilians and the thirteen thousand Belgians sent to camps in Germany at this time, the rounding-up of men capable of bearing arms cannot be regarded as the only motive, although it certainly played a part.¹⁸ Meanwhile, a similarly confused mixture of concerns was behind the parallel deportation of domestic political suspects from Alsace and Lorraine by the harsh new military regime imposed on these border provinces from the beginning of the war. As many as four hundred German nationals—mostly political leaders, lawyers, and

journalists suspected of pro-French sentiments—were expelled from Lorraine alone, with some held in internment camps and others subjected to forced residency (Ger. *Zwangsaufenthalt*) in the German interior.¹⁹ Members of the Roma and Sinti communities were likewise forcibly removed, first from the fortress area around Strasbourg and then from the whole of Alsace-Lorraine; some of them subsequently ended up in Baden, Bavaria, and other parts of western and southern Germany, where they soon became a target for local prejudice and persecution.²⁰

In the meantime, as far as these initial deportations are concerned, there is little evidence of a coordinated policy directed from the top. The German Foreign Office intervened only when it discovered that Swiss nationals were also being expelled from Upper Alsace, fearing that this could harm relations with an important neutral state.²¹ Otherwise, it preferred not to know about the actions of German military commanders in occupied France and the Belgian *étape*, particularly as the Reich authorities at this point were attempting to draw international attention to atrocities committed by Russian troops in East Prussia in 1914–15, when some thirteen thousand German civilians, including women and children, were rounded up and expelled into the interior of the tsarist empire.²² Similarly, the decision to intern all British males of military age resident in Germany and German-occupied territory on November 6, 1914, was officially presented in the German press as a legitimate act of retaliation for the internment or mistreatment of Germans living in Britain and its colonies.²³ The German Foreign Office, then, had good reason not to involve itself directly in these early deportations of hostages and “suspect” civilians from France, Alsace-Lorraine, and Belgium, even if it knew something about them from Swiss and other sources.²⁴

The Prussian War Ministry in Berlin, and its Bavarian counterpart in Munich, were even less inclined to reveal details about civilian deportees being held in camps on the German home front. As early as December 1914, the chairman of the Central Committee of German Red Cross Associations, which in October 1914 had been designated as the central inquiry office (*Zentral-Nachweise-Bureau*) for POWs in Germany, wrote to the Prussian War Ministry to protest about the “inadequate” nature of its lists of civilian prisoners, noting that it had received complaints from the ICRC on this score.²⁵ Even when the lists began to improve after March 1915, the age, gender, and nationality of the internees were still (deliberately?) omitted, although nationality (as well as rank and number) were included for military prisoners. Drawing attention to the fact that the German field armies in France and Belgium were deporting women, children, and elderly men, as well as civilian males of draft age, to camps in the interior, was something that the German

military authorities wished to avoid. In line with this, the *Unterkunftsdepartement*, the section of the War Ministry that was responsible for compiling the lists, did not even seek to define the term "civilian prisoner" until April 1916. According to a circular issued by Colonel (later General) Emil Friedrich, the head of the *Unterkunftsdepartement*, to senior military commanders, the war ministries of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg, and the heads of various branches of the civilian government, "Zivilgefangene" were "enemy civilians . . . who were not serving in a hostile army when the war broke out and have not enlisted since, but who have nonetheless been placed in a German prisoner-of-war camp—regardless of whether they are still of arms-bearing age and whether they have been found to be permanently unfit for active service or not." Even then, he was at pains to stress that this definition was provisional and not a "definitive answer to what is essentially a question of international law."²⁶

In fact, rather than the War Ministry, it was the rear-area commanders in northern France and Belgium who first cultivated a more sophisticated knowledge of the legal aspects of civilian internment and deportation. Imperial Germany's military leaders, both before and after 1914, were strong advocates of a concept of wartime occupation, partly enshrined in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, that made civilian resistance illegal and put the onus on local inhabitants to buckle down and accept the authority of the hostile army.²⁷ In 1914–15 this assumption was made easier by the American decision to feed the population of occupied Belgium and France in a scheme organized by the businessman and future US president Herbert Hoover. As far as the German military were concerned, this meant that there could be no legitimate reasons for hunger protests.²⁸ Occupied civilians accused of harming the German army's combat readiness, spying, hiding weapons, inciting public disorder, stealing from military stores, or assisting Allied soldiers on the run could be tried and sentenced to death or long periods in prison by special military courts, as were indeed hundreds of French and Belgian men and women. Otherwise, in meeting its legal obligation to "ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety," Germany military rule would respect the "laws in force in the country" prior to the occupation, as stipulated under article 43 of the 1907 Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land (*Haager Landkriegsordnung*, HLKO).²⁹

Very quickly, though, a new problem arose. Under article 52 of the HLKO, occupied populations could be required to contribute to the day-to-day functioning of municipalities, for instance through the maintenance of roads, buildings, and public utilities, provided that they were not forced to take part in "military operations against their own country" and were

paid at customary local rates.³⁰ But what happened if they refused? Could this be punished as an (unlawful) form of resistance? As time went on, the rear-area commanders and field police were faced with more and more cases of "work refusal" (Ger. *Arbeitsverweigerung*), and they looked for guidance from the rear-area inspectorates on how to react.³¹ For the latter, as Philippe Nivet puts it, "the security of the occupation troops and respect for order" were a "constant concern."³² Recognition of patriotism as a legitimate motive for "work refusal" was off the cards, because it did not fit with the German military's cultural conception of how occupied civilians should behave. Yet ignoring the problem was also not an option, given the increasing labor shortages in the occupied zones, and the supposed damage done to the morale of the occupation troops themselves, and even ordinary Germans on the home front, when faced with "recalcitrant" and "work-shy" French and Belgian civilians.³³

Instead, three different solutions presented themselves. First, some of those who had been deported to Germany in the early phase of the war might be brought back to occupied France or the field army zones of Belgium, on the understanding that they would work, and that refusal to work might result in their being deported (and thus separated from their families) again. In this way persons who were increasingly described in radicalized language as "useless eaters" (Ger. *unnütze Esser*)—as they had to be fed in camps in Germany, and yet did not contribute to the domestic war economy—might be made to earn their own keep.³⁴ In the district administered by the Sixth Army, individual rear-area commanders were given responsibility from December 1915 for making requests for specific individuals to be returned. The ability to bear arms was not considered a barrier to release, but those originally deported because they were suspected of spying or because they had "made a social nuisance of themselves" (Ger. *sich lästig gemacht haben*), for instance through petty criminality, drunkenness, or unregulated prostitution, were to remain in captivity.³⁵

How many were discharged from camps in Germany is difficult to determine, given the loss of the relevant Prussian military records during Allied bombing raids on Potsdam in early 1945, but individual case files in the Bavarian War Archive certainly indicate that a considerable number were returned.³⁶ Later in the war those released and sent home might be required to sign work contracts with the German army. The commander of the third Bavarian army corps (attached to the Sixth Army) even had an answer to those Frenchmen who refused to sign such contracts out of fear that they might be labeled as "traitors" to France and called to account after the war. According to a suggestion he circulated to other corps commanders, they

might be issued with a written affidavit testifying that "the work was performed against their wishes on the orders of the occupation authorities."³⁷ On the other hand, as the commander of the second Bavarian army corps also made clear in March 1917, "those unfit for work can only be permitted to return to the occupied zone in exceptional circumstances."³⁸

A second solution to the problem of labor shortages and *Arbeitsverweigerung* in the *Etappengebieten* of occupied France and Belgium was the use of direct force. As Annette Becker has shown, this happened for the first time on a grand scale at Easter 1916, when roughly twenty thousand women and teenage girls from the French industrial towns of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, many of middle-class background, were rounded up on the orders of the Sixth Army's rear inspectorate and transported to rural areas, where they were put to temporary work on agricultural projects. These deportations were accompanied by compulsory gynecological examinations in an attempt to undermine the victims' class and gender identities (by treating them like prostitutes and dehumanized "objects" available to be used at any time for military ends).³⁹

Worse was to follow in October 1916, when, coinciding with the appointment of Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff to the third OHL, a series of forced labor battalions (*Zivil-Arbeiter-Bataillone* or ZABs), twenty-five in total by spring 1918, each composed of four companies of five hundred workers, were set up in occupied France and in the Belgian *étape*. The targets this time were unemployed but able-bodied men of various nationalities, who were moved around in gangs to work on infrastructure, agricultural, or forestry projects and were sometimes deployed directly behind the front lines, within the range of Allied gunfire.⁴⁰ The men were paid, but unlike "free" laborers, they were forced to wear special colored brassards, were not permitted leave to visit their families other than in "exceptional" circumstances, and were under armed guard twenty-four hours a day.⁴¹

Third, from 1917 enemy civilians held in internment camps in Germany might be directly transferred to the ZABs operating with the field armies in northern France and Belgium, either immediately upon their release or after they refused to sign work contracts following their return home. Now the impetus came from the OHL itself, which took over and centralized what had previously been a more localized effort and in so doing also adopted and rendered acceptable a radicalized language when talking about civilian prisoners. On February 24, 1917, for instance, the Prussian War Ministry in Berlin received a telegram from the Quartermaster General, Ludendorff, which read:

In order to relieve prison camps on the home front of the burden of useless eaters and to provide a new source of labor for the armies [in

the field] we propose to return all French and Belgian civilian prisoners who were deported from the occupied areas to the same, so long as they are physically fit and are not currently employed in Germany. [The purpose is] to exhort them to work [*sie zur Arbeit anzuhalten*]. We request that all acting corps commanders be instructed to deliver prompt information on the number of civilian prisoners being held in their districts who would fall into the category of suitable returnees.⁴²

Again, because of the loss of the relevant Prussian military records, it is impossible to say how many persons were affected, but in the Bavarian War Archive there is evidence of forced return being imposed on a number of male French civilian prisoners.⁴³ The ICRC and the Spanish embassy in Berlin, which was charged with protecting French and Belgian interests in Germany for the duration of the war, also regularly complained that they could do nothing to help civilian prisoners who had been transferred back to occupied France or the Belgian *étape*. The German authorities would only grant them permission to inspect camps on the home front and neither the Prussian or Bavarian War Ministries, nor individual camp directors, had the authority to compel the field armies to account for the welfare and whereabouts of (former) civilian prisoners in their districts. A Spanish embassy official, for instance, informed an ICRC delegation to Berlin in spring 1917 that French and Belgian internees who had been returned to occupied territories administered by the field armies were not able to correspond with their families and that their names did not appear on recent lists of prisoners handed on via the German Red Cross. He also alleged that some of them had been forced, contrary to international law, to take part, alongside Russian POWs, in demolition work on the Somme sector of the Western Front in association with the German army's strategic withdrawal to the heavily fortified Hindenburg line.⁴⁴ This is but one reason for being skeptical about what it actually meant when civilian deportees from occupied territories were discharged from internment camps in Germany. In other contexts, too, as we shall see in more detail below, "release" could simply mean being transferred from one form of war captivity to another.

Internment on the German Home Front

How many French civilians were deported to Germany during the period from 1914 to 1918? As the Prussian ministry of war's final figure of 111,879 enemy civilians interned on the home front by October 1918 was a cumulative total only and was not broken down according to nationality or release date, it is impossible to say how many of these officially acknowledged internees

were French or Belgian (as opposed to nationals of other enemy countries).⁴⁵ The ICRC, which remained distrustful of German record keeping, believed that by 1916 the German army was in effect operating a revolving-door policy when it came to civilian prisoners from France and Belgium. Fresh deportations were thus matched by releases of detainees already in Germany, some of whom were sent back to the occupied territories as an additional labor resource, some of whom "voluntarily" signed contracts with German employers on the home front and were therefore recategorized by the Prussian War Ministry as "former civilian prisoners" (see below), and some of whom were allowed to travel to nonoccupied France via Switzerland under exchange agreements reached with the French government. According to the ICRC's final estimates, at least 100,000 French and Belgian civilians were deported to Germany during the war, 96,337 of whom had already entered the home-front camp system before the end of 1917. This represented an average of 350–400 new civilian prisoners each week.⁴⁶

As in 1914, so again after 1915, the German motives for using deportation as a weapon of war were mixed. At times, considerations of *große Politik* played a role, especially when it came to ordering targeted reprisals against occupied French and Belgian civilians in response to the Allies' global war against German imperial holdings and property interests overseas. In 1915 all German civilians and soldiers held in West Africa following the joint Anglo-French occupation of German colonies there in 1914 were deported en masse to camps in French North Africa (in defiance of the German demand that they be released from captivity altogether or sent on to mainland France). They were joined in North Africa by tens of thousands of German combatants captured in Europe. Germany's ability to retaliate in kind was severely limited, not least as the only prisoners it held outside Europe were a few hundred British and Belgian nationals arrested in 1914–15 in German East Africa. Even the latter had to be abandoned to advancing Anglo-Belgian forces in early 1916.⁴⁷

Targeted reprisals in Europe promised more immediate results. Thus, in April 1916 a series of temporary deportation measures were successfully initiated that forced the French authorities to agree to transfer Germans held in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia to camps in metropolitan France (where, as was loudly proclaimed in the German press, they would no longer be guarded by nonwhite African troops). Altogether 250 French civilians, as well as 30,000 military POWs, were sent to work in the marshes in German-occupied Latvia and were only brought back to Germany once France had agreed to German demands.⁴⁸ Similar forms of reprisal were also instigated in November 1916 against a select group of French notables; in June 1917

against 200 Belgian civilians; and in January 1918 against 1,000 French civilians, 600 of them men and 400 of them women, all in connection with the alleged abuse of German civilians in colonial contexts or the ongoing refusal to release German nationals deported by the French army from the small part of Alsace it had managed to occupy in August 1914.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, hostage taking at the local level also continued to play a role in deportations, reflecting the priority that the German army gave to ensuring the security of its own troops in the occupied zones by seizing notables (men and women) as a guarantee for the good behavior of particular towns and villages.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, by the second half of 1916 at the latest, the competing needs of different sections of the German war economy for labor, the growing success of the Allied naval blockade, and a desire to overcome the negative effects of "work refusal" at home and in occupied territories, had come to take priority over other factors. This was seen, most notoriously, in the case of the sixty thousand unemployed Belgian workers forcibly sent from the civilian-administered parts of occupied Belgium (i.e., the area beyond the *étape*) to Germany between October 1916 and March 1917. The policy ran against the wishes of the German governor-general in Brussels, General Moritz von Bissing, but it had the approval of the OHL and several leading German industrialists, including Carl Duisberg, Alfred Hugenberg, Walther Rathenau, and Hugo Stinnes.⁵¹

The aim was to persuade the deportees to sign "voluntary" work contracts, thus transforming them into "free" workers. However, in the end only 13,376 of them complied, and the rest—more than three-quarters of the total—were eventually returned to Belgium following protests from German Reichstag deputies and neutral states, including the Vatican, Spain, and the United States.⁵² In fact, as far as enforced foreign labor was concerned, the German domestic economy benefited much more from the 500,000–600,000 Russian-Polish seasonal workers who were trapped in the country when the war broke out and were refused permission to return home, or who were "voluntarily" recruited for labor in Germany from German-occupied Russian Poland after 1915;⁵³ and from the roughly 2.5 million military POWs of all nationalities who were held in camps on the home front and were required to work, unless they were invalids or officers.⁵⁴

How did French and Belgian deportees experience their internment in Germany? While figures from the Prussian ministry of war suggest that by October 1918 as many as eighty camps on the German home front held some civilian prisoners (alongside military POWs), only a handful held more than five hundred civilians: Frankfurt-an-der-Oder (634); Havelberg (1,820); Holzminden (4,240); Limburg-an-der-Lahn (1,174); Rastatt (1,223); Ruhleben

(2,318); Senne (2,462); and Traunstein (623).⁵⁵ Apart from Ruhleben, which was for British nationals only, it is likely that French and Belgian civilians together made up the largest group in most of these camps. Certainly this was the case with Holzminden, in the duchy of Brunswick (today in Lower Saxony), which according to figures from May 1916, included 2,535 French men, ninety-six French women, and thirty French children, together with 991 Belgian men, fifty-four Belgian women, and twelve Belgian children among its 5,866 civilian inmates.⁵⁶ Inspectors from the Spanish embassy in Berlin expressed concerns about overcrowding in the civilian compound there and the fact that "upright" French and Belgian women were housed together with prostitutes.⁵⁷ It was also alleged that male prisoners and guards had access to the female barracks at night. Both claims were hotly contested by the Prussian ministry of war.⁵⁸

The allegation that the German camp system on the home front forced civilian prisoners to work against their will was also denied by the German military authorities, both during and after the war. Zivilgefangene, like officer POWs, were supposedly only ever recruited for labor outside the camps on a voluntary basis.⁵⁹ This matched international agreements reached with the British, French, and Russian governments at an early stage in the war, adherence to which was considered crucial by the German Foreign Office in order to protect the interests of German civilians in Allied hands.⁶⁰ The Belgian deportations of 1916–17, which anyway were halted in March 1917, subsequently looked like an unfortunate exception. In April 1918, for instance, the Prussian War Ministry reassured the German Foreign Office, in response to a series of negative reports in the pro-French Swiss press, that "the former civilian prisoners who are working in German industries are all volunteers. They are hired and paid on the same basis as German workers."⁶¹ The use of the phrase "*former* civilian prisoners" is significant here, as it suggests that some internees were being "released" (and therefore removed from the lists forwarded to the German Red Cross and from the protections offered by the accord with the Allies on the nonuse of civilian internee forced labor) after "agreeing" to work in the German domestic war economy. Officially they were no longer captives but "free" laborers who had "chosen" to accept offers of industrial or agricultural employment in exchange for their liberty.

