

Pictorial Reconstruction of Ecclesiastical Design Anglo-Catholic Spatial Conception in John Everett Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents*

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This paper examines ways in which mid-nineteenth century medievalist artists perceived and depicted Christian ritual settings, or, more specifically, the liturgical order and use of space in ecclesiastical architecture. The focus is primarily on the implications of the chancel, the area for the Eucharist, the highest act in the Christian religion, which controls the entire nature of Christian rituals, in John Everett Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents* (1849-50). Gothic Revivalist Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's severe Christian medievalism was based on his firm conviction that "it is scarcely possible to preserve the interior faith in the doctrine of the holy eucharist if all exterior reverence and respect is to be abolished". Pugin, although considered very eccentric for his extreme medievalism, was, in fact, not alone in this ecclesiastical stand. A similar conviction on the inseparability of religious ritual from faith itself seems to have been held by many other mid-Victorian artists affiliated with Anglo-Catholic circles, amongst whom was Millais, whose *Christ in the House of His Parents* is believed to have been inspired by Puseyan typology. It is widely known that, in his *Christ in the House of His Parents*, Millais intended the interior of Christ's parental home, viz., a carpenter's workplace, to be an emblem of the chancel in a church, carefully depicting spatial details as symbolic of Biblical significance, reminding us of Pugin's claim that "in pure architecture the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose". Through close examination of this specific iconographical work, this paper intends to explore the high regard in which Millais held the Anglo-Catholic liturgical order and use of space in ecclesiastical architecture, and in so doing suggest the synthesis of art, architecture, and religion in mid-Victorian Britain.

Keywords: John Everett Millais, Anglo-Catholicism, Ecclesiastical Design, Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

I. John Everett Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents*

In 1850, at the eighty-second annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, John Everett Millais displayed his masterpiece of typological symbolism, known today as *Christ in the House of His Parents* or *The Carpenter's Shop* (Fig. 1). The only title the picture originally had at the exhibition, however, was a Biblical quotation from Zechariah XIII:

And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thine hands? Then shall he answer,

Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.^[1]

Millais's association of this passage with the Passion and Christ's childhood has been explained as an outgrowth of his personal experience in Oxford attending High-Church Anglican services. William Holman Hunt averred that Millais came up with the idea of *Christ in the House of His Parents* from a sermon based on Zechariah XIII, given in Oxford in 1849, the year Millais started working on this painting.^[2]

Who actually gave this sermon is unknown, but



Fig. 1 Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50. Oil on canvas. 86.4 by 139.7 cm. The Tate Gallery, London.

Edward Morris maintains that Millais was “probably influenced directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, by Pusey and his circle”,^[3] for Edward Bouverie Pusey, then Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and one of the central figures of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism, seems to have been “the only nineteenth-century theologian” who had reverted to the idea that Christ is foreseen in Zechariah XIII.^[4]

Despite Millais having been inspired by High-Church Anglicanism when he painted *Christ in the House of His Parents*, the source of his inspiration was not readily apparent to everyone. The setting of the painting, for instance, seems to have fascinated some Low Churchmen. The Nonconformist who purchased this painting, Thomas Plint, for one, seems to have been captivated by the painting’s setting in a “rude” and “secular” work place.^[5] Art historian Tim Barringer writes that “we can speculate that [Plint] saw the painting as enshrining the idea of Christ as a working man, implying an active social ministry, a very acceptable notion in Broad Church, Evangelical and Nonconformist circles”.^[6] It was the same setting which so displeased Charles Dickens, known for his outspoken dislike of Evangelicalism as well as Roman Catholicism.^[7] Although later a great admirer of Millais, Dickens

remarked on the conversation-piece like portrait of the Holy Family in 1851:

Mr. Millais’ principal picture is, to speak plainly, revolting. The attempt to associate the holy family with the meanest details of a carpenter’s shop, with no conceivable omission of misery, of dirt, of even disease, all finished with the same loathsome minuteness, is disgusting; and with a surprising power of imitation, this picture serves to show how far mere imitation may fall short, by dryness and conceit, of all dignity and truth.^[8]

While critical of its crude portraiture of the Holy Family, Dickens also saw *Christ in the House of His Parents* as “the sign and emblem” of “the great retrogressive principle”, by which he meant the regressive-nostalgic quality in the work of Victorian medievalists.^[9] Dickens regarded the Pre-Raphaelites as one of various “Brotherhoods” which demanded “Old Lamps in exchange for New ones”.^[10] Dickens mentions, for example, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin’s inclusion in one of those retrogressive Brotherhoods, viz., the Pre-Laurentius Brotherhood. It was shrewd of Dickens to bring up Pugin, a representative Gothic Revivalist of his time, in his attack on Millais’s painting, which Dickens regarded as an example of “the great retrogressive principle” in art, for it is not merely a depiction of a sacred story, but also an expression of the medievalist spirit which glorified the symbolic function of ecclesiastical settings.

