

Chapter 9

The American YMCA and WPA Operations in Austria-Hungary

Christian Phildius remained in charge of YMCA POW operations in Austria-Hungary until the summer of 1916, when Edgar F. MacNaughten arrived. The International Committee appointed MacNaughten to the post of Senior Secretary, and in that capacity he supervised YMCA workers in the Dual Monarchy. He had served on the Army and Navy Department of the International Committee and had extensive Association experience. Part of the American YMCA's strategy to streamline welfare work for prisoners was to establish War Prisoners' Aid organizations in belligerent capitals. Association secretaries worked with committees of national welfare organizations and leading citizens to coordinate welfare programs and make POW work as efficient as possible. The first major WPA organization was set up in Russia in November 1915, and was soon followed by similar organizations in Germany and the Dual Monarchy. The Austro-Hungarian WPA was the most successful of these organizations in gaining official sanction by the imperial government. Under the patronage of Franz Salvator, Archduke of Austria-Tuscany, who served as honorary president, the WPA in the Habsburg Empire grew in importance.

1

This agency became an integral part of the general welfare services of the Austrian and Hungarian Red Cross Societies in the spring of 1916. Baron Markus von Spiegelfeld, President of the WPA Committee of the Austrian Red Cross, quickly embraced the goals of the American YMCA. He used his influence to expand the YMCA's POW activities in Russia and to the Ottoman Empire. MacNaughten was appointed a member of both Red Cross committees, which gave the American YMCA official status in the Dual Monarchy. As a result, the secretaries' privileges in the empire were very liberal, and government officials rarely interfered with their activities. For example, American YMCA secretaries received permission to reside inside Austro-Hungarian prison camps and were allowed unrestricted right of entry, whereas Association secretaries in other countries were normally limited to only a few hours of visitation per day.¹

2

The American YMCA set up Association POW programs in thirty-four prison camps in Austria-Hungary between December 1915 and October 1917 (out of a total of fifty war prisons in the Dual Monarchy). The American Association established POW programs in all of the empire's twenty-eight major prison camps, which included a YMCA hut or barrack and assigned personnel. Fifteen secretaries (all but one Americans) conducted the operations in these prison camps during this time. The International Committee assigned Dr. Julius F. Hecker to assist MacNaughten and supervise the work for Russian POWs. He was born in Petrograd of German-French heritage, and received his education in Russian schools. He kept his German citizenship until he traveled to the United States when he was twenty-one and applied for naturalization. After receiving his doctorate from Columbia University, Hecker directed the Methodist Church Mission for Russians in New York City. His command of Russian, English, and German permitted him to work equally well with Austro-Hungarian officials, POWs, and his

3

fellow American secretaries. The *Kriegsgefangenenhilfe* (War Prisoners' Aid) headquarters were established in Vienna in March 1916 with Jean Schoop, a Swiss secretary, as the initial staff member. Schoop was a German Swiss national with considerable Association experience. From 1902 to 1914, Schoop had been the General Secretary of the German YMCA in Petrograd, and he spoke fluent German, English, and Russian, making him ideal for work in Austria-Hungary. The Vienna office served as the Central Bureau for YMCA POW operations in the Dual Monarchy. Louis P. Penningroth arrived from the United States in March 1916; after initially conducting field work at Braunau-in-Böhmen, MacNaughten reassigned Penningroth to Vienna to coordinate WPA operations from July 1916 to March 1917, when he was scheduled to be transfer to Sofia to become the Senior Secretary for American YMCA POW operations in Bulgaria. Penningroth was assisted in Vienna by Lars Stubbe Teglbjærg, a Danish secretary assigned to the American YMCA POW service, from November 1916 to September 1918. MacNaughten served the as Senior Secretary and oversaw all YMCA operations until his departure shortly before the U.S. declared war on Austria-Hungary.²

The Central Bureau in Vienna worked to maintain daily operations in the prison camps by providing supplies, communications, and personnel as efficiently as possible. Most of the Russian, Serbian, Romanian, and Italian prisoners were poor and lacked education. Their families did not have the resources to send packages to improve their condition, nor could their governments extend much help. As the war dragged on and the Allied blockade of the Central Powers became more effective, living standards for Austro-Hungarian prisoners fell drastically. By 1917, prison rations were limited to cabbage or beef soup, one-quarter loaf of black bread per day, and an occasional small portion of meat for each prisoner. In addition, many POWs were insufficiently clad, especially if they were captured during summer campaigning, and coal became unobtainable. The American YMCA was not set up to conduct physical relief operations, but conditions became so bad that secretaries made every effort to assist welfare agencies and supplement relief supplies. Because of the extensive network the American YMCA had established in the Austro-Hungarian war prison system, the WPA became the distributing agent and cooperated with the majority of welfare organizations such as the Russian Red Cross, the Russian Relief Fund, and Swedish relief organizations. Austro-Hungarian regulations on purchasing food were very strict. Even local markets offered limited supplies. The imperial government refused to forward food parcels to POWs unless they were addressed to individuals. To improve food deliveries, the WPA devised a system to work within these regulations. American YMCA secretaries in Denmark and Switzerland purchased food and shipped the packets to designated prisoners in Austria-Hungary. These POWs then handed over the packages to representatives of the cooperative societies or welfare committees in each camp. The food was then sold at cost or distributed to the most needy. The proceeds from these sales were returned to the YMCA, and this money was used to purchase more food parcels for POWs. The cooperative societies were extremely useful, not only in improving prison camp living standards, but in providing a meaningful outlet for a large number of POWs with time on their hands.³

4

The American YMCA worked with other international relief agencies in providing services for Allied prisoners in the Dual Monarchy. The Crown Princess of Sweden collected and shipped large quantities of food and clothing through the American YMCA. Tsarina Alexandra Feodorovna led the Russian Relief Fund, which collected food, clothing, and money for Russian prisoners incarcerated in Austro-Hungarian prisons. This fund sent *Liebesgaben* (charity gifts), which included items from food and clothing to religious icons. These gifts carried the imperial seal and demonstrated the Russian imperial family's concern for prisoners. These parcels were sent through the YMCA distribution center in Copenhagen to Austria-Hungary. The Russian and Danish Red Crosses also conducted numerous inspection trips of prison camps in the Dual Monarchy. The Red Cross representatives distributed funds through American YMCA secretaries. While the plight of Russian, Italian, and Romanian POWs was great, the Serbian prisoners suffered the most. Because their country ceased to exist after October 1915, the Serbs lost access to support from their families and their government. Association secretaries made impassioned pleas for American citizens to donate generously to help Serbian POWs, and the International Committee placed \$20,000 in credit in Copenhagen to aid the Serbs. As YMCA workers pointed out, these POWs had no one else to turn to, and the interned prisoners would never forget the goodwill offered by American contributors.⁴

