

Gringo Propagandist

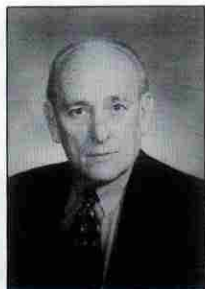
George F. Weeks and the Mexican Revolution

During the Mexican Revolution, no U.S. journalist maintained as close or as enduring relations with revolutionary leaders as a former California newspaperman, George F. Weeks. Between 1913 and 1920, he was the principal publicist for Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalist regime, directing the Mexican Bureau of Information and founding and editing the Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana, a bilingual magazine that promoted Mexican interests in the United States. He employed techniques that conform to the public-information model of communications, and his activities reflected the practice and increasing significance of public relations and propaganda in an international context during a tumultuous decade of revolution and world war.

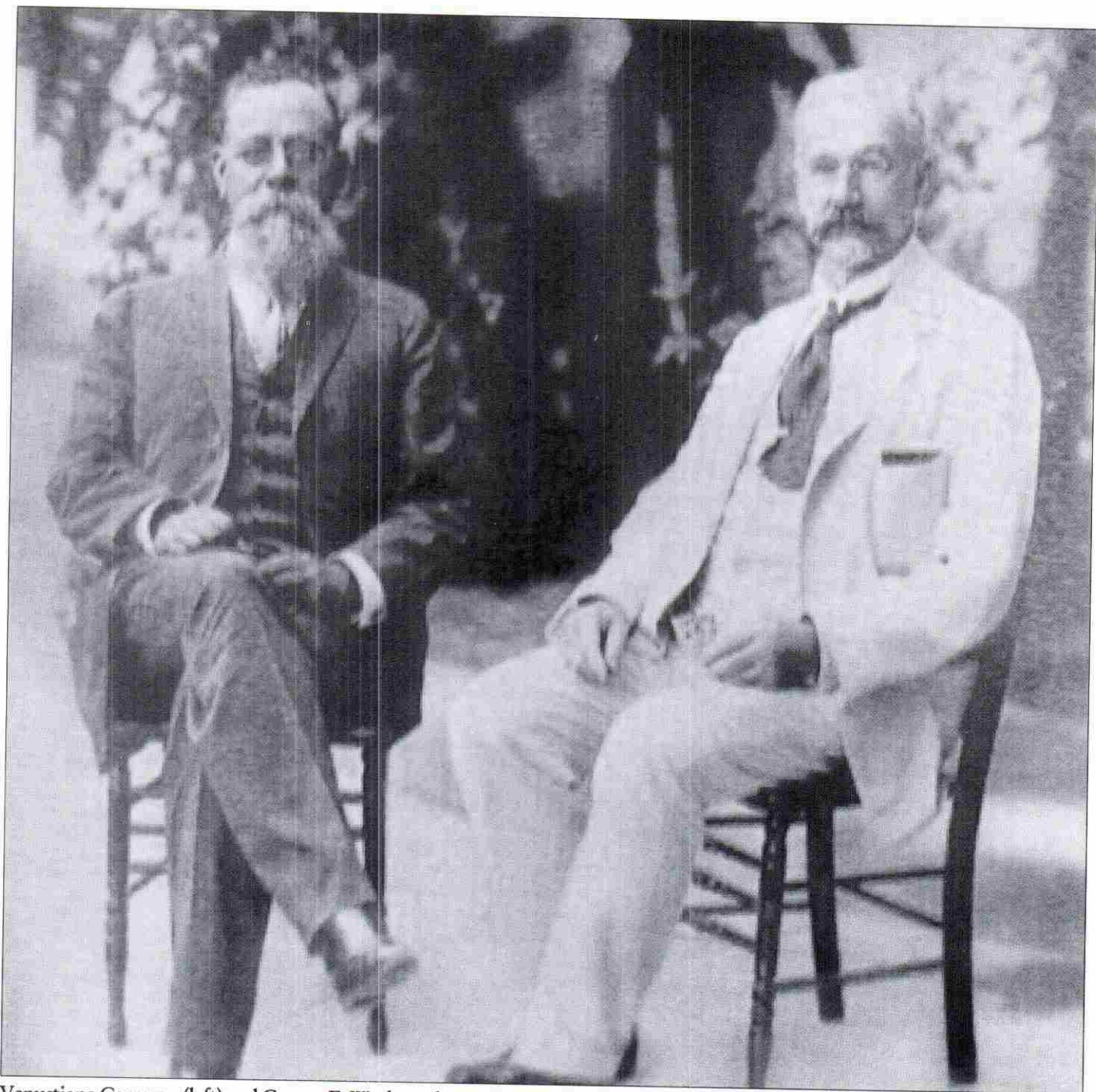
During the Mexican Revolution from 1910 to 1920, United States journalists exerted a powerful influence on shaping the perceptions, attitudes, and opinions of their compatriots regarding that tumultuous event. The names and works of writers that students of the Revolution immediately recognize include John Kenneth Turner, whose *Barbarous Mexico* exposed the horrors of the presidential regime of Porfirio Díaz (1877-1911) to an incredulous American public;¹ James Creelman, whose interview of the Mexican leader in *Pearson's Magazine* spurred the Revolution;² John Reed, whose *Insurgent Mexico* helped create the mythic image of Francisco "Pancho" Villa;³ and even Ambrose Bierce, who was known

not for reportage but rather his mysterious disappearance and death in Mexico that still remain the subject of speculation, novels, and motion pictures.⁴ No U.S. journalist, however, enjoyed as close or as enduring relations with Mexican revolutionary leaders and governments as did a former California newspaperman, George F. Weeks. Between 1913 and 1920, he was the principal U.S. publicist for Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalist movement. Although Weeks's role diminished considerably after Carranza's murder in 1920, he continued to promote the administrations of Mexican presidents Adolfo de la Huerta, Alvaro Obregón, and Plutarco Elías Calles until 1928.

While most U.S. correspondents reported Mexican revolutionary affairs from a relatively distant, and frequently hostile, position, Weeks operated within official circles and became one of the early twentieth-century public relations practitioners to promote the interests of a foreign government in the United States. Utilizing practices that generally conform to what historians of public relations call the public-information model of communications, he and his associates sought to influence U.S. public opinion by shaping the content of news about Mexico, enhancing the image of Venustiano Carranza, and defending the Constitutionalist cause against its rivals and critics.⁵ By disseminating favorable, "objective" information through the mass media and controlled outlets in the form of news bulletins, press releases, books, magazines, pamphlets, and fact sheets, they endeavored to "tell the truth," rectify the "misrepresentations" and "misinterpretations" of Carranza and his program appearing in the American press, and refute the "distortions" of his enemies. Thus, an examination of Weeks' unique and largely overlooked role in Mexi-



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Venustiano Carranza (left) and George F. Weeks as they appeared in 1913 or 1914. There had been rumors that Carranza had died, and the photograph was taken to prove that he was still alive. Weeks is holding a current package of Fatima cigarettes in his left hand to show that the photograph was taken recently. (Used with the permission of Bradley Weeks)

can revolutionary affairs offers insight into a little studied aspect of U.S.-Mexican diplomatic relations during a tumultuous decade of revolution and world war. Furthermore, his efforts on behalf of the Mexican government illustrate the practice and growing significance of public relations as well as propaganda in an international context during the initial decades of the twentieth century.

