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MICHAEL D. WAGNER

"A FEW DAYS LATER IN COMING" MAJOR GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT'S ROLE IN THE AROOSTOOK WAR

Maine Soldier's Song

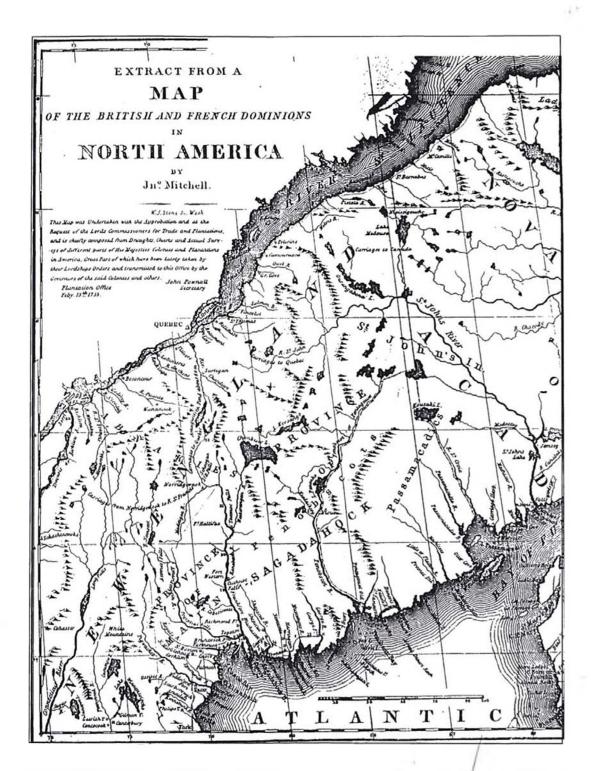
We are marching on to Madawask, To fight the trespassers; We'll teach the British how to walk, And come off conquers.

We'll have our land right good and clear, For all the English say; They shall not cut another log, Nor stay another day.

They better march and stay at home, And mind their business there; The way we treated them before, Made all the nations stare.

We'll feed them well with ball and shot, We'll cut these Red-coats down, Before we yield to them an inch, Or title of our ground.

Onward! my lads so brave and true Our country's right demands With justice, and with glory fight, For these Aroostook lands.¹



John Mitchell's map of 1755, used during the treaty negotiations between the United States and Great Britain after the Revolutionary War, provided no geographical basis for determining the location of the St. Croix River or the "highlands" that separated the rivers that flowed into the Atlantic from those that flowed into the St. Lawrence. Maine's boundaries were left vague until the issue was settled in 1842.

Henry S. Burrage, MAINE IN THE NORTHEAST BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY (1919).

"The members was [sic] ordered to appear at this place on Wednesday the 20th day of February [1839] at 8 o'clock AM armed and equipped as the law directs with 3 days provisions and blankets and 24 ball cartridges."2 With this order, read before its twenty-nine assembled members, the Bangor Rifle Corps mobilized for war with New Brunswick. Only two weeks earlier, the unit met to elect William H. Mills to serve as captain of the company.³ Now the entire unit was on the march, just one of the forty-six companies mobilized from Maine's militia to defend the northeastern boundary. Although history has obscured the significance of the Aroostook War, the conflict threatened to spark a third war between the United States and Great Britain in the course of a generation. Between 1837 and 1839, several skirmishes occurred along the border from Ohio to Maine; many dissidents saw this growing discord as a call to arms to expel Great Britain forever from the North American continent. That the United States avoided this unfortunate course of action depended to a large extent on President Martin Van Buren's best trouble shooter, Major General Winfield Scott. Called to the border to soothe tensions, Scott combined a credible military threat with his reputation as a pacifier to quell the dispute and establish a lasting basis for settlement.

