



# The Buffalo Soldiers in Vermont, 1909–1913

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that clearly dismayed many residents.*

By DAVID WORK

**I**n July 1909, the Tenth United States Cavalry Regiment, one of four regular army black regiments collectively known as the Buffalo Soldiers, arrived in Burlington, Vermont, to begin a four-year tour of duty at Fort Ethan Allen in neighboring Colchester. Their arrival alarmed the almost exclusively white population. Many people feared the presence of sizable numbers of African American soldiers in their community and a bitter debate ensued over whether the city should adopt Jim Crow facilities. For the next four years, the Tenth Cavalry would encounter similar reactions as it traveled throughout the northeast and as far south as Winchester, Virginia. Wherever they went, the black soldiers faced fear and suspicion and had to demonstrate good behavior to win the acceptance of the white population.

Created in 1866, the Tenth Cavalry achieved its greatest fame in the late nineteenth century on the western frontier and then served with distinction during the Spanish-American War. In that conflict, the regiment charged up San Juan Hill with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders and won public renown as the "fighting Tenth Cavalry." In the early twentieth century, the Tenth fought in the Philippine War, served in

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Nebraska, and literally traveled around the world. During these years, the black troopers faced increasing racial hostility from a white population determined to keep them in their place. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Texas, and Nebraska, racial incidents occurred that constantly reminded the African American soldiers they served a nation that treated them as second-class citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Regardless of how they were treated, the black troopers continued to serve. In fact, the Tenth Cavalry had one of the army's lowest desertion and highest reenlistment rates. The regiment's desertion rate in 1910 was only 1.52 percent, a very low rate, especially when compared to white regiments, which averaged 3.77 percent. In 1912, the average time of service throughout the entire regiment was just over five years; thirty-three men had over twenty years of service, with the longest being the twenty-six years of Corporal William Thacker. As a result, the black men in the Tenth were experienced, disciplined, relatively well educated, professional soldiers with, Lieutenant Kerr Riggs said, "tremendous unit pride." Corporal Howard Queen best expressed this sentiment when he wrote, "The brave colored soldier in war . . . has always stood his ground . . . [and] in time of peace he is practically invaluable." The regiment was considered to be one of the best units in the army.<sup>2</sup>

By 1909, such considerations hardly mattered because the memory of the infamous Brownsville Affair distorted all white perceptions of black soldiers. In August 1906, high racial tensions in the Texas border town between the white population and a garrison of the black Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiment led unknown assailants to shoot up the town. The black soldiers were unfairly blamed and President Theodore Roosevelt discharged 167 of them without benefit of a trial. Following this incident, bills were introduced in Congress that sought to eliminate the black regiments. Though these bills failed to pass, the Brownsville Affair tainted all African American troops as a potentially dangerous group of men.<sup>3</sup>

As a result, white communities became reluctant to accept the presence of black soldiers, as demonstrated by the reaction of Sackets Harbor, New York, to the arrival of the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment. In 1907, this community greeted the African American regiment with protests and demands for its transfer to some other location. The local congressman and other prominent citizens appealed directly to the army for the black soldiers' removal, but to no avail as the Twenty-fourth took station as planned. Two years later, "ill feeling" still existed between the regiment and the white residents of Sackets Harbor. This reaction set an ugly precedent for the Tenth Cavalry.<sup>4</sup>

The Tenth initially was spared such treatment because it spent the

years from 1907 to 1909 in the Philippines, but in May 1909 it boarded ship to return to the United States. The journey took two and a half months as the regiment sailed west by way of Singapore, Ceylon, Arabia, the Suez Canal, Malta, and Gibraltar. On July 25, the Tenth arrived in New York City where it was greeted by the greatest public demonstrations any Buffalo Soldier regiment ever received. A large crowd of cheering blacks awaited their arrival at the pier and the next day the Tenth paraded through the city. As ticker tape and streamers showered upon them, the African American troopers marched down Wall Street, then up Broadway, and on to City Hall Park. New York's streets seemed alive with cheering crowds, black and white. The remarkable day ended with a banquet, speeches, and a vaudeville show, and early the next morning the Tenth Cavalry proceeded to its new post, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont.<sup>5</sup>