Born in Whateley, Massachusetts, in 1852, Weeks spent most of his youth in central New Jersey, where, at the age of ten, he began working in his uncle's print shop. At fourteen, no longer able to suffer what he described as the "ungovernable temper" and "general cussedness" of a stereotypically cruel stepmother, he dropped out of

school, left home, and found employment in Auburn, New York, where he learned to set type. In 1873, he moved to New York City and took a job as a hand compositor with the *New York Herald*. By 1875, however, the now-married father of three small children had contracted tuberculosis, an occupational hazard of nineteenth-century newspaper composing rooms. His physician informed him that if he wanted to live more than a few months, he would have to seek a warmer, drier climate and a more salubrious work environment.⁶

Thus, in January 1876, the self-styled "one-lunger" undertook a nearly month-long journey to California by water and rail via the Isthmus of Panama. Much to the surprise of fellow passengers, who

wagered that the emaciated Weeks would not survive the trip, he reached San Francisco and soon settled near San Bernardino, where his mother's brother resided.⁷ After a short stay in a sanitarium, he worked briefly at a ranch and as a farmhand and then moved his family to an abandoned homestead.⁸ The meager income that Weeks derived from the land was insufficient to support his wife and children, and he reluctantly took sundry printing jobs in the surrounding area to supplement his earnings.⁹

By 1879, however, he had completely regained his health and secured a well paid position with the *San Francisco Chronicle*.¹⁰ Over the next several years, he worked his way out of the composing room into the positions of proof reader, city and night editor, and, finally, editor of the *Chronicle's Sunday Magazine*, a weekly supplement devoted to publicizing the many natural, cultural, and economic attractions of the Golden State. At the same time, he was a telegraphic news correspondent for the *New York World*, wrote feature articles for several other Eastern publications, operated a newspaper clippings service, and prepared advertising campaigns for real estate developers.¹¹

Fulfilling a lifelong dream of owning a newspaper, Weeks became publisher and editor of the *Bakersfield Daily Californian* in 1890,¹² and five years later he returned to the Bay Area after purchasing the *Alameda Daily Encinal*.¹³ He pursued his multifaceted enterprises for ten years before suffering a series of personal tragedies, including the murders of his son and his son's fiancée, that led to a nearly complete physical and emotional collapse. On the recommendation of his physician, he sold the paper in 1906 and abandoned his other journalistic endeavors to seek recuperation in Mexico.¹⁴ Though he could not foresee it at the time, the fifty-four-year-old Weeks would find himself enmeshed in Mexican revolutionary affairs for most of the rest of his life.

Never one to remain idle, between 1906 and 1913 the resilient Weeks kept himself occupied in a variety of jobs, mostly in the northern state of Coahuila. For several years he was paymaster and bookkeeper for a U.S. construction firm hired to rebuild bridges along the Mexican International Railroad between Piedras Negras and Durango.¹⁵ He then became an agent for the Continental Mexican Rubber Company, which produced rubber from guayule, a latex-bearing shrub growing wild in the semi-desert regions of Coahuila and neighboring states.¹⁶

Striking out on his own in late 1908, the aging but still physically robust six-foot, 200-pound Weeks undertook an arduous eighteen-month odyssey throughout the western Sierra Madres and along the Pacific coast in search of rubber-producing plants, the market for which had grown enormously after the invention and expanded production of the automobile. During the expedition, he acquired leasing rights to several hundred thousand acres of land from those willing to permit the exploitation of this scarce and increasingly valuable commodity. Unfortunately, Francisco Madero's revolution against Porfirio Díaz in November 1910 occurred just as Weeks was finalizing the transfer of the leases to a British rubber consortium and precluded him from closing a "six figure" deal that would have made him a wealthy man. Disappointed, he rejoined the Continental Mexican Rubber Company.¹⁷

For a time, Weeks was the only foreign resident of Cuatro Ciénegas, Coahuila, a major guayule collection center and the hometown of Venustiano Carranza, a member of the local elite and a figure of growing stature in state and national politics. Over the years, he became acquainted with Carranza and members of his extended family, many of whom later held key political, military, and diplo-

matic positions in the Constitutionalist revolutionary movement. He cherished the gracious hospitality he enjoyed in Cuatro Ciénegas and years later recounted his experiences in *Seen in a Mexican Plaza*, a book published under his pen name, "El Gringo," the sobriquet with which the townspeople fondly christened him.¹⁸

In February 1913, news reached Cuatro Ciénegas that President Francisco Madero, a fellow Coahuilan, had been murdered in a coup led by General Victoriano Huerta.¹⁹ Venustiano Carranza, now governor of Coahuila, refused to recognize the regime of the "usurper." Under the Plan de Guadalupe, he forged an alliance with armed groups led by Villa in Chihuahua and Alvaro Obregón in Sonora. Naming himself First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, Carranza pledged to drive Huerta from power and reestablish constitutional rule.²⁰

Weeks, believing that the insurrection had little chance of success, decided to return to the United States. On a train bound for Piedras Negras, however, rebels on their way to take the border town for the revolution convinced him that they could drive Huerta from power. Recognizing the newsworthiness of an event of potentially spectacular proportions and indisputable international significance, he immediately contacted the *New York Herald* and secured appointment as a field correspondent. He was instructed to remain close to Carranza's headquarters, where his personal connections gave him access to the First Chief's entourage and facilitated his ultimate emergence as Carranza's principal liaison to the U.S. press.²¹ It was to Weeks, for example, that Carranza made his first public statement outlining and justifying his rebellion to the American public.²²

In 1913 and 1914, Weeks was the only foreign journalist to accompany Carranza on a rugged, 1,000-mile trek on horseback across the western Sierra Madres to join Alvaro Obregón on the Pacific coast. Timothy Turner, a correspondent for the Associated Press and a former reporter for the *El Paso Herald*, later joined Weeks, and for several months they traveled in the First Chief's press car and reported on the progress of the revolution in Sonora and Sinaloa. Weeks later described their frequently perilous adventures in the "Side-Door Pullman," a lighthearted reference to the crowded boxcar that served as the correspondents' workplace, sleeping quarters, recreation room, and kitchen.²³

In April 1914, when Woodrow Wilson ordered United States marines to occupy Veracruz, Weeks was with Carranza in Chihuahua and expressed the First Chief's displeasure with such infringement of Mexican sovereignty.²⁴ Shortly thereafter, he joined Turner and other foreign correspondents who were following Villa's southern advance and covered his pivotal victories at Lerdo, Gómez Palacio, and Torreón.

In June, as the Constitutionalist forces drove toward the Mexican capital, Weeks outlined the principles that Carranza intended to implement after establishing his provisional government. He declared that "all foreign interests throughout the Republic are to be protected and everything possible done to induce foreign capital to enter the country." In addition, he noted that foreigners would receive an "ample indemnity . . . for damage to their property . . . and constitutional guarantees that they are not to be molested in the future so long as they keep their hands off the internal affairs of the country." Conveying Carranza's stridently nationalistic position, he cautioned that there would be "no toleration of foreigners who persist in meddling with the politics of the Republic."²⁵

Shortly thereafter, Weeks provided one of the first reports of the fateful estrangement between Carranza and his most well known and successful field commander: "General Francisco Villa has resigned as commander of the Army of the North and his resignation has been accepted by General Carranza, First Chief of the revolution."