Reports from neutral inspectors nonetheless suggested something rather different. At the end of April 1917, for instance, Spanish embassy officials who had visited the Havelberg camp, then in the Prussian province of Brandenburg (today in Saxony-Anhalt), noted that "the 150 French civilian prisoners who volunteered to work in the Hahn'sche works in Grossenbaum [Duisburg] in exchange for the promise of being allowed to visit their

families in occupied France after a period of four months, are still waiting for this promise to be met."⁶²

A few weeks later, a report on civilian prisoners at Holzminden claimed that "the French and Belgian civilians sent to the Hannover-Hainholz works are living under conditions which leave much to be desired. . . . The prisoners are granted only a limited amount of freedom, causing them to suffer from low morale. . . . If they refuse to work or make complaints they run the risk of being beaten."⁶³

And in August 1917 similar accusations came from Russian civilian prisoners at Holzminden who had been forced to work in a communal kitchen and a local factory: "They told us that if they refused to work they were threatened with being sent to clear marshes or being conscripted into labor details in Lichtenhorst or Verdener Moor, places known for the terrible conditions which the prisoners are expected to endure."⁶⁴

Just how many "former" enemy alien civilian prisoners were recruited into the German workforce after 1916, and how many experienced the varying degrees of coercion detailed above, is difficult to say due to the loss of the relevant Prussian military files. Admittedly, much larger groups of enemy POWs and migrant laborers—notably Russians, Russian Poles, Dutch nationals, Belgians who "voluntarily" signed contracts, and Italians—worked in the German war economy on the home front, with "former" civilian internees therefore only representing a small proportion of the total foreign workforce.⁶⁵

The global economic context is also important in understanding why the conflict was increasingly seen in Germany, particularly but not only among extreme right-wingers, as a "war of work" between nations and races.⁶⁶ When it came to the use of labor resources, nationalists asserted, German "quality" and "cultural creativity" would triumph over the Allies' access, through colonies and overseas commerce, to the endless, undifferentiated mass of racially or culturally inferior "human material" (Ger. *Menschenmaterial*) supposedly on offer for hire from outside Europe.⁶⁷ From late 1916 the pressure on all able-bodied, patriotic civilians in Germany to work grew stronger, especially after the passage of the Auxiliary Service Law (*Gesetz über den vaterländischen Hilfsdienst*) on December 5. The latter introduced labor conscription for every German male aged sixteen to sixty who was not serving in the armed forces or working in essential industries in an ultimately unsuccessful bid to eradicate "malingering."⁶⁸ It was around this time, too, that Hindenburg famously insisted that the war economy should operate according to the principle that "whoever does not work shall not eat."⁶⁹ It is even possible that the willingness of the supreme military authorities to endorse

the substantial exchange agreement reached with the French government at Bern in April 1918 was conditioned by the knowledge that those prisoners still left in the camps—the so-called “useless eaters”—were of no economic value to Germany, given that most of them were too sick (or of too high a social standing) to be pressured into offering themselves as “free” workers.⁷⁰

Even so, the move toward what Hinz calls the “economic totalization of the war” after 1916⁷¹ should not blind us to the fact that many of the original decisions about the use of deportations and forced labor in the war against enemy civilians were taken not by the third OHL under Hindenburg and Ludendorff, or by government ministries in Berlin and Munich, but by individual camp directors in the German interior and army commanders on the ground in occupied France and the Belgian *étape*. The implications of this, and the possibility of a significant transfer of cultural attitudes toward civilian “enemies” from the occupied zones to the home front and back again, will now be addressed.

Internment in Occupied Territories and on the Home Front

In spring 1915, according to Helen McPhail’s work, a group of French civilian deportees from Péronne returned to occupied France with tales of having been incarcerated somewhere near Frankfurt-am-Main, where they were forced to perform heavy labor, including stone breaking and road mending.⁷² This was probably the camp at Limburg-an-der-Lahn, which held mainly military, and some civilian detainees from 1914 onwards. For this particular group of returnees, though, and many like them, “release” and repatriation were mixed blessings. True, they might now be reunited with their families and businesses. However, particularly if they were unemployed, they might also be expected to engage in “emergency maintenance work” (Ger. *Notstandsarbeiten*) on public amenities under the direction of the local rear army commander. Even before the introduction of the ZABs in October 1916, evading such service, or encouraging others to do so, could result in a three-year jail sentence imposed by a German military court, or huge fines of up to six thousand marks (for those who were able to pay them).⁷³

More generally, by 1915 German field commanders had moved beyond simply outlawing, punishing, and deterring *active* civilian resistance to the occupation. Rather, *passive* resistance in the form of “work refusal” was now also criminalized and its perpetrators treated as “incorrigible laggards” (Ger. *böse Bummler*), irrespective of their class background.⁷⁴ They were labelled “work-shy persons,” who supposedly feigned patriotism as a “cover-story” to enable them to “continue their idle lifestyles undisturbed while cozily

pocketing their municipal unemployment benefits (*gemeindliche Arbeitslosenunterstützung*).⁷⁵ A regulation issued from army general headquarters in October 1916 ordered rear-area commanders in charge of rounding up "able-bodied persons" for *Notstandsarbeiten* to include those who led purposeless lives "as a result of gambling, drinking, idleness, unemployment or work-shyness."⁷⁶ Men recruited into the ZABs were not only to be screened for their "fitness to work," but from January 1917 they were also required to undergo medical checks for sexually transmitted infections, a deliberate act of degradation which—as in the case of the women and teenage girls caught up in the Easter deportations of 1916—confirmed their status as legal nonentities and disenfranchised "objects" at the mercy of a foreign military power, rather than occupied civilians with rights as well as obligations guaranteed under the prevailing laws and customs of land warfare.⁷⁷ And those who were unable to work on health or other grounds were often disparaged in biological terms as "useless eaters" (Ger. *unnütze Esser*),⁷⁸ or singled out as "inferior specimens" (*minderwertiges Menschenmaterial*).⁷⁹

French and Belgian civilians, in other words, were divided into two groups—"orderly" subjects, who were willing to accept the legitimacy of the occupation under international law and thus the need to maintain a correct attitude toward work and a consistent *Leistungsbereitschaft* (willingness to perform), and those more "alien" or "criminal" elements, who represented a danger to military security, community harmony, and the well-being of the field armies. Furthermore, the harsh, repressive measures directed against the latter were legitimized by reference to the supposed benefits of compulsory labor and "German work" as a prophylactic tool against joblessness and the "chaos" of urban life, and not just by particular interpretations of international law.⁸⁰ The rear-area inspectorate for the Sixth Army even complained in December 1916 that those French civilians forcibly assembled into the initial ZABs were not made of the strongest "human material" (*Menschenmaterial*) because they "are drawn almost exclusively from the urban population" and were "often in poor health as a result of the unhygienic conditions in working-class quarters." By contrast, "the stronger rural population cannot be recruited into the ZABs because they are not unemployed and are urgently needed for agricultural work."⁸¹ Yet it was precisely these prejudices against the city poor—which probably pre-dated the war but were radicalized by imagined and real wartime encounters with French and Belgian civilians, including with the much feared but largely mythical *Franktireurs* at the start of the occupation⁸²—that made the German army feel that the ZABs were a crucial part of their current military struggles and an essential means of making the German nation more resilient in the face of

further (biological) trials of strength and nerve ahead. In other words, for commanders on the ground, the argument that urban unemployment was a danger to "order" was not simply a legal subterfuge—as it was for those lawyers in the German Foreign Office in autumn 1916, who cited article 43 of the HLKO as a means of justifying their support for deportations *within* the occupied zones—but a matter of genuine conviction and cultural belief.⁸³

The transfer of such ideas by the German military to the invaded territories administered by the field armies, and from there back to the home front, can be seen most vividly in a little-known, planned social intervention that was drawn up in the localized context of southern Bavaria in the last months of the war, where prejudice against the "unemployed" and "big city scum" (*Großstadtgesindel*) was also rife.⁸⁴ Through an agreement between the public authority responsible for the promotion of rural infrastructure, soil conservation, and water supply systems in the Munich region (the *Kulturbauamt München*) and the acting commander of the first Bavarian army corps district (covering most of southern Bavaria), a scheme was hatched in summer 1918 to send a group of carefully selected "work-shy and criminally-inclined adult males" from Munich to a "productive construction site" (Ger. *Kulturbaustelle*) belonging to the Wielenbach community enterprise scheme (the "Genossenschaft Wielenbach") in the town of Weilheim. Here they would be "compel[led] . . . to work . . . at the appropriate rate (minimum five marks per day) minus their food and accommodation costs."⁸⁵

Initially a total of two hundred inmates was envisaged, with a guard of fifty soldiers.⁸⁶ By September 1918 the camp was ready to receive 160 prisoners.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, there is little information about the specific criteria that were to be used to select prisoners from among the bigger population of petty criminals and the unemployed in Munich. More significant was the self-consciously experimental nature of this project, and the early statement from the senior official in charge of POW camps in southern Bavaria that "the inner life of the *Baustelle* should follow the model of a POW work camp."⁸⁸ Here, then, we can see the "traces of a totalitarian war ideology" that both Hinz and Becker refer to, albeit this time directed not at enemy civilians, aliens, or POWs but at "internal enemies."⁸⁹ At the same time it is possible to identify crossovers with the Eastern Front as well as the Western Front, for it was in the occupied east, as Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius has shown, that "notions of 'German work' and 'cultural [or productive] work' were fused"—with military officials casting themselves as "bringers of *Kultur*" to foreign "lands and peoples."⁹⁰ Indeed, viewed from rural and small-town southern Bavaria, the poorer, inner-city districts of Munich might also

appear as a "foreign" space, exemplifying all the negative traits of an unproductive, globalized, and massified *Unkultur* and, worse still, inhabited by a "criminal" or "parasitic" underclass in need of German "cultivation."⁹¹

Further north, the acting commanders of the second and third Bavarian army corps districts were likewise aware of the plans to create a camp at Weilheim and pushed for a policy of concentrating "gypsies from all the [Bavarian] army corps districts" there, thereby transforming a project with a local focus into one with larger, regional dimensions.⁹² "The inclusion of women" was considered "impossible for the time being" but was not ruled out for the future.⁹³ Plans were also mooted to build two further "productive work camps" (or *Kulturbaustellen*) at Schlehdorf and Herzogsägmühle near Peiting, both of them again in southern Bavaria (Oberbayern administrative district).⁹⁴ On October 11, 1918, the acting commander of the first Bavarian army corps even wrote to his counterparts in the second and third army corps districts, asking them to begin identifying suitable candidates to send to Weilheim: "In the first instance the persons selected should be given a thorough medical examination to ascertain their ability to work, since only those who are fully fit for labor are of any use in Weilheim."⁹⁵

There is no evidence that any prisoners actually arrived at Weilheim before November 1918. If they did, they would have been there for a matter of two to three weeks at most. In any case, a letter of January 1919 from the acting commander of the first Bavarian army corps to the other Bavarian army commanders indicates that "the work camp [*Arbeitslager*] at Weilheim-Wielenbach" had had to be closed "owing to the revolution."⁹⁶ Nonetheless the project, even if it had insufficient time to get off the ground, points to an interest shown by Bavarian military and police officials on the home front in drawing "lessons" from the experience of work units in POW camps and occupied territories and their willingness to appropriate the same kind of brutalized language to describe what they were doing and why—for instance, via references to "hygienic measures" against "criminal vermin" (Ger. *verbrecherisches Gesindel*);⁹⁷ the categorization of Gypsies as a "pest" (Ger. *Plage*);⁹⁸ or the constantly expressed desire to force "tramps" and "work-shy persons" to sign up for construction and other jobs as an appropriate means of supporting the war effort and providing local communities with improvements to their infrastructure.⁹⁹

The very notion that social "undesirables" at home could be cast, in effect, as prisoners of war and exploited for their labor on the same basis and for the same ends as enemy POWs is itself a good illustration of one of the central features of civilian captivity in World War I Germany, namely its

combination of improvisation and radicalization. Also evident in the "Weilheim project" was the strong emphasis on finding new and locally effective ways (Ger. *wirksame . . . Zwangsmaßnahmen*),¹⁰⁰ to (re)establish order in the midst of the increasing economic, social, and human chaos of war, a chaos that returned to Germany with the revolution of 1918–19, the hyperinflation crisis of 1923, and the Great Depression from 1929. At the political level there were certainly some echoes of the recent past in the program that the Nazis developed for governing Munich in case their putsch in November 1923 succeeded. Point 16 of this program called for the detention of "security risks and useless eaters" in "collection camps" (*Sammellager*), where they would be required to work. Those who refused would face the death penalty, in line with the punishment facing military deserters (but not yet civilians) during the war.¹⁰¹ And in respect to "experiments" in social policy, while it would be wrong to see a direct line or linear path to the German concentration camps of the 1930s in any of the developments discussed here, it is worth bearing in mind Jane Caplan's point that "there are no *ex nihilo* creations in complex bureaucratic states." In particular, for local administrative bodies keen to cooperate with the self-styled "emergency" directives of the Hitler regime in 1933–1936, "the issue of labor . . . provided one of the principal public legitimations for the camps."¹⁰²

Returning to the plans for a work camp at Weilheim in 1918, the most striking parallel with experiences on the Western Front lies in the close attention paid to how the prisoners in Bavaria were to be supervised, with a strong emphasis on preventing escapes and ensuring the "maintenance of security."¹⁰³ As with the ZABs in northern France and the Belgian *étape*, then, the armed military guards were to be carefully selected and trained, while concern for their physical and moral welfare dictated that they should take all steps necessary to prevent and deter violence from the "persons dangerous to public order" (Ger. *gemeingefährliche Personen*) in their custody.¹⁰⁴ This included the denial of visits or communication between prisoners and their friends or relatives on the outside, as well as regular searches of prisoners for knives and other weapons, and a ban on smoking or drinking alcohol during working hours. More to the point, "infringements of the work regulations and of orders and instructions issued by the military director or the site management will constitute an offence under the state-of-siege law."¹⁰⁵ This meant that any kind of resistance to forced labor, active or passive, was criminalized and turned into an act of deliberate sabotage against the German war effort, as was already the case for some of the French (and Belgian) civilians of working age living in the *étape*.

