



John M. Gilley, Quartermaster Sergeant, Company D, First Maine Cavalry Regiment, 1861.
Courtesy of the Maine State Archives

John Gilley Fell at the Battle of the Wilderness

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Beech Hill Road is the oldest road on Mount Desert Island in Maine. Hewn through the forest sometime before 1765, the old roadbed begins and ends by the western shore of Somes Sound, traveling inland the six-mile distance between Somesville and Southwest Harbor.¹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the road brought farmers to their markets and rusticators to the heights of Beech Mountain and Beech Cliffs. Today, the road is used pretty much the same way, bringing shoppers to the organic farm stand of Beech Hill Farm, and hikers to the parking lot and trailheads of Acadia National Park.

Along the way, on a crest of farmland with views east towards Sargent Mountain and west across Blue Hill Bay to the Camden hills, there is a small cemetery shaded by oaks, maples, birches, and the spreading limbs of tall white pines. Here the story begins and ends, with a tombstone inscription that reads:

John M. Gilley
of Co. D., 1st Me. Cavalry
*Fell at the battle
of the wilderness*
May 5, 1864.
AE 45 yrs

Here too, is where the story becomes more complicated. One learns that John M. Gilley did not fall at the Battle of the Wilderness and that stating his age was not a simple matter. The fate of men who went off to fight in the Civil War was often a mystery to the families they left behind. Gilley's story shows how historical inquiry may lead to more questions than answers.

John Manchester Gilley was one of many Gilley relatives who settled on the offshore islands and western side of Mount Desert Island.² His grandfather was William Gilley, who lived on Little Cranberry Island during the Revolution, and relocated to Norwood Cove by Southwest

Harbor sometime before 1790. His grandmother was Eunice Bunker Gilley, a daughter of "Cap'n Jack" Bunker, who was famous for a bold exploit during the Revolution. At a time when his neighbors were suffering the privations of war, Bunker paddled a canoe more than one hundred miles from Southwest Harbor to Wiscasset, cut a British supply ship out of a fleet anchored in the Sheepscoot River, returned with the ship to Norwood Cove, and distributed its provisions to his neighbors. Norwood Cove was also the place in August 1814, where local militiamen repelled the crew of the *Tenedos*, a British privateer intent on burning Yankee ships.³

William and Eunice Gilley had five sons and two daughters, among them Benjamin, who was born in 1798, and also settled by Norwood Cove. Benjamin married Abigail Manchester of Bartlett's Island on Oct. 3, 1818, and their first son, John Manchester Gilley, was born on May 9, 1819.⁴ If one considers the time between their wedding day and the date of John's birth, and counts months on one's fingers, only seven are needed—indicating that Benjamin and Abigail's wedding may have been hurried. But the marriage lasted a long time, producing twelve children of whom John was the first and Charles, born twenty-two years later, was the last.⁵

John grew up amidst an extended family of Gilleys by the deep blue inlet of Somes Sound, in the shadow of Flying Mountain. The children rambled across the fields of Fernald Point and along the ragged shore, where Cap'n Jack had returned with his bounty of British supplies, and they playacted the 1814 repulse of British raiders, both incidents fresh in the memories of the adults who told them vivid stories at night.

When John was a young man, he built his first house by Norwood Cove and there he brought home the bride of his youth, Mary Dodge Gott. Mary gave birth to a son on November 25, 1844, but the baby lived only three days, and then Mary died too, about a month later, two days after Christmas. She was only twenty-six years old, one of many women who did not survive the perils of childbirth in that era.⁶

At this time of his life, John Gilley was a joiner, a maker of the precise wood fittings found in cabinets and furniture.⁷ He also worked as a surveyor and tax collector for the Town of Mount Desert.⁸ And he had enough money to buy some land and become a farmer, so in December 1845, he purchased about two hundred acres of land on the broad high ground between Somesville and Beech Mountain, west of the County Road.⁹ His

property ran down to the shore of Great (now Long) Pond and comprised a mix of hay fields, pasture, and woods.¹⁰ He built a large house on Beech Hill, and, after a suitable period of mourning following Mary's death, he married again, to twenty-two-year-old Lorenda Bartlett of Bartlett's Island, on February 4, 1846.¹¹

The 1850 agricultural census shows that John Gilley lived on twenty-five acres of improved land and one hundred fifty acres of unimproved land worth \$600. He owned livestock with an estimated value of \$70: one cow, two working oxen, and nine sheep. His farm produced twenty-four pounds of wool, twenty-one bushels of peas and beans, thirty bushels of Irish potatoes, two hundred pounds of butter, and fourteen tons of hay. The "value of home-made manufacture" was \$8 and the value of animals slaughtered was \$20. The census shows his farm output was little below the average among his neighbor farmers on Beech Hill. Gilley supplemented his income by continuing his work for the town as a tax collector and surveyor, along with other work.¹² The ledger of a local store shows that in 1855 he bought cart wheels and a horse harness, a pig and one hundred spruce clapboards. He paid for these goods in cash and by work that included hauling timber from Mr. Gott's woods.¹³ He invested in land, buying a large parcel in Tremont and selling off parts of it—an acre to Edward Fitzgibbins in 1859, two acres to James Higgins on October 17, 1859, and ten acres to Reuben Billings in 1860.¹⁴ In 1856, he sold a yoke of oxen and yearling colt to Sephronia Raymond for \$100.¹⁵

By cobbling together a variety of jobs and transactions, Gilley achieved a modest prosperity that enabled him to donate generously to the Congregational Church. On Christmas day of 1852, John Somes gave land for the construction of a meeting house to a group of men acting on behalf of the church, a short list that included John Gilley. Those men agreed to pay for the construction of the Somesville Union Meeting House by purchasing pews for \$5 up front and a balance of \$10 once the construction was complete.¹⁶

The causes of abolition and temperance were linked together in Congregational churches of the era, and were eventually closely linked to the Republican Party that emerged in the late 1850s. No doubt, these were positions preached from the pulpit of Samuel Bowker, who served as minister in Somesville for twenty-five years, from 1852 until 1877.¹⁷ The

county conference of Congregational ministers spoke in favor of the Maine Law of 1851 that banned the sale of alcohol for all but "medicinal and mechanical uses," proclaiming, "the law recently passed by the legislature of this State for the suppression of grog-shops and tippling houses . . . has exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine friends of temperance."¹⁸

