



Charles I. Eaton

photo courtesy Demaris E. Yearick (great-granddaughter of Eaton)

MISSING THE MASS WAR S

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This was the notorious Sand Creek massacre. Territorial Governor John Evans was not wanting to be at peace with the Indians at posts.² In September 1864, Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington and believed they had negotiated a peace. Americans began to arrive at the posts, believed to be the condition for peace. The new commander, told the Arapahos under the leadership of Red Jacket, approximately forty miles from the posts. Troops, meanwhile, were at Fort Lyon. At dawn on November 19, 1864, a hundred soldiers of the 1st Colorado Cavalry attacked on the Sand Creek. Chivington understandably believed that the peace had been made with the Army, yet the troops killed

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MISSING THE MASSACRE: CHARLES I. EATON'S CIVIL WAR SERVICE IN THE WEST

**by
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On November 19, 1864 Private Charles I. Eaton of Company K, First Colorado Cavalry, accidentally cut his foot on an axe while felling a tree near Ft. Lyon, Colorado. Rushed back to the fort hospital by his friend Henry Hardy, he fainted from a severe loss of blood. He remained in the hospital until December 3, when he had to return to his quarters to make room for wounded soldiers. Because of his injury, he was not with his regiment on November 29, when, as characterized in his diary, a massacre of Indians occurred under the command of Colonel John Chivington. ¹

This was the notorious and shameful Sand Creek Massacre. In June Territorial Governor John Evans of Colorado had persuaded those Indians wanting to be at peace with the government to go to assigned military posts.² In September the Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs met with Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington at Camp Weld outside Denver, and believed they had negotiated a settlement. Accordingly the Native Americans began to arrive at Fort Lyon to comply with what they believed to be the conditions of peace. Major Scott Anthony, the fort's new commander, told the approximately five hundred Cheyenne and Arapahos under the leadership of Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle to camp approximately forty miles north-northeast of the fort.³ Chivington's troops, meanwhile, were already marching from Denver to join those at Fort Lyon. At dawn on November 29, Chivington led about seven hundred soldiers of the First and Third Colorado Cavalry in a surprise attack on the Sand Creek encampment. The Native Americans understandably believed themselves to be under the protection of the U.S. Army, yet the troops killed 150-200 people, mostly women, children, and

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the elderly and committed atrocities on the bodies. Ultimately three federal investigations condemned the massacre, although Chivington left the service and thus escaped punishment. ⁴

How did Private Eaton come to be at Fort Lyon at this momentous time? Born in 1837 in Rindge, New Hampshire, he was, like his father Charles and younger brother Myron, a shoemaker by trade. In April 1855 Charles Senior purchased some farmland in what is now Miami County, Kansas, with the intention of homesteading. Charles did not join his father, but worked with other shoemakers in Independence, Missouri, at least as late as March 1858. Mrs. Thirza Eaton stayed at home in Peterboro, New Hampshire, and wrote increasingly distraught letters to her husband and son, begging for news, pleading for their return, and sending incomplete recipes for doughnuts and ginger snaps. In the fall of 1856 the younger Charles almost died from a lengthy bout with typhoid fever. The father died in late 1857 while traveling back from a visit to New Hampshire. Myron arrived in early 1858 to settle his father's debts, and Charles visited him on the farm in March, then returned to Independence. None of the letters mentioned the 1850s political turmoil or violence over the slavery issue in Kansas, although Charles praised the "Border Ruffians," as he teasingly described the neighbors who kindly helped him in his illness. ⁵

By October 1861 Charles had made his way to Denver and enlisted in the army in Company K First Colorado Infantry. ⁶ He kept a diary, two volumes of which are preserved in the library at the University of Virginia. ⁷ It covers only June 7, 1864, through November 22, 1866, so we do not have his own account of the first years of his service. As a member of Company K, and according to his own brief statement in a veterans' publication, however, he took part in the successful March 1862 New Mexico campaign of defense against the invading Confederate Texans. ⁸ On November 1, 1862, the regiment was designated as the First Colorado Cavalry Volunteers. ⁹