II. Typological symbols and the implication of the chancel

That Millais employed Biblical symbolism in transforming the carpenter’s workshop to an Anglo-Catholic setting for the Passion and the Eucharist is well-known. In the painting the red-haired boy, the typological symbol of Christ,

reveals his wounded left hand (Fig. 2), so that the wound from the crucifixion is literally present, “alluding to the supremacy given to the Sacrament of the Communion”^[11] in High-Church Anglicanism. The ladder and the carpenter’s set square have been seen as symbols of both the crucifixion and the Trinity. The dove perched on the ladder symbolises the Holy Spirit. The carpenter’s table is symbolic of the altar. The young boy on the right represents John the Baptist in his clothing made of “camel’s hair”,^[12] holding the Holy Grail in his arms. The smallest details in this painting are significant, just as, for Pugin in Gothic architecture, “The smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose”.^[13]

Reading these carefully inserted ecclesiastical emblems in the carpenter’s place of work, the setting of the carpenter’s workshop has been widely appreciated as symbolic of the chancel in a church. It seems, however, that many of the



Fig. 2 Detail of the Christ. Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

references to this setting have been conventional, either mere quotations or repetitions of the art historian Alastair Grieve’s interpretation, published in 1969, that sees it as a view from the east end, viz., the deepest inner recess of the chancel, of a church to the west, viz., the nave, traditionally located in the western part of a church.^[14] Grieve draws attention to the image of the well in the background of the painting as a possible indicator of direction (Fig. 3).^[15]

The well in the background possibly symbolizes a font which the Ecclesiologists said should be placed at the West end of a church.^[16]

This interpretation is supported by other ecclesiastical symbols as well. Grieve writes:

The flock of sheep in front of the well are prevented from entering the garden and eating a cactus flower, recalling the demand of the Tractarians and Ecclesiologists that the laity should be separated from the clergy and that some religious knowledge should be withheld. The wall with its symbolic tools can then be read as a roodscreen and the room itself as the sanctuary with the table occupying the place of the altar. Christ and the Virgin are the only figures on the East side and, as at a High Church



Fig. 3 Detail of the well. Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

communion celebration, all the figures face East. Even the Tractarians' wish that women should have their heads covered during service is observed.^[17]

This observation is consistent with the fact that Millais was absorbed in Tractarian and Ecclesiologist ideas whilst working on this painting.^[18] Millais was a regular visitor to Oxford, "the most Catholic-looking city in England", according to Pugin,^[19] and "one of the proudest boasts of England" in the words of George Edmund Street, a Diocesan Architect for the Diocese of Oxford between 1852 and 1881.^[20]

III. Millais and Anglo-Catholicism

When in Oxford, Millais stayed with Thomas Combe, whom Millais met, according to his son John Guille Millais, in 1848. Combe was Superintendent of the Clarendon Press and a High-Church Anglican whose faith led Millais to refer to him as "The Early Christian". When staying with the Combes, Millais must have attended High-Church services with his hosts, and it was undoubtedly during one of these services that Millais first heard the Puseyan typological interpretation of Zechariah XIII, 6.

We know from Millais's own writing that, beginning in the autumn of 1850, he regularly attended the service at St. Andrew's Church, Wells Street, London (Fig. 4), with a supporter of the Brotherhood, Charles Allston Collins. The church, dismantled in 1931 and reconstructed with certain modifications in its current site at Kingsbury in 1934, is an ecclesiastical masterpiece of Victorian Gothic, originally designed by the architectural firm S. W. Daukes and Hamilton and erected in 1847, with the altar and font being designed by Pugin.^[21] Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's *The Buildings of England* describes this church as "one of the first

to deserve the description neo-Gothic".^[22]

St. Andrew's, which Millais called "Wells Street Church",^[23] was known for its high liturgical service, superior to even those held in Oxford and Cambridge, together the centre at that time of liturgical attempts to revive and promote High-Church ritual. If Millais had not been a firm Anglo-Catholic, he would not have chosen to attend this particular congregation. In a letter to Mrs. Combe, dated 2 December 1850, Millais refers to the services at St. Andrew's:

