

Figure I. The drawing shows present Wythe County, Virginia, and highways that pass through it. All locations are approximate. 1: The site of the "big fort" known as Fort Chiswell; 2: present Interstate 81 north; 3: present Town of Aust-inville where the lead mines were located; 4: present State Route 52 from Fort Chiswell to North Carolina; 5: present Interstate 77 from Fort Chiswell to North Carolina; 6: present town of Wytheville; 7: Stalnaker's on Middle Fork of the Holston near Chilhowie; Interstate 81 south; 8: state line of Virginia/North Carolina; 9: present Interstate 77 north to West Virginia. Map prepared by Mary B. Kegley.

Fort Chiswell and Chiswell's Lead Mines of Wythe County, Virginia: A New Perspective

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Built during the French and Indian War about nine miles east of the present town of Wytheville, Fort Chiswell and Chiswell's lead mines, nine miles south of the fort, were both named for John Chiswell (Figure 1).

Newer information, located in the 1980s in a Wythe County lawsuit dated 1827, as well as thorough investigation of the references regarding the beginning of the lead mines operation and the construction of the fort, present a new perspective and a clearer focus for these historic places. Despite the publication by this author of a detailed article, "The Big Fort," published in 1978, the *Wythe County Bicentennial History* in 1989, the third volume of *Early Adventurers* in 1995, and *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road 1745–1796* in 2008, this newest information has not yet reached the general public.¹

Although there are many references suggesting that the fort was in existence in the 1750s,² no Colonial document has been located to indicate that the fort was built at that time. Similarly, the discovery of the mines and their production of lead have often been mentioned as having taken place in the 1750s, although without corroboration from contemporary records.

This article will trace the beginning of both entities to the 1760s where they are documented in the early Augusta County records. Other contemporary records written at, or close to, the time these events took place provide further evidence for a beginning date in the 1760s.

Fort Chiswell

In this section the author reviews the history of the fort, describes how it got its name, and corrects some commonly held misconceptions about the place. For example, research shows that it was not built to defend the mines, nor did it exist in the 1750s, but was constructed in 1760–61.

Both the fort and the mines were named for John Chiswell, son of Charles Chiswell of Eastern Virginia, who had an interest in minerals. Although William Byrd is usually given credit for assigning the names, there is no documentation to support this belief.³

Alexander Sayers' Camp

Dr. Thomas Walker chose the tract where the fort was built under the terms of the Woods River Company. Walker had the survey made in 1747 and obtained the patent to the original large tract of 1,150 acres known as "The Great Buffalo Lick." In 1758 he transferred 504 acres to Alexander Sayers through a bargain struck four years before. During the 1750s and 1760s the land was owned by Alexander Sayers, a name attached to the fort location prior to its construction.⁴

Because of the Indian attacks in 1754 and 1755, most settlers temporarily abandoned their holdings on the New and Holston rivers. During those years, a total of twenty-one individuals were killed, including the Augusta County leader, Colonel James Patton. Nine more were wounded and sixteen taken prisoner.⁵ Following these attacks, a contingent of 340 men, including some friendly Indians, set out in 1756 on the so-called "Shawnee Expedition" to pursue and destroy the Shawnee. In February of 1756 this group was camped at Alexander Sawyers' [Sayers], a camp location mentioned several times in the later records. There was no mention of a fort at this time, although a military contingent was stationed there.⁶

Four years later, in September 1760, the location, approximately nine miles east of present Wytheville, was still known as Sayers' Camp. Numerous soldiers and Colonel William Byrd III encamped there in that year en route to Cherokee country in present Tennessee. Again, there was no fort mentioned, although Byrd was there with the army waiting for orders from Williamsburg. Proof that Byrd was at Sayers' Camp comes from a second-hand report received by Colonel Bouquet from Captain Ourry. It was then that Little Carpenter (also known as Attakullakulla) of the Cherokee nation brought Captain Stuart, a survivor from the attack on Fort Loudoun

in Tennessee, as well as three other unnamed white men, to Sayers' Camp. He then went home to the Cherokee nation, returning later.⁷