By July 1863 Company K was at Fort Lyon. ¹⁰ Established on the north bank of the Arkansas River in 1860, the fort was originally called Fort Fauntleroy, then Fort Wise. On June 25, 1862 it was renamed in honor of General Nathaniel Lyon who had been killed in battle in 1861. ¹¹

The buildings were of rock and clay mortar with dirt floors. There were soldiers' and officers' quarters, a hospital, laundry, stables, and a stage station. Cottonwood trees were on the riverbank.¹² Mollie Sanford, whose husband Byron was a lieutenant in the First Colorado Regiment, described the landscape in 1862 as a lonely plain and mentioned the lack of vegetables, even potatoes.³¹

Eaton's account begins with his furlough to visit his family in New England. His arduous journey home took from June 7 to June 30. His route took him through Denver to buy a boat, then sharing the boat on the Platte River with several companions to Plattsmouth, Nebraska, where they sold their boat and took a steamer for St. Joseph, Missouri. A train trip went through Quincy, Illinois, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Worcester, Massachusetts. The diary omits any mention of his time at home and recommences on August 9 for the return trip, again a complicated undertaking. Retracing his train trip he returned to St. Joseph, and went to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to get a transportation order. On August 17 he went by stagecoach to Lawrence, which still had burned buildings from Quantrill's raid of the previous August.¹⁴ Camping outside town, he and his fellow soldiers stayed until August 22, when they left for Topeka, which seemed small to him for a capital city, and where residents were apprehensive about Indian fighting to the west. Here a young newlywed soldier joined the group after a three-day honeymoon. By August 27 Eaton and his companions arrived at Fort Riley, Kansas, which appeared neat and attractive. On the 29th about eighty men were ordered to escort a party going to Fort Larned. On the way Eaton and others killed several buffalo for meat. At night Eaton lay awake hearing howls and bellows from wolves and buffalo. They passed Plum Creek, where a few days previously Indians had ambushed six men of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry and killed four of them. There they found a blood-soaked hat, a grim reminder of the carnage. Thus they slept in their clothes so as to be on high alert.

Arriving at Fort Larned on September 2, Eaton found other members of the First Colorado Cavalry and was attached to Company L. Generally he was bored here, complaining of the lack of church services and poor rations consisting of bread, bacon, beans, and occasional beef.¹⁵ He was

again conscious of danger when he saw in the hospital a man and a boy recovering from being scalped. When the Indians had stuck arrows into the boy's feet to see if he was still alive, he bravely did not flinch, thus deceiving them and saving his life. ⁶

From Fort Larned Eaton took part in several details accompanying wagons crossing the area. On September 15 a young Ute boy, separated from his party, surrendered to members of the company. A few days later, their state of alert caused them to mistake a wagon train in the distance for attacking Indians, but they soon realized their mistake.

Eaton arrived at Fort Lyon on September 25. The fort's commander at that time was Edward Wynkoop, who had a varied career after moving out west from his native Pennsylvania. In Colorado he had taken part in vigilante groups, was involved in several brawls and at least three gun battles, and briefly served as a sheriff. He joined the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers in 1861 and served with distinction in the New Mexico campaign against the Confederates. His attitude toward the Indians had recently become more sympathetic because of an incident on September 3. On that day three Cheyenne had come under flag of truce with letters pinned to their clothing (in case they were shot), asking for peace and offering the release of several prisoners as a show of good faith. Since there were standing orders to kill any Indians in the vicinity of the fort, they had knowingly risked their lives. Wynkoop was so impressed by this gesture and the subsequent release of four children that he now believed that at least some Indians wanted peace and were worthy of trust. ⁷

At the fort, examples of the fragility of life punctuated the boredom, and the related problems of alcohol and accidents were in evidence. On October 16 Lieutenant John Oster died of "a disease brought on by intemperance" as Eaton put it. He made several critical comments throughout the diary about others' celebrating holidays by excessive drinking. Throughout the Civil War and the following decades in east and west both officers and enlisted men indulged in drinking bouts and even became alcoholics. This was a particular problem around paydays at western posts where living conditions were unpleasant and there were few wholesome distractions. Officers and men could buy whiskey and

beer from the sutler's store.¹⁸ On November 3 Private William McLain was accidentally shot and killed, and Eaton was a pallbearer. Accidents involving fights, horses, or firearms were common at the forts. Some would appear farcical if the results were not so tragic. For example, in 1870 a sergeant admonishing his men to be careful with loaded weapons accidentally shot himself in the knee and eventually died in the Fort Larned hospital. ⁹¹