He confided that Villa's resignation came as a surprise to many persons, "but to those who were in close touch with the developments of the last few weeks, it was not unexpected. There has been friction between General Carranza and General Villa for some time."²⁶ He later accompanied Carranza's triumphant forces when they entered Mexico City in August 1914.²⁷

The failure of the revolutionary chieftains to agree upon a provisional president and other pressing issues at the Convention of Aguascalientes caused an irreparable fracture in the Constitutionalist ranks. Villa and Emiliano Zapata, who had led the revolution in the South, refused to recognize Carranza's authority, supported the convention's choice for president, and later occupied Mexico City.²⁸ In November 1914, after negotiating the withdrawal of United States forces, Carranza established his own government in Veracruz.²⁹ Weeks joined the First Chief in the Mexican port, where Carranza utilized his journalistic expertise as a paid publicity agent.³⁰

Throughout his regime, Carranza faced a daunting array of rivals and critics, both in Mexico and north of the Rio Grande. Supporters of opposing Mexican revolutionary chieftains and reactionary elements conspired against him in the United States, where they published anti-Carranza propaganda and organized armed incursions into Mexico. His Mexican foes often received encouragement and financial assistance from United States public officials, businessmen, and religious leaders, who decried his independent diplomatic posture, nationalistic economic and political agenda, anti-clerical policies, and seeming inability to protect American lives and property.³¹ In response, Constitutionlists denounced as blatantly biased and false the reporting of foreign correspondents, newspapers, and wire services, particularly the Associated Press³² and William Randolph Hearst's International News Service, which Carrancistas accused of employing imperialistic "yellow journalism" that distorted the truth, imperiled the revolution, and denigrated Mexicans, Carranza, and his government.³³

Consequently, an effort to cultivate favorable public opinion in the United States became a vital component of Carranza's diplomatic posture toward his northern neighbor. Weeks played a major role in the Constitutionalist strategy to exploit the U.S. press in an endeavor to protect Mexican sovereignty, secure diplomatic recognition from the United States, gain the acceptance of key sectors of the American public for his Constitutionalist program, enhance Carranza's international image, and defend his movement against the criticism and intrigues of his enemies.³⁴ Because hostile wire services and newspaper chains exercised a virtual monopoly over the transmission and dissemination of news regarding Mexico, Carrancistas developed their own department of information and wire service and established or subsidized dozens of newspapers and other publications in the United States. Before Weeks began working for Carranza in Veracruz, two other Carrancista agents, Modesto C. Rolland and Carlo di Fornaro, had created the Mexican Bureau of Information in conjunction with the Constitutionalist Commercial Agency in New York. They produced pro-Constitutionalist pamphlets and magazine articles and issued biweekly news bulletins for national distribution.³⁵

In late 1914 and early 1915, Weeks helped Roberto V. Pesqueira, one of Carranza's confidential agents in the United States, to orga-

nize the Pan American News Service (PANS), an international wire service operating through the Constitutionalist Secretariat of Foreign Relations.³⁶ By this time, Carrancistas had taken control of dozens of Mexican consulates throughout the country. This endowed them with a significant measure of visibility and legitimacy and provided strategic bases of operation. In January 1915, Weeks established PANS agencies in Galveston, El Paso, and San Antonio, and was in charge of the key Galveston office until the following June.³⁷ During this time, he received information wired from Veracruz, prepared news stories and press releases, and distributed the material to branch offices in every city containing a Mexican consulate. Then, it was the duty of Mexican consuls to secure publication of the information in friendly newspapers within their district, including the dozens of Spanish-language papers subsidized by the Constitutionalist regime. Another significant aspect of his job was the transmission of important, even confidential, dispatches to Mexican diplomatic and consular personnel in Washington, New York, and elsewhere.³⁸

During this time, Weeks conceived the idea of writing a book discussing Carranza's "great patriotic movement." He thought that from a historical standpoint it was important that "the facts should be preserved for all time." Since he had been familiar with those facts from the commencement of the movement, he believed he was in a position to commit

them to book form "with impartiality and fidelity." He wrote Carranza, "In order that the facts of the movement may be preserved and laid before the world, it is desirable that each of the public libraries . . . and leading newspapers and magazines of the United States . . . have copies." He left it up to Carranza to determine proper compensation for preparing and distributing the book, since he had supported the First Chief "with no expectation of reward and solely because of my belief in the justice of the cause."³⁹

In June 1915, Carranza recalled Weeks to Veracruz and placed him in charge of all publicity directed to the United States. His ability to work well with Carranza and his Mexican colleagues was greatly enhanced by his "personal charm" and "natural popularity." As George L. Edmunds, a Washington publicist employed by the Mexican embassy, noted, the "Primer Jefe [First Chief] likes Weeks, and so does everybody else."⁴⁰ His main responsibility was to gather and edit material regarding Mexican military, political, and economic affairs provided by Carranza's Department of Information and Propaganda, which had offices in all states controlled by the Constitutionalist forces. From this data, he framed news reports favorable to the Constitutionalist government and transmitted the information to Mexican agents in the United States.⁴¹

Weeks also capitalized upon personal connections with influential U.S. political figures to advance the Constitutionalist cause. In August 1915, he outlined the fundamental message of Carranza's publicity campaign in a telegram to an old friend and a former colleague on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Franklin K. Lane. He was now Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Interior and a man, Weeks confided to the Mexican ambassador in Washington, who "knows and has faith in me."⁴²

Complaining to Lane that Carranza had been "systematically

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misrepresented" and "greatly misunderstood" in the United States, Weeks lauded the First Chief's "high character, patriotic purpose, absolute sincerity and honesty." In response to Americans who supported Villa as a more attractive and pliable alternative to the intractable Carranza, he scorned the "Centaur of the North" as a "pure bandit," who was "insincere, brutal, dishonest and bloodthirsty" and who would "say anything to curry favor with the United States." Constitutionalist forces, he declared, were "gaining ground everyday," reestablishing railroad and telegraphic communications, distributing food supplies wherever they were needed, and rapidly restoring normal conditions throughout the country.⁴³ To those who demanded U.S. military intervention to end the unrest in Mexico, Weeks predicted that Carranza would soon establish peace "if he [is] not molested from the outside" and said that intervention in Mexico was "the greatest mistake the United States could make." Wilson's recognition of Carranza, he declared, was "the only thing necessary to put a quick end to trouble and secure an early peace in Mexico." In closing, he solicited Lane's "earnest co-operation in the interest of peace and against further needless and inexcusable bloodshed."⁴⁴

In a letter to Lane on that same day, Weeks reemphasized that Wilson must not give in to demands for military intervention: "Those who pretend to believe that the Mexicans cannot resist the Americans, or rather will not do so, have little idea of the Mexican character." He warned that they would "fight, and fight desperately. . . . That they would always remain enemies of the United States, though apparently pacified, is certain."⁴⁵ Lane forwarded the messages to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, remarking that he had known Weeks for twenty-five years and always thought him to be a "very level-headed fellow."⁴⁶