5

Despite these works, the combined relief efforts of the Allied governments fell far short of meeting the desperate needs in the Dual Monarchy. The total amount of supplies available for POW relief was minuscule in comparison to the number of war prisoners. By 1917, the Allied blockade had created famine in Central Europe, which directly affected living standards in Dual Monarchy prison camps. The food situation became so critical that by January 1917, the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Red Cross, and the International Committee of the American YMCA (represented by Archibald C. Harte and chaired by John R. Mott) formed the Council of Prisoners of War, with the full approval of the State Department. The objective of this agency was to provide Allied POWs with food, clothing, and medical supplies to supplement their daily rations to survive their imprisonment. Payment for the supplies and the costs of transportation would be borne by the Allied government sending assistance to their captive nationals, while the Rockefeller Foundation paid the administrative costs for the program. In addition, funds normally dispensed by U.S. embassy officials on behalf of belligerent governments would now be distributed by the American YMCA. Planning had proceeded to the point where the Central Powers had accepted all of the British conditions to begin the service, and shipping and distribution networks through neutral ports had been finalized. The relief plan collapsed, however, when the Allies decided to continue to enforce a strict blockade to force the Central Powers to surrender, even though it meant starvation for the millions of Allied POWs in Central Europe as well.⁵

6

The Central Bureau also became a clearinghouse for information about war prisoners in the Dual Monarchy that the organization shared with other WPAs in other countries. In Austria-Hungary, the Central Bureau worked with the Austro-Hungarian Red Cross and the Austrian and Hungarian national YMCA movements to help families contact loved ones in captivity. By

7

exchanging data with WPA organizations in other countries, the American YMCA was able to provide a variety of services. The Association tracked down lost family members who were reported missing or lost and provided prisoners with news from home; it also transferred money to prisoners in Allied camps to help improve their living standards. This POW information bureau became very important for families in Austria-Hungary with relatives in Russian prison camps, easing family suffering by providing them with information about the health and location of their relatives. For the prisoners, contact with home helped reduce their homesickness and improved their outlook on life. The Vienna office worked with several POW organizations, such as the Association of the Families of Krasnoyarsk War Prisoners, to help incarcerated family members through the Association's WPA central office in Petrograd.⁶

With the establishment of official American YMCA relations with the Habsburg government, the International Committee in New York sent secretaries to Austria-Hungary to provide the personnel to conduct the POW program. After the initial Ministry of War agreement to begin operations in two prison camps, reciprocal diplomacy required the introduction of additional secretaries for the Russian, Serbian, Italian, and Romanian POWs. Because Dual Monarchy resources were already stretched thinly by wartime mobilization and the continuing influx of Allied prisoners, Austro-Hungarian authorities soon recognized the value of an American social welfare organization providing relief for POWs. By December 1915, the Ministry of War extended American YMCA access to six additional prison camps and agreed to admit four additional neutral secretaries on the basis of reciprocity. By February 1916, the Ministry of War had permitted the establishment of five more YMCA huts, for a total of thirteen, and agreed to admit nine new neutral secretaries, for a total of thirteen field secretaries. As a result, the International Committee had to scramble to find qualified volunteers to work in the POW field. To be qualified, a volunteer needed a background in the Association program and leadership experience, plus knowledge of German or Hungarian (to communicate with prison officials) and Russian, Serbian, Italian, or Romanian (to work with the prisoners). The language requirement severely restricted the pool of available secretaries.⁷

Braunau-in-Böhmen in Bohemia was the first camp the Austro-Hungarian authorities opened to YMCA workers and the site of the first Association hut in a prison camp in the Dual Monarchy. This prison housed mostly Russian POWs, although many Serbs were also incarcerated in Braunau. The Ministry of War granted permission to begin operations on 11 June 1915, but the development of the WPA program was slow. Due to the lack of skilled workers among the prisoners, construction of the Association hall was delayed. On 19 December 1915, Professor Karl Wilz-Oberlin, president of the Austrian National YMCA Alliance, finally dedicated the opening of the Stokes Pavilion (named after James Stokes, the American benefactor who paid for the facility's construction) with Phildius and other important dignitaries in attendance. Although the building was finished, the first secretary to undertake regular welfare work, Penningroth, did not start until March 1916. Penningroth conducted operations for four months until he was reassigned to the WPA Office in Vienna; he was replaced by Clarence W. Bartz who administered Red Triangle programs from October 1916 until April 1917. The American

YMCA developed an extensive program for the inmates. Penningroth emphasized the musical program. They purchased musical instruments and obtained supplies for prisoners to construct instruments so that the inmates could form an orchestra and a band. Bartz expanded the program after he obtained a gramophone; he introduced concerts for the invalid prisoners recovering in the prison hospital. Through this work, they improved morale and provided entertainment.⁸

The American secretaries also emphasized other aspects of the Association program. Penningroth set up an invalid school where maimed POWs learned to use their new artificial limbs. More importantly, the school taught them a new trade so they could support themselves after they returned home. The Americans established a school in the hospital, offering elementary lessons in reading and writing. They also distributed food, books, and pictures to lift spirits and encourage the wounded to think about the future. The secretaries acquired books to stock the library in the Stokes Pavilion, and organized a dramatic club and theater group. The establishment of a gymnasium helped improve the physical condition of the POWs. The hut also served a religious role, as the Austro-Hungarian *Feldkurat* (military chaplain department) provided services on Sundays and holidays. The secretaries also organized welfare committees among the POWs, which provided an important infrastructure for supporting the Association program. The prisoners supervised the distribution of food parcels and other materials, maintained the school and equipment, and alerted the secretaries to POWs suffering from morale problems, especially homesickness.⁹

