

Post Civil War End Notes

1. This article was written by S/A Wayne Goldstein, Naval Criminal Investigative Service.
2. Jeffrey M. Dorwart, *The Office of Naval Intelligence, The Birth of America's First Intelligence Agency, 1865-1918*, 1979, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
4. Thomas F. Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the CIA*, Frederick, MD, 1981, p. 8.
5. *Ibid.* p. 120.
6. 38 Stat 770. Enabling legislation was also passed three days later to provide for raising volunteer forces as needed "in time of actual or threatened war." See: Stat 347-51.
7. Memo Chief of Staff for TAG, 3 Mar 1914. This crippling restriction against crossing the border was not lifted until after General Pershing's Punitive Expedition had entered Mexican territory in 1916.
8. 38 Stat 514-16.
9. See "Report of the Signal Officer," *War Department Annual Reports, 1913*, I, p. 781.
10. The latter item had recently received its first boost since 1903, in the meager form of an increase from \$10,000 to \$11,000 for FY 1915.
11. Memo, Chief of War College Division for Chief of Staff, 3 May 1915.
12. *Ibid.*
13. A German sabotage campaign at impeding the flow of munitions and supplies from America to the Allied powers was in full swing at this time. See: Henry Landau, *The Enemy Within*, New York, 1937.
14. Maj. Gen. Otto L. Nelson, Jr., *National Security and the General Staff*, Washington, 1946, pp. 145-147.
15. Telegram Squire to AG for McClernaud, 14 December 1912.
16. Memorandum from Col. Biddle to Col. Hughes, 9 February 1914, and Memorandum from Col. Biddle to Chief of Staff, 27 April 1914.
17. Memorandum from Brig. Gen. Macomb for Chief of Staff, 3 August 1914. Nevertheless, Lt. Col. George O. Squier, the American Military Attache in London, was allowed to visit the British Army in France as an official military observer from 16 November 1914 to 2 January 1915.
18. Memorandum from Brig. Gen. Charles G. Treat, Acting Chief of War College Division, to Chief of Staff, 14 November 1916.
19. War Division memorandum 14 November 1916.
20. Letter, Chief, Military Mission, Paris to Chief, War College Division, 29 December 1916.
21. James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, New York, 1932, pp. 562-63.
22. "Report of the Chief of Staff," *War Department Annual Reports, 1916*, I, p. 187.
23. From August 1911 to July 1914, Maj. Ryan had been an associate professor of modern languages at the United States Military Academy. He was replaced as Expedition Intelligence officer by Capt. (later Lt. Col.) W.O. Reed, 6th Cav, on 30 April 1916.
24. Van Deman, R.H. (Maj. Gen.), Memorandum, 8 April 1949.
25. "Report of the Chief of Staff," *War Department Annual Reports, 1916*, I, p. 201.
26. Letter, Pershing to Commanding General Southern Department, 27 March 1916, subject: Preliminary Report of Punitive Expedition.
27. Capt. Nicholas N. Campanole, "Report Covering Operations of United States Punitive Expedition, Intelligence Section, 15 March 1916-5 February 1917."

- Capt. (later Col.) Campanole succeeded Capt. W.O. Reed as Expedition Intelligence Officer, effective 10 October 1916, and then remained in that capacity until the withdrawal of the force from Mexico on 5 February 1917.
28. Harry Aubrey Toulmin, *With Pershing in Mexico*, Harrisburg, 1935, pp. 85-88. This turned out to be the last time that the US Army employed a regular Indian Scout unit in its field operations.
 29. Van Deman memorandum, 8 April 1949.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Comment, Brig. Gen. H.H. Macomb for Chief of Staff, 21 June 1916, attached to Van Deman "Historical Sketch."
 32. Three years earlier, in compliance with a formal request from Secretary of War Stimson, the General Staff had prepared a full report on "The Organization of the Land Forces of the United States," which recommended several specific military reforms regarding the effective mobilization of American manpower. As soon as Woodrow Wilson became President in 1912, however, this so-called "Stimson Plan" was pigeonholed. See: "Report of the Secretary of War," *War Department Annual Reports*, 1912, pp. 69-128.
 33. "Report of the Chief of Staff," *War Department Annual Reports*, 1916, p. 155.
 34. "Report of the Secretary of War," *War Department Annual Reports*, 1915, pp. 22-23. This plan was generally known as the "Continental Army Plan."