(Dis)entangling the Local, the National, and the International

The different strands of German internment policy discussed in this essay confirm Annette Becker's finding that while there were various kinds of camps for enemy civilians on the home front and in occupied France and Belgium, there was as yet no fully fledged "concentration camp system" in World War I.¹⁰⁶ Rather, the motives for internment were too complex and too contradictory to speak of a coherent approach. True, the lawyers of the German Foreign Office had decided that, from the end of 1914 onward, civilian prisoners might be legitimately used as hostages in order to put pressure on the Allies to release the tens of thousands of German nationals that they were holding at the global level. This policy was also endorsed by the Prussian and Bavarian ministries of war, by Reich Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, and at one point even by the kaiser, Wilhelm II.¹⁰⁷ Yet, on its own it cannot explain why more than 100,000 enemy subjects were interned in Germany between 1914 and 1918. Retaliation at the international level was not the only motive, nor was "national" outrage at the treatment of German minorities abroad.

One possible solution to this conundrum is to apply the notion of a dual POW system operating within several of the belligerent states during the war to the case of French and Belgian civilian deportees and internees in German captivity. According to Heather Jones, this dual system evolved when camps were divided into two different types: "on the one hand, the home front camp and working unit network, and, on the other, a largely separate [and even harsher, M.S.] system of army-run prisoner of war labor companies which remained at or near the front area as a permanent labour force, working directly for armies."¹⁰⁸ Yet while this model works convincingly for explaining the violence experienced by military POWs in western Europe—as Jones's comparative findings ably demonstrate¹⁰⁹—to apply it to the German treatment of civilian prisoners would assume a level of centralized design and coordination not evident in the sources.

What the materials available in the Bavarian War Archive do tell us, on the other hand, is that much of the thinking behind the deportation and internment policies implemented by military commanders on the ground was based on a particular war culture and response to dealing with enemy civilians and "internal enemies" that lay at the complex intersection between local, national, and international developments and between the home front and multiple fighting fronts, including *Ober Ost* as well as the *Etappengebieten* in occupied France and Belgium. At the national level some of this thinking

may have emerged out of earlier cultural attitudes and practices within the German military that predated World War I. Isabel Hull, for example, has argued that the German general staff derived one particularly important "lesson" from the wars of 1866 and 1870–71: that violence constrained by extra-military factors, such as diplomacy or international law, while still potentially sufficient for overpowering the enemy's conventional military forces, might be ineffective in the face of popular insurgency and guerrilla warfare. These "lessons" were then applied to the treatment of enemy civilians in colonial wars (including the genocidal campaigns against the Herero and Nama in German South West Africa in 1904–1908) and to the inhabitants of European territories invaded by German troops during World War I.¹¹⁰

However, such continuities offer a partial explanation at best. To a much greater degree the German field armies' thinking in late 1914 was connected to specific experiences in Belgium and France. This included both the initial *Franktireur* scare of August–October and the way it triggered an unanticipated sense of alarm that colored and radicalized responses to subsequent challenges. Among these challenges, the new and unfamiliar situation that German commanders faced when confronted with the phenomenon of patriotic work refusal on the part of the local population, and the existential anxieties this produced concerning the morale, comfort, and physical safety of their own troops as well as the resolve of the home front and the troops fighting on the front line, stood out in particular.

Contrary to Hull's findings, then, German army commanders were able to think in strategic, extramilitary, and even domestic-political terms.¹¹¹ In many ways they had to, given what they faced, namely the unexpected (and disorientating) combination of static trench warfare in northern France and Belgium, global economic blockade and inability to defend overseas colonies and markets, and multiple occupations in eastern and western Europe, with their incredibly high labor demands. This produced a set of dilemmas that their more confident forebears during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71 and the colonial conflicts of the late nineteenth century had not encountered and could not have imagined. In short, by the beginning of 1916 at the latest, the commanders on the ground in the *Etappegebieten* could not see how they could continue to run an orderly, self-sufficient occupation regime in a modern industrial society such as northern France and Belgium—and in the midst of a global, industrialized conflict like the Great War—without introducing radical and innovative measures to combat the modern, urban "disease" of idleness and work-shyness. The only alternative to conscripting enemy civilians was to displace the burden of provisioning the occupation troops wholly onto the home front, an option that the German field armies in northern France and

Belgium were not willing to consider—even if they might have hoped or foreseen that some of their policies aimed at combatting work-shyness among occupied civilians would eventually be taken up on the home front too.

Finally, what are the implications of these findings for our understanding of the relative importance of local, national, and international factors—and the complex links between them—when considering civilian internment as a global phenomenon during World War I? Tammy Proctor has rightly argued that from 1914 onward internment developed into a “deliberate state policy” aimed at civilian “outsiders” within particular countries. Equally it was a means by which opposing states sought to wage war against each other on the European and worldwide stages.¹¹² Nonetheless, as the German example suggests, it was also a policy that states could easily lose control of, particularly when local and regional factors were also brought into the equation. At the national and international levels, the Prussian war ministry and the imperial government in Berlin had signaled that they had more or less given up on securing any worthwhile material advantages for the home front from civilian internment, or even achieving a better bargaining hand with the Allies, when, admittedly at a very late stage in the war, they negotiated the wide-reaching Bern and Hague exchange agreements with France and Britain in April and July 1918 respectively.

Under these schemes, thousands of eligible civilian internees and military POWs were repatriated, although repeated delays in implementation meant that thousands more were still waiting to be released as the war came to an end. Similarly, recruitment to the ZABs in occupied France and Belgium was supposedly halted in spring 1918, with the existing battalions marked for disbandment.¹¹³ Yet on the ground in the last months and weeks of the war, enemy civilians were still being held in German military custody, in the East as well as the West. They were also being moved between the home front and the rapidly disintegrating German lines in the still-occupied parts of France and Belgium, and between established camps, civilian and military prisons, abandoned warehouses, and other makeshift places of incarceration, none of which were accessible to ICRC inspectors.¹¹⁴ At the same time, ad hoc plans were being laid by the military authorities in Bavaria for the internment of “gypsies” and “petty criminals” as a local solution to the supposed problem of “work-shyness” and “disorderly” lifestyles.

German policy at home and in occupied northern France and Belgium was not, of course, made in a vacuum. Integrating the diverse and typically unbordered strands of local case studies such as this into a global framework for understanding World War I captivity raises new and exciting conceptual challenges. In particular, it forces us to rethink what might be called the

“connectivity conundrum” and the key historical-political assumptions that go with it.¹¹⁵ Too often comparative histories of the internment phenomenon are written in terms of a simplistic binary division between top-down global and international processes (such as migration flows or the development of a common set of laws on the rules of land warfare) and what are sometimes cast as “provincial,” inward-looking or “micro” responses at the subnational and local levels. A more comprehensive view needs to factor in and make visible the reciprocal interplay between different spatial levels that lies hidden beneath the surface of the constant movement of ideas, practices, and mentalities, as well as peoples, across rapidly changing (wartime and postwar) borders and jurisdictions. Only thus can we begin to identify—and bring together—the many different ways in which World War I was a turning point in the global use of prison camps—both as sites of mass incarceration for combatants and noncombatants, and as imagined spaces existing at the increasingly fluid intersection of the local, the national, and the international.

Notes

I would like to thank Heather Jones, Alan Kramer, and Kim Wünschmann for their very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

1. For examples of the most recent scholarship, see Manz, Panayi, and Stibbe 2019; Stibbe 2019; Manz and Panayi 2020; Bauerkämper 2021; Caglioti 2021.
2. Stibbe 2013a.
3. Kramer, Alan 2007; Jones, H. 2011a.
4. Hinz 2003.
5. Hinz 1999.
6. Panayi 2014; Murphy 2017.
7. Stibbe 2013a, 161–62.
8. Panayi 2014, 24–25; Boswell 2000, 141.
9. Deutscher Reichstag 1927, 719–855.
10. Jahr 1999; Stibbe 2008a.
11. Stibbe 2008a, 139, 143.
12. As argued most recently by Jahr and Thiel 2019, 41–42.
13. Stibbe 2004.
14. Horne and Kramer 2001, 166.
15. On Ober Ost, see Liulevicius 2000.
16. Stibbe 2006, 16.
17. For a concise overview of the administrative structure of the German military occupation, see Wilkin 2016, 230–31.
18. Horne and Kramer 2001, 166.
19. Boswell 2000, 133.
20. See, e.g., Munich Police Inspectorate to the Bavarian State Ministry of Interior, July 6, 1915. Copy in Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich, Abteilung IV:

Kriegsarchiv (henceforth BayHStA-KA), Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 986.

21. See the legal department's extensive correspondence about this issue in Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (henceforth BArch), R 901/82914.

22. Watson 2014b.

23. Stibbe 2008a, 40.

24. See, for example, Bureau international féministe de renseignements en faveur des victims de la guerre, Lausanne, to the German envoy in Bern, December 26, 1914, in BArch, R 901/82914.

25. Central Committee of German Red Cross Associations, Department for POW Welfare, to the Prussian Ministry of War, December 8, 1914, in BArch, R 901/82913.

26. Begriff: "Kriegs- und Zivilgefangene"—communiqué issued by the Prussian War Ministry, April 17, 1916. Copies in BayHStA-KA, Infanteriedivisionen (WK) 4379, and BArch, R 901/82917.

27. Gumz 2014, 72–73.

28. On the Hoover-administered Committee for Relief in Belgium (CRB), which operated in Belgium from October 1914 and in northern France from March 1915, see McPhail 2000, 61–88. Hunger was nonetheless a common feature of life under German occupation by early 1916, especially in big cities like Lille.

29. Liszt 1920, 476.

30. See Commander of the Sixth Army, "Grundsätze für die Verwendung von freien Arbeitern aus der Zivilbevölkerung des besetzten Gebietes," October 17, 1916, which makes explicit reference to article 52, in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando III. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 2315.

31. See, for instance, Geheime Feldpolizei, Zweigstelle Valenciennes, to the Rear Area Inspectorate of the Sixth Army, September 2, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Etappenformationen (WK), 146.

32. Nivet 2011, 52.

33. Geheime Feldpolizei, Zweigstelle Valenciennes, September 2, 1916 (as note 31 above). Connolly 2018, 254–58, notes that work refusal in the occupied Nord "was rare" and "successful refusals even rarer," but he still gives many examples where it happened. For the German military, imagined or "attempted" episodes were in any case as important as real ones.

34. See, for instance, the use of the phrase "useless eaters" in Commander of the second Bavarian army corps, Korpstagesbefehl, November 12, 1915, in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 693, Bd. 2: Kriegsgefangene, 1915–17.

35. Supreme Commander of the Sixth Army to all army corps commanders, December 17, 1915, in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 693, Bd. 2: Kriegsgefangene, 1915–17.

36. See the dozens of case files in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 693, Bd. 5: Rückkehr von Zivilgefangenen 1917.

37. Commander of the third Bavarian army corps to the commanders of the fifth and sixth Bavarian army corps, November 20, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando III. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 2315.

38. Commander of the second Bavarian army corps, March 2, 1917, in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 693, Bd 5: Rückkehr von Zivilgefangenen 1917.
39. Becker, A. 1998, 68–77.
40. Watson 2014a, 404; Hull 2014, 138–40. Five ZABs were also set up in the territory administered by Ober Ost in the east. See Watson 2014a, 402; and Liulevicius 2000, 73–74.
41. See also Supreme Commander of the Sixth Army to all army corps commanders, November 12, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Infanteriedivisionen (WK) 4074.
42. Quartermaster General to Prussian Ministry of War, February 24, 1917. Copy in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando I. Armeekorps (WK) 2005.
43. See the examples in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 693, Bd. 5: Rückkehr von Zivilgefangenen 1917.
44. Missions d'Etude: Mlle Cramer et M. Boissier à Berlin, Copenhague et Stockholm (March–April 1917), in Archives du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Geneva, C G1/419/XI. On the demolition work on the Somme in early 1917, see Geyer, Michael 2006.
45. Doegen 1919, 29.
46. CICR 1921, 136–37. See also Becker, A. 1998, 233.
47. Stibbe 2013a, 165.
48. The figure of 250 civilians sent to German-occupied Russia in April 1916 is cited in Prussian War Ministry to German Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*, henceforth AA), November 6, 1916, in BArch, R 901/82917. On the thirty thousand military POWs deported at the same time, see Jones, H. 2011a, 136–7.
49. AA to the Dutch Legation in Berlin, June 28, 1917, in BArch, R 901/84337. See also Nivet 2011, 129–32; Stibbe 2013a, 165–66; *Bulletin International des sociétés de la Croix-Rouge*, no. 194, April 1918, 221–22.
50. Nivet 2011, 127–29; McPhail 2000, 38; Becker, A. 2014a, 275–77; Connolly 2018, 20. See also the many individual examples in BayHStA-KA, Generalkommando II. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 707; and BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 2137.
51. The key study on this episode is Thiel 2007.
52. Watson 2014a, 386–87.
53. Herbert 1986, 91.
54. Oltmer 2006, 68–69.
55. Jahr and Thiel 2019, 43. See also *Kriegs- und Zivilgefangene in Gefangenenslagern, Lazaretten und Austauschstationen (zahlenmäßige Aufstellungen nach dem Stand vom 10. Mai und 10. Oktober 1918)*, in BArch, R 67/525.
56. See Bestand Holzminden, May 13, 1916, in Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, 51 C III g 2.
57. Spanish embassy in Berlin to AA, June 19, 1916, in BArch, R 901/82917.
58. Prussian War Ministry to AA, September 4, 1916, in BArch, R 901/82917. Even so, the Spanish embassy's complaints are corroborated by other sources. See, e.g., the report drawn up on December 4, 1916 by Adelaide Livingstone, head of the British government's Committee on the Treatment by the Enemy of British Prisoners of War, after interviewing six British women who had recently returned from Holzminden, in the National Archives, Kew, London, FO 383/210.
59. Doegen 1919, 175.

