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Abstract

Catherine Mary White Foster lived with her elderly parents in the red brick house on the northwest corner of Washington and High Streets in Gettysburg at the time of the battle, 1-3 July 1863. She was the only child of James White Foster and Catherine (nee Swope) Foster (a former resident of Lancaster county), who married on 11 May 1817 and settled in Gettysburg, Adams county, Pennsylvania. Her father, James White Foster, had served his country as a first lieutenant in the War of 1812. Her grandparents, James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, had emigrated with her father and five older children from county Donegal, Ireland, in 1790, and settled near New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Pennsylvania History, Battle of Gettysburg, Civil War

Catherine Mary White Foster's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Gettysburg, with Background on the Foster Family Union Soldiers* ¹

Edited by David A. Murdoch

Catherine Mary White Foster lived with her elderly parents in the red brick house on the northwest corner of Washington and High Streets in Gettysburg at the time of the battle, 1-3 July 1863.² She was the only child of James White Foster and Catherine (nee Swope) Foster (a former resident of Lancaster county), who married on 11 May 1817 and settled in Gettysburg, Adams county, Pennsylvania. Her father, James White Foster, had served his country as a first lieutenant in the War of 1812. Her grandparents, James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, had emigrated with her father and five older children from county Donegal, Ireland, in 1790, and settled near New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.³



Fig. 1 - Catherine M. W. Foster's home, 155 S. Washington Street, Gettysburg, PA.

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Catherine Mary White Foster was born on 28 July 1825, and raised in Adams county. At the time of the Battle of Gettysburg, she was 37 years of age. After the battle, she stayed in Gettysburg until her parents died, and she buried them there in Evergreen Cemetery (Lot 31, Area F). She subsequently lived for a while with her cousin, Bell M. Stewart, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where they were present in 1889 at the time of the flood. During the flood, Catherine Mary White Foster leaped from her frame house, which was being swept away by the flood, to a flat roof nearby and avoided being drowned. After these narrow escapes from death, Catherine Mary White Foster lived a long life and finally died a natural death on 15 January 1917. She was buried with her parents in Evergreen Cemetery.

In her will, she directed that her headstone refer to 1 Thessalonians 4:14-15: "For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep. For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep."⁴

She left modest bequests to the Evergreen Cemetery, the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of America for mission or education work "among the colored people" of North American Freed men of the South, the Woman's Board of the United Presbyterian Church for mission work "among the Indians of North America," and missions to the Jews in New York and Pittsburgh. She wanted her will to be probated in Adams county and her body buried in Evergreen Cemetery so "that friends or relatives visiting Gettysburg would also visit the cemetery—if reminded of my will, [and] might search for it, . . ."⁵

Catherine Mary White Foster maintained a record, recently discovered during the writing of this article, of her seven cousins (all great-grandsons of the immigrants, James and Catherine Foster) who served in the Union Army: (a) **Lieutenant John Alexander Hastings Foster**, Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who was wounded at Little Round Top, Gettysburg, on 2 July 1863, and cared for at Catherine Mary's home;⁶ (b) **Sergeant William G. Foster**, Company K of the 53rd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who was wounded at the Battle of Fredericksburg, VA, 13 December 1862, fought at Gettysburg, 1-3 July 1863, and was later killed at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House on 12 May 1864;⁷ (c) **Private John Wise Robinson**, Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (the 40th R.P.V.) wounded at Second Bull Run;⁸ (d) **Corporal Robert Foster Robinson** (John's brother), also Company I of the 11th Regi-

ment, wounded at Second Bull Run and at Fredericksburg, 13 December 1862 (he died shortly thereafter);⁹ (e) **Edwin Bruer Foster**, who died of wounds received in battle;¹⁰ (f) **John Foster Brown**, a teacher who enlisted as one of Pennsylvania's emergency men;¹¹ and (g) **Sergeant James Millen** (a younger brother of the editor's great-grandmother, Eliza Jane Millen Murdoch) of Company H of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, who fought at Gettysburg, 2-3 July 1863, and was later killed at the Battle of the Wilderness, 5 May 1864.¹²

One rendition of Catherine Mary White Foster's report of the Battle of Gettysburg was previously printed in the *Gettysburg Compiler*, 29 June and 6 July 1904, under the headline "The Story of the Battle by a Citizen Whose Home was Pierced by Flying Shells: Some of the Things the People of the Town Went Through and What They Were Called Upon to Suffer." The *Compiler* version refers to citizens of Gettysburg, Colonel C. H. Buehler, Dr. Fahnestock, John Culp, and Dr. Schmucker, and to one citizen's decision not to shoot General Robert E. Lee on 3 July 1864, while he was in the cupola of the St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church on High Street. It does not mention the name of the Confederate Captain Hodge Kitchin of the 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops, who searched her home, ineffectively, for Yankees, and is identified in this story.

This version of Catherine Mary White Foster's eyewitness account was found among the editor's father's genealogical papers and is reprinted here because of its still-compelling story. It was printed with the History of the Foster Family which Catherine Mary White Foster wrote in 1891-92. In 1896, Gilbert Ernest Swope lamented his inability to include in the Swope family history Catherine Mary White Foster's story of the Battle of Gettysburg.¹³ This is the earlier version of 1891-92.

* * * *

By urgent request of some of our number, I give my experience and some incidents, as seen by citizens of the famous battle of Gettysburg.

All who have read accounts of the battles of '63 are aware that immediately after the battle of Chancellorsville, General Lee began to arrange for the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Early in the month of June, the Marylanders bordering on Pennsylvania began to move their horses through our town to Harrisburg and places north of the Susquehanna. Sometimes as rumors of the Confederates' approach ceased, they returned. But on reaching their homes, and sometimes before they reached they were again startled with alarm, and back they

turned toward the Susquehanna. Thus for three weeks we were entertained with the tramp, tramp of droves of horses, marching to and fro. But from June 20th, occasionally the enemy's camp fires were in sight. Then our town became an isolated spot. None came in to bring us tidings good or bad, and no one ventured out, excepting once when the suspense became intolerable (and to which the battle itself brought relief), two prominent citizens, still discrediting the rumored nearness of the rebels in force, decided to ride out on horseback until they would learn something reliable. They went on the Chambersburg road, six miles, to Cashtown, at the foot of the South Mountain. Here they alighted and went into a hotel to make inquiry. They were inside only a few minutes, when lo! a squad of rebel cavalry rode up and captured their horses. One of the gentlemen had ridden his family pony, a very valuable and idolized animal. And now, under the impulse of anxiety for the animal's welfare, he hastened out, and with *apparent* generosity, made a present of him to General Wade Hampton.¹⁴ A few days later, when the Confederates took possession of Gettysburg, this man with his family deserted their home, and traveling on foot to go outside the lines of battle; five miles from town they crossed the path of their pony, mounted by a General.