Every Sunday since I left Oxford Collins and I have spent together, attending Wells Street Church. I think you will admit (when in town) that the service there is better performed than any other you have ever attended.^[24]

As he himself mentions in this passage, it was only upon his return to London from his sojourn in Oxford in the autumn of 1850 that Millais began to



Fig. 4 St. Andrew's Church, Wells Street, London, by S. W. Daukes and Hamilton. 1847. *National Monuments Record, Swindon*.

attend St. Andrew's regularly. It means Millais had not been a regular worshipper yet, at least at St. Andrew's, while actually working on *Christ in the House of His Parents* earlier that year in his Gower Street studio in London. Nevertheless, the above letter to Mrs. Combe clearly shows his preference for High-Church ritual and suggests that he shared the Combes' esteem for High-Church Anglicanism and maintained this preference.

Although he possibly inspired Millais, Pusey deprecated the revival of rich medieval ceremonials, including "the restoration of richer style of vestments".^[25] Millais himself, however, was, at least in those days, undoubtedly attracted to the beauty of High-Church ceremonial and its setting, and even "a great display of pomp" in the Catholic Church, as Millais himself disclosed in the very same letter quoted above to Thomas Combe:

I think I shall ... go over to Cardinal Wiseman, as all the metropolitan High Church clergymen are sending in their resignations. To-morrow (Sunday) Collins and myself are going ... to hear the Cardinal's second discourse ... The Cardinal preaches in his mitre and full vestments, so there will be a great display of pomp as well as knowledge^[26]

VI. Anglo-Catholic spatial conception

Now taking Millais's high regard for not only Anglo-Catholicism, but also Catholicism in general into consideration, one has to ask oneself whether Millais actually intended the setting of *Christ in the House of His Parents*, symbolic of a chancel, to be taken as a view from the east end of a church to the west, as has been conventionally explained following Alastair Grieve's previously cited interpretation.^[27] As with classical examples of iconographical pieces, Millais must have taken

into account that this painting would be viewed by faithful Christians who expected to find Biblical truth depicted in the painting, which would have influenced the whole composition of the painting. It seems unlikely that Millais, for whom High-Church liturgy must have been of considerable importance, meant for the setting of the carpenter's workshop, symbolic of a chancel, to represent the view from the east end of a church, viz., the rear of a chancel, to the west, viz., the nave, for this would mean that Millais was permitting the viewers, the laypersons, into the area of the chancel, disrespecting the ancient division between the sacrifice and the lay public which defines and controls the entire nature of High-Church ritual.

1) The well and the ladder

The alterations that Millais made in the course of bringing his ideas to fruition seem to be the key to the question of how Millais actually intended to present the spatial orientation of the carpenter's workshop. One interesting alteration that Millais made was in his depiction of the well, which, as previously mentioned, Grieve said possibly symbolised the font in the west end of a church. It is worth noting that it is in one of Millais's study sketches, which seems to have been made in the course of kneading his ideas into shape, not in the painting itself, that one can most clearly see the well (Figs. 5 and 6). In the painting, the well is further off in the background and almost invisible (Figs. 1 and 3). The well is much fainter in the final picture; so when a woodblock print of the painting was published in May 1850 in *The Illustrated London News*, the well was gone (Fig. 7).^[28] This alteration suggests that Millais completely redesigned the setting of the picture in the course of constant repainting, so that ultimately Joseph's workshop represents an interior view of a chancel from the west — that is to say, from the nave to the chancel — rather than from the east



Fig. 5 Study for Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. c.1849. Pen and ink, pencil and wash. 17.6 by 33 cm. The Tate Gallery, London.



Fig. 6 Detail of the well. Study for Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. c.1849.



Fig. 7 Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1850. Wood engraving. *The Illustrated London News*, 11 May 1850.

end of a chancel to the west, as has usually been supposed.

