

providing continuity when the overthrow of Somerset in 1549 threatened to disrupt the implementation of this programme.

In appraising the character of the man – as distinct from his role – MacCulloch is more equivocal. The picture he paints of the archbishop's humanity and his lack of ruthlessness (unusual for those times) is attractive: in April 1534, for example, Cranmer sought to concoct a compromise that would save More and Fisher, and he never pursued his enemies with the malice and vindictiveness that they later displayed towards him. On the other hand, MacCulloch does not attempt to obscure the ease with which Cranmer could, on occasions, ignore or controvert the dictates of his conscience. He presided over the burning of John Frith for views that he himself would hold thirteen years later, and did nothing to prevent the burning of John Lambert. He facilitated the passage of the nullity judgement dissolving Anne Boleyn's marriage to Henry VIII, even while he believed her innocent, just as he later connived in the annulment of the king's marriage to Anne of Cleves. After the conservative religious reaction of 1539, he admitted that he had been compelled 'by fear' to sign the Six Articles, and when his enemies charged him with breaching the oath of loyalty to the pope to which he had subscribed on being made archbishop of Canterbury, he had no answer to the charge. Moreover, after the restoration of Mary I, Cranmer recanted no fewer than six times, before repudiating his recantations in one final act of inconsistency that stunned everyone at the time. MacCulloch never explicitly comes to a judgement on such breaches of conscience, even though he admits they are 'stains' on Cranmer's reputation. Concerning the primate's earlier actions he comes close to accepting Sir Thomas Elyot's cynical estimate – that Cranmer was like Harpocrates, one who 'speketh littell or nothyng / but formynge his visage in to a grauitie with silence / loketh as if he affirmed all thyng, that is spoken'. Concerning the motives for Cranmer's final apostasy, MacCulloch rejects both the simple Catholic explanation that it resulted from spite when Cranmer realised he would not be granted a pardon by the queen, and also the idea that Cranmer was a Machiavellian hero who brilliantly stage-managed the events leading to his execution to secure maximum theatrical effect. Rather, he sees the archbishop's actions as those of a deeply sincere, though wavering, man who was finally moved to defiance by a visit from his Protestant sister on the morning of his death.

Has the final word on Cranmer been written in his book? Reviewing previous accounts, MacCulloch concludes that 'those who told the hero-narrative have generally distorted fewer elements of the evidence than those who told the villain narrative', but what lies in between still remains (at least to this reader) a mystery. In the absence of new evidence, this fine book gives us as deep an insight into the heart of Cranmer's mystery as we are likely to get.

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ALISTAIR FOX

The library of Thomas Cranmer. By David G. Selwyn. (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 3rd Ser., 1.) Pp. xcv + 358. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1996. £37.50 + post from David Thomas, Oxford Bibliographical Society, Bodleian Library, Oxford OX1 3BG. 0 901420 52 2

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