As early as 1834, the parent congregation of the Somesville Church had expressed its strong opposition to slavery, resolving that "the act of holding human beings as property to be bought and sold is absolutely unjustifiable and highly criminal, and ought, therefore, to be immediately abandoned."¹⁹ But the Church seemed to think conflict over the issue was inevitable, declaring "that while great numbers of professing Christians not only apologize for slavery and speak and write in its defense, but also perpetuate its abominations, there is no good reason to expect the peaceful termination of the system."²⁰

Indeed, the nation seemed propelled towards war as the divisive issue of slavery split the North and South. Across Maine, sympathy for the Union was evident in the election of 1860, when over 60 percent of the state's ballots were cast for Abraham Lincoln and his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. In Hancock County, voters selecting among four candidates cast 58.5 percent of their ballots for Lincoln, against 16.9 percent for his chief rival on the national stage, Stephen Douglas.²¹

After the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861 and the secession of the southern states, a martial drumbeat sounded throughout Maine. On August 15 of that year, the most prominent citizens of Mount Desert petitioned the town's selectmen to call a meeting "to see if the town will vote to raise . . . a sufficient sum of money to pay a bounty for volunteers."²²

Men began to volunteer for military service. In the spring and summer of 1861, news spread that a cavalry unit would be raised from among the men of Maine. Charles Hamlin, an Orland attorney and son of the Vice President,²³ wrote to the governor on September 11, 1861, saying, "Nothing will satisfy the boys now, but the announcement of the reception of an enlisting order for a Cavalry Company. . . . I cannot give the large crowd of forty or fifty men who crowd into my office every other hour of the day in giving & discussing impatiently the chance of getting the order any satisfaction as to causes of delay."²⁴ Farmers, carpenters, seamen, lawyers, clergymen and others clamored for a chance to serve. As Edward

P. Tobie, the historian of the First Maine Cavalry Regiment, wrote, "The cheering promise of the sacred prophecy became reversed, inasmuch as it may be said that they beat their ploughshares into swords, and their pruning hooks into spears; neither did men learn peace any more."²⁵

To probe the reasons that John Gilley volunteered, one can look at a family history of patriotism embodied by his great-grandfather's heroism in the Revolution and his family's defense of Norwood Cove in 1814. His church was clearly committed to abolition. All around him, members of the community expressed strong support for the Union. For a man who lived almost every day of his life within the bounds of Mount Desert, the chance for adventure must have had a strong allure. The cavalry was a particularly attractive branch of the army, promising an opportunity for patriotic service that seemed all the more glorious if undertaken while mounted and carrying a saber.



Beech Hill Road, ca. 1900, looking north. These farms belonged to John and Lorenda Gilley's neighbors. The Gilley farm was located near the intersection with Ripples Lane, beyond the view in the photograph. *Collection of the Mount Desert Island Historical Society*

Though a patriotic culture, religious belief, and desire for adventure all may be sufficient to explain why Gilley volunteered for the cavalry, another motivation may be more pragmatic. John and Lorenda Gilley were childless at a time when farm families typically had many children. Of his closest neighbors on Beech Hill, there were two families with five children, three with seven, and one with eight children. Beech Hill was awash with

youth. Forty-one of his seventy-eight closest neighbors were twenty-one years of age or younger.²⁶ At age forty-one, John Gilley had little prospect of raising children who would reach an age where they could help him on the farm. Though many of his contemporaries had boys old enough to do a man's work, Gilley had been farming since 1844, and faced a future with no sons to help him. Perhaps joining the cavalry offered a way out of a farm operation that could not be sustained much longer without help.

Between September 10 and September 17, 1861, John and Lorenda Gilley sold most of their farmland through a series of transactions that generated \$600 in cash from the sale, and allowed Lorenda to remain on a fifty-seven-acre parcel if John continued to make annual payments of \$50 on the land.²⁷ John had decided to join the Cavalry.

John M. Noyes was a selectman of the town, a candidate for state Senator, and had known John Gilley for a long time. They went to church together, and Noyes had notarized some of Gilley's property transactions. Noyes picked up a pen on behalf of his friend and wrote to the Adjutant General of the State of Maine on September 6, 1861:

Dear Sir. I have a friend in this place Mr. John Gilley who thinks of joining a company of Cavalry if he can get in to one. He is a man about forty, 5 feet 11 ½ inches high, active and smart and no lack of courage and of good character. He has a good horse I should judge for the service, weighs ten hundred [pounds and is] six years old which he wishes to put in. If you think he will answer and you know of a company not full please drop me a line and when he will be wanted in Augusta, with or without the Horse. I hope we shall prosper with the war until every Rebel is made to lay down his arms and become a good citizen. We have some reched [wretched] Tories in this place and three postmasters in Eden that sympathize with the South that ought to be turned out.²⁸

Companies to supply a regiment were raised from around the state. Company D of the First Maine Cavalry Regiment was raised mostly from men of Hancock and Washington Counties. Recruiting officers were told to enlist "none but sound, able-bodied men in all respects, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, of correct morals and temperate

habits, active, intelligent, vigorous and hardy, weighing not less than one hundred and twenty five or more than one hundred and sixty pounds.”²⁹ John Gilley met the qualifications in every respect but one. He was more than seven years too old. Nevertheless he enlisted on September 12, 1861. His enlistment documents state that he was referred by Charles Hamlin. The inspecting surgeon, George Wheeler, M.D., conducted his medical examination on September 19, 1861 in Orland, and declared him “perfectly sound and free from disease.”³⁰ Gilley’s enlistment papers said he was married, a farmer, five feet, eleven inches tall, with a light complexion and blue eyes. The documents also showed that he had found a way to resolve the age problem. His enlistment papers declared that the forty-two-year-old John Gilley was thirty-five.³¹

John was given a uniform, and he posed for a picture in an Ellsworth studio. The image shows a rather stout, balding man with a thick dark beard and heavy-lidded eyes. He looks all of his forty-two years. He is standing upright against a wall, by a leather-upholstered chair, holding a cavalry saber in a formal pose, with the handle grasped in two hands and the blade resting on his left shoulder. His belt buckle bears an embossed eagle, but there is no insignia on his arms to indicate his rank as quartermaster sergeant. Perhaps his uniform was so new, there was no time to sew on the chevrons of his rank. The backs of his hands have the thick roped veins of a man who has used them to work hard all his life.