Two months later, the Constitutionalist celebrated a major diplomatic and public relations triumph when Wilson extended *de facto* recognition to Carranza. By this time, however, the First Chief had decided to reorganize his information service. The Pan American News Service's obvious affiliation with the Constitutionalist government caused many to doubt the reliability of the news it provided. Furthermore, some Carrancistas confided that Mexican agents in the United States possessed neither an adequate understanding of the role and function of the media in U.S. culture nor sufficient expertise in the field of mass persuasion. As a result, Carranza increasingly relied upon Weeks and other experienced U.S. journalists to design and direct his publicity operations.⁴⁷

Based upon plans submitted by Turner, Weeks's former companion in Mexico, a new agency merged Rolland's and Fornaro's Mexican Bureau of Information with the Pan American News Service to form an organization later called the Mexican News Bureau. Its principal function was "to create through the constructive channels of publicity a true understanding of Mexican affairs in the United States and other countries of the world." It was intended to serve as "a permanent department for the defense of Mexico" against "the false impression created in the international press" and "assist in supplying newspapers with news materials of the proper kind." The operation would be placed under the authority of the Secretary of Foreign Relations, "who would instruct the Bureau as to what results were desired and then permit its experts to devise the means of achieving them." Bureau personnel "would function in a manner similar to publicity agents of any nation or corporation; that is, as only a counselor to public officials to create a certain impression in the press and the public."⁴⁸

The new bureau had no ostensible connection with the Mexican government, and its employees engaged in independent pursuits that cloaked their true activities.⁴⁹ Turner initially headed the bureau's

operation in New York; George L. Edmunds oversaw the Washington, D.C., office; and Weeks, later joined by Daniel Dillon, was in charge of the Veracruz and, subsequently, the Mexico City agency. It was Weeks's responsibility to prepare copy, packaged as typical news reports, and dispatch the information to Turner and Edmunds, who would then supervise its release and distribution to the public.⁵⁰

Concentrating on placing Mexican affairs in the best possible light, Weeks reported the positive accomplishments of the Constitutionalist government. These included: the reestablishment of normal conditions in the economy and banking organizations; the reopening of the railways; the reinstallation of telephone and telegraphic services; the expansion of educational facilities; the resumption of industrial, commercial, and mining activities throughout the country; the restoration of lands to their rightful owners; the reorganization of governmental institutions; the appointment of high officials; and the activities of the Constitutionalist Army, especially efforts to defeat Zapata.⁵¹

In March 1916, Villa's assault on Columbus, New Mexico, precipitated a new crisis in U.S.-Mexican relations. Wilson ordered Gen. John J. Pershing to lead a punitive expedition into Chihuahua and deployed National Guard units along the border. After a clash in June between U.S. troops and Constitutionalist forces at Carrizal, Chihuahua, brought the two nations to the brink of war, the United States and Mexico moved to create a joint commission to resolve the imbroglio. Luis Cabrera, Carranza's closest advisor, led the Mexican delegation; Weeks' old friend, Lane, headed the U.S. deputation.⁵² Carranza sent Weeks to Washington with instructions for Cabrera and Mexican Ambassador Eliseo Arredondo; taking advantage of his long acquaintance with Secretary Lane, Carranza also commissioned him to confer unofficially and confidentially with Lane.⁵³

At the same time, Carranza authorized Weeks to take control of the Mexican government's information service in Washington, D.C. By September 1916, he had established his headquarters in the Riggs Building, which was conveniently located a few floors below the prestigious National Press Club, of which he was a member. He renamed the publicity agency the "Mexican News Bureau" and abandoned all pretext of independence from the Carranza regime. The Bureau would now function openly as the official public relations office of the Mexican government. As director, Weeks produced a weekly news bulletin for distribution to thousands of newspapers, public officials, and organizations throughout the country; wrote press releases and feature articles for newspapers and magazines; oversaw operation of the wire service; and disseminated a wide variety of information related to Mexican political, military, economic, and cultural affairs. In addition, he distributed photographs and biographical sketches of leading political and military figures; furnished official statistical data concerning progress in education, health care, agricultural production, and mining operations; and provided translations of new laws, decrees, and official reports.⁵⁴

Understandably, Weeks worked closely with the Mexican Embassy, which oversaw his activities, and he routinely sought approval, confirmation, or clarification from the embassy staff for material he intended to release to the press. "Please note here," he wrote to the Mexican ambassador, "the bulletin which I have prepared on the subject of control of the National Lines of Railways. The accompanying clipping is from *El Universal* [of Mexico City], and I assume it is accurate. I shall be glad for any change in the phraseology and the statements made."⁵⁵ To Juan B. Rojo, second secretary of the embassy, he noted, "I am enclosing the translations of the telegram referring to the tax on metals. It is all printed and ready to be sent out,

and I trust you will not find it necessary to make any changes."⁵⁶

To expand his promotional activities, Weeks convinced Carranza to finance the establishment of the *Mexican Review*, an illustrated monthly journal patterned after the *Sunday Magazine* that he had edited for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. At that time, President Wilson was engaged in an intense campaign for reelection. The Republican opposition roundly criticized his failure to seek a military solution to U.S.-Mexican problems and his refusal to commit the United States to unlimited aid for the Allied cause against Germany in the European war. Wilson's policies were interpreted as a sign of weakness that further imperiled national security and U.S. economic and political interests in Mexico. Weeks argued that "the need for giving the truth about Mexico to the world was never so great as now, and the presidential campaign makes the need all the greater." He believed that by establishing the publication in Washington, he could greatly advance the Constitutional cause. As he told Ambassador Eliseo Arredondo, "I am sure that we could have the cooperation of the Democratic National Committee in this project." Weeks already had "put the idea in motion through my friend Secretary of the Interior Lane and others, and I am confident that a vast amount of good can be done."⁵⁷

In the initial issue of the *Mexican Review* in October 1916, Weeks, as managing editor, declared that the magazine's principal objective was to "place Mexico in a proper light before the world" and provide information on matters of interest to all Mexicans and Americans "who wish to know the truth about Mexico."⁵⁸ As he would later explain to Ramón P. De Negri, the Mexican chargé d'affaires in Washington, he envisioned the journal as "a suitable and adequate exponent of the Republic of Mexico . . . its resources, developments, government, attractions, etc." He believed that "it should be a magazine equal in appearance and quality to others . . . designed to meet or create a public demand." Each issue would highlight a particular Mexican state, "while at the same time, giving other matters—news notes, general articles, stories, poetry, etc. so as to meet the wishes of all classes of readers." He emphasized that it was essential that the magazine "be conducted on broad literary and business lines and not devoted solely to propaganda . . . although that is, of course, the primary object sought."⁵⁹ Published from 1916 to 1921, the *Mexican Review's* circulation ultimately reached 25,000, targeting public officials, civic and religious organizations, business groups, schools and universities, public and private libraries, newspaper exchange services, and potential investors.⁶⁰

Reports wired from Veracruz to the Mexican legation in Washington and items extracted from friendly newspapers and magazines in the United States were the journal's principal sources of information. Feature stories by Weeks, who usually signed his articles "El Gringo," and others sympathetic to the Constitutionalist government also comprised important elements of the *Review's* content.