Constructed in 1894, Fort Ethan Allen covered 600 acres of real estate several miles north of Burlington. The surrounding countryside, described by one army officer as "fairylke," consisted of grassy hills and green meadows with small springs flowing across the landscape and waterfalls tumbling down ravines. This officer described Burlington as a city with streets of "arcades of maple, flanked by rows of old and stately mansions." More importantly, Burlington and Vermont had a distinguished civil rights history, being a center of abolitionism before the Civil War and later sending to Congress representatives and senators who fought for black civil rights.<sup>6</sup>

The arrival of the Tenth Cavalry sent Burlington into demographic shock. In 1900, Burlington's population (including the surrounding communities) hovered at about 25,000, a figure that included only 117 blacks. In fact, the entire state of Vermont had an African American population of just 826. In July 1909, the Tenth Cavalry reported 750 black enlisted men currently in the regiment. The actual number of African Americans arriving in Burlington was far higher because the regiment had a large camp following that included wives, children, and other relatives as well as businessmen, gamblers, prostitutes, and the usual assortment of disreputable characters that followed all army regiments. One newspaper estimated that the black population increased by as many as 1,500 people. Almost overnight, Burlington acquired a substantial black community, a situation that clearly dismayed many residents.<sup>7</sup>

The sudden influx of so many blacks led some town residents to protest the assignment of the black cavalry regiment to the local fort. The editor of the *Burlington Free Press* disapproved of the assignment, writing that if the federal government believed there would be "no

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*South End of Barracks, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont [1909]. VHS Post card collection. The image shows a few of the members of the Tenth Cavalry, known as the Buffalo Soldiers.*

objection to the presence of so large a body of negroes, they were in error.” The town was “up in arms” over the decision and in mid-July, as the regiment’s first units arrived, several racial incidents occurred. One black sergeant attempted to cash a pay voucher in a local bank, but he was refused service even though his voucher was good. On several occasions, white residents left restaurants when black soldiers entered, and many white citizens of Burlington demanded that Jim Crow trolley cars be instituted. The editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* expressed such sentiments when he wrote that “the menace” posed by the black soldiers could be eliminated if the cavalryman “could get his beer at a fort canteen, instead of in Burlington saloons.” By simply excluding the African American soldiers from town, he lectured, “the matter of control would take care of itself.”<sup>8</sup>

These reactions disturbed some residents of Burlington, who sought to defend the town’s commitment to equal rights. Lucius Bigelow, a former mayor of Burlington, wrote the *Free Press* that there “will not be any Jim Crow cars” because no “manly Vermonter” wants them. “There is no color line in our laws,” he proclaimed, “and there will be no color line in our cars.” Furthermore, there was nothing to fear, Bigelow argued, because the soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry were “gallant, courteous and kindly men, who make no trouble and merit no insult or

derision from their white fellow citizens.” The *Burlington Daily News*, in contrast to its rival, the *Free Press*, published no comments against the African American soldiers and opposed Jim Crow cars, calling them a “pipe dream.” Elias Lyman, president of the Street Railroad Company, agreed with the *Daily News* and vowed that no segregated cars would be put into service. He expected “no trouble” from the “famous Tenth.”<sup>9</sup>

A commitment to civil rights only partly explains why these prominent citizens expressed such noble sentiments. They also feared that the hysteria unleashed by the Tenth’s arrival was ruining Vermont’s reputation. The editor of the *New York Times* attacked Burlington for its “foolish, and . . . unpatriotic and unworthy” reaction, and the editor of the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican* commented that the residents of Burlington should be “ashamed of themselves.” Some newspapers compared Vermont’s behavior with that of the South, as exemplified by the editor of the *Boston Traveler*, who commented that the “people of Vermont are acting not unlike their southern brethren.” A few Southern newspapers reacted with glee to what was occurring in Burlington, viewing the situation, as the editor of the New Orleans *Times Democrat* wrote, as a vindication of their belief that whites and blacks cannot “live in the same country peaceably” unless separated by the color line. Such comments, the editor of the St. Albans *Messenger*, a Vermont paper, wrote, were not only “humiliating,” but “adversely” branded the people of Vermont as both “negro haters” and a “stubbornly, bigoted, narrow-minded, rural” people.<sup>10</sup>

This was certainly not the image that Vermont wanted to project to the nation. The comments of the national press disturbed the newspapers, politicians, and businessmen of Burlington and Vermont, all prominent people who had no desire either to serve as an example of the South’s racial views or see their community smeared in the national press. They sought to defend their city and state against such attacks, while at the same time upholding their commitment to civil rights.