Byrd was still at Sayers' Camp in November 1760 when he was joined by Little Carpenter and thirty-two Cherokees, who brought in ten more prisoners from Fort Loudoun and the news that the Cherokees would suspend all hostilities until "the new moon in March," provided that the army would go no further and that the Indians would be allowed to return safely to their homes. The Cherokees promised to return to that post in the spring. In the meantime, the troops were to remain and be stationed "in such a manner as will best protect the Frontier."⁸

On and off for at least six years, the camp at Sayers was used as a military base and as a convenient place for the Cherokees to meet with Virginia officials. Their previous meeting place had been on the Middle Fork of the Holston at Stalnaker's until the Shawnee destroyed his trading center and took Stalnaker prisoner.⁹

The Camp Becomes a Fort

When did the camp at Sayers become Fort Chiswell? It is known and well documented that Byrd's officers — Major Andrew Lewis, Captain Thomas Bullit, Lieutenant William Fleming, Lieutenant Walter Cunningham, Lieutenant Reuban Vass, Ensign [Burton] Lucas, and Ensign [George] McKnight — remained at the Sayers' Camp and were provided with "rations extraordinary" (Figure 2) from November 20, 1760, until May 1, 1761.¹⁰ These officers were in charge of a group of men who constructed the "big fort" in the fall and winter of 1760-1761. Major Lewis, senior officer in charge, was an experienced fort-builder, having constructed a fort for the Cherokee Indians one mile above Chota (in present Tennessee) only four years earlier. If they needed additional specific details, William Fleming, third in command in 1760, was known to have had among his more than 324 books, the authoritative manual on fortifications by Vauban.¹¹

It appears from the evidence that Fort Chiswell received its name early in 1761, probably named by Byrd for his friend and partner John Chiswell, although no documented evidence has been found to support this idea. On March 5, 1761, the Council of Colonial Virginia received a letter dated February 7, 1761, with the heading "Fort Chiswell" from Thomas Bullit, one of the officers mentioned above, with a copy of a letter written to him from William Fleming, another of the officers. Fleming was

*Extraordinary
Rations for the officers at Fort Chiswell from Nov. 20th 1760
to the May 1st 1761*

	<i>days</i>	<i>Rat</i>	<i>total rations</i>
<i>Major Andrew Lewis</i>	161	3	483
<i>Capt. Rob^t Dullat</i>	161	2	322
<i>Lt. Wm^o Fleming</i>	161	1	161
<i>Lt. Walter Cunningham</i>	200	1	200
<i>Lt. Robert Toft</i>	161	1	161
<i>Ensign Lucas</i>	161	1	161
<i>Ensign McLaughht</i>	161	1	161
<i>Lt. Cunningham omitted in the account</i>			1649
<i>1760 39 Rations</i>	39	1	39

Figure 2. "Rations Extraordinary" for the officers at Fort Chiswell from November 20, 1760, to May 1, 1761.

requesting instructions regarding the expected visit from the Cherokees, who were coming to the fort in March.¹²

This letter is the first documented reference to the name Fort Chiswell. No other Colonial record written at or near the time of construction has been located, in spite of extensive inquiries. The letter itself has not been located; it is only referred to in the Council records. To this author's knowledge the first time that any extensive research was carried out to determine when the fort was built occurred in the early 1970s, and later in 1976 and in 1977, by this author in preparation for the archeological excavations and for the article "The Big Fort."

This evidence indicates that the army needed a fort location en route to the Cherokee country. A site with a large spring and a mill east of the current town of Wytheville was chosen. In 1761 there were no known settlers living on the Holston River and very few residing on the New River or its branches. The military apparently agreed with the Cherokees and promised not to travel farther. Instead the army stayed where they were and built the fort. In the summer and early fall of 1760 the place was called

Sayers' Camp and as early as February 1761 the name was changed to Fort Chiswell, indicating that the fortifications had been completed. From that time forward the place was known by the name of Fort Chiswell.