These two gentlemen came back to town minus their horses, thus bringing the inscrutable evidence that they had *seen* the rebels. The next day they appeared in sight of town, but retreated. A day or two later, June 26th they made their raid upon the town, capturing part of our militia (40 the records say), which they claimed to have found in barns, hogsheds, etc. They boldly raised their flag over our town and played Dixie tunes in the court house. But they did not succeed in gathering any booty in the place, so next morning they left us. As yet we had no knowledge of the whereabouts of our men, hence were in increased suspense until 28th, Sabbath noon, when two regiments of Union cavalry arrived, under command of General Copeland.¹⁵ Then our doors and windows opened, and our soldiers were greeted with songs and shouts, as well as fed with bread and pie. My father, then seventy-nine years of age, sat in his arm-chair very composedly, cogitating, "If those 'Hessians' were only here now we would make a pot-pie of them."¹⁶ But early Monday morning our reconnoitering guardians marched in the opposite direction from the enemy, and the somber cloud of suspense and dread enveloped us more densely than before. For several weeks our business houses had been closed, goods and bank possessions had been sent to Philadelphia. Five hundred of our population were colored people, who feared the approach of the Southern rebels more than death. These played hiding and

peeping all this time. On one of these Sabbaths their quarterly meeting was to be held. Their bishop, a large, fine looking and able speaker came, and with the few who would venture out he commenced the meeting. I was invited to hear him and went. He spoke kindly and courageously to them, but whilst singing, "The year of jubilee has come," the oft repeated rumor, "The rebels are coming," came also, and in a moment bishop and people had disappeared, some of them were never discovered till after the battle.

June 30th, at 9:30, the rebel's advance force came within one-half mile of Gettysburg, but retreated a short distance at 11:30. Our hearts and spirits were revived by the entrance of Buford's cavalry, 6,000 coming from the direction of Emmetsburg (southwest).¹⁷ They passed through Washington Street, on which we lived, to a grove north of Pennsylvania College. With these 6,000 Union cavalry between us and the enemy, we felt the battle begun and victory won! July 1st, when skirmishing commenced, we went to our western balcony to watch the maneuvering at 10 A.M. The artillery began to play, and First Corps came up, General Reynolds dashing through our streets, and called to us to go to our cellar.¹⁸ The infantry were marching double quick, some on the street and others on different lines west, through the fields to west of Seminary Hill, whilst cavalry messengers flew over fences and fields like a shower of meteors. Occupants of the seminary and other buildings on the ridge came running down the hill faster than "Double quick." Old Lady Thompson, occupant of Lee's headquarters, however, never deserted her house.¹⁹ Her house and lot were filled with Union wounded and dying during the first day; she remained to care for them, and had a daughter living at the foot of the hill, who baked up a barrel of flour into bread, which she carried up the hill to the wounded, and refused to cease doing so during the three days. Her clothes were riddled with bullets. She was about seventy years of age. Her son and family, consisting of wife and two children, the younger one day old, were obliged to leave their house, carrying their children. They were passed through the rebel lines to their rear. They all survived to tell the tale.

We remained on our balcony watching the forming of the left wing, notwithstanding the unseen shells whizzing over our heads[. I]t being our first experience, we neither realized danger nor obeyed orders of passing officers until 1 P.M., the Eleventh Corps coming rushing in Washington Street, urged on to support the right wing, our attention was called to their pleading for water.²⁰ They dare not stop to drink, but we carried it to our front door and poured into their tins as they passed. The officers frequently said to us, "Stop giving water, they have not time to

drink." Many of them got their last drink from our hands, as they were hurried along, saying as they went, "We'll fight the enemy from your doors, we'll drive them or we'll die." A few minutes after we left the balcony, a twelve pound shell struck it, demolishing roof and ceiling. For two hours we carried water to the front door and poured into their tin cups. Then came the sudden 3 o'clock reversal, no one asked for water now, though the officers still called to us to go to our cellar. But, as we had not been *hit* yet, we did not heed further than respect for them, [they] induced us to retire till they were out of sight. As artillery wagons, cavalry and infantry dashed along, pell mell upon each other, we failed to observe the men dropping into nook and corner wherever any opening offered. The last time we were ordered to our cellar, we inquired for the meaning of this rush, they replied they were only changing fronts, but urged our retreat to the cellar. We again turned in, but only to reappear when *lo!* horses and men were falling under the enemy's charge, and our own garments grazed by bullets. We fell back, as if met by a storm, locked the door and made for the cellar, where we had placed my aged parents several hours before. Passing through to the inside cellar door we spied a soldier crouched in the open door of a back porch. I inquired if he was wounded, he said, "slightly," and if invited would go with us to the cellar. We regarded him simply as a slightly wounded man, and so invited him; but my first thought was to repair to the cellar window to take in the situation; my first sight was a space of thirty or forty feet. Then, instead of the Blue, the Grey. Their leaders, hatless, with long hair standing on edge, furious yelling and firing, curdling one's blood as the situation flashed upon us. In this moment of time our soldier had concealed his gun in a stovepipe, which stood in a corner, and his knapsack in the ashes of a fire place and himself under a potato bin. When I announced the situation, he said it will come all right, only please cover me with these chips. I began to pile on him the kindling near by, but the outer door opened and down came a rebel captain and two privates. The latter began to explore the cellar, whilst the captain very politely inquired whether there were any "Yankees" here. In this perilous situation there was not time for deliberation, but somehow, rather assuming than trying to conceal anxiety, I replied, "We are all here, I suppose you call us all 'Yankees.'" He said he meant soldiers in arms, as they overtook them they rushed into hiding places and they must hunt them out. By this time the other two came very near my "Yankee," and as he was not well concealed, I sprang between them and him, assuming nervous anxiety for my aged parents, which was a part, inasmuch as we knew not the consequence, if the soldier should be discovered. The cap-

tain, evidently moved with compassion ordered them to pass on up-stairs, "all is right here," he said. Then to us, he said, "We must search the house, but come with us and see that nothing will be disturbed." But so glad to get them out of the cellar, I said, "Go where you please," and as soon as they were out we more securely covered up the Yankee. And though they searched every few hours, he escaped²¹ whilst 2,500 others were marched to Libby and Andersonville. With these were three of our citizens, who a year after were liberated from Libby and sent home. Two of them were not recognized by their families and friends. The other never seemed to recognize his home and died a mute two weeks after his arrival.

