

THE GOVERNORS' GRAVES
ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA



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2013

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INTRODUCTION

Some of the oldest (1704, 1705 and 1722) stone-marked graves in North Carolina are located at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Edenton. This group of eleven stones and perhaps sixteen graves were moved there from outlying plantations to St Paul's beginning in the late 19th century. Where did these graves come from and who were these people?

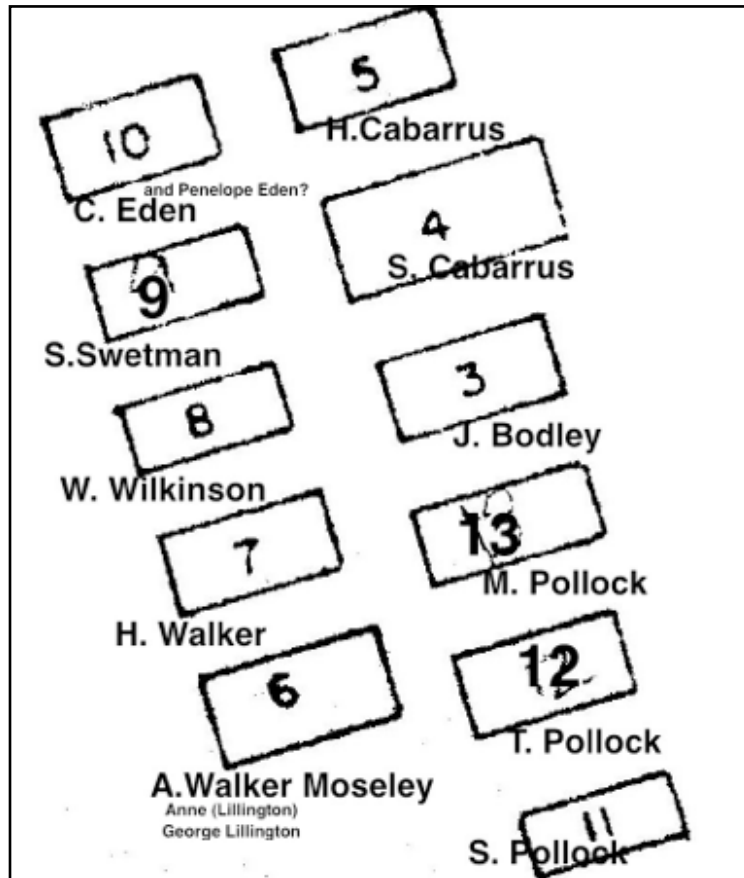
The first settlers of colonial North Carolina came to the northeast coastal plain and established homes around Albemarle Sound. The early government under the Lords Proprietors (1664-1729) provided land grants and appointed governors. A planter aristocracy developed around Edenton (site of meetings of the legislature), occupying large tracts of land which were accessible from the rivers and Albemarle Sound. The cemeteries for these wealthy planters were usually located on their own land often near the water. These sites, with landings, were convenient for unloading and placement tombstones which had to be imported, as there was no source of stone in the coastal plain.

As a result of their location, these cemeteries were subject to erosion especially during hurricanes. Robert Brent Drane (1851-1939), Rector of St. Paul's from 1876 to 1932, felt that the graves could be preserved by relocating them to the large churchyard in Edenton. Beginning about 1888, eleven grave-stones were moved from five different plantation cemeteries. These came to be known as the "Governors' Graves" because they included three important colonial Governors (with some family members) under the Lords Proprietors: Henderson Walker, 1699 to 1704; Thomas Pollock, 1712 to 1714 and again in 1722 ;and Charles Eden, 1714 to 1722.