10

The most important work provided by the American YMCA at Braunau-in-Böhmen was its program for the boys interned in the camp. As discussed earlier, many Russian and Serbian sons followed their fathers into the army when they were mobilized in 1914. American secretaries found 1,500 boys between the ages of eight and seventeen at Braunau dispersed among the general prison population, without special facilities provided for their well-being and education. Penningroth initially provided a large room in the Stokes Pavilion for their education, and the *Feldkurat* agreed to begin religious instruction for the boys. The Association hut could not, however, accommodate all of the boys. Penningroth made a proposal that included a diagram to John R. Mott for the American YMCA to establish a Boys' Home in Braunau (he estimated the cost would be as little as six cents per boy per day). The Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War supported the proposal, and the International Committee approved the construction of a ten-room schoolhouse.¹⁰

11

The War Ministry reserved eight barracks for dormitories, eating halls, and workshops for the boys. The camp commandant segregated the Russian and Serbian boys from the main prison camp population and Bartz introduced an extensive educational program. They attended other Association functions, such as theater performances, concerts, and movies. Most importantly, secretaries sought to train these boys for the future. The boys learned a trade, such as shoe-making, sewing, or carpentry. The Ministry of War set aside two acres of land for agricultural instruction. Each boy had a plot of land to raise a garden and rabbits, under the supervision of

12

an agricultural expert. This program also expanded the prison's dwindling food supplies. Penningroth also set up an invalid school for boys who had been maimed. This work was so successful that the American YMCA introduced similar services for boys in Wieselburg and Nezsider in 1917. By relieving these boys of the boredom of prison life, educating them, and teaching them a trade, the American YMCA hoped to make them more prosperous subjects and establish the foundations of good-will for Association expansion into their countries after the war.¹¹

The Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War gave permission for the YMCA to begin POW operations in Sopronnyek in Hungary on 5 August 1915. Like Braunau-in-Böhmen, this camp had a predominantly Russian prison population. The American YMCA provided funding for the construction of an Association hut, which was delayed due to the scarcity of skilled prisoner labor. The official building inauguration was celebrated with great fanfare in December 1915. Jean Schoop supervised POW operations after he arrived in July 1916, and remained attached to the camp until the end of the war.¹²

13

During 1915, the Ministry of War also approved the introduction of Association services at Prague and at Brunn-am-Gebirge, Spratzern, and Wieselburg in Lower Austria. The government extended permission to enter Prague and Brunn on May 8, and to begin work in the other two camps on December 14. Theodore F. Schroeder was one of the first two American secretaries to arrive in Austria-Hungary, and he began work in Spratzern in March 1916. He brought a soccer ball as part of his equipment, and found it very useful in helping wounded POWs recover as a means of physical therapy. Soon crippled prisoners competed in soccer games before hundreds of convalescing POWs. Schroeder also introduced musical entertainment for bedridden prisoners. He arranged gramophone concerts with the assistance of a Russian prisoner, who carried the equipment. The YMCA also provided material for classes in reading, writing, and geography, as Schroeder found that most of the prisoners were illiterate. To help the POWs find better employment after the war, Schroeder set up woodcarving and bookbinding classes. The "Y" also sent the POWs at Spratzern playground equipment, which included games such as Russian bowling, croquette, and horseshoes, to help prisoners pass away their idle hours. Another American secretary, Gustav J. Kaletsch, arrived at Spratzern in February 1917 and served at the camp for two months.¹³

14

The prison camp at Wieselburg was one of the largest concentration camps in Austria, housing over seventy thousand men in seven hundred buildings. Hecker began service at Wieselburg in March 1916, and found working in the camp rewarding. The prison authorities welcomed the American secretary and provided the Association with several barracks and a budget of six thousand *Kronen* (\$800). This allowed Hecker to adapt and equip several barracks for Association functions; he set up a church (forty meters by ten meters), which included two small rooms for prayer and meditation. The prisoners modified a large barrack to include a theater, lecture hall, concert hall, school, and library. A third barrack became a cinema after the arrival of a movie projector for educational and entertainment purposes. This barrack was also used

15

by the camp's non-Christian population with the consent of the Christian and non-Christian POWs. With such a large infrastructure, Hecker developed an extensive Association program. The dramatic society staged high-quality productions with the support of the camp's orchestra. Hecker also organized two libraries—one for the guards to relieve their boredom, and the other for the prisoners. He purchased Russian, Polish, Hebrew, and German books in Berlin and Vienna to stock the libraries, although there was always a shortage of Russian texts. Some prisoners even donated their own private books to the general collection. To ease the Russian book shortage, Hecker arranged for the prisoners to produce reprints. This program was especially important, since almost 90 percent of the camp's inmate population temporarily left the prison for work assignments, and they demanded literature for diversion away from the camp. After a book was approved by the camp censor, the POWs could produce a thirty-two-page pamphlet at a cost of six hundred *Kronen* for ten thousand copies. Hecker arranged to have these printings distributed to other prison camps in Germany and Austria-Hungary to help alleviate the book shortage.¹⁴

The prison camp at Wieselburg provided extensive medical services through numerous hospitals and invalid wards for Allied prisoners. Over five thousand POWs in this camp suffered from wounds or illness, and Hecker organized a welfare committee to render assistance. This committee listed prisoners who did not receive help from home and could not work, and the YMCA focused their limited resources on these men. Hecker praised the Austro-Hungarian authorities for their work in fitting amputees with artificial limbs. They built a shop to produce limbs, and outfitted a therapeutic hospital with modern equipment for physical therapy. Dr. Duschak, the chief physician in the trauma department, was a dedicated doctor and worked well with Hecker. The American YMCA provided him with tonics and special drugs. Hecker also worked with Duschak to organize invalid schools where wounded prisoners could learn new trades. Most invalids remained idle, and their condition gradually deteriorated. They were potentially an army of paupers and idlers who would become a strain on their home communities after the end of the war. Through American YMCA funding, wounded soldiers learned new skills and professions and were prepared to return home ready to resume their roles as family providers.