The Cherokees and the Virginia Military at Fort Chiswell

On May 12, 1761, a few months after the fort was named, Adam Stephen with the detachment under his command was en route to Fort Chiswell. He reported that, ten days earlier, 200 Cherokees who were encamped about a quarter of a mile from Fort Chiswell had been attacked in the night, supposedly by some Northern Indians. Six Indians were killed and a "great many wounded." The next day up to 50 women and children were delivered to Major Lewis for their protection, and Lewis set out to determine who had hurt them.¹³

On June 10, 1761, after the Council received information from John Chiswell and Thomas Walker, it made plans to purchase prisoners from the Cherokees. Chiswell and Walker were to proceed to the Great Island of the Holston (now Kingsport, Tennessee), intending to store the "chief part of the provisions" at Fort Chiswell.¹⁴

In June, 138 soldiers, probably the ones who had stayed over the winter to construct Fort Chiswell, were stationed at the fort. By the end of June 1761, more than 650 soldiers of Byrd's Army were encamped there en route to Stalnakers on the Middle Fork of the Holston, where they were to build a block house and entrenchments to secure themselves and their provisions.¹⁵ The records clearly show that Fort Chiswell, located on the Great Road, was a large military outpost for the French and Indian War and would serve as the same later for the Revolution.

What Did the Fort Look Like?

On April 22, 1796, Louis Philippe, later King of France, traveling through this part of America, gave us the only known description of the fort. Quoting from his diary: "We halted at Fort Chiswel to have a horse shod. To the left of the road there was a big fort torn down since the peace."¹⁶ Until the diary was translated and published in English in 1977, the exact description had been tentative. Some said a blockhouse with cabins inside a palisade; others told this author that there was no such thing at that site. Another author has claimed that it was "not a large affair" and was built as a "refuge from Indians in time of peril." He concluded by saying that "after the fashion of most frontier forts, it was a rude blockhouse."

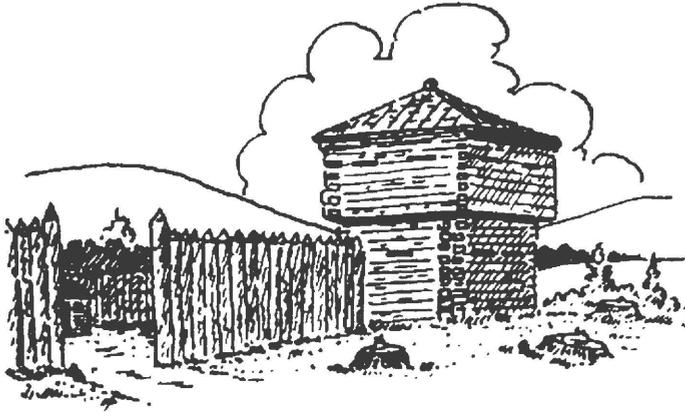


Figure 3. A typical frontier blockhouse, drawn by J. R. Hildebrand.

Fess Green added undocumented “mess halls, stables, a powder mill and blacksmith and wagon shops.”¹⁷

Limited archeological excavations in 1976 revealed a powder magazine still containing powder, lead, and flints from frontier times. With only a day or two before the dirt was moved to make a ramp leading to Interstate 81, the investigation could determine little else, such as size, the presence or absence of palisades or other bastions.¹⁸ It is unlikely that the exact details will ever be known.

In spite of identifying eighty-one forts, stockades, and blockhouses used to defend the frontier, Louis K. Koontz in *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* fails to give Fort Chiswell, the major fortification between Vause’s and the Long Island of the Holston, more than five lines of description. The construction date of 1758 and his location at the meeting point of “the Richmond and Valley of Virginia trails,” at the forks of the road are also incorrect.¹⁹ These anomalies are discussed in more detail below.

Some forts on the frontier were merely a small fortified cabin or even just a single blockhouse. Big forts could be pentagonal with sides ranging from 60 to 500 feet in length with pointed bastions at each corner. The bastions were used to store such provisions as pork, corn, and flour, as well as lead, flints, and powder. After 1773, and highly successfully in the 1780s, James McGavock operated an ordinary, a mill, and a trading post for the travelers coming to Fort Chiswell. Following the dissolution of Fin-castle County in 1776, and the creation of Montgomery, Washington, and

Kentucky counties, the Montgomery division used the fort for their first courthouse beginning in 1777. More than a year later a courthouse was constructed on the site.²⁰

Where was the Fort, and did it protect the Lead Mines?