Twelve hundred men of Maine enlisted in the fall of 1862. By the end of the war, more than 3,600 men had served in the First Maine Cavalry. Company D, recruited from Washington and Hancock Counties, was led by Captain Charles H. Smith of Eastport, First Lieutenant Andrew B. Spurling of Orland, and Second Lieutenant William Montgomery of Orland. In addition, there were six sergeants, eight corporals, two buglers, two farriers, two wagoners, one saddler, and seventy-three privates.³² John Gilley was appointed Quartermaster Sergeant, the third highest noncommissioned officer in the company.³³

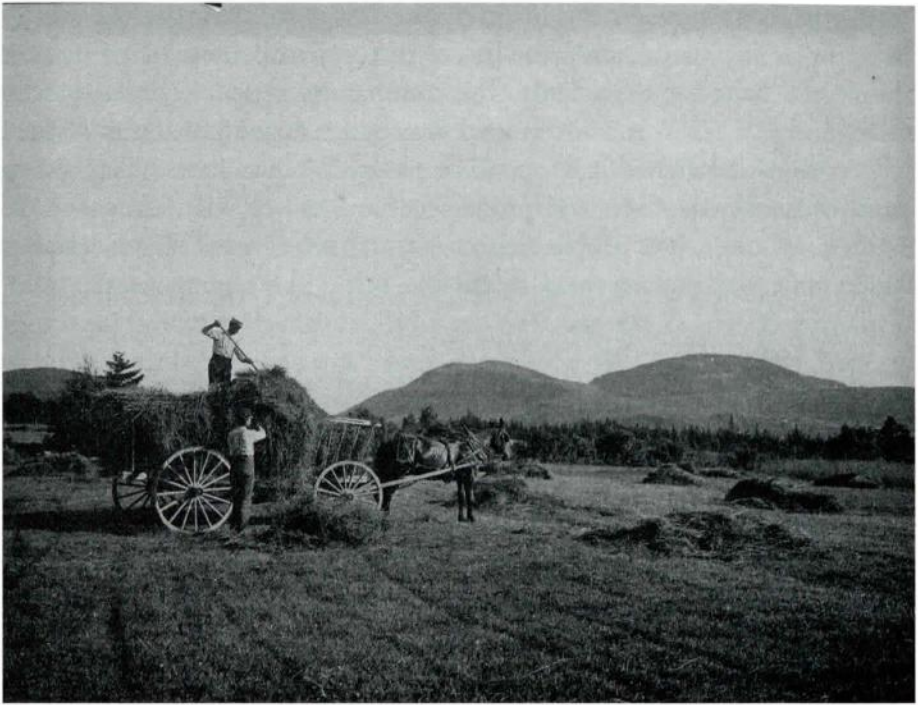
Among the new volunteers was Charles B. Gilley, aged twenty, John’s brother. In October 1861, Benjamin and Abigail Gilley saw their oldest and youngest sons ride north on Main Street in Somesville, bound for Augusta to muster with their regiment.³⁴ Though no record of their departure has surfaced, one can imagine the tender farewells, and admonitions to

the brothers that they should watch out for one another. Charles Gilley would survive the war, though not easily. His military record indicates a remarkable and stubborn pugnacity. He was discharged from the cavalry regiment because of an illness in November 1862 but reenlisted in the First Maine Heavy Artillery in March 1863. He was wounded twice at Petersburg—in the wrist on June 18, and then in the left arm, on June 22. His neighbors said he came home from the war a blind man, though he later served as the lighthouse keeper at Bass Harbor.³⁵ The sturdy youth who joined the cavalry was turned by the Civil War into a character worthy of Shakespeare: a blind lighthouse keeper, his beard wild in the wind, standing watch on the storm-wracked coast. Charles died in 1901 and lies in the Gilley burial ground in Southwest Harbor.³⁶ Another son of Benjamin and Abigail, Stephen M. Gilley, also served in the First Maine Heavy Artillery. He survived the war and lived afterwards in Southwest Harbor until he died in 1910.³⁷

John and Charles Gilley probably rode off Mount Desert Island along with the other boys who joined the regiment. John Gilley was senior to all of them by more than twenty years. In addition to Charles, the others were:

- Simeon Holden, an eighteen-year-old corporal from Tremont. His horse was killed under him at Upperville, Virginia. He was wounded in action but survived the war.
- Thomas Day, an eighteen-year-old private from Mount Desert. He was discharged at the expiration of his service in November 1864.
- Edwin M. Higgins, twenty-one years old, from Mount Desert. He survived the war, lived until 1922, and is buried near the Sound Schoolhouse.
- William L. Holmes, age twenty, from Mount Desert—discharged for disability in November 1862.
- Lemuel Lurvey, a twenty-two-year-old private from Mount Desert. He survived the war and was discharged upon the expiration of his service in December 1864.³⁸

The men from Mount Desert Island mustered with the First Maine Cavalry Regiment on October 18, 1861.³⁹ They gathered and encamped in Augusta, in sight of the state capital building, on a vast plain of field tents and stables called Camp Penobscot. Here the men lived outdoors



Mark Mason and Deloren Atherton haying on Beech Hill, ca. 1900. Before joining the cavalry, John Gilley's knowledge of horses was limited to their use as draft animals. *Collection of the Mount Desert Island Historical Society*

through the winter of 1861 to 1862. They stayed in stables until the horses arrived, and then moved into tents. In that first winter, harsh weather, poor housing, and disease led to the death or disability of more than 200 of the 1,200 men enrolled in the regiment.⁴⁰

Despite the hardship, the men drilled and kept guard and learned how to ride, shoot, and take care of their mounts. For prospective cavalrymen, the volunteers were remarkably ignorant of horses. Even the farmers like Gilley were more accustomed to leading horses than riding them. The horses, too, were largely unaccustomed to the new way of life. Wrote Tobie,

Most of the horses had never before been ridden on the back, and most of the men knew as little about it as did the horses. There was kicking and rearing, and running and jumping, and lying down and falling down, on the part of the horses, and swearing and yelling, and getting thrown and being kicked, and getting hurt and sore in various ways, by the men.⁴¹

As the men adapted to the norms of army life, the officers tried to establish an appropriate “moral tone” for the regiment. Temperance was foremost among the behavioral standards. The commander issued an order that no man would be given a commission or recognized as a noncommissioned officer unless he signed a temperance pledge.⁴² Since John Gilley was a noncommissioned officer and prominent in a church that advocated the temperance cause, it is reasonable to assume that he signed the pledge. But temperance was not accepted by all the men. The regimental chaplain, Benjamin F. Teft of Bangor, wrote a confidential letter to the Governor in April 1862 to say, “We have now, as we have had ever since I came to the regiment, two parties—a temperance party, in favor of keeping our pledge—and a rum party, who say that every man, in spite of the pledge, has a reserved right to drink whenever he thinks he needs it. And this party, let me tell you, do drink regularly and daily, and often to intoxication.”⁴³ Chaplain Teft resigned his position on December 24, 1862.⁴⁴

Another basic expectation was the adherence to army rules such as remaining in the uncomfortable camp even when the day’s work was done and simple pleasures were near at hand. The men saw “running guard,” or leaving the camp to visit family, a natural and harmless activity while stationed so near to home. When they were caught, the wanderers were sometimes fettered with a ball and chain.⁴⁵ But not all the days at Camp Penobscot were so austere. The men were cheered by visits from friends and special occasions like the feast prepared for Thanksgiving 1861. The leftovers from that meal meant no hardtack for days to follow.

