BRADDOCK'S FIELD:

"HOW BRILLIANT THE MORNING, HOW MELANCHOLY THE EVENING"

By Douglas MacGregor

In the late 18th and much of the 19th centuries, Braddock's Field was Western Pennsylvania's “must-see” attraction. It had been the scene where the mighty British army suffered a great defeat to a handful of French soldiers and Native American warriors on July 9, 1755. It not only attracted those passing through the frontier town of Pittsburgh, but drew friends and family members of those who never returned from that field.

The land that became Braddock's Field was near the end of a long trip for soldiers carving a road under the command of General Edward Braddock. Braddock's Road, as it came to be called, became a main artery from the Eastern Seaboard across the Allegheny Mountains to the headwaters of the Ohio River. Once established, it drew immigrants, tradespeople, and supply wagons on their way to the frontier, until the coming of canals and railroads. Early visitors to Braddock's Field might imagine the cannons’ roar, the bright red coats of the British troops, and the ailing George Washington during the battle, much as we ponder at such sites as Gettysburg and Yorktown. But Braddock's Field did not survive like those more famous battlefields. The site evolved from sacred ground to a symbol of General Braddock's vilification, was cultivated as farmland, and then the boroughs of Braddock and North Braddock developed there, bringing streets, homes, and industry. Written accounts noted the bones of the soldiers remaining long after the battle, haunting each of these transitions.

Above: The Braddock's Field Historical Society housed at Braddock Carnegie Library and Community Center contains a small collection of artifacts excavated from the field of battle. WPAM staff

Top: This colorful lithograph looks across the Monongahela River to Braddock's Field, much as it would have appeared during the 1755 battle. Braddock Carnegie Library
The first recorded visit to the battle site occurred the day after Braddock's Defeat. The French commander of Fort DuQuesne, Sieur Claude Pierre Pecaudy Contrecoeur (who stayed at the fort during the battle) visited the field to view what remained of Braddock's army, salvage any remaining goods, and recover valuable documents. The French scavenged 10 cannons of various sizes, over 1,700 pounds of black powder, 100 wagons, and thousands of miscellaneous military items. They also recovered many important documents relating to Braddock's expedition. The Native Americans took away muskets, powder, lead, clothes, equipment, and several hundred scalps.

Although the reported numbers of French casualties vary from as little as two to 100, those killed during the engagement were taken to the tiny settlement at the Forks of the Ohio and buried on July 12, 1755. Father Denys Baron presided over their interment at a cemetery along the Monongahela River located a few hundred yards from the fort. Baron also completed the death certificates for those killed. Among the dead was the French leader at the opening of the battle, Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Lienard de Beaujeu.

No written reports have been discovered that state specifically how Native American casualties from Braddock's Field were treated. We can assume the bodies were carried off to their homes, as was customary, ceremonies particular to the individual and their manner of death performed, and the bodies buried at village burial grounds.

The burial of the 600 dead British and colonial American soldiers had to wait as the region remained in French hands. A mere three years later, however, the war was not progressing well for the French. They were on the defensive by 1758, and their territorial possessions in Canada were nearly lost. British scouts ventured close to Fort DuQuesne to view Braddock's Field; on August 1, Captain James Patterson recorded in his journal that he and his men "came up across the place of Braddock's engagement ... and saw the bones of men who were killed at the battle laying very thick." The sight must have been very powerful, Braddock's Defeat being one of the greatest defeats for a European army by Native American forces, eclipsed only by the 1791 defeat of General Arthur St. Clair near present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana.

British General John Forbes was assigned the task of taking Fort DuQuesne. Learning from the 1755 debacle, he built a series of forts to fall back on in the event of an attack...
as he pushed his way west. By this time, Native American support had shifted to the British side, which left Fort DuQuesne with few defenders. Yet, when Major James Grant led an attack on the fort on September 14, 1758, the French repulsed his troops immediately east of the Forks. British dead were left on the field of battle to face the same fate as those killed three years before; this battle site was later honored by naming it Pittsburgh’s Grant Street.