60. Hull 2014, 132.
61. Prussian Ministry of War to AA, April 2, 1918, in BArch, R 901/84319.
62. Spanish Embassy in Berlin to AA, April 30, 1917, in BArch, R 901/84319.
63. Spanish Embassy in Berlin to AA, May 24, 1917, in BArch, R 901/84337.
64. Spanish Embassy in Berlin to AA, August 16, 1917, in BArch, R 901/84337.
65. Herbert 1986, 84 and 100; Watson 2014a, 388–92.
66. Conrad 2010, 363.
67. Trarore 2014, 61. On the use of the brutish term “Menschenmaterial,” see also Mosse 1990, 179.
68. McElligott 2014, 12 and 16–17.
69. Watson 2014a, 381.
70. On the Bern accords of April 26, 1918, see Becker, A. 1998, 255–66.
71. Hinz 2006, 359.
72. McPhail 2000, 39.
73. See, for instance, Proclamation of the Rear Inspectorate of the Sixth Army, June 4, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Etappeninspektion (WK) 146.
74. See also Thiel 2007, 126, 179.
75. Geheime Feldpolizei, Zweigstelle Valenciennes, to the Supreme Commander of the Sixth Army, September 2, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Etappenformationen (WK) 146. According to Connolly 2018, 18, it was not uncommon in some of the industrial towns in the occupied north for more than 43 percent of the population to be in receipt of unemployment benefits paid out from municipal insurance funds, although how much of this was due to German requisitioning of materials and how much to “work refusal” is difficult to determine. On the functioning of French municipalities under the German occupation, and their continued responsibility for ensuring the “welfare of the population,” including the payment of benefits to those on the unemployment register, see also Nivet 2011, 42–52.
76. Ordinance concernant la restriction des charges publiques de secours et l’aide à porter en cas de calamité publique, Großes Hauptquartier, October 3, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Etappenformationen (WK) 147.
77. Quartermaster General, “Neuaufstellung von Z.A.B.s und Einziehung von Ersatzarbeitern,” January 2, 1917, in BayHStA-KA, Etappenformationen (WK) 147.
78. See notes 34, 35, and 42 above.
79. Rear Inspectorate of the Sixth Army to the Quartermaster General, December 27, 1916, in BayHStA-KA, Etappenformationen (WK) 172.
80. On the value-laden term “Deutsche Arbeit” or “German work” as a category denoting supposedly “superior” national characteristics and social “inclusion”/“exclusion” on the basis of “performance” (*Leistungsbereitschaft*), and, equally importantly, its emergence as a discursive tool in welfare policies and “preventive social policing,” see Campbell 1989, Caplan 2005, and Hörath 2014. For the “interconnectedness” of this concept, in other words its development in global, international, and transnational contexts, as well as within Germany itself, see also Conrad 2010, 334–79; and for its wartime “fusion” with the idea of German “cultural work” in the occupied East (Ober Ost), see Liulevicius 2000, 45–47.
81. Rear Inspectorate of the Sixth Army, December 27, 1916 (as note 79 above).
82. Horne and Kramer 2001. Prewar fears of urban degeneracy and the “corrupting effects of city life,” including sexual deviance and associated threats to German “manhood,” are also emphasized by Crouthamel 2014, 17.

83. On the "tortured construction of Hague article 43" put together by the AA's legal department in September 1916 to support its contention that deportations within the occupied zones for purposes of recruitment into the ZABs could be lawful if they were presented as a means of safeguarding "public order and security," see Hull 2014, 133.

84. On the largely hostile attitude of Bavarian peasants toward impoverished city dwellers, both during and after the war, see Ziemann 2007, 191–209; and Geyer, Martin H. 1998, 184–86.

85. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to various departments, October 2, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

86. Inspectorate for POW camps of the first Bavarian army corps to the acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps, June 19, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

87. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Inspectorate for POW camps of the Bavarian first army corps, September 7, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

88. Inspectorate for POW camps of the first Bavarian army corps to the acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps, June 19, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

89. Hinz 2006, 363; Becker, A. 2014a, 258, 280. On German (mis)treatment of other kinds of "internal enemy," this time political suspects as well as "social undesirables" such as vagrants, prostitutes and homosexuals, see André Keil's contribution to this volume.

90. Liulevicius 2000, 26, 45–46.

91. Liulevicius 2000, 46, 71; Conrad 2010, 364.

92. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Inspectorate for POW camps of the Bavarian first army corps, September 7, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

93. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to various departments, October 2, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

94. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Inspectorate for POW camps of the Bavarian first army corps, September 7, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

95. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the acting commanders of the second and third army corps, the State Ministry of Interior and the Munich Police Inspectorate, October 11, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Armeekorps (WK) 986.

96. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the acting commanders of the second and third army corps, January 11, 1919, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Armeekorps (WK) 986.

97. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Inspectorate for POW camps of the Bavarian first army corps, September 14, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

98. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Bavarian State Ministry of Interior, May 26, 1917, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 986.

99. Bavarian War Ministry to the acting commanders of all three Bavarian army corps, February 17, 1917, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 986; Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to the Inspectorate for POW camps of the Bavarian first army corps, August 18, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

100. Inspectorate for POW camps of the first Bavarian army corps to the acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps, June 19, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

101. Evans, R. 2003, 346.

102. Caplan 2005, 26, 31.

103. Inspectorate for POW camps of the first Bavarian army corps to the acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps, June 19, 1918, BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678. On the similar concern to prevent escapes and "unrest" among the ZABs in France and the operational and rear areas of occupied Belgium, see Thiel 2007, 127.

104. Acting commander of the Bavarian first army corps to various departments, July 11, 1918, in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

105. Vorläufige Dienstanweisung für den militärischen Leiter der Baustelle Weiheim, n.d. [September 1918], in BayHStA-KA, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando I. Bayerisches Armeekorps (WK) 678.

106. Becker, A. 2014a, 281.

107. Stibbe 2008a, 31–37.

108. Jones, H. 2008a, 30.

109. See also Jones, H. 2011a, 374–75.

110. Hull 2014, 289. See also Hull 2005, 117–30.

111. Hull 2005, 115.

112. Proctor 2010, 204–5.

113. Thiel 2007, 129–30.

114. Stibbe 2006, 16.

115. Some of these assumptions are usefully unpicked in Douki and Minard, 2007.

REFERENCES

Archives

- Archives du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge [ICRC Archives], Geneva, Switzerland.
- Archives of the International Law Association, London, United Kingdom.
- Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères de la République française [Diplomatic Archives], Paris, France.
- Archives de la Société des Nations [Archives of the League of Nations], Geneva, Switzerland.
- Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abteilung IV: Kriegsarchiv [Bavarian State Archive, Section IV: War Archive], Munich, Germany.
- Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg, Germany [BAMA; German Federal Military Archive].
- Gaimushō Gaikō shiryōkan [Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Tokyo, Japan.
- Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Krasnoiarskogo Kraia [GAKK; State Archives of the Krasnoyarsk Region], Krasnoyarsk, Russia.
- Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Tomskoi Oblasti [GATO; State Archives of the Tomsk Oblast], Tomsk, Russia.
- Kautz Family YMCA Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries, United States.
- Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada.
- Manx National Heritage Library and Archives.
- National Archives, Kew, London, United Kingdom.
- Oesterreichische Staatsarchive, Vienna, Austria.
- Prihod Presviatoī Bogoroditsy [PPB; Parish of the Mother of God], Vladivostok, Russia.
- Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv [RGVIA; Russian State Military History Archives], Moscow, Russia.

Printed Sources

- Abbal, Odon. 2001. *Soldats oubliés: les prisonniers de guerre français*. Esparon: E&C.

- Ador, Gustav. 1915. "Egalité de traitement pour les prisonniers de guerre militaires ou civil." *Revue internationale des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge* 46, 181: 5–8.
- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 2005. *State of Exception*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Alexander, Amanda. 2007. "The Genesis of the Civilian." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 20: 359–76.
- Ansky, S. 2004. *The Enemy at His Pleasure: A Journey through the Jewish Pale of Settlement during World War I*. Translated by Joachim Neugroschel. New York: Henry Holt.
- Applebaum, Anne. 2003. *Gulag: A History*. New York: Doubleday.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1951. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt.
- . 1979. *Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace.
- Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane, and Annette Becker. 2002. *Understanding the Great War*. Translated by Catherine Temerson. New York: Hill & Wang.
- Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane, and Christophe Prochasson. 2008. *Sortir de la Grande Guerre: le monde et l'après-1918*. Paris: Editions Tallandier.
- Avenarius, Ferdinand. 1916. *La calomnie par l'image: quelques remarques sur l'art d'inciter les peuples à la haine*. Berne: Ferd. Wyss.
- Backhaus, Alexander. 1915. *The Prisoners of War in Germany*. Siegen: Hermann Montanus.
- Bailkin, Jordanna. 2018. *Unsettled: Refugee Camps and the Making of Multicultural Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baja, Benedek, ed. 1930. *Hadifogoly Magyarok Története*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Athenaeum.
- Ballinger, Pamela. 2020. *The World Refugees Made: Decolonization and the Foundation of Postwar Italy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Barkhof, Sandra. 2018. "The New Zealand Occupation of German Samoa during the First World War, 1914–1918: Enemy Aliens and Internment." In *Internment during the First World War*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 242–68. London: Routledge.
- Barros, Andrew, and Martin Thomas, eds. 2018. *The Civilianization of War: The Changing Civil-Military Divide, 1914–2014*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barton, Susan. 2019. *Internment in Switzerland during the First World War*. London: Blumsbury.
- Bartov, Omer, and Eric D. Weitz. 2013. *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bates, Ed. 2010. "History." In *International Human Rights Law*, edited by Daniel Moeckli, Sangeeta Shah, and Sandesh Sivakumaran, 3–21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bauerkämper, Arnd. 2018. "National Security and Humanity: The Internment of Civilian 'Enemy Aliens' during the First World War." *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 40: 61–85.
- . 2021. *Sicherheit und Humanität im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg: Der Umgang mit zivilen Feindstaatenangehörigen im Ausnahmezustand*. 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Beaumont, Joan. 1983. "Rank, Privilege and Prisoners of War." *War & Society* 1: 67–94.

- . 1996. "Protecting Prisoners of War, 1939–1995." In *Prisoners of War and Their Captors in World War II*, edited by Bob Moore and Kent Fedorwoich, 277–98. Oxford: Berg.
- Becker, Annette. 1998. *Oubliés de la Grande Guerre: humanitaire et culture de guerre, 1914–1918: populations occupées, déportés civils, prisonniers de guerre*. Paris: Éditions Noësis.
- . 2012. *Oubliés de la Grande Guerre: humanitaire et culture de guerre, 1914–1918*. Paris: Pluriel.
- . 2014a. "Captive Civilians." *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, vol 3: *Civil Society*, edited by Jay Winter, 257–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2014b. *Voir la Grande Guerre: Un autre récit*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- . 2015. "The Great War: World War, Total War." *International Review of the Red Cross* 97/900: 1029–45.
- Becker, Jean-Jacques. 1973. *Le Carnet B. Les pouvoirs publics et l'antimilitarisme avant la guerre de 1914*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.
- Becker, Jean-Jacques, and Annie Kriegel. 1968. *Les inscrits au "Carnet B." Dimensions, composition, physionomie politique et limite du pacifisme ouvrier*. Paris: Association Le Mouvement Social.
- Berner, Margit. 2007. "From 'Prisoner of War Studies' to Proof of Paternity: Racial Anthropologists and the Measuring of 'Others' in Austria." In *"Blood and Homeland": Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940*, edited by Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, 41–53. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- . 2010. "Large-Scale Anthropological Surveys in Austria-Hungary, 1871–1918." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 233–53. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- Best, Geoffrey. 1994. *War and Law since 1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beurier, Joëlle. 2016. *Photographier la Grande Guerre: France-Allemagne, l'héroïsme et la violence dans les magazines*. Rennes: Press Universitaire de Rennes.
- Bicheno, Hugh. 2004. "Total War." In *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, edited by Richard Holmes, Charles Singleton, and Spencer Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bihl, Wolfdieter. 1980. "Die Ruthenen." In *Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. 3: *Die Völker des Reiches*, Part 1, edited by Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 555–84. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bird, John Clement. 1986. *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914–1918*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Black, Dan. 2019. *Harry Livingstone's Forgotten Men: Canadians and the Chinese Labour Corps in the First World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer.
- Bondarenko, Elena Iur'evna. 2002. "Inostrannye voennoplennyye na Dal'nem Vostoke Rossii (1914–1956)." PhD diss., Dal'nevostotchnyi Gosudarstvennyi Universitet.
- Bonner, Philip. 2011. "South African Society and Culture, 1910–1948." *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, edited by Robert Ross, Anne Kelk Mager, and Bill Nasson, 254–318. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boswell, Laird. 2000. "From Liberation to Purge Trials in the 'Mythic Provinces': Recasting French Identities in Alsace and Lorraine, 1918–1920." *French Historical Studies* 23: 129–62.

- Brändström, Elsa. 1922. *Unter Kriegsgefangenen in Rußland und Sibirien, 1914–1920*. Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte.
- Braun, William Hermann. 1930. *Unter Zarenherrschaft und Sowjetstern: Erlebtes und Erschautes in Rußland und Sibirien während des Weltkrieges und der Revolution*. Graz: Köstenberger.
- Breitner, Burghard. 1921. *Unverwundet gefangen. Aus meinem Sibirischen Tagebuch*. Vienna: Rikola.
- Bruckner, Sierra Ann. 1999. "The Tingle-Tangle of Modernity: Popular Anthropology and the Cultural Politics of Identity in Imperial Germany," 2 vols. PhD diss., University of Iowa.
- Bugnion, Francois. 2018. *Confronting the Hell of the Trenches. The International Committee of the Red Cross and the First World War*. Geneva: ICRC.
- Burrell, Kathy, and Panikos Panayi, eds. 2006. *Histories and Memories: Migrants and Their History in Britain*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.
- Burri, Michael. 2021. "Clemens Pirquet: Early Twentieth-Century Scientific Networks, the Austrian Hunger Crisis, and the Making of the International Food Expert." In *Remaking Central Europe: The League of Nations and the Former Habsburg Lands*, edited by Peter Becker and Natasha Wheatley, 39–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cabanes, Bruno. 2004. *La victoire endeuillée: La sortie de guerre des soldats français (1918–1920)*. Paris: Seuil.
- . 2014. *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caglioti, Daniela L. 2013. "Waging War on Civilians: The Expulsion of Aliens in the Franco-Prussian War." *Past and Present* 221/1: 161–95.
- . 2018. "Colonial Subjects and Enemy Aliens: Confinement and Internment 134 in Italy, 1911–1919." In *Internment during the First World War: A Mass Global Phenomenon*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 134–59. London: Routledge.
- Cahalan, Peter. 1982. *Belgian Refugee Relief in England during the Great War*. New York: Garland.
- Campbell, Joan. 1989. *Joy in Work, German Work: The National Debate, 1800–1945*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Caplan, Jane. 2005. "Political Detention and the Origin of Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany." In *Nazism, War and Genocide: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Noakes*, edited by Neil Gregor, 22–41. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Cardozo, Ian. 2019. *The Indian Army in World War I, 1914–1918*. Milton: Taylor & Francis.
- Carrington, Ron. 1975. *Alexandra Park and Palace: A History*. London: Greater London Council.
- Carsten, Francis L. 1992. *War against War: British and German Radical Movements in the First World War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cesarani, David. 1992. "An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940." *Immigrants & Minorities* 11, no. 3: 24–52.
- Christoph, Jürgen. 1988. *Die Politischen Reichsamnestien, 1918–1933*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

- Church, Samuel Harden. 1915. *The American Verdict on the War: A Reply to the Appeal to the Civilized World of 93 German Professors*. Baltimore: Norman Remington Co.
- Churchill, Winston S. 1930. *A Roving Commission: My Early Life*. New York: Scribner's Sons.
- CICR. 1921. *Rapport général du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge sur son activité de 1912 à 1920*. Geneva: Comité International de la Croix-Rouge.
- Civelli, Ignaz. 2017. "'Platz wäre in der Dependence bequem': Zivil- und Militärinternierte im Kanton Zug im Ersten Weltkrieg." *Tugium* 33: 181–209.
- Cohen, Gerard Daniel. 2012. *In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen-Portheim, Paul. 1932. *Time Stood Still: My Internment in England, 1914–1918*. London: Duckworth.
- Conger, George P. 1917. "In the War Prisons of Eastern Siberia." In *The European War*, vol. 13: 533–37. New York Times Current History. New York: New York Times Company.
- Connolly, James E. 2018. *The Experience of Occupation in the Nord, 1914–18: Living with the Enemy in First World War France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Conrad, Sebastian. 2010. *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. Translated by SORCHA O'HAGAN. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, Tim. 2006. "The Politics of Surrender: Canadian Soldiers and the Killing of Prisoners in the Great War." *Journal of Military History* 70: 637–65.
- Cornwall, Mark. 2000. *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cotter, Cédric. 2017. *(S)Aider pour survivre. Action humanitaire et neutralité Suisse pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale*. Chêne-Bourg: Georg.
- Crawford, Emily. 2010. *The Treatment of Combatants and Insurgents under the Law of Armed Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, Yvonne. 2010. *Living with the Wire: Civilian Internment in the Isle of Man during the Two World Wars*. 2nd ed. Douglas: Manx National Heritage.
- Crouthamel, Jason. 2014. *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cseh, Benny. *Private Papers*. London: The Imperial War Museum, Documents. 15168.
- Das, Santanu. 2011. "Introduction." In *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, edited by Santanu Das. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, Belinda. 2000. *Home Fires Burning. Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Davis, Gerald H. 1977. "Prisoners of War in Twentieth-Century War Economies." *Journal of Contemporary History* 12: 623–34.
- . 1983. "The Life of Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1921." In *Essays on World War I: Origins and Prisoners of War*, edited by Samuel R. Williamson and Peter Pastor, 163–96. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1987. "Prisoner of War Camps as Social Communities in Russia: Krasnoyarsk 1914–1921." *East European Quarterly* 21: 147–63.
- Daws, Gavan. 1994. *Prisoners of the Japanese: POWs of World War II in the Pacific*. New York: William Morrow.