On March 14, 1862, the men of Company D moved out of Camp Penobscot and, with their horses, loaded onto a train for the long trip to Washington, arriving five days later.⁴⁶ On April 5, 1862, the regiment crossed the Potomac and marched into Virginia.⁴⁷ From that moment, until the surrender of Confederate forces at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, the First Maine Cavalry Regiment occupied a central role in the Civil War.

This is not the place to account for all the actions and campaigns of the regiment. Edward P. Tobie accomplished that in his lengthy and detailed *History of the First Maine Cavalry*, published in 1887. Between September 1862, when the unit shipped out to Washington, and May 1864, when John Gilley fell, the regiment marched over one thousand two hundred miles in

an area ranging from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania in the north to Richmond, Virginia in the south. The regiment's battle flag lists thirty-six engagements, an accounting that omits many lesser skirmishes and encounters, some quite costly.⁴⁸ One compiler of regimental histories wrote, "This Regiment lost greatest number killed in action of any Cavalry Regiment in the entire army: 15 Officers and 159 Enlisted men killed and mortally wounded; 3 Officers and 341 Enlisted men died of disease, a total of 518."⁴⁹

The men of the First Maine Cavalry experienced boredom, misery, comedy, adventure, fear, and bravery. They suffered the loss of friends from disease and combat, desertion, disability, and reassignment. Their experience of the service reads like a history of the war. They saw the devastation of the Virginia countryside, the earth torn up to form trenches and breastworks, rail fences consumed in campfires, dead horses, abandoned towns, ruined houses and farms foraged until nothing was left. They covered the retreat of Union infantry from one of the military debacles common in the first years of the war, and were left behind enemy lines while the main body of Union forces got away. Cut off from the main army, one small party of Maine cavalrymen escaped with the help of a former Penobscot River driver, who got them across the Potomac in a commandeered ferry boat.⁵⁰

They experienced the exhilaration of a night ride, as one trooper recalled it:

There we were, on a bright moonlight night, in a fine stretch of woods, riding horseback—now through mud to the horses' knees, now in water to their bellies, now trotting over and through places that would have made us shudder to walk over by daylight, now getting a switch in the face from overhanging limbs, now losing a cap by the same means, now taking a good smart gallop over a smooth place, now over a stump and round trees, now in a ditch and now over a fence, now jumping a gully—frogs singing, sabres [sic] clashing, stars shining—pleasant scenery all the way—with just excitement enough to make us fearless. Didn't I enjoy it? I let myself out to the full enjoyment of it, and drank to the full of the wild scene.⁵¹

The men sent money home and received mail from loved ones, letters they literally "read to pieces." The regiment stood for review by the President

and Mrs. Lincoln, the Secretary of War and Mrs. Stanton, and the French Minister. The Fourth of July 1862 was celebrated from dawn to night with music, games and races, topped at last with an enormous bonfire. But in time, the shine came off the glory of war. Parades and reviews were less frequent, supply trains were lighter, and the regimental band was mustered out as a "costly luxury." As the war dragged on, the men became battle-hardened. When two deserters from New York were brought before the brigade for punishment by branding on the hip, the Maine men "looked on the whole proceeding as a farce." In their opinion, the deserters should have been shot.⁵²

They supplemented their diets by foraging, a practice that was necessary for survival, though it exposed the men to the danger of capture, but also occasioned wondrous finds like a whole cherry orchard they carried away in armloads of bundled branches, or a hidden supply of baked beans and bacon, or beehives dripping with honey. The discovery of this last delicacy occasioned the hilarity of seeing a trooper fending off a swarm of bees with his cavalry saber. Foraging also provided an opportunity for mischief, as with the sergeant who told his counterpart from the 154th Pennsylvania that he was needed immediately back at headquarters, and then proceeded to forage the farm the Pennsylvanians had staked out. The Maine sergeant spent some time disguised as a cook in a remote section of the mess tents when the Pennsylvanians came looking for him.⁵³

When officers were out of sight, the men found another way to supplement their provisions. A picket guarding a lonely post would sometimes converse with his Confederate counterpart on the opposite bank of a river. The Rebel picket would construct a tiny raft of cornstalks, attach a sail made of newspaper, and send it across the river loaded with southern tobacco. The Yankee soldier would send the raft back loaded with coffee. One soldier reported, "it was quite common, on asking a man where he got his tobacco, to receive the reply, 'I had a ship come in.'"⁵⁴

In August, 1862, the regiment came under artillery fire, at the Battle of Cedar Mountain. Company D was assigned to collect the wounded and dead of the battlefield, and so witness the true horrors of war, the consequence of an artillery duel. At the end of August, at the second Battle of Bull Run, the men drew their sabers in battle, but for the ignominious task of preventing Union stragglers from running away. Men and horses

both suffered from exposure and inadequate supplies and food. In one nine-month period, the regiment lost seven hundred horses. When the attack on Fredericksburg began in December 1862, many of the men were barefoot and none had adequate clothing or jackets.⁵⁵

During John Gilley's last winter, of 1863 to 1864, the unit had time to rest. The regimental historian Tobie wrote, "Many a pleasant hour was passed in those quarters that winter, with the cheerful open fire, the kindly feeling of the comrades for each other, cemented by two years of hardship and suffering together."⁵⁶ In December 1863, Gilley and many of his comrades reenlisted in the veteran volunteers, a decision that earned them a \$402 bonus and a thirty-five-day furlough.⁵⁷ Of the ninety-two original members of Company D, twenty-eight re-enlisted in the regiment as veteran volunteers. As he signed his enlistment papers, Gilley again took seven years off his age, making him thirty-seven years and seven months in the eyes of the army. For his occupation, the word "Farmer" was overwritten in a bold script by his new occupation: "Soldier."⁵⁸ Several of his comrades took the opportunity to return to Maine and get married, the *Ellsworth American* reported.⁵⁹ But while Gilley took a fifteen-day leave in April, 1864, there is no documentary evidence that he ever came home.⁶⁰