It has often been written that Fort Chiswell stood at the intersection of the road to Philadelphia (Great Road) and the road to Richmond. This statement is geographically incorrect, as the road to the south of the fort led to the New River in Wythe County and eventually to North Carolina.²¹ See Figure 1. Author after author has repeated such statements without realizing the actual destination of that road. There were several easterly routes and possible pathways that connected to the Philadelphia road, but none were at Fort Chiswell. One could go to what is now the City of Roanoke and through what is now Bedford County, which would take the traveler to Manchester (or south Richmond) by way of Appomattox and Farmville. Today the more northerly route could be through Augusta and Albemarle counties to Louisa and Henrico counties. A middle route lay across the mountain at Buena Vista and through the counties of Amherst, Buckingham and Cumberland to reach Richmond.²²

Park Rouse, Jr., in *The Great Wagon Road*, states that "Fort Chiswell was a palisade built by the colony of Virginia in 1768 to protect the western frontier and the strategically important lead mines." He placed the mines not far from Castle's Woods, a location in present Russell County more than seventy miles from Wythe County.²³ Fleenor and Carter, in *The Forts of the Holston Militia*, indicate that Fort Chiswell was between Marion and Wytheville, and that the mines (or the fort, it is not clear) were near Wytheville.²⁴

Did the "big fort" protect the lead mines? This statement has often been made, but Fort Chiswell, an army outpost, is approximately nine miles from the lead mines and therefore likely to have had little to do with protecting the mines. Nonetheless, the owners of the mines were aware of the need for protection during the wars that came to the frontier at different times. In land records made during the French and Indian War, and during the Revolutionary War, references are made to blockhouses at the mines. Certain pensioners were often stationed there. There are no details regarding the size of these blockhouses, but they were generally two-story log structures where the second story overhangs the first. From this information it is clear that the mines had their own protection, a fact discov-

ered by this author, giving a new perspective to the Lead Mines and Fort Chiswell story.²⁵

Courthouse Locations

In 1773 when the officers of Fincastle County held their first meeting at the lead mines (present-day Austinville), there were complaints and suggestions pertaining to the choice of the location for a courthouse. It was placed on a hillside near the mouth of Mine Mill Creek near the New River and became the center of activity for four years. No town developed at that location in those early days. The records show that the courthouse was not on the “leading” or Great Road, had no convenient spring, had little pasture, and was “very scarce of timber.”²⁶

When the new county of Montgomery was formed, the decision was made to locate the courthouse at Fort Chiswell where James McGavock, then the owner of the property, offered land for a town. Although the town did not develop, the courthouse, a prison, an ordinary, a spring, and the “big fort” remained on the hillside for many years. Here the judges and other court officials met at the new courthouse; soldiers mustered for duty and guarded the fort and especially the person and property of McGavock; Tories sneaked around in the night destroying property during the Revolution; and thousands of travelers would visit on their way to Kentucky, all before the fort was torn down sometime in the 1790s.²⁷

In summary, what began as a meeting place for a military expedition in 1756 at Alexander Sayers’ Camp, four years later became a military rendezvous for the Virginians and the Cherokees. In February 1761, when the name Fort Chiswell first appears in Colonial records, the camp was turned into a military headquarters for the army. For the next thirty years, the “big fort” stood on the hillside catering to soldiers and travelers, and serving as a political center for the original Montgomery County.

In numerous accounts, the dates, location, and connection to the lead mines have been in error. Yet the fort and the mines are often intertwined in the published accounts because many believed the fort was built to protect the mines, although research has proven that the mines had their own protection.

Lead Mines

In this section the author reviews the early history of the lead mines and describes how successful production was finally established by Welsh

miners and how the lead mines came to be owned by the state of Virginia and operated by its agents in the wake of the John Robinson scandal.