After the Retreat

General Howard with his remaining force took position on Cemetery Hill and our town was a mass of rebels. Only now the order which had been given in the morning by General Reynolds, for those residing on the west side of town to remove to the north or east side, reached us. My cousin, Bell M. Stewart, who was with us (from Westmoreland County, attending the Female Seminary), and my father, were very anxious to try to go.²² She had a large trunk containing her wardrobe, probably provided for a year's wear. This she commenced analyzing, and after putting two full suits on her person with a number of extras, she secured a pillow or bolster case, packed and stuffed it until she succeeded in stowing into it and an ordinary sized band-box, every article of her goods. Taking one under each arm she started for the door. My father followed her. They succeeded in getting my mother and me outside the door and the door locked behind us, with a promise from the rebels (who were urging us to go) that nothing should be disturbed. But what now, where and how could we go? I spied a neighbor at his door and ran to him and requested him to help me dissuade my father. Together we prevailed on him and my cousin to return to our house and cellar and share the fate of the Yankee, trusting the Supreme Ruler to guide and guard. And our gratitude to Him who so directed and preserved us is everlasting. When night approached we locked our doors and retired to our rooms, listening to the picket firing all through the night, undisturbed till break of day, then we heard an effort to open the back door, and to prevent them breaking in I hastened to open it. Two roughs, supposed to be Louisiana Tigers, stood there and demanded a light to "search for Yankees."²³ I remonstrated, informing them that their officers had repeatedly searched the day before. They swore at their officers and said they would

search for themselves. I proposed to go for a light, at the same time slipping to the cellar to see that the Yankee was still secure. While absent my father entered the room, one of them approached him, pointing his gun to father's breast, demanded fifty dollars. He told him he had not fifty in the house. Then the fellow said, "Give me what you have." Father took out his pocket-book containing only three dollars, and handed it over. Then swearing at him, they left. Our first concern now was to secrete the Yankee in a more secure place. This being done, I went to the front door to report these desperadoes. Two officers stood before the door, and on seeing me commenced inquiry concerning the dead on the street. I reported the conduct of the two men. They said I should have come to the door immediately and sent word by any one to General Rhodes [that is, Rodes]²⁴ on the next corner, Middle Street. But they assured me we should be guarded another night. Accordingly, Captain Kitchen, I think of North Carolina, came and presented the men who were to protect our house.²⁵ We were not again disturbed in two succeeding nights and days. The last night they asked permission for the ambulance officers to occupy our porch to superintend the bringing in of their wounded from the Southwestern part of the field. This movement, however, was only the beginning of their retreat.

On the second day there was nothing but picket firing until 4 P.M. Hence citizens and surgeons were busy looking after the wounded.

Our front door bell ran. I went and opened. My glad surprise on seeing a Union officer in the midst of such a scene, I can never express. It was Dr. Heard, of Boston, and Dr. Bache, of Philadelphia, both members of Reynolds' staff.²⁶ They were held as prisoners in the rebel lines during the battle, but allowed to be on hospital duty. They lodged in our house after this until they were ordered to join their Regiment on the morning of the 5th.

About 4 P.M., 100 rebel guns opened their belching throats and sent their screaming missiles over us. They were quickly responded to by as many more from the center and left wing of our lines. The work of those hours from 4 to 9 o'clock—the fearful charges—the alternate advances and repulses, first upon the left and then upon the right—the volleys of musketry on Culp's Hill, the terrible roar of which, combined with that of two or three hundred guns, to those between the armies, was like to an anticipation of "the rending of the Heavens and the crashing of worlds."²⁷

Thankful we were, when informed that the battle was over for the night, though only to be renewed by daybreak in the morning. At 4 A.M. of the 3d we were startled by the first gun, and so quickly was this sig-

nal answered that a very short time elapsed before we were again in our accustomed retreat, the cellar. The noise soon resumed the convulsive intensity of the previous evening.²⁸ We became anxious about the surgeons in an upper room; after 6 o'clock we called them. They had been up watching the direction of the cheers and shouts and did not wish to disturb us. We gave them a light breakfast; one of them was too solicitous to eat. They hurried off to their duty, and had scarcely made their exit, when a shell entered the room in which they had slept, tearing away the mantel, across the bed, leaving not a vestige of clothing upon it. And as my cousin and I were returning from the breakfast room to the cellar, another shell entered that room above the mantel, demolishing everything in its way, carrying the weight of a clock into an opposite partition, and breaking everything on the table, even the forks. We could hardly be expected to have attained by this time the degree of composure manifested by General Howard the day before.²⁹ While sitting on a tombstone reading a message, a shell bursting beside him, defacing the stone, yet it was said his eyes were not diverted from his paper.³⁰ But it is truly marvelous what a calming effect such terrific scenes and emergencies, resulting from the contending powers of right and wrong, do have upon humanity. Every entering shell, with its increased demonstration of destruction, only imparted new vigor and fortitude to our patriotism.

All this day the 300 guns continued their fearful work, only interrupted by two or three lulls, during which the bellowing of cattle and the mournful chirping of birds and fowls produced a sad refrain. In the afternoon our rebel guests became reticent; they gave us no more information. They were evidently preparing to retreat. Time and space are insufficient to tell of their shrewd maneuvering in the evening to cover their prospective march.

Many were the incidents of this day, even the effect of which may ever remain untold. But oh! that we could convey an idea of the glorious "4th of July" that dawned upon Gettysburg after the night of the 3d. When the voices of citizens were again heard greeting each other from their chamber windows, as if they had just been resurrected from an untold ordeal to breathe their native atmosphere. Altho' the army had disappeared and ours could not venture rashly in, for we were still under fire of sharp-shooters covering their retreat, we could not be certain of the glad tidings of victory which had already reached the most distant parts of our country. Now began the influx of strangers and friends from every State, on the sad mission of search for their loved ones among the wounded and dead, alas! too sad here to relate.

And now, dear friends, allow me to close by adding that after burying my parents, my father aged 86 and my mother 94, I left Gettysburg to reside, at least for a time, in Johnstown, with my cousin, who shared the battle with me, as well as later days of trial. Of our flood experience, many of you know.³¹

Yes, through this, too, we were wonderfully protected by the same kind Hand which

“—plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.”³²

C.M.W.F.

APPENDIX

Seven Great-Grandsons of James and Catherine Foster The Foster Family's Union Soldiers

JOHN ALEXANDER HASTINGS FOSTER



Fig. 2 - John Alexander Hastings Foster fought at Gettysburg with Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. (This picture is found in John T. Porter's history of the 155th Regiment, *Under the Maltese Cross*, at page 503).

John Alexander Hastings Foster was born about 1836, the son of David White Foster (b. 17 January 1814 - d. 1849) and Sarah Elizabeth Hastings (d. 19 January 1836), married 19 February 1836. John Alexander Hastings Foster's grandparents were Alexander Foster and Martha (nee Ralston) Foster of Rural Village, Armstrong and Westmoreland counties, PA. His great-grandparents were emigrants from county Donegal, Ire-

land, James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster. John Alexander Hastings Foster died 7 April 1876, at Rural Village, Armstrong county, PA.