Finding his regular duties undemanding, Eaton started one of a series of paid extra jobs. He hauled hay to the fort for \$3.00 a day. In addition to his army saddler duty, he used his leather working skills to make extra money producing gloves and mending boots. On October 14 he started a partnership with Sergeant Henry Hardy to chop and haul wood to the fort. It was on one of these forays in November 1864 that he cut his foot.

What did Eaton think of the events at Sand Creek? Although he did not mention the climate of fear around Colorado, he obviously knew about some people killed by Indians. He probably knew about the fate of the four members of the Hungate family, who had been murdered June 11 thirty miles from Denver by a party of Northern Arapahos. Many Denver residents saw the mutilated bodies which were displayed to the public. Thus fear of and anger at Native Americans was pervasive.²⁰ He never expressed, however, any desire to kill Indians himself, or the fact of having done so. Several statements show a more measured if somewhat patronizing attitude toward Native Americans. On September 27 he wrote that the visiting Arapaho Chief Left Hand was "a good Indian and has always tried to be friendly with the whites."²¹ Back on August 24 he wrote approvingly of the cattle-raising ability of the Indians on the Potawatomi Reservation on the Kansas River near Topeka and stated "they appear to be a very thrifty people where they have become civilized."

He did describe some events that climaxed in the massacre. On November 6 he mentioned that Major Scott Anthony took command of the fort, ordered Wynkoop to Fort Leavenworth, and issued orders that no Indians (of which there were several hundred camped nearby) should enter the fort.²² On November 28 he mentioned the arrival of the Third Colorado Regiment, "bound on a grand Indian hunt" and the rumor that

they would make a surprise attack the next day. On December 2 Eaton heard a report that five hundred Indians were killed in the attack, while the army had lost only ten soldiers.²³ Then he commented “I regret very much that I am not able to join the expedition. There is a great deal of excitement over the many reports in circulation.” Note the present tense. He was referring here to chasing Indians after the Sand Creek incident, not to the massacre itself. On the other hand, he did not write that he was glad not to have participated in the events at Sand Creek. In his Grand Army of the Republic description of his Civil War activities he listed his service in New Mexico as being the most significant, and there is no mention at all of Indian fighting.²⁴ Judging by the totality of the diary, however, he was not given to soul-searching or examination of his own motives. One wonders what -- if anything -- he would have written had fate not kept him away from Sand Creek that day.

After the massacre Wynkoop returned to take command of the fort. He resigned his commission in 1865 and, showing his newfound sympathy toward Native Americans, he became the agent to the Southern Arapahos and Cheyenne for several years. He held several jobs until he became warden of the New Mexico penitentiary in 1890. He died in 1891 at the age of fifty-five.²⁵

Throughout much of the winter Eaton and Hardy made extra money hauling wood. Assigned to a camp outside Denver, Eaton reported on February 28, 1865 that there was a great celebration including a parade for the fall of Charleston, South Carolina.²⁶ Heavy snow continued into April. On April 16 the camp heard both the happy report of Lee’s surrender and the distressing news of President Lincoln’s assassination.

In June he remarked that many of his colleagues were unfit for duty because of scurvy, not unusual for Civil War soldiers serving in the east as well as the west.²⁷ In fact Eaton himself was treated for this ailment on March 17 and May 20, 1864, according to his pension record.^{8,2} Inadequate food was just one of many reasons prompting a large number of recruits to desert the army during the second half of the century. In fact the Secretary of War wrote that one third of recruits between 1867 and 1891 had deserted.²⁹ Other reasons were unhealthy living conditions, abusive officers, boredom, peer pressure, or having a horse on which to

escape.³⁰ Although he recorded numerous desertions from his regiment in September 1865, Eaton did not mention considering desertion himself, even when complaining of discomfort and missing his family.

