John and Catherine Carver in the Records of Leiden


(XXVI) May 12, 1616 [Records of betrothal]: Henry Wilson, pumpmaker, bachelor, (from) Yarmouth in England, accompanied by William Jepson and John Carver [Jan Kerver}, his acquaintances with Elisabeth Nicholas, spinster, also from Yarmouth in England, accompanied by Sarah Minther and Dorothy Bradford, her acquaintances.


(XXX) May 19, 1617 [Records of betrothal]: Robert Cushman, woolcomber, from Canterbury in England, widower of Sarah Cushman, dwelling in an alley in the Nonnensteech, accompanied by John Keble, his acquaintance, with Mary Singleton, from Sandwich in England, widow of Thomas Singleton, accompanied by Catherine Carver [Cathelyne Kerver], her acquaintance.

(XXXVII) July 14, 1618 [Records of betrothal]: Roger Symonson, mason, bachelor, from Sarum in England, dwelling at Amsterdam, accompanied by Daniel Fairfield, his future brother-in-law and John Carver, his acquaintance, with Sarah Minther, from Norwich in England, widow of William Minther, dwelling at leyden, accompanied by Thomas Willet, her father and Alice Willet, her mother."


John Carver: Planning and preparing for the *Mayflower* voyage

From a letter written on 12 November 1617 by Sir Edwin Sandys to Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster:

"The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of His Majesty’s Council for Virginia; and by the writing of seven Articles subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction, which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be, for your own and the public good. Divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report; having carried themselves here with good discretion, as is both to their own and their credit from when they came. And whereas being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action, about the several particularities which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable, it hath very willingly assented to. And so they do not
Robinson and Brewster responded on 15 December 1617: "We have with the best speed and consideration withal that we could, set down our requests in writing, subscribed as you willed, with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and have sent the same unto the Council by our agent and a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself. To the care and discretion of which two we do refer the prosecuting of the business."


"...one Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, came to Leyden about the same time (who was well acquainted with some of them and a furtherer of them in their former proceedings), having much conference with Mr. Robinson and others of the chief of men, persuaded them to go on (as it seems) and not to meddle with the Dutch or too much to depend on the Virginia Company. For if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such merchants as were his friends, together with their own means, would set them forth; and they should make ready and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for himself as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure in this business, they were to draw such articles of agreement and make sure propositions as might the better induce his friends to venture. Upon which, after the former conclusion, articles were drawn and agreed unto and were shown unto him and approved by him. And afterwards by their messenger (Mr. John Carver) sent into England who, together with Robert Cushman, were to receive the moneys and make provision both for shipping and other things for the voyage; with this charge, not to exceed their commission but to proceed according to the former articles."


"Wherupon two were Chos[en] [Robert Cushman and John Carver] and sent into England att the Charge of the Rest [to] sollissit this matter whoe found the Verginnia Companie very desirous to have them goe thither, and willing to Graunt them a Pattent with as ample privilidges as they had or could Graint to any, and to Give them the best furtherance they C[ould]...

"A Copy of a letter from Sir Edwin Sands directed to mr John Robinson and mr William Brewster. "After my harty sallutations, the agents of youer Congregation Robert Cushman and John Carver have bin in Comunication with divers Celect Gentlemen of his Ma'ties Councell for Verginnia, and by the writing of seven articles with youer Names have Given them that Good degree of Satisffaction; which hath Carried them on with a Resolution to sett forward youer desire in the best sort that may be for youer own and the public Good divers p'rticu[lar]s wherof wee leave to theire faithful Report; having Carried themselves heer with that Good desc[retion] as is both to their owne and their Credit from whence they Came; and whereas being to treat for a Multitude of people they have Requested further time to Confer with them, that are to be Interrested in this action about the severall p'rticu[lar]s which is in the prosecution therof will fall out Considerable; It hath bin very willingly assented unto, and soe they doe Now Retur[n]e unto you...

"London November 12 1617

"Theire Answere was as followeth...