The black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry, over whom this entire ruckus was being made, remained officially silent on the subject of Jim Crow cars or any other form of racial segregation. They had encountered this reaction before and, upon arriving in Vermont, seemed only worried about the cold winters. On the other hand, one white officer, Major George Sands, marveled “at sentiment antagonistic to a negro regiment . . . in such a patriotic spot as Burlington.” He predicted that the African American soldiers would “give the people of Burlington some lessons in patriotism.”<sup>11</sup>

Regardless of the opinions of community leaders and out-of-state newspapers, many people in Burlington awaited the Tenth’s arrival

with foreboding. Some expected “rioting and carnage.” These citizens, as the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* wrote, had determined that “the troopers of the 10th will have to conduct themselves twice as well as white soldiers.” Any disturbance that might “pass for a flow of animal spirits in the Caucasian” would, if committed by an African American soldier, “be riot, outrage and bloody murder.” The first week, wrote a correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner*, was “a critical time.” If it brought disorder, “then Jim Crow cars and all sorts of color lines may be the result. The people of this city [Burlington] . . . are anxiously awaiting the outcome.” The town was telling the black troopers to maintain their best behavior at all times.<sup>12</sup>

On July 28, the Tenth Cavalry finally arrived in Burlington and, as it became clear that the troopers would not cause any trouble, the community breathed a collective sigh of relief. “Military Discipline Is Kept Up Without A Break,” shouted the headline of the *Burlington Daily News*, and the *Rutland Daily Herald* headline for August 4 proclaimed “Fighting Tenth Still Quiet.” Throughout the first week, the conduct of the black soldiers consistently surprised many citizens. As the correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner* wrote, the Tenth was “proving a happy surprise. They haven’t shot up the town yet, they don’t mob the trolley cars and are civil and courteous to both men and women.” No racial conflict of any kind took place and the soldiers rode the electric cars without incident.<sup>13</sup>

The town decided against instituting Jim Crow cars, though de facto segregation occurred. In some parts of the city, saloons provided separate bars for the black troopers; others refused service to any African American in uniform, and within a few weeks a small black business community emerged that catered exclusively to the black soldiers. The people of Vermont, as the editor of the *Montpelier Journal* wrote, had realized that “the presence of a few colored soldiers at Fort Ethan Allen will not endanger white supremacy in Vermont.” By August 14, the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald*, who previously opposed the transfer of African American soldiers to Vermont, was writing that “the state of Vermont made a good exchange when the hoodlum white [soldiers] . . . were replaced by negro cavalrymen.”<sup>14</sup>

The conduct of the black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry undoubtedly played a role in the town’s acceptance of the regiment, as they quickly became active and beneficial members of the community. The regimental band played for the public four times a week and on one occasion the regiment’s mandolin club and singers performed at a benefit for Burlington’s public library. The Tenth allowed the public to watch the daily mounted drills and weekly parades conducted on the post parade

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*The Riding Academy, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont. No date, VHS Post card collection. This is where the Tenth Cavalry conducted their daily mounted exercises and drills.*

ground. The most popular activity engaged in by the black troopers was baseball. The Tenth Cavalry's regimental team frequently played local clubs, such as the American Woolen Company and the Flyaways, and teams from the University of Vermont, Barre, Hardwick, Rutland, St. Albans, Dartmouth College, and West Point, New York. The games were competitive and attended by large crowds, numbering as many as 300 people.<sup>15</sup>

The result of these activities was that the community embraced the regiment. After a band concert, one resident wrote the Tenth thanking the soldiers for the generous act and declaring that the sentiment of Vermonters toward the regiment was "very kind." In April 1910, a local club held a dinner and dance to honor the noncommissioned officers. More than one hundred prominent citizens, including the mayor of Burlington and an ex-governor of the state, attended the party. The town again honored the regiment in July 1910, when, as the Tenth was leaving for New York to participate in maneuvers, homes and businesses displayed flags and large crowds gathered to watch the regiment march out of town. Because of these activities, the regiment's veterinarian, S. W. Service, reported, "a friendly and almost confidential feeling has sprung up between the townspeople and the soldiers."<sup>16</sup>