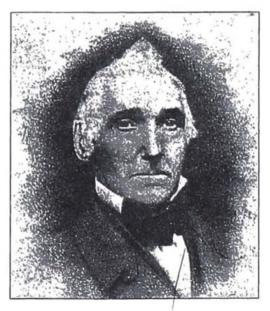
Troubles between the people of the United States and Great Britain were renewed during the 1837 French-Canadian revolt against British rule. New Brunswick at this time was still a colony of Great Britain, and it was the British military that acted to keep order. British subjects easily accepted this relationship, but French descendants continued to seek autonomy. President Martin Van Buren issued a proclamation demanding the neutrality of United States citizens during the revolt, but this had little effect. American agitators along the border often aided the French Canadians and continued to arm themselves for war.⁴

This history of tension between the United States and Great Britain gave Maine's mobilization considerably more support than it normally should have gathered. Maine's governor, John Fairfield, a Boston editor reasoned, had it "in his power to become second only to Moses and Washington....In six months,

he may with ease overrun the whole of Canada, and in six months more organize it as a Republican Government, and become himself its President, or divide it into three or four Republican States, and join our Federal Union." While an exaggeration of Maine's military potential, the editorial nevertheless suggests the broader intentions of some of the conflict's supporters. President Van Buren's woes were compounded by Maine's determination to settle the dispute by military means. Van Buren realized that if the forces of Maine and New Brunswick collided on the border, the conflict could not be confined to the disputed territory. His only chance for success remained a settlement without a clash of arms.

he roots of the boundary conflict date back to the end of the Revolutionary War. The 1783 Treaty of Paris established the border based upon the 1755 map by John Mitchell (see map 1). However, when Mitchell drew the map he had only a vague geographical knowledge of the region. Several incorrectly plotted river courses left the treaty





In 1839 Governor John Fairfield (left) sent Land Agent Rufus McIntire (right) into the

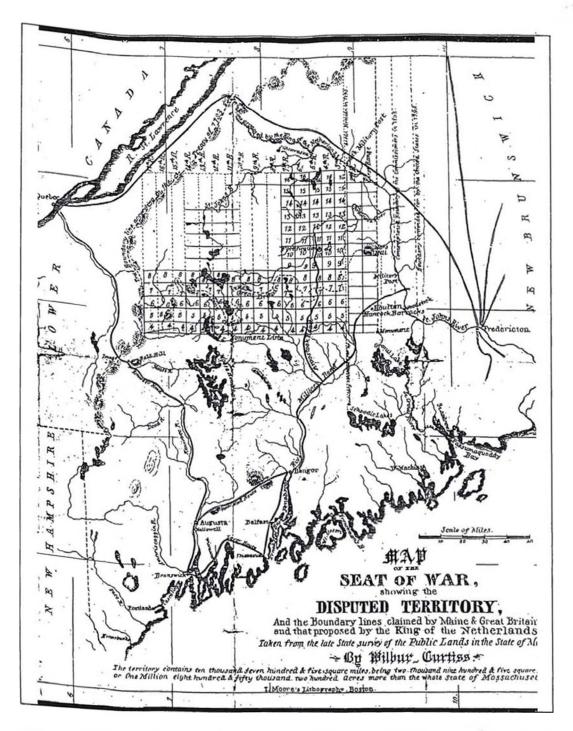
disputed territory to break up the camps made by trespassing loggers. McIntire was captured by New Brunswickers and jailed in Fredericton. Burrage, MAINE IN THE NORTHEAST BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY; John Francis Sprague, "The North Eastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War" in COLLECTIONS OF THE PISCATAQUIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1910).

open to interpretation along the Maine-New Brunswick border. This contested area became of great significance to Great Britain, since it included the only winter supply line between New Brunswick and Quebec. Britain feared that should war again develop between the two nations, the United States would be in an easy position to cut off communication between the maritime and inland provinces.⁶

To further inflame the dispute, the territory comprised 2,905 square miles of valuable pineland. Maine's lumber production was second in the nation by 1820, and the state sought more timberland for its voracious mills. New Brunswick's lumber trade experienced similar growth.⁷ The conflict over timber escalated in January 1839 when Governor Fairfield ordered a civil posse into the territory to "break up the camps, and disperse those [New Brunswickers] who are engaged in the work of devastation and pillage." The Maine Legislature sent State Land Agent Rufus McIntire and a posse of 200 men into the territory. Although the posse traveled as a civil force, it brought along a brass six-pounder cannon to ensure that the New Brunswickers listened.⁹