On June 26 the troops started work on building Fort Wardwell, a mile south of the Platte River at the current site of the town of Fort Morgan, Colorado. Here Eaton was to spend the rest of his military career and a year of civilian service. The post commander Charles G. Otis described the fort in 1866 as being on a sandy treeless plain. By then there were a hospital, blacksmith and saddler shops of adobe, as well as barracks and stables.³¹ Later in 1866 the post was renamed Fort Morgan, after Major Christopher A. Morgan, First Illinois Cavalry, who established the post and died January 20, 1866.²³

At Fort Wardwell Eaton continued taking contracts for extra pay. For example, he stored and hauled corn and shingled the sutler's store. He also meticulously listed numerous small sums he received for making and repairing gloves, shoes, boots, holsters, harnesses, and the like. On July 4, 1865 there was no official ceremony for the holiday, but he stayed up late the night of July 3 making a flag to raise so the day would not pass unnoticed.

Starting in early October, Eaton and others were ordered to march toward Denver in preparation for being discharged. They were, however, required to stay outside the city, and those who ventured to town were put in the guardhouse. They were all incensed because former Confederates were chosen to cut all the buttons from the uniforms, an act perceived as a mark of disgrace.³³ On October 27 Eaton was discharged from the army at Denver, but returned to Fort Wardwell by November 3 with a job from the quartermaster for making harnesses at \$125.00 a month, good pay compared with his private's pay of \$16.³⁴ Now he had a financial incentive to stay out west, even with its drawbacks. During the Christmas holidays there was a dance at a nearby ranch (which he did not attend), and as always the excessive drinking which he disliked; the horrible examples had made him an abstainer.

Several incidents in 1866 again reminded him of the surrounding threats. On January 6, a local rancher discovered two men who had been shot and left for dead, apparently victims of robbery. Both died, one in

the fort's hospital. Several soldiers were arrested under suspicion of the crime. Two days later another dead man was found near the fort, apparently a ranch hand whose fits of insanity had led him to wander out into the cold and die from exposure. In April another body was found near the fort; this time the man apparently died of natural causes. On July 23 a lightning bolt narrowly missed Eaton while he was at his workbench. Then on August 23 an apparently drunken soldier tried to knife a comrade, and in the ensuing fight, Eaton cut his head in a fall. In a more pedestrian vein, severe toothaches caused him to have two teeth pulled during June. Yet, despite the poor food, inebriated company, and substantial danger, the good pay made him glad to survive several rounds of layoffs until all the civilians were discharged on October 13.

After being warned on June 21 by the Assistant Quartermaster that the First National Bank of Denver was in shaky financial condition, he and other civilians had made a special trip to Denver to withdraw their substantial savings. They need not have worried; the Bank, unlike several in Denver during this period, was on solid ground, and prospered well into the next century.⁵³

One other disturbing series of incidents was to occur in 1866. Major Lyman Kellogg of the 18th U.S. Infantry had come to command the post in June. Eaton described him as a disagreeable martinet. Enlisted men as always easily sized up officers and soon realized Kellogg was abusive.⁶³ The major lived up to the everyone's expectations when on July 26 he ordered that William Patterson, the sutler's clerk, be tied up by his thumbs for a minor infraction. Five days later Patterson rode up to the major's tent and fired two revolver shots at him before galloping off, never to be caught in spite of the ordered pursuit. Eaton was sympathetic to Patterson although he disapproved of his method of revenge. Kellogg's poor health may have been partly responsible for his disagreeable behavior. An 1852 West Point graduate, he had been cashiered in 1860 for drunkenness on duty, but re-appointed in 1861. Wounded at the Battle of Jonesborough, Georgia, he was on sick leave for several months in 1864 and several more periods before leaving the service in 1870. He commanded Fort Morgan until January 1867, and later served in the Dakota Territory and Wyoming. He died in 1877 at the age of 49.³⁷

Eaton returned to New Hampshire starting on October 14, traveling by foot, wagon train, ferry, and railroad. He soon settled in Waltham, Massachusetts, married Emma Barton in 1871, was widowed in 1874, married Ellen Bean in 1875, and had six children. He worked for many years at the Waltham Watch Factory, then took a job as a janitor at the local high school, working until he was in his 70s.³⁸ After several applications he was granted a small military pension.³⁹ He visited Panama at least twice to visit his son Harold, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduate who was a sanitary engineer during the building of the Canal.⁴⁰ Eaton died on June 5, 1920.