It is useful to look closely at the ladder behind the carpenter's table (Fig. 8) and the well beyond the three flocks of sheep as a set of props; for these

props may suggest that Millais intended the setting of the carpenter's workshop to be perceived as a view from the nave in the west to the chancel in the east. The above-mentioned study sketch shows that he considered the image of the ladder to be highly significant, essential to the painting. Keeping in mind Millais's relation of Old Testament scriptures to the Passion of Christ, we may well surmise that the ladder placed against the wall stands for the ladder in Jacob's dream in Genesis.^[29] It is above Jacob's ladder that the Lord blesses "all the families of the earth"^[30] and says: "Behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of".^[31] Jacob's realization of the significance of his dream can surely be read as Millais's own vision of the scene of the carpenter's workshop:

Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not ... How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.^[32]

Genesis also contains an interesting account of Jacob seeing a well in the east:

Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east. And he looked, and behold a well in the field, and, lo, there were three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks ...^[33]

This description exactly corresponds to Millais's own depiction of the view of the field behind the Christ child's home: the house of God, a well dimly perceived beyond the prairies, and sheep in three flocks. Hence, it is only natural to suppose that the doorway behind the scene commands the view to the east, and the spatial orientation of

Joseph's workshop represents a view of a chancel, looking from west to east.

2) John the Baptist and a dove

The insertion of the youthful figure of John the Baptist (Fig. 9), who was nine months Christ's senior,^[34] also reinforces the idea that the interior of the carpenter's workshop represents a front view of the eastern end in a church, and more precisely a view of a chancel, the place for the sacrifice and the Eucharist, looking from the west, viz., the area of a nave.

Edward Benest, a cousin of Millais, told Millais's son John Guille Millais that "every little portion" of the painting was "discussed, considered, and settled upon by the father, mother, and Johnnie [Millais himself] before a touch was placed on the canvas, although sketches had been made".^[35] The position of the figures in the foreground, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, was no exception:

The principal point of discussion with regard to the *Carpenter's Shop* related to the head of the Virgin Mary. At first, as his sketches show, she was represented as being kissed by the child Christ; but this idea was presently altered to the



Fig. 8 Detail of the ladder. Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

present position of the figures, and the mother is now shown embracing her son. These two figures were constantly painted and repainted in various attitudes, and finished only a short time before the picture was exhibited. The figure, too, of St. John carrying a bowl of water was inserted at the last moment.^[36]

Millais's decision to insert John the Baptist beside the child Christ and the Virgin Mary in the last stages of painting seems to lie at the core of this painting; for this very decision resulted in a complex glorification of the Eucharist, the highest act in the Christian religion, which takes place exclusively in the area of an altar in a chancel, rather than a mere depiction of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Christ in Zechariah.



Fig. 9 Detail of John the Baptist. Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

While the wound on the Christ child's hand and the spot of blood at his feet both represent the crucifixion, the presence of John the Baptist reminds us of who the wounded child was and emphasises that this painting was completed as a work of the crucifixion by associating the scene with the words of John the Baptist in the Gospel of John I: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world ... I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God".^[37]

In addition, Millais's depiction of "a dove", which literally descends on the Christ child and perches on the ladder, is also faithful to the testimony given by John the Baptist in the Gospel of John:

I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.^[38]

Inserting an image of John the Baptist, who announces that Christ is the one who "baptizeth with the Holy Ghost" while he himself baptizes "with water", Millais created here a setting which can be associated with another painting of crucifixion which also includes an attending image of John the Baptist, Matthias Grünewald's late-Gothic masterpiece *The Crucifixion*, in which, "with a stern and commanding gesture",^[39] the Baptist points towards the crucified Saviour and speaks: "Illum oportet crescere me autem minui (He must increase, but I must decrease)".^[40] It is nothing but the presence of the Baptist itself which suggests in the most monumental manner that the setting of the painting symbolises the ecclesiastical place where the "most holy sacrifice [is] to be offered up", viz., the area of a chancel, which is

almost invariably located in the eastern end of a church.

The three figures lined up in the foreground — Christ, the Virgin Mary and the lastly-inserted John the Baptist — may also well be emblematic of an unseen but ecclesiologically definite and inevitable division which defines and separates the chancel and the sacrifice in the east from us, the lay public, in the west; and, in this respect, the presence of the three figures functions as a kind of chancel screen, with a Rood consisting of the crucified Christ with "attendant images" of the Virgin Mary and St. John, both "almost invariable accompaniments of the crucifix",^[41] although here Millais depicted John the Baptist, whereas it should be St. John the Apostle in an ordinary chancel screen. Joseph's carpentry table, symbolic of the altar, is placed in the eastern area behind the three-figured chancel-screen-like division, with a number of emblems of the Eucharist celebrated at the altar in a chancel. A drop of blood stains the edge of the table, symbolic of both the celebration of the Eucharist and the chalice. Next to this drop of blood are a nail just removed from the Christ child's left hand and the tool which seems to have been used to remove the nail, both symbols of Christ's sacrifice (Fig. 10). The metachronism of