 35. Memo from Chief, War College Division for Chief of Staff, 11 December 1916.
 36. Written by Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Sadler. This article appeared in *The Americas*, Volume XXXIX, July 1982, Number 1. Used with the permission of the authors.
 37. *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1915* (Lincoln, 1967).
 38. Robert Ryall Miller, *Arms Across the Border: United States Aid to Juarez During the French Intervention in Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp.7, 32, 38.
 39. Francisco Almada's *La rebelion de Tomochi* (Chihuahua, 1938) is the standard source for the insurrection. Also see the U.S. v Victor L. Ochoa, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, No. 893 and District Court, El Paso, nos. 4,8,7,6,5,1009, 1024, all in FRC-FW. See also Yolanda Guaderrama Alexander, "Las Palomas: Years of Turmoil, 1893-1917" (Graduate Seminar Paper, Department of History, New Mexico State University, 1974), pp. 7-16.
 40. U.S. v. Leocardio B. Trevino et al., U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 83, and District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, No. 1361. See also U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, nos. 100, 156, 88, 117, 101. Additional details are available in National Archives, Numerical and Minor Files of the Department of State, Microcopy M-862, roll 429, file nos. 5026 and 5028; and Richard Estrada, *Border Revolution: The Mexican Revolution in the Ciudad Juarez/El Paso area, 1906-1915*, (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, at El Paso, 1975), pp. 38-44.
 41. Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler, "The 1911 Reyes Conspiracy: The Texas Side," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April, 1980), pp 325-348.
 42. For a study of United States arms policy see Harold Eugene Holcombe, "United States Arms Control and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1924," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1968), pp.26-33. The Madero government's use of the British Foreign Office in persuading Taft to ban the exportation of munitions to the Orozquitas can be found in: Lord Codry telegram to the British Ambassador in Washington James Bryce, March 12, 1912; Cowdry to Bryce, March 13, 1912; Cowdry to Enrique Creel, March 12, 1912; and Foreign Office minute of March 13, 1912, all in Foreign Office 115/1683, British Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London. See also Peter Calvert, *The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1914: The Diplomacy of Anglo-American Conflict* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 108-109.
 43. Ironically, the Rangers, whose strength had been more than doubled (15-43) in October, 1911 at federal expense to pacify the Texas border had been reduced to their former numbers by late January, 1912, because the border appeared peaceful. Senate Document no. 404, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, 1912). During the Orozco rebellion, after first being ordered not to assist Federal officials in the enforcement of the neutrality laws, they generally worked closely with the Bureau of Investigation. See Texas Governor O.B. Colquitt to Adjutant General Henry Hutchings, February 2, 1912, Walter Prescott Webb Papers, vol. 18, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin. Also see Monthly Returns Company A, March, April and June, 1912 and Company B, February, May and June, 1912,

Texas Ranger Archive, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

44. The key word in the statement is blatant. As is well known, the British Secret Intelligence Service operated on a rather large scale in the United States during both World War I and II; however, they were rather more discreet. See for example, H. Montgomery Hyde, *Room 3603: The Story of the British Intelligence Center in New York during World War II* (New York, 1963) and William Stephenson's somewhat sensationalized *A Man Called Intrepid: The Secret War* (New York, 1976).
45. H.A. Thompson to S.W. Finch, April 21, 1912, National Archives, Federal Bureau of Investigation (hereafter cited as BI), Record Group 65, microcopy, no number, roll 1; See also Edward Tyrell to Chief, U.S. Secret Service, September 26, 1912, National Archives, Microcopy no. 3, 157, Record Group 87, Records of the U.S. Secret Service, Daily Reports of Agents, 1875 through 1936, Daily Report, March 1, 1912, BI, roll 2.
46. F.H. Lancaster report, March 1, 1912, BI, roll 2.
47. Testimony of James G. McNary, Vice-President, First National Bank of El Paso, who stated that \$500,000 was involved, *Revolutions in Mexico: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*. 62nd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, 1913), 169; Felix Sommerfeld who should have known gave the figure as being between \$600,000 and \$700,000, *Ibid.*, 437. Two stories, emanating from officials of the Huerta government in 1913, cite Llorente's expenditure as being \$283,943 and another account states that \$150,000 was spent. See *El Paso Morning Times*, June 3, and July 21, 1913.
