

and the patent race discrimination avoided. Again, the treatment of Colonel Young, no matter what the facts are, is looked upon by nearly every Negro as discrimination aimed at a deserving officer. Add to these things the continuation of lynchings throughout the United States and especially the mob violence against honest Negro workingmen in East St. Louis, in Pennsylvania, and in Ohio, the treatment of colored troops in Waco, and in Houston, Texas, and the discrimination in the cantonments in the South - All this is doing much to convince the American Negroes that they can only serve their country by submitting to injustice and insult.

Against these things may be placed the fairness of the draft and the colored officers' training camp at Des Moines. It is evident that the government, especially the War Department, can follow up these actions most effectively if it will and do much to overcome present impressions. It can, for instance, establish a second officers' training camp, since the present number of officers trained is clearly inadequate for the colored troops; it can provide for Negro surgeons and chaplains in the colored regiments; it can see that Negro troops in the South are respected and given fair treatment; and it can arrange that Colonel Young should be given honorable and active service at the head of a brigade of colored troops. If these things should be done, and if in addition to these, the War Department will give early and definite assurance that Negro troops are to be used as soldiers in the same way as white men, and that the draft law is not to be made a method for a kind of enslavement of colored labor, and if also the President of the United States can be induced to give some assurance that he does not sympathize with lynching and mob rule in the case of colored victims, it is certain that the country can count upon the loyalty of its colored citizens to the very end.

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Memorandum on the Loyalty of the American Negro  
in the Present War.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WAR COLLEGE DIVISION  
10218-7  
WAR DEPARTMENT

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From time to time it has been intimated that the Negroes of the United States were not loyal to the government in the present war and that this was due to a definite pro-German propaganda. The evidence of such propaganda has seemed rather indefinite, but Associated Press dispatches from Greensboro, N. C., made many accusations; a colored man in Iowa asserted that he had been approached with a definite proposition; a colored paper asserted knowledge of alleged conspiracies in Southern California; and at the time of the troubles in East St. Louis it was repeatedly suggested that German propaganda was back of certain attempts of the Negroes at self-defense.

It is, of course, impossible for the writer to say how much truth or exaggeration there has been in these or other allegations, but it seems to him certain that there are adequate reasons for the unrest and dissatisfaction which is at present manifest throughout twelve millions of Americans of Negro descent, and that no assumption of a special propaganda on the part of pro-German sympathizers is necessary to explain this situation. Careful consultation with responsible leaders of the colored people, who have their hands upon the pulse of the Negro throughout the country, shows no evidence of any concerted pro-German efforts.

It is, however, manifest that the American Negro at the present crisis feels especially abused. It was, for instance, without doubt regarded as an insult when Negro conscripts were asked to tear off the corner of the registration blank. The information desired could have been gotten by a general question in the body of the schedule

Copy to The Chief of Staff, 8/29/17.