"... we have with the best speed and Consideration withall; that wee Could sett down our Requests
in writing subscribed (as you willed) with the Greatest p’rte of our Congregation and have sent the same unto the Counsell by our agent A deacon of our Church John Carver unto whom wee have alsoe Requested a Gentleman of our Companie to adjoyne himself, to the Care and descretion of which two we doe Refer the prosecuting of the busines"


"But now another difficulty arose, for Mr. Weston and some other that were for this course, either for their better advantage or rather for the drawing on of others, as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered that were first agreed on at Leyden. To which the two agents sent from Leyden or at least one of them who is most charged with it) did consent, seeing else that all was like to be dashed and the opportunity lost, and that they which had put off their estates and paid in their moneys were in hazard to be undone. They presumed to conclude with the merchants on those terms, in some things contrary to their order and commission and without giving them notice of the same; yea, it was concealed lest it should make any further delay. Which was the cause afterward of much trouble and contention…"

"… there fell out a difference among those three that received the moneys, and made the provisions in England, for besides these two formerly mentioned sent from Leyden for this end, viz, Mr. Carver and Robert Cushman, there was one chosen in England to be joined with them to make the provisions for the voyage…"


Difficulties continued. Robert Cushman referred to them in a letter sent to John Carver on 10 June 1620:

"Loving Friend, I have received from you some letters, full of affection and complaints, and what it is you would have of me I know not; for your crying out ‘Negligence, negligence, negligence,’ I marvel why so negligent a man was used in this business. Yet know you that all I have power to do here shall not be one hour behind, I warrant you. You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money … to speak the truth, there is fallen already amongst us a flat schism, and we are readier to go to dispute than to set forward a voyage…"

"Think the best of all and bear patience what is wanting, and the Lord guide us all."

William Bradford commented "I have been the larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in some like passages following (though in other things I shall labor to be more contract) that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrestled in going through these things in their first beginnings; and how God brought them along, notwithstanding all their weaknesses and infirmities."


Disputes continued even after the Pilgrims had left Leiden:

"Thus hoisting sail [about 22 July 1620], with a prosperous wind they came I short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they feel to parley about their business, how to dispatch with the best expedition;
as also with their agents about the alteration of the conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was employed here at Hampton, and knew not well what the other had done at London; Mr. Cushman answered he had done nothing but what he was urged to, partly by the grounds of equity and more especially by necessity, otherwise all had been dashed and many undone. And in the beginning he acquainted his fellow agents herewith, who consented unto him and left it to him to execute, and to receive the money at London and send it down to them at Hampton, where they made the provisions."


The Mayflower voyage begins

Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the Leiden congregation who was not to accompany the small group making the voyage to America in the Mayflower, wrote a farewell letter to John Carver, 27 July 1620, reproduced here in its entirety:

My dear brother, I received enclosed in your last letter the note of information, which I shall carefully keep and make use of as there shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexity of mind and toil of body, but I hope that you who have always been able to plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for yourself, as that far greater difficulties than you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to have been great enough) cannot oppress you; though they press you, as the Apostle speaks. the spirit of a man (sustained by the Spirit of God) will sustain his infirmity; I doubt not so will yours. And the better much when you shall enjoy the presence and help of so many godly and wise brethren, for the bearing of part of your burthen, who also will not admit into their hearts the least thought of suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, whatsoever they think in others.

"Now what shall I say or write unto you and your good wife my loving sister? Even only this: I desire, and always shall, unto you from the Lord, as unto my own soul. And assure yourself that my heart is with you, and I will not forslow my bodily coming at the first opportunity. I have written a large letter to the whole, and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them; and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make some spur to my hastening after you. I do ever commend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more and the same more ample and full words.

"And the Lord in whom you trust and whom you serve ever in this business and journey, guide you with His hand, protect you with His wing, and show you and us His salvation in the end, and bring us in the meanwhile together in the place desired, if such be His good will, for His Christ's sake. Amen."


John and Catherine Carver: Mayflower passengers

"The names of those which came over first, in the year 1620, and were by the blessing of God the first beginners and in a sort the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New England; and their families ...