Now here is the central mystery of John Gilley's story. How did his tombstone come incorrectly to state that he "fell at the battle of the wilderness, May 5, 1864?" Though the First Maine Cavalry Regiment participated in some of the most famous battles of the Civil War—including Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg—the Battle of the Wilderness was not one of them. Though it is written on his tombstone, neither the First Maine Cavalry, nor John Gilley, ever fought in the Battle of the Wilderness. One explanation is possible—that "The Wilderness" can be understood not only as a significant three-day battle, but also as the name for a larger campaign that encompassed many engagements in the months of May and June 1864. But Tobie understood the Wilderness Battle to be more limited, an engagement that took place far from the First Maine Cavalry. He wrote, "To the cavalry was assigned the left of the army, opposite the enemy's right, while the infantry strung its lines through the 'Wilderness,' to the right, miles away."⁶¹ The date of death listed on the tombstone is also incorrect. The regimental muster roll shows that John Gilley was alive and well on May 5, 1864.⁶² To discover what really happened to John Gilley, one must examine the actions of the First Maine Cavalry Regiment around



Main Street, Somesville, 1905. John Gilley rode up this dirt road on his journey to join the First Maine Cavalry. The Selectman's Building is the small structure on the right. *Collection of the Mount Desert Island Historical Society*

the time of the Battle of the Wilderness. From the Union perspective, the first three years of war in the East had been marked by indecisive conflicts, defeats, lost opportunities and seemingly endless movements through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. But in the spring of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant was given charge of the Federal armies, and under his leadership, the northern forces became more definite in their aims and movements, driving relentlessly towards Richmond. Grant's strategy was to interpose his army between Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and the confederate capital. Grant intended to confront the rebel army in central Virginia and move his army to the left, in a clockwise motion to cut off the rebel forces from Richmond. As he famously wrote in a letter to General Henry Halleck, Grant proposed "to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."⁶³

Grant's forces met Lee's at the Wilderness, near Spotsylvania in central Virginia, about sixty miles northwest of Richmond. The Wilderness was a wooded area, thick with an almost impenetrable undergrowth that forced thousands of men to fight hand to hand in a blind and vicious struggle, unable to know the location of friend or foe, groping through a violent nightmare of smoke and fire. The Federal forces suffered more than 2,261 killed, 8,785 wounded, and 2,902 missing. The wounded suffered terribly from thirst and from their injuries. Many of them burned to death, unable

to move when the woods caught fire. The Battle of the Wilderness ended on May 7.⁶⁴

As the infantry clashed in the Wilderness, the First Maine Cavalry Regiment was dispatched on another assignment. On May 5, the regiment was sent "on a reconnaissance to Fredericksburg, and joined the Brigade again at Todds Tavern."⁶⁵ Their journey took them about fifteen miles to the east of the Wilderness battlefield, and then to a place about ten miles south of the Wilderness. No casualties are reported for the First Maine Cavalry on May 5. The regiment's official report says the cavalry was held in reserve on May 6 and then "engaged with the enemy at Todd's Tavern on the 7th and 8th of May with little loss."⁶⁶

On May 8, Grant ordered Sheridan "to cut loose from the Army of the Potomac, pass around the left of Lee's army and attack his cavalry." On May 9, the First Maine moved out with the Second Division, a great column of cavalry, about ten thousand mounted men, moving south towards the Confederate capital, burning rebel supply depots, destroying railroads, and freeing Union prisoners.⁶⁷

On May 10, the First Maine Cavalry was positioned at the head of the column, moving cautiously but steadily south. One trooper rode out ahead, two more followed a few yards behind, then came a sergeant and four men, then a sergeant and eight men, then a company, then the rest of the regiment, and then the whole column riding straight towards the Confederate capital. Skirmishers stayed out to the sides of the column to guard its flanks.⁶⁸

The column crossed the South Anna River at Ground Squirrel Bridge, burning the bridge after it got over to prevent pursuit by Confederate cavalry. What Union forces did not know is that the river could be forded, wrote Tobie, "as the regiment found to its sorrow the next morning."⁶⁹ Lurking in the rear of the column were the cavalry of the First, Second, and Fifth North Carolina Regiments, led by General James B. Gordon. On the morning of May 11, 1864, the First Maine Cavalry was encamped by Goodall's Tavern near the ruined Ground Squirrel Bridge. Having led the column the previous day, it was now Maine's turn to bring up the rear. Gordon's North Carolinians found a place where the South Anna could be forded, charged down the steep banks and splashed across the stream, and fell upon the rear of the Federal column, guarded by the pickets from Maine.

As one North Carolina cavalryman reported, "In a few minutes we were all up the high hill on the south side of the river, where the enemy had camped and in full sight now of their rear guard, whose skirmishers were firing on us as we crossed that ford."⁷⁰ The Maine pickets were attacked on three sides by howling, shooting columns of North Carolina cavalry. Mounted Maine cavalymen were hurried to the rear to shore up the embattled skirmishers. But the furious charge of the North Carolinians disrupted any chance for organized defense. "In a few moments there commenced one of the most hotly contested actions of the war, the rebels fighting with terrible fury, and the First Maine boys with the dauntless valor of Roman veterans. Squadron after squadron charged, and fierce and fiercer grew the contest, and near and nearer the main forces of the contending parties, till friends and foes were repeatedly mixed up, and fought hand to hand." At one point, a Maine officer found himself behind the enemy forces, but he was so disguised by dust and soot that he was able to charge with the enemy back to the safety of his own lines. At another, a Maine trooper gave up his horse so his major could escape, and the soldier managed to hide himself on the ground between two fallen trees and get away after the battle. One Maine captain had to leave his wounded brother behind, though he tried desperately to drag him from the grasp of the Confederates.⁷¹

As both sides brought more forces into the battle, both mounted and dismounted troopers struggled in a desperate melee, fighting with sabers and with carbines and pistols, used both as guns and rude clubs. Colonel Charles H. Smith acknowledged that in the confusion he may accidentally have shot one of his own men. His official report of the action is understated. "It became necessary," he wrote, "to dismount the whole regiment to hold back the strong force of the enemy while the column moved on. On withdrawing these dismounted men, the enemy charged both mounted and dismounted and caused the regiment to fall back with some confusion and considerable loss."⁷²

Later, in a more candid letter, Colonel Smith wrote, "With charge after charge we held that open field, each company becoming more broken and reduced every minute, till we reached the timber, when the entire regiment went to pieces for the first time in its career, and every man took the road for himself."⁷³ While the balance of Tobie's regimental history reports only the heroism and valor of the Maine troops, he admitted that Ground Squirrel

Bridge “was the only instance in the history of the regiment where it was completely broken.”⁷⁴ The Federal forces finally managed to withdraw to safety behind a line of artillery, and the Battle of Ground Squirrel Bridge was over.

