It was 300 years ago in 1704 that a raiding party of French, Canadians, and Indians struck Deerfield, Massachusetts, and carried away 112 captives including Elizabeth Corse. She was only eight years old. On the march to Canada her mother, Elizabeth (Catlin) Corse, would be murdered. Her father, James Corse, had died several years before. She arrived at Laprairie as an orphan. She was to build a life for herself in New France.

Thanks to the wonderful records that exist in Québec, we know many details of her life in New France. However, there still remain several mysteries surrounding the men in her life. This paper will attempt to answer three questions touching on Elizabeth Corse: (1) What is the origins of her father, James Corse? (2) Was her first husband, Jean-Baptiste Dumontet dit Lagrandeur, really English? And (3) was François Monet dit Laverdeur, the father of her second husband, Pierre Monet, really a member of the famous Deerfield raiding party?

**What is the Origin of James Corse?**

Many theories have been proposed for the origins of James Corse, that he is English, that he was a Huguenot, that he is Dutch, even that he was Corsican pirate. Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence to support any of these claims.

What we know about James Corse with certainty is very meager given the lack of detailed records in New England. No original document mentions his origins.

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1 I would like to thank Paul for translating this article. Thomas Glassel and Joseph Godreau, both descendants of Elizabeth Corse, were kind enough to read over earlier versions of this paper and give me their feedback.


Nevertheless, four pieces of circumstantial evidence exist that point to Scotland as his place of origins.

Scottish Spelling of the Corse Surname

In original documents found in New England the surname James, his children, and many of his descendants most often used was spelled Cors or Corss. This is the Scots way of spelling Corse. It derives from the Scots word for cross. The surname can be found spelled in the following documents (italics added to indicate surname spelling variations; fs is used to represent a long “s”, which resembles a modern day script “f”, followed by a regular “s”):

- James Corfs was named to be a fence viewer on 2 March 1695/6.
- Bond between Eliz. Cofs and Jno. Catlin, administrators for James Cofs late of Deerfield to John Pynchon acknowledging an obligation of 200£, dated 1 July 1696, Northampton. Signed by Elizabeth Cors.
- Inventory of the estate of James Cofs, mentioning Elizabeth Cofs, signed 13 June 1696.
- Inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Corses, done early 1705/1706.
- Settlement of Elizabeth Cofs estate, by Ebenz. Cofs and James Cofs, but signed as Cors by both brothers, dated 3 March 1715/16.
- Power of attorney, in which Ebenezer Cors, cooper, of Northampton, appoints his “well beloved Brother” James Cors of Wallingford, New Haven County, Connecticut, to be his attorney, signed 23 March 1717, registered on 15 April 1720.

8 “John Catlin, deeds, legal documents, article, program [1685-1911],” box 1, folder 1, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, at the Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, MA.
9 “Corse (also Coss, Cors, Corss) [1696-1896],” file at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, at the Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, MA.
11 “Corse (also Coss, Cors, Corss) [1696-1896],” file.
12 Massachusetts, Franklin County, Land records, Family History Library, microfilm no. 844472, Book C: 574.
Sale of some Deerfield land, inherited from their grandfather “honoured” John Catlin, by James Cors or Corfs, Ebenezer Cors, and their sister Elizabeth to their uncle John Catlin. The land was originally sold on 14 March 1718, but this document was signed 14 April 1720 and registered on 15 April 1720. I could find no power of attorney from Elizabeth Corse, who was living in New France, delegating her brother James Corse to act in her interests, but it appears to be assumed in these documents.\(^{13}\)

Clearly, these early documents show that the surname Corse was most often appeared as Cors when a member of the family writes the surname but as Cofs when a New England clerk records the surname. The “r” must have been silent to the ear of the English clerk.