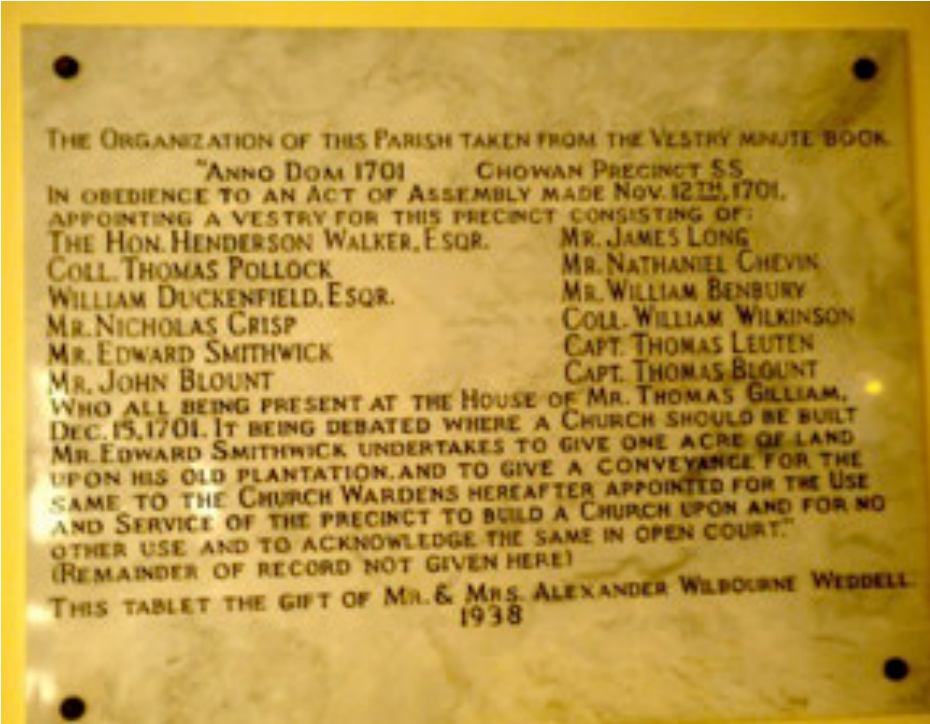
The Rev. Dr. Robert Brent Drane, rector of St. Paul's established the Governors Graves. A double row of magnolias (right) were planted by Dr. Drane about 1890 when he began relocating the Governors graves (visible on the left side of brick path beyond the one remaining Magnolia on that side).

Dr. Drane located these graves along the main walk from the granite gate on Church Street, undoubtedly, so those entering the churchyard could “see history”. During the more than 100 years since being moved to St. Paul’s, the stones have deteriorated and many of the inscriptions are no longer legible. The map below shows the arrangement of the large ledger stones moved to the churchyard.



The arrangement of the Governors’ Graves in St. Paul’s Churchyard from a map of the churchyard graves surveyed and numbered by Jasper Hassell about 1975. .

Three of the graves belong to members of the first St. Paul’s Parish Vestry (1701) as shown by a plaque on the interior wall of the church below. These include Henderson Walker, Thomas Pollock and William Wilkinson. These men and their wives were members of an elite planter class in the early Albemarle who struggled to establish the Anglican church and pass the 1701 Vestry Act to establish St. Paul’s Parish. They were opposed by the Quakers who were in the majority at this time in the Albemarle.



The 1701 Vestry Act plaque on the wall of St Paul's Church listing the signers of the act to establish St. Paul's Parish and the Anglican Church as

the official church and governing body for Chowan Precinct. The graves of three members (Hon. Henderson Walker, Coll. Thomas Pollock and Coll. William Wilkinson) were moved to St. Paul's cemetery.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