16

Hecker was convinced that service to invalids was the greatest moral and social service the YMCA could render. The major obstacle was finding teachers to staff the invalid school. Hecker found sixteen educators among the POW population, and then surveyed the condition and education levels of the wounded students. An Austro-Hungarian officer provided barracks for the school, and the American YMCA funded the program and obtained the necessary equipment such as benches, machines, and tools for the training program. Hecker began the program with a budget of two thousand *Kronen*, and American contributors sent additional aid. As Hecker pointed out, for a few thousand dollars the YMCA could teach thousands of invalids useful occupations and save them from physical and moral degradation. Hecker's project was so successful that the Austro-Hungarian authorities asked him to visit an invalid institution for wounded Austro-Hungarian soldiers in Vienna. In addition, Hecker helped organize and raise

17

funds for a consumptive hospital in Wieselburg. An Austrian reserve officer-a friend of the YMCA-contributed the initial three thousand *Kronen*, and American contributors augmented the total.¹⁵

Like Braunau-in-Böhmen, Wieselburg had a large number of boys in the general prison population. Hecker assumed charge of the boys between twelve and seventeen. The prison authorities provided two reconstructed barracks, while the YMCA organized a school and apprenticeship program for their training. The War Ministry decided to make Wieselburg the primary center for young Russian POWs. Boys under the age of sixteen interned in other camps in the Dual Monarchy were reassigned to Wieselburg. The camp commandant made Hecker the sole supervisor for the Boys' Department, with full responsibility for their education and living arrangements. The American YMCA funded the program and expanded the facility to include sleeping apartments, dining rooms, a gymnasium, and workshops. Hecker also extended YMCA services to Nezsider in February 1917, including the program for boys.¹⁶

18

By March 1916, American secretaries had begun POW operations in three more prison camps including Hart, in Upper Austria, as well as Purgstall and Neulengbach in Lower Austria. Hecker introduced a full YMCA program at Purgstall, a camp full of Russian prisoners, while Schroeder began operations in Neulengbach. Schroeder was eventually replaced by Kaletsch, who started work in the prison camp by February 1917, for a two-month period. Through the American YMCA, the camp received instruments for a full band, and the secretary organized a chorus. By January 1917, additional barracks were opened for YMCA activities, including a special Christmas celebration. Hecker also established an Association POW program at Hart. In the beginning, the Austro-Hungarian camp administration did not pay too much attention to the secretary's work. Because there had been a dearth of educational and social work in the prison before he arrived, Hecker had immediate POW support. He obtained and rebuilt a large barracks (thirty-five feet by one hundred-fifty feet) within the confines of the prison, as well as a special barrack in the hospital. The American secretary found equipment for these facilities and was able to set up the program at a cost of six thousand *Kronen*. With time and experience, both the camp administrators and prisoners came to appreciate and take pride in their Association. The main hut was dedicated on 15 August 1916, with visitors from the Austro-Hungarian Red Cross and staff officers from the imperial army in attendance. The prisoners made moving speeches at the inauguration, talking about their two years of monotony behind barbed wire. They were slowly dying of spiritual and physical attrition. They planned revenge against their guards as well as escape plans. When life seemed darkest, the Americans arrived as "heavenly messengers," and life in the camp changed. They forgot their sorrows and bitterness, and began building a bridge of mutual accommodation, if not appreciation, between the prisoners and the guards. This was a moving testament to the high value of the Association's POW work. As in Wieselburg, Hecker found a large number of boys in the prison camp at Hart. He arranged to segregate them from the general prison population, and set up a special YMCA school for their education.¹⁷

19

At Neulengbach, a prison with a predominantly Russian POW population, Schroeder found a difficult situation. The prison was divided into six separate divisions, and he had to duplicate YMCA programs for each group. The Association barrack became the center of the POW program, and the commandant made unused barracks available for Association activities. The YMCA hut was used for religious services, and Schroeder worked with the *Feldkurat* to distribute one thousand Gospels, crosses, and icons. 20

The secretary also developed a school system. The first school was set up in the prison hospital, where POWs learned to read and write Russian and German. Advanced classes included arithmetic, woodcarving, and geography. Schroeder recruited teachers from among the Russian prisoners. The education program emphasized teaching wounded POWs who had lost their right arms to learn to write with their left hands. The secretary also set up a school in the main prison camp; the first students were prospective bakers, shoemakers, and tailors. To support these classes, Schroeder set up a library system whereby Russian books that the secretary received could be distributed to each prison group through a central library. For physical work, Schroeder had simple gymnastic equipment (parallel and horizontal bars as well as rings) installed, and provided games including croquet and Russian bowling. He taught the POWs group games to get them in better shape and help them spend their leisure hours more profitably. To provide some entertainment for the inmates, Schroeder acquired some musical instruments and organized a brass band. The band played at theatrical performances, concerts, and funeral services. Kaletsch replaced Schroeder in February and assumed supervision of POW relief programs at Neulengbach for the next two months.¹⁸ 21

The YMCA introduced WPA operations at Braunau-am-Inn in Upper Austria in October 1916 when Amos A. Ebersole, an American WPA secretary, arrived at the camp. Braunau was a large prison camp, housing almost thirty-five thousand Russian, Italian, and Serbian prisoners of war. Tegelbjaerg assisted Ebersole in November 1916 in developing the Red Triangle program in the facility. Ebersole believed his most important contribution to the morale of the prison camp was the Christmas celebrations, a difficult time for men separated from their families. He served at Braunau until April 1917 when he left the Dual Monarchy with the other American secretaries.¹⁹ 22

After negotiations with the Italians, the American YMCA quickly set up POW operations in Mauthausen in Upper Austria. The bulk of the inmates were Italian prisoners, whose totals reached twenty thousand in early 1916. The impetus behind the introduction of Association services was the spread of rumors in Italy about the terrible conditions in Austro-Hungarian prison camps. The Italian government requested that a U.S. official conduct an investigation, and Ambassador Frederic Penfield visited the camp to assess the situation. His report did not reveal any atrocities, but he recommended that the Italian and Austro-Hungarian governments come to an agreement regarding YMCA POW services in the prison camps of both countries. The American YMCA agreed to construct a hut in Mauthausen, and Eberhard Phildius, the son of Christian Phildius, arrived in May 1916 to begin POW operations. He was eventually 23

replaced by an American secretary, Roy Alvan Welker, by January 1917, who remained until April 1917. As in other prison camps, these secretaries set up an extensive educational system with a wide variety of courses. Due to the large number of college students among the Italian prisoners, the YMCA was able to offer university extension classes at Mauthausen. During his inspection trip, Ambassador Penfield also recommended that the American YMCA construct a hut at Katzenau, where fifty thousand Italian civilians were interned. The Association agreed, and arranged with the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War to begin operations by July 1916.²⁰

