

# *A Fine Opportunity Lost*

**LONGSTREET'S EAST TENNESSEE  
CAMPAIGN, NOVEMBER 1863–APRIL 1864**

by Col. Ed Lowe (USA, Ret.)

EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



## Prologue

- 1 Gary J. Laine & Penny M. Morris, *Law's Alabama Brigade in the War Between the Union and the Confederacy* (Shippensburg, PA, 1996), 183-184.
- 2 David Powell, *Battle Above the Clouds: Lifting the Siege of Chattanooga and the Battle of Lookout Mountain* October 16 – November 24, 1863 (El Dorado Hills, CA, 2017), 44.
- 3 William C. Oates, *The War Between the Union and the Confederacy and Its Lost Opportunities with a History of the Fifteenth Alabama and the Forty-Eight Battles in Which It Was Engaged* (New York, NY, 1905), 276.
- 4 Laine & Penny, *Law's Alabama Brigade*, 184.
- 5 Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letter, Papers, and Speeches, Vol VI* (Jackson, MS, 1923), 70.
- 6 Bruce Catton, *Grant Takes Command* (New York, NY, Kindle addition), 61.

## Chapter One

- 1 Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (Norman, OK, 1993), 284; W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, 2 volumes (New York, 1893), 284; Thomas Lawrence Connelly & Archer Jones, *The Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1973), 70.
- 2 Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 284-285; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 Vols (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1891), vol. 40, Series I, pt. 4, 705. All references are to Series I unless otherwise noted. Hereafter cited as *OR*, 40/4:705. Longstreet added: "Our chief has done but one thing that he ought to have done since I joined this army-that was to order the attack upon the 20th. All other things that he has done he ought not to have done."
- 3 Alexander Mendoza, "A Perfect Storm of Ineffectiveness: The First Corps and the Loss of Lookout Mountain," in Steven E. Woodworth & Charles D. Grear, eds., *The Chattanooga Campaign* (Carbondale, IL, 2012), 8; Powell, *Battle Above the Clouds*, 34.
- 4 Theodore Fogle Papers, *Civil War Collection 1860-1877*, Civil War Collection, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.
- 5 Dick Stanley, *The Bloody Thirteenth: History in Diaries, Letters & Memoirs* (Austin, TX, 2013), 248.
- 6 Cheatham replaced Leonidas Polk when Bragg relieved the episcopal bishop from his command in the aftermath of the battle of Chickamauga. Polk was eventually reassigned to the Department of the Mississippi and East Louisiana and was killed in action during the Atlanta Campaign in 1864.
- 7 Mendoza, "A Perfect Storm of Ineffectiveness," 9; James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox, Memoirs of the Civil War in America*, Reprint (1996), 532-533. Hereafter cited as *MA*; Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1971), 245.
- 8 Steven Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence, KS, 1990), 242. Woodworth noted that Davis "neglected to mention the episode altogether" in his two-volume memoirs, written after the war.

- 9 Powell, *Battle Above the Clouds*, 34-35; Jerry Korn, *The Civil War: The Fight for Chattanooga* (Alexandria, VA, 1985), 85.
- 10 Longstreet on Meade, *The Philadelphia Record*, Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP), Gettysburg Library, Longstreet, Participant accounts, Folder one.
- 11 Douglass Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 3 vols. (New York, NY, 1935-36), 3:291.
- 12 James K. Swisher, *Prince of Edisto: Brigadier General Micah Jenkins, C.S.A.* (Berryville, VA, 1996), 145.
- 13 Rowland Dunbar, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, Vol VI, 62.
- 14 Susan Leigh Blackford & Charles Minor Blackford, eds., *Letters from Lee's Army* (Lincoln, NE, 1998), 222.
- 15 OR, 31/1:218.
- 16 Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes* (Urbana & Chicago, ILL, 1994), 101.
- 17 Gerald L. Augustus, *The Battle of Campbell's Station, 16 November 1863* (Cleveland, TN, 2013), 10; Jeffry D. Wert, *General James Longstreet, The Confederacy's Most Controversial Soldier: A Biography* (New York, NY, 1993), 338.
- 18 Powell, *Battle Above the Clouds*, 61-62.
- 19 Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, 255.
- 20 Donald Stoker, *The Grand Design: Strategy and the U.S. Civil War* (New York, NY, 2010), 326.
- 21 Brian M. Thomsen, ed., *The Civil War Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant* (New York, NY, 2002), 257-258.
- 22 Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 294.
- 23 Longstreet, *MA*, 482.
- 24 Longstreet, *MA*, 437.
- 25 Don C. Seitz, *Braxton Bragg: General of the Confederacy*. (Columbia, SC: 1924), 390-391.
- 26 Larry Peterson, *Decisions at Chattanooga: The Nineteen Critical Decisions That Defined the Battle* (Knoxville, TN, 2018), 38; David A. Powell, *The Impulse of Victory: Ulysses S. Grant at Chattanooga*. Kindle Version (Carbondale, IL, 2020), 87-88; OR, 31/1:455.
- 27 Edward Porter Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, Reprint (Dayton, OH, 1990), 481.