He was in some ways a typical soldier of his era. He endured danger, bad food, unhealthy living conditions, and extreme boredom. He could quickly gauge the quality of his commanding officers. Yet he differed from many serving in the west by his enterprise and thrift, avoidance of alcohol, focus on the future, and by not even considering desertion. His diligence continued into old age; while suffering from medical complaints, he continued to work. And his devotion to his country was a constant. The manner of his death contains a poignant echo of the patriotic young private who stayed up late sewing a flag for the Fourth of July over fifty years in the past. While raising a flag for Decoration Day, he received an injury from a bad fall and did not recover.¹⁴

NOTES

1. John M. Chivington (1821-1894), called the "Fighting Parson," came to Denver in 1860 as the presiding elder of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. Joining the 1st Colorado Regiment in 1861, he was a hero of the New Mexico campaign. He resigned from the army in January 1865. Howard R. Lamar, ed., *A New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 209-210.
2. John Evans (1814-1897) was a doctor and real estate investor in Chicago. He was appointed governor of Colorado Territory and served from 1862 until 1865. He stayed in Denver and became a prominent railroad magnate. *Ibid.*, 351-352.
3. Black Kettle and his wife survived the Sand Creek battle but were killed in 1868 on the Washita River, Indian Territory by George A. Custer's troops of the Seventh Cavalry. David Fridtjof Halaas, " 'All the Camp Was Weeping': George Bent and the Sand Creek Massacre," *Colorado Heritage* (summer 1995):16.

4. For further description of these events see Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); Halaas, "'All the Camp Was Weeping,'" 2-17; Christine Whitacre, "The Search for the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 33, no.2 (2001): 97-99; and Jerome A. Green and Douglas D. Scott, *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).
5. Thirza Eaton to Charles Eaton and Charles I. Eaton, n.d., and 28 October, 1856; Charles I. Eaton to Charles Eaton, 24 July, 1856 and 13 December, 1856; Charles I. Eaton to Thirza Eaton, 18 December, 1856; and Myron Eaton to Thirza Eaton, 14 January, 1858, 20 March, 1858, 26 March, 1858. Eaton Family Letters. In possession of Demaris Yearick.
6. Family letters, other writings, and tradition give no clue to his movements between 1858 and 1861, and he does not appear in the 1860 federal census in any state. He does not mention why he chose to volunteer in Denver.
7. Charles Eaton Civil War Journals. (#12204), Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.
8. "Personal War Sketch of Comrade Charles Irving Eaton," in *Personal War Sketches of the Members of the F.P.H. Rogers Post No. 29 of Waltham, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1891). For descriptions of this campaign and the Battle of La Glorietta Pass, see Ovando J. Hollister, *Boldly They Rode: a History of the First Colorado Regiment of Volunteers* (Lakewood, Colorado: Golden Press, 1949); Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 45-75; and John H. Nankivell, *History of the Military Organizations of the State of Colorado, 1860-1935* (Denver: W.H. Kistler Stationery Co., 1935), 4-13.
9. Nankivell, *History of the Military Organizations of the State of Colorado, 1860-1935*, 14.
10. Post Returns for Fort Lyon, July 1863. Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916. M617, National Archives and Records Administration.
11. Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 41-42.
12. Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, 81. For a description of the building of the fort see Morris F. Taylor, "Fort Wise," *Colorado Magazine* 46, no. 2 (1969): 93-119.
13. Mollie Dorsey Sanford, *Mollie: the Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories, 1857-1866*, with an introduction and notes by Donald F. Danker (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959), 164.
14. The Confederate guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill led this raid on August 21, 1863, killing at least 150 men and burning much of the town. See Lamar, ed., *A New Encyclopedia of the American West*, 933.

