Brownes, Montagues and Recusancy – 1538-1629

Background to the Brownes and Battle

Battle Abbey came to an end of its 458 year history during the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1538[1]. The abbey church and its bell tower, the sacristy, chapter house and cloisters were then destroyed on the order of the commissioners by a man called Gilmer, who was paid from the sale of their stone, wood and metals. In letters patent of 15th or 18th August 1538 Henry VIII granted Battle Abbey and most of its possessions to Sir Anthony Browne for the annual service of two knight's fees and £12 per annum[2]. In 1539 Browne paid £850 for several of the abbey's other manors. Sir Anthony moved into Battle Abbey fairly quickly and started converting it into a manor house in 1539. Browne was also granted lands of the Monastery of Syon at Brede in 1541. His father in law, Sir John Gage, one of the dissolution commissioners, received the Sword of the Abbey, which he kept at Firle Place. The sword is now in the National Museum of Scotland. In 1542 Sir Anthony would also inherit the extensive Cowdray estates in west Sussex on the death of his half-brother, the Earl of Southampton.

This paper is about the Brownes who became the Montagues, their recusancy and relationship with Catholicsm and their monarch after the Reformation.

Sir Anthony Browne (1500-1548)

Sir Anthony Browne

by unknown artist
Oil on panel, late 16th century
NPG 5186

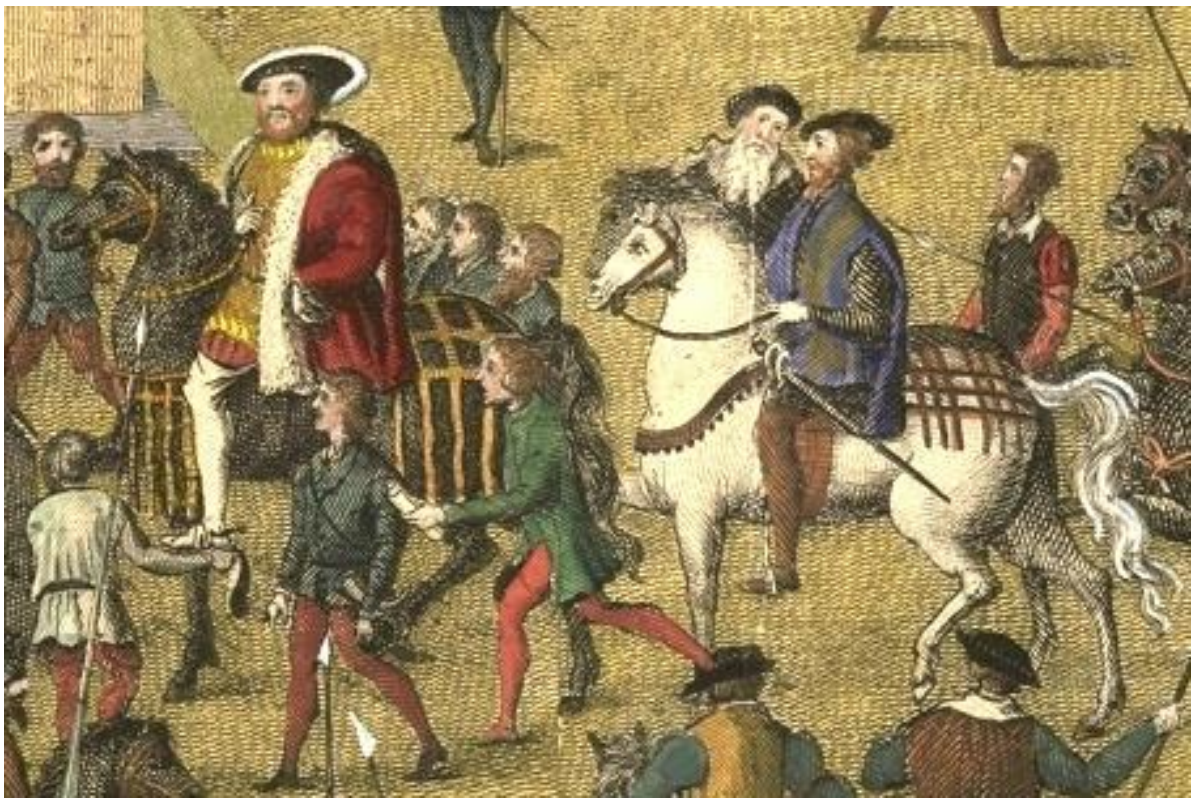
The only son of Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer of England and constable of Calais, and his wife Lady Lucy Nevill, daughter and co-heiress of John Nevill, Marquis Montague, and niece of Richard, Earl of Warwick, was knighted in 1523 after the successful battle of

1. The details of the surrender of the abbey received by Sir John Gage and Richard Layton on 27th May 1538 are well described in Foord's '*Battle Abbey and Battle Churches*' (2011).