- Deák, István. 1990. *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Deist, Wilhelm, ed. 1970. *Militär und Innenpolitik im Weltkrieg 1914–1918*, 2 vols. Düsseldorf: Droste.
- . 1991. "Voraussetzungen innenpolitischen Handelns des Militärs im Ersten Weltkrieg." In *Militär, Staat, Gesellschaft. Studien zur preußisch-deutschen Militärgeschichte*, edited by Wilhelm Deist, 103–52. Munich: R. Oldenburg Verlag.
- Deutscher Reichstag, ed. 1927. *Das Werk des Untersuchungsausschusses. Reihe 3: Völkerrecht im Weltkrieg, Bd. III, 2. Teil*. Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte.
- Dittmann, Wilhelm. 1917. *Belagerungszustand, Zensur und Schutzhaft vor dem Reichstage: Drei Reichstagsreden, geh. 1916; Nach d. aml. Stenogramm*. Leipzig: Verlag der Leipziger Buchdruckerei.
- Dixon, Simon. 2016. "Allegiance and Betrayal: British Residents in Russia during the Crimean War." *Slavonic and East European Review* 94, no. 3: 431–67.
- Doegen, Wilhelm. 1919. *Kriegsgefangene Völker: Der Kriegsgefangenen Haltung und Schicksal in Deutschland*, vol. 1. Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.
- . ed. 1925. *Unter Fremden Völkern: Eine neue Völkerkunde*. Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft.
- . ed. 1941. *Unsere Gegner damals und heute; Engländer und Französer mit ihren europäischen und fremdrassigen Hilfsvölkern in deren Heimat, an der Front und in deutscher Gefangenschaft in Weltkriege und im jetzigen Kriege: Grossdeutschlands koloniale Sendung*. Berlin-Lichterfelde: O. F. Hübner.
- Dornel, Laurent. 2018. *Les Chinois dans la Grande Guerre: des bras au service de la France*. Paris: Les Indes savantes.
- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Douki, Caroline, and Philippe Minard. 2007. "Histoire globale, histoires connectées: un changement d'échelle historiographique?," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54–55: 7–21.
- Dove, Richard, ed. 2005. *Totally Un-English? Britain's Internment of Enemy Aliens in Two World Wars*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Durand, André. 1984. *From Sarajevo to Hiroshima: History of the International Committee of the Red Cross*, vol. 2. Geneva: Henry Dunant Institute.
- Edelmann-Ohler, Eva. 2016. "Exclusion and Inclusion: Ethnography of War in *Kriegsgefangene* (1916) and *Das ostjüdische Antlitz* (1920)." In *Writing Jewish Culture: Paradoxes in Ethnography*, edited by Andreas Kilcher and Gabriella Safran, 181–207. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. 1990. "The Image as Anthropological Document: Photographic 'Types': The Pursuit of Method." *Visual Anthropology* 3: 235–58.
- Eickstedt, Egon von. 1920/1921. "Rassenelemente der Sikh: Mit einem Anhang ober biometrische Methoden." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 52: 217–394.
- Engler, Kurt. n.d. *Dual Nationality* (a memoir written by his son, Karl). The Imperial War Museum, The Private Papers of Kurt Engler. Documents. 1644.
- Evans, Andrew D. 2004. "Capturing Race: Anthropology and Photography in German and Austrian Prisoner-of-War Camps during World War I." In *Colonialist Photography*, edited by Eleanor M. Hight, 226–56. London: Routledge.

- . 2010. *Anthropology at War: World War I and the Science of Race in Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, Richard J. 2003. *The Coming of the Third Reich*. London: Allen Lane.
- Farney, James, and Bohdan S. Kordan. 2005. "The Predicament of Belonging: The Status of Enemy Aliens in Canada, 1914." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39 (Winter): 74–89.
- Favez, Jean-Claude. 1999. *The Red Cross and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fayet, Jean-François. 2000. "En attendant la fin de la guerre: la [sur]vie des soldats et des civils allemands détenus en Russie pendant la Première Guerre mondiale." In *Guerres et Paix*, edited by Michel Porret, Jean-François Fayet, and Carine Fluckiger, 147–62. Geneva: Médecins & Hygiène.
- Feldman, Gerald. 1966. *Army, Industry and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Feltman, Brian K. 2015. *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ferguson, Niall. 2004. "Prisoner Taking and Prisoner Killing in the Age of Total War: Towards a Political Economy of Military Defeat." *War in History* 11: 148–92.
- Ferrière, Frédéric. 1923. "Projet d'une Convention internationale réglant la situation des civils tombés à la guerre au pouvoir de l'ennemi." *Revue internationale des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge* 54: 560–85.
- Finkel, Stuart. 2007. *On the Ideological Front: The Russian Intelligentsia and the Making of the Soviet Public Sphere*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1970. *The Commissariat of Enlightenment. Soviet Reorganization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky, October 1917–1921*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fogarty, Richard S. 2014. "The French Empire." In *Empires at War, 1911–1923*, edited by Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela, 109–29. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fogel, Joshua A., ed. 2000. *The Nanjing Massacre: In History and Historiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Földes, Jenő. 1930. *Hadifogoly-Karrier*. Budapest: Szerző.
- Forth, Aidan. 2016. "Britain's Archipelago of Camps: Labor and Detention in a Liberal Empire." In *The Soviet Gulag: Evidence, Interpretation and Comparison*, edited by Michael David-Fox, 199–223. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- . 2017. *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps, 1876–1903*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Franta, Hans. 1934. "Aus der Werkstatt Heimischer Künstler." *Welt und Heimat (Illustrierte Beilage zur Linzer Tages-Post)*, April 21.
- . 1977. *Hans Franta zum 84. Geburtstag*. Linz: Trauner Verlag.
- French, David. 1978. "Spy Fever in Britain, 1900–1915." *Historical Journal* 21: 355–70.
- Frizzera, Francesco. 2018. "Population Displacement in the Habsburg Empire during World War I." In *World War I in Central and Eastern Europe: Politics, Conflict and Military Experience*, edited by Judith Devlin, Marina Falina, and John Paul Newman, 60–72. London: Bloomsbury.
- Frobenius, Leo. 1916. *Der Völker-Zirkus unserer Feinde*. Berlin: Eckart.

- Funk, Albert. 1985. *Polizei und Rechtsstaat. Entstehungsgeschichte der preußischen Polizei, 1848–1914*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Fyson, Robert. 2000. "The Douglas Camp Shooting of 1914." *Proceedings of IoM Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 11: 115–27.
- Gaiswinkler, Adolf. n.d. *Memoirs. Dokumentation Lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen*, Universität Wien.
- Garfield, Brian. 2011. *The Meinertzhagen Mystery: The Life and Legend of a Colossal Fraud*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gatrell, Peter. 2000. *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- . 2013. *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gay, Ken. 1992. *Palace on the Hill: A History of Alexandra Palace and Park*. London: Hornsey Historical Society.
- "German Imperial and State Citizenship Law, 22 July 1913." 1914. *American Journal of International Law* 8, no. 3 (July): 217–27.
- German Prisoners in Great Britain*. 1916. Bolton: Tillotson & Son.
- Germany, Foreign Office. 1915. "Employment, Contrary to International Law, of Colored Troops upon the European Arena of War by England and France, July 1915." In *World War I Pamphlet Collection*, University of Colorado, Boulder Library, accessed September 27, 2017, <http://cudl.colorado.edu/luna/servlet/detail/UCBOULDERCB1~58~58~445124~127847:Employment,-contrary-to-internatio>.
- Gerwarth, Robert. 2016. *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917–1923*. London: Allen Lane.
- Gerwarth, Robert, and Erez Manela. 2014a. "The Great War as a Global War: Imperial Conflict and the Reconfiguration of World Order, 1911–1923." *Diplomatic History* 38: 786–800.
- , eds. 2014b. *Empires at War 1911–1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- "Gesetz über den Kriegszustand vom 6. Dezember 1916." In *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1916: 1329–31.
- Geyer, Martin H. 1998. *Verkehrte Welt: Revolution, Inflation und Moderne. München 1914–1924*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Geyer, Michael. 2006. "Rückzug und Zerstörung 1917," In *Die Deutschen an der Somme 1914–1918: Krieg, Besatzung, Verbrannte Erde*, edited by Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, and Irina Renz, 163–201. Essen: Klartext.
- Geyling, Rolf. 1919. "Brief an die Nachwelt." PBB, no catalog number.
- Gillian, Pascall, and Nick Manning. 2000. "Gender and Social Policy: Comparing Welfare States in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." *Journal of European Social Policy* 10: 240–66.
- Gingrich, Andre. 2010. "After the Great War: National Configurations of Anthropology in Late Colonial Times." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 355–79. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- "Gmünder Bezirk." 1915. *Österreichische Land-Zeitung*. July 17.
- Górny, Maciej. 2019. *Science Embattled: Eastern European Intellectuals and the Great War*. Translated by Antoni Górny. Germany: Ferdinand Schöningh.

- Gousseff, Catherine. 2008. *L'exil russe: la fabrique du réfugié apatride*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Grady, Tim. 2017. *A Deadly Legacy: German Jews and the Great War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Graziosi, Andrea. 1988. "Foreign Workers in Soviet Russia, 1920–40: Their Experience and Their Legacy." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 33: 38–59.
- Greiner, Bettina, and Alan Kramer, eds. 2013. *Welt der Lager: Zur "Erfolgsgeschichte" Einer Institution*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.
- Grosse Krieg in Bildern, Der. 1915–1918. Berlin: Georg Stilke.
- Grundlingh, Albert. 2017. "Pleading Patriots and Malleable Memories: The South African Cape Corps during the First World War (1914–1918) and Its Twentieth-Century Legacy." *Wicazo sa review* 32: 29–47.
- Guenther, Dierk. 2004. "Tokushima shinpō, Lagerfeuer, Barracke—shikoku no doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo shinbun no hikaku kentō." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 2 (October): 3–22.
- Gumz, Jonathan E. 2014. "Losing Control: The Norm of Occupation in Eastern Europe during the First World War," In *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, edited by Jochen Böhrer, Włodzimierz Borodziej, and Joachim von Puttkamer, 69–87. Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg.
- Gusenbauer, Ernst. 1997. "Auf den Spuren einer vergessenen Zeit. Das Kriegsgefangenenlager in Mauthausen 1914 bis 1918." *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 51: 13–23.
- Gutsche, Willibald, ed. 1977. *Herrschaftsmethoden des deutschen Imperialismus 1897/8 bis 1917. Dokumente zur innen- und aussenpolitischen Strategie und Taktik der herrschenden Klassen des Deutschen Reichs*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hackl, Erich. 2009. "Erinnerungen an Sibirien. Memoiren aus der Gefangenschaft 1914–1920." In *Quelle zur Geschichte Oberösterreichs* 7, edited by Alexander Smutni. Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv.
- Harris, Janet. 2005. *Alexandra Palace: A Hidden History*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus.
- Hart, E. J. 2010. *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Hata Ikuhiko. 1986. *Nankin Jiken: Gyakusatsu no kōzō*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinshō.
- Healy, Maureen. 2000. "Exhibiting a War in Progress: Entertainment and Propaganda in Vienna, 1914–1918." *Austrian Yearbook* 31: 57–85.
- . 2004. *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Henn, Charles. 1986. "The Origins and Early Development of the Idea of Protecting Powers." PhD diss., University of Cambridge.
- Herbert, Ulrich. 1986. *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter*. Bonn: Dietz.
- Hermann, Martina. 2017a. "'Cities of Barracks': Refugees in the Austrian Part of the Habsburg Empire during World War I." In *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, edited by Peter Gatrell and Liubov Zhvanko, 129–55. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- . 2017b. "Die hölzerne Stadt. Das Barackenlager Gmünd 1914–1918." PhD diss., University of Graz.