48. See the Sommerfeld file. Military Intelligence Division (hereafter cited as MID), National Archives, Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, MID, 9140-1754; Sommerfeld's testimony in *Revolutions in Mexico*, pp. 387-447. Also see Michael C. Meyer, "Villa, Sommerfeld, Columbus y los alemanes." *Historia Mexicana* 28 (April-June 1979), pp. 546-566.
49. I.J. Bush, *Gringo Doctor* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), pp. 183-186, 226; William H. Beezley, *Insurgent Governor: Abraham Gonzalez and the Mexican Revolution in Chihuahua* (Lincoln, 1973), pp. 33-69.
50. L.E. Ross reports, March 1 and 9, 1912, BI, roll 2.
51. Lancaster reports, March 1 and 9, 1912, roll 2 and March 4, 5, 6, 8, 1912, roll 1; Ross report, March 19, 1912, roll 1; Thompson to Finch, March 3, 1912, roll 1; Thompson, April 19, 1912, BI roll 1; C.D. Hebert to Finch, April 29, 1912, roll 1; Hebert reports, May 5, 8, 14, 15, 1912, roll 2 all in BI; For example, see the Thiel Agency's reports, entitled "Revolutionary Information," March 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, April 2, 4, 8, 10, 22, and 28, BI, roll 1. For the Thiel Agency's reports to the Mexico Northwestern, see Revolutionary Information," October 22, 1912, John H. McNeely Collection, Box 13, Packet "Misc. 1912-1914," Records of the Mexico Northwestern Railway, Archives, University of Texas at El Paso. For the Thiel Agency's reports to the Mexican government, see Isidro Fabela et al., (eds.) *Documentos historicos de la Revolucion Mexicana*, 27 vols. (Mexico 1964-1973) (hereafter cited as DHRM) VII, pp. 371-375, 391-394, 416-418.
52. Lancaster to Finch, "Personal and Confidential," March 23, 1912, BI, roll 1.
53. Sanche de Gramont, *The Secret War: The Story of International Espionage Since World War II* (New York, 1962), pp. 149-150.
54. Thompson report, June 21, 1912, BI, roll 1; E.M. Blanford report, April 7, 1913, roll 3, both in BI; Manuel Cuesta to Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, March 9, 1912, *DHRM*, VII, 183; Enrique de la Sierra to same, February 24, 1913, *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 78-79.
55. Lancaster reports, March 13, 18, 22, 1912; Ross report, April 24, 1912; Hawkins reports, April 17, 18, 24, 1912; Thiel Agency report, March 27, 1912; and Thompson report, April 19, 1912, all in BI roll 1.
56. Ross reports, March 19, 20, 23, April 5, 23, 1912, roll 1; Hebert report, May 8, 1912, roll 2, all in BI.
57. M.L. Gresh report, October 22, 1912, roll 2; J.W. Vann report, October 28, 1912, roll 3; C.E. Breniman reports, October 25 and 30, November 3, 4, 24, 1912, roll 3, all in BI. Ross's reports to Llorente, dated October 18 and 19, November 1912, are in the Enrique C. Llorente Papers, Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library.
58. Inspector of Consulates to Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, May 14, 1913, *DHRM*, XIV, pp. 229-230; See also Abraham Molina to Jose Maria Maytorena, April 22, 1913, *Ibid.*, XIV, 190; Jose Maria Maytorena to Abraham Molina, May 8, 1913, *Ibid.*, XIV, 221.

- ⁵⁹ U.S. v. Victor L. Ochoa, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, No. 893 and Almada, *La rebellion de Tomochi*, pp. 127-128, 133. The best summary of his revolutionary career is found in the *El Paso Times*, September 20, 1921.
- ⁶⁰ R.L. Barnes reports, June 21-25, 1912, BI, roll 2.
- ⁶¹ Zork Hardware Company Records, Archives, University of Texas at El Paso. In 1912, the firm's name was Krakauer, Zork and Moye's Sucs., Inc. The Company was one of the largest hardware dealers in the Southwest, with assets exceeding \$1,100,000. Although the 1912 account books do not indicate to whom the sales of arms and ammunitions were made, they clearly show that a sizable percentage of the firm's sales for the year were munitions.
- ⁶² *Revolution in Mexico*, 124.