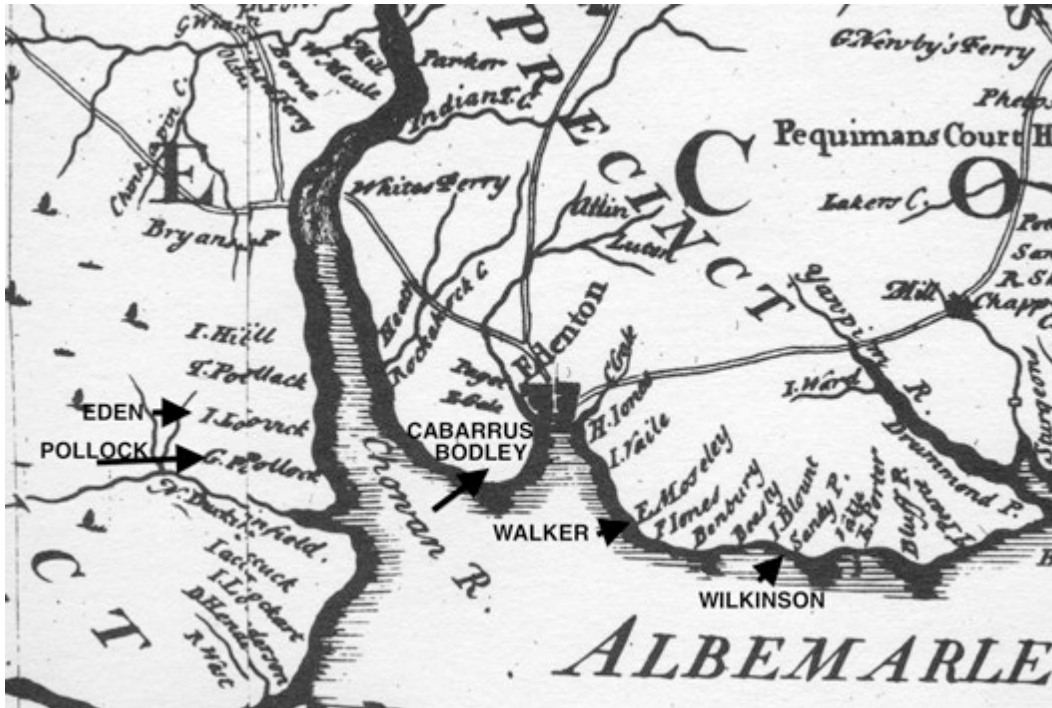
At the May 2011 annual meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati organized by Thomas Wood in Edenton, the membership voted to provide a small grant to the Elizabeth Vann Moore Foundation for a preliminary history of St. Paul's churchyard to be compiled by Charles Racine. This description of the Governors' Graves is part of this effort. An index and map of all the gravestones will follow. We wish to thank Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Wood for their support and encouragement of this project.

Elizabeth Vann Moore wrote much about St. Paul's parish and church (some published in 2003 as *A Celebration of Faith; 300 years in the Life of St. Paul's Episcopal Church*). This book included a brief paragraph describing the establishment of the Governors' Graves, but did not include biographies of their occupants.

Others who helped with this project include Carter Rowe, the nephew and executor of Elizabeth Vann Moore's estate, Frances Drane Inglis of Edenton, and John Collins and Patsy Lowell of Edenton.

THE ORIGINAL LOCATIONS OF GRAVES

The eleven stones and grave contents came from five different plantations located on Albemarle Sound and the Chowan River., shown by arrows on a portion of the 1733 Moseley map below.



Portion of the 1733 Moseley Map with arrows showing the five plantations from which the Governors' graves were moved to St. Paul's. The present bridge is located between "J. Lovick" and "G. Pollock" shown on the west side. The bridge is considered to divide the Chowan River from Albemarle Sound .

Charles Eden's grave was at the location on the Chowan River labelled "J. Lovick". When Eden died in 1722 he had willed Eden House to his secretary, John Lovick. Thomas Pollock's grave was at the location labelled "G. Polloock". When Thomas Pollock died in 1722 he willed Bal Gra to his son George Pollock. Stephen Cabarrus and Joshua Bodley were buried at Pembroke Plantation just west of Edenton. Henderson Walker's grave was at the location labelled "E. Moseley". This location is also variously known as "Moseley Point", "Skinner's Point" and later (1833) "Horniblow's Point". After Walker's death in 1704, his wife, Ann Lillington Walker had inherited their plantation (later called "Montpelier") and married Edward Moseley. William Wilkinson's grave was at the location labelled "Sandy P.", (for Sandy Point).

THE LEDGER STONES

Ruth Little in her book *Sticks and Stones, Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* writes about the “Governors’ Stones” at St Paul’s (pages 14,15,31-33,48,49). She describes the flat ledger stones that cover each grave as a thin horizontal sandstone or slate slab supported on a low masonry base. The ledgers stones are about 36 x 72 inches, and 2-4 inches thick, and she considers them the oldest ledgers in the state. Because there was no native stone in the coastal plain, Little says that the Governors’ Graves ledgers were made from stone imported from England. Of the over 500 stones in St. Paul’s churchyard, these were likely the only stones imported from England although several early (1750’s) upright stone markers came from New England. Ledger stones were expensive and most are found in the graveyards of very wealthy families or in the churchyards of the oldest Episcopal churches.

The use of ledgers in colonial cemeteries represented a continuation of English traditions by early colonists. In England these ledgers had a long history from medieval times and were the preferred gravemarker of the upper class. The size of these ledgers provided an ample surface for lengthy inscriptions extolling the family connections and personal virtue of the deceased.