Location of the Lead Mines

The lead mines, located on the south side of the New River in the vicinity of the present town of Austinville in southern Wythe County, were often referred to as Chiswell's, sometimes Chisel's mines. See Figure 1.

The date when lead was discovered may never be known exactly; no report of such an event appears to have been made at the time. The dates during the 1750s when the mines were said to have been discovered by Chiswell are undocumented guesses.²⁸ However, on May 6, 1760, John Chiswell was granted permission to have 1000 acres surveyed on both sides of the New River at the location of the mines. At the same time, John Robinson, Esqr. was allowed to take up 1000 acres on both sides of the New River, joining John Chiswell's land.²⁹ The survey for Chiswell was completed on October 31, 1760, at a time when general surveying was halted because of the French and Indian War. The survey was "lodged" in the Land Office on March 27, 1761.³⁰

When Did Mining Begin?

Where and when did Chiswell begin work at the mines? It is generally not disputed that the first location of lead mining was at a place known as Chiswell's Hole, a cave-like horizontal mine entered from the New River itself. The majority of the lead was located on the south side of the river in a much more convenient site where variations of vertical mines predominated. Because the request for the land grant was filed in 1761, work probably began soon after. In fact the Moravians in their diary suggested that the work began in that very year although no exact date has been found in their records.³¹

In November of 1986 when cataloging Wythe County Chancery cases, this author discovered a case dealing with the mines. Among the most important discoveries was William Bell's deposition which gave us further insight into the situation. He said that "he work'd at the sd. Mines in the employ of the sd Chiswell for the space of two years and during that time sundry attempts was made to smelt ore and make lead, but could not make any until the sd. Chiswell went [to] England and brought out sundry Welshmen."³²

It is clear from Bell's statement that the people employed were not experts in the production and processing of lead ore. The men hired abroad by Chiswell were often referred to as the "Welsh miners" although it appears that they were hired in the City of Bristol, across the Bristol Channel from Wales. They were named in Bell's deposition and other documents in the lawsuit. They were William Herbert (who became superintendent of the mines and who brought his wife and her maid), Jno. Jenkins married to William's sister Mary Herbert, David Herbert [Sr.], William's father who came with his wife, and another son named David Herbert Jr., Roger Oats, Charles Devereaux (spelled many different ways), Evan Williams, and "sundry others" who were not specifically named in the lawsuit. With experienced helpers, Chiswell and his new employees soon could produce lead; and according to William Bell, after their arrival at the mines "they made a large quantity of lead annually for the space of three years and near a half."³³

As mentioned in the lawsuit, Chiswell traveled to Bristol, England, and made an agreement there with William Herbert and others on April 25, 1763. Under the terms of the contract, Chiswell agreed to pay their passage, promised them work for seven years, and agreed to pay their return expenses if they decided to leave at the end of three years. Herbert's salary, paid quarterly, was 130 pounds sterling. He was also to have a rent-free house for his family, proper outbuildings for his cattle, and twenty acres of pasture. The group arrived sometime in June 1763. In the fall of that year, the Moravians reported that wagonloads of lead were being exchanged for flour in North Carolina, as there was no grist or flourmill yet in operation at the mines.³⁴

The lawsuit documents that mining began in 1761, without success. In 1763 after the arrival of the Welsh miners, who were well acquainted with lead and coal mining in the British Isles, production was so successful that large quantities could be traded.

Although the mines were often called Chiswell's mines, Chiswell, William Byrd, and John Robinson formed a partnership as co-owners of the lead mines at a time undetermined by Colonial records. These three gentlemen were the first owners of the lead deposits, although Governor Fauquier had an early interest, later dropping out of the company.³⁵