2. The monetary value sufficient to fund a Knight for 40 days service a years may have been of the order £36.50 in 1538. £1 may equate by one calculation related to a spending index to just over £600 in 2018, so Browne may have had to pay the king over £50,000 per annum at 2018 rates.

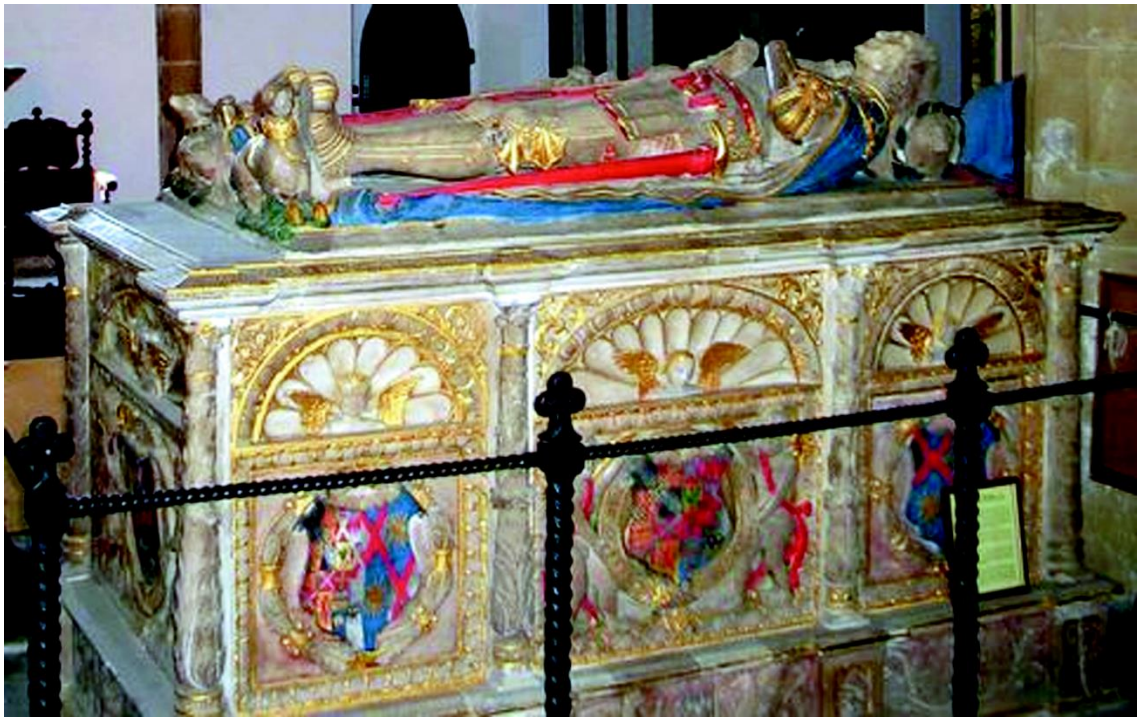
Morlaix, which in the middle Ages was amongst the biggest ports in Brittany. In 1524 he was made esquire of the body to King Henry VIII (attendant upon the king, to dress and undress him, and to watch day and night). He then remained a confidant of Henry until the king's death.

Sir Anthony was not in the very front rank of Henry's associates but nonetheless he had numerous duties of significant responsibility, for example as proxy for Henry in the marriage to Anne of Cleeves (the portrait of him doing this was lost in the 1793 Cowdray fire. In 1540 he was created a Knight of the Garter; he helped Henry in landing at Calais in 1544, and was one of the executors of Henry's will, guardian to Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth, Master of the Horse, and so on. His political history is outlined in detail on the history of parliament website. The success of Browne's career suggests that personally he was politically agile enough to take the Oath of Supremacy. But Questier points out that Browne, apart from being a Francophobe (probably related to a poor experience on his first visit to France on a diplomatic matter) was against the Katherine of Aragon divorce. Later interviewed when Jane Seymour was queen, he was careful to say that he had had no communications with the Lady Mary and professed his view that the marriage to Jane Seymour was "undoubted".