New Brunswick's lieutenant governor, John Harvey, published an official proclamation expressing dissatisfaction with the posse's presence in the disputed territory. Harvey took special care in this memorandum to address himself as a major general and commander in chief of New Brunswick's forces, titles that indicated his willingness to use military force. In the same order, Harvey called out troops sufficient to repel the "foreign invasion" by Maine. He also prepared to mobilize the constitutional militia force of New Brunswick, "should occasion require." ¹⁰

In the disputed territory, a group of fifty Canadian lumbermen captured McIntire during the night and escorted him to a jail in Fredericton. Receiving this news, Fairfield ordered another 200 men to the region. In a private letter, Fairfield claimed that "We experienced no difficulties in procuring men to go on this service against the trespassers. On the contrary, it is hard work to keep them back." He ordered the Maine posse



Following McIntire's capture, Governor Fairfield called for a fortified position in Towship 10, at present-day Masardis. State and province began preparations for war.

Wilbur Curtiss map of the Disputed Territory (1839)

to fortify at Township no. 10 (see map 2) and then appointed Charles Jarvis to replace McIntire as the acting State Land Agent.¹¹

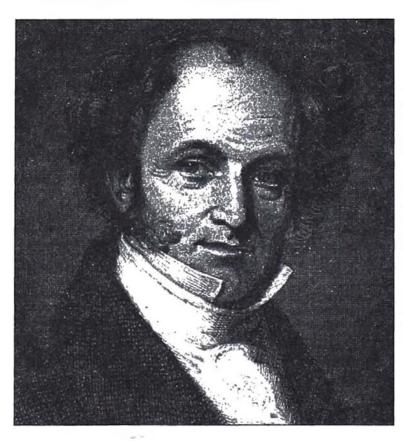
Jarvis' appointment as land agent was significant. Unlike McIntire, he was a colonel in the militia. Although Jarvis was officially acting in a civilian position, Maine no longer expected a peaceful settlement. Fairfield mobilized another 850 infantrymen and 150 artillerymen for three-months service on the border to support the posse. Major General Isaac Hodsdon took command of the militia and prepared to march to the Aroostook. ¹²

The relations between Maine and New Brunswick rapidly deteriorated as both sides mobilized for war. Harvey demanded Fairfield recall the Maine forces: "Otherwise, I have no alternative but to take military occupation of that territory." Threat followed threat. Dispatches from the border reported the arrival of the 36th British Regiment from the West Indies, with three more regiments expected. That same day, Fairfield ordered all 10,343 members of the Maine militia to prepare for an immediate call to arms. The Maine Legislature appropriated \$800,000 to carry out Fairfield's resolve to remove all British trespassers from Maine territory. Fairfield immediately requested help from President Van Buren, and the legislatures of Ohio, New York, Illinois, Alabama, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Kentucky all promised aid. 14

Since the 1837 French Canadian Revolt, Van Buren had employed Major General Scott along the North American border from Ohio to Vermont. As commanding general of the Eastern Division, Scott moved constantly among the states to monitor troubles and keep the peace. His position often brought him into contact with British authorities, and he earned among them a reputation for integrity. Scott was acting in this role when the crisis on the Maine-New Brunswick border began. ¹⁵

Van Buren immediately ordered Scott back to Washington. ¹⁶ The president believed Scott's involvement was necessary to prevent a war most observers saw as inevitable. Scott traveled for three days to reach Washington, and during that time

Secretary of State John Forsyth and British Prime Minister Henry S. Fox communicated frequently. On February 27 they proposed a settlement known as the Fox-Forsyth agreement: "Her Majesty's officers will not seek to expel, by military force, the armed party which as been sent by Maine into the district bordering on the Aroostook River; but the Government of Maine will, voluntarily, and without needless delay, withdraw, beyond the bounds of the disputed territory, any armed force now within them." Although the two nations agreed on paper, the difficult task of keeping Maine and New Brunswick at peace would rest on Scott's shoulders.