Despite this small victory, Captain François-Marie Le Marchand Lignery, then commander of Fort DuQuesne, knew that Forbes’s main army would soon follow. On November 24, the French burned their fort along with any supplies and equipment that could not be taken, and Lignery led his troops away. The following day, the British army entered the smoking ruins; General Forbes celebrated the taking of the post by proclaiming a day of thanksgiving and naming the site “Pittsburgh” in honor of the British Prime Minister William Pitt. On November 28, Forbes ordered Captain George West to lead a party of 30 men to “bury the bones upon the Field where General Braddock had his Engagement....” (One hundred men were also sent out to “search & bury the dead” of “Major Grant’s Affair.”) The bones of the 600 slain at Braddock’s Field lay near a mile long. A letter from a soldier in the Forbes expedition, printed in the December 14, 1758, edition of the Pennsylvania Gazette, conveys the anger felt towards the French for leaving the bones exposed:

...Today [November 28, 1758] a great detachment goes to Braddock’s Field of Battle, to bury the Bones of our slaughtered Countrymen, many of whom were butchered in cold Blood by (those crueler than Savages) the French, who, to the eternal Shame and Infamy of their Country, have left them lying above Ground ever since.

Major Halket exclaimed, “It is my father,” and fell back into the arms of his companions.

It was believed, since the Middle Ages in England, that Christians had a duty to bury the dead. Even criminals executed for their crimes were given the decency of a burial. The ignorance of this duty spurred the soldier’s anger; the letter continues, “The unburied bodies of those killed since [under Grant’s command], and strewed round this Fort, equally reproach them, and proclaim loudly, to all civilized Nations, their barbarity.”

Major Sir Peter Halket accompanied this detachment. His father, also named Peter, and brother James had been killed in Braddock’s Defeat. Led by a Native American guide, Halket sought their remains at Braddock’s Field: “In a short time they reached the Indian warrior, who by his cry, had announced to his companions that he had found the place where he was posted on the day of battle.”

Sir Peter Halket, colonel of the 44th Regiment under General Braddock, had tried to rally his men near the rear of the British column as the battle turned into a rout, but failed as he and his son James fell, mortally wounded. The guides located where the two Halkets lay, as recounted in an 1816 biography of officer Benjamin West:

Captain West halted his men around the spot, and with Sir Peter Halket and other officers formed a circle, while the Indians removed the leaves which thickly covered the ground. The skeletons were found, as the Indians expected, lying across each other. The officers having looked at them some time, the Major said that, as his father had an artificial tooth, he thought he might be able to ascertain if they were indeed his bones and those of his brother.... The Indians were, therefore, ordered to remove the skeleton of the youth, and bring to view that of the old officer. This was done, and, after a short examination, Major Halket exclaimed, “It is my father,” and fell back into the arms of his companions.

With 600 remains in similar shape, the task of burying all of the dead at Braddock’s Field was too great for Captain West’s detail.

In 1760, almost two years later, Colonel Jehu Eyre, a shipwright from Philadelphia County, was commissioned to go to Fort Pitt with a party of men to build boats for the British army to use along the rivers surrounding the fort. Eyre and his companions set off through the woods to go to Braddock’s Field:

... and when we came to the place where they crossed of the river Monongahela, we saw a great many men’s bones along the shore. We kept along the road about 1-1/2 miles, where the first engagement began,
where there are men’s bones lying about as thick as the leaves do on the ground; for they are so thick that one lies on top of another for about a half a mile in length, and about one hundred yards in breadth."

Perhaps the site of such great slaughter under British command influenced Eyre at the time of the American Revolution; he was quick to join the cause of American liberty and served for several years.

The protection afforded by Fort Pitt and its accessibility by water made Pittsburgh a frequent stop for those traveling through the area. The Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary, helped establish a number of “mission towns” composed of Native Americans who had converted to Christianity. On his first journey to the Ohio Valley in 1762, he came upon Braddock’s Field:

“A dreadful sight was presented to our eyes. Skulls and bones of the unfortunate men slain here on the 9th of July, 1755, lay scattered all around; and the sound of our horses’ hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal music, as, with the Monongahela full in view, we rode over this memorable battle-ground. We felt as if relieved from an insupportable weight, when, on arriving at Fort Pitt, we again found ourselves in the company of the living.”