The black troopers, of course, were not angels and often committed

petty and not so petty crimes. The local police department arrested soldiers for disorderly conduct, forgery, breaking into homes, and even disturbances on the electric cars. None of these incidents led to any riots, outbreaks, disorders, or demands for Jim Crow facilities as the white citizens of Burlington accepted them for what they were, isolated incidents caused by individual soldiers. Even after the worst crime committed by an African American soldier, the murder of three people, no hysteria broke out and no one called for the removal of the Tenth Cavalry. In this case, Matthew Carlyle killed a fellow soldier and two women, all three of whom were black. Since the incident did not directly involve the white community, no hostile reaction was directed toward the African American soldiers. Despite these problems, the town of Burlington realized that the black troopers posed no threat and accepted them as segregated members of the community. As one of the town's police officers testified, "the black troopers of the 10th Cavalry have given the police and the people of this city no trouble whatever."<sup>17</sup>

Although Tenth Cavalry soldiers frequently interacted with their white neighbors, they spent most of their off-duty time among themselves. Shortly after their arrival, the Hiawatha Club opened, an African American establishment that catered to the black soldiers, holding dances and serving primarily as a drinking hole. The establishment functioned as an unofficial enlisted men's club until it burned down in March 1912. Other soldiers purchased hunting licenses and went deer hunting. Many activities were conducted on post. The regiment held track-and-field meets and had interregimental baseball and basketball leagues; the Machine Gun Troop, which contained the most athletes, dominated these events.<sup>18</sup>

The regiment's off-duty activities were not confined to drinking or sports. In February 1911, Troop B put on a production of *The Merchant of Venice*, and on Thanksgiving 1911 the Tenth held a wild west show in the riding hall for members of the regiment and their families. Directed by First Sergeant Samuel Alexander, it featured bucking broncos, feats of horsemanship, and Indians attacking a stagecoach and settlers' cabin, only to be driven off by soldiers. The show "caused great hilarity" and "was altogether a splendid success . . . great credit is due Sergeant Alexander." Many of these events occurred in the late fall and winter, a time when the weather prevented the regiment from conducting maneuvers or drills outdoors. They helped to relieve the monotony of these seasons and instill camaraderie within the regiment.<sup>19</sup>

The black soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry frequently socialized with African Americans from around the northeast, Canada, and even the Midwest. In November 1910, a dance was held in the barracks of Troop

A to honor the team for winning the fort's baseball league pennant. Over 600 guests came from New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, and Chicago. The regiment's sports teams routinely played black baseball and basketball clubs. In March 1911, the Tenth's basketball team competed against an all-star team from Manhattan. In "a spiritedly contested match," the regimental team lost 30 to 14, a defeat that surprised the cocky cavalymen. Soldiers also dated black women from Princeton, New Jersey, and Montreal.<sup>20</sup>

While in Vermont, units of the Tenth Cavalry participated in a variety of fairs, parades, maneuvers, and celebrations. They regularly attended the Rutland Agricultural Fair, participated in the Hudson-Fulton celebration in Albany, New York, took part in the dedication of the Saratoga Battle Monument, and served as escorts at the funeral of General Oliver O. Howard. The regiment also engaged in maneuvers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia and drilled with units of the Vermont National Guard. In September 1913, the Tenth sent representatives to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. On this occasion, Sergeant Major Eugene P. Frierson, in his address to the delegates, praised the performance of blacks in the military and argued that they were "a fighting member of the government."<sup>21</sup>

On these occasions, the regiment frequently passed through local communities that went out of their way to praise the African American soldiers' conduct. In August 1909, the *Boston Globe* reported that, after marching through six Massachusetts towns, "not a single complaint was made" and, in fact, everyone "had nothing but the highest compliments to pay with regard to the conduct of the men." The residents of Schuylerville, New York, expressed similar sentiments in 1912 after the regiment spent a night with the community, complimenting the officers "for the uniformly gentlemanly conduct of your men." Shortly thereafter, one Massachusetts community expressed surprise at the "splendid courtesies" and "bounteous hospitality" extended by the regiment. "There were no expectations," several prominent citizens wrote, "of such a cordial and overwhelming welcome." The fact that whites went out of their way to praise the regiment clearly demonstrated both the underlying anxieties they felt when black soldiers entered their towns and their astonishment when these troops did not cause any trouble.<sup>22</sup>