Extract from: '*The Encampment of the English Forces Near Portsmouth, Together With a View of the English and French Fleets at the Commencement of the Action Between Them on the 19th of July 1545' Unknown Artist c.1545: From the Cowdray Engravings commissioned by the Master of the King's Horse Sir Anthony Browne, who is on the white horse behind King Henry VIII (from http://www.dominicfontana.co.uk/)*

He may have somehow remained a closet Catholic. If so politics and self-preservation were more important to him than his beliefs. At his death his body joined the remains of his first wife Alys (Alice) in a vault in St Mary's Church - their fine politically correct monument can be seen there today. He had left £20 in his will for this tomb to be finished. It is of painted alabaster and is believed to have been made by Italian craftsmen in London and brought to Battle on a cart.



The tomb of Sir Anthony Browne and his first wife Alys in St Mary's Church, Battle © Keith Foord

Questier thinks that he was on the fringes of the Prebendaries' plot against Archbishop Cranmer and tried to get Bishop Stephen Gardiner on to the Council of Regency. He remained a religious conservative in the reign of Edward VI although Richard Smith's[3] account is that it was Sir Anthony's son who persuaded him to oppose the religious reforms of that period rather than just absent himself from Parliament. Sir Anthony's will directs that masses be said for his soul.

Sir Anthony's family connections at Court are interesting. Some of those connections – to the Gages (via his first wife Alys or Alice), the Dacres, the Dormers and others were conservative in the religious sense, in that these were leading Catholic families, who influenced his successors in their inclination to and work for the Catholic cause.

Sir John Gage (1479-1556), of Firle Place, West Firle, Sussex had also opposed the divorce of Katherine of Aragon and played a central role in the conservative reaction to Thomas Cromwell. Browne's marriage to Gage's daughter Alys brought material benefit as well, since the same Sir John Gage was a Commissioner for the dissolution of Battle Abbey.

Later on, the marriage of Sir Anthony's son, the first Viscount, to Margaret Dacre (to become Viscountess Montague), in effect hardwired the Brownes into the families leading the Catholic community in Sussex.

3. Smith later became the 2nd appointee as Vicar General of England and Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon, a diocese in Asia Minor. He was the second to hold this post of bishop for English Catholics. He was controversial in their community – conflict with Jesuits and other reasons- but the post of bishop for Catholics was also anathema to the Government.

Subsequent Browne family

We have briefly examined the lives of three individuals in the subsequent Browne family in the context of recusancy in Sussex:

- The first Viscount Montague 1528-1592
- Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague 1538-1608, Dowager 1592-1608
- The second Viscount of Montague 1572-1629

The main sources for these three individuals are:

(a) '*An Elizabethan Recusant House – The Life of the Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague'*, edited by Dr A C Southern (1954). This book mainly comprises a contemporary hagiography of the Viscountess by Richard Smith, a close associate of the Browne/Montague family and eventually the Apostolic Vicar of England also known as the Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon for a few years. He later went to work for the future Cardinal Richelieu.

It is with the Lady Magdalen that the focus on Battle is most clear, as she comes to prominence after the death of her husband in 1592, living at, and using, Battle Abbey for barely concealed Catholic activity, to such an extent that it was called locally "Little Rome". Judging from Questier, the activities of the two Viscounts were mainly at Cowdray Park or at Montague House in London.

(b) '*Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England'* by Michael Questier 2006. In this book, Questier examines the roles of the first two Viscounts and their entourages, firstly in the protection of themselves and other Catholics against various forms of harassment related to recusancy; secondly covering the late 16th century, early 17th century debates about Catholic organisation and doctrine in England.

Questier seeks to show the importance of the two Viscounts individually in the development of Catholicism in England, but in that sense there is a conflict in the book, since the sheer numbers of their religious entourage suggests to us that the Viscounts were perhaps as much convenient points of patronage for Catholic clergy as anything else. Questier reinforces throughout his book the complexity of the Catholic position in this period: to conform or not; to have practising priests or not; to favour a Catholic episcopal structure or not; for or against the Jesuits, and so on.

The second Sir Anthony Browne and the first Viscount Montague from 1554 (1528- 1592)

Sir Anthony's son, also Anthony, was part of the embassy to Rome soon after the accession of Queen Mary I to restore the authority of the Pope in England. He was made Viscount Montagu in 1554 for these services at the time of the marriage of Mary with King Philip of Spain, when he was made Master of the Horse to King Philip.

This episode is described as follows in the Collected Charters etc. of Battle Abbey:

> *'Anthony, the son, was one of the forty Knights created at the Coronation of King Edward VI. For the more honourable reception of Philip of Spain, then about to be*

married to Mary I, was appointed, on April 8, 1554, Master of the Horse to that King; and on Sept.2 following, by letters patent, advanced to the dignity of Viscount Montagu, which title he chose, by reason that the Lady Lucy, his grandmother, was one of the daughters and co-heirs to John Nevil, Marquis Montagu.