"Mr. John Carver, Katherine his wife, Desire Minter, and two manservants, John Howland, Roger Wilder."
John Carver: Signer of the Mayflower compact, Governor of Plymouth Colony

"I shall ... begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore; being the first foundation of their government in this place. Occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship: That when they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and not for New England ... And partly that such an act by them done, this their condition considered, might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

"The form was as followeth: IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

"After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governor for that year."

The exploration of Cape Cod

"Monday, the 13th of November. We unshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the people’s lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthest (but our carpenter made slow work of it), so that some of our people, impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land unto the country (which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs) to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no; and the rather, because, as we sailed into the harbor, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard to the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corselet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoined for counsel and advice, William Bradford,
Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley…
So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees; till at length we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us. And thus we came both weary and welcome home" Mourt's Relation, ed. Jordan D. Fiore (Plymouth, Mass.: Plymouth Rock Foundation, 1985), p. 15-20.

John Carver and "The First Encounter"
This story appears both in Mourt's Relation, published in London in 1622, and (in a condensed version) in William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation.
"Wednesday, the sixth of December [1620]. It was resolved our discoverers should set forth ... So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Doten, and two of our seamen, John Alderton, and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors ... Mourt's Relation, ed. Jordan D. Fiore (Plymouth, Mass.: Plymouth Rock Foundation, 1985), p. 27-28.

"... the 6th of December [1620] they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed. Yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or two from them ... they made themselves a barricado with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night. When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus ... "So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hasted out of the woods to meet with their shallop ... of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day since the morning. So they made them a barricado as usually they did every night, with logs, stakes and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them; so being very weary, they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry, and their sentinel called "Arm! arm!" So they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such noise in Newfoundland.
"So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning; for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat ... "But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the
same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes; and one of their company being abroad came running in and cried, "Men, Indians! Indians!" And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four had arms there, and defended the barricado, which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous toward the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence...

"Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by his special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side of them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship, and called that place the FIRST ENCOUNTER."


**John Carver in Plymouth**

"Saturday, the 6th of January [1621], Master Martin was very sick, and, to our judgment, no hope of life. So Master Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts; who came the next morning."


"Friday the 12th [January, 1621] ... This day two of our people put us in great sorrow and care. There was four sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning; and two of them John Goodman and Peter Browne, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a further place, and willed the other two to bind up that which was cut, and to follow them. So they did, being about a mile and a half from our plantation. But when the two came after, they could not find them, nor hear any thing of them at all, though they hallooed and shouted as loud as they could. So they returned to the company, and told them of it. Whereupon Master Carver and three or four more went to seek them; but could hear nothing of them. So they returning, sent more; but that night they could hear nothing at all of them."


"But the next day, being the 14th of January [1621], in the morning about six of the clock, the wind being very great, they on shipboard spied their great new rendezvous on fire ... At their landing they heard good tidings of the return of the two men [John Goodman and Peter Browne], and that the house was fired occasionally [accidentally] by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnit it all up; but the roof stood, and little hurt. The most loss was Master Carver’s and William Bradford’s, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder; but, through God’s mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged; but, blessed be God, there was no harm done."

"Wednesday, the seventh of March [1621], the wind was full east, cold but fair. That day Master Carver with five others went to the great ponds, which seem to be excellent fishing places."

"Friday [March 23, 1621] …This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages’ coming and concluded both of military orders and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition; and did likewise choose our governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us."

2 April 1621, the will of William Mullins to "my two overseers Mr. John Carver and Mr. Williamson, 20s apiece to see this my will performed desiring them that he would have an eye over my wife and children to be as fathers and friends to them, also to have a special eye to my man Robert which hath not so approved himself as I would he should have done."
Mayflower Quarterly 34:10.