The longest and most important maneuvers in which the regiment engaged while stationed in Vermont were held near Winchester, Virginia, in the late summer of 1913, when the Tenth and two white cavalry regiments, the Eleventh and Fifteenth, tested new cavalry tactics. The Tenth marched seven hundred miles to Winchester, arrived on July 19,

and remained in camp until late September. The response of the white community clearly showed how much fear whites held toward black soldiers and the high standards they expected black soldiers to maintain.<sup>23</sup>

The residents of Winchester feared there would be trouble with the black troopers and their apprehensions seemed to be realized as the regiment approached the town. While encamped outside of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a white woman accused an unknown member of the regiment of viciously attacking her. Winchester's local paper, *The Evening Star*, printed in bold headlines "Negro Trooper Attacks A Girl" and ran a story describing the assault in lurid detail.<sup>24</sup>

The accusation also upset the black troopers and they hoped to root out the criminal themselves. They stood in line so the woman could identify her assailant (whom she failed to find) and collected three hundred dollars to employ a detective to investigate the charge. They never hired the detective. The officers of the regiment discovered that the assailant was the woman's escort and she falsely blamed a black soldier to protect him from the police. *The Evening Star*, which closely followed the progress of the case, printed a short article entitled "Trooper Not Guilty Man," but stating only "considerable doubt" exists. The paper never published a full retraction of the charges.<sup>25</sup>

Three days later, the Tenth Cavalry marched to Winchester and went into camp. Crowds silently watched as the regiment paraded through the city's streets, but they made no demonstrations as the troopers filed by. Once in camp, the black soldiers were on their best behavior and no altercations occurred between them and the white troops or with the residents of Winchester. A Tenth Cavalry soldier said it "was the most remarkable camp I have ever witnessed. . . . [T]here has not been a cross word between the colored and white soldiers." The soldiers of the three regiments entered into "a healthy rivalry," as each attempted to outperform the other two in matters relating to the appearance of their horses, equipment, and camps and who could master the new cavalry formations. In their off-duty hours, the African American troopers spent much of their time socializing with the black residents of Winchester, who made a special effort to entertain the famous regiment.<sup>26</sup>

Shortly after their arrival, however, rumors spread charging the black soldiers with a variety of offenses. A correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* reported that the troopers were parading through town, crowding white women off the streets, pushing white citizens off the sidewalks, and generally acting disrespectfully toward the white townsfolk, who declared they were not going to stand for it. The paper said "serious trouble" was expected. The editor of *The Evening Star* and many local white residents defended the black soldiers. The *Star* said the

charges were regrettable because the Tenth Cavalry's behavior "had been excellent" and it was expected they would continue to behave as "men should who wear the uniform of the United States Army." Chief of Police M. A. Doran also refuted the *Baltimore Sun's* charges, reporting that "no complaints have been received or heard by the police." Nevertheless, as one resident remarked, the exemplary conduct of the black troopers came as "a revelation to the natives of Winchester."<sup>27</sup>

The only serious disturbance caused by soldiers during the maneuvers did not even involve the Tenth Cavalry, but instead entailed two white soldiers. While in town, two troopers of the Eleventh Cavalry engaged in a bloody knife fight, during which one of them was seriously wounded. This incident, while reported on the front page of *The Evening Star*, caused no controversy or hysteria and the *Star* did not bother to defend the conduct of the white soldiers as it had that of the black soldiers. The white regiments, unlike the black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry, did not have to prove that they could behave properly.<sup>28</sup>

At the end of the maneuvers, whites went out of their way to praise the good conduct of the Tenth Cavalry. The editor of *The Evening Star* said the regiment's "excellent behavior . . . has been especially gratifying." The Winchester Business Men's Association adopted resolutions praising the conduct of all the troops at the camp, but they specifically singled out the Tenth Cavalry, commenting on the "excellent order and deportment maintained by . . . the famous fighting Tenth Cavalry." Again, these comments hinted at the underlying fears the white community possessed toward black soldiers and their relief that these fears went unrealized.<sup>29</sup>