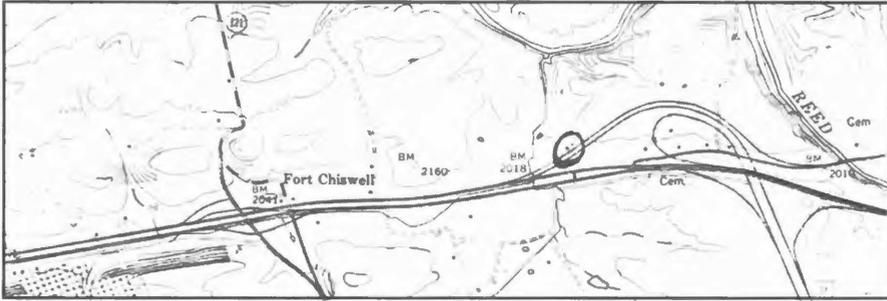


Figure 4. The hand-drawn circle on this map, on the Interstate ramp connecting 177 with 181, represents the approximate location of the "big fort" known as Fort Chiswell. The name Fort Chiswell on the lower left of the map represents the name of the interstate exit.

The Tragic Year of 1766

A series of tragic events that took place beginning in 1766 greatly affected the mine operations, the workers, and the colony of Virginia. Two of the three partners who owned the mines, John Chiswell and his son-in-law John Robinson, Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia, died that year.³⁶

Chiswell's death was preceded by an incident at Cumberland County Court House, where Chiswell killed Robert Routledge with his sword. He was subsequently charged with murder and scheduled for trial. It is generally believed that Chiswell took his own life on October 14, 1766, rather than stand trial.³⁷

Following Robinson's death on May 11, 1766, the discovery that he had illegally loaned £8,085 of the colony's money to the Lead Mines Company, and other significant amounts to many of his friends, forced the Virginia government to recover those sums. With two of the three owners of the lead mines dead, William Byrd was left to face a confusing and difficult situation at the mines. These tragic events also resulted in the dismissal of the Herberts and the Welsh miners on June 21, 1767, when they were told to return tools and housing accommodations given them by Chiswell as part of their employment agreement. They were also refused the wages owed to them, and denied the return trip to Bristol, England, as promised in the contract of 1763.³⁸

Because of the illegal actions of Treasurer Robinson, many years were required for the lead mines to repay the money loaned to them. Several op-

eratives worked the mines on behalf of the government during the Revolutionary War. In the 1790s, Moses Austin and his brother Stephen operated the mines for a few years before Moses left for Missouri. In the early 1800s the mines were sold to Thomas Jackson and David Pierce.³⁹

Aftermath

Locating the mines in their proper place, researching land records pertaining to the mines, and in 1986 finding information in a lawsuit with details of operation and workers helped establish with certainty when the mines began operation and gave a new perspective to the otherwise conflicting information. Mining began in 1761 but, being unsuccessful, John Chiswell went to England to find the Welsh miners who upon arrival in 1763 brought success to the operation.

From the records, it is evident that the establishment of Fort Chiswell and the operation of the lead mines were contemporary events in the early 1760s. Both the fort and the mines were named for John Chiswell. The fort survived into the 1790s, when it was torn down. The Montgomery County court buildings remained at the Fort Chiswell site for many years. When Wythe County was formed from Montgomery County in 1790, a new arrangement was made for each of the county court locations. Wythe County's courthouse was built at the new county seat, which would become Wytheville, and Montgomery County's new courthouse was built at what would become Christiansburg.⁴⁰

About 1901, the remaining log house on the property burned. The only surviving evidence at the location is the spring, an early road to the mill site, and a hole in the ground where the mill itself once stood. The name, however, has survived and was given to the community that surrounds Exit 80 off Interstate 81, extending on both sides of the interstate and to the south on Route 52, which leads to the New River. There is no town of Fort Chiswell, and no remnants of the fort can be seen because of highway construction. There is no marker at the site.

As for the mines, the lead deposits discovered by John Chiswell were surrounded by tragedy affecting both the colony and the workers. Eventually, lead was left in the ground and zinc became the product most economically feasible to market. In the vicinity of Austinville and Ivanhoe, the population of the once-flourishing mining towns was greatly reduced

and nearly died out when all mining operations ceased on December 31, 1981.⁴¹

Acknowledgments

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Also my thanks to Hayden H. Horney, Clerk of the Wythe County Circuit Court who gave me an opportunity to read hundreds of Chancery cases as I was cataloging them for the court. Of special importance to this article was the lead mines case that tells the story of the beginning of the operation of the mines. Thanks, Hayden.