Even in New France, Elizabeth Corse had her surname spelled in ways that parallel the Scottish variations if one substitute an “o” for an “a”. Using the Programme de recherche en démographie historique (PRDH) database, I have identified 38 occurrences of her surname.\(^{14}\) In 20 cases her surname is spelled as Casse and in 15 it appears as Cas. The remaining spellings, appearing once for each variation, include Coss, Caille, and Detailly. According to Baker:

> She [Elizabeth Corse] is allowed to keep her own name intact, though Father Meriel writes it Elizabeth Casse. The Canadian French sometimes pronounce the vowel a ah and sometimes aw. The latter doubtless represents the child’s pronunciation of her family name, the r being entirely suppressed.\(^{15}\)

The loss of the “r” and the pronunciation of the “a” would make Casse very similar to Coss, a known variation of the surname Corse found in New England.

Lastly, in a letter dated 15 October 1895, Charles Corss wrote to George Sheldon that Corss was “The Deerfield spelling of name of 1st James.”\(^{16}\) It was the spelling preferred by most of James’s descendants for several generations in the Deerfield area.

In sum, the Deerfield Corses used Cors or Corss more often than Corse and this reflects their Scottish heritage.

**Statistical Survey of the Corse Surname**

A statistical survey of the distribution of the surname Corse in England and Scotland is possible by analyzing the International Genealogical Index (IGI) computer database of

\(^{13}\) Massachusetts, Franklin County, Land records, Book C: 574.


\(^{16}\) Letter from Charles Corss, Lock Haven, PA, to George Sheldon, Deerfield, MA, 15 October 1895, “Corse (also Coss, Cors, Corss) [1696-1896],” file.
the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS).\footnote{LDS, \textit{International Genealogical Index} [CD-ROM], version 4.01, main file March 1993, addendum February 1997, British Isles, Salt Lake City, Genealogical Department. This data is now also available online at \url{http://familysearch.org}.} In this analysis only data from 1600 to 1699 was examined. Although not perfect, the data in the IGI does establish the predominance of the name Corse in Scotland.

Analyzing the IGI data we learn that the surname Corse, Cors, Corss, or Coss appears only 31 times in England, but there are 603 instances of the surname in Scotland. Looking closer at the surname in Scotland we learn that 77.4 percent (467) of the time the surname appears in Lanarkshire. Midlothian and Renfrewshire came in a distant second (9.1 percent [55]) and third (4.6 percent [28]) respectively.

If we examine the spelling variations of the surname, then we learn that in the IGI it is most often recorded as Corse in both England (77.4 percent) and in Scotland (75.1 percent). The variations of Cors and Coss are both found in England, while Cors, Corss, and Coss are all found in Scotland. It is interesting to note that Cors is the second most frequent spelling in Scotland (16.9 percent) while Coss comes in second in England (16.1 percent). This reflects the way the Deerfield Corses signed their surname as Cors but their English neighbors recorded it as Cofs.

This evidence indicates that Corse is more likely a Scottish surname than an English surname and that most of the people with that surname live in Lanarkshire.\footnote{It is important to note that Corse is a lowland Scottish surname. One should not think of James Corse as a highlander with a tartan kilt.}

**Presence of Other Scots in the Region**

Although there were relatively few Scots living in New England during the seventeenth century, they were not completely absent for the colonies.\footnote{David Dobson, \textit{Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785} (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), p. 39.} It is interesting to note that even on the remote New England frontier Scots could be found and James Corse would not have been alone.

In the town of Northfield, just thirteen miles north of Deerfield, and in which James Corse first appeared in 1686, there were three other Scots living in this predominantly English settlement. John and Nathaniel Alexander lived at Northfield. Though born in New England, were the sons of George Alexander who was born in Scotland.\footnote{Sheldon, \textit{History of Deerfield}, vol. 2, pp. 6-7.} George Alexander would have been in an older generation than James Corse. Of more interest to this case is William Gurley (Gourlay), who was born in Scotland, moved to Northfield, and was in the same generation as James Corse.
Gurley was reportedly raised in the home of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, located south of Deerfield.\textsuperscript{21} This is interesting because 51 percent (25 out of 49) of the settlers of Northfield came from Northampton.\textsuperscript{22} Also, George Alexander and his family had once lived in Northampton.