April 1621: "They now began to dispatch the ship away which brought them over, which lay till about this time, or the beginning of April. The reason on their part why she stayed for so long, was the necessity and danger that lay upon them; for it was well towards the end of December before she could land anything here, or they able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, the 14th of January, the house which they had made for a general rendezvous by casualty fell afire, and some were fain to retire aboard for shelter; then the sickness began to fall sore amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Again, the Governor and chief of them, seeing so many die and fall down sick daily, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered and the danger they stood in from the Indians, til they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge upon themselves and friends than hazard all."

John and Catherine Carver: Their deaths

"In this month of April [1621], whilst they were busy about their seed, their Governor (Mr. John Carver) came out of the field very sick, it being a hot day. He complained greatly of his head and lay down, and within a few hours his senses failed, so as he never spake more till he died, which was within a few days after. Whose death was much lamented and caused great heaviness amongst them, as there was cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with some volleys of shot by all that bore arms. And his wife, being a weak woman, died within five or six weeks after him."
Before I pass on I may not omit to take Notice of the sad losse the Church and this Infant Comonwealth sustained by the death of Mr. John Carver who was one of the deacons of the Church in Leyden but now had bine and was their first Gov’r: this worthy Gentleman was one of singular Piety and Rare for humilitie which appeared (as otherwise) so by his Great Condesendence when as this miserable people were in Great sickness he shuned not to doe very meane services for them yee the meanest of them; hee bore a share likewise of their labour in his owne person; according as their Great Nessesitie Required; whoe being one alsoe of a Considerable estate spent the Maine part of it, in this enterprise and from first to last approved himself, not onely as their agent in the first Transacting of things but alsoe all alonge to the Period of his life; to be a pious faithfull and very beneficall Instrument; hee deceased in the Month of Aprill in the yeer 1621, and now is Reaping the fruit of his labour with the Lord."


A letter arrived for John Carver on the Fortune, which arrived in Plymouth in November of 1621:
"In this ship Mr. Weston sent a large letter to Mr. Carver, the late Governor, now deceased; full of complaints and expostulations about former passages at Hampton, and the keeping the ship [Mayflower] so long in the country, and returning her without lading, etc...
[William Bradford replied to Mr. Weston]
"Your large letter, written to Mr. Carver and dated the 6th of July 1621, I have received the 10th of November, wherein after the apology made for yourself you lay many heavy imputations upon him and us all. Touching him, he is departed this life and now is at rest in the Lord from all those troubles and encumbrances with which we are yet to strive. He needs not my apology; for his care and pains was so great for the common good, both ours and yours, as that therewith (it is thought) he oppressed himself and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complain. "At great charges in this adventure I confess you have been, and many losses may sustain; but the loss of his and many other honest and industrious men’s lives cannot be valued at any price. Of the one there may be hope of recovery; but the other no recompense can make good."

"And seeing it hath pleased Him to give me to see thirty years completed since these beginnings, and that the great works of His providence are to be observed, I have thought it not unworthy my pains to take a view of the decreasings and increasings of these persons and such changes as hath passed over them and theirs in this thirty years ... "Mr. Carver and his wife died the first year, he in the spring, she in the summer."

John Carver was remembered by the Colony and, when the names of the founders were invoked in legal documents, his name appears at the head of the roster. For example, in 1658
"A Declaration demonstrating the warrantable grounds and proceedings of the first Associates of the Govrment of New Plymouth in their laying the first foundation of the Govrment in this Jurisdiction for the making of Lawes and disposing of lands and of all such things as shall or may
Conduce to the welbeing of this Corporation of New Plymouth:
"Wheras John Carver William Bradford Edward Winslow William Brewster Isaake Allerton and
divers others of the Subjects of our late Sov: Lord Kinge James by the grace of God King of
england Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faith &c did in the eighteenth yeare of his
Reigne of england ffrance and Ireland, and of Scotland the fifty fourth which was in the yeare of our
Lord God one thousand six hundred and twenty did undertake a voyage into that pte of America
called Verginia or new England theunto adjoyning there to erect a plantation and collonie of English
Intending the glory of God the Inlargment of his Ma'ties dominnions and the speciall good of the
English Nation..."
Records of Plymouth Colony, Vol. 11, p. 74.