- Herwig, H. 2014. *World War I, Germany and Austria-Hungary 1914–1918*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hilger, Andreas. 2000. *Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956. Kriegsgefangenschaft, Lageralltag und Erinnerung*. Essen: Klartext Verlag.
- Hinz, Uta. 1999. "Die deutschen 'Barbaren' sind doch die besseren Menschen: Kriegsgefangenschaft und gefangene 'Feinde' in der Darstellung der deutschen Publizistik, 1914–1918," In *In der Hand des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Rüdiger Overmans, 339–61. Cologne: Böhlau.
- . 2003. "Internierung." In *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg*, edited by Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, and Irena Renz, 582–84. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- . 2006. *Gefangen im Großen Krieg: Kriegsgefangenschaft in Deutschland, 1914–1921*. Essen: Klartext.
- Hitchcock, William. 2012. "Human Rights and the Laws of War: The Geneva Conventions of 1949." In *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History*, edited by Akira Iriye, Petra Goedde, and William I. Hitchcock, 93–112. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoesen, Brett M. van. 2014. "The Rhineland Controversy and Weimar Postcolonialism." In *German Colonialism in a Global Age*, edited by Bradley Naranch and Geoff Eley, 302–29. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hoffman, Conrad. 1920. *In the Prison Camps of Germany: A Narrative of "Y" Service among Prisoners of War*. New York: Association Press.
- Hofmann, Hasso. 2005. "'Souverän ist, wer über den Ausnahmezustand entscheidet'." *Der Staat* 44, no. 2: 171–86.
- Holmes, Ben. 2018. "The International Review of the Red Cross and the Protection of Civilians, c. 1919–1939." *International Review of the Red Cross* 100: 115–41.
- Hörath, Julia. 2014. "'Arbeitsscheue Volksgenossen': Leistungsbereitschaft als Kriterium der Inklusion und Exklusion," In *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, edited by Marc Buggeln and Michael Wildt, 309–28. Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg.
- Horne, John, and Alan Kramer. 2001. *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Horvath, Agnes. 2013. *Modernism and Charisma*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hoshi Masayuki. 2006. "Furyo no Heimatsort no hitei ni tsuite." *Chintaosen doitsuhai furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 4: 49–54.
- Housden, Marthyn. 2007. "When the Baltic Sea Was a "Bridge" for Humanitarian Action: The League of Nations, the Red Cross and the Repatriation of Prisoners of War between Russia and Central Europe, 1920–1922." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 38: 61–83.
- Howard, Michael, George Andreopolous, and Mark Shulman, eds. 1994. *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hull, Isabel V. 2005. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 2014. *A Scrap of Paper: Breaking and Making International Law during the Great War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hutchinson, John F. 1996. *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

- Hyslop, Jonathan. 2011. "The Invention of the Concentration Camp: Cuba, Southern Africa, and the Philippines, 1896–1907." *South African Historical Journal* 63: 251–76.
- ICRC. 1921. *Dixième Conférence Internationale de la Croix-Rouge, tenue à Genève du 30 Mars au 7 Avril 1921: Compte Rendu*. Genève: Albert Renaud.
- . 1925. *XIIème Conférence internationale de la Croix-Rouge, Genève, 7 octobre 1925. Annexe au Rapport Général du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. La Situation des civils se trouvant sur territoire ennemi*. Geneva: ICRC.
- . 1930. *Actes de la Conférence Diplomatique de Genève de 1929*. Geneva: Journal de Genève.
- Ido Keiji. 2007. "1918nen roku-gatsu futsuka, Tokushima ni okeru 'Tokushima furyo sōgakudan' ensōkai." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 5 (October): 57–60.
- Ikeyama Hiroshi. 2012. "Sekijūji kokusai iinkai ni yoru chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo no shisatsu—Kurume furyo shūyōjo to Nagoya furyo shūyōjo to no taihi." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 10 (December): 21–69.
- Ikonnikova, Tat'iana Iakovlevna. 1999. "Voennoplennye Pervoī Mirovoī Voīny na rossiiskom Dal'nem Vostoke." *Rossia i ATR* 1: 90–94.
- . 2004. *Voennoplennye Pervoī Mirovoī Voīny na Dal'nem Vostoke Rossii (1914–1918 gg)*. Khabarovsk: GOU VPO.
- ILA. 1920. *Report of the Twenty-Ninth Conference, May 27th to 31st, 1920*. London: Sweet & Maxwell.
- . 1921. *Report of the Thirtieth Conference, 30th August to 3rd September, 1921*. London: Sweet & Maxwell.
- . 1924. *Report of the Thirty-Third Conference, September 8th to 13th, 1924*. London: Sweet & Maxwell.
- Imai Hiromasa. 2012. "Mō hitotsu no furyo shūyōjo: Kurume to doitsuhei, 1914–1920." *Kindai chitki shakaishi kenkyū* (Fukuoka Daigaku Kenkyūbu Ronshū) A 11: 5, 29–36.
- Imrey, Ferenc. 1930. *Through Blood and Ice*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Irwin, Julia. 2017. *Making the World Safe. The American Red Cross and the Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Itō Chūta. 1920. *Ashura-Cho*. Tokyo: Kokusai Shuppansha.
- Jahr, Christoph. 1999. "Zivilisten als Kriegsgefangene: Die Internierung von 'Feindstaaten-Ausländern' in Deutschland während des Ersten Weltkrieges am Beispiel des 'Engländerlagers' Ruhleben," In *In der Hand des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Rüdiger Overmans, 297–321. Cologne: Böhlau.
- Jahr, Christoph, and Jens Thiel. 2019. "Adding Colour to the Silhouettes: The Internment and Treatment of Foreign Civilians in Germany during the First World War," In *Internment during the First World War: A Mass Global Phenomenon*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 41–60. London: Routledge.
- Jeffries, Keith. 2015. *1916: A Global History*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Jeismann, Michael. 1997. *La patrie de l'ennemi: la notion d'ennemi national et la représentation de la nation en Allemagne et en France de 1792 à 1918*. Translated by Dominique Lassaigue. Paris: CNRS.
- Jones, Heather. 2008a. "A Missing Paradigm? Military Captivity and the Prisoner of War, 1914–18." *Immigrants & Minorities* 26: 19–48.

- . 2008b. "The German Spring Reprisals of 1917: Prisoners of War and the Violence of the Western Front." *German History* 26: 335–56.
- . 2011a. *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France and Germany, 1914–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2011b. "Imperial Captivities: Colonial Prisoners of War in Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1918." In *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, edited by Santanu Das, 175–93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . 2014. "Prisoners of War." In *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, vol. 2: *The State*, edited by Jay Winter, 266–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2016. "International Law and Western Front Prisoners of War in the First World War." In *Wartime Captivity in the Twentieth Century: Archives, Stories, Memories*, edited by Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis, 30–44. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Jones, Mark. 2016. *Founding Weimar: Violence and the German Revolution of 1918–1919*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- K. K. Ministerium des Innern. 1915. *Staatliche Flüchtlingsfürsorge im Kriege 1914/15*. Vienna: Aus der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- Kahlelyss, Margot. 2000. *Muslime in Brandenburg-Kriegsgefangene im 1 Weltkrieg: Ansichten und Absichten*. Berlin: Museum Europäischer Kulturen.
- . 2011. "Indian Prisoners of War in World War I: Photographs as Source Material." In *"When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings": South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*, edited by Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, and Ravi Ahuja, 207–30. New Delhi: Social Science Press.
- Kaliakina, Aleksandra Viktorovna. 2013. "Ispol'zovanie truda voennoplennykh v Saratovskoi Gubernii v 1914–1917 godakh." *Izvestiia Saratovskogo Universiteta* 13, no. 2: 99–101.
- Karpus, Zbigniew. 2001. *Russian and Ukrainian Prisoners of War and Internees Kept in Poland in 1918–1924*. Toruń, Poland: Adam Marszaek.
- Karsten, Julius. 1927. "Der Plenny spielt Theater." *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, January 29.
- Kashima, Tetsuden. 2003. *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Keegan, John. 1998. *The First World War*. London: Hutchinson.
- Keil, André, and Matthew Stibbe. 2020. "Ein Laboratorium des Ausnahmezustandes: Schutzhaft während des Ersten Weltkrieges und der frühen Weimarer Republik in Preußen und Bayern, 1914–1923." *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 64, no. 4: 535–73.
- Kellogg, Robert H. 1867. *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*. Hartford, CT: L. Stebbins.
- Kenner, George. Internment journal. London: Imperial War Museum. Art.IWM ARCH 27.
- Ketchum, Davidson J. 1965. *Ruhleben: A Prison Camp Society*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kévonian, Dzovinar. 2004. *Refugiés et diplomatie humanitaire: les acteurs européens et la scène proche-orientale pendant l'entre-deux-guerres*. Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne.
- Kinsella, Helen M. 2011. *The Image before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction between Combatant and Civilian*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Klein-Pejšová, Rebekah. 2014. "Beyond the 'Infamous Concentration Camps of the Monarchy': Jewish Refugee Policy from Wartime Hungary to Interwar Czechoslovakia." *Austrian History Yearbook* 45: 150–66.
- Kōbe daigaku daigakuin jinbunka kenkyū chiiki renkei senta, ed. 2016. *Kasai ni furyo ga itakoro: Aonogahara shūyōjo to sono sekai*. Kasai, Japan: Kasai-shi kyōiku iinkai.
- Koller, Christian. 2008. "The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe during the First World War." *Immigrants and Minorities* 26: 111–33.
- . 2011. "German Perception of Enemy Colonial Troops, 1914–1918." In *When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings: South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*, edited by Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, and Ravi Ahuja, 130–48. New Delhi: Social Science Press.
- Kordan, Bohdan S. 2016. *No Free Man: Canada, the Great War, and the Enemy Alien Experience*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- . 2018. "The Internment of Enemy Aliens in Canada during the Great War: Rights, Obligations and Diplomacy." In *Internment during the First World War*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stubbe, 184–210. London: Routledge.
- . 2020. "First World War Internment in Canada: Enemy Aliens and the Blurring of the Military/Civilian Distinction." *Canadian Military History* 29: 1–28.
- Kordan, Bohdan S., and Peter Melnycky, eds. 1991. *In the Shadow of the Rockies: Diary of the Castle Mountain Camp, 1915–1917*. Edmonton: CIUS Press.
- Kowner, Rotem. 2000. "Japan's Enlightened War: Military Conduct and Attitudes to the Enemy during the Russo-Japanese War." In *The Japanese and Europe: Images and Perceptions*, edited by Bert Edström, 134–51. Folkestone, UK: Japan Library.
- . 2001. "Becoming an Honorary Civilized Nation: Remaking Japan's Military Image during the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–05." *Historian* 64: 19–38.
- . 2008. "Japan's 'Fifteen Minutes of Glory': Managing World Opinion during the War with Russia, 1904–05." In *Japan and Russia: Three Centuries of Mutual Images*, edited by Yulia Mikhailova and M. William Steele, 47–70. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental.
- . 2009. "Imperial Japan and Its POWs: The Dilemma of Humaneness and National Identity." In *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, edited by Guy Podoler, 80–110. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental.
- . 2017. *Historical Dictionary of the Russo-Japanese War*, 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- . 2020. "The Repatriation of Surrendered Japanese Troops, 1945–47." In *In the Ruins of the Japanese Empire: Imperial Violence, State Destruction, and the Reordering of Modern East Asia*, edited by Barak Kushner and Andrew Levidis, 121–38. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kramer, Alan. 1997. "Wackes at War: Alsace Lorraine and the Failure of German National Mobilization, 1914–1918." In *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, edited by John Horne, 105–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- . 2007. *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramer, Arnold. 2008. *Prisoners of War: A Reference Handbook*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Kruse, Wolfgang. 1994. *Krieg und nationale Integration: Eine Neuinterpretation des sozialdemokratischen Burgfriedensschlusses 1914/15*. Essen: Westphalisches Dampfboot.
- Kuklick, Henrika. 2010. "Continuity and Change in British Anthropology, 1914–1919." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 29–45. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- Kuncz, Aladár. 1934. *Black Monastery*, translated by Ralph Murray. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Kurosawa Fumitaka. 2013. *Futatsuno kaikoku to Nihon*. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 2013.
- Kutzler, Evan A. 2019. *Living by Inches: The Smells, Sounds, Tastes, and Feeling of Captivity in Civil War Prisons*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lackenbauer, P. Whitney. 2001. "The Military and 'Mob Rule': The CEF Riots in Calgary, February 1916." *Canadian Military History* 10 (Winter): 31–42.
- Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. 2008. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Landefeld, Sarina. 2021. *Combatants and civilians? Individuals as Constructed in International Humanitarian Law, c. 1864–2020*. PhD diss., University of Nottingham.
- Lange, Britta. 2008a. "Academic Research on (Coloured) Prisoners of War in Germany, 1915–1918." In *World War I: Five Continents in Flanders*, edited by Dominiek Dendooven and Piet Chielens, 152–60. Tiel: Lannoo.
- . 2008b. "Der Rassenkundler Egon von Eickstedt und sein Gastspiel in Freiburg (1921–1923)," accessed on January 7, 2020, <http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/Egon-von-Eickstedt.htm>.
- . 2010. "AfterMath: Anthropological Data from Prisoner-of-War Camps." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 311–35. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- . 2011. "South Asian Soldiers and German Academics: Anthropological, Linguistic and Musicological Field Studies in Prison Camps." In *"When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings": South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*, edited by Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau, and Ravi Ahuja, 149–84. New Delhi: Social Science Press.
- . 2013. *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915–1918*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Lange, Britta, and Andre Gingrich. 2014. "Gefangene Stimmen, internierte Körper: Rudolf Pösch, die Wünsdorf-Reise 1917 und die Frage der Geschichte der Völkerkunde." *Anthropos* 109: 599–612.
- Lauterbach, Julius. 1917. *1000 £ Kopffpreis—tot oder lebendig: Fluchtabenteuer des ehemaligen Prisenoffiziers S. M. S. "Emden"*. Berlin: August Scherl.
- Le Naour, Jean-Yves. 2003. *La honte noire: L'Allemagne et les troupes coloniales françaises, 1914–1945*. Paris: Hachette Littérature.

- Leclercq, Nicole. 2008. "De la culture dans les camps de prisonniers? Allemagne 1914–1918." In *Mémoires et Antimémoires Littéraires au XXe Siècle*, edited by Annamaria Laserra, 219–71. Vienna: Lang.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 2009. *State, Space. World: Selected Essays*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Leidinger, Hannes, and Verena Moritz. 2003. *Gefangenschaft, Revolution, Heimkehr. Die Bedeutung der Kriegsgefangenenproblematik für die Geschichte des Kommunismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1917–1920*. Vienna: Böhlau.
- Lettow-Vorbeck, Paul Emil von. 1920. *Heia Safari! Deutschlands Kampf in Ostafrika*. Berlin: Hase & Köhler.
- Levie, Howard S. 1978. *Prisoners of War in International Armed Conflict*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press.
- Levine, Philippa. 1998. "Battle Colors: Race, Sex, and Colonial Soldierly in World War I." *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4: 104–30.
- Liszt, Franz von. 1920. *Das Völkerrecht*, 11th ed. Berlin: Julius Springer.
- Liulevicius, Vejas Gabriel. 2000. *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lohr, Eric. 2003. *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lowe, Kimberly A. 2014. "Humanitarianism and National Sovereignty: Red Cross Intervention on Behalf of Political Prisoners in Soviet Russia, 1921–3." *Journal of Contemporary History* 49: 652–74.
- . 2019. "The Red Cross and the Laws of War, 1863–1949: International Rights Activism before Human Rights." In *The Routledge History of Human Rights*, edited by Lora Wildenthal and Jean Quataert, 75–96. Abingdon: Routledge.
- MacDonagh, Michael. 1935. *In London during the Great War: The Diary of a Journalist*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Mackenzie, S. P. 1994. "The Treatment of Prisoners of War in World War II." *Journal of Modern History* 66: 487–520.
- Madley, Benjamin. 2005. "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe." *European History Quarterly* 35: 429–64.
- Mahony, Sean. 1987. *Frongoch: University of the Revolution*. Dublin: FDR Teoranta.
- Malkki, Liisa. 1995. "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 495–523.
- Manifest der Internationale zur gegenwärtigen Lage. Resolutionen am Basler Kongress 24.–25. November 1912*. Berlin: Vorwärts Verlag.
- Manz, Stefan, and Panikos Panayi. 2020. *Enemies in the Empire: Civilian Internment in the British Empire during the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manz, Stefan, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, eds. 2019. *Internment during the First World War: A Mass Global Phenomenon*. London: Routledge.
- Marrus, Michael. 1985. *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, Rudolf. 1914. *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie in systematischer Darstellung*. Jena: Gustav Fischer.