He was then deputed, by order of Parliament, together with Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, to the Pope, to render the submission of these realms to an accordance and union with the Church of Rome, and to the obedience of that see.

He was afterwards of the Queen's Privy Council, and consulted in most affairs during her turbulent and mischievous reign.'

Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu

by Hans Eworth
Oil on panel, 1569
NPG 842

He promptly left the Privy Council on the death of Mary I and the accession of Queen Elizabeth I.

'The accession of Elizabeth diffused a gleam of brightness more consonant to the feelings of the nation and the Viscount, known as a staunch Romanist, was omitted in the selection of the members of the Privy Council." ……..

"In the second year of Elizabeth I's reign, in the grand debate in Parliament for the annulling of the Pope's supremacy and restoring it to the Crown of England only he and the Earl of Shrewsbury voted against that abolition.'

Southern says he was one of the most noted recusants of his day. The reality was a career of 'ducking and diving', often made the more difficult by the range of his relatives and friends. But this did not stop him still being a useful person to Elizabeth I as in the next year the following occurred.

'*Notwithstanding his devotion to the Romish faith, his prudence and wisdom evinced him a loyal and dutiful subject, and he was considered, in the ensuing year, as the most acceptable person to be sent as ambassador from England to Philip the Second of Spain, to satisfy him of the just causes the Queen had to send an armed force into Scotland, and to represent that*

the practices of the Guises[4] might be of as dangerous consequences to his provinces in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain, as they were to England.'

The Viscount was also one of the peers who presided in the trial of Mary Queen of Scots.

A religious conservative, he voted against the Bill for Common Prayer under Edward VI (for a short while he was in the Fleet Prison for this) and was involved under Mary in trying Protestant heretics. He was one of the deputation which went to see Pope Paul IV for Mary, to end the schism (see above). Under Elizabeth he attacked the legislation for the Oath of Supremacy in 1559 and 1562, the only temporal peer to do so.

In the fractious debate he was accused by the Earl of Bedford of taking sexual services from the Vatican. But Questier says he was careful to conform to the minimum necessary – a Catholic conformist, Questier calls him, and in a valedictory speech to his household in 1592, Montague iterated that he exerted no pressure on his servants and retainers to profess Catholic beliefs. He was a friend of the well-placed Dudley but at the same time was a friend of noted recusant Sir Alexander Culpeper whom he helped when possible associates of Edmund Campion were rounded up. However, it seems he decided not to help his cousin John Gage when he was put into the Fleet prison for a while for recusancy.

Montague was lucky to avoid being dragged down by his cousin Thomas Pounde, who was regarded as so dangerous he was kept in prison for 30 years. There is no evidence that Montague had anything to do with the 1583 plot by the well-known Sussex family the Throckmortons. However Questier unearthed a list of Montague's household in the 1580's in State papers so there was clearly monitoring going on. After Montague's death, there was a crackdown on his household, led by Richard Topcliffe.

Montague enjoyed a number of senior offices under Elizabeth, most significant being in 1587 when he was one of the Commissioners to try Mary Stuart: was that trust by Elizabeth or a test? Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cowdray in 1591 was, says Questier, also possibly ambiguous: on the one hand a signal of approval, on the other hand an opportunity to check out him and his entourage for any sign of disloyalty.

What is unclear in both the Southern and Questier accounts is whether the Viscount ever refused to take the oath. There is no account of fines or imprisonment as in the case of the second Viscount, so one is inclined to assume he did not. Nevertheless he was under observation – in 1569 for example Archbishop Parker's commissioners reported that Battle

4 The first Duke of Guise (1496-1550) had been made a duke by King Francis I of France. His daughter, Mary of Guise (1515-1560) married King James V of Scotland and was mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. The Guises were a powerful Catholic family and provoked religious wars against Protestants in France.