One wonders if William Gurley and James Corse came to New England together? Perhaps they were either young indentured servants or exiled covenanters.\textsuperscript{23} They would have arrived in Northampton before moving to Northfield. Gurley had the misfortune of drowning in 1687 at Northampton. After the settlement at Northfield collapsed, James Corse moved to nearby Deerfield where he had the good fortune to marry around 1690, Elizabeth Catlin, the daughter of the socially prominent Mr. John Catlin and Mary Baldwin.

Although intriguing speculation, no data has yet surfaced to prove that James Corse and William Gurley were associated with one another. However, the fact remains that in a remote area, with few Scots, there is a small cluster of them appearing in Northfield were James Corse is first recorded.

\section*{Family Tradition of Scottish Origins}

Lastly, according to family tradition preserved among some of James's descendants, he was supposedly from Scotland. In a letter dated 19 October 1895, Charles Corss, an early enthusiastic researcher on the Corse family, wrote to George Sheldon: “Jane Corss of Hartford Ct. writes me that John Corss, son of Asher, told her father John, that three brothers (?) came from Scotland.”\textsuperscript{24}

We have reason to treat this statement with caution because it invokes the three brothers tradition. Clearly, Corss's own question mark in the quote red flags the phrase “three brother.” Even Sheldon states in a letter to him, dated 7 June 1897, that “No harm can come of an examination of the testimony about any ‘three brothers’ story. They are commonly many.” [Sheldon's emphasis].\textsuperscript{25} Rubincam, the noted American genealogist, has observed: “Another favorite tradition is that of the ‘Three Brothers.’ It is amazing how many families were founded by three brothers! They had no parents, no homes

\begin{footnotes}
\item A covenanter was a persecuted Scottish religious dissident. Many of them were exiled to British colonies in North America. For more information about them point your browser to the Catholic Encyclopedia online at \url{http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04457b.htm}, 25 January 2004.
\item Letter from Charles Corss, Lock Haven, PA, to George Sheldon, Deerfield, MA, 19 October 1895, “Corse (also Coss, Cors, Corss) [1696-1896],” file.
\item Letter from George Sheldon to Charles Corss, 7 June 1897 [year difficult to read], “Corse (also Coss, Cors, Corss) [1696-1896],” file.
\end{footnotes}
abroad; presumably they floated down from heaven and landed in one of the colonies.”

The three brothers story seems to be a default explanation that evolves in many families when the real facts are unknown or long forgotten.

Although the three brothers tale reminds us that this is just an oral tradition, there is still some value to the claim that James was from Scotland. We know the chain of evidence in this instance. John Corse was the great-grandson of James. He told his son John about their ancestor and the tale was then passed down to Jane, the great-great-great-granddaughter of James.

Apparently, Charles Corss accepted this explanation by 1897 as evidenced by a short article about the Corss family appeared in the Danville, Pennsylvania, Journal. The article states that “The Corss family probably originated in Scotland...” Thompson wrote in a belated obituary for Charles Corss that “James Corse, or Corss, as the family now spell the name, became a settler at Deerfield about 1690. He is supposed to have come from Scotland.” This probably reflects Charles Corss’s final position on the issue.

**Summary**

Although solid evidence is lacking, the limited facts and statistical data appear to suggest that James Corse, the father of the captive Elizabeth Corse, was of Scottish ancestry.

The Scottish origins of James Corse must remain a theory until further evidence is brought forward and analyzed. However, it is the most viable theory with the most promise.

It is interesting to note that there are at least twelve records mentioning men named James Corse born in Scotland between 1655 and 1670 in the IGI database, all but two of them from Lanarkshire. One of them might very well be the immigrant James Corse. However, there is not enough identifying information to limit the field to just one of these men. Other records must be uncovered in Scotland that will allow us to firmly establish if any of these men are identical with the immigrant to New England.

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27 The relationships between these people can be found in Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. 2, pp. 133-136, 400. Jane Corss is not named, but she is the daughter of John Corse (Corss), who was married to Adeline P. Gay on p. 135.
What is the Origin of Jean-Baptiste Dumontel dit Lagrandeur?