Works that treated Carranza's policy of national pacification, reconstruction, and development, or discussed the reformation of Mexican laws, received special attention. For example, the March 1917 issue was devoted to presenting the first English translation of the new Mexican constitution.⁶¹

Reflecting the pro-Constitutionalist spin that the magazine placed on its interpretation of Mexican affairs was an account of the sensational ambush slaying of popular revolutionary hero Zapata in 1919. "The death of Emiliano Zapata . . . removes one of the most picturesque (to say nothing else) figures of the revolution." The assassination was described as "the successful culmination of a plan laid by

General [Pablo] González and carried to a successful conclusion by Colonel (now General) Jesús Guajardo of the Constitutionalist army." While noting that "some criticism has been expressed regarding the manner in which Zapata met his end," the author responded that the complaints came for the most part from "those who are firm in the belief that the Carranza government can do nothing that is good and that its every act is evil. On the other hand, those who recognize the undoubted fact that war is not a peaceful occupation . . . see ample justification for the elimination of Zapata in the most feasible manner." Furthermore, he argued, "if Zapata himself had not murdered so many innocent and unoffending women and children . . . he might be entitled perhaps to a little sympathy. But in view of all the facts, if ever the end justified the means, it is the preponderant opinion that this is an instance in point."⁶²

Weeks remained in Washington and continued to head the Mexican News Bureau and *Mexican Review* after Carranza's formal assumption of the presidency in May 1917. The salary he received for his various services was a rather comfortable \$300 (later raised to \$400) per month, plus expenses. Since both the journal and the news bureau were agencies of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, the Mexican government also paid the salaries of

Weeks' staff of writers, translators, secretaries, and other personnel and bore all of the expenses for the production and distribution of the materials developed by Weeks' office.

Although tensions had eased somewhat after the Punitive Expedition withdrew from Mexico in February 1917 and the United States extended *de jure* recognition to Carranza, relations between the two nations, further complicated by the United States' entry into World War I, remained fragile. Public officials and private citizens condemned nationalistic provisions of the newly promulgated constitution that jeopardized the security of foreign property rights; Catholic clergy and laymen condemned its anti-clerical measures; and everyone decried the continuing violence in Mexico. When Carranza steadfastly remained neutral during World War I, the press accused him of harboring anti-U.S., pro-German sympathies and supporting the pernicious activities of German military and intelli-

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Ignacio Bonillas, the new Mexican ambassador to the United States, believed that Weeks' propaganda efforts were now "more important than ever." He reported that Weeks had concentrated all publicity efforts in the Mexican News Bureau and the *Mexican Review* "in order to give it a uniform direction and control."⁶³ Weeks informed Carranza that at least once a week his office distributed bulletins and news notes, whose "object was to disseminate true reports favorable to Mexico, which cannot be obtained in any other way, and to refute false news that appears in the United States press."⁶⁴ When the Hearst newspapers became particularly offensive, he sought, and confidentially received, assurance that the United States government would not protest retaliatory action.⁶⁵ Upon his recommendation, in May 1918, Carranza ordered the director of the Mexican Postal Service to ban all Hearst publications from Mexico.⁶⁶

During World War I, Weeks' association with the Mexican government aroused the interest, and suspicion, of United States internal security agencies. Postal censors intercepted, read, and reported his correspondence, and both the Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation and the Military Intelligence Division of the U.S. Army, the federal agencies most responsible for domestic security, built extensive files on his activities. Their investigations, however, fully confirmed his loyalty to the United States.⁶⁷

In October 1918, Weeks temporarily suspended publication of the *Mexican Review* and transferred the headquarters of the news bureau to Mexico City. Robert H. Murray, a long-time foreign correspondent for the *New York Herald*, had been appointed director of the Mexico City office of the United States Committee on Public Information (CPI) and invited Weeks to become its news editor. In a gesture of cooperation, Carranza had authorized the agency's efforts to counteract an aggressive, extensive, and well-financed German propaganda campaign throughout Mexico.⁶⁸ Many critics expressed surprise at Carranza granting the CPI an apparently free hand to promote the Allied cause in Mexico and doubted the sincerity of his professed neutrality in the conflict. The ever-loyal Weeks, however, later confided that "those who knew President Carranza know that he did his best to maintain a strict neutrality between the opposing forces." He noted that Carranza "more than once repeated to me, what I know to be the truth, that he was doing all in his power to maintain a strictly neutral attitude." He continued, "No one who really knew the high character, lofty purpose and entire sincerity and integrity of the Mexican leader could for a minute doubt his assurance."⁶⁹

In a unique arrangement, Weeks continued to head the Mexican News Bureau, which in effect was Carranza's propaganda organ, while also managing the editorial and news departments of the United States' wartime propaganda enterprise. Furthermore, the CPI permitted him to supervise one of its most unusual projects. Between October 3, 1918, and January 30, 1919, he produced an English-language version of the Mexican government's official news bulletin, which the CPI distributed extensively throughout the United States.⁷⁰

Remaining in Mexico City after the war ended and the CPI office closed, Weeks turned his attention to running the Mexican News Bureau and reviving the *Mexican Review*. When it reappeared in April 1919, the *Review* was both a more extensive and higher quality publication. Most important, he had transformed it into a bilingual journal. While retaining its essential purpose, format, and character, the new *Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana* could now reach a larger and more diverse audience in the United States.⁷¹ Furthermore, recognizing the enormous potential for the expansion of Mexican trade and commerce in the postwar era, Weeks called attention to the journal's merits as an advertising vehicle: "At the present moment there is a renewed activity in commercial circles all over the world . . .

and manufacturers and dealers in every sort of product . . . are looking for new markets and new sources of supply." He believed that Mexico was "a fertile field in both directions" and "all that is needed is to bring the people . . . of the United States and Mexico into closer touch with each other." He said "this can only be done by advertizing," and "at present, *THE MEXICAN REVIEW* is the only medium that affords an opportunity for those interested in either country to reach those of the other."⁷²

In November 1919, the sixty-seven-year-old Weeks contracted an infection that kept him bedridden for almost two months and nearly cost him his life. Ignoring his physician's insistence that he return to the United States, he resumed his duties in early 1920. In the following May, however, a military insurrection under the banner of the Plan de Agua Prieta drove Carranza from Mexico City after he attempted to manipulate the election of a handpicked, civilian successor. He was

assassinated as he retreated towards Veracruz.⁷³

Generals Adolfo de la Huerta, Alvaro Obregón, and Plutarco Elías Calles, the principal leaders of the rebellion, had contributed greatly to the success of the Constitutionalist movement and held important political and military positions during Carranza's presidency. Weeks had known and worked with these men since the early days of the struggle against Huerta. However, he naively refused to believe that the Sonoran officers were responsible for Carranza's murder. The President's death, he insisted, came at the hands of a "band of reactionary recalcitrants . . . financed by foreign concerns," most likely the international petroleum interests.⁷⁴

After Carranza's death, Weeks left Mexico for good, but he did not sever his connection with the Mexican government. Returning to Washington, he resumed production of the *Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana* under the auspices of Adolfo de la Huerta's provisional administration. He managed the magazine until August 1921, when President Alvaro Obregón placed it under the control of the Secretariat of Agriculture and Development. Samuel G. Vázquez, director of the Mexican agricultural and commercial exposition center in Los Angeles, replaced Weeks as editor and further increased the *Review/Revista's* focus upon Mexican economic development and commercial programs.⁷⁵

Obregón, however, immediately hired Weeks as a publicity agent for the Mexican embassy. He soon reestablished the Mexican News