John Alexander Hastings Foster was married by the Reverend William F. Morgan at the Presbyterian church in Rural Village, Armstrong county, PA, on 29 June 1858, to Mary J. Strain (d. 19 August 1916, Downer's Grove, IL). They had one son, Ira Foster. John served as a first lieutenant in Company K of the 155th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac. He was severely wounded by a gunshot in the leg at Little Round Top. Gettysburg, on 2 July 1863. The regimental historian told the tale:

Our first division was halted and brought swiftly back to Little Round Top, just in time to meet the flushed and confident foe as they came up aside of that rocky elevation. Here Sergeant Foster, of Company K, was severely wounded in the leg. John Cowan, of Company K, was shot in the bowels and died as a result of the wound. Two others were wounded, Kirkpatrick and Hetrick. A little farther up, General S. H. Weed and General Strong Vincent were killed. Lieutenant Charles E. Hazlett, Fifth United States Artillery, stooping over his friend, General Weed, was also killed, and also Colonel Patrick H. O'Rourke, of the One Hundred and Fortieth New York. These brave officers came to their death at the hands of sharpshooters in the Devil's Den. Our line of troops were the first to occupy Little Round Top, a most important and strategic point. Weed's cannoniers stopped the enemy's advance and caused their retreat.³³

Sergeant Foster, soon to be promoted to lieutenant, was cared for at the Gettysburg home of his great-uncle, James White Foster, by James' daughter, Catherine Mary White Foster.

John Alexander Hastings Foster enlisted at Kittanning, Indiana county, PA, on 18 August 1862, in Captain J. A. Cline's Company K. He served as a second sergeant until he was promoted to second lieutenant on 3 July 1863. He was promoted to first lieutenant on 15 February 1865, and was honorably discharged and mustered out with his regiment at Washington, D.C. on 1 June 1865.

His cousin, Catherine Mary White Foster, related this story about Lieutenant Foster:

He left a young wife and boy, Ira, of Rural Village, and joined a company for the war, served successfully for many months till

the battle of Gettysburg, on the 2d of July, 1863. His corps (Fifth) was immediately put into position to hold Little Round Top, where he very soon received a bullet, by which he fell, and laid on the battlefield till the evening of July 4th, when he was conveyed to the house of his father's uncle, James W. Foster in Gettysburg. There he was kindly cared for, and faithfully visited by his regiment's surgeon, Dr. Reed, of York County, but he became so homesick that, before he was quite able to travel, his surgeon gave him permission to go home. His friends, learning that the first train would go south, via Baltimore, instead of westward, told him he must wait for the next train, but he replied, "I'll go by the first train, if I must go via New Orleans." He went, and reached home safely, and after some time returned to his place in the army.³⁴

WILLIAM G. FOSTER

William G. Foster, the son of James Foster and Eliza (nee George) Foster, was born in Westmoreland county, PA, in 1832. He had two sisters, Mary L. and Anna E., and two brothers, Robert A. Foster and James Wallace Foster. William G. Foster was killed in action at age 32 at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House on 12 May 1864.

William G. Foster mustered into Captain William B. Coulter's Company K of the 53rd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in Latrobe, PA. He immediately became a sergeant and was promoted from fourth sergeant to first sergeant, 14 December 1862, by order of Colonel McMichael, the day after he was wounded at the Battle of Fredericksburg. At the Battle of Gettysburg, the 53rd Regiment fought under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Richards McMichael and was assigned to the Fourth Brigade (Colonel John R. Brooke), First Division (Brigadier General John C. Caldwell), of the Second Army Corps (Major General Winfield S. Hancock).³⁵ On 23 December 1863, near Stevensburg, VA, First Sergeant Foster mustered out by discharge because he re-enlisted as a Veteran Volunteer under the provisions of General Order No. 191, Series of 1863, from the War Department.

By occupation, Foster identified himself as a carpenter. He was married and survived by one son. At the time of his death, he was owed two months and twelve days' pay at \$21 per month, for a total of \$51.96. He had received a \$110 bounty for re-enlistment and was due \$290 as "retained bounty." He had received from the United States clothing amounting to \$14.86.³⁶

JOHN WISE ROBINSON

John Wise Robertson, third child of Mary (Polly) (nee Foster) Robinson and Adam Robinson (m. 18 March 1833), enlisted at the age of seventeen years with his older brother, Robert Foster Robinson, in Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Reserves (the 40th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers).

John Wise Robinson enlisted at Greensburg, PA, on 8 February 1862, as a private in Captain Cribbs' Company. He was honorably discharged on a Surgeon's Certificate by Surgeon David P. Smith on 7 February 1863, having had one year of service, because he was wounded at or near Second Bull Run on or about 30 August 1862, when he received a gunshot wound in the right ankle which shattered the bone and resulted in necrosis of the fibia. Catherine Mary White Foster told the story of the day he was wounded:

John Wise, the third child, also enlisted in the "Old Eleventh" Pennsylvania Volunteers, at the age of seventeen, and was wounded at Bull Run, upon the same day as his brother. Together they lay as prisoners in the "Old Stone House" upon the field of battle, and together were carried to the same hospital at Fairfax Seminary, Va. He, being more severely wounded, was discharged, and returned home after exactly one year's service.³⁷

Prisoner of War Records show him paroled on Groveton battlefield, 2 September 1862.

John Wise Robinson identified himself as a farmer and was 5 feet, 9 and 3/4 inches tall, with a fair complexion, grey eyes, and dark hair. He was born in Westmoreland county, PA. Robinson died on 28 January 1900, at Ben Avon, Allegheny county.³⁸ His wife, Nannie H. (nee McIlwaine) Robinson, died on 30 June 1919. They had been married by the Reverend W. W. Woodend on 3 June 1873, at the First Presbyterian Church of Saltsburg, Indiana county, PA. They had two boys, Robert Foster Robinson, born 16 March 1874, and William M. Robinson, born 17 June 1878.³⁹

ROBERT FOSTER ROBINSON

Robert Foster Robinson, John Robinson's brother, enlisted as a corporal in Company I of the 11th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers (the 40th R. P. V.). This regiment was assigned to the Third Brigade of the

Second Division, First Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Robinson was wounded and missing in action at Second Bull Run, 30 August 1862. He recovered from his wound, and returned to his regiment three days before the fateful battle of Fredericksburg. He was severely wounded at Fredericksburg, VA, 13 December 1862, and died shortly thereafter. His cousin, Catherine Mary White Foster, reported in her family history that after he was wounded at Fredericksburg, he was

reported 'missing' and from that day no reliable tidings ever came to those who wearily waited at home, though hope never died entirely until every prison had been emptied at the close of the war. All that remains to tell of his sad story is his name and a simple couplet on the family memorial stone:

'He rests where he wearied;
He lies where he fell.' ⁴⁰

EDWIN BRUER FOSTER

Edwin Bruer Foster and his twin sister, Ella Ann Foster, were born on 3 August 1847, the children of David White Foster (1814-1849) and Mary Ann (nee Gibson) Foster. According to the family history of Catherine Mary White Foster, Edwin Bruer Foster enlisted during the Civil War, was wounded in battle, and died in the Woman's Hospital, New York City, 6 December 1863. His twin sister, Ella, married George Iseman, of Freeport, PA, and they had three sons and two daughters.⁴¹

JOHN FOSTER BROWN

John Foster Brown was the grandson of immigrant Catherine (nee Foster) Brown (b. Ireland, 1779 - d. 1813), who married John Brown, Sr., in 1798. John Foster Brown's parents were John Brown, the second (b. Sugar Creek township, Armstrong county, PA, 23 July 1807 - d. 4 March 1891) and Elizabeth (nee Craig) Brown, married, 2 May 1839. Their oldest son, John Foster Brown, was born 10 April 1840, and died in Ellwood City, 9 April 1910. John Foster Brown married Elizabeth McClelland, 20 March 1862, and moved to a farm near Worthington, Armstrong county, PA.