Jean (or Jean-Baptiste) Dumontet dit Lagrandeur, Elizabeth Corse’s first husband, has been identified as being English. However, the evidence to support his English origins is very weak.

Jean’s origins are not recorded on his marriage record to Elizabeth Corse, 6 November 1712, Laprairie, Laprairie County, Québec. He is only identified him as the son of Jean Dumontet and Georgette Forand. To compound the failure of the religious marriage record to document his place of origins, it appears that the couple did not have a marriage contract.

According to the PRDH database the only record that identifies Jean as being English is the baptism of his daughter, Marie Elisabeth Dumantet [sic], on 14 November 1717 at Laprairie. On the PRDH record he is said to be “Anglais” and his wife, Marie Elisabeth Casse is “Anglaise.” However, examining the original parish register it is clear that the phrase “anglais de nation” refers only to Elizabeth and not Jean.

It has also been suggested that Jean was a Huguenot who fled France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. However, the PRDH database reveals no record of his abjuration or any other record that would suggest he was anything other than a Catholic.

If we abandon the idea that Jean was English and search through the PRDH database for other clues, then we find that a Jean Demonté dit Lagrandeur was hospitalized at the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec on 10 October 1690 for twelve days. Many people would become ill on the Atlantic crossing and would have to spend time recuperating in the hospital. So it is likely that this person came to New France just before his hospitalization. He was 23 years old and from the parish of Blon in Limoges, Limousin province, Haute-Vienne Department, France. I believe that this person is Jean Dumontet.

According to Jean's death record he would have been born around 1659 as he was 70 years old at his death on 20 May 1729 at Laprairie. Our hospital patient would have been born around 1667. This is a difference of eight years, but people were notorious during this period for incorrectly recording their ages and the age at death was often

31 PRDH, certificate no. 18927.
32 PRDH, certificate no. 18391. Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy of Laprairie parish register, 14 November 1717, no. B. 29.
34 PRDH, certificate no. 413012. Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy of Hôtel-Dieu de Québec register, 10 October 1690, f. 66.
36 PRDH, certificate no. 19404.
rounded up or down to the nearest round number. Demographers call this phenomena “age heaping.”\textsuperscript{37} In New France, according to the PRDH demographers: “In the seventeenth century young people tended to make themselves younger whereas their elders would age themselves; moreover, the ages extracted from burial records exaggerate the age of the deceased seven out of ten times.”\textsuperscript{38} It is conceivable that Jean was really closer to 60 than 70 at his death. His age might have been exaggerated at the time of his death by a third party who supplied an estimation of his age. He would still have been considerably older than Elizabeth who was only 16 when they wed on 6 November 1712 at Laprairie.\textsuperscript{39} Jean would have been between 45 and 53.

The PRDH database contains no other mention of a Jean Demonte dit Lagrandeur. In fact, the PRDH demographers assume the surname is really Montay dit Lagrandeur, but even under this surname there is no other men mentioned that would fit the facts.\textsuperscript{40}

As for the surname Dumontet with the alias Lagrandeur, the PRDH records shows it spelled several ways for Jean and his children including: Dumontet dit Lagrandeur, Dumantet dit Lagrandeur, Dumontest, Dumontet, Delagranduer and Lagrandeur. The surname Demonte appearing alone would make me very suspicious of any identity with a Dumontet, but given that it is associated with the Lagrandeur aliases, I am confident that it is the same person. Remember that spelling was not an exact science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The mystery here is why was he single from 1690 to 1712? Was he a soldier? Was he without sufficient means? Was he trading furs in the West? Was it just difficult to find an available woman or girl to marry? Was Elizabeth Corse reluctant to marry such an older man?

\textbf{Was François Monet dit Laverdeur on the 1704 Deerfield Raid?}

It has been suggested that François Monet dit Laverdeur, the future father-in-law of Elizabeth Corse, was one of the soldiers who participated in the Deerfield raid.\textsuperscript{41} However, there is no evidence that he was involved in the Deerfield raid. Furthermore, chronological evidence makes this extremely unlikely.