American YMCA Operations in Hungary

American Association work in Hungarian prison camps expanded tremendously from July to November 1916. Secretaries began operations in seven prisons in July, one camp in September, and another by November. Raymond J. Reitzel began work at Zalägerszeg in July 1916, a prison camp filled with Russian POWs. He found the Austro-Hungarian officers very sympathetic and liberal, which allowed him to establish an extensive POW program. Camp officials allowed prisoners (with special permission) to go out into the fields or factories without guards to learn a trade. Protestant and Catholic POWs attended church services on Sundays outside of camp. Reitzel developed a full Association POW program at Zalägerszeg. In the YMCA barrack, the secretary set up classes for both elementary and advanced students. The Commissary Group organized an alphabet school to teach illiterate POWs simple reading and writing, plus a class for elementary drawing. For more advanced students, classes in painting and drawing started, with the Association providing the materials. Reitzel found three instructors, who began classes in music, languages, and science. Russian officers in particular were very interested in furthering their educations. The secretary also set up a reading and writing school for the officers' orderlies, which included almost one hundred men. Over time, Reitzel gradually assembled a library, which was run by the POWs. In addition, he set up an elementary school in the prison hospital to teach wounded and sick POWs reading, writing, and arithmetic. Reitzel was eventually able to expand the classes to more advanced levels.²¹

24

For the physical side of the Association program, Reitzel organized soccer and other sport matches, which drew large crowds of spectators. He also developed a religious program with the support of the Austro-Hungarian *Feldkurat*, which provided a chaplain. They distributed Russian crosses and icons among the POWs and to members of work parties. Most of the internees in this camp were Russian Orthodox. Reitzel arranged for a separate barrack to be converted into a place of worship; the prisoners constructed a fine wooden altar with icons for their devotional services. Reitzel developed the social side of the Association program as well. He organized a string orchestra in the main camp that gave concerts, both to the general population and in the camp hospital. Reitzel also formed a chorus, with music and instruments provided by the American YMCA. He even found a piano, which he placed at the disposal of a Moscow opera singer who then taught music and assisted with the concert program. For entertainment in the hospital, Reitzel provided a gramophone and a small portable kinescope;

25

prison officials placed a large hall at the secretary's disposal two times a week for performances. For inmates too sick to move, Reitzel organized concerts and kinescope shows for their barracks. He also distributed a large number of games throughout the wards to help the prisoners pass the time during their convalescence.²²

Reitzel also imported the American concept of developing self-help groups to help alleviate welfare problems in the camp. He set up a camp "cabinet," which served as the POWs' administrative agency, and then organized committees to address specific issues. The emphasis of this social relief program was on prisoners' aiding their comrades through their period of confinement. Organized as the "Russian One Year's Volunteers," the POWs adopted policies and implemented changes that improved living conditions in the camp. One committee focused on expanding relief work in the hospitals, especially for the critically ill. They worked in conjunction with the regimental physician to improve conditions, and Reitzel supported their work by providing supplies and equipment, including musical instruments. Through this self-help program, prisoners avoided boredom and inactivity and channeled their interests and energies in a positive direction. From Reitzel's perspective, this relief work had particular rewards for the Association. Not only would Russian prisoners return home after the war with a warm spot for the YMCA in their hearts, which would lay the basis for postwar Association expansion, but several of these men indicated their interest in becoming YMCA secretaries after the war. By recruiting native secretaries, the Association would gain a tremendous advantage in developing future organizations in Russia once the fighting ended.²³

26

The YMCA also began operations in Somorja, Boldogasszonyfa, Dunaszerdahly, Ostffyasszonyfa, and Nagymegyer in Hungary in July 1916. Reitzel established and maintained YMCA POW operations at Ostffyasszonyfa and Somorja until March 1917. World's Alliance secretaries conducted the POW programs at the other three camps. Schoop, a Swiss secretary, started the Association program at Boldogasszonyfa after an inspection trip to the prison in May 1916. This prison was filled with Serbian POWs who were in great need of attention. Schoop set up three YMCA elementary schools to combat the rampant illiteracy. After acquiring a barrack, the secretary modified the building for use with a motion picture theater, lecture hall, reading rooms, and library. He was able to obtain a small library of one hundred books in Serbian, which became the nucleus of the POW library. Schoop also acquired games for the reading rooms. In addition, Schoop divided the lecture room in half and encouraged the guards to use one of the spaces. A soldier's library for the guards began when an officer donated forty Hungarian books to the Association. Schoop maintained YMCA operations in Boldogasszonyfa until the end of the war. Heinrich A. Munger, also a Swiss secretary, supervised Association operations in Dunaszerdahly and Nagymegyer, beginning in June 1916. The first prison camp was composed primarily of Serbian prisoners, while the latter prison was filled with Russian POWs. A few months after his initial work at these camps,

27

Münger instituted YMCA services at Munger, near Nagymegyer, a prison camp for Serbian POWs. Münger continued to serve at these three POW camps for the duration of World War I.²⁴

Another major prison camp in Hungary that was home to an extensive Association operation was Kenyermező, one of the largest in the kingdom. Anthony W. Chez started working in the prison, which had a predominantly Russian POW population, in September 1916. One of his first projects was to open a school constructed by the prisoners. Within a month of the school's opening, Chez reported that it was filled to capacity. He also provided entertainment with a kinetoscope, a performance many POWs had never before seen. He took the machine to the camp hospital where four hundred men crowded in to see shows. Due to the success of these programs, Chez was constantly searching for additional Russian books, especially lesson texts, and a phonograph to expand his entertainment program. Like other secretaries, Chez sought to establish good relations with the camp guards and officials and provide them with YMCA services. He obtained a stock of Hungarian books to loan to officers and guards. He also expanded services into the military hospitals around Kenyermező. Chez took the kinetoscope and gave shows for invalids and convalescents, with five hundred showing up for the first presentation. Because of the popularity of the shows, the chief surgeon requested that the machine remain in the hospital. Chez conducted operations in Kenyermező until he departed in April 1917.²⁵