According to the family history by Mattie Noble Brown:

John Foster Brown taught school in Armstrong County and later enlisted as an emergency man during the Civil War. He was a

man of unusual intellect and deep religious convictions, and it is to be regretted that he did not enter the ministry. His literary talents were of a high order. He wrote the History of West Glade Run church, in which church he was an elder. In his community, he was always the first person called, where there was sickness or trouble of any kind.⁴²

John and Elizabeth (nee McClelland) Brown had several children: Mary Belle, James Harvey, John Franklin, Charlotte Elizabeth, Charles, Sarah Foreman, Jessie, Esther Jane, and Nora Blanche.⁴³

JAMES MILLEN



Fig. 3 - James Millen fought at Gettysburg with Company H of the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers; pictured here as a corporal.

James Millen was born in 1839, the son of Joseph Millen (1803-1874), an emigrant from Ireland, and Mary "Polly" Brown (1803-1895), the daughter of Irish immigrants, John Brown, Sr. (1758-1835), from county Down, Ireland, and Catherine (nee Foster) Brown (1779-1813), from county Donegal, Ireland. John and Catherine Brown were members of the Presbyterian church in Cowansville, Armstrong county, PA. Catherine

(nee Foster) Brown was the daughter of James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, who emigrated from county Donegal, Ireland to America with their six children about 1790 and settled near New Alexandria, Westmoreland county, PA.

James Millen enlisted on 19 August 1861, for three years, in Captain Tracy's Company H of Colonel McKnight's 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. At the time, James Millen was twenty-two years of age, 5 feet, 9 and 1/2 inches tall, and had blue eyes and a sandy complexion. He interrupted his studies for the ministry to enter the army with

many of his young friends. He was mustered in 9 September 1861, at Pittsburgh, PA, and was appointed a second corporal. He became first corporal in November or December 1861, was taken prisoner of war by the Confederates at Bristoe Station, on 26 August 1862, and paroled.

On 7 February 1863, Millen was promoted from first corporal to second sergeant. He became the first sergeant of Company H on 1 May 1863. Millen's regiment was commanded at Gettysburg by Colonel Calvin A. Craig and fought with the First Brigade (Brigadier General Charles K. Graham) of the First Division (Major General David B. Birney) of the Third Army Corps (Major General Daniel E. Sickles).⁴⁴ On 20-27 December 1863, First Sergeant James Millen was discharged by virtue of re-enlistment as a veteran Volunteer under the provisions of General Orders Nos. 191, 305, and 376, War Department Series of 1863. The bounty due on re-enlistment was \$100. This re-enlistment occurred at Brandy, VA, under Captain John Dougherty, recruiting officer. At the time, First Sergeant Millen was twenty-four years old and identified himself as a farmer.

First Sergeant Millen was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness on 5 May 1864, while his unit, the 105th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, which was assigned to the brigade of General Alexander Hays (also killed that afternoon) was coming to the support of General Frank Wheaton's Brigade on the Brock Road.⁴⁵

Notes

1. I acknowledge the gracious assistance which I received in verifying facts in Ms. Foster's account from Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter of the Adams County Historical Society, Mr. Brian Kennell at the Evergreen Cemetery, and the office of Betty H. Pitzer, Register & Recorder at the Adams County Courthouse. Dr. Glatfelter also obtained information about Mary Long Thompson, the Swope family, and a different version of Catherine Mary White Foster's story published in the *Gettysburg Compiler* on 29 June and 6 July 1904 (hereafter the "Gettysburg Compiler version").

2. Recorder of Deeds, Adams County, PA, Deed Book "Z", p. 336. The red brick house still stands on the corner at 155 Washington Street, with its second-floor, rear balcony facing northwest of Gettysburg where the battle began.

3. Catherine Mary White Foster, "History of the Foster Family, 1891-1892," private paper now on file with the Adams County Historical Society (hereafter, Foster, "Foster Family"); Gilbert Ernest Swope, compiler and editor, *History of the Swope Family and Their Connections, 1678-1896* (Lancaster, PA: T. B. & H. B. Cochran, Printers, 1896), pp. 268-71.

4. Register of Wills, Adams County, PA, Will File # B-120. The Bible reference is to 1 Thess. 4:14-15, which was transcribed onto the headstone following her name as follows: "Catherine M. W. Foster Died January 15, 1917 Aged 91 years 5 M 19 D. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. 1st Thess. 4:14,14." Her parents are identified on the reverse side of the headstone thus: "James W. Foster Born in Ireland Oct. 1784 Died in Gettysburg Nov. 30, 1870. Catherine Swope wife of James W. Foster Born in Lancaster March 1784 Died in Gettysburg Jan. 14, 1878."

5. *Ibid.*

6. John T. Porter, ed., *Under the Maltese Cross, Antietam to Appomattox, The Loyal Uprising in Western Pennsylvania, 1861-1865, Campaigns 155th Pennsylvania Regiment Narrated by The Rank and File*, (Akron: Werner Company, 1910), p. 503; National Archives, Pension File, John Alexander Hastings Foster, WC390-321. Biographical sketches of Catherine Mary White Foster's seven cousins, who fought for the Union Army in the Civil War, are set forth in an appendix to this article.

7. National Archives, Military File, William G. Foster, Co. K, 53 Pennsylvania Inf.

8. National Archives, Pension File, John Wise Robinson, WC 670-402.

9. National Archives, Military File, Robert Foster Robinson, Co. I, 11 Pennsylvania Inf.

10. Foster, "Foster Family."

11. Mattie Noble Brown, "History of John Brown, Sr., and His Descendants," private paper and family history now on file with the Adams County Historical Society. Emergency men enrolled for short periods in the militia in Pennsylvania during the crisis of 1863. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 5, pp. 1222-1231.