- Matsuyama furyo shūyōjo, ed. 1906 *Matsuyama shūyōjo rokoku furyo*. Matsuyama: Matsuyama furyo shūyōjo.
- Mayr, Julia. 2016. "Der Internationale Soldatenfriedhof Mauthausen—ungleiche Erinnerung an die Toten zweier Weltkriege und KZ-Häftlinge." Master's thesis, University of Vienna.
- McConnachie, Kirsten. 2016. "Camps of Containment: A Genealogy of the Refugee Camp." *Humanity* 7, no. 3: 397–412.
- McElligott, Anthony. 2014. *Rethinking the Weimar Republic: Authority and Authoritarianism, 1916–1936*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- McKernan, Luke. 2006. "The Supreme Moment of the War: General Allenby's Entry into Jerusalem." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 13: 169–80.
- McPhail, Helen. 2000. *The Long Silence: Civilian Life under the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914–1918*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Mégret, Frédéric. 2011/12. "War and the Vanishing Battlefield." *Loyola University Chicago International Law Review* 9, no. 1: 131–55.
- Menjō Yoshio. 2003. "Nagoya furyo shūyōjo oboegaki." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 1 (December): 36–52.
- Mentzel, Walter. 1995. "Weltkriegsflüchtlinge in Cisleithanien, 1914–1918." In *Asylland wider Willen. Flüchtlinge in Österreich im europäischen Kontext seit 1914*, edited by Gernot Heiss and Oliver Rathkolb, 17–44. Vienna: Jugend und Volk.
- Merhart, Gero von. 2008. *Daljōko. Bilder aus Sibirischen Arbeitstagen*. Ed. Hermann Parzinger. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
- Militzer, Max. 1931. "500 Tage in Marokko." In *Feindeshand: Die Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege in Einzeldarstellungen*, edited by Hans Weiland and Leopold Kern, 94–104. Vienna: Bundesvereinigung der ehemaligen österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen.
- Miller, Susanne. 1974. *Klassenkampf und Burgfrieden: Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Düsseldorf: Droste.
- Moll, Martin. 2014. *Die Steiermark im Ersten Weltkrieg: Der Kampf des Hinterlandes ums Überleben 1914–1918*. Graz: Styria Premium.
- Monteath, Peter. 2018. *Captured Lives: Australia's Wartime Internment Camps*. Canberra: NLA Publishing.
- Morel, E. D. 1920. *Horror on the Rhine*. London: Union of Democratic Control.
- Moreno, Jonathan D. 2011. *The Autobiography of J. L. Moreno (Abridged)*. **United Kingdom**: The North-West Psychodrama Association.
- Mori Takaaki. 2003. "Matsuyama doitsu furyo shūyōjo ni kansuru shiryō shōkai," *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 1 (December): 53–7.
- Moritz, Verena. 1998. "Die Österreichisch-Ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen in der russischen Wirtschaft (1914 bis Oktober 1917)." *Zeitgeschichte* 11/12: 380–89.
- . 2005. *Zwischen Nutzen und Bedrohung. Die russischen Kriegsgefangenen in Österreich 1914–1920*. Bonn: Bernard & Graefe.
- Moritz, Verena, and Hannes Leidinger. 2005. *Zwischen Nutzen und Bedrohung. Die russischen Kriegsgefangenen in Österreich (1914–1921)*. Bonn: Bernard & Graefe.
- Moritz, Verena, and Julia Walleczek-Fritz. 2017. "Prisoners of War (Austria-Hungary)." In *1914–1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10374.
- Morris, James. 2020. "The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Danubian Principality of Wallachia." PhD diss., University of Cambridge.

- Mosse, George L. 1990. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press.
- Mouradian, Khatchig. 2019. "Internment and Destruction: Concentration Camps during the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1916." In *Internment during the First World War*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 145–61. London: Routledge.
- Moyd, Michelle. 2014. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Murphy, Mahon (Mahon Maafii). 2009. "Daiichiji sekai taisenchū no nihon ni okeru doitsuin furyo: Doitsu biru o nozokeba karerani fujū wa nakatta," *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 7 (December): 5–24.
- . 2017. *Colonial Captivity during the First World War: Internment and the Fall of the German Empire, 1914–1919*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nachbaur, Ulrich. 2018. "Rudolf Wacker: K.u.k. Fähnrich in Der Reserve." In *Wacker im Krieg. Erfahrungen eines Künstlers*, edited by Jürgen Thaler and Andreas Rudigier, 69–83. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag.
- Nachtigal, Reinhard. 1995. "German Prisoners of War in Tsarist Russia: A Glance at Petrograd / St Petersburg." *German History* 13: 198–204.
- . 2001. *Die Murmanbahn. Die Verkehrsanbindung eines kriegswichtigen Hafens und das Arbeitspotential der Kriegsgefangenen (1915 bis 1918)*. Grunbach: Greiner.
- . 2003. *Russland und seine österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen (1914–1918)*. Grunbach: Greiner.
- . 2008. "The Repatriation and Reception of Returning Prisoners of War, 1918–22." *Immigrants & Minorities* 26: 157–84.
- Nachtigal, Reinhard, and Radauer, Lena. n.d. "Prisoners of War (Russian Empire)." In 1914–1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/prisoners_of_war_russian_empire.
- Nagler, Jörg. 2018. "Control and Internment of Enemy Aliens in the United States during the First World War." In *Internment during the First World War*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 211–41. London: Routledge.
- Nagornaja, Oxana. 2009. "United by Barbed Wire: Russian POWs in Germany, National Stereotypes, and International Relations, 1914–22." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10: 475–98.
- Naranch, Bradley, and Geoff Eley, eds. 2014. *German Colonialism in a Global Age*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Narutoshi doitsukan. n.d. *Naruto-shi doitsukan shozōhin mokuroku: Bandō shūyōjo narabi ni daiichi sekai taisenji no zenkoku shūyōjo kanren shiryō*. Nartuto-shi, Japan: Naruto-shi doitsukan.
- Nasson, Bill. 2014. "British Imperial Africa." In *Empires at War, 1911–1923*, edited by Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela, 130–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Neff, Stephen C. 2010. "Prisoners of War in International Law: The Nineteenth Century." In *Prisoners in War*, edited by Sibylle Scheipers, 57–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newald, Richard. 1938. "Sibirische Odyssee." MSG 200/1931 Reg. Nr. 27757. BAMA Freiburg.

- Nivet, Philippe. 2011. *La France occupée, 1914–1918*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Noschke, Richard. 2002. *An Insight into Civilian Internment in Britain during WWI: From the Diary of Richard Noschke and a Short Essay by Rudolf Rocker*. Maidenhead, UK: Anglo-American Family History Society Publication.
- Obergottsberger, Franz. n.d. "Ich hörte noch die Nachtigall. Die Lebensgeschichte des Franz Obergottsberger," vol. 2. Vienna: Dokumentation Lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen, Universität Wien.
- Ogawa Ryo. 2015. *Daiichiji sekai taisen to nishi Afrika: Furansu ni mei wo sasega kokujin butai (Senegaru hohei)*. Tokyo: Tōsui Shōbo.
- Olin, Margaret. 2010. "Jews among the Peoples: Visual Archives in German Prison Camps during the Great War." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 255–77. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- Oltmer, Jochen. 2006. "Unentbehrliche Arbeitskräfte: Kriegsgefangene in Deutschland 1914–1918." In *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs*, edited by Jochen Oltmer, 67–96. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Olusoga, David. 2014. *The World's War*. London: Head of Zeus.
- Olusoga, David, and Casper W. Erichsen. 2010. *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Omissi, David, ed. 1999. *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914–18*. New York: Palgrave.
- Otsuru Atsushi. 2017. *Aonogahara furyo shūyōjo no sekai: Daiichiji sekai taisen to ōsutoria horyōhei*. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha.
- . 2019. "The Prisoner of War Camp at Aonogahara near Kōbe—The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Miniature." In *The East Asian Dimension of the First World War. Global Entanglements and Japan, China and Korea, 1914–1919*, edited by Jan Schmidt and Katja Schmidt, 349–64. Frankfurt: Campus, 2019.
- Pachowicz, Anna. 2017. "Polish Emigration in France at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." *Istraživanja. Journal of Historical Researches* 28: 134–46.
- Paddock, Troy R. E. 2014. "Introduction." In *World War I and Propaganda*, edited by Troy R. E. Paddock, 1–20. Leiden: Brill.
- Palmieri, Daniel. 2012. "An Institution Standing the Test of Time? A Review of the History of the International Committee of the Red Cross." *International Review of the Red Cross* 94/888: 1273–98.
- . 2018. "Humanitarianism on the Screen: The ICRC films, 1921–1965." In *Humanitarianism and the Media*, edited by Johannes Paulmann, 90–106. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Panayi, Panikos. 1987. "The Imperial War Museum as a Source of Information for Historians of Immigrant Minorities: The Example of Germans in Britain during the First World War." *Immigrants and Minorities* 6: 348–61.
- . 1989. "Anti-German Riots in London during the First World War." *German History* 7: 184–203.
- . 1991. *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War*. Oxford: Berg.
- . 1993a. "An Intolerant Act by an Intolerant Society: The Internment of Germans in Britain during the First World War." In *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, edited by David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, 53–78. London: Routledge.

- . 1993b. *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars*. Providence: Berg.
- . 2005. "A Marginalized Subject? The Historiography of Enemy Alien Internment in Britain." In *'Totally Un-English?' Britain's Internment of 'Enemy Aliens' in Two World Wars*, edited by Richard Dove, 17–28. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- . 2013. *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- , ed. 2014. *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- . 2018. "Work, Leisure, and Sport in Military and Civilian Internment Camps in Britain, 1914–1919." In *Sport under Unexpected Circumstances: Violence, Discipline, and Leisure in Penal and Internment Camps*, edited by Gregor Feindt, Anke Hilbrenner, and Dittmar Dahlmann, 63–85. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Pastor, Peter. 1983. "Introduction." In *Essays on World War I: Origins and Prisoners of War*, edited by Samuel Williamson and Peter Pastor, 113–17. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2012. "Hungarian Prisoners of War in Siberia." In *Essays on World War I*, edited by Peter Pastor and Graydon A. Tunstall, 111–29. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pegram, Aaron. 2020. *Surviving the Great War: Australian Prisoners of War on the Western Front, 1916–18*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillimore, George G. 1920. "Some Suggestions for a Draft Code for the Treatment of Prisoners of War." *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 6: 25–34.
- Phillimore, George G., and Hugh Bellot. 1919. "Treatment of Prisoners of War." *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 5: 47–63.
- Piana, Francesca. 2009. "Humanitaire et politique, in medias res: le typhus en Pologne et l'organisation internationale d'hygiène de la SDN (1919–1923)." *Relations internationales* 2, no. 138: 23–38.
- . 2015. "Photography, Cinema, and the Quest for Influence: the International Committee of the Red Cross in the Wake of the First World War." In *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, edited by Davide Rodogno and Heide Fehrenbach, 140–64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pickenpaugh, Roger. 2009. *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- Pirquet, Clemens. 1926. *Volksgesundheits im Krieg*. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.
- Pitzer, Andrea. 2017. *One Long Night: A Global History of Concentration Camps*. London: Little, Brown.
- Polian, Pavel. 2005. "First Victims of the Holocaust: Soviet-Jewish Prisoners of War in German Captivity." *Kritika*: 6: 763–87.
- Pollock, Gordon D. 2018. *Black Soldiers in a White Man's War: Race, Good Order and Discipline in a Great War Labour Battalion*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Porter, Thomas Earl. 2009. "Hitler's *Rassenkampf* in the East: The Forgotten Genocide of Soviet POWs." *Nationalities Papers* 37: 839–59.
- Poznakhirev, Vitaliĭ Vital'evich. 2014. *Turetskie voennoplennye i grazhdanskie plennye v Rossii v 1914–1924 gg.* St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria.
- Proctor, Tammy M. 2010. *Civilians in a World at War, 1914–1918*. New York: New York University Press.

- Rachamimov, A. (Iris). 2002. *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2006. "The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1920." *American Historical Review* 111: 362–82.
- Rachamimov, Iris. 2012a. "Camp Domesticity: Shifting Gender Boundaries in WWI Internment Camps." In *Cultural Heritage and Prisoners of War: Creativity behind Barbed Wire*, edited by Gillian C. Carr and Harold Mytum, 291–305. London: Routledge.
- . 2012b. "Military Captivity in Two World Wars: Legal Frameworks and Camp Regimes." In *Cambridge History of War, Vol. 4: War and the Modern World, 1850–2005*, edited by Roger Chickering, Dennis Showalter, and Hans van de Ven, 214–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2018. "Small Escapes: Gender, Class, and Material Culture in Great War Internment Camps." In *Objects of War: The Material Culture of Conflict and Displacement*, edited by Leonora Auslander and Tara Zahra, 164–88. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Radauer, Lena. 2011. *Hans Franta: Sibirien*. Linz: Nordico Museum der Stadt Linz.
- . 2018. "Rudolf Wacker—(ein) Künstler in sibirischer Kriegsgefangenschaft." In *Wacker im Krieg. Erfahrungen eines Künstlers*, edited by Jürgen Thaler and Andreas Rudigier, 85–101. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag.
- Radauer, Lena, and Egger, Matthias. 2014. "Kultur im Lager. Kulturelle Aktivitäten der österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen in Russland 1914–1918." *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 2: 160–78.
- Rae, John. 1970. *Conscience and Politics: The British Government and the Conscientious Objector to Military Service*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raithel, Thomas, and Irene Streng. 2000. "Die Reichstagsbrandverordnung: Grundlegung der Diktatur mit den Instrumenten des Weimarer Ausnahmezustands." *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 48: 413–460.
- Reder, Josef. 1918. *Das Fleckfieber nach dem heutigen Stande seiner Lehre und nach Beobachtungen in den Epidemien des k. k. Flüchtlingslagers Gmünd*. Leipzig: Deuticke.
- Reed, John. 1917. *War in Eastern Europe: Travels through the Balkans in 1915*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Reisman, W. Michael, and Chris T. Antoniu, eds. 1994. *The Laws of War: A Comprehensive Collection of Primary Documents on International Laws Governing Armed Conflict*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Rhodes, James Ford. 1904. *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850: 1864–1866*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Roberts, Adam. 1994. "Land Warfare: From Hague to Nuremberg." In *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World*, edited by Michael Howard, George Andreopolous, and Mark Shulman, 116–39. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- . 2011. "The Civilian in Modern War." In *The Changing Character of War*, edited by Hew Strachan and Sibylle Scheipers, 357–80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rocker, Rudolf. 2002. *An Insight into Civilian Internment in Britain during WWI: From the Diary of Richard Neschke and a Short Essay by Rudolf Rocker*. Maidenhead, UK: Anglo-American Family History Society Publication.
- . 2005. *The London Years*. Edinburgh: Five Leaves Publications.