- ⁶³ U.S. v. Robert Krakauer, Castulo Herra, Pascual Arellano, Adolph Krakauer, Victor L. Ochoa, S. Dominguez, G. Gutierrez, Francisco Navarro, Julius Krakauer, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1626. See also U.S. v. Sabino Guaderrama, Avelino Guaderrama, Longino Gonzalez, Isabel Larrazola, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1629.
- ⁶⁴ U.S. v. Shelton-Payne Arms Co., Douglas Hardware Co., W. H. Shelton, John Henry Payne, W.F. Fisher, District Court, Phoenix, FRC-LN, no. c-676; U.S. v. L.D. McCartney, Shelton-Payne Arms Co., W.H. Shelton, John Henry Payne, J.N. Gonzalez, District Court, Phoenix, FRC-LN, no. C-677; U.S. v. Krakauer, Zork & Moye, Julius Krakauer, L.D. McCartney, District Court, Phoenix, FRC-LN, no. C-679.
- ⁶⁵ See cases in footnote 28.
- ⁶⁶ U.S. v. Arnulfo-Chavez, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1081, District Court, El Paso, no. 1590, both in FRC-FW. The Guaderrama clan in El Paso exemplified this type of entrepreneur. For information concerning their activity during this period see, U.S. v. Sabino Guaderrama, Isabel Rangel, Jose Cerros, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1135; U.S. v. Castulo Herrera, Sabino Guaderrama, Avelino Guaderrama, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1070; U.S. v. Sabino Guaderrama, Avelino Guaderrama, Longino Gonzalez, Isabel Larrazola, District Court, El Paso, no. 1629, all in FRC-FW. The Guaderrama were still going strong in 1915, being involved, among other things, in the Huerta conspiracy. See U.S. v. Sabino Guaderrama, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1376, and U.S. v. Victoriano Huerta et al., District Court, San Antonio, no. 2185, both in FRC-FW.
- ⁶⁷ See, for instance, the following cases in U.S. District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW: U.S. v. James McKay, no. 1555; U.S. v. John Thomas, no. 1552; U.S. v. Peter S. Aikin, no. 1553, U.S. v. Francisco M.F. Najera, no. 1560; U.S. v. Allen L. Rogers, no. 1551; U.S. v. Alfredo Guerro, no. 1554; U.S. v. Francisca Molina, no. 1575; U.S. v. Petra Ochoa, no. 1593; U.S. v. Josefina Santa Cruz, no. 1602; U.S. v. Maria Solis, no. 1603.
- ⁶⁸ U.S. v. Fred Freepartner, W.E. Mason, Joe de Lauter, Lou Mullady, Enrique Esparza, Agustin Gallo, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, nos. 1066 and 1067, District Court, El Paso, no. 1598, both in FRC-FW.
- ⁶⁹ U.S. v. John Dickson, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1097, District Court, El Paso, no. 1598, both in FRC-FW.
- ⁷⁰ Testimony of Felix Sommerfeld, *Revolution in Mexico*, pp 427-431; *El Paso Herald*, August 22-23, 1912; *El Paso Morning Times*, July 2, 25, 1912.
- ⁷¹ Ross reports, May 18-22, 1912; Thompson reports, May 21-23, October 3, 18, 21, 1921; Hebert report, May 22, 1912; Harris reports, May 25, 28, 29, June 6, 7, 10, 14, October 13, 18, 1912, all in BI, roll 2; Harris reports, October 27 and 30, November 3, 4, 6, 1912; Gresh report, October 31, 1912; Breniman report, November 13, 1912; Blanford report, November 14, 1912; Harris to A. Bruce Bielaski, November 20, 1912, all in BI, roll 3; U.S. v. Ignacio Salvador Rojas Vertiz, Frank Borbon, T.C. Cabney, Pascual Orozco, Jr., Gonzalo C. Enrile, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1089 and District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, nos. 1628, 1633.
- ⁷² U.S. v. Ignacio Lopez, Salvador Rojas Vertiz, Frank Borbon, T.C. Cabney, Pascual Orozco, Jr., Gonzalo Enrile, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1628.