*"Weeks remained
in Washington
and continued to head
the Mexican News Bureau
and Mexican Review after
Carranza's formal assumption
of the presidency in May 1917.
The salary he received
for his various services
was a rather comfortable \$300
(later raised to \$400) per month,
plus expenses."*

Bureau, which now also became a vehicle to advertise Mexico's trade potential and investment opportunities. His many duties included issuing press releases, distributing translations of financial and commercial information published in Mexican newspapers and the government's *Diario Oficial*, and answering letters of inquiry regarding Mexican affairs. He also frequently spoke before civic and business groups and lobbied politicians, publishers, and educators. Taking full advantage of his personal and political connections, he also served as a broker between potential U.S. investors and Mexican public officials, bankers, businessmen, and land owners.⁷⁶ Although it appears that his employment with the Mexican government did not extend beyond the end of Obregón's presidency in 1924, he retained an abiding interest in Mexico and a personal connection to Mexican political figures. He continued to write feature articles on a variety of Mexican topics and letters to the editor, defending the Mexican government and its policies.⁷⁷

During this time, Weeks also compiled an extensive, partially autobiographical account of his experiences in Porfirian and revolutionary Mexico. Written in the rather episodic format typical of Weeks' literary style, the three manuscripts totaling five volumes blended his own recollections and reminiscences with character sketches, anecdotes, folkways, myths, and, of course, numerous topics related to the revolution and Mexican political affairs. He submitted the manuscripts to several leading editorial houses, but in 1928 he complained that publishers expressed little interest in anything that deviated from the narrow and predominately negative view of Mexico prevailing in the United States, and they have never been published. His death on November 5, 1928, finally ended his long relationship with the Mexican government.⁷⁸

Throughout the Constitutionalist revolution and regime, Weeks maintained a unique and trusted relationship with Carranza, who had little reason to trust the United States or its citizens, especially journalists. Weeks, however, earned that confidence through an unwavering belief in the Mexican leader's personal courage, honesty, and integrity and his constancy in support of Carranza's policies for pacification, reconstruction, reinstitutionalization, and national independence. He was "proud to have worked loyally and honorably" with Carranza. He confessed that he "always had a blind faith in him and in his cause, and I am proud to say that with my small grain of sand I contributed to the triumph of the Revolution."⁷⁹

Weeks's friendship with Carranza, his family, and his associates provided an entree into the highest circles of Constitutionalist leadership and influence. At the same time, his access to important political officials in the United States government permitted him to exercise a degree of "personal diplomacy" to which few Carrancistas could aspire. Although his relationship with Carranza's successors was far less intimate, he continued to endorse their epic struggle "to deliver Mexico from poverty, bondage, ignorance, and oppression."⁸⁰

Obviously, Weeks's "blind faith" in Carranza and his unflinching support of the Constitutionalist cause attenuated his journalistic objectivity, and the pride he felt in contributing his "small grain of sand" to the triumph of the revolution clearly demonstrates that far more than pecuniary interests moved him to serve the Mexican government. While the material that he produced was subject to the approval of Mexican authorities and he consciously placed the most positive "spin" on the information presented to the American public, he firmly believed that he was telling the "truth" about Mexican affairs. Furthermore, the fact that he was an eyewitness to many of the events of the Revolution served to validate his own sense of objectivity and credibility: "I went through the campaigns . . . and was

present at the first capture of Mexico City in 1914." From the beginning of the Constitutionalist movement, he maintained close contact with its principal leaders. "Thus," he stated, "I had at all times an unusual opportunity to witness and participate in historical events of that period."⁸¹

It is impossible to measure empirically the degree to which "El Gringo" and the Carrancista information service influenced public opinion or directly affected United States policies toward Mexico. Carranza's highest diplomatic representatives and legal advisors in Washington, however, extolled Weeks' "energy," "hard work," "usefulness," and "effectiveness" in promoting and defending the Constitutionalist cause.⁸² Despite the fact that Carranza's rivals, particularly Villa, sought to influence public opinion and operated their own publicity services in the United States, none attempted to establish organizations as extensive, complex, or expensive as the Carrancista enterprise. They never matched the capacity of Weeks and his colleagues' to conduct coordinated, systematic campaigns at the national or international level.⁸³

Weeks and his associates' exploitation of the print media in the United States certainly contributed to Carranza's achievement of virtually all of his major diplomatic objectives in his relationship with the United States. The Mexican information service served to counteract negative publicity, promote and defend the Constitutionalist agenda, and champion Carranza's interests among both the North American public and the Mexican expatriate community. Carrancista publicists effectively used the press to discredit Huerta and mobilize opposition to his dictatorial regime. Receiving *de facto* diplomatic recognition from the Wilson administration in 1915, despite the First Chief's stridently nationalistic economic and political policies, was both a major diplomatic and public relations coup. The avoidance of war during the crisis of 1916, the extension of *de jure* recognition to Carranza in 1917 despite outcries from powerful political and business interests, the spirit of cautious cooperation between the two nations during World War I, and the failure of interventionists to muster sufficient support for the use of U.S. military forces to topple the Carranza regime in the post-World War I period all suggest the significant, positive results of Weeks' efforts.

NOTES

¹ John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969).

² James Creelman, "Interview with Porfirio Díaz," *Pearson's Magazine*, March 1908, 241-77.

³ John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969).

⁴ See Carlos Fuentes, *Gringo Viejo* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985); and *The Old Gringo*, Columbia/Tristar Studios, 1989. For Weeks's own version of the matter, see George F. Weeks, *California Copy* (Washington: Washington College Press, 1928), 283-93.

⁵ For a discussion of the development, characteristics, and practices of the various public relations models, see James E. Grunig and Todd Hunt, *Managing Public Relations* (Orlando, Fla.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 13-46.

⁶ Weeks, *California Copy*, 13-16, 332. While this work recounts episodes of Weeks' career before he went to Mexico, there is remarkably (and maddeningly) little specific or detailed information about his personal life and activities. This essential characteristic of all of his writings makes any attempt to provide an extensive, detailed discussion and analysis of Weeks' activities, social and business relationships, and ideas a challenge, if not a virtual impossibility.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 16-21, 25-34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 42, 48-59, 80-87, 90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 90-106.

¹⁰ Ibid., 107-14.

¹¹ Ibid., 133-37, 146-48, 164-67.

¹² Ibid., 167-69.

¹³ Ibid., 182-83.

¹⁴ Ibid., 193-94; George F. Weeks, "Rubber Growth of Mexico's West Coast: What a California Editor Learned During Two Years of Sojourn and Travel in the Sierra Madre and on the Pacific Lowlands," unpublished manuscript in the Archivo de la Embajada de México en los Estados Unidos de América (hereafter cited, AEMEUA), Leg. 683(III), Exp. 14, Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City (hereafter cited, AHSRE), 1.

¹⁵ See George F. Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," unpublished manuscript in AEMEUA, Leg. 683(II), Exp. 11; and George F. Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of Peace," unpublished manuscript in AEMEUA, Leg. 683(II), Exp. 10.

¹⁶ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of Peace," 317-26.

¹⁷ See Ibid., 327; and George F. Weeks to Editor, "Rubber Age," Washington, D.C., Nov. 2, 1927, AEMEUA, Leg. 683(III), Exp. 14.