\textsuperscript{38} Hubert Charbonneau et al., \textit{The First French Canadians: Pioneers in the St. Lawrence Valley} (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1993), p. 53.
\textsuperscript{39} PRDH, certificate no. 18927
\textsuperscript{40} PRDH online search for Jean Demonte.
\textsuperscript{41} Robert Monette, \textit{Les ancêtres Monet: de la France à l’Amérique} (Montréal: Association des descendants des Monet-te d’Amérique, 1995), p. 93. Recently, this story was repeated in Haefeli and Sweeney, \textit{Captors and Captives}, p. 243. However, on p. 282, he is not listed as one of the French soldiers known or suspected to be on the raid.
François was a soldier in the Compagnie franches de la Marine; in the company of Captain Pierre Payen, sieur de Noyan. By 1704, François was probably no longer a soldier. The last record in which he appears as a soldier is at the baptism of his daughter Marie Judith Monet on 19 September 1700 at Laprairie. He would have been about 43 years old in 1704 and probably left the Marines well before that year.

Although François was most likely no longer a Marine, he could still have accompanied the Deerfield raiders as a volunteer militiaman. But his age makes this very unlikely. Of the ten men known or suspected to have been involved in the raid, the average age is 26.9 years. The leader of the raid, Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste Hertel, sieur de Rouville, was one of the oldest at 36 years. These raids were very strenuous on the men and were an enterprise for the young.

It seems much more reasonable to assume that François was at home in Laprairie waiting for the birth of his next child. His son Pierre Monet, who ironically would grow up to become the second husband of Elizabeth Corse, was baptized on 19 March 1704 at Laprairie. The PRDH assumes that he was present at the baptism because the priest failed to mention that he was absent. Unfortunately, the original record does not hold his signature or mark. Nevertheless, it seems to be far more likely that François was with his wife and children, than marching back through the snows with the raiders and captives, many of whom did not reach the St. Lawrence River until late March and early April. It would have been chronologically impossible for him to be at the baptism of his son and on the raid.

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42 Jetté, *Dictionnarie généalogique des familles du Québec*, p. 822. He was perhaps the drummer named Laverdure who appears in the parish register of Laprairie 5 March 1695 with other men in De Noyan’s company, see PRDH certificate no. 19123. Furthermore, François Monet might be the Laverdure recorded as being 34 years old and from Perigord on 8 June 1697 at the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, see PRDH certificate no. 414135. The age is close, but more research is required to verify this possible identification and place of origin.

43 PRDH, certificate no. 17991.

44 His age is calculated by working backwards from his death on 4 October 1746 when his age is reported as being 85 years, see PRDH, certificate no. 124542.

45 Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captors and Captives*, p. 282.


47 PRDH, certificate no. 18063.


49 Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal, photocopy of Laprairie parish register, 19 March 1704, no. B 3.

50 The Deerfield raid occurred on 11 March 1704 according to the Gregorian calendar used in New France (and on 29 February 1703/4 according to the Julian calendar used in New England). The raiding party split up at the White River on 18 March 1704. Rev. John Williams did not reach Fort Chambly until 15 April 1704, while other captives had passed through Fort Chambly about three weeks early, meaning they would have arrived at Montréal or Québec near the end of March or the beginning of April. Samuel Carter, “The Route of the French and Indian Army that Sacked Deerfield Feb. 29th 1703-04 [O. S.], on there Return March to Canada with the Captives,” *Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association History and Proceedings*, 2 (1880-1889: 126-151.
The presence of François Monet dit Laverdure on the Deerfield raid is a charming twist to the story, but it is most likely just a family tale without substance.

**Conclusion**

There is so much more we would like to know about Elizabeth Corse and the men in her life, especially her father. However, New England, though lacking as many well-preserved records as New France, is similar to Québec in that it is a well-researched area. There are few documents left to be discovered. Nevertheless, by using alternative sources of information, such as naming patterns and statistical data, it is possible to arrive at new theories that can guide research and hopefully lead to new solutions to problems that have remained mysteries for too long. Perhaps the use of records in Scotland might eventually lead to more information about the origins of James Corse and add to the heritage of his descendants in Québec, Canada, and the United States.