- Rodogno, Davide. 2014. "The American Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross: Humanitarian Politics and Policies in Asia Minor and Greece (1922–23)." *First World War Studies* 5: 83–99.
- Romero Salvadó, Francisco J. 1999. *Spain 1914–1918: Between War and Revolution*. London: Routledge.
- Röper, August. 1920. *Kriegsgefangene in Deutschland*. Fribourg, Switzerland: Librairie de L'Université Otto Gschwend.
- Rosenblit, Marsha L., 2004. "Sustaining Austrian "National" Identity in Crisis: The Dilemma of the Jews in Habsburg Austria, 1914–1919." In *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, edited by Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rosenblit, 178–91. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Röseler, Hermann. 1931. "Bilder aus englischer Gefangenschaft im deutschen-ostafrikanischen Kolonial-gebiet in Ägypten und in England." In *Feindeshand: Die Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege in Einzeldarstellungen*, edited by Hans Weiland and Leopold Kern, vol. 2, 105–9. Vienna: Bundesvereinigung der ehemaligen österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen.
- Roy, Franziska, Heike Liebau, and Ravi Ahuja, eds. 2011. "When the War Began We Heard of Several Kings": *South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*. New Delhi: Social Science Press.
- Saatzer, Josef. n.d. "Sibirien. Erinnerungen an die Gefangenschaft 1915–1917 und Aufenthalt bis 1920." Vienna: Dokumentation Lebensgeschichtlicher Aufzeichnungen, Universität Wien.
- Sammartino, Annemarie H. 2010. *The Impossible Border: Germany and the East, 1914–1922*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Samson, Anne. 2013. *World War I in Africa: The Forgotten Conflict among the European Powers*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Sanborn, Joshua. 2014. "The Russian Empire." In *Empires at War, 1911–1923*, edited by Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela, 91–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sanders, Michael, and Philip Taylor. 1982. *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914–1918*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Schafft, Gretchen E. 2004. *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Scheer, Monique. 2010. "Captive Voices: Phonographic Recordings in the German and Austrian Prisoner-of-War Camps of World War I." In *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer, 279–309. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- Scheidl, Inge. 2014. *Rolf Geyling (1884–1952). Der Architekt zwischen Kriegen und Kontinenten*. Vienna: Bohlau Verlag.
- Scheipers, Sibylle. 2011. "The Status and Protections of Prisoners of War and Detainees." In *The Changing Character of War*, edited by Hew Strachan and Sibylle Scheipers, 394–409. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2015. *Unlawful Combatants. A Genealogy of the Irregular Fighter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schirks, Rhea. 2002. *Die Marten'sche Klausel. Rezeption und Rechtsqualität*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

- Schlotterbeck, John T., Wesley W. Wilson, Midori Kawaue, and Harold A. Klingensmith. 2019. *James Riley Weaver's Civil War: The Diary of a Union Cavalry Officer and Prisoner of War, 1863–1865*. Ashland, OH: Kent State University Press.
- Schmitt, Carl. 1985. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Schreinert, Anton. 1920. *Die Kriegsgefangenen-Handelsschule in Beresowka (Sibirien)*. Aussig (Ústí nad Labem), Germany: Tuch.
- Schudnagies, Christoph. 1994. *Der Kriegs- und Belagerungszustand im Deutschen Reich während des Ersten Weltkrieges: Eine Studie zur Entwicklung und Handhabung des deutschen Ausnahmestandsrechts bis 1918*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Schurz, Peter. 1986. *Sigmund Mathias Schiffler: Architekt 1889–1944*. Klagensfurt: Self-published.
- Schutzbier, Heribert. 2010. *Edmund Adler—Kriegsdienst und Gefangenschaft im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz*. Stixneusiedl, Austria: Ecker KG.
- Semchuk, Sandra, and Jen Budney. 2018. *The Stories Were Not Told: Canada's First World War Internment Camps*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Seto Takehiko. 2011. "Nijūyonmei no furyo shūyōjochō." *Chintaosen doitsushei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 9 (December), 91–104.
- Shimazu, Naoko. 2009. *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2014. "Views from the Trenches: New Year's Truce, Bloody Sunday and Japanese Attitudes towards the 1905 Revolution in Russia," *Horizons* 5: 2 (2014): 194–208.
- Short, John Phillip. 2012. *Magic Lantern Empire: Colonialism and Society in Germany*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Silkenat, David. 2019. *Raising the White Flag: How Surrender Defined the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Simpson, Alfred William Brian. 1994. *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention without Trial in Wartime Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Skran, Claudena. 1995. *Refugees in Interwar Europe: The Emergence of a Regime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smith, Ian R., and Andreas Stucki. 2011. "The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868–1902)." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 38: 417–37.
- Sondhaus, Lawrence. 2011. *World War I: The Global Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Speed, Richard Berry. 1990. *Prisoners, Diplomats, and the Great War: A Study in the Diplomacy of Captivity*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Spoerer, Mark. 2006. "The Mortality of Allied Prisoners of War and Belgian Civilian Deportees in German Custody during the First World War: A Reappraisal of the Effects of Forced Labour." *Population Studies* 60: 121–36.
- Springer, Paul J., and Glenn Robins. 2015. *Transforming Civil War Prisons: Lincoln, Lieber, and the Politics of Captivity*. New York: Routledge.
- Steinmetz, George. 2009. "Qindao as a Colony: From Apartheid to Civilizational Exchange." An unpublished paper prepared for the Johns Hopkins Workshops in Comparative History of Science and Technology, "Science, Technology

- and Modernity: Colonial Cities in Asia, 1890–1940,” Baltimore, January 16–17, 2009.
- Steuer, Kenneth. 2014. “German Propaganda and Prisoners of War during World War I.” In *World War I in Propaganda*, edited by Troy R. E. Paddock, 155–80. Leiden: Brill.
- Stevenson, David. 2017. *1917: War, Peace and Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stibbe, Matthew. 2004. “A Community at War: British Civilian Internees at the Ruhleben Camp in Germany, 1914–1918,” In *Uncovered Fields. New Approaches in First World War Studies*, edited by Jenny MacLeod and Pierre Purseigle, 79–94. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2006. “The Internment of Civilians by Belligerent States during the First World War and the Response of the International Committee of the Red Cross.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 41: 5–19.
- . 2008a. *British Civilian Internees in Germany: The Ruhleben Camp, 1914–1918*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- . 2008b. “Civilian Internment and Civilian Internees in Europe, 1914–20.” *Immigrants and Minorities*, 26: 49–81.
- . 2008c. “Introduction: Captivity, Forced Labour and Forced Migration during the First World War.” *Immigrants and Minorities* 26: 1–18.
- . 2013a. “Ein globales Phänomen: Zivilinternierung im Ersten Weltkrieg in transnationalen und internationalen Dimensionen.” In *Lager vor Auschwitz: Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Christoph Jahr and Jens Thiel, 158–76. Berlin: Metropol.
- . 2013b. “Krieg und Brutalisierung: Die Internierung von Zivilisten bzw. ‘politisch Unzuverlässigen’ in Österreich-Ungarn während des Ersten Weltkriegs.” In *Besetzt, interniert, deportiert: Der Erste Weltkrieg und die deutsche, jüdische, polnische und ukrainische Zivilbevölkerung im östlichen Europa*, edited by Alfred Eisfeld, Guido Hausmann, and Dietmar Neutatz, 87–106. Essen: Klartext.
- . 2018. “The Internment of Enemy Aliens in the Habsburg Empire, 1914–1918.” In *Internment during the First World War*, edited by Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, 61–84. London: Routledge.
- . 2019. *Civilian Internment during the First World War: A European and Global History, 1914–1920*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stiehl, Otto. 1916. *Unsere Feinde: 96 Charakterköpfe aus deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern*. Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann.
- Stoffa, Major Paul. 1933. *Round the World to Freedom: Being the Escape and Adventures of Major Paul Stoffa (of the Hungarian Army)*. London: Bodley Head.
- Stone, Dan. 2017. *Concentration Camps: A Short History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stonebridge, Lyndsey. 2018. *Placeless People: Writings, Rights, and Refugees*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strachan, Hew. 2001. *The First World War: Vol. 1: To Arms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Streets-Salter, Heather. 2017. *World War One in Southeast Asia: Colonialism and Anticolonialism in an Era of Global Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Struck, Hermann. 1917. *Kriegsgefangene: Hundert Steinzeichnungen von Hermann Struck*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen].
- Takahashi Terukazu. 2003. "Samuna Weruzu (Sumner Wells) ni yoru doitsuhei shūyōjo chōsa hōkokusho," *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 1 (December): 3–31.
- . 2005. "Weruzu no chōsa hōkokusho no tenpu zumen." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 3 (September): 108–121.
- Tamura Ichiro. 2004. "Ruddowiggu Vietingu (Ludwig Wieting) no kaisō kara." *Chintaosen doitsuhei furyo shūyōjo kenkyū* 2 (October): 23–40.
- . 2010. *Bandō furyo shūyōjo no zenbō: Shochō Matsue Toyohisa no mezashita mono*. Tokyo: Sakuhokusha.
- Tate, Hazuki. 2015. "Rapatrier les prisonniers de guerre: la politique des Alliés et l'action humanitaire du Comité international de la Croix Rouge (1918–1929)." PhD diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.
- . 2017. "Le comité international de la Croix-Rouge comme architecte du droit international: vers le code des prisonniers de guerre (1929)." *Monde(s): histoire espaces relations* 12, no. 2: 203–20.
- Taylor, Murrell. 2018. *Embattled Freedom: Journeys through the Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Thiel, Jens. 2007. "Menschenbassin Belgien": *Anwerbung, Deportation und Zwangsarbeit im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Essen: Klartext.
- Thilmans, Guy. 2012. *Les sénégalais et la Grande Guerre: lettres de tirailleurs et recrutement (1912–1919)*. Gorée: Éditions du Musée Historique du Sénégal.
- Thorpe, Julie. 2011. "Displacing Empire: Refugee Welfare, National Activism and State Legitimacy in Austria-Hungary in the World War I." In *Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Panikos Panayi and Pippa Virdee, 102–26. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thoß, Bruno. 2012. "Weißer Terror, 1919." In *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*. Accessed December 12, 2018. URL: http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Weißer_Terror_1919.
- Timperley, Harold John, ed. 1938. *Japanese Terror in China*. New York: Modern Age Books.
- Tomita Hiroshi. 1991. *Bandō furyo shūyōjo: Nichidoku sensō to doitsu furyo*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Torpey, John. 2000. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trarore, Mohamet. 2014. *Schwarze Truppen im Ersten Weltkrieg: Zwischen Rassismus, Kolonialismus und Nationalismus*. Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag.
- Tsarëva, Evgeniia Sergeevna. 2012. "Vklad muzykantov-voennoplennykh Pervoï Mirovōi Voïny v razvitie professional'noï muzykal'noï kul'tury Sibiri." *Nepre-ryvnoe Obrazovanie v Sfere Kul'tury* 9: 18–27.
- . 2013. "Vklad voennoplennykh Pervoï Mirovōi Voïny v razvitie professional'noj muzykal'noï kul'tury Sibiri (Na primere Krasnoiarska 1914–1920 gg.)." *Kontsept. Nauchno-Metodicheskiĭ Elektronnyi Zhurnal* 1: 1–12.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Valitov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, and Vadim Sulimov. 2014. "Trud voennoplen-nykh Pervoï Mirovoi Voïny v Tobol'skoï Gubernii." *Izvestiia VUZov, Gumanitarnye Nauki* 3, no. 5: 189–92.
- Van de Ven, Hans. 2017. "The Battle of Shanghai." In *China at War: Triumph and Tragedy in the Emergence of the New China, 1937–1952*, edited by Hans Van de Ven, 75–101. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Van Dijk, Boyd. 2018. "Human Rights in War: On the Entangled Foundations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions." *American Journal of International Law* 112: 553–82.
- Van Galen Last, Dick, Ralf Futselaar, and Marjolijn de Jager. 2016. *Black Shame: African Soldiers in Europe, 1914–1922*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Vance, Jonathan. F. 2006. *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment*, 2nd ed. Mil-lerton, NY: Grey House.
- Vischer, Adolf Lukas. 1919. *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War*. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielson.
- Vu-Hill, Kimloan. 2011. *Coolies into Rebels: Impact of World War I on French Indochina*. Paris: Indes savantes.
- Wachsmann, Nikolaus. 2015. *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*. London: Little, Brown.
- Waiser, Bill. 1995. *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915–1946*. Calgary-Saskatoon: Fifth House.
- Walleczek-Fritz, Julia. 2017. "The Social Degeneration of the Habsburg Home Front: 'Forbidden Intercourse' and POWs during the First World War." *European Re-view of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24: 273–87.
- Wang, Haochen. 2014. "A Cleaner, Better, Stronger Land: The Causes of Anti-Ger-man Riots in Wartime London, 1914–1918." *Great Lakes Journal of Undergradu-ate History* 2: 54–75.
- Watenpugh, Keith David. 2014. *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Watson, Alexander. 2014a. *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary at War, 1914–1918*. London: Allen Lane.
- . 2014b. "'Unheard-Of Brutality': Russian Atrocities against Civilians in East Prussia, 1914–1915." *Journal of Modern History* 86: 780–825.
- Watts, Lori. 2009. *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weiland, Hans, and Leopold Kern, eds. 1931. In *Feindeshand: Die Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege in Einzeldarstellungen*. Vienna: Bundesvereinigung der ehemaligen österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen.
- Weindling, Paul. 2000. *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weingartner, James. 1996. "War against Subhumans: Comparisons between the German War against the Soviet Union and the American War against Japan, 1941–1945." *Historian* 58: 557–73.
- White, Benjamin Thomas. 2019. "Human and Animals in a Refugee Camp: Baquba, Iraq, 1918–20." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 32, no. 2: 216–36.
- Wigger, Iris. 2010. "'Black Shame' The Campaign against 'Racial Degeneration' and Female Degradation in Interwar Europe." *Race and Class* 51: 33–46.

- Wilkin, Bernard. 2016. "Isolation, Communication and Propaganda in the Occupied Territories of France, 1914–1918." *First World War Studies* 7: 229–42.
- Wolf, Arthur. n.d. "Account of His Life to 1920." Arthur Wolf Papers, Folder 4. Leo Baeck Institute Center for Jewish Studies.
- Wolf, Arthur, Papers. Miscellaneous certificates. Documents: 1890–1968. AR 25270. New York: Leo Baeck Institute.
- Wurzer, Georg. 2005. *Die Kriegsgefangenen der Mittelmächte in Rußland im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.
- Wylie, Neville. 2010a. *Barbed Wire Diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010b. "The 1929 Prisoner of War Convention and the Building of the Inter-war Prisoner of War Regime." In *Prisoners in War*, edited by Sibylle Scheipers, 91–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wylie, Neville, and Lindsey Cameron. 2019. "The Impact of World War I on the Law Governing the Treatment of Prisoners of War and the Making of a Humanitarian Subject." *European Journal of International Law* 29: 1327–50.
- Xu, Guoqi. 2014. "Labour (China)." In 1914–1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10389.
- Yanikdağ, Yücel. 1999. "Ottoman Prisoners of War in Russia 1914–1922." *Journal of Contemporary History* 34: 69–85.
- Zaharia, Ionela. 2017. "For God and/or Emperor: Habsburg Romanian Military Chaplains and Wartime Propaganda in Camps for Returning POWs." *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 2: 288–304.
- Zahra, Tara. 2008. *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 2016. *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Zehfuss, Nicole M. 2005. "From Stereotype to Individual: World War I Experiences with Tirailleurs Senegalais." *French Colonial History* 6: 137–57.
- Zhong, Yurou. 2017. "'Sacred, the Laborers': Writing Chinese in the First World War." *Cross-currents* 6: 296–324.
- Ziemann, Benjamin. 2007. *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914–1923*. Translated by Alex Skinner. Oxford: Berg.
- Zimmerer, Jürgen. 2005. "Annihilation in Africa: The 'Race War' in German Southwest Africa (1904–1908) and Its Significance for a Global History of Genocide." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute in Washington* 37: 51–57.
- Zimmerman, Andrew. 2001. *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.