As the Federal column moved down the road towards Richmond, they left behind two dead, ten wounded, and thirty-one captured, of whom many suffered long imprisonments in camps like Andersonville and Libby, and fourteen died before returning home. John Gilley was among those wounded and captured who would never come back to Maine. These unhappy men groaned as rebels taunted them and harvested the ruins of their camp, with its supplies of chickens and eggs and delicacies from the pantries of local farms. The historian of a North Carolina regiment wrote, “at the head of a dead Yankee who had fallen near the roadside, lay a large, fine preserve can, with its rich contents scattered around the unhappy wretch’s head.” Said one North Carolina soldier, “Ah, boys, he took his sweetened.”⁷⁵

John Gilley was transported to Richmond, where he was a prisoner of war until he died of his wounds. Gilley’s discharge paperwork, completed on March 24, 1865, states, “John Gilley, having served HONORABLY and FAITHFULLY with his company to the present day, is entitled to a DISCHARGE by reason of [here a blank line is filled in] *Having died at Richmond Virginia in the enemies hands Augt 21, 1864.*”

Still, there is considerable doubt about the actual date of his death. The various documents of his widow’s pension application cite a number of dates: May 4, May 20, May (with the day left blank), May (with the day smudged out), and August 20, 1864.⁷⁶ Tobie’s regimental history, published over twenty years later, says Gilley died on May 20, 1864.⁷⁷ Of all these dates, May 20 now seems the most credible, because it is reported in the regimental history as late as 1887, when an abundance of time and witnesses would have provided the best opportunity for the record to be corrected. If any one of these dates is correct (excepting May 4, which is clearly incorrect), Gilley lived nine days or three months as a prisoner of war in Richmond before succumbing to his wounds.

If he died in one of the Confederate hospitals in the city, the conditions were horrendous. In a medical paper titled, “Sufferings and Privations of Federal Prisoners While In Richmond, VA.,” DeWitt C. Peter, Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army wrote,

Immediately on being captured, in the majority of cases, they are deprived of everything they have, viz, overcoats, blankets, boots or shoes (if in good condition), money, watches, &c., and then they have to perform a long and exhausting march without anything to eat, and subjected to every kind of insult and indignity. On their arrival in Richmond, Va., they are either sent to Belle Isle or to some one of the tobacco warehouses that are used as prisons, where they arrive in an exhausted condition, having had no food, probably, for forty-eight hours.⁷⁸

The wounded could expect little better. Wrote Peters, "The sick received two meals a day, consisting of four ounces of corn bread and half a pint of unpalatable soup each time; meat was occasionally issued, both fresh and salt. . . . The principal diseases were typhoid fever, typhoid pneumonia, chronic diarrhea, and dysentery, but the two last mentioned was the cause of death in the majority of cases, it seeming utterly impossible to check."⁷⁹

Beyond this point in the story, even less is known. It is not even certain that John Gilley's body is actually buried in the Wasgatt Cemetery. If it is, his body was likely taken by ship from the huge Union supply depot at Belle Plain, Virginia to Maine, probably to Somesville, where the Union Meeting House is near the dock. A funeral would have been held at his old church, and a carriage would have taken him up Beech Hill Road to the Wasgatt Cemetery, to be laid next to his first wife Mary and his infant son. But all of this must be guessed. There was no death notice in the Ellsworth American, and if there is a copy of his eulogy, invoices for a funeral, or any more letters from people who knew him, they have yet to be discovered.⁸⁰

Nor is there an explanation for the misinformation that was engraved and placed at his head—that John Gilley "fell at the battle of the wilderness, May 5, 1864." John Gilley did not fall at the Wilderness; he was wounded and captured at Ground Squirrel Bridge on May 11. Nor did he fall on May 5, but rather, he likely died between May 20 and August 21, 1864. Some document or telegram or word of mouth conveyed the misinformation to the family, and that was written in stone.

John Gilley's fate was not the only one to be uncertain. Lewis Heath's headstone on Oak Hill Road in Mount Desert says he died at "Cole

Harbor, V.A.," then an unheard-of place to his family, but now instantly recognized as Cold Harbor, where thousands of Union soldiers died charging Confederate trenches in a forewarning of what would happen in World War I.⁸¹ After the surrender at Appomattox, the selectmen of Mount Desert wrote to the adjutant General, wondering what happened to five of the town's men:

Please inform us if the following named men have been discharged from the US service: Oliver Bragdon Second Cavalry, Andrew J Butler, and Geo Butts of 31st Reg. Also what time Isaac K Richardson and Edward t McFarland died. They were taken prisoners [in] May or June 1864. They belonged to the 8th reg. We suppose them to be dead as their folks do not here [sic] from them. They still claim State Aid.⁸²

As for John Gilley's second wife, Lorenda, she died at age forty-three on May 30, 1867, a little over a year after she was granted a pension of \$8 per month, and was buried among her kinfolk on Bartletts Island.⁸³ John and Lorenda Gilley left no children, no direct descendants. The Wasgatt Cemetery is well-tended, and from time to time someone leaves flowers or a flag on his grave, marks of respect and appreciation. The few traces John M. Gilley left behind, aside from his grave marker, are found in fragments of public records and historical archives, and in a few books and articles that invariably report he fell at the Battle of the Wilderness on May 5, 1864.



In the Wasgatt Cemetery on Beech Hill, John M. Gilley lies next to his first wife, Mary Dodge Gott, and their infant son.