15. Fort Larned seldom had a chaplain, and attempts at raising vegetables were usually not successful. See Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Larned: Guardian of the Santa Fe Trail* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1997), 90. Such limited rations were typical at western forts. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 116-117.
16. It is possible to survive being scalped; however medical problems and eventual death may follow. For examples see H. Henrietta Stockel, "Scalping," *Military History of the West* 27 (spring 1997): 83-86.
17. Edward W. Wynkoop, *The Tall Chief: the Unfinished Autobiography of Edward W. Wynkoop, 1856-1866*, ed. Christopher B. Gerboth (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1994), 1-23.
18. For examples of Civil War alcohol problems see James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 97-101. For western examples see Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Wallace: Sentinel on the Smoky Hill Trail* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1998), 105-107; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: the United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 40, 46; and Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, 156-183.
19. Oliva, *Fort Larned*, 88.
20. Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, 58-60.
21. For a sympathetic biography of this chief, who tried on several occasions to make peace with whites, and ironically died from wounds received during the Sand Creek massacre, see Margaret Coel, *Chief Left Hand, Southern Arapaho* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).
22. Scott J. Anthony (1830-1903) had served in the defense of New Mexico and commanded Fort Larned. Several months after the Sand Creek affair, he left the service. After the Civil War he worked in the real estate business in Denver. Finding aid for Scott J. Anthony Papers, Accession 27430, Colorado Historical Society.
23. While ten soldiers died, probably the number of Indians killed was closer to 150-200. See Whitacre, "The Search for the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre," 99.
24. "Personal War Sketch of Comrade Charles Irving Eaton."
25. Coel, *Chief Left Hand*, 311.
26. Charleston had surrendered on February 17. See David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: a Political, Social, and Military History* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 4:1829.
27. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 70; Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, 131-132.
28. National Archives, Pension Application Files, RG15, Charles I. Eaton File, Certificate no. 897649.
29. Rickey, *Forty Miles and Day on Beans and Hay*, 143.
30. Leo E. Oliva, *Fort Hays: Keeping Peace on the Plains*. Rev.ed. (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1996), 59-63; Jack D. Foner, *The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: Army Life and Reforms, 1865-1898* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), 6-7. For examples of desertions from the Seventh Cavalry see Judy Daubenmier, "Empty

Saddles: Desertions from the Dashing U.S. Cavalry,” *Montana: the Magazine of Western History* 54 (autumn 2004), 2-17.

31. National Archives, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, RG 393, Records of Posts, Part V, Fort Morgan, Letters Sent, 22 May, 1866.

32. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 40.

33. These so-called “galvanized Yankees” were former Confederate prisoners released to fight for the Union in the West between 1864 and 1866. See D. Alexander Brown, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 1-3.

34. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 79.

35. Chartered in 1865, the Bank survived successive panics and the Great Depression and merged with other financial institutions. It was considered so secure that during World War II the Huntington Library placed its Gutenberg Bible in its vaults for safekeeping. See John Evans, *From Stagecoach to Space Age: 100 years of Banking in the Rocky Mountain West (1860-1960)* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1960), 13-19. For a full account of the bank’s origins, growth, and development, see Eugene H. Adams, Lyle W. Dorsett, and Robert S. Pulcifer, *The Pioneer Western Bank – First of Denver: 1860-1980*, ed. Robert S. Pulcifer (Denver: First Interstate Bank of Denver, 1984).

36. Enlisted men at western forts hated tyrants, but could idolize a decent and considerate officer. For examples see Rickey, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, 70-71.

37. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. from its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890 with the Early History of the United States Military Academy*, 3d ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), 507-508.

38. Charles I. Eaton Obituary, *Waltham (Mass.) Daily Free Press-Tribune*, 5 June 1920.

39. Charles I. Eaton Pension Application File.

40. Harold and Frances Eaton to Charles I. and Ellen Eaton, 1909-1911, Eaton Family Letters.

41. Charles I. Eaton Obituary.