As tensions mounted on the Maine frontier, President Van Buren ordered Scott to Washington. Scott left for Augusta with orders to restore peace and "enforce the determination of the Government." William M. Holland, THE LIFE AND POLITICAL OPINIONS OF MARTIN VAN BUREN (1835).

Van Buren's decision to use Scott was well calculated. At six feet, five inches and two hundred and eighty pounds, Scott fit the image of a general. His trademark uniforms, covered with braid, and his cocked hat with large white ostrich plumes completed the look and earned him his nickname, "Old Fuss and Feathers." Scott was also well respected on both sides of the Atlantic. During the War of 1812, he earned a reputation as a military

genius. His prior experience in settling conflicts on the northern border also weighed into Van Buren's decision. British officials were willing to negotiate with him, and should these negotiations fail, the army would benefit from his military expertise. No one was more qualified to take command of the 60,000 soldiers in the federal forces and state militias.

Van Buren's use of Scott was also linked to the president's concern to reduce partisan bickering over the northeastern boundary. The Whig general had aided the Democratic president in lobbying members of Congress in past instances, and in Maine, partisanship was indeed high. Democrats controlled all three branches of the state government after 1838, but their hold was precarious. By sending a Whig to negotiate, Van Buren hoped that he would reduce the suspicions of ulterior political motives.¹⁹

However, it was Scott's position as military commander on the scene that served as the deciding factor for peace. Edward Mansfield, Scott's official biographer, made the claim in 1848 that "the questions of peace or war have much oftener depended on the conduct of military officers on the frontiers, than they have on any negotiations." Mansfield asserts that negotiations could have preceded without Scott, provided both states were willing to settle peacefully. His role then, as commanding general, was to use his clout to stay a military confrontation on the border long enough for politicians to settle the dispute.

Scott's long friendship with Lieutenant Governor Harvey buttresses this conclusion. The two men served opposite each other for a time as adjutants in the War of 1812 and often corresponded officially. Once during battle, an American force cut Harvey off from his party. As a soldier prepared to take aim, Scott knocked the rifle from his hand and commanded, "Don't kill our prisoner!" Harvey subsequently escaped, but Scott's order saved his life. Since that time, both men had privately corresponded.²¹

Upon his arrival in Washington, Scott remained for several days to help pass two bills through the Senate to increase federal military support. On February 28, Congress voted to give Van

Buren power to call all military and naval forces of the United States into service as he "deemed it advisable." Congress also authorized Scott to extend the militia's time of service from three to six months and appropriated \$10 million to carry out the resolutions.

Then Van Buren sent Scott to Maine, his exact charge was to restore peace and "enforce the determination of the Government." Secretary of War Joel Poinsett authorized Scott to use regular army troops and the combined militias of Maine and Massachusetts. As the Army's most distinguished general, Scott symbolized a strong military position, yet his reputation as a "pacificator" reduced the sense of threat in Great Britain. With the Fox-Forsyth agreement in hand and backed with the extended powers of the military, Scott left for Maine. His parting words to President Van Buren seemed almost prophetic: "Mr. President, if you want war, I need only look on in silence. The Maine people will make it for you fast and hot enough. I know them; but if peace be your wish, I can give no assurance of success. The difficulties in its way will be formidable." Van Buren responded: "Peace with honor." 24

On his way to Maine, Scott stopped in Boston to secure the aid of Massachusetts. There Governor Edward Everett greeted him warmly. In a special meeting with the Executive Council, Everett first praised Scott's skill as a commander and then closed with his promise of "the firm support of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." This gave more credibility to Scott's position as a military commander. Scott arrived in Portland, Maine, on March 6, 1839, to cheering crowds. Many of his old soldiers from the War of 1812 were on hand and fully expected him to again take command against the British. However, word of the Fox-Forsyth agreement had already reached Maine, and the rumors of Scott's peaceful intentions caused an uproar within the state. Maine was not about to let his presence ruin its war. One State Senator declared:

If the contemplated visit of General Scott to Maine is only to persuade a withdrawal of our troops from the disputed territory, or a relin-

quishment of our present position, he might as well stay away. I had rather see the State deluged in blood, and every field bleached with the bones of our citizens, than should we retrace our footsteps and submit to British arrogance!²⁶

Maine opposed the wording of the Fox-Forsyth agreement, which called on the state to withdraw its troops but did not require reciprocal action by New Brunswick. The citizens of Maine were told to leave the area before New Brunswick expelled them by force; Washington sold them out. Sentiment to keep the militia on the border remained strong, and newspapers fueled the fires of public passion.²⁷ In Maine, Scott discovered that Major General Hodsdon received orders to march up the Aroostook Road and establish defensive positions along the route. Maine had already activated six of its eight divisions, and troops were massing on the border. The state and providence were fast approaching actual hostilities. Scott wrote later: had "I been a few days later in coming to the scene, the troops of the two countries would have crossed bayonets on the disputed territory."²⁸

A day after his arrival, Scott's orders arrived from Secretary of War Poinsett directing him to confer with the governor of the state. General Alexander Macomb, the commanding general of the Army and Scott's immediate superior, ordered all regular forces that could be collected to the border to aid Scott. With the combined federal forces and the militias of Maine and Massachusetts at Scott's disposal, Van Buren expected to enforce the government's will. Scott, however, was to "abstain from all armed interference, and from entering the disputed territory for any other purpose than to restore peace." 29

Poinsett's order became an important part of Scott's strategy for dealing with Maine and New Brunswick. Poinsett only authorized him to use force to defend the nation, yet the Maine militia expected him to take immediate command of its forces. On the New Brunswick side, Harvey respected Scott's talents as a general, yet trusted him as a negotiator and friend. Scott played to the expectations of both sides. To Maine he appeared as the

commanding general from Washington, ready to lead Maine's forces to victory. To New Brunswick, his constant reassurances buttressed his role as the "pacificator" of the dispute.



Maine's leaders saw Scott as a military hero ready to protect the state's boundary claims; to New Brunswickers, Scott stressed his role as a "pacificator." Edward D. Mansfield, THE LIFE OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT (1846).

The First Artillery Regiment of the United States Army, previously stationed in Burlington, Vermont, established a post at Houlton to support Scott. To counter Maine's force, New Brunswick had the British 69th and the 36th regiments garrisoned at Woodstock, New Brunswick, supported by portions of the royal and militia artillery. The Canadian 11th Regiment was also ordered to report.³⁰ The dispute was escalating to a national level, and Scott well understood the dangers.

From his headquarters in Augusta, Scott conveyed to Poinsett his apprehensions about the Maine militia on the border and the state's dissatisfaction with the Fox-Forsyth Agreement. However, since no conflict had yet occurred, he believed he had gained time enough to urge "moderate counsels." He speculated that Harvey held off his troops for one of two reasons: Either he waited on the arrival of more forces, or he wanted to watch the actions of Maine before proceeding. Either way, Scott recognized his only chance to avoid war was to delay any border engagement. Once fighting began, there would be little chance of stopping it.

To maintain this delicate course, he next turned to the Maine state legislature. His appearance before the body drew numerous onlookers. Scott thanked the audience for its "hearty reception," and proclaimed that should war come, he would "be glad to be found shoulder to shoulder – breast to breast – with such soldiers." These were the words Maine waited to hear: Scott was willing to lead the fight, should it be necessary.

cott wrote his first letter to Governor Harvey on March 9, renewing their friendship. Although he addressed his letter from "Army Headquarters," he displayed a clearly peaceful aim. He expressed his sincere hope that their "personal friendship, commenced in the field, and in opposite ranks," would be "conductive to the preservation of peace."33 Scott fully explained Maine's grievances with the Fox-Forsyth Agreement and proposed that Harvey rescind his threat to expel the Maine militia by force. He added that Maine felt the need to retain the posse in the disputed territory; if New Brunswick agreed to this point, a peaceful settlement could surely be arranged. To give further assurance of the peaceful nature of his presence, he ended the letter: "I will add, that I have not assumed, and do not expect to assume, any command over the forces which Maine has in the field; and if we can avoid collision on the northeastern frontier, it is not likely that the United States will proceed to levy a single regiment under a recent act of Congress."34