Ruth Little mentions a possible reference to the location of where large ledger stones for the original Eden and/or Pollock graves may have been offloaded from ships at Salmon Creek. “Tombstone Landing” is shown on a 1767 survey map made by the surveyor, William Churton, for William Duckenfield.



A portion of William Churton's 1767 survey map of Salmon Creek area made for William Duckenfield showing "Tombstone Landing". "Mr Pollock" is location of Bal Gra.

BIOGRAPHIES

FIRST ROW

BAL GRA:-

THE POLLOCKS (11, 12 and 13 on map, page 4)

The first three graves in the first row belong to the Pollock family. These include: Sarah Swann Pollock (11) (wife of Thomas and Martha Pollock's son George Pollock), and perhaps infant daughter; Governor Thomas Pollock (12) (1654-1722), and finally his first wife Martha Cullen West Pollock (13) (1663-1701). They were moved to St. Paul's in 1889 from Bal Gra on the west shore of Albemarle Sound in Bertie County (designated as "G. Pollock" on the 1733 Moseley map). Bal Gra was named for Thomas Pollock's home in Renfrewshire, Scotland. Thomas Pollock's second wife, Ester Swetman Harris Wilkinson Pollock is buried in the second row next to her second husband William Wilkinson.



The ledger stone of Thomas Pollock has a marble coat-of-arms with a boar, presumably related to the family legend from Scotland which said that a Pollock saved the life of James IV from an attack by a wild boar.

THOMAS POLLOCK (1654-1722) (12) (FROM DICTIONARY OF NORTH CAROLINA BIOGRAPHY, WILLIAM S. POWELL)

Thomas Pollock was born at his family's home, Bal Gra, in Renfrewshire, Scotland, near Glasgow. Thomas left Scotland in 1680 and settled first in Maryland, moving to North Carolina in 1683 as the deputy of Lords Proprietor, Carteret. He long served as agent of both Carteret and Lords Proprietor, Beaufort. Soon after his arrival, Pollock became one of the most prominent and influential men in the colony. He married Martha Cullen about 1690, and they established their large plantation, Bal Gra, on the west side of Albemarle Sound in Bertie County. He accumulated large tracts of land along the Chowan, Roanoke and Trent Rivers, and one of his plantations in Bertie included 40,000 acres. By the time of his death in 1722 he was the largest landowner in North Carolina.

For over thirty years, Pollock held numerous military and civil offices in the colonial government. He was a member of the Governors' Council for a longer term than any other person. However during his tenure, a long feud existed between him and Edward Moseley, and in all civil affairs they were the real leaders of the opposite factions.

An ardent supporter of the church of England and member of the first St. Paul's vesty in 1701, he disliked dissenters and in particular Quakers. He contributed money for the construction of the first church building which was completed in 1705 at an unknown location near Edenton.

Pollock was involved in four important events in the early colony: 1) arrival of Edward Hyde as the new governor in 1710, 2) the Cary Rebellion in 1711, 3) the support of Baron Von Graffenreid and his Swiss colony, and 4) the Tuscarora war from 1711-1715.

In 1710 when Edward Hyde came to the Albemarle from England as Deputy Governor, he accepted the hospitality of Thomas Pollock at Bal Gra. In fact, the first Assembly called by the new Governor Hyde met there. However, shortly after his arrival on August 8, 1712, Hyde died during an epidemic of yellow fever. Pending the appointment of a successor by the Lords Proprietors, the Council chose Pollock as the acting Deputy Governor.

This was also the time of the Cary Rebellion in which the disputed authority of the Governorship was involved. Pollock, naturally, gave his support to Hyde and the Crown, and the Rebellion was put down in 1711. Cary was captured after firing cannons at Bal Gra.

Pollock supported Baron Von Graffenried and his establishment of the Swiss Colony at New Bern in 1710. Von Graffenried had exhausted all of his funds in his efforts and was unable to secure any aid from the company in Bern which he represented. Some individuals in other colonies supplied goods, but the chief creditor of the enterprise became Pollock who furnished both finances and goods. John Lawson, the early explorer and naturalist, brought Von Graffenried and his group from Europe and they may have stayed briefly at Pollock's home (Bal Gra). Presumably the heavy indebtedness to Pollock was of great influence when Von Graffenried, as leader of the largest body of immigrants to come into Carolina, allied himself with the Hyde and Pollock faction in putting down the Cary Rebellion.