28

With the arrival of additional American secretaries, the YMCA expanded their POW operations to Bohemia, establishing programs in eight prison camps between July and October 1916. MacPherson H. Donaldson began POW services in Eger and Heinrichsgrün in July, the first composed primarily of Russian and some Serbian prisoners while the latter accommodated Italian POWs. He focused on educational work, especially teaching illiterate Russians to read and write. Donaldson developed an extensive library system in his camps. The American YMCA donated the nucleus of the Russian library, and POWs soon donated the books they had brought with them into captivity. By early 1917, the Russian Red Cross had shipped additional stocks to the library. Books were then distributed through the school, reserve hospital, and to work parties away from camp. For entertainment, Donaldson obtained a gramophone, which he used for concerts, as well as musical instruments, including mandolins, guitars, violins, balalaikas, accordions, and harmonicas. Prisoners could practice and perform every evening, and Caucasian POWs played folk music. The secretary introduced a physical program that included one hundred-man team soccer games and set up parallel bars and other gymnastic equipment.²⁶

29

Donaldson also arranged to have a Greek Orthodox chaplain distribute icons and Russian crosses to POWs as part of religious work for the POWs. The prison doctor recommended that Donaldson use Russian relief money to purchase eyeglasses for needy prisoners. In the reserve hospital, the secretary extended the elementary school with the assistance of Serbian and Russian teachers among the prisoners. Donaldson visited the sick and wounded prisoners

30

and provided them with a gramophone and musical instruments (balalaikas and mandolins). Donaldson remained at these prison camps until the American secretaries departed the Dual Monarchy in April 1917.²⁷

One interesting note to Donaldson's work in Eger is that he developed schools specifically for Georgian and Tartar prisoners. At the Georgian School, conducted in a mess barrack, 388 students worked on Georgian and Russian studies. The Tartar School was larger and met in several barracks. Students focused on Tartar, German, Russian, mathematics, geography, and other subjects. The American YMCA provided the primers and equipment for both schools. While the curricula did include Russian, Donaldson clearly sought to maintain and develop national aspirations as well, one of the principles espoused by Woodrow Wilson. Whether Russian authorities would have supported these schools without qualification is questionable, and the Austro-Hungarians may have been promoting these institutions for their own reasons. Both the Allies and Central Powers attempted to recruit sympathizers from among the prisoner ranks, and post-war Austro-Hungarian foreign policy would have welcomed future nationalist leaders returning to the Caucasus and Russian steppes to undermine Russian power.²⁸

31

Expansion of American WPA Service in Austria

Another American secretary, William E. Lauterbach, began POW work in four Bohemian prison camps beginning in October 1916. He set up operations at the officers' prison camp at Brůx (in the vicinity of Eger) and in the enlisted men's camps at Deutsch-Gabel, Reichenberg, and Theresienstadt. Chez took over the POW work at Brůx for two months in February 1917, but Lauterbach continued at the other three prisons until April 1917. Clarence W. Bartz entered the POW field in the Dual Monarchy at the same time as Lauterbach. He set up Association programs at Josefstadt, a prison for Italian POWs, in October 1916 and maintained operations in the prison camp until April 1917. Chez initiated WPA services at Milowitz in September 1916 and coordinated YMCA activities with Bartz until the spring of 1917. The YMCA eventually established POW services at Plan, in Bohemia, in December 1917, but this work was carried out by the World's Alliance of YMCAs, as the American Association had withdrawn its personnel from the Dual Monarchy eight months earlier.²⁹

32

The American YMCA also sent Amos Ebersole to begin POW work at Grödig in Salzburg in October 1916. Ebersole had considerable YMCA experience in the U.S. as a college secretary and developed a plan of organization at Grödig similar to the one used in College Associations. He organized prisoners into ten committees: welfare; school; library and reading room; music; theater; cinematograph and gramophone; athletics and games; arts; woodcarving and hand-work; and religion. The religion committee included one representative from each of the three major faiths found in the camp: Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Jewish. With administration approval, Ebersole assembled forty Russian students with educations in teaching, art, and music, and they selected the best men to head these committees. The

33

prisoners elected a former schoolteacher and natural leader as the general secretary to assist Ebersole, and the Austrian officer appointed by the commandant as camp secretary demonstrated a genuine interest in the welfare work. The three secretaries (Ebersole, the general secretary, and the camp secretary) formed a "cabinet" with the ten committee leaders. This group met in the Association's barrack office every Monday evening to plan out work for the upcoming week. This cabinet represented an interesting example of democracy and self-help welfare at work.³⁰

The welfare committee visited the hospital barracks every Sunday afternoon and gave short musical performances, either with the gramophone or the balalaika orchestra. The committee's primary goal was to determine which prisoners were in the greatest need, and then improve their condition through personal counsel and cheer. Most attention was focused on the invalids and sick POWs in the hospital. Committee members distributed shipments of cocoa, chocolate, and biscuits systematically among the patients most in need, as designated by the prison doctor. When the intended recipients of *Zwieback* shipped from Russia could not be found, the committee placed these shipments at the disposal of the welfare committee. On Sunday afternoons, each patient received a piece of milk chocolate in lieu of hot cocoa. Ebersole always accompanied this committee on its rounds when he was in the camp. To entertain confined patients, the committee arranged weekly moving picture shows. The music committee helped out the welfare committee in these efforts. The balalaika orchestra furnished music for most events. Until winter weather set in, the committee gave shows every Wednesday evening for the lame, halt, and blind. An important element of the welfare committee was the "petition bureau." Every evening, several members of the committee met in the reading room of the Association hut to hear complaints or talk to prisoners about their personal needs. Although specific desires could often not be readily met, many petitioners were comforted simply by having their requests heard. Urgent cases were immediately reported to the camp secretary and carried to the commandant for his assistance. Committee members also distributed Russian relief packages in the prison camp, shipped via the YMCA office in Copenhagen. Funding for the welfare committee came through the members of the camp Association. A total of 246 members paid ten *Kronen* each for the initial capital to pay for supplies. To raise additional revenue, a part of the school barracks was remodeled to make a "Society and Tea Hall." Committee members purchased two large heaters for hot water, and Ebersole used special funds received from Honolulu to purchase special glasses, saucers, and spoons for the project. Hot tea was then sold at a price that even the poorest prisoner could afford but that still covered costs. For the neediest POWs, the committee planned to distribute tickets for a free cup of tea.³¹

34

The other committees were equally ambitious. The library and reading room committee amassed a library of over two thousand books, and established a bookbindery to keep the books in circulation. The school committee offered classes ranging from basic alphabet courses to advanced Russian and arithmetic, algebra, geometry, bookbinding, and German. The arts department obtained separate quarters for their classes for drawing and painting.