Fig. 10 Detail of a nail just removed from the Christ child's left hand, the tool possibly used to remove the nail, and a bloodstain on the edge of the table. Christ in the House of His Parents, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

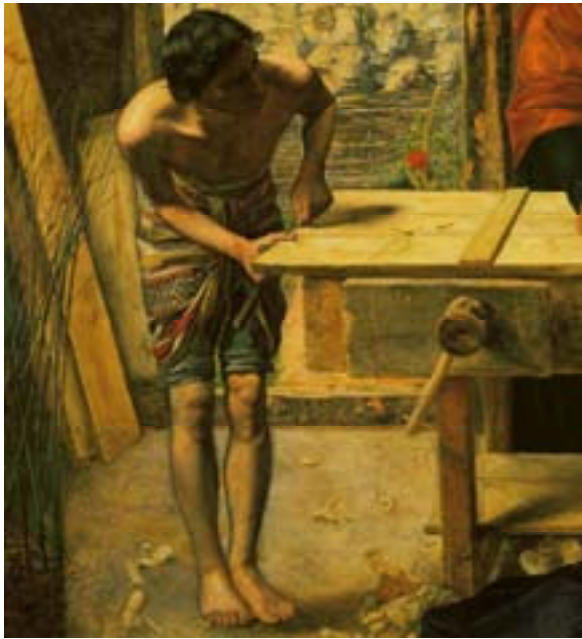


Fig. 11 Detail of the anxious assistant with a hammer in his hand. *Christ in the House of His Parents*, by John Everett Millais. 1849-50.

having such a sophisticated tool on the table implies the timelessness of the sacrament. The worried assistant standing on the left side of the Virgin Mary and bending forward with a hammer in his hand may represent humanity nailing Christ to the cross (Fig. 11); and the inclusion of this image near the table can be interpreted as an emblem of the absolution of guilt.

V. Conclusion

Early nineteenth-century churches often lacked a proper chancel and had a very shallow sanctuary. St. Andrew's Church, Wells Street, London, was no exception, and Millais himself had probably not seen an actual chancel with a proper rood screen railing off the area for the sacrifice from the rest. Yet, considering his contact with Anglo-Catholicism in Oxford and High-Church ritual in general at the time when he was working on his *Christ in the House of His Parents*, one realises that Millais must have been aware of the importance of the division between the sacrifice

and the worshippers; and therefore it is unlikely that he meant for the setting of the carpenter's workshop to be seen as the view from the rear, or the east end, of a chancel, to the direction of the nave in the west, for this in essence permits the viewers, the laypersons, into the area of the sacrifice, and disrespects the ancient division between the sacrifice and the lay public. According to Pugin, then known for his extreme medievalism, differentiation of the area of the sacrifice from the rest by installing even a physical partition was essential for the glorification of the Eucharist. Presupposing that "there is no higher act in the Christian religion than the Sacrifice of the Mass" and "the greater portion of the other sacraments, and nearly all the offices and ceremonies of the church, are only the means or the preparation to celebrate or participate in it worthily", Pugin claimed "it is but natural that the place where this most holy sacrifice is to be offered up, should be set apart and railed off from less sacred portions of the church".^[42] In the course of carefully thought revision, Millais seemed to have decided to emphasise this in altering the way in which the well, a possible emblem of a font, conventionally interpreted as an indicator of direction in the composition, was depicted, and in inserting various ecclesiastical emblems, such as the ladder, a dove, a nail, and most importantly the youthful figure of John the Baptist; thus he ultimately transformed the interior of the carpenter's workshop into a chancel, *viz.*, the most sacred portion of a church, set apart from the imaginary nave on the west outside of the chancel, where we, the laity and viewers of the painting, are supposed to stand.

At the time when Millais was preparing *Christ in the House of His Parents*, he was undoubtedly devoted to Anglo-Catholicism, and therefore likely to have been mindful of the supreme sanctity of the area of the altar. It was probably this Anglo-Catholic medievalist air that Millais

expressed in his paintings in those days that caught the eyes of William Dyce, an Anglo-Catholic painter, who was fascinated with “pre-Reformation liturgical practices”^[43] and was one of the first to recognise the merits of *Christ in the House of His Parents*, and which made Pugin say of Millais: “That’s going to be the man, he has got the Mediaeval spirit in him”.^[44]

Endnotes

This paper is the extended and revised version of the author’s presentation at NAVSA 2008, the annual meeting of the North American Victorian Studies Association, which was held at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, in November, 2008. In addition, this paper is partly based on the research project that the author has been conducting since April 2009, with the support of KAKENHI, the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan (21520166).