The Tuscarora War lasted well into Pollock's administration as Deputy Governor following the death of Edward Hyde. The Tuscarora tribe was a branch of the war-like Iroquoian group and lived in some fifteen Indian towns in eastern Carolina along the Roanoke, Pamlico and Neuse Rivers. Encroachment by the whites upon the lands adjacent to these rivers was the principal cause of the Tuscarora War. Although many of the New Bern colonists were massacred and John Lawson put to death, the settlements on the Bertie Peninsula and surrounding territory did not suffer as severely as others. The Tuscarora bands along the Roanoke River remained neutral due to the friendship and influence of Governor Pollock with the Tuscarora chief, Thomas Blount. As a result, the morale of the people was restored to some extent when the colony was facing some of its darkest days.

MARTHA CULLEN WEST POLLOCK (1663--1701) (13)

Governor Pollock's wife was Martha Cullen, the daughter of Thomas Cullen of Dover, England. Thomas Cullen came to North Carolina from Dover in 1669 and became a colonial official, planter and Indian trader. Martha married Pollock after the death of her first husband, Major Robert West. Thomas and Martha had three sons: Thomas (1695-1733) Cullen (1697-1750) and George (1699-1736) and one daughter, Martha (1694-1719?). George married Sarah Swann. Cullen Pollock and his wife, Anne Booth Pollock, became one of North Carolina's wealthiest planter families. .

SARAH (SWANN) POLLOCK. (11) AND INFANT

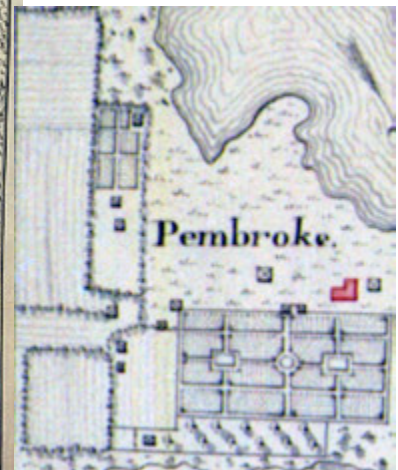
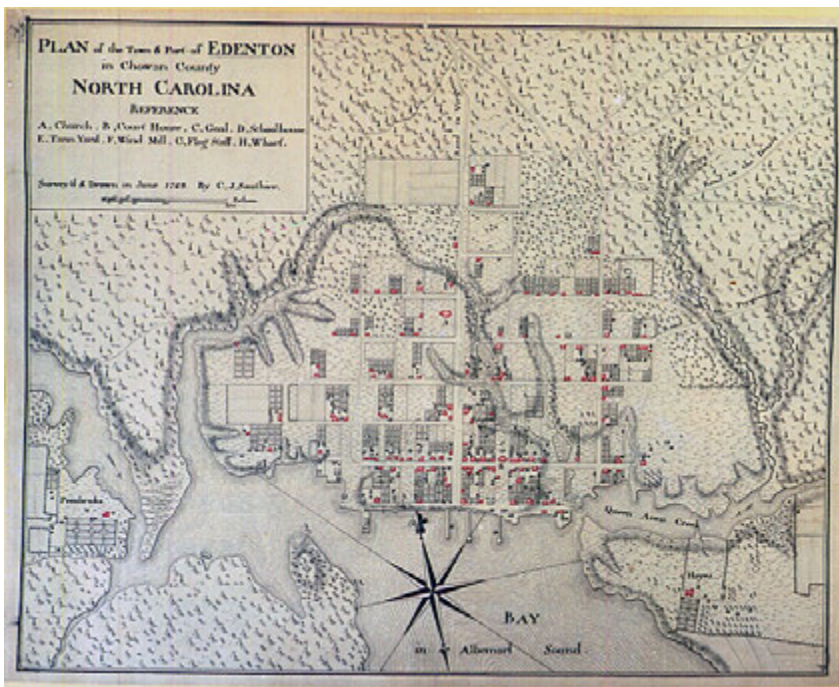
Sarah Swann, the daughter of Col. Thomas Swann, married George Pollock, the son of Thomas and Martha Pollock.