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- 1 Augustus, *The Battle of Campbell's Station*, 1; James McPherson, *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York, NY, 2009), 61.
- 2 Todd W. Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870* (Knoxville, TN, 1999), 1-2, 10-12.
- 3 Korn, *The Civil War*, 103.
- 4 Sam Bollier, "Our own paradise invaded: Imagining the Civil-War Era" in Carroll Van West, ed., *East Tennessee in the Civil War in Appalachia: Tennessee in the Civil War, Volume 2* (Nashville, TN, 2009), 46.
- 5 Amy McRary, "East Tennessee's Civil War: Pro-Union with Divided Loyalties," *Knoxville News Sentinel*, July 15, 2020.

- 6 Howard H. Bonekemper, *Lincoln and Grant: The Westerns Who Won the Civil War* (Washington, DC, 2015), 119, 122.
- 7 Thomsen, *Grant's Memoirs*, 259.
- 8 Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, Reprint 1899 (Johnson City, TN, 1995), 454.
- 9 Ronald White, A. *Lincoln: A Biography*, Kindle Version (New York, NY, 2009), Loc 10591.
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- 11 Charles Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War: With the Leaders at Washington and in the Field in the Sixties*, Kindle Version, Reprint (New York, NY, 1902), Loc 1783.
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- 14 Augustus, Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*, Kindle Edition, Reprint, 2007 (Providence, RI, 1867), Loc. 4724.
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- 20 Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and The Origins of Modern Warfare* (Indianapolis, IN, 1988), 221.
- 21 OR, 31/III: 146.
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- 4 Edward Porter Alexander, "Longstreet at Knoxville," *Retreat from Gettysburg*, in Clarence C. Buel and Robert U. Johnson, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (New York, NY, 1884-1889), 747.
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- 6 Marvel, *Burnside*, 316-317.
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- 16 Hess, *The Knoxville Campaign*, 110.

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- 18 Swisher, *The Prince of Edisto*, 171-172.
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- 16 Korn, *The Civil War*, 113.

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- 38 Ibid., 134.
- 39 Longstreet, MA, 485.
- 40 Longstreet, MA, 494.
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## Chapter Eleven

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- 10 Susannah Ural, *Hood's Texas Brigade: The Soldiers and Families of the Confederacy's Most Celebrated Unit*. (Baton Rouge, LA, 2017), 195-199.
- 11 Frank E. Vandiver, *Rebel Brass: The Confederate Command System* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1956), 88.
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- 14 Joan Ardrey, "A.C." *The remarkable life of Alexander Calhoun Ardrey* (North Charleston, SC, 2013), 35.
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- 18 Franklin Gaillard, *Civil War Letters*, page 79, Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- 19 Longstreet's second paper on Gettysburg, Southern Historical Society Papers, Gettysburg National Military Park Library, Longstreet, participant accounts, Folder 1.
- 20 Stanley, *The Bloody Thirteenth*, 275.
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## APPENDIX A

- 1 Within the decade, Congress would bestow protective NMP status on three additional battlefields: Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899). Sadly, attempts to secure federal funding for the preservation of Fort Sanders during this same period failed.
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- 9 Andrea Bailey, interview by Jim Doncaster, March 14, 2022.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ibid.*

**APPENDIX B**

- 1 Edward Porter Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989), 308.
- 2 Lee quoted in Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Army in Confederate History* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), 103.
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- 15 Hal Bridges, *Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill* (1961; reprint, Lincoln, NE, 1991), 207.
- 16 *OR*, 30(2):24.
- 17 See for example, James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox* (Philadelphia, PA, 1896), 462-43; *OR*, 31/1:318.
- 18 *OR*, 31/1:218.
- 19 Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 241-42, 245; Steven E. Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence, KS, 1990), 241-42.
- 20 This was Simon Buckner's impression, at least. Buckner quoted in Bridges, *Lee's Maverick General*, 238.

**APPENDIX C**

- 1 DiNardo & Nofi, *James Longstreet: The Man, The Soldier, The Controversy*, 33.
- 2 *OR*, 31/III: 817.
- 3 Archer, *Civil War Command and Strategy*, 191.
- 4 Wert, *General James Longstreet*, 372; *OR*, 31/III: 680.
- 5 Stoker, *The Grand Design*, 342.
- 6 Lee to Longstreet, February 17, 1864, MSS20, Box 4, Folder 50, Civil War Collection, Stuart Rose, Emory University.

7 Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist*, 200.

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