Notes

- ¹ Margaret Coffin Brown, Jim Vekasi, and Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, et al., *Pathmakers: cultural landscape report for the historic hiking trail system of Mount Desert Island* (Boston: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 2006), 15.
- ² Modern readers may be more familiar with another John Gilley, a cousin to John M. Gilley, memorialized in Charles W. Eliot, *John Gilley of Baker's Island* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2005).
- ³ William Otis Sawtelle, *The Gilley Family of Mount Desert*, accessed December 31, 2010, <http://www.gilleymedia.com/wgbakers.asp>; George E. Street, *Mount Desert: A History*, ed. Samuel A. Eliot (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905), 214-18.
- ⁴ "Hancock County Maine Project," accessed January 24, 2011, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=REG&db=derwood&id=I32805>.
- ⁵ Benjamin and Abigail Gilley had four girls and eight boys: John, Jane, Abigail, Benjamin, Nancy, Gilbert, Stephen, Joseph, Comfort, William, Webster, Edward, and Charles; as reported by Robert L. Smallidge, *Early History of Mt. Desert and Some Early Families*. Northeast Harbor Library. 1975, 54.
- ⁶ "Hancock County Maine Project;" Thomas F. Vining, *Cemeteries of Cranberry Isles and the Towns of Mount Desert Island* (Bar Harbor: V. F. Thomas, 2000), 274.
- ⁷ *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, Records of the Bureau of the Census), Record Group 29; Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine; Roll: M432_255; Page: 14; Image: 299.
- ⁸ Town of Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine, "1847 Memorandum of Town Orders," February 5, 1847, No. 64; Town of Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine, "1861 Selectmens Record," March 15, 1861, No. 5.
- ⁹ Hancock County, Maine. Office of the Registrar of Deeds. Books/Pages: 80/5, 79/550, 83/32, 87/39, 113/492, 109/64, 109/456, 113/41, 113/437, 113/535, 114/230, and 114/573; the County Road is now called Beech Hill Road.
- ¹⁰ Town of Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine. Tax records for 1847 to 1866. Mount Desert Town Office. s.v., "John Gilley."
- ¹¹ Statement of E. E. Babson, Clerk of the Town of Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine, April 9, 1866, in the pension file of John M. Gilley (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1866).
- ¹² *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, Schedule 4, Productions of Agriculture, Nonpopulation Census Schedules for Maine, 1850-1880. Microfilm. Maine State Archives, Augusta. Collection Number: 1-129; Roll: 1; Page: 905; Line: 15.
- ¹³ Kittredge Ledger. Mount Desert Island Historical Society. Row 1, Unit 3, Shelf 3.
- ¹⁴ Hancock County, Maine. Office of the Registrar of Deeds. Fitsgibbons, 109/164, Higgins, 109/456, and Billings 114/41.
- ¹⁵ "Record of 1856," Town of Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine. 20, 21.
- ¹⁶ Gail Reiber. Timeline. The Somesville Union Meeting House Society: United Church of Christ. Mount Desert Island Historical Society.
- ¹⁷ Gail Reiber. Somesville Union Meeting House Pastors. Mount Desert Island Historical Society.

- ¹⁸ George S. Brookes, *These Hundred Years: History of the Hancock Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers, 1825-1925* (Ellsworth, Maine: 1926), 10; Henry S. Club, *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History, and Results* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1855), 331.
- ¹⁹ Brookes, *These Hundred Years*, 10, 12.
- ²⁰ Brookes, *These Hundred Years*, 12, 13.
- ²¹ Jerry R. Desmond, "Maine and the Elections of 1860," *New England Quarterly* 67 (1994), 467. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/366147>
- ²² John M. Noyes et. al. to the Selectmen of the Town of Mount Desert, September 1, 1861. "Petition to Town Meeting." Mount Desert Island Historical Society. Box 2, Folder 16.
- ²³ "Fogler Library Finding Aid," Hamlin Family Papers, Special Collections, Raymond H. Fogler Library, The University of Maine at Orono, accessed January 24, 2011, <http://library.umaine.edu/speccoll/FindingAids/Hamlinfamilyinventory.htm>.
- ²⁴ Charles Hamlin to Israel Washburn, Jr., September 6, 1861, in "Adjutant General Regimental Correspondence, 1861-1862," Maine State Archives, Box 70, 2203-0311.
- ²⁵ Edward P. Tobie, *History of the First Maine Cavalry Regiment: 1861-1865* (Boston: First Maine Cavalry Association, 1887), ix.
- ²⁶ *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, Records of the Bureau of the Census), Mount Desert, Hancock County, Maine; Roll: M653_438; Page: 614; Image: 618; Family History Library Film: 803438.
- ²⁷ Hancock County, Maine. Office of the Registrar of Deeds. Books/Pages: 113/492, 113/437, 113/535, and 114/230.
- ²⁸ John M. Noyes to General Hodsdon, September 9, 1861. Adjutant General Regimental Correspondence, 1861-1862. Box 70. Maine State Archives, Augusta. Punctuation has been added for clarity.
- ²⁹ Tobie, *History*, 3.
- ³⁰ "Form for Examining a Recruit" for John M. Gilley. Personal Correspondence from Jeffrey Brown, Maine State Archives, July 6, 2010.
- ³¹ "Soldiers Card" and "Form for Examining a Recruit." Personal Correspondence from Jeffrey Brown, Maine State Archives, July 6, 2010.
- ³² Tobie, *History*, 8.
- ³³ Tobie, *History*, 514.
- ³⁴ "Hancock County Maine Project," accessed December 31, 2010, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=derwood&id=I1467>; Jeffrey Brown, email message to author, December 29, 2010.
- ³⁵ Nellie Carroll Thornton reports that Charles B. Gilley was "a veteran of the Civil War in which he lost his eyesight and was for many years of the last of his life totally blind." Nellie Carroll Thornton, *Traditions and Records of Southwest Harbor and Somesville* (Bar Harbor: Acadia, 1988), 214; New England Lighthouses, a Virtual Guide. <http://lighthouse.cc/bassharbor/history.html>; Tobie. *History*, 519; *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900). T623, 1854 rolls. Tremont, Hancock County, Maine, Roll: T623_593; Page: 7A; Enumeration District: 68.
- ³⁶ Vining, *Cemeteries*, 453.