PEMBROKE PLANTATION

BODLEY AND CABARRUS (3,4 and 5 on map, page 4)

The last three graves in the first row were moved to St. Paul's from nearby Pembroke Planation in 1911 when a federal fish hatchery was being constructed. Pembroke is shown just west of Edenton on the 1769 Sauthier map, as having grand gardens, orchards and house. By the 1750s, it was the home of Thomas Barker (1713-1789), a prominent lawyer and colonial assemblyman, who named it after his old home in Pembroke, Massachusetts (Butchko, p. 248). In 1757 Barker married Penelope Paget Hodgson Craven, the organizer of the 1774 Edenton Tea Party. They are buried at Hayes. The next owners of Pembroke were Joshua Bodley and his wife Jeanne Henriette; and after

Bodley's death, her next husband Stephen Cabarrus,



1769 Sauthier map of Edenton showing location of Thomas Barker's Pembroke Plantation (lower left). Enlargement of Pembroke site showing formal gardens and an orchard.

JOSHUA BODLEY (1705-1775) (3)

In memory of Joshua Bodley Esqr. Who departed this life the 3rd day of February 1775 Aged 70 years.

According to Powell's *Dictionary of North Carolin Biography*, Joshua Bodley may have been a native of Dublin, Ireland. In 1755, he married Jeanne Henriette D'Amory in Brittany, France. In 1756 while living in London, Bodley was appointed a land agent in North Carolina for Earl

Granville, who owned an interest in about half the land in the colony. Bodley was replacing Benjamin Wheatley in Edenton as a coagent with Francis Corbin (d. 1767). In 1757, Bodley and Thomas Barker were appointed personal attorneys to Thomas Child, the Attorney General. In January 1759, Corbin and Bodley were seized by a band of men from Edgecombe County and taken by force to Enfield, the county seat, to protest their actions and fees as land agents. Those who took Bodley were drunk and afterwards thrust a Bible into his hand and tried to make him take an oath “to do something he would not attend to.” They were released soon after. Bodley later held various offices in the colony as member of the Council and Associate Justice. Following his death in 1775, his widow Jeanne Henriette married Stephen Cabarrus.

STEPHEN CABARRUS (1754-1808) (4)

In memory of Stephen Cabarrus who departed this life on the 4th day of August 1808 Aged 54 years.

Stephen Cabarrus must have been a tall man because his ledger stone is the longest of all the 11 gravestones. Powell describes Cabarrus as an important political figure in North Carolina following the Revolutionary War. Born in Bayonne, France, the scion of a family of merchants and ship owners, he decided to seek his fortune in the New World and arrived in Edenton in 1776. He married Jeanne Henriette D’Amery Bodley, the wealthy widow of Joshua Bodley, who had died in 1775, becoming master of his wife’s estate, Pembroke as well as the owner of an adjacent farm (named “Bayonne” in honor of his birthplace). By 1777 he owned 1,980 acres of land and 60 slaves. He became borough representative to the House of Commons in Chowan County, and was elected speaker in 1789. A supporter of the federal Constitution, he was a delegate to the Hillsborough convention of 1788 that rejected the document, and to the Fayetteville convention of 1789 that ratified it. In 1790 and 1793 he ran for the National House of Representatives from the Edenton District but was defeated. However, he remained active in the North Carolina legislature, supporting education, and was appointed to the first board of trustees of the University of North Carolina in 1789. He also supported the establishment of the new state capital at Raleigh, where a street was later named in his honor. Cabarrus County, NC, is named for him because while serving as speaker, in 1792, he cast the deciding vote to create the new county. He was also a dedicated Mason and member of Unanimity Lodge No. 7 in Edenton. In 1787, he was a delegate to the Tarboro Convention that re-organized the Masons following the interruption during the American Revolution.

HENRIETTA CABARRUS (1777-1784) (5)

In memory of Henrietta Cabarrus who departed this life the 6th of October 1784 aged 6 years and 10 months.

Henrietta Cabarrus was the daughter of Stephen Cabarrus and wife, Jeanne Henriette d’Amery Bodley. Henrietta and her mother, Jeanne Henriette, may be buried in the same grave.

SECOND ROW

MOSELEY POINT (SKINNER'S POINT, HORNIBLOW'S POINT, MONTPELIER PLANTATION)

THE WALKERS (6 and 7 on map, page 4)

The first two graves in the second row are those of Anne Lillington (Walker) Moseley (1677-1732) and her first husband Henderson Walker (1660-1704). They were moved from their plantation at Moseley Point (later the location of "Montpelier") on Albemarle Sound to St. Paul's.