Reverend David McClure was another missionary who attempted to establish a settlement in the Ohio Country. Although his dreams of a mission town were never realized, his journal provides an excellent picture of life in the Ohio Valley in the early 1770s, including Braddock’s Field: “It was a melancholy spectacle to see the bones of men strewn over the ground, left to this day, without the solemn right of sepulture. The fact is a disgrace to the British commanders at Fort Pitt.”

Since 1763, the field had been claimed and surveyed by private owners, perhaps explaining why the commanders of Fort Pitt failed to send another detail to inter the remains. McClure’s journal continues:

“The bones had been gnawed by wolves, the vestiges of their teeth appearing on them. Many hundreds of skulls lay on the ground. I examined several, & found the mark of the scalping knife on all.... A man who lives near the field of battle, & whose corn field takes in a part of it, had humanely collected a great number of the bones & laid them in small heaps.

McClure’s words show that private ownership was transforming the battlefield from a wilderness memorial to productive farm fields, the first major change in what would become a thriving town and economic center. He left Braddock’s Field deeply moved by the site:

“I departed from the place with serious & solemn reflections on the vanity of life, & the deep depravity of our fallen nature, the dreadful source of fighting & war, & all the miseries that man delights to inflict on man. “Oh! why will men forget that they are brethren!”

Many others recorded descriptions in the years to come. Just a year after McClure’s visit, John Parrish “pass’d thro’ the Field of Battle (the Bones yet in Sight).” In 1775, English traveler Nicholas Cresswell ventured out to see the field while in Pittsburgh:

[We] found great numbers of bones, both men and horses.... We could not find one whole skull, all of them broke to pieces in the upper part, some of them had holes broken in them about an inch

What a Waste of Blood and Treasure Has This Little Spot Cost France, England and America.
diameter, suppose it to be done with a Pipe Tomahawk. I am told the wounded were all massacred by the Indians.¹¹

Accounts verify that the wounded were killed by the victors, the French and their Native American allies. James Smith, a British captive in Fort DuQuesne, witnessed the torture of several British prisoners across the Allegheny River.¹² Pipe tomahawks were common trade items acquired by many Native Americans, useful as both a weapon and a pipe to smoke. It is doubtful that the wounds described by Cresswell were the result of a pipe tomahawk, but rather — if inflicted by Native Americans — that of a war club with a metal spike or a spike tomahawk.

The same year, 1775, brought the American Revolution. After the battles of Lexington and Concord, patriotism spread through America. The following letter from Jasper Yeates shows just how zealous some of the patriots were at this time. In 1776, Yeates was appointed to a committee to oversee relations with the Native Americans at Fort Pitt. He uses the tragedy of Braddock's Defeat as propaganda for the cause of American Liberty:

We yesterday made a party to visit Braddock's Field ... When we commenced ourramble, our Hearts sickened; the skulls and bones of our unburied countrmen metour eyes, and we contemplated in imagination as an event but recently happened.

Previous to the Revolution, Braddock had been regarded as a British hero who suffered from the cunning French. Now, following the Declaration of Independence, Yeates vilifies him:

Any person of common humanity would have experienced pain from the reflection that between five and six hundred brave men fell victims to the merciless savages.... My indignation was greatly excited against the commander of the British army, in suffering so many brave men to perish from an obstinate adherence to European rules of war.

These “European rules of war” that Yeates notes were the linear tactics employed by armies at the time of the battle. Such battles usually unfolded in open fields. Thousands of soldiers arranged in tight lines, marched in formation directly towards the opposing forces, who lined up identically. Muskets of the period were not effective beyond 50 to 80 yards so soldiers fired en masse to send a barrage of bullets at the enemy to increase the chances of scoring a hit. Yeates relays the early stages of the battle as told by a member of his party:

My feelings were heightened by the warm and flowing narration of that day's events by Dr. Walker, who was an eye witness. He pointed out the ford where the army crossed the Monongahela... a finer sight could not have been beheld, — the shining barrels of the muskets, the excellent order of the men, the cleanliness of their appearance, the joy depicted on every face at being near Fort DuQuesne, the highest object of their wishes, — the music re-echoed through the mountains. How brilliant the morning, — how melancholy the evening!