¹⁸ "AEL Gringo" (Geo. F. Weeks), *Seen in a Mexican Plaza: A Summer's Idyll of an Idle Summer* (New York: Fleming H. Ravell Company, 1918).

¹⁹ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 15.

²⁰ The standard study in English of Carranza's revolution and regime is Douglas W. Richmond, *Venustiano Carranza's Nationalist Struggle, 1893-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). See also Jesús Carranza Castro, *Origen, destino y legado de Carranza* (México, D.F.: B. Costa-Amic, Editor, 1977).

²¹ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 188-89.

²² Carranza Castro, *Origen, destino y legado de Carranza*, 179-81.

²³ George F. Weeks, "Mexico from a 'Side-Door Pullman' (and Otherwise): An American Newspaperman's Journeying during Revolutionary and Other Times . . .," unpublished manuscript in AEMEUA, Leg. 683(I), Exp. 6.

²⁴ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 178-85.

²⁵ "Dumdum Bullets, Sing Song of Death," *New York Herald*, June 1, 1914.

²⁶ "Villa, Leaving Army, Resumes the Governorship of Chihuahua," *New York Herald*, June 17, 1914.

²⁷ See Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 109-24, 248-53; Weeks, "Mexico from a 'Side-Door Pullman' (and Otherwise)," 34-56 passim; and *New York Herald*, June 17, 1914, and June 20, 1914.

²⁸ For the standard monograph in English on the convention, see Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution, 1914-1915: The Convention of Aguascalientes* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960).

²⁹ Regarding the U.S. occupation of Veracruz, see Robert E. Quirk, *An Affair of Honor: Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Veracruz* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1967).

³⁰ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 125-27.

³¹ The number of general and monographic works dealing with the revolution, factional strife, and U.S.-Mexican relations is vast and varied. The following is a sampling in English: Stanley R. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero: Apostle of Mexican Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution: The Constitutionalist Years* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); Michael C. Meyer, *Huerta: A Political Portrait* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972); John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Peter V. N. Henderson, *Félix Díaz, the Porfirians and the Mexican Revolution* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981); Richmond, *Venustiano Carranza's Nationalist Struggle*; Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998); Linda B. Hall, *Alvaro Obregón: Power and Revolution in Mexico, 1911-1920* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1981); Mark T. Gilderhus, *Diplomacy and Revolution: U.S.-Mexican Relations under Wilson and Carranza* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); and P. Edward Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico: 1910-1917* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970).

³² For a sample of complaints, see Adolfo Carrillo to Venustiano Carranza, Los Angeles, California, Septiembre 22, 1914, Manuscritos de don Venustiano Carranza. Fondo XX-I, Centro de Estudios de Historia de México, Fundación Cultural de Condumex, Mexico City (hereafter cited, VC), doc. 1583; Heriberto Barrón to Félix F. Palavicini, New Orleans, Louisiana, Mayo 2, 1915, VC, doc. 4105; W.F. Valderrama to Venustiano Carranza, Chicago, Illinois, Junio 15, 1915,

VC, doc. 4632; Ernesto Meade Fierro [?] to Venustiano Carranza, San Antonio, Texas, Julio 1, 1915, VC, doc. 4771; Manuel Carpio to Venustiano Carranza, Chicago, Illinois, Noviembre 2, 1915, VC, doc. 6543; and Venustiano Carranza to Virginia Garza, México, D.F., Marzo 29, 1917, VC, doc. 12752. See also, Weeks, "The Real Mexico and the Real Mexicans," 1-8; and Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War," 1-2.

³³ See, for example, Willebaldo Izaguirre to Rafaél Zubarán Capmany, San Francisco, California, Enero 14, 1914, VC, doc. 754; Eliseo Arredondo to Robert Lansing, Washington, D.C., April 12, 1916, Exp. 17-9-160, AHSRE; 1; and Cándido Aguilar to Ignacio Bonillas, México, D.F., Junio 18, 1918, Exp. 18-1-58, AHSRE, 2.

³⁴ Michael M. Smith, "Carrancista Propaganda and the Print Media in the United States: An Overview of Institutions," *The Americas* 52, 2 (October 1995): 155-74. An excellent examination of revolutionary propaganda between 1913 and 1915 related to the Constitutionalist movement and Pancho Villa, in particular, is Mark Cronlund Anderson's *Pancho Villa's Revolution by Headlines* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

³⁵ See Modesto C. Rolland to Venustiano Carranza, New York, Agosto 19, 1914, VC, doc. 1282; and Modesto C. Rolland to Jesús Urueta, Veracruz, Enero 23, 1915, in "Modesto C. Rolland. Su expediente." 5-7-19, AHSRE, 12. For examples of the "Mexican Letter," see VC, docs. 1558, 2246, 2295, 3662, and 4233; and Enriquez to Venustiano Carranza, New York, Diciembre 11, 1914, VC, doc. 2200.

³⁶ There are thousands of telegrams and other documents scattered throughout the AHSRE related to the Pan American News Service. A fairly good idea of its activities is in the telegrams and correspondence found in L-E-836.

³⁷ See Samuel Belden to Eliseo Arredondo, San Antonio, Texas, Jan. 6, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 477, Exp. 16; Weeks to Arredondo, Galveston, Texas, April 9, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 478, Exp. 2; and Dillon to Arredondo, Veracruz, June 21, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 455, Exp. 5.

³⁸ See, for example, Weeks to Arredondo, Galveston, Texas, April 9, 1915, Leg. 478, Exp. 2; PANS Press Release, Washington, D.C., April [?] 1915, Leg. 477, Exp. 16; Carlo di Fornaro to Arredondo, New York, April 15, 1915, Leg. 478, Exp. 2; and Weeks to Arredondo, New York, Veracruz, June 8, 1915, Leg. 477, Exp. 14. All are in AEMEUA. See also Weeks to Burns, Veracruz, July 15, 1915, Caja III, Exp. 2, Fondo Juan Barragán, Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

³⁹ George F. Weeks to Venustiano Carranza, Veracruz, Dec. 2, 1914, VC, doc. 2176. Apparently, the book was never published.

⁴⁰ George L. Edmunds to Jack Danciger, Washington, D.C., Dec. 9, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 480, Exp. 1.

⁴¹ Dillon to Arredondo, Veracruz, June 21, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 455, Exp. 5.

⁴² George F. Weeks to Eliseo Arredondo, Veracruz, Aug. 19, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 461, Exp. 6.

⁴³ See Telegram, G.F. Weeks to Franklin K. Lane, Veracruz, Aug. 19, 1915; and Geo. F. Weeks to Franklin K. Lane, Veracruz, Aug. 19, 1915, doc. 812.00/15961, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico, 1910-1920, Record Group 59, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 274, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Washington: General Services Administration, 1959), hereafter cited as RDS.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Franklin K. Lane to Robert Lansing, Washington, Aug. 26, 1915, doc. 812.00/15961, RDS.

⁴⁷ Alfredo Breceda to Venustiano Carranza, New York, 22 Julio 1915, VC, doc. 5009.

⁴⁸ Timothy G. Turner, "Prospectus for the Organization of an Official Bureau of Information of the Constitutionalist Government . . .," New York, July 21, 1915, Exp. L-E-811(1), AHSRE, 15-17. For a Spanish version of the plan, see VC, doc. 5009. Turner provided an account of his experiences during the Mexican Revolution in his autobiographical *Bullets, Bottles, and Gardenias* (Dallas, Texas: South-West Press, 1935).