ANNE LILLINGTON WALKER MOSELEY (1677-1732) (6)

Here lies the body of Madm Anne Moseley, wife of Edward Moseley Esqr. She was daughter of Major Alexander Lillington Esqr. And widow of the Hon. Henderson Walker Esq. late president of his majestyes council of North Carolina. She departed this life November the 18th Anno. Dom. 1732 Aged 55

Anne was the daughter of Alexander Lillington (1643-1697) and his wife Elizabeth Cooke. A brother John married Sarah Porter and their son John Alexander became a well-known patriot who fought at Moore's Creek during the Revolutionary War. Another brother, George Lillington (1693-1706), who was likely raised by Anne, may also be buried here in an unmarked grave. She married Henderson Walker in 1693, and following his death in 1704, married Edward Moseley. She was Edward Moseley's first wife, and after her death in 1732 Edward Moseley moved to New Hanover County where he married Ann Sampson. It is not known where Edward Moseley is buried.

Moseley's will, dated 20 March 1745, listed twelve plantations totaling well over 30,000 acres, and several other plantations that had already been given to his children. Eighty-eight slaves were listed by name; three were freed, "having behaved very well." He had six sons and one daughter. A codicil was added to the will in June 1748, after the unexpected birth of his last son, with the provision that "if I have any more children" they are to share in the lands. Edward Moseley left over 200 books on law to one son and another 150 books to family members.

William Powell, (*Dictionary*) described Edward Moseley as "the single most important political figure in the first half of the eighteenth century in North Carolina. He was a man of great and varied skills: politician, surveyor, book collector, vestryman, planter and attorney." The late-nineteenth-century North Carolina historian George Davis wrote: "Of all the men who watched and guarded the tottering footsteps of our infant State, there was not one who, in intellectual abil-

ity, in solid and polite learning, in scholarly cultivation and refinement, in courage and endurance, in high Christian morality, in generous consideration for the welfare of others, in all the true merit... which makes a man among men, could equal Edward Moseley.”

HENDERSON WALKER (CA 1660-1704) (7)

Here lyes interred the...Henderson Walker Esqr. President of the council and commander in North Carolina during whose administration the province at Tranquiter which it is to...May. Never want the departed...April the 14th 1704 Aged 44 years. On the north side of the tomb lyes the body of George Lillington son of Major Alexander Lillington who deceased in the 15th year of his age... 1706.

Buried next to his wife, Anne Lillington, is Henderson Walker. This grave may be one of the oldest marked graves in North Carolina. Walker arrived in the North Carolina colony about 1692. His early history is unknown but it is evident that he had educational advantages. He became president of the colonial council and acting governor from 1699 to 1704, justice of the General Court, Court of Chancery, and Admiralty Court. Walker held other offices in Chowan Precinct and was involved in the boundary dispute and other issues with Virginia. Perhaps his most significant accomplishment was the organization and establishment of the Church of England in North Carolina. Although many colonists held the Anglican faith, there was no organized Anglican worship in the colony in the seventeenth century – nor indeed in any faith except that of the Quakers. Walker was on the first St. Paul’s vestry in 1701, and under his leadership the Assembly passed a vestry act providing for Church of England parishes, vestries, church buildings, and clergy, and levying a poll tax to support them. St. Paul’s Parish was organized under this act and covered a large area on both sides of Albemarle Sound and several precincts.

Walker had extensive landholdings in Perquimans and Chowan Precincts. He was a partner in an enterprise for buying and selling cattle and was part owner of a sloop, the “Dubartus”, which traded with New England. In the 1690s he was living in Chowan on his home plantation five miles from Edenton at a point of land on Albemarle Sound.

SANDY POINT

WILLIAM WILKINSON AND SARAH SWETMAN (8 and 9 on map, page 4)

A few miles east of Henderson Walker’s plantation on Albemarle Sound is Sandy Point, a plantation which has been in existence here since at least 1684, when William Wilkinson received a large grant of land.

WILLIAM WILKINSON (CA 1645-1706) (8)

*Here lyes Interred Body of Colonel Wilkinson Departed ___OE His World 1705...Being...Yars of
Ag...*

In the 1680s-1690s, William Wilkinson served as a member of the colonial council, the colonial assembly, speaker of the assembly and was also attorney general for the colony. He was a member of the first St. Paul's vestry (1701), and an important member of the Chowan group in the late 1600's who sought to remove the Quakers from power in the Albemarle (1984 National Register nomination for Sandy Point by Moore and Mobeley).