12. Kate M. Scott, *History of the One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Philadelphia: New-World Publishing Company, 1877. Reprint. Baltimore, MD: Butternut and Blue in conjunction with Jefferson County Historical Society, 1993), p. 311; National Archives, Military File, James Millen, Co. H, 105 Pennsylvania Infantry; Foster, "Foster Family"; and Brown, "History of John Brown, Sr."

13. Swope, *Swope Family*, pp. 268-71.

14. Wade Hampton (1818-1902), a Confederate general from South Carolina, was assigned a brigade of cavalry in July 1862, served as second in command to J. E. B. Stuart after 2 September 1862, fought in the Antietam campaign, and took part in the Chambersburg and Gettysburg campaign, where he was wounded for the third time (previously wounded at First Bull Run and at Seven Pines). After Gettysburg, Hampton received promotions to major

general and to lieutenant general. After the war, he served as governor of South Carolina in 1876 and 1878 and as a United States senator until 1891 (Mark M. Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, rev. ed. [New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1988], pp. 370-71).

15. Joseph Tarr Copeland (1830-1893) was named lieutenant colonel, 1st Michigan Cavalry, 22 August 1861, was mustered out 29 August 1862 and was commissioned colonel, 5th Michigan Cavalry, 30 August 1862 and brigadier general, United States Volunteers, 29 November 1862. He fought at Second Bull Run, commanded the Provision Brigade, Casey's Military District, Washington and First Brigade, Cavalry Division, XXII corps, Washington, as well as the Annapolis Draft Rendezvous, (Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, p. 175). On the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg, Copeland's regiments were taken from him and assigned to General George A. Custer, as part of an overhaul of the cavalry, with the change from General Hooker to General Meade. General Copeland was overage for a cavalry commander; he was born at Newcastle, Maine, on 2 May 1813; he was 50 years of age at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg. Copeland had a distinguished legal career after he graduated from Harvard College and studied under Daniel Webster. He served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan before the Civil War (Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* [Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Reprint 1991], p. 92).

16. James White Foster was 12 years old when his father died in 1796. His father had intended him for the ministry, and had started his education, in which he had advanced considerably in English and Latin, with this end in view. At his father's death, James' older brother, Robert, was entrusted with his education. Although he did not become a minister, James persevered in his education until he acquired a competency to devote his life to teaching, which he undertook in Adams county until the War of

1812 broke out, when, according to his daughter's family history, he enlisted in Maryland and served as a first lieutenant. (In the Gettysburg *Compiler* version, Catherine Mary White Foster omitted her father's muttering reference to the Confederates as "Hessians," which may have reflected his bias arising from prior military experience, although the Hessians fought for the British in the Revolutionary War.) In 1817, James W. Foster married Catherine Swope, who was born 7 March 1784, and raised in Upper Leacock township, Lancaster county. Catherine Swope had been previously married to Adam Woods, who died early at the hands of Indians in Kentucky, and Captain Samuel Long, of Littlestown, PA, who died of disease contracted while serving in the War of 1812. Catherine Swope had one child with Mr. Woods and five children with Mr. Long before she married James White Foster (Swope, *History of the Swope Family*, pp. 267-68, and Foster, "Foster Family"). Catherine Mary White Foster, the author of this eyewitness account, lived with her parents in Gettysburg until her father's death, 30 November 1870, at age 86 (Register of Wills, Adams County, PA, Will File #4635) and her mother's death in 1878 at age 94.

17. John Buford (1826-1863), a brigadier general in the cavalry of the Union Army, encountered the Confederates advancing on Gettysburg from the northwest on 1 July 1863. He immediately dismounted his cavalry troopers to hold McPherson Ridge until the infantry arrived. His grasp of the situation and quick action helped make Gettysburg one of the decisive battles of the Civil War. Buford set up his headquarters at the Lutheran Seminary until General John F. Reynolds and the infantry troops arrived. Although he survived the Battle of Gettysburg, General Buford contracted typhoid fever during the Rappahannock campaign in the fall and died in Washington, D.C. on 16 December 1863. He was commissioned a major general on his deathbed (Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 52-53).

18. Major General John F. Reynolds (born in Lancaster county, PA, 20 September 1820; died at Gettysburg, 1 July 1863), commander of the First Corps, arrived in time to meet the attack of Confederate Harry Heth's division of 7,500 men. As Reynolds waved the famous Iron Brigade into battle, he was struck by a Minie ball and thrown from his saddle. His death was a major loss for the Union Army and for Pennsylvania (Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 396-97). It is obvious from this report that Catherine Mary White Foster was one of the last civilians who saw, from her western balcony, General Reynolds ride into battle. Indeed, according to her report, General Reynolds "called to us to go to our cellar." In the *Gettysburg Compiler* version, Catherine Mary White Foster reported, "About an hour, perhaps less time, before General Reynolds fell, he halted at our balcony, requesting us to go to our cellar, at the same time inquiring for the Taneytown road, . . ." For further reading about General Reynolds, see his biography by Edward J. Nichols, *Toward Gettysburg: A Biography of General John R. Reynolds* (University Park, PA: the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1958). His death and removal from the field were observed by Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell in his manuscript, "The Battle of Gettysburg," reprinted in Colonel William C. Oates and Lieutenant Frank A. Haskell, *Gettysburg*, edited by Glenn La Fantasie (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), pp. 150-51; and by Sergeant Charles Henry Veil, *The Memoirs of Charles Henry Veil*, ed. Herman J. Viola (New York: Orion Books, 1993), pp. 28-31 and 34-36. See also, Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son's, 1968. First paperback edition, 1984), p. 269.

19. After the first day of battle, which resulted in a Confederate victory north and west of Gettysburg, Robert E. Lee's headquarters were established at Seminary Hill late in the day on 1 July 1863 (Craig L. Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*,

cartography by William J. Clipson [Baltimore, MD: the Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1992], p. 37). "Old Lady Thompson" was Mary Long Thompson (1793-1873), who had married Joshua Thompson, but he had long since left Gettysburg. General Lee may have used Mrs. Thompson's house, but it is not thought that her house was his official headquarters. See Robert L. Bloom, *A History of Adams County, Pennsylvania 1700-1990* (Gettysburg, PA: Adams County Historical Society, 1992), p. 216, which includes a picture of the house as it appeared in a photograph made by Matthew Brady in July 1863.

20. The Eleventh Corps, under the command of Major General Oliver Otis Howard, was placed in the center of the Federal line on Cemetery Hill (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, p. 39).