Dr. Susan Kegley made many very helpful suggestions to improve the clarity of the text, especially for those not familiar with the area. A big thank you to Susan.

Endnotes

1. Mary B. Kegley, "The Big Fort," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* (1978), 10(2): 6–30; Mary B. Kegley, *Wythe County Bicentennial History* (Wytheville, Va.: Wythe County Board of Supervisors, 1989); Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters* (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1995), vol. 3; Mary B. Kegley, *Finding Their Way from the Great Road to the Wilderness Road, 1745–1796* (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 2008).
2. Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road* (New York: Burt Franklin, repr., 1971), 12, gives the date 1758; the Lead Mines Company celebrated their two-hundredth anniversary in 1956 (see "Austinville Mine Marks 200th Birthday this year," *Roanoke Times*, August 5, 1956), giving us the date 1756; Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Middlesboro, Ky.: repr. 1966), 64, says 1756; numerous newspaper articles in the files of the author give dates in the 1750s without any documentation, especially John H. Puckett, "A Sketch of the Lead Mines," *Southwest Virginia Enterprise* (March 18, 1921) gives the date 1750; Vera L. Austin, "The Southwest Virginia Lead Works, 1756-1802" Masters thesis (Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1977), pages 19 and 20, gives the date 1758 for the fort built at the "forks of the road" and erroneously places James McGavock in charge in 1760, a date more than ten years too early. She also notes that the fort was built to protect the mines; Ralph Berrier, Jr., recently writing about the McGavock mansion also dates the fort in 1756 and claims it was built to protect the lead mines. The house was not on the Wilderness Road and James McGavock came from Northern Ireland, not Scotland, as reported. See Ralph Berrier, Jr., "Fort Chiswell Mansion Becomes Granddaddy of All Renovations," *Roanoke Times*, August 23, 2009.

3. Lawrence J. Fleenor and Dale Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia* (Big Stone Gap, Va.: privately published, 2004), 2; Kincaid, *Wilderness Road*, 4.
4. Augusta County Survey Book 1, 38; Patton-Preston Notebook, Wytheville Community College Library; Patent Book 31, 147; Augusta County Deed Book 8, 2.
5. Kegley, *Finding Their Way*, 23, and footnote 62.
6. F.B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke: Stone Printing Company for the Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 225. The expedition was also known as the Sandy Creek Expedition.
7. Marion Tinling, ed., *Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press, 1977), 2: 702, 705, 707; Captain Ourry to Bouquet, Sept. 29, 1760, Louis M. Waddell, John L. Tottenham, Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, vol. 5, *September 1, 1760–October 31, 1761* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984), 52–3.
8. Benjamin Hillman, ed., *The Executive Journals of The Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), 6: 174.
9. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965, repr.), 2: 510; Draper Manuscripts 1 QQ 83; Mary B. Kegley, *Finding Their Way*, 23; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, 1745–1800* (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1980), 1: 55.
10. William Fleming Papers, Reel 432, Library of Virginia, Z-12.
11. "Library of Col. William Fleming," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, No. 6, (July 1897), 162.
12. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 182.
13. Waddell, Tottenham, and Kent, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, 5: 476, Stephen to Bouquet, May 12, 1761.
14. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 184, 189; Archibald Henderson, *Thomas Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1931), 64–65.
15. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 189; Jeffrey Amherst Papers, Virginia Historical Society shows a Return of the Regiment of Foot from William Byrd to Amherst, June 7, 1761; Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 22.
16. Louis Philippe, King of France, *Diary of My Travels in America*, translated by Stephen Becker (New York: Delacorte Press, 1977), 52. The peace treaty referred to was the one following the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.
17. William Hendy Shephard, "Colonel John Chiswell, Chiswell's Lead Mines, Fort Chiswell," a thesis (University of Virginia, 1936), 51; interviews by the author with historian Arthur M. Kent, who was born a short distance away and kept records of what others in his family and neighborhood understood about the original fort; Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey* (Blacksburg, Va.: Pocahontas Press, 2003), 132–3.
18. *Roanoke Times*, September 4, 1976; *Daily Press*, Newport News, October 17, 1976. The author was present part of the time at the two excavations and provided historical data to the archeologists.
19. Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–1763* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, repr. 1992, originally printed 1925 by Johns Hopkins Press), 114.