SARAH SWETMAN (B. 1674) AND DAUGHTER
ESTHER WILKINSON POLLOCK (9)

A mother and daughter are presumably buried here; Sarah Swetman was the mother of William Wilkinson's wife Esther. After Col. Wilkinson died in 1704, Esther married Thomas Pollock (buried in the first row along with his first wife, Martha Cullen West).

EDEN HOUSE

CHARLES EDEN (1673-1722) AND PENELOPE GOLLAND EDEN (1677-1716) (10 on map, page 4)

HERE LYES YE BODY OF CHARLES EDEN ESQR WHO GOVERNED THIS PROVINCE EIGHT YEARS TO YE GREATEST SATISFACTION OF YE LORDS PROPRIETORS & YE EASE & HAPPYNESSE OF YE PEOPLE. HE BROUGHT YE COUNTRY INTO A FLOURISHING CONDITION & DIED MUCH LAMENTED MARCH YE 26 1722 ÆTATIS 49. AND NEAR THIS PLACE LYES ALSO YE BODY OF PENELOPE EDEN HIS VIRTUOUS CONSORT WHO DIED JANRY 4TH 1716 ÆTATIS 39. VIVIT POST FUNERAILLE QUEM VIRTUS NON MARMOR IN ÆTERNUM SACRAT



Eden Family Coat of Arms on Charles and Penelope Eden's ledger stone. The crest contains a bent right arm holding a wheat sheaf and a chevron containing three escallops and the motto "Si Sit-Prudentia"

This grave was moved from Eden House on the Chowan River (where now a long bridge crosses the Chowan River from Bertie to Chowan Counties). The site of the house and plantation is now occupied by the 1999 Black Rock development, just north of Hwy 17 near the west end of the Chowan River bridge. In the early 18th century Eden House became an elegant center of social life for the Albemarle aristocracy. On the 1733 Moseley map (p.6), Eden House is located on the west side of the Chowan River where "J. Lovick" is written. John Lovick had married Governor Eden's stepdaughter Penelope and they lived at Eden House. Charles Eden was governor of the colony from 1714 to 1722. At his death in 1722, Edenton was named for him.

CHARLES EDEN (1673-1722) (10)

Charles Eden was born in West Auckland, Durham, England, of a family which later also produced a governor of Maryland, Sir Robert Eden. Queen Anne appointed Charles Eden as Governor in 1713 to succeed Edward Hyde. (Thomas Pollock had been serving as Deputy Governor since Hyde's death in 1712). Perhaps one of the most colorful governors of colonial Carolina, Eden is also a controversial subject for many historians particularly in relation to his presumed connection with pirates.

He had been given a thousand acres of land by the Lords Proprietors, the location of which is not known but may have been in Bath. In 1719 he moved across the Chowan River from Edenton (the area which later became Bertie County) to his plantation, Eden House. He was made a landgrave of the order of Carolina nobility as provided for by the Fundamental Constitutions of the colony. He was a vestryman of St. Paul's Parish and strongly supported the Anglican church. With Governor Spotswood of Virginia he appointed a commission to settle the boundary dispute between the two colonies, but no settlement was made during his administration. He is also remembered for his possible involvement with pirates, especially "Blackbeard".

In addition to pirate troubles, he dealt with the problem of the aftermath of the Tuscarora Indian War of 1711-1712. During this war the northern Albemarle area was less affected than Bath and New Bern because Thomas Pollock (Eden's neighbor in Bertie County and in the churchyard) had established a friendship with the Tuscarora chief "Tom Blount". In 1717 at a meeting of the Assembly under Governor Eden at the town of Queen Anne's Creek (Edenton), Blount and his Indians were given a large tract of land known today as "Indian Woods", north of the Morratock (Roanoke) River, in present-day Bertie County.

PENELOPE GOLLAND EDEN (1677-1716) (10)

Penelope Golland Eden's first husband was a Mr. Golland from Mt. Gould in Bertie County. After he died, she married Charles Eden. With her first husband, Penelope had two children, John and Penelope. Charles Eden's stepdaughter Penelope (1710-1751), was married four times: first to Col. William Maule, Surveyor General of North Carolina; second to John Lovick, Governor Eden's secretary; third to George Phenny, Governor of the Bahamas; and fourth to Gabriel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina. (See also: www.haywoodcountyline.com/PenelopeGolland.html)

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