⁴⁹ Turner, "Prospectus," 15-17.

⁵⁰ See Juan Nefthali Amador to Acuña, Washington, 17 Noviembre 1915,

Leg. 478, Exp. 7; Acuña to Arredondo, México, 8 Diciembre 1915, Leg. 483, Exp. 11; George L. Edmunds to Jack Danciger, Washington, D.C., Dec. 9, 1915, Leg. 480, Exp. 1; Arredondo to Turner, Washington, D.C., Dec. 11, 1915, Leg. 483, Exp. 11; Arredondo to Caturegli, Washington, D.C., 15 Diciembre 1915, Leg. 483, Exp. 11; Circular #3, Eliseo Arredondo, Washington, D.C., 27 Diciembre 1915, Leg. 483, Exp. 11; and George L. Edmunds to Arredondo, Washington, D.C., Feb. 9, 1916, Leg. 488, Exp. 3. All are in AEMEUA.

⁵¹ G.F. Weeks to Eliseo Arredondo, Mexico City, Dec. 17, 1915, AEMEUA, Leg. 471, Exp. 1.

⁵² For a discussion of the mixed commission, see Joseph A. Stout, Jr., *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920* (Ft. Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1999), 93-102.

⁵³ See G.F. Weeks to Edmunds, New London, Connecticut, Sept. 20, 1916; Luis Cabrera to Eliseo Arredondo, New London, Connecticut, 20 Septiembre 1916; Cándido Aguilar to Eliseo Arredondo, México, 14 Septiembre 1916; and George L. Edmunds to Eliseo Arredondo, Washington, D.C., Sept. 21, 1916 All are in AEMEUA, Leg. 499, Exp. 8.

⁵⁴ See George F. Weeks to Ramón P. De Negri, Washington, D.C., June 31, 1917, Exp. 17-6-299, AHSRE, 4; and Secretario de Estado del Exterior to Ignacio Bonillas, México, D.F., 22 Mayo 1917, in :George T.[sic] Weeks. Su expediente personal." 1-19-61, AHSRE, 1.

⁵⁵ G.F. Weeks to Ygnacio Bonillas, Washington, Dec. 4, 1917, AEMEUA, Leg. 509, Exp. 28.

⁵⁶ G.F. Weeks to Juan B. Rojo, Washington, Jan. 9, 1918, AEMEUA, Leg. 509, Exp. 28.

⁵⁷ G.F. Weeks to Arredondo, Mexico, D.F., May 29, 1916, AEMEUA, Leg. 489, Exp. 4.

⁵⁸ *Mexican Review* 1, 1 (October 1916): 1.

⁵⁹ G.F. Weeks to R. P. DeNegri, Washington, D.C., Jan. 31, 1917, Expediente 17-6-299, AHSRE. By "propaganda" Weeks meant information of a purely political nature and, of course, favorable to the Mexican government.

⁶⁰ George F. Weeks, "History of the Mexican Review and Mexican News Bureau," Washington, D.C., [?], n.d., AEMEUA, Leg. 683(I), Exp. 6. A nearly complete set of the *Mexican Review* is at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas.

⁶¹ See *Mexican Review* 1, 6 (March 1917): 1; and George F. Weeks to R.P. De Negri, Washington, D.C., Jan. 31, 1917, Exp. 17-6-299, AHSRE.

⁶² "Last of Zapata and Blanquet," *Mexican Review* II, 2 (May 1919): 38, 42.

⁶³ Bonillas to Carranza, Washington, April 24, 1917, AEMEUA, Leg. 526, Leg. 39.

⁶⁴ Weeks to Carranza, Washington, April 1918, AEMEUA, Leg. 526, Exp. 39.

⁶⁵ See Weeks to Ignacio Bonillas, Washington, D.C., March 29, 1918; and Bonillas to Cándido Aguilar, Washington, D.C., 12 Abril 1918, both in AEMEUA, Leg. 593, Exp. 56.

⁶⁶ Cándido Aguilar to Cosme Hinojosa, México, D.F., 11 Mayo 1918, Exp. 18-1-58, AHSRE, 6.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Director of Military Intelligence to Military Attaché in Mexico City, Washington, D.C. [?], Sept. 30, 1918, File Number 10640-76; Captain Hoffman to Captain Powell, n.p., Oct. 30, 1918, PF 30673, File 152-Censorship Files; Captain Ray E. Powell, Memorandum for Captain Nichols, n.p., Oct. 25, 1918, PF 30673 [?], File 152-Censorship Files; and U.S. Postal Censorship, San Antonio, Texas, April 19, 1919, Index. No. 29050, PF 30673 [?], File 152-Censorship Files. All are in the Files of the Military Intelligence Division, Records of the War Department, General and Special Staffs, Record Group 165, Office of the Chief of Staff, War College Division, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

⁶⁸ George F. Weeks, "Article sent to President [David Starr] Jordan . . .," Washington, D.C. [?], n.d., AEMEUA, Leg. 683(I), Exp. 7.

⁶⁹ "Alleged German Sympathies of Carranza," AEMEUA, Leg. 683(I), Exp. 7.

⁷⁰ James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, "Activities of the Mexican Section of the Creel Committee, 1917-1918," *Journalism Quarterly* 16, 2 (June 1939): 136-50

⁷¹ See *Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana* 3, 1 (April 1919): 1; and "George F. Weeks. Su solicitud con motivo de los gastos que eroga en la propaganda de la Revista Mexicana que se edita en Washington." 1922, Exp. 17-6-290, AHSRE, 1.

⁷² *Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana* 3, 1 (April 1919): 1.

⁷³ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of Peace," 137-39.

⁷⁴ AEMEUA, Leg. 683(III), Exp. 13.

⁷⁵ *Mexican Review/Revista Mexicana* 5, 3-4 (October-November 1921).

⁷⁶ "Statement of the Activities of the Mexican News Bureau in Washington under Geo. F. Weeks," Exp. 17-16-290, AHSRE, 16-17.

⁷⁷ See, for example, *New York Times*, May 23, 1927; Oct. 18, 1927; and Feb. 12, 1928.

⁷⁸ These include the two-volume works, "Mexican Trails" and "The Real Mexico and the Real Mexicans," and "Mexico from a 'Side-Door Pullman' (And Otherwise);" George F. Weeks to Manuel C. Téllez, Washington, D.C., June 28, 1924, Exp. 30-5-173, AHSRE; "Suggestions Regarding the Publication and Circulation of ['The Real Mexico and the Real Mexicans']," AEMEUA, Leg. 683(III), Exp. 15; and personal communication to the author from Bradley Weeks, Jan. 14, 2003.

⁷⁹ Weeks to Bonillas, México, D.F., 16 Diciembre 1918, AEMEUA, Leg. 526, Exp. 39.

⁸⁰ AEMEUA, Leg. 683(III), Exp. 13.

⁸¹ Weeks, "Mexican Trails: In Times of War."

⁸² See Bonillas to Carranza, Washington, April 24, 1917; and Charles A. Douglas to Bonillas, Washington, June 7, 1918. Both are in AEMEUA, Leg. 526, Exp. 39.

⁸³ See, especially, Anderson, *Pancho Villa's Revolution by Headlines*.