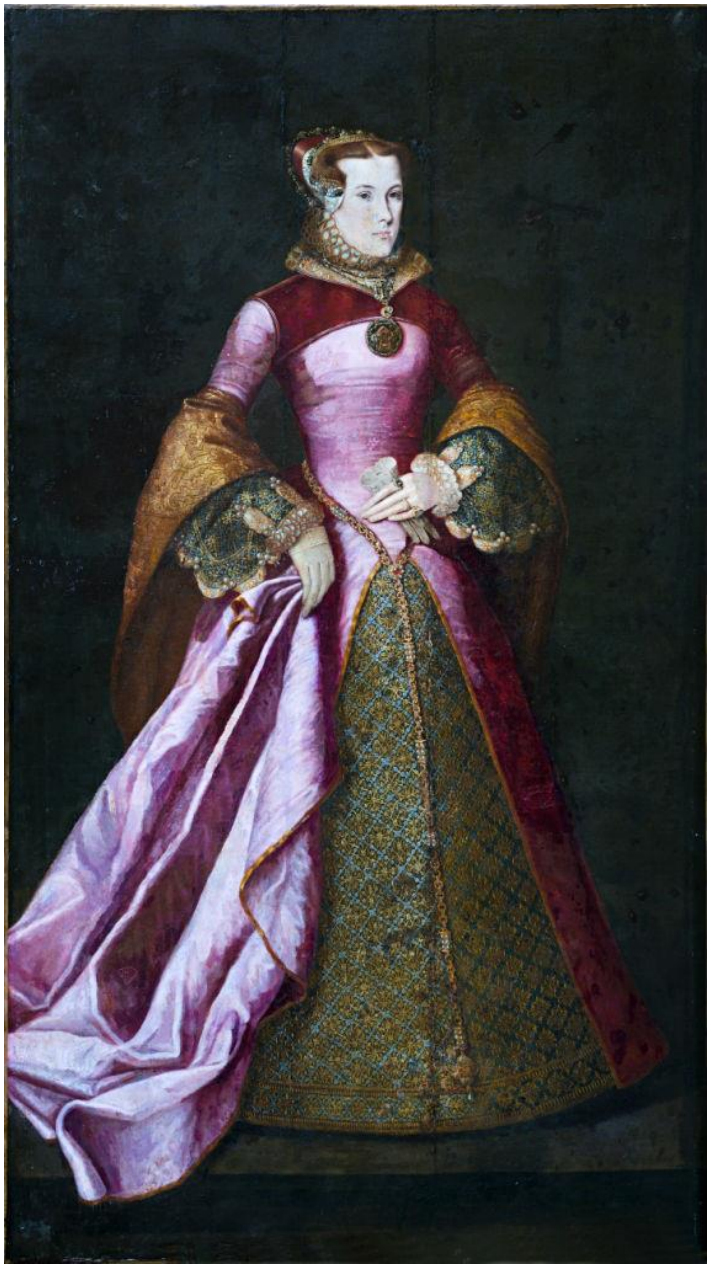
was one of the areas where "Marian" priests were kept. The Viscount had at least two: Alban Dugdale and Anthony Clerke, officially, to the outside world, retired. At another time there was Benjamin Norton, a well-known anti-Jesuit. They were his chaplains but it was also common for the heads of major families to keep priests as servants in roles such as steward, to make detection more difficult. The following year it was observed that, in respect of Battle, "the established order … was merely traditional." Questier interprets that long standing custom and practice inclined Sussex people away from new religious interpretation.

Nevertheless in the years up to the Armada, the Government (for some reason Questier keeps on calling them "the regime") did not take this long term view: it was nervous about the implications of Catholic/Marian activity near to the coast in Sussex. From Sunday 14th to Friday 21st Elizabeth I visited Montague and stayed at his west Sussex seat, Cowdray. He extravagantly lavished her with entertainments and hid his Catholic priests and servants. This visit was two-pronged, to observe events in the English Channel but also to get some insight into the way in which this Catholic supporter operated - loyal to the Queen but under surveillance for connections with missionary Catholic priests. Montague would undoubtedly have made some attempt to have discussed the general treatment of Catholics, but only two months later a proclamation further criminalised those who harboured Catholic priests. Was he left unprosecuted for political reasons? He was loyal to the Queen and Catholics were prosecuted for their potentially treasonous activities and it may have been useful to pretend that he could be both loyal and Catholic and to overlook the undercover activities. Elizabeth I had obviously appreciated his continuing services and paid him a visit some short time before his death, at West Horsley in Surrey on 19th October 1592.

The Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague née Magdalen Dacre (1539-1608)

As we have seen the Viscountess came from the Dacres and Talbots, prominent Catholic families. She was born in 1538 at Naworth Castle, Cumberland. In 1558 she married the son of Sir Anthony Browne, also named Anthony and who became 1st Viscount Montague. Magdalen Dacre was the fifth child of William Dacre, 3rd Baron Dacre of Gillsland and 2nd Baron Greystoke, and Elizabeth Talbot. The Dacres were fervent Roman Catholics and even though Protestantism was replacing Roman Catholicism in the country, Magdalen was raised a Roman Catholic. Her paternal grandparents were Thomas Dacre, 2nd Baron Dacre, of Gillsland, 1st Baron Greystoke, and Elizabeth Greystoke, and her maternal grandparents were George Talbot, 4th Earl of Shrewsbury, and Anne Hastings, daughter of William Hastings, 1st Baron Hastings[5] and Katherine Nevill. She was the second wife of Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, whose first wife had died in childbirth. A devout Catholic, she was a maid of honour at the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip II of Spain in Winchester Cathedral.

5. See 'The Rapes of Sussex, Hundreds of Hastings Rape and the people of the Rape of Hastings to 1538' p43. BDHS Collectanea Paper A2.5 (Foord, 2018) http://battlehistory.btck.co.uk/Collectanea-OurVirtualLibrary/ABlack



Magdalen, Viscountess Montague (1538-1608), Manner of Antonis Mor (1517-1577).

Oil on canvas, 228.6cm by 127.8cm. Pair to PIC356. In a carved giltwood and painted Sansovino frame.

After the death of her husband in 1592, she was mainly resident at Battle – out of the three houses available to her until her death in 1608.

Richard Smith, active in Catholic affairs in Britain and abroad, was her confessor and began his association with the Montagues from around 1603. This may explain why harassment from the authorities was serious only during James I's reign. During Elizabeth I's last decade she was only pursued once, when Robert Gray, a priest on her payroll, was being hunted.

Although she avoided treasonous plots (but she was possibly on the fringes of those who wanted to put Lady Catherine Grey [the younger sister of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey] on the throne if anything happened to Elizabeth), Magdalen was fairly open about her Catholic practices at Battle, so much so that Battle Abbey became known locally as "Little Rome",

with a chantry, masses and a number of communicants. Questier says that the novices' chamber of the abbey was used for celebration of mass at the direction of Lady Magdalen. This chapel was described as sumptuous, complete with an elevated altar and separately carved altar and choir.

The odious Catholic hunter Richard Topcliffe, Lady Magdalen's nemesis under James, claimed to have found a holy well in Battle Park where women went as if on pilgrimage. There was a printing press, but it is unclear whether this was at Battle Abbey or one of the other houses. Richard Smith says she had three priests (he was one of them, and another was Thomas More, great grandson of Sir Thomas More); she redeemed two others out of prison. It seems, according to Smith's account, that she attended conformist services for a while, but "did abhor it…when she knew it to be unlawful..." He doesn't say she stopped going!

Questier quotes sources to describe the adverse impact on conformist worship which Lady Magdalen was perceived to be having in the Battle and district. The Dean of Battle, Dr John Wythines (Dean 1572-1615), was thought to be backward in the number of religious ceremonies, particularly communions, being carried out in the Battle locality. It may be that he was barely in Battle and left a curate in charge as his wife and children lived with her family elsewhere, possibly at Eltham, Kent or Wantage, Berkshire where there are family records. In 1996 the Research Group of BDHS undertook an in depth work on the Deans of Battle between1588 and 1660 and Wythines was their first subject. He had studied at Brasenose College, Oxford University and gained an MA in 1561, becoming a Doctor of Divinity in 1570. He remained at the university in various positions until he took up the post at Battle. His brass in St Mary's church records his date of death as 18th March 1615 at the age of 84 and claims that he had been Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University but no such record was found. He appears to have remained somewhat sympathetic to Catholicism.

A report entitled '*An Account of the Dangerous Combinations of Recusants in and about Battle in Sussex 1596'* states (spelling of original text preserved):

> *'Informacons of certaine abuses in Sussex. Popery since the L.(ady) Montague's coming to dwel at Battle, religion in that countrey, and especially in that towne, is greatly decayed, as may appear by these few poyntes. D,(octor) Witheris, Deane of Battle is suspected to be very backward in religion. For this two yeares and more he neither ministreth the communion nor receaueth it; but commonly, if there be a communion, he getteth some other to doe it, and either getteth himself out of the towne or keepeth his house. His wife cometh scarse twis a year to church and receauth not the communion, he hath a sonne and a daughter at man's estate, which neuver receauth the communion..... The jurisdiction of the place is in the deane, wholly exempt from the byshop's visitation, and is altogether neglected by him; soe that they doe what they list. There are many in the towne*
> *that never receauth the communion, and come very seldome at churche. '*