21. Catherine Mary White Foster inserted her own footnote here: "The secreted Yankee still lives to relate his narrow escape, in Titusville, Pa. Lawyer Leander Wilcox." According to the Crawford County Historical Society records of Civil War soldiers and the National Archives, Leander W. Wilcox was born in 1833 and died on 18 September 1893; he was buried in Plot No. C-76 at the Woodlawn Cemetery in Oil Creek Township, Crawford county, PA. Wilcox was mustered in for nine months service on 20 September 1862, in Company F of the 151st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. He served as a corporal, was wounded at Gettysburg on 1 July 1863, and mustered out on 27 July 1863. He married Anna S. Hecker on 25 February 1864, and they lived in Titusville, Crawford county, PA, the rest of their lives. Anna S. Wilcox died on 23 April 1921. I have not discovered evidence that he was a lawyer (National Archives, Pension Records, Leander W. Wilcox, W.C. 412.699). The 151st Regiment was commanded at Gettysburg by Lieutenant Colonel George F. McFarland, who lost his leg there, and fought with the First Brigade, Third Division, of the First Army Corps (Samuel P. Bates, *History of*

Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865, 5 vols. [Harrisburg: D. Singerly, State Printers, 1869], vol. 4, pp. 678-80; Richard D. Sauers and the Capitol Preservation Committee, *Advanced the Colors! Pennsylvania Civil Battle Flags*, 2 vols. [Lebanon, PA: Capitol Preservation Committee, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1991], vol. 2, p. 453).

22. Bell M. Stewart was the daughter of James Stewart and Ellen (nee McGaw) Stewart, the granddaughter of William Stewart, and the great-granddaughter of George Stewart and Margery (nee Foster) Stewart. Margery was the oldest daughter of James Foster and Catherine (nee White) Foster, who had married George Stewart in Ireland in 1786 before they came to America in 1790 with her father and with Catherine Mary White Foster's father and grandparents (Foster, "Foster Family").

23. The Louisiana Tigers was the name used to denote one of two Louisiana brigades in the Army of Northern Virginia. Dick Taylor commanded the Louisiana Tigers, which consisted of the 8th Brigade of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell's division during Jackson's Valley campaign. The 8th Brigade was composed of I. G. Seymour's 6th Louisiana; H. T. Hay's 7th Louisiana; H. B. Kelly's 8th Louisiana; L. A. Stafford's 9th Louisiana; and Rob Wheat's Louisiana Battalion ("Tigers"). The brigade adopted the nickname of Wheat's battalion, and called itself the Louisiana Tigers (Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, p. 493).

24. Major General Robert E. Rhodes commanded a division of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell's Second Army Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. On the second day of the Battle of Gettysburg, Rhodes' troops occupied the town. On the third day, Rhodes' division moved to the southwest of Gettysburg, in front of Lee's headquarters and to the left of Generals Trimble and Pettigrew, who were supporting Pickett's charge. General Rhodes' division did not participate in Pickett's attack (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, pp. 35, 37, and 59).

25. Captain Kitchen may well have been William Hodge Kitchen, a captain in Company I of the 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops. Captain Kitchen had recently been promoted to captain on 15 March 1863, having advanced from a private in Company G to the rank of second lieutenant in Company I on 15 January 1863. The 12th Regiment of North Carolina Troops was commanded at Gettysburg by Lieutenant Colonel W. S. Davis in the brigade commanded by Brigadier General Alfred Iverson, who reported to Major General R. E. Rhodes, commander of a division in the Second Army Corps of Confederate Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell. General Iverson reported his activities at Gettysburg, which included the following actions consistent with Catherine Mary White Foster's story: "Arriving in the town, and having but very few troops left, I informed General Ramseur that I would attach them to his brigade, act in concert with him, and we formed on the street facing the heights beyond Gettysburg occupied by the enemy, where we remained till the night of July 2, when I was informed by General Ramseur that a night attack was ordered upon the position of the enemy to the right of town. . . . when other parts of the line fell back, I also gave the order to retreat, and formed in the road, in which we maintained a position during that night and the whole of July 3, while the fight of that day was progressing, and from which we fell back about 3 A.M. of July 4 to the ridge near the theological seminary" (*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 27, pt. 2, Serial 44, pp. 578-580; Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., compiler, *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865: A Roster*, vol. 5: Infantry: 11th-15th Regiments [Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1975], p. 110). Captain Kitchen was "Present or accounted for until captured at Spotsylvania Court House, Virginia, May 10-12, 1864,

Confined at Fort Delaware, Delaware, until transferred to Hilton Head, South Carolina, August 20, 1864. . . . Released at Fort Delaware on June 16, 1865, after taking the Oath of Allegiance" (Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, p. 218). Captain Kitchin resided in Halifax county, and was a student prior to his enlistment at Norfolk, Virginia, at age 26, on 11 June 1861 (Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, p. 167). The battle referred to in Iverson's report and the activities of General Rodes are reviewed at length in the recent publication by Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 276-283. On 16 November 1910, Governor W. W. Kitchin of North Carolina (relationship, if any, to Captain Kitchin unknown at this writing) helped dedicate the memorial erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in memory of the soldiers of Pennsylvania who perished in the Confederate prison at Salisbury, North Carolina, 1864 and 1865 (*Pennsylvania at Salisbury, North Carolina, 1910*, C. E. Aughinbaugh, printer to the State of Pennsylvania, 1912), pp. 28-29.

26. Dr. John Theodore Heard graduated from Harvard University with a Doctor of Medicine degree in 1859. On 16 July 1861, at the age of 25 years, he mustered into the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers as an assistant surgeon under surgeon A. W. Whitney. He served on active duty for over four years until 25 October 1865, when he mustered out as a surgeon. After prior appointments as brigade and division surgeon, Dr. Heard was assigned as medical director of the First Army Corps, commanded by General John F. Reynolds. He remained in that position after the death of General Reynolds at Gettysburg and until the First Army Corps was consolidated with the Fifth Army Corps in March 1864. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the artillery reserve of the Army of the Potomac and later the medical director of the Army of the Cumberland. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel on 13 March 1865. After

the war, Dr. Heard lived at Louisberg Square in Boston. He maintained a book of "scraps relating to the rebellion of 1861" which contains evidence of his membership in the Society of the Army of the Cumberland and newspaper articles mainly about the death of General Reynolds. In response to one of these articles (16 February 1878), which stated that General Buford "knew on June 30, that he had a heavy force to contend with," Dr. Heard penciled in his scrapbook, "I have the remembrance that Buford reported to Reynolds on the eve of June 30th that he was beyond Gettysburg and had no enemy in his front. J. T. H." (John Theodore Heard papers, 1848-1885, at the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also, Nichols, *Towards Gettysburg*, p. 196, and *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 27, pt. 1, Serial 43, pp. 923-24, and pt. 3, Serial 45, pp. 417-18 (1889), which includes General Buford's official report to General Reynolds and appears to confirm Dr. Heard's "remembrance" (Charles E. Davis, Jr., *Three Years in the Army: The Story of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers from July 16, 1861, to August 1, 1864* [Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1894], p. 424 and pp. 225-249; Austin C. Stearns, *Sergt.*, ed. Arthur A. Kent, *Three Years with Company K* [Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1976], pp. 178-207; and *Roster of Regimental Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons in the U.S. Army Medical Department During the Civil War*, originally published by Newton Allen Strait in 1882 [Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, Inc. Reprint with introduction by F. Terry Hambrecht, M.D., 1989], p. 80. Dr. Thomas H. Bache was appointed as a Surgeon and a Major in the Union Army from Pennsylvania on August 3, 1861. He had served as the Surgeon for the Seventeenth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Quaker Regi-