Yet the French and Native Americans were not in formation like the British, but instead hid behind trees and bushes. Yeates continues:

Braddock appeared almost to have courted defeat.... Against every remonstrance of Sir Peter Halket, Major Washington and other of his officers, he refused to let a man leave his rank; they fired in platoons against no object, — how very dispiriting to a gallant soldier; they were shot down in whole ranks....

Twenty years after the fact, the field of Braddock's Defeat remained a powerful symbol to Yeates:

The dead bodies of our troops were suffered to remain a prey to wolves and crows. When the English took possession in 1758 of Fort Pitt, a party was sent out, who buried upwards of four hundred and fifty skulls. Many have since been buried, and many remain as monuments of our shame. What a waste of blood and treasure has this little spot cost France, England and America.¹³

By 1781, the site of the exposed bones was no longer bearable to residents. The Revolutionary War was in its sixth year and had been particularly bloody in Western Pennsylvania. Perhaps the ongoing war and the loss of relatives in frontier raids pushed locals to bury the all-too-grim remains that had lain exposed for so many years. In June, a party of men led by George Roush, John Barr, and John Rodenhamer traveled to the site where they "gathered and carted several loads of human bones and deposited them in a hole dug for the purpose."¹⁴

Following the Revolutionary War, Braddock's Road was still used by the military and many new settlers destined to create new homes for themselves. Many travelers recorded their experiences, among them Major Ebenezer Denny. An officer in the army, Denny would fight a series of wars with the Native Americans into 1795. Following his service, he returned to Pittsburgh and in 1816, when Pittsburgh was recognized as a city, served as its first mayor.
meeting ground for participants in the Whiskey Rebellion. After the ratification of the United States Constitution, the federal government passed an excise tax on whiskey. The farmers of Western Pennsylvania, who converted much of their grain to alcohol, felt this tax was prejudicial against them and refused to pay. Braddock’s Field served as a parade ground for the state militia following the Revolutionary War, and the “Whiskey Rebels” used the site to rally against the tax, gathering nearly 5,000 protesters.

The remains of Braddock’s soldiers lingered even into the 19th century, and the site remained a curiosity. John Melich, who journeyed by stagecoach from Greensburg on April 15, 1811, had just passed Turtle Creek when he noted, “we traveled about a mile, when we came to the ground where Gen. Braddock was defeated. Many memorials of the battle are still to be seen, but none so characteristic as the bones which lay bleaching by the wayside.”

Braddock’s Defeat refused to slip from the collective memory of Americans. In 1825, the United States welcomed Marquis de Lafayette, America’s ally and hero of the American Revolution. On May 28, Lafayette toured the battle site and was the guest of the Wallace family, then owners of the land. Even after 70 years, the field could not be plowed “without turning up bones whitened by time and fragments of arms corroded by rust.”

Not only did visitors seek out the historic battleground when in Pittsburgh, but interest in the site was to be found in other areas of the country. In 1826, the Watchman & State Gazette, a Vermont newspaper, reported:

Seventy years have passed away, and yet the crumbling bones of men and horses are seen in every field for a mile in circuit. For many years, they were shrouded by a mourning wilderness of shadowy woods, but this has yielded to the busy axe, and the plough is annually driven amongst the skulls of the slain and the bones of the brave. Rich harvests wave over field fertilized by the blood and bodies of a thousand unburied men. The partridge whistles, and the reaper...
By 1887, Braddock was a thriving metropolis, all sense of open pasture gone. History Center Archives Collection

sings on the spot, where the cries of mortal anguish told the dread revelry of battle..."

Braddock’s Field had come to symbolize not only an epic battle but also the success of America and peace over war. It was the place where the sword literally gave way to the plough.

Through the 19th century, the bones and relics fell beneath the surface, out of plain view. It was not until the Pennsylvania Railroad began construction of a rail line through Braddock that they surfaced again. Prior to 1885, workers uncovered a large group of bones, perhaps those reburied in 1781. They buried the bones at another site, surrounding the new grave with the “common rails” of train tracks. By then, little else remained to remind visitors or residents of a previous generation’s hardships there.