The same document also reports that the Dean kept the company of Lady Magdalen Montague, a known recusant, and two gentlemen named Gray and Terry. Both had

served time in prison for their beliefs, committed by "Sir Fraunceys Walsingham". Gray was a Catholic priest and Terry a schoolmaster in Battle. It is likely that this schoolmaster taught at the Abbey, perhaps teaching Thomas Pilcher the martyr.[6] It is also likely that Gregory Martin had some education at the abbey.[7] The most precise account of the authorities' attempts to deal with Lady Magdalen herself is also right at the end of the 16th century, from Richard Smith. We need to bear in mind that as her priest he would be hoping Lady Magdalen's persecutors would come to a bad end but Questier seems to regard the accounts as accurate. Apprehension of individuals, inspections of properties and fines were among the approaches used against those suspected to be practising masses or who had not been going to conformist services sufficiently. On the other hand there were limits to central resources and how far the authorities could look into everything; Lady Magdalen had good connections; and it seems to have been possible to move individuals between her own properties and those of sympathetic families quite easily.

Sir Thomas May of Burwash tried to round up Lady Magdalen's servants to show they were priests in disguise but eventually he was imprisoned for debt. Nicholas Cobbe also wound up being arrested on other charges. The third persecutor, N Benet, cursed Lady Magdalen on a market day in Battle but three days later he "fell into a pit at the town's end towards London". Richard Smith records with satisfaction that he was assumed to have committed suicide so was "buried like a dog at the roadside". We can only speculate as to the extent to which Lady Magdalen may have played a part in these outcomes!

Questier refers to the role of Edward/Edmund Pelham in two places in his book but does not follow up the ambiguity of the fact that he appears to have acted as a protector of Lady Magdalen and other Catholics in Sussex but was himself a recusancy commissioner in 1602. Lady Magdalen had some credit at Court, even in the reign of King James I: in 1607 the Privy Council decreed, in respect of her non-attendance at services, that there should be no sentence against her, "on the grounds of her status, age and former fidelity to Queen Elizabeth".

Through the early years of the 17th century no fewer than three priests were resident in Battle; Thomas More, Thomas Smith and the above Richard Smith (between 1603-09). The last became the second Vicar Apostolic[3] of England in 1625. Also near Battle were other recusant families such as the Pelhams of Catsfield and the Ashburnhams.

But overall the Catholic population of Battle shrank in the 17th century mainly it is supposed because the Montagues preferred from the early century to live and worship at Cowdray House rather than Battle. Once Viscountess Montague died there would have been no active focus.

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6. See Thomas Pilcher, Battle born martyr. Paper F4.2 in BDHS Collectanea

7. See Gregory Martin, Scholar, Translator and Author. Paper M1.8 in BDHS Collectanea

Smith relates a miracle – presumably at Battle – during Lady Magdalen's time, when an altar stone fell on a woman but did not hurt her.

The extent of Lady Magdalen's protection of her entourage is shown by the events after her death, when in 1610 Sir Barnard Whetstone headed a vigorously pursued recusancy commission against her tenants and retainers.

The second Viscount Montague (1572 – 1629)

Anthony-Maria Browne, who succeeded his grandfather as Viscount in 1592, had a career much less circumspect than his predecessor. He was punished in early life for christening a son outside Protestant rites, spending a year under house arrest, and this treatment seems to have radicalised him.

In 1604 he spoke against the Recusancy Bill in Parliament in terms so insulting to the Crown that he was thrown into the Fleet prison for a while. The following year he was lucky to survive the fact that gunpowder plotter Robert Catesby was a friend of his. Some reports suggest that Guy Fawkes had been employed by him for a short time. His escape was probably due to the influence of his father in law, the Earl of Dorset.