- [1] Zechariah, XIII, 6.
- [2] Hunt, Vol. 1, p. 194. For a detailed account of the progress made in the painting of this work, see Fleming, pp. 56-57, Shrewsbury, p. 151, and Townsend, et al., p. 97.
- [3] Morris, p. 345.
- [4] Morris, p. 345 and Pusey, pp. 583-84.
- [5] It is said that Millais received £300 for this work. See Shrewsbury, p. 153.
- [6] Barringer, p. 112.
- [7] Dickens was certainly not alone in his critical stand against Millais’s provocative representation of the Holy Family. Among the long list of unfavourable columns on Millais’s *Christ in the House of His Parents* were ones in the *Morning Chronicle* and the renowned *Punch*. The *Morning Chronicle* claimed that “Mr Millais is a most obtrusive sinner against all rules and laws of taste and art” and his *Christ in the House of His Parents* is “utterly indefensible on any pretext,

either with regard to the offensiveness and repulsiveness of the subject or the childish mode of treating it ...” and “the most glaring offensive instance of it we have ever met with”. *Punch* carried “a verbal caricature” written by “Our Surgical Advisor”, entitled “Pathological Exhibition at the Royal Exhibition”, which asserted that “the interest” of the painting was “purely pathological, the figures illustrating scrofulous or strumous diathesis”, and judged that “the gentleman who painted this picture should draw illustrations for Cooper’s Surgical Dictionary”. On the other hand, there were also favourable views of the painting, including that of the *New Monthly Review*, which applauded Millais’s seminal conceptions and “fearless” creativity. For various articles and commentaries on Millais’s *Christ in the House of His Parents*, both favourable and unfavourable, see Fleming, pp. 60-65, and Shrewsbury, p. 152.

- [8] Millais, pp. 75-76.
- [9] Dickens, p. 266.
- [10] Dickens, p. 266.
- [11] Barringer, p. 112.
- [12] The Gospel According to Saint Mark, I, 6.
- [13] Pugin, 1841, p. 1.
- [14] Grieve, pp. 294-95.
- [15] A. L. Baldry defines the well, in his *Sir John Everett Millais: His Art and Influence* (1899), as “a symbol of Truth”. Baldry, p. 42.
- [16] Grieve, p. 294.
- [17] Grieve, pp. 294-95.
- [18] Cf. Grieve, pp. 294-95.
- [19] Pugin, 1843, p. 3.
- [20] Street, p. 5. Street relocated his practice from Oxford to London in 1856, but remained the diocesan architect of the diocese of Oxford until his death in 1881 in London.
- [21] The architect, Samuel Whitfield Daukes, was a pupil of the London architect George Edward Pritchett, who favoured Perpendicular or Tudor Gothic designs which conformed to High-Church Anglican ideas.
- [22] Cherry and Pevsner, p. 136.
- [23] Millais, p. 90.

- [24] Millais, p. 90.
- [25] Ollard, pp. 166-67.
- [26] Letter from Millais to Thomas Combe on December 16, 1850. Millais, p. 93.
- [27] See endnote 14.
- [28] *The Illustrated London News* (May 11, 1850).
- [29] The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, XXVIII, 12.
- [30] The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, XXVIII, 14.
- [31] The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, XXVIII, 15.
- [32] The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, XXVIII, 16-17.
- [33] The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, XXIX, 1-2.
- [34] As for “the extreme youth” of John the Baptist, Grieve feels that it derives from Millais’s response to the Tractarian emphasis on child baptism. However, it may also be conjectured that St. John’s youthful appearance is simply due to the fact that St. John was only nine months older than Christ, according to the Biblical story; as a founding member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which stressed naturalism, Millais had to adhere to this fact. Cf. Grieve, p. 294.
- [35] Millais, p. 76.
- [36] Millais, p. 78.
- [37] The Gospel According to Saint John, I, 29-34.
- [38] The Gospel According to Saint John, I, 32-33.
- [39] Gombrich, p. 267.
- [40] The Gospel According to Saint John, III, 30.
- [41] Pugin, 1851, p. 18.
- [42] Pugin, 1851, p. 3.
- [43] Barringer, pp. 112-13.
- [44] Powell, p. 182.
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Fig. 7 *The Illustrated London News*, 11 May 1850, p. 336.