20. Kegley, "The Big Fort," 6–30; Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (Abingdon, Virginia: Privately printed at Kingsport Press, Tenn., 1929), 676, 688, 690; Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier*, 99–100.
21. Lyman Chalkley, "Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 30, no. 6 (April 1922), 183; Speed, *The Wilderness Road* (New York: Burt Franklin, reprint 1971), 12; Austin, "Southwest Virginia Lead Works," 19–20.
22. Route 460 to 360 to south Richmond; Route 250 or more recently Interstate 64 through Albemarle; Route 60 from Buena Vista to Richmond.
23. Park Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road* (Richmond, Dietz Press, reprint, 2004), 109, 121.
24. Flenor and Carter, *The Forts of the Holston Militia*, vi, 2.
25. Augusta County Entry Book 1, 44, shows that Chiswell entered additional land, one of the tracts of 400 acres "at the block House on the east side of the New River;" Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 220–1, 225, 251; Mary B. Kegley, *Revolutionary War Pension Applications of Southwest Virginia Soldiers* (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1997), 26; Byrd requested five thousand acres at the lead mines in 1764.
26. Betty E. Spillman, Shirley P. Thomas, and Ann Brush Miller, *Fincastle County Road Orders, 1773–1776* (Charlottesville: Virginia Transportation Research Council, 2007), 3.
27. Kegley, "The Big Fort," 6–30, especially 18–25; Summers, *Annals*, 676.
28. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond, Va.: J.L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), 69; Summers says 1756, which was the date most often given. No references are given. The mines locally celebrated the 200th anniversary of the discovery in 1956. Other dates noted are 1750, 1757, 1759 with no documentation; The Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission dates the mines at 1756; the K-39 highway marker gives that date. Raus McDill Hanson, *Virginia Place Names, Derivations, Historical Uses* (Verona, Va.: McClure Printing Company, 1969), dates the mines in 1757 and identifies their discoverer as James, not John, Chiswell; Fess Green, *Wilderness Road Odyssey*, page 132, dates the discovery in 1755.
29. Hillman, *Executive Journals*, 6: 157, 158.
30. Augusta County Survey Book 1, 91; Augusta County Entry Book 1, 44; for a sketch of Chiswell's life see Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 249–53.
31. Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Reprint (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1968), 1: 234.
32. *Herbert v Farrell et al.*, 1827–02 HCC was a case heard in the High Court of Chancery and finalized in 1827. However, most of the facts pertain to the contract signed by the Welsh miners and the money owed to them as a result of their agreement with Chiswell made in 1763.
33. *Herbert v. Farrell et al.*; Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 273–89, for a sketch of the Herbert family.
34. *Herbert v. Farrell et al.*; Fries, *Records*, 1: 248, 276.
35. Kegley, *Bicentennial History*, 327–40 for details concerning the lead mines.

36. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 252; William Minor Dabney, "John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Treasurer of Virginia" (Thesis, University of Virginia, 1941), 71.
37. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, 3: 249–53.
38. Dabney, "Robinson," 68, 71, 74. According to Dabney the total illegally loaned was £110,761.7.5; according to Tinling, *Correspondence*, 2: 611, the total amount owed was £130,000, with £100,000 of it owed by Robinson's estate and £14,921 owed by William Byrd.
39. Kegley, *Early Adventurers*, vol. 3, for sketch of Austins, Herberts, Jacksons, and Pierces.
40. Kegley and Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, 1: 210; Mary B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers in the Town of Evansham, the County Seat of Wythe County, Virginia, 1790–1839*, vol. 4 in the Early Adventurers series (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1998), 8.
41. Kegley, *Wythe County Bicentennial History*, 340–3; Paul Dellinger, "Out of Zinc," *Roanoke Times and World News*, December 6, 1981.