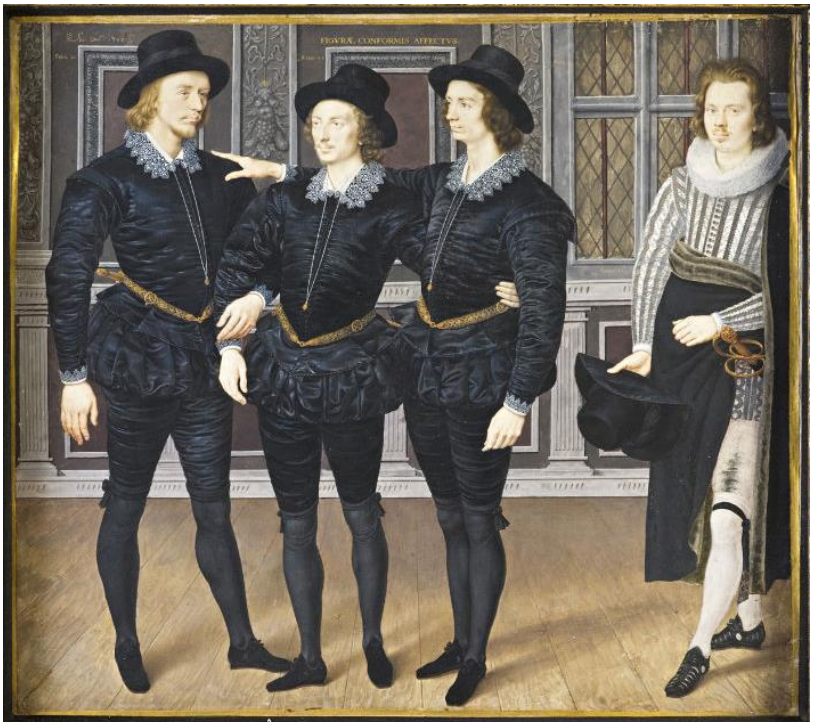
Undaunted, the second Viscount ran a scheme from Cowdray by which several of his servants went off for training at seminaries on the continent, and his entourage of religious persons – some servants, some cousins, some from elsewhere – ran into dozens as listed by Questier. Kinship and patronage networks were clearly vital to leading Catholic families of the time. All this activity probably reflected the second Viscount's wish to have a leadership role in the English Catholic community. He concentrated on getting the Vatican to agree that English Catholics should have their own bishop, and produced his own book on the subject "*An Apologeticall Answere*", in a 'confusion of thought and in an almost unreadable style', says Questier. This initiative, of which Richard Smith was ultimately the second beneficiary, was contentious especially in respect of the sacrament of confirmation of priests. Montague also wrote a non-religious book on how to manage a nobleman's household entitled *"A Booke of Orders and Rules".* This too was most extraordinary and bizarre even for the times.

The Jesuits objected to a bishop as an alternative source of power, and many priests thought that once there was a bishop he would do a doctrinal purge of priests, a prediction which turned out to be correct. Other Catholics did not want lay people having too much influence in the church. Meanwhile the Government certainly did not want the Catholics to have their own bishop as if Catholicism was an approved religion.

By 1608 the Government had had enough, the Viscount's protector Dorset died, and so two years of harassment of the Viscount began, just as was happening to the dowager Viscountess at Battle. In 1610 a negotiated settlement was reached, leaving the Viscount indebted but still, alone of all the temporal lords except for Lord Vaux, he refused the oath of allegiance, despite the waiver side – documents that were routinely offered.

Vaux was several times convicted of recusancy during the reign of Elizabeth I. He was committed to the Fleet Prison by the Privy Council and afterwards was tried in the Star

Chamber on 15 February 1581, along with his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Tresham, for harbouring the Jesuit Edmund Campion and for contempt of court. He was sentenced to imprisonment in the Fleet and a fine of £1,000. Later in the reign, Viscount Montague spent much time and effort trying, with others, to use the government's plans to persuade Elizabeth I firstly to marry Spanish then other European royalty as a lever to get better treatment for English Catholics, but by then the Viscount's influence at Court was much reduced.



The Three Brothers Browne, by Isaac Oliver, signed with monogram, inscribed and dated 1598.

"The Three Brothers Browne" representing Anthony Maria, later 2nd Viscount Montague (1574-1629), flanked by his younger brothers John and William, shown standing full length with interlocking arms, wearing black doublets, breeches, hose and hats, white lace collars, gold chains and belts, an unidentified gentleman, wearing a striped grey and white costume and lace ruff, carrying his hat in his right hand, entering into the grey painted panelled chamber to sinister.

'The Burghley Collection' © Burghley House Preservation Trust Limited

Even in Charles I's reign there was little respite for recusants, as after an initial relaxation, the perceived excesses of his Catholic queen Henrietta Maria prompted a reaction and the Viscount had to help Richard Smith when arraigned for treason in 1629. Smith resigned his post in 1631, fled to France and never returned.

The second Viscount's younger brother also had ambitions to help the Catholic church on a wider scale but in his case the outcome took different form. He funded the Jesuit College of Liege and then did there whatever menial jobs were given to him, ending his days nursing plaque victims, with terminal consequences.

Anthony-Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague died on 23rd October 1629.

Adrian Hall, Sarah Hall and Keith Foord **September 2016, updated June 2018**

The 'The Burghley Collection' is thanked for permission to use their portraits of Magdalen, Viscountess Montague and The Three Brown Brothers.

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