- ⁷³ Thompson report, June 7, 1912; Barnes report, June 8, 1912; Ross reports, June 8 and 10, 1912, all in BI, roll 2; U.S. v. Castulo Herrera, Ignacio Gutierrez, Eduardo Ochoa, Jesus de la Torre, Ignacio Nunez, U.S. Commissioner, District of New Mexico, Federal Records Center, Denver (hereafter cited as FRC-D), No. 1161, District Court, Santa Fe, FRC-D, no. 85; U.S. v. Ignacio Nunez and Jesus de la Torre, U.S. Commissioner, District of New Mexico, FRC-D, nos. 1024 and 1604, District Court, Santa Fe, FRC-D, no. 1654; U.S. v. Ignacio

Gutierrez, U.S. Commissioner, District of New Mexico, FRC-D, no. 1251.

74. U.S. v. Lazaro Alanis (Jose) Ines Salazar, Roque Gomez, Concepcion Tovar, Marcial Andujos, U.S. Commissioner, District of New Mexico, FRC-D, nos. 1158 and 1268, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, nos. 1158 and 1167, District Court, Santa Fe, FRC-D, no. 84; Thompson reports, August 12 and 14, 1912, BI, roll 2; Ross report, August 14, 1912, BI, roll 2; Barnes report, August 16, 1912, BI roll 2, El Paso *Morning Times*, August 13, 1912.
75. Testimony of Manuel L. Lujan, *Revolutions in Mexico*, pp 296-297; Dispatches from the U.S. Military Attaché, Capt. W.A. Burnside, July 24, 1912, MID 5761-532 and July 24, 1912, MID 5384-16.
76. Francisco I. Madero to Enrique Llorente, May 30, 1912, *DHRM*, VII, 422.
77. Charpentier's testimony in *Revolutions in Mexico*, pp. 447-451, 505-528; McDonald's testimony, *Ibid.*, pp. 680-683; Mahoney's testimony, *Ibid.*, pp. 683-686.
78. Charpentier, Mahoney, and McDonald were tried and acquitted in 1912. See U.S. v. E.L. Charpentier, D.J. Mahoney, Robert McDonald, A Monahan (sic-J.H. Noonan), District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1607; Llorente's case was continued until April 14, 1916, when it was dismissed. See U.S. v. Enrique C. Llorente, R.H.G. McDonald, D.J. Mahoney, J.H. Noonan, E.L. Charpentier, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1650. As an example to the permutations that occurred among border characters, in 1914 Victor L. Ochoa was enlisting men for the Carrancistas, and one of those he enlisted was R.H.G. McDonald. See U.S. v. Victor L. Ochoa, Fred Mendenhall, R.H.G. McDonald, Agustin Pantoja, Ramon Gutierrez, District Court, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1810; U.S. v. E.L. Holmdahl, Victor L. Ochoa, Tandy Sanford, Fred Mendenhall, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1363; U.S. v. Victor L. Ochoa, Tandy Sanford, John Sanford, Fred Mendenhall, Rafael Diaz, R.H.G. McDonald, Jose Orozco, Francisco Rojas, Vicente Carreon, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, FRC-FW, no. 1359.
79. Ernest Knable, Assistant Attorney General to Secretary of State, May 15, 1912, National Archives, Record group 60, Department of Justice (hereafter cited as DJ), file no. 90755-1557; Also see Wickersham to Charles Boynton, May 16, 1912, DJ, 90755-1562 and May 20, 1912, DJ 90755-1565; Charles Boytin to Wickersham, May 17, 1912, DJ, 90755-1564 and June 8, 1912, DJ, 90755-1590; Not until it was obvious that Orozco had lost did the U.S. government begin putting pressure on Llorente. See Huntington Wilson to Wickersham, June 24, 1912, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico, 1910-1929, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy no. 274, file no. 812.00/4246; Wickersham to Boynton, June 27, 1912, DJ, 90755-1605 and J.A. Fowler to Secretary of State, June 28, 1912, DJ, 90755-1605; Thompson reports, November 6, 7, and 30, 1912, BI, roll 3.
80. U.S. v. Luis Diaz de Leon, U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1036 and District Court, El Paso, no. 1563; U.S. v. Canuto Leyva, District Court, El Paso, no. 1617; U.S. v. Rutilio Rodriguez, District Court, El Paso, no. 1618; U.S. v. Victor Ochoa, District Court, El Paso, no. 1625; U.S. v. Jesus Quintana et al., U.S. Commissioner, El Paso, no. 1037; U.S. v. J. Saldivar, District Court, El Paso, no. 1569, all in FRC-FW.