35

Three instructors taught a variety of art courses. The theater committee presented Russian and Ukrainian plays, as well as a fortnightly moving picture show. To cover the costs of costumes and other expenses, the committee charged a small admissions price for some of the seats. One of the most popular organizations was the music committee. These members formed three music organizations: a Russian balalaika orchestra (fifteen pieces); a Russian military band (twenty-nine pieces); and a choir of twenty-nine voices. Both the band and orchestra played at theater and motion picture shows. The music committee also presented a short musical program of Russian and Polish folk songs in the reading room every evening, which became very popular with the prisoners. The choir took a leading part in the Russian Orthodox religious services on Sunday mornings and during the Christmas holidays. All of the committees pooled their resources for the January 1917 Christmas festivities. Ebersole obtained a large Christmas tree, which the POWs set up and decorated in the theater. The American YMCA collected Christmas presents, including a package of tobacco from the commandant and sweets from the YMCA for each prisoner. Ebersole found the Christmas celebrations the most rewarding part of his career because he was able to address needy men in the true spirit of brotherhood. Both guards and prisoners could join together in a common cause, forgetting their wartime animosities.³²

The American YMCA set up operations in four additional prison camps in Upper Austria and Lower Austria in October 1916. Ebersole began POW services at Marchtrenk and Aschbach in Upper Austria in October 1916 maintained the work in these camps until April 1917. During an initial inspection tour, MacNaughten and Ebersole found 160 Serbian cadets at Aschbach who had been students before the war. The commandant permitted Ebersole to begin a special program for these cadets, and the Central Office in Vienna sent equipment and books to begin instruction for the POWs under Serbian teachers. Since most of the cadets read several languages, the Association sent German, French, and English books as well as Serbian literature to Aschbach. The "Y" also dispatched scientific texts for engineering students. Classes for these students began in April 1917 and included instruction in German, French, Italian, English, bookkeeping, and mechanical drawing. Activities were not limited simply to course work-the students formed an orchestra and a glee club, and they arranged programs for vocal and instrumental music. Ebersole encouraged these cadets to use this opportunity to work to improve themselves.³³

36

Roy Welker began Association work at Kleinmünchen in Upper Austria in January 1917 and supported the WPA services in this camp until April 1917. Gustav Kaletsch inaugurated operations in Siegmundsherberg in Lower Austria in March 1917 and supervised Red Triangle programs for through the following month. By March 1917, the International Committee was prepared to send two new American secretaries to the Dual Monarchy, Henry J. Moeller and Richard Siegfried Schwedler.³⁴

37

While American YMCA field secretaries developed War Prisoners' Aid programming in Austria-Hungary, the World's Alliance introduced and expanded relief services to Allied prisoners in Bulgaria. The impoverished conditions in this kingdom, as the result of three wars over a three-year period, made WPA operations a critical priority for Entente POWs languishing in Bulgarian prison camps.

Notes:

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Note 2: "Austria," 37-38; Edgar MacNaughten, "Austria-Hungary: For Prisoners of War," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1916): 34-35; "American Secretaries of Prisoner of War Aid and Other Work of the Young Men's Christian Associations," 16 March 1917. Box X391: "War Work Y.M.C.A., 1914-1918: World's Committee, Geneva." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid Y.M.C.A.-Lists of Secretaries/Instructions for Secretaries, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva; Jean Schoop, "Bericht von Jean Schoop über seine Arbeit im Dienst der 'Kriegsgefangenenhilfe,'" 20 March 1916, Vienna, 1-3. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria: Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Sopronnyek, Boldeegasszony, Zalägerseztg,

Ostiffiaszonyfa, Somorja, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva; Max Wilhelmi to K.u.K. Kriegsministerium, 27 June 1917, Vienna, 11. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva; "American Secretaries in Prisoner of War Aid and Other Work of the Y.M.C.A.," 24 November 1916, 1. "American Secretaries of Prisoner of War Aid and Other War of the Young Men's Christian Associations," 16 March 1917, 12-13. Box X391: "War Work Y.M.C.A., 1914-1918: World's Committee, Geneva." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid Y.M.C.A. -Lists of Secretaries/Instructions for Secretaries, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

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Note 4: Julius F. Hecker, "Wieselburg and Harth, Austria," 35; Amos A. Ebersole, "A Model College Association in Camp Groedig," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 June 1917): 34; and Edgar F. MacNaughten, "In Hospitals and Among Boys," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 June 1917): 30-31.

Note 5: International Committee, Report of the International Committee of the YMCAs to the Fortieth International Convention at Detroit, Michigan, November 19-23, 1919 (New York: Association Press, 1919), 135-36; International Committee, "International Committee, Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1917-1924," 17 February 1917, New York. International Division, International Committee Box. American YMCA Archives, Minneapolis, MN; Archibald C. Harte to John R. Mott, 9/22 January 1917, Petrograd. Armed Services Records Box AS-21, War Work 1914-1918. American YMCA Archives, Minneapolis, MN; Conrad Hoffman to John R. Mott, December 1916, *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 July 1917): 46; and Archibald C. Harte, 2 April 1917, Stockholm. John R. Mott Papers, Box 38, Folder 701. Yale School of Divinity, New Haven, CT.

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Note 7: Christian Phildius, "Telegrams," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 January 1916): 41; Christian Phildius, "Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 January 1916): 41-42; Karl Fries and Christian Phildius, "Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (15 April 1916): 34-35; and "Austria," 37-38.

Note 8: "Opening of the Association at Braunau in Bohemia: The Prisoners at the Right Are Servians, Those at the Left Are Russians. Professor Wilz-Oberlin, the President of the Austrian National Alliance, Is Bareheaded in the Center. Mr. Christian Phildius, Secretary of the World's Committee, Is Standing in the Angle of the Walk," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms*, 1 (15 April 1916): 42A; and Clarence W. Bartz, "Russian Camps in Austria," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms*, 2 (1 June 1917): 40.