- ³⁷ Horace H. Shaw and Charles W. House, *The First Maine Heavy Artillery: 1862-1865* (Portland, 1903), 323; Vining, *Cemeteries*, 453.
- ³⁸ Tobie, *History*, 516, 158, 519-20; Vining, *Cemeteries*, 278.
- ³⁹ "Soldiers Card." Personal Correspondence from Jeffrey Brown, Maine State Archives, July 6, 2010.
- ⁴⁰ Tobie, *History*, 13.
- ⁴¹ Tobie, *History*, 15.
- ⁴² Tobie, *History*, 22, 21.
- ⁴³ B.F. Teft to Governor Israel Washburn, April 4, 1862. Adjutant General Regimental Correspondence, 1861-1862. Maine State Archives, Augusta. Box 70.
- ⁴⁴ Tobie, *History*, 459.
- ⁴⁵ Tobie, *History*, 23.
- ⁴⁶ Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations, Field and Staff Muster Role, First Maine Cavalry. March and April 1862. (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1964), Internet Archive. <http://www.archive.org/stream/compiledrecordss0068unit#page/n15/mode/2up><http://www.archive.org/stream/compiledrecordss0068unit#page/n15/mode/2up>. See also, Tobie, *History*, 26.
- ⁴⁷ Field and Staff Muster Role. March and April 1862. See also, Tobie, *History*, 50.
- ⁴⁸ Tobie, *History*, 693.
- ⁴⁹ Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines: Dyer, 1908), 3: 1216.
- ⁵⁰ Tobie, *History*, 51, 45.
- ⁵¹ Tobie, *History*, 58.
- ⁵² Tobie, *History*, 24, 66, 73, 89, 120.
- ⁵³ Tobie, *History*, 288, 103.
- ⁵⁴ Tobie, *History*, 110.
- ⁵⁵ Tobie, *History*, 79, 99, 105.
- ⁵⁶ Tobie, *History*, 232.
- ⁵⁷ John Robertson, "Re-Enlistment Patterns of Civil War Soldiers," in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Summer, 2001), 32: 1: 15-35. Published by The MIT Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3656484>. 2. <http://www.jstor.org.prxy4.ursus.maine.edu/stable/3656484?seq=2>. See also Tobie, *History*, 234.
- ⁵⁸ National Archives and Records Service. Consolidated Military Service Record. Volunteer Enlistment form for John Gilley, December 29, 1863.
- ⁵⁹ Mrs. Arthur Ward, comp., "Index of Deaths and Marriages as Published in the Ellsworth Herald its successor, the Ellsworth American October 24, 1851 through December 29, 1865," accessed December 31, 2010. <http://www.mnopltd.com/jean/her263-664.html>. Ellsworth American 2/1863 to 6/1864.
- ⁶⁰ National Archives and Records Administration, Consolidated Military Service Record for John Gilley. Company Muster Role, First Maine Cavalry Regiment, April - May, 1864.
- ⁶¹ Tobie, *History*, 250.
- ⁶² Company Muster role, National Archives. April and May, 1864.
- ⁶³ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles Webster, 1886),

2: 219.

⁶⁴ Grant, *Memoirs*, 290, 202.

⁶⁵ National Archives and Records Service, "Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations, Regimental Return, First Maine Cavalry, May 1864" (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1964), Internet Archive. <http://www.archive.org/stream/compiledrecordss0068unit#page/n69/mode/1up>.

⁶⁶ NARA, "Regimental Return," May 1864.

⁶⁷ Grant, *Memoirs*, 153-54.

⁶⁸ Tobie, *History*, 257.

⁶⁹ Tobie, *History*, 261.

⁷⁰ Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War 1861-'65* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell, 1901), 596. Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/stream/historiesofsever03clar#page/596/mode/1up>.

⁷¹ Tobie, *History*, 262-64.

⁷² "Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations, Regimental Return, First Maine Cavalry. May 1864," (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1964), Internet Archive. <http://www.archive.org/stream/compiledrecordss0068unit#page/n15/mode/2up><http://www.archive.org/stream/compiledrecordss0068unit#page/n15/mode/2up>.

⁷³ Tobie, *History*, 263.

⁷⁴ Tobie, *History*, 264. In his *History of the First Maine Cavalry*, for instance, Tobie excised all records of desertions from the brief biographies of men who served in the regiment.

⁷⁵ Tobie, *History*, 676, 265.

⁷⁶ NARA, Consolidated Military Service Record for John Gilley. "Discharge Document (A. G. O. No. 95 – First)." March 24, 1865: NARA, Widow's Pension Application, Certificate 72,047. This file includes the following documents and dates:

- a. "Declaration for obtaining a widow's Army Pension" gives the date of death as "May _ 1864"
- b. "Act 14th July, 1862," No. 72047, states, "August 20, 1864. \$8 per month."
- c. "Act of July 14, 1862," No. 72047, states "May [erased], 1864."
- d. "Adjutant General's Certification," states "August 20, 1864."
- e. "Adjutant General's Office, Washington, DC, July 21st, 1865," This document says "On the Muster Roll of Co. 'D' of that Regiment, for the months of November and Dec. 1864, he is reported 'a Sergeant who died of his wounds received in action, May 4th, 1864.'" An inspection of that document, the Company Muster Roll for John Gilley, November and December 1864, shows instead these remarks: "Vet. Vol. \$13 adv. pay rcd 1st 2nd 3rd 4th inst Bounty # Died of wounds." This notation indicates that, as a Veteran Volunteer, Gilley was entitled to the last of four \$100 payments, and that he died of wounds in May. But there is no reference to a May 4 date of death, and does not support the Adjutant General's report of July 21, 1865; NARA. "Company Muster Roll, First Maine Cavalry. John Gilley, May 1864."
- f. The "Claim for a Widow's Pension, 72,047" acknowledges the discrepancy: "Adj. General reports him as having died of wounds received in action, May

4/64." And, "Adjutant General of Maine reports that he died Aug 20/64 of wounds." This document concludes in favor of the August 20 date when it declares a starting date for the pension: "Admitted Apr. 24th, 1866 to a pension of \$8- per month commencing Aug 20th, 1864."

⁷⁷ Tobie, *History*, 514. This account says Gilley was "wd. and pris. At Ground Squirrel Bridge, May 11, '64; died in Richmond Val, of wounds received, May 20, '64."

⁷⁸ M.D. Gorman, "Civil War Richmond," accessed January 31, 2010, MDGorman.com. http://www.mdgorman.com/Written_Accounts/OR/or_ser_ii_vol_vii_pp_116119.htm.

⁷⁹ Gorman, http://www.mdgorman.com/Written_Accounts/OR/or_ser_ii_vol_vii_pp_116119.htm

⁸⁰ Vining, *Cemeteries*, 317.

⁸¹ Vining, *Cemeteries*, 245.

⁸² Selectmen of Mount Desert to General Hodson, May 19, 1865. Civil War Town Correspondence, Mount Desert. Maine State Archives. Punctuation has been added for clarity.

⁸³ Vining, *Cemeteries*, 317; and, NARA. "'Claim for a Widow's Pension, 72,047.'"