81. El Paso *Morning Times*, June 24, 1912.
82. Ross reports, July 6 and September 8, 11, 1912, roll 3; Harris reports, July 29, August 2, 7, October 31, 1912, roll 3; R.L. Barnes report, September 28, 1912, roll 2, all in BI.
83. Walter Mills, *The Road to War*, Boston, 1935, p. 147.
84. Captain Franz Rintelen von Kleist, *The Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Intelligence Officer*, New York, 1933, pp. 57-60. This book should be treated with great circumspection as it contains much swashbuckling daring-do as believable information.
85. Reinhard R. Doerries, *Imperial Challenge, Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations, 1908-1917*, Chapel Hill, 1989, p. XV.
86. Copyrighted by Eric Rafalko. Used with his permission.
87. Colonel Allison Ind, *A Short History of Espionage*, New York, David McKay Company, Inc. 1963, p. 155.
88. The article is from an interview with Robert L. Bannerman, who served in the Office of Security, Department of State from 1936 to 1947, becoming director in the latter year.
89. Heinrich von Eckhardt.
90. Joan M. Jensen, *Military Surveillance of Civilians in American*, Morristown, New Jersey, General Learning Press, 1975, p. 5.

- ⁹¹ Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance*, Chicago, Ill, Rand McNally, 1968, p. 12.
- ⁹² Jensen, *Military Surveillance*, *op cit.*, pp. 4-5.
- ⁹³ 41st Cong., Sess. III, Ch. 14.
- ⁹⁴ Max Lowenthal, *The Federal Bureau of Investigation*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1950, pp. 10-13.
- ⁹⁵ 28 U.S.C. 533 (3).
- ⁹⁶ Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance* 15; Homer Cummings and Carl McFarland, *Federal Justice*, New York, McMillian Co., 1937, pp. 415-416.
- ⁹⁷ Cummings and McFarland, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
- ⁹⁸ 33 U.S. Statute at Large 1214.
- ⁹⁹ 39 U.S. Statute at Large 889.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cir. Ltr, Bruce Bielaski to all Special Agents and Local Officers, Bureau of Investigation, 22 Mar 1917.
- ¹⁰¹ French Strother, *Fighting Germany's Spies*, New York, 1918. P. 394.
- ¹⁰² History of MID. P. 1042.
- ¹⁰³ Letter from McAdoo to Gregory, 2 June 1917.
- ¹⁰⁴ Letter from McAdoo to President Wilson, 2 June 1917.
- ¹⁰⁵ Letter from Gregory to President Wilson, 14 Jun 1917.
- ¹⁰⁶ Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance*, *op. cit.* Pp. 118-119.
- ¹⁰⁷ FBI Intelligence Division, *An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Intelligence Investigations: Authority, Official Attitudes and Activities in Historical Perspective*, 10/28/75.
- ¹⁰⁸ Memorandum of F.X. O'Donnell, 10/24/38.
- ¹⁰⁹ Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.
- ¹¹⁰ Act of June 15, 1917, Title I, Section 3.
- ¹¹¹ The Supreme Court upheld such convictions in *Schenck v. U.S.*, U.S. 47 (1919) and *Abrams v. U.S.*, 250 U.S. 616 (1919).
- ¹¹² Zechariah Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, p. 69.
- ¹¹³ Homer Cummings and Carl McFarland, *Federal Justice*, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
- ¹¹⁴ Copyrighted by Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler. Used with the permission of the authors.
- ¹¹⁵ See, for example, Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence*, Harper & Row Publishers, N.Y., 1965, pp38-39.
- ¹¹⁶ Michael C. Meyer, "The Mexican-German Conspiracy of 1915," *The Americas*, July 1966, pp-76-89; James A. Sandos, "German Involvement in Northern Mexico, 1915-1916: A New Look at the Columbus Raid," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, February 1970, pp 70-88; and Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram*, The Viking Press Inc., N.Y., 1958, *passim*.
- ¹¹⁷ The only printed source which treats the Jahnke conspiracy in detail is Henry Landau, *The Enemy Within: The Inside Story of German Sabotage in America*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1937, which can still be read with profit although it contains errors and is undocumented. Surprisingly, this study has generally been neglected by historians of American intelligence.