The three cavalry regiments next marched to Washington, D.C., where they demonstrated the new cavalry tactics for President Woodrow Wilson, Chief of Staff General Leonard Wood, members of Congress, and other distinguished persons. While in Washington, the black citizens of the city held a reception for the Tenth Cavalry at Convention Hall. General Wood appeared and commented that the regiment "has a great responsibility, as it represents the colored race, and the eyes of all are upon it." African Americans were especially proud of the regiment. As a correspondent for the *Chicago Defender* wrote, "No colored citizen had reason to be ashamed of the appearance of this famous cavalry regiment."<sup>30</sup>

The black soldiers returned to Fort Ethan Allen in mid-October, but their stay in Vermont was at an end. During November, the regiment began packing and preparing for its new station and in December the Tenth entrained for service in Arizona. The newspapers of Vermont applauded the black soldiers' conduct while in the state. The editor of the

*Rutland Daily Herald* wrote, “the relations of the colored troops to civilians in this vicinity have been good”; the *Montpelier Evening Argus* commented that the troopers “were very peaceable”; and the *Burlington Free Press* praised the regiment for its “always courteous and gentlemanly” conduct. The hysteria that greeted the African American troopers in 1909 was forgotten as the *Free Press* rhapsodized about the “good-will” that now existed between “the regiment and the people of this state.” The white community of Burlington extended this praise, respect, and generosity only after the black soldiers proved beyond any doubt that they could be trusted. No white regiments were ever subjected to the same standards. When the Second Cavalry Regiment, a white unit, replaced the Tenth at Fort Ethan Allen, the Vermont papers made no comments about the Second upon its arrival in the state.<sup>31</sup>

The Tenth arrived in Arizona at the end of December 1913 and remained for nearly eighteen years. Stationed at Fort Huachuca, a few miles north of the Mexican border, the regiment compiled a distinguished record fighting Mexican bandits and revolutionaries along the border and participating in the Mexican Punitive Expedition in 1916. In 1931, however, the army stripped the Tenth of its combat role, turned it into a collection of service units, and broke up the regiment, transferring units to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Meyer, Virginia.<sup>32</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the Tenth Cavalry’s service before its arrival in Vermont see William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Black Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); David Work, “The Fighting Tenth Cavalry: Black Soldiers in the United States Army, 1892–1918,” Master’s Thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Age*, 24 November 1910; statistics on enlistments compiled from *A Roster of the Enlisted Personnel of the Tenth United States Cavalry* (Fort Ethan Allen, Vt.: Regimental Press, 1912); Kerr T. Riggs Questionnaire, Marvin Fletcher Collection, Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as MHI); Queen quoted in *Afro-American* (Baltimore), 16 October 1915. In the late nineteenth century, all four black regiments had lower desertion and higher reenlistment rates than the white regiments; see Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The Tenth’s low desertion rate continued after the regiment left Vermont. In 1914, it again had one of the army’s lowest desertion rates; see *Chicago Defender*, 12 December 1914.

<sup>3</sup> Marvin Fletcher, *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891–1917* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 119–123. For a complete account of the Brownsville Affair see John D. Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970; reprint, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> *Army and Navy Journal*, 13, 27 July 1907; *New York Times*, 13 September 1907; *New York Age*, 18 March 1909.

<sup>5</sup> May, June, July 1909, Tenth Cavalry, Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Regiments, 1833–1916, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101; “New York and the Fighting Tenth,” *The Colored American Magazine* 17 (August 1909): 123–125; *New York Times*, 26, 27 July 1909. At Fort Ethan Allen, the Tenth replaced units from the Eleventh Cavalry and Fifteenth Cavalry. It was the only regiment permanently stationed at the fort from 1909–1913.

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<sup>6</sup> John Buechler, "Fort Ethan Allen: A Post on the Northern Frontier," *Vermont History* 35 (January 1967): 8, 15; *Burlington Daily News*, 26 July 1909.

<sup>7</sup> Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1901), vol. 1, pt. 1, 477, 486, 644; July 1909, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 August 1909.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, 21 July 1909; *Burlington Free Press*, 15, 17, 20 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 30 July 1909.