Harvey established a relay of messengers from the provincial light dragoons that allowed correspondence to travel from his capital in Fredericton to Augusta in only six hours. ³⁵ Constant communication followed. Within days, both Harvey and Fairfield appeared ready to accept Scott's compromise on the original Fox-Forsyth agreement. The only remaining danger was that someone on either side would disobey orders and fire across the border. Scott personally sent letters to officers on the border extending his confidence they would act "to maintain the faith of the United States." ³⁶

On March 21, less than three weeks after his arrival, Scott wrote the final draft of the peace proposal. With only minor

exceptions it was the agreement that Fox and Forsyth drew up in Washington. New Brunswick recanted its threat to expel Maine from the territory by force and allowed Maine to keep its civil posse in the area. Both states retained control over the territory they had effectively controlled before the incident began.³⁷

Bickering continued, but the need for fighting had passed. Although neither side gained an advantage, each felt that its honor had been justly defended and considered the "war" a victory. In their orders to withdraw the troops, Fairfield and Harvey both gave General Scott credit for the peace. Harvey concluded his letter to Scott: "My reliance upon you, my dear general, has led me to give you my willing assent to the proposition which you have made yourself."³⁸

Almost three months after their mobilization, the members of the Bangor Rifle Corps returned safely to Bangor to a hero's welcome. The company clerk reported their arrival "in a manor [sic] truly gratifying to our feelings." So ended General Winfield Scott's work as the pacifier of Maine's Aroostook War. The large military force he secured assured Maine of his readiness as commander, yet he convinced New Brunswick of his peaceful intentions and his determination not to take command. Because of his reputation as a negotiator, officials in New Brunswick trusted his word to seek peace, while the leaders of Maine waited for him before taking further action toward war. His well-calculated delay cooled the belligerent states long enough to allow him a free hand in negotiations. Not a single drop of blood was spilled over the border. Scott's reputation as a friend of peace came to rival his recognition as a commander in war. 40

Scott's peaceful settlement of the crisis on the northeastern border did a great deal to relieve tensions between Britain and the United States. Formal negotiations between Daniel Webster and Lord Alexander Ashburton finally resolved the boundary disputes in 1842. In the Webster-Ashburton treaty Maine received a smaller portion of the territory than it had earlier claimed, but the time for fighting had passed. The Aroostook "War" was over.

NOTES

¹"Soldier's Song," Bangor Whig, February 21, 1839; David Lowenthal, "The Maine Press and the Aroostook War," Canadian Historical Review 32 (December 1951): 320.

²Bangor Rifle Corps ledger, February 18, 1839, Maine State Library, Augusta.

⁵Bangor Rifle Corps Ledger, February 5, 1839; William Mills to General Isaac Hodsdon, March 6, 1839, Maine Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

⁴Edward Mansfield, *The Life of General Winfield Scott* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1848), p. 288.

⁵Southwick's Family Paper (Boston), March 17, 1839 quoted in Lowenthal, "Maine

Press and the Aroostook War," p. 330.

⁶M.C. Donovan, The St. Croix Boundary Question (Nashville, Tennessee: by the author, n.d.), p. 1; Maine Council, Aroostook War: Historical Sketch and Roster of Commissioned Officers and Enlisted Men from February to May 1839" (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1904), pp. 3-4; Edward Kent to Senate and House of Representatives, March 14, 1838, 25th Cong., 2d sess., Sen. doc. 424, pp. 4-5; Lord Palmerston, "The Treaty of Washington," London Morning Chronicle, September 19, 1842, pp. 5-8.

⁷Frederick Merk, Fruits and Propaganda of the Tyler Administration (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 247; E.L. Humlin, "Extract From a Report Showing the Possessions and Operations of Maine," January 1, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 27-30; John Fairfield to Congress, January 23, 1839, 25th Cong.,

2d sess., H.R. 222, p. 6.