- ¹¹⁸ "Interrogation of Lothar Witzke," San Antonio, Texas, 16-18 September 1919, Volume II, Exhibit 24, and "Affidavit of Alfred Edward Woodley Mason," Cairo, Egypt, 15 February 1929, Volume II, Exhibit 625, Mixed Claims Commission (MCC), United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga.
- ¹¹⁹ Landau, *op cit*, pp 77-84 and 114.
- ¹²⁰ "Affidavit of Admiral Sir W. Reginald Hall," former chief of British Naval Intelligence, 28 December 1926, with annexed copies of 327 German cablegrams intercepted by the British government during World War I, Volume VII, Exhibit 320, MCC, United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga.
- ¹²¹ Major R.L. Barnes to Colonel Garrison, 9 April 1919, National Archives, Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, Military Intelligence Division (MID), 51-45.
- ¹²² Testimony of Altendorf in "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," Volume VIII, Exhibit 321, MCC, United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga.

- ^{123.} William Gleaves to Captain R. Davila, 1 August 1915, Venustiano Carranza Archives, Centro de Estudios de Historia de Mexico, Departamento Cultural de Condumex, S.A., Mexico City, Mex.; and "Affidavit of Alfred Edward Woodley Mason," *op cit.* Also, see Gleaves file, MID, 10541-546.
- ^{124.} Testimony of Altendorf and Gleaves, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{125.} Testimony of Butcher, *Ibid.*
- ^{126.} "Affidavit of Alfred Edward Woodley Mason," *op cit.*; Testimony of Gleaves, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*; and Guy L. Fake Affidavit, 18 August 1924, Volume II, Exhibit 10, MCC, United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga.
- ^{127.} Testimony of Gleaves, Altendorf, Nuenhoffer and Major R.M. Campbell, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke." *op cit.*
- ^{128.} Testimony of Altendorf and Major R.M. Campbell, "U.S. Department of Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*; and Van Deman to intelligence officer, Western Department, 17 January 1918, MID, 10541-268.
- ^{129.} Testimony of Altendorf, "US War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*; and Altendorf Report, undated, in MID, 10541-268.
- ^{130.} See Chapman's cipher telegram to Butcher, 26 January 1918, in National Archives, Record Group 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Nogales, Sonora, Mex., Consulate Files, 1918, File Number 820.
- ^{131.} Special Border Report, 4 February 1918, Nogales, Ariz., MID, 10541-268.
- ^{132.} *Ibid.*
- ^{133.} Percy Altendorf, "My Trip to Mexico," and Butcher Report, undated, both in MID, 10541-268. See also the file on Calles, MID, 8536-297.
- ^{134.} Butcher Report, *op cit.*
- ^{135.} *Ibid.*; and Testimony of Charles Beatty, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{136.} Testimony of Butcher, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*; and Butcher Report, *op cit.* and Special Border Report, Nogales, Ariz., 2 February 1918, both in MID 10541-268.
- ^{137.} Testimony of Butcher, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{138.} The best account of the decrypting of the telegram is the testimony of Manly, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke." *op cit.* See also Herbert O. Yardley, *The American Black Chamber*, Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., Indianapolis, Ind., 1931, pp 90-114; David Kahn, *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing*, The Macmillan Co, N.Y., 1967, pp 253-54; Yardley memorandum attached to telegram from R.L. Barnes to Milstaff, 7 August 1918, MID, 10541-268; and Major General Ralph H. Van Deman, *Memoirs*, Unpublished Manuscript, Library, US Army Intelligence Center and School, Fort. Huachuca, Ariz., pp 62-63.
- ^{139.} Exhibit 13, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{140.} John M. Maguire to Lieutenant Van Dusen, 11 June 1918, in MID, 10541-268.
- ^{141.} Testimony of Witzke, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{142.} Court-Martial Verdict, "U.S. War Department Record of the Court Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ^{143.} For example, see Special Border Report, Nogales, Ariz., 7 February 1918, in MID 8536-293.
- ^{144.} Campbell to Van Deman, 18 March 1918, MID 10541-367.
- ^{145.} Campbell to chief, Military Intelligence Branch, 4 September 1918, MID, 10541-367.
- ^{146.} See Consul Chapman to Consul Lawton, 26 March and 18 April 1918, Consul Lawton to Consul McPherson, 20 April 1918, Consul Chapman to Captain Joel Lipscomb, 29 April 1918, and Consul Simpich to Consul Lawton, 3 May 1918, all found in File Number 820, 1918, Nogales Consulate File; Captain G.L. Jones to R.L. Barnes, 14 May 1918, MID 8536-314; and Captain H.S. Dickey to chief, MID, 28 August 1918, MID 51-45.