Prior to Braddock’s Defeat, a portion of the site was home to John Frazier, whose cabin was near the mouth of Turtle Creek in the early 1750s. He was a trader with the Native Americans and hosted George Washington on his journey to the area in 1753. Located so far from the rest of the English settlements and outside the realm of English control over the area, Frazier’s claim was not surveyed until August 15, 1763. He filed an application with the Penn family, then proprietors of the colony, for the tract of land on April 1, 1769. Following his death, his wife sold their portion of Braddock’s Field to Daniel Razior on October 14, 1774.

Braddock’s Field continued to pass through many hands over the 19th century. In 1834, Miss Mary Gould Oliver leased a portion of the property to open a school for girls, which would become known as the Edgeworth Seminary. The school remained there for 10 years, then moved to Sewickley. A large portion of the site was sold to Andrew Carnegie in 1870. He thought the river bottom land an ideal location for his new steel plant, which he named after Edgar Thomson, an old friend and executive of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The steel plant still operates under the ownership of the United States Steel Company.

While Braddock’s Field may no longer be a top attraction for visitors to Pittsburgh, millions have seen a piece of it, most likely without ever knowing. In Washington, D.C. — actually 240 feet above the ground atop the Washington Monument — is a stone bearing the inscription “From Braddock’s Field.” The stone was given sometime after 1850 by James Buchanan in honor of Washington’s service under General Braddock. The place of a tragic defeat for Washington has now become part of a shrine honoring his success.

Other remnants were sent to Washington, D.C. a decade later. In December 1860, a visitor to Braddock’s Field sent bullets that he had recovered to Abraham Lincoln, the newly elected President of the United States. Perhaps these small relics and the knowledge of Washington’s rise from such a defeat inspired one of America’s greatest leaders to endure the tremendous hardships of the Civil War.

The field itself has been studied by historical firms to judge the feasibility of estab-
lishing a new visitors’ site. The Braddock's Field Historical Society, based in the Braddock Carnegie Library and Community Center, has been preserving its memory for many years. Assisted by state and county organizations, the Braddock's Field Historical Society launched a feasibility study in 1999. Archaeologists have excavated sites within Braddock and North Braddock looking for relics of the battle that were once visible on the surface. Recovering artifacts will help specifically locate the battle's original site. With the financial support of foundations, the visitors' center is on its way to becoming a reality. When this occurs, Braddock's Field will again become a destination for visitors interested in one of the most important battles in American colonial history.

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To learn more about Braddock's Defeat and the role Western Pennsylvania played in the French and Indian War, visit the History Center's exhibition Clash of Empires: The British, French & Indian War, 1754-1763. On display through April 15, 2006, the exhibition includes uniforms, weapons, documents, paintings, and portraits of European, colonial, and American Indian participants in the conflict.

3 Ibid 49.
10 "Extracts from the Journal of John Parrish, 1773," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 16 (1892), 446.
14 Wills DeHass. History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia (Wheeling, W.V.: H. Hoblitzell, 1851).
17 Official Programme, 175th Anniversary Commemoration of the Battle of Braddock, July 8th and 9th, 1930, Braddock, Pennsylvania.
20 Watchman & State Gazette (April 30, 1826).
24 Ibid 118.
25 The year was 1827 according to History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Vol. II, 125.

The 250th anniversary of the French and Indian War, beginning in 2004, has renewed interest in the conflict and revived efforts to document and honor the events that took place in Western Pennsylvania. As Braddock's Field was enveloped by the growth of Braddock and North Braddock boroughs, nearly all remnants of the battle disappeared. While millions annually visit the Civil War battlefield at Gettysburg, few realize the significant struggle that took place just east of Pittsburgh.

Braddock's Field Historical Society has secured grants to create a historical tourism visitors' center on the site of Major General Edward Braddock's 1755 disaster. Two parcels of land totaling three acres of the battlefield were acquired and are being cleared, though much work remains. Fundraising continues for the visitors' center, which will interpret the battle, preserve and display artifacts, and serve as a destination for tourists.

For more information, contact BFHS, c/o Braddock Carnegie Library, 419 Library Street, Braddock PA 15104, (412) 261-7536 or rmessner@atbfi.com for BFHS Director Robert Messner.