⁸John Fairfield to Congress, January 23, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 6-7.

⁹State of Maine Resolves, January 23, 1839, MHS.

¹⁰John Harvey, "Proclamation," February 13, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, p. 13; Harvey to John Fairfield, February 13, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 12-13.

¹¹John Fairfield to House of Representatives, February 15, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, p. 8; Fairfield to his wife, February 16, 1839 in Lowenthal, "Maine Press and the Aroostook War," p. 322; Fairfield to Charles Jarvis, February 15, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. doc. 107, p. 32.

¹²General Order No. 5, February 16, 1839, and General Order No. 6, February 17, 1839, Maine Council, Aroostook War, p. 7.
 ¹³John Harvey to John Fairfield, February 18, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 23-24; Fairfield to Harvey,

February 19, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴General Order Number 7, February 19, 1839; State of Maine, "Resolve for the Protection of the Public Lands," February 20, 1839, MHS; John Fairfield to Martin Van Buren, February 19, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 14-15; Howard Jones, *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 40; William Mills to General Isaac Hodsdon, March 6, 1839, MHS.

Winfield Scott, Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott (New York: Sheldon, 1864), p. 331.
 Charles Elliot, Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man (New York: MacMillan, 1937), p. 357.

¹⁷Fox-Forsyth Agreement, February 27, 1839, 25th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 222, pp. 38-39.

¹⁸Henry Kurtz, "The Undeclared War Between Britain and America," *History Today* 12 (1962): 777-783.

¹⁹John Niven, Martin Van Buren (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 441; Arthur Smith, Old Fuss and Feathers (New York: Graystone Press, 1937), pp. 222-223;

Major Wilson, *The Presidency of Martin Van Buren* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984) 166-167; Lowenthal, "Maine Press and the Aroostook War," p. 316; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, p. 442.

²⁰Mansfield, General Winfield Scott, p. 323.

²¹Scott, Memoirs, pp. 342-343.

²²Scott, *Memoirs*, p. 334; Congressional Documents, February 28, 1839, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., H.R. 314, 6-7.

²⁸Joel R. Poinsett to Winfield Scott, February 28, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 2; Mansfield, *General Winfield Scott*, p. 326.

²⁴Scott, *Memoirs*, pp. 333-334.

²⁵Scott, Memoirs, p. 336.

²⁶Elliot, Winfield Scott, p. 360.

²⁷Scott, Memoirs, p. 341 (Scott's italics); John Harvey to John Fairfield, March 7, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 7; Niles National Register, March 16, 1839, p. 34; Boston Columbian Centinel, March 9, 1839 in Lowenthal, "Maine Press," p. 328.

²⁸A.B. Thompson to Isaac Hodsdon, March 2, 1839, MHS; General Orders no. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, and 20, February 22 - March 2, 1839; Scott, *Memoirs*, p. 337.

²⁹Joel Poinsett to Winfield Scott, February 28, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 2.

³⁰William Haskin, ed., *The History of the First Regiment of Artillery* (Portland, Maine: Thurston, 1879), p. 291; R. Kirby to Winfield Scott, March 12, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 11.

⁵¹Winfield Scott to Joel Poinsett, March 7, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 3; Scott to Poinsett, March 8, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 4.

Niles National Register, March 16, 1839, p. 34.

⁵⁵Winfield Scott to John Harvey, March 9, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, pp. 5-7.

⁵⁴Scott to Harvey, March 9, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, pp. 5-7.

⁵⁵John Harvey to Winfield Scott, March 12, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, pp. 9-10.

³⁶Winfield Scott to Gen. Brady, Col. Bankhead, Col. Worth, and LtC. Pierce, March 15, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 11.

³⁷Winfield Scott, "Memorandum," March 21, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169,

³⁸John Harvey to Winfield Scott, March 23, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 17.

³⁸John Harvey to Winfield Scott, March 23, 1839, 26th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 169, p. 17.

⁵⁹Bangor Rifle Corps ledger (May 11, 1839).

⁴⁰Mansfield, General Winfield Scott, p. 342.

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