Note 9: Christian Phildius, "Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary," 41; Karl Fries and Christian Phildius, "Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary," 34-35; Louis P. Penningroth, "At Braunau," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 July 1916)" 42; Clarence W. Bartz, "At Braunau," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 February 1917): 44; Clarence W. Bartz, "Russian Camps in Austria," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1917): 40; Louis P. Penningroth, "A Practical Life-Saver in a Prison Camp," *Association Men* 43 (September 1917): 17-18; C. W. Barth [sic], "Report for October 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau i Böhmen," circa November 1916, 1-3. G. Bertz [sic], "Report of November and December 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau in Böhmen," circa January 1917, 1. Amos A. Ebersole, "Weihnachtsbericht von Jahre 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau a/Inn," circa December 1916, 1-4. C. W. Bartz, "A Review of Our Work in Braunau, Böhmen. October 1916-April 12, 1917," circa April 1917, 1-4. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria, Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Aschbach, Grödig, Braunau, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva; and C. W. Bartz, "October Report of the Association Work in the Camp at Braunau i. B.," circa November 1916, 1-3. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "Austria: Reports and Exhibits: Work in Prison Camps." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

Note 10: Louis P. Penningroth, "Young Boys in the Prison Camps," 41-42; Clarence W. Bartz, "At Braunau," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms*, 2 (1 February 1917): 44; and Edgar MacNaughten, "In Hospitals and Among Boys," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms*, 2 (1 June 1917): 31.

Note 11: Louis P. Penningroth, "At Braunau," 42; Louis Philip Penningroth, "Young Boys in the Prison Camps," 43; "Austria-Hungary: For Prisoners of War," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 February 1917): 40-41; Edgar F. MacNaughten, "In Hospitals and Among Boys," 31; "Citizens of a New Europe in the Making: These Are Some of the Boys Gathered from the Camps and Segregated in a School Compound Apart from Other Prisoners," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 June 1917): 26C; "2,000 Servian Boys at Braunau,

Austria, Are Receiving Special Food and Care through the Association," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1917): 40A; Louis P. Penningroth, "A Practical Life-Saver in a Prison Camp," 18; C. W. Barth [sic], "Report for October 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau in Böhmen," circa January 1917, 1. G. Bertz [sic], "Report of November and December 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau in Böhmen, circa January 1917. Clarence W. Bartz, "At Braunau," 44; Clarence W. Bartz, "Russian and Servian Boys in Austria," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms*, 2 (1 November 1917): 43; Clarence W. Bartz, "Russian Camps in Austria," 40; C. W. Bartz, "A Review of Our Work in Braunau, Böhmen. October 1916-April 12, 1917," circa April 1917, 1-4. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, Y.M.C.A., 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria, Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Aschbach, Grödig, Braunau, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

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Note 13: "The Association Hall in the Camp at Spratzern," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 July 1916): 40B; "Prisoner-of-War Camp at Spratzern, Austria: The Russian Prisoners Quartered Here Number 37,000," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 July 1916): 40B; Theodore Schroeder, "Spratzern," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1917): 38; and Gustav J. Kalestsch, "Report for the Months of March and April 1917. War Prisoners Camp Spratzern," circa May 1917, 1. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria: Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Milowitz, Spratzern, Seigmundsherberg, Nagymegyer, Dunaszerdahely, Kenzermezö, Kleinmünchen, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

Note 14: Julius F. Hecker, "For Prisoners of War: Wieselburg-Camp of 57,000," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 1 (31 July 1916): 38; and "Prisoners Cheered at an Entertainment," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 February 1917): 26F.

Note 15: Julius F. Hecker, "For Prisoners of War: Wieselburg-Camp of 57,000," 40-41; "Opening Association Building (Second from Left) at Wieselburg: Among These Prisoners Are Some Five Thousand Permanently Crippled," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 February 1917): 26G; and Julius F. Hecker, "Wieselburg and Harth, Austria," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 November 1916): 35.

Note 16: Julius F. Hecker, "Wieselburg and Harth, Austria," 35; "One of the Class Rooms at Wieselburg," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 February 1917): 26G; and Edgar MacNaughten, "In Hospitals and Among Boys," 31.

Note 17: Julius F. Hecker, "Wieselburg and Harth, Austria," 37; "Opening of the Association Building at Harth: The Insets Above and on the Opposite Page Show a Few of the Thousand and More Boys Recently Segregated from the Men's Camp and Organized for Educational Work," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 2* (1 February 1917): 26F; Louis P. Penningroth, "A Practical Life-Saver in a Prison Camp," 18; and Julius F. Hecker, "Bericht über die Monate November, Dezember bis 15 Januar 1917. Distrikt Wieselberg-Hart-Purgstall," circa January 1917, 16. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: Various Camps. World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

Note 18: Theodore Schroeder, "Extracts from Secretaries' Letters," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms 1* (31 July 1916): 41.

Note 19: Amos A. Ebersole, "Weihnachtsbericht von Jahre 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Braunau a/Inn," circa December 1916, 1-4. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, Y.M.C.A., 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria, Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Aschbach, Groedig, Braunau, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

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Note 21: Edgar MacNaughten, "Austria-Hungary: For Prisoners of War," 35; Raymond J. Reitzel, "A Social Community in Miniature," 41; Raymond J. Reitzel, "Secretaries in the Making," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1917): 44; Raymond J. Reitzel, "Report for September and October 1916. Kriegsgefangenenlager Zalägerszeg, Hungary," circa November 1916, 1. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "Austria: Reports and Exhibits: Work in Prison Camps." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva; and Raymond J. Reitzel, "Report: Prisoners of War Camps Zalägerszeg Ostfiaszonyfra, Somorja, January, February, and March 1917," April 10, 1917, Vienna, 1-5. Box X391.2: "War Prisoners' Aid, YMCA, 1914-1918: P.O.W. Camps in Austria-Reports." Folder: "War Prisoners' Aid in Austria: Reports from P.O.W. Camps: Sopronnyek, Boldogasszony, Zalägersezig, Ostfiaszonyfa, Somorja, 1914-1918." World's Alliance of YMCAs Archives, Geneva.

Note 22: Edgar MacNaughten, "Austria-Hungary: For Prisoners of War," 34; and Raymond J. Reitzel, "A Social Community in Miniature," 41-42.

Note 23: Raymond J. Reitzel, "A Social Community in Miniature," 42; Raymond J. Reitzel, "Secretaries in the Making," 44; and Raymond J. Reitzel, "A Token of Appreciation," *For the Millions of Men Now Under Arms* 2 (1 November 1917): 44.

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