ment, from 25 April 1861 until 2 August 1861 (Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865*, 5 vols. [Harrisburg: D. Singerly, State Printers, 1869], vol. 1, p. 161 and vol. 5, p. 1140). He then joined General Reynolds' staff. Doctors Heard and Bache may have taken, or accompanied, the body of General Reynolds to the Young stone house on Emmitsburg road before they stayed at the Foster home (Gettysburg *Compiler*, Obituary of Catherine M. W. Foster, 20 January 1917; but see Nichols, *Towards Gettysburg*, pp. 205-206, and note 49 for reports that Sergeant Charles Veil or members of the 76th New York or the 84th New York carried the body of General Reynolds from the field). In the *Compiler* version of this account, Catherine Mary White Foster stated at this point that "Six public buildings and nearly all the private houses on High street were now well filled with the first day's wounded" (6 July 1904).

27. Catherine Mary White Foster's reference is obscure, but her three narrow escapes from death, once while bathing in the surf at Cape May, New Jersey, another at the Battle of Gettysburg, and later during the Johnstown flood, grounded her in faith and attuned her writing and thinking to religious literature, poetry, and hymns with apocalyptic themes. She believes that "... the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night ..." (I Thessalonians 5:2), and "... then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up" (2 Peter 3:10; see also, Isaiah 13:13).

28. At 3:30 A.M. on the third day of battle, Federal Major General Alpheus Williams ordered 26 Union guns to open fire on Confederate positions on the southern slope of Culp's Hill. After heavy fighting between Confederate General Johnson's forces and the Union Army, the Federals recovered their old lines on Culp's Hill by 11:00 A.M. and re-established the now famous "fishhook" line (Symonds, *Gettysburg: A Battlefield Atlas*, p. 67; Pfan,

Gettysburg: Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill, p. 285).

29. Major General Oliver Otis Howard (1830-1909) commanded the Eleventh Army Corps at the Battle of Gettysburg. Ezra Warner summarized his performance at Gettysburg as follows: "At Gettysburg he was in command of the field on the first day after the death of John F. Reynolds and until the arrival of W. S. Hancock. Here he displayed a conspicuous lack of decision, but was voted the thanks of Congress for selecting Cemetery Hill and Ridge as a position for the I and XI Corps to fall back on. Although the evidence conclusively proves they were driven there, Howard's principal contribution was that he personally rallied the I Corps in the cemetery proper" (*Generals in Blue*, p. 238).

30. General Howards' aplomb was also observed on 2 July 1863, at Gettysburg by correspondent Whitelaw Reid: "Two or three general officers, with a retinue of staff and orderlies, come galloping by. Foremost is the spare and somewhat stooped form of the Commanding General [George Gordon Meade]. He is not cheered, indeed is scarcely recognized. He is an approved corps General, but he has not yet vindicated his right to command the Army of the Potomac. By his side is the calm, honest, manly face of General Oliver O. Howard. An empty coat sleeve is pinned to his shoulder—memento of a hard fought field before, and reminder of many a battle scene his splendid Christian courage has illumined" (cited in Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day* [Chapel Hill and London: the North Carolina Press, 1987], p. 59; James G. Smart, ed., *A Radical View: The "Agate" Dispatches of Whitelaw Reid 1861-1865* [Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1976], vol. 2, p. 23; Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Two Witnesses at Gettysburg: The Personal Accounts of Whitelaw Reid and A. J. L. Fremantle* [St. James, New York: Brandywine Press, 1994], pp. 25-27. Howard lost his right arm at the Battle of Seven Pines.

31. The Johnstown Flood occurred in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1889; see David McCullough, *The Johnstown Flood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968, 2d ed., 1987). In the Johnstown flood, Catherine Mary White Foster's residence, a frame house, was caught by the first surge, lifted and carried away. She and the other occupants of the floating house escaped from the attic to the flat roof of a house in passing and were saved (Swope, *History of the Swope Family*, p. 271). As reported in the *Gettysburg Compiler* on 20 January 1917, Catherine Mary White Foster died in Johnstown, and her body was brought to Gettysburg on the morning train over the Western Maryland Railroad and taken directly to Evergreen Cemetery.

32. God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea
And rides upon the storm.

By William Cowper (1731-1800) in "O God, in a Mysterious Way" *Olney Hymns* (1779), no. 1, written with John Newton (author of "Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound)," this poem, which has five additional verses, is also known as "Light Shining Out of Darkness" (H. S. Milford, ed., *The Poetical Works of William Cowper* [London: Oxford University Press, 4th ed., 1934. Reprint, 1959], p. 455). Among many other writings, Cowper penned the anti-slavery poem, "The Negro's Complaint," in 1788, when he declared "Minds are never to be sold!" *ibid.*, pp. 371-72.

34. Foster, "Foster Family"; Porter, ed., *Under the Maltese Cross*, p. 503; National Archives, Pension File, John Alexander Hastings Foster, WC 390-321. Dr. J. A. E. Reed served as Surgeon of the 155th Regiment from March 1863 until January 1865; his last known address after the war was

Lancaster county, PA (*Roster of Regimental Surgeons*, p. 208).

35. The plaque describing this regiment's actions is located on the Gettysburg battlefield on Sedgwick Avenue near the Pennsylvania monument.

36. National Archives, Military File, William G. Foster, Co. K, 53 Pennsylvania Inf.

37. Foster, "Foster Family."

38. Register of Wills, Allegheny County, PA, Estate File, Record of Death, vol. 13, 373.

39. National Archives, Pension File, John Wise Robinson, WC 670-402.

40. Foster, "Foster Family"; National Archives, Military File, Robert Foster Robinson, Co. I, 11 Pennsylvania Inf.

41. Foster, "Foster Family."

42. Brown, "John Brown, Sr." Emergency and state militia troops of 1863, and their actions during the crisis caused by General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, are identified in Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, vol. 5, pp. 1222 *et. seq.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Scott, *History of One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers*, pp. 79-87. The plaque describing this brigade's experience on the Gettysburg battlefield is located at the Peach Orchard.

45. *Ibid.*, 94-105; National Archives, Military File, James Millen, Co. H, 105 Pennsylvania Infantry; Foster, "Foster Family"; and Brown, "John Brown, Sr." See generally, Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness: May 5-6, 1864* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), p. 203; and Robert Garth Scott, *Into the Wilderness with the Army of the Potomac* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1985, revised and enlarged edition, 1992), pp. 77-85.