<sup>9</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 19 July 1909; *Burlington Daily News*, 28, 29 July 1909.

<sup>10</sup> *New York Times*, 29 July 1909; Springfield *Republican* quoted in *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 2 August 1909; *Boston Traveler* quoted in *Burlington Daily News*, 26 July 1909; New Orleans *Times Democrat* quoted in *ibid.*, 28 July 1909; St. Albans *Messenger* quoted in *Rutland Daily Herald*, 6 August 1909.

<sup>11</sup> *Burlington Daily News*, 31 July 1909; *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 27 July 1909; Sands quoted in *New York Age*, 29 July 1909.

<sup>12</sup> *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 August, 31 July 1909; *Bennington Evening Banner*, 28 July 1909.

<sup>13</sup> *Burlington Daily News*, 28 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 August 1909; *Bennington Evening Banner*, 4 August 1909; *New York Age*, 5 August 1909.

<sup>14</sup> Notes on taped interview of William W. Hay, 17 February 1967, Fletcher Collection, MHI; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 August 1909; *Montpelier Journal* quoted in *Bennington Evening Banner*, 26 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 14 August 1909.

<sup>15</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 30 August, 9, 10, 13, 14 September, 1 October 1909, 24 March 1910; *Burlington Daily News*, 10 May, 6, 18 June 1910; *Army and Navy Journal*, 20 May, 1 July 1911.

<sup>16</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 15 September 1909, 2 April, 16 July 1910; Service quoted in *New York Age*, 17 March 1910.

<sup>17</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 11 October 1909, 13 April 1910; *Burlington Daily News*, 14 September 1909, 2 June 1910; *Burlington Free Press*, 1 March, 13 April 1912; police officer quoted in *Army and Navy Journal*, 11 January 1913.

<sup>18</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 2 September 1909, 2 March 1912; *Burlington Daily News*, 27 October 1909; *Army and Navy Journal*, 8 April 1911.

<sup>19</sup> *Army and Navy Journal*, 25 February, 9 December 1911.

<sup>20</sup> *New York Age*, 1 December 1910, 30 March 1911, 24 March 1910; *Burlington Daily News*, 29 April 1910.

<sup>21</sup> September 1909, 1911, 1912, October 1912, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101, 102; September 1909, July 1911, May 1913, Fort Ethan Allen, Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800–1916, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M617, Reel 354; Frierson quoted in Mary Curtis, *The Black Soldier* (Washington, D.C.: Murray Brothers, 1918), 28–29.

<sup>22</sup> *Boston Globe* quoted in *Rutland Daily Herald*, 21 August 1909; *Army and Navy Journal*, 26 October, 2 November 1912.

<sup>23</sup> July 1913, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 102.

<sup>24</sup> *The Evening Star* (Winchester, Virginia), 16 July 1913.

<sup>25</sup> *Philadelphia Tribune*, 19 July 1913; Curtis, *The Black Soldier*, 29–30; *The Evening Star*, 18 July 1913.

<sup>26</sup> *The Evening Star*, 19 July 1913; soldier quoted in Curtis, *The Black Soldier*, 31; *Army and Navy Journal*, 9, 23 August 1913; *Afro-American* (Baltimore), 16 August 1913.

<sup>27</sup> *Baltimore Sun* quoted in *The Evening Star*, 28 July 1913; *Army and Navy Journal*, 2, 9 August 1913.

<sup>28</sup> *The Evening Star*, 4 August 1913.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 September 1913; Resolutions adopted by the Business Men's Association of Winchester, 17 September 1913, Commendations, Individual, Tenth Cavalry Regimental Records, 1866–1918, Miscellaneous Records, 1869–1918, National Archives, Record Group 391.

<sup>30</sup> October 1913, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 102; Wood quoted in *Afro-American*, 11 October 1913; *Chicago Defender*, 11 October 1913.

<sup>31</sup> *Rutland Daily Herald*, 6 December 1913; *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 5 December 1913; *Burlington Free Press* quoted in Curtis, *The Black Soldier*, 28; *Army and Navy Journal*, 13 December 1913.

<sup>32</sup> Work, "The Fighting Tenth Cavalry," 102–103.