- ¹⁴⁷. The correspondence can be found in Department of State File Number 150. 636/31, National Archives; Nogales Consulate File 820, 1918; and Colonel Marlborough Churchill to A. Caminetti, 14 August 1918, MID, 51-45.
- ¹⁴⁸. A detailed statement of this controversy can be found in Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance*, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill., 1968, pp 118-29; and William R. Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire*, Dial Press/James Wade Books, N.Y., 1977, pp 52-63.
- ¹⁴⁹. Acting judge advocate general to the adjutant general, 17 January 1921, Volume II, Exhibit 157, MCC, United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, East Point, Ga.; and Gregory to Wilson, 25 November 1918, MID, 10541-268. See also Edmund M. Morgan, "Court-Martial Jurisdiction Over Non-Military Persons Under the Articles of War," *Minnesota Law Review*, January 1920, pp76-116. Morgan, however, has one serious error in the article-that Witzke died in prison (p 80). For Wilson's commutation of Witzke's sentence, see enclosure in the "U.S. War Department Record of the Court-Martial of Lothar Witzke," *op cit.*
- ¹⁵⁰. Captain Frank P. Stretton to director of Military Intelligence, 2 October 1919, Major R.B. Woodruff to same, 26 January 1920 and MID Memorandum, 25 May 1921, all in MID, 10541-268; and interrogation of Witzke, 16-18 September 1919, Volume II, Exhibit 24, MCC, United States and Germany, Federal Records Center, E. Pt., Ga.
- ¹⁵¹. German Embassy Memorandum to the Department of State, September 1923, in MID, 10541-268; *The Washington Post*, 21 November 1923; Landau, *op cit.*, pp 183-85. Also see Admiral Sir Reginald Hall and Amos J. Peaslee, *Three Wars With Germany*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1944, p 110; and Report Number 590, 11 October 1935, MID, 10541-268.
- ¹⁵². Colonel Edward Davis to director of Military Intelligence, 18 June and 30 July 1920; Davis to military attaché, Mexico City, Mex., 13 August 1920, all in MID, 10541-367; and Ladislav Farago, *The Game of the Foxes: The Untold Story of German Espionage in the United States and Great Britain During World War II*, David McKay Co. Inc., N.Y. 1971, pp 654-58 and 622. Surprisingly Farago does not mention Jahnke's espionage career during World War I.
- ¹⁵³. Alvaro Obregón, *Ocho mil kilómetros en campaña*. Third Edition, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, Mex., 1960, pp 199 and 207; and Major R.L. Barnes to director of Military Intelligence, 6 November 1918, MID, 9685-129.
- ¹⁵⁴. Gleaves file, MID, 10541-546; and Guy L Fake Affidavit, *op cit.*
- ¹⁵⁵. See the voluminous Altendorf file, MID, 51-45. The last entry, referring to his activities in Havana is Lieutenant Colonel V.W. Cooper to Major J.C. Schwenck, 5 November 1928.
- ¹⁵⁶. Act of October 16, 1918.
- ¹⁵⁷. Confidential Memorandum to all Special Agents and Employees, 8/12/19.
- ¹⁵⁸. Coben, *A Mitchell Palmer*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1963, pp. 130, 207.
- ¹⁵⁹. Coben, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 215-216; see also Preston's *Aliens and Dissenters*, chs, 7-8; Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States*, ch 5.; Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1955.
- ¹⁶⁰. Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
- ¹⁶¹. Confidential Memorandum, 8/12/19.
- ¹⁶². Memorandum from Burke to Caminetti, 11/19/19, cited in Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, pp. 216-217.
- ¹⁶³. Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 12/17/19, cited in Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer*, p. 223.
- ¹⁶⁴. Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 1/22/20, cited in Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- ¹⁶⁵. Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 3/16/20, cited in Preston, p. 219.
- ¹⁶⁶. Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 2/2/20; 4/6/20, cited in Preston, p. 224.
- ¹⁶⁷. Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
- ¹⁶⁸. Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 3/16/20, cited in Preston, p. 223.
- ¹⁶⁹. Preston, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224; see Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty*, Chicago, Kerr, 1923.