

X 9120935

1330270

The Churches of S.S. Teulon

David Owen (Isherwood

Theses

THAMES POLYTECHNIC
726
5092
4
~~15H~~
15H

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of
Philosophy to the Council for National Academic Awards.
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for this degree.

Thames Polytechnic
School of Architecture and Landscape

October 1986

D.O. Isherwood

The Churches of S.S. Teulon

Samuel Sanders Teulon (1812-1873) wrote little during his lifetime. He remained silent in the face of severe criticism of his work, he apologised to no one, he defended little. He did, however, build a number of extraordinary churches while in practice as an architect, especially in the 1850's to 1860's. It is firstly to Teulon's building we must turn if we are to understand his personal and professional development. They are his "letters" written in stone. Secondly, two source documents have been recovered which broaden our understanding of Teulon's personal life, especially in his late teenage years and early twenties. His 'Reminiscences' and 'Sketches in Verse' reveal a young man of deep religious conviction and sensitivity - aspects of his person which continued to be a primary force throughout his life.

Teulon's new churches together with extracts from his personal memoranda help a better understanding of this enigmatic and complex man whose very reserve many are finding an attractive source of enquiry.

CONTENTS	Page
CHAPTER 1 Teulon's family history and admission to the Royal Academy.	1
CHAPTER 2 Teulon's late teenage years and his <u>Reminiscences and Sketches in Verse etc.</u>	15
CHAPTER 3 Teulon's early professional influences and apprenticeship to Porter and Legg.	23
CHAPTER 4 The Dyers Company commission for almshouses; Teulon's friendship with Ewan Christian and his establishment in architectural practice.	29
CHAPTER 5 Teulon's new churches; his clients and his theological and denominational stance.	47
CHAPTER 6 Teulon and the <u>Ecclesiologist</u> ; devotion to style versus style of devotion.	68
CHAPTER 7 The closing years; Teulon's triumphs and struggles.	85
CHAPTER 8 Teulon's illness; his practice and his death.	111
CHAPTER 9 A summary.	115
REFERENCES AND NOTES	119
CATALOGUE OF NEW CHURCHES	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	148

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to many people who have helped in this research. Matthew Saunders' The Churches of S.S. Teulon has been a constant guide to Teulon's architecture. A lecture he delivered to The Ecclesiological Society was the inspiration for this thesis. Dr Anthony Quiney has given me invaluable encouragement throughout his supervision of this research. I would like to thank the Deputy Secretary and Librarian of the Council for the Care of Churches and the Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library for access to documents necessary for this thesis. Miss Hazel Teulon especially, among Teulon's descendants kindly gave me permission to photocopy Teulon's 'Reminiscences' and 'Sketches in Verse' and use them in this thesis. To her I owe an enormous debt, especially for relating to me much of the 'oral tradition' regarding Teulon's life. Professor George Yule of the Department of Church History provided me with useful information regarding the liturgical ordering of Victorian churches. Peter Allen has given me permission to quote from his unpublished thesis Elvetham Hall lodged with the School of Architecture Library at Newcastle University. Dr John Etherton kindly took time out of a busy practice to explain the medical circumstances surrounding Teulon's illness especially in his later life. I would like to thank Mrs D. Jupp for patiently turning my script into typed copy. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife and children for their forbearance in the gestation and birth of this thesis. It has been their lot to detour with me on family holidays whatever the weather or destination.

CHAPTER 1

Samuel Sanders Teulon was one of the Gothic Revival's most prolific, secretive, devout and, at times, bizarre Victorian architects. He was prolific in that the volume and variety of his commissions was staggering for a man with a relatively small practice; secretive in that he rarely published articles relating to the theory and practice of architecture; devout in his life-long adherence to the evangelical movement in the Church of England; and bizarre in that his creative output ranged from the 'acrobatic' and exquisite to the mundane and incomplete.¹

Yet his entry, compiled and published in the Pedigree of the Huguenot Refugee Family of Teulon² is both curt and deceptive in its omissions:

... of "Tensleys", Hampstead,
Architect; a DIRECTOR OF THE FRENCH
HOSPITAL, elected 4 Oct. 1862.

Samuel's great grandfather, Anthony, settled in East Greenwich as a direct result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Edict, which originally allowed French protestants to exercise their religion on a par with Roman Catholics within carefully defined limits, was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685. Year by year thereafter he withdrew the civil and religious rights of Huguenots and Jansenites until, due to the dual pressures of religious intolerance and fiscal pressure,

hospitals, schools, colleges and churches patronised by the Huguenots were closed and moneys transferred to Roman Catholic institutions. Gerald Cragg³ describes the circumstances leading up to the enforced departure of Huguenots thus:

Their churches, in great numbers, were destroyed. Their members were barred from the learned professions. Homes were invaded on the pretext that children (who were thereupon abducted) wished to become Catholics. Restrictions on personal freedom were more vexatious than the destruction of property; both culminated in the infamous dragonnades. Soldiers quartered on Protestants were allowed a latitude which made ruin or even death the only alternatives to conversion. Thousands gave verbal adhesion to the Catholic faith. Those who were able to flee sought refuge abroad and the great exodus of Huguenots began.

Many Huguenots settled in Greenwich and resumed their professions and crafts in this country. Anthony was a felt maker who built up a thriving industry on the Thames. He was naturalised by an Act of Parliament in 1708 and married Anne Desfaux - a fellow refugee from Meyrueis in the Cevennes. Their five children, Marie Anne, Anne, Elizabeth, John and Anthony established the Teulon lineage in England, living, marrying and dying in south-east London. Marie Anne married Melchior Wagner at Greenwich in May 1714.⁴

Henry Wagner, a contemporary with, and distantly related

to, Samuel was for a while Vicar of Brighton and a patron of Gothic Revival architecture and although he was therefore in a position to commission Samuel to design churches, he did not. The reasons may have been two-fold. First, as an Anglo-Catholic Wagner would have been too far removed from Samuel's adherence to the evangelical or low church wing of the Anglican church. Secondly, and obviously related to this, he may have been aware of Teulon's inclination to interpret ecclesiastical architecture in terms of "preaching boxes" - a trait to be revealed in his new churches, recastings and restorations. Hence, although his ancestors and contemporary, though distant, relations were what we might term "well connected", even blood ties like these were to prove unproductive with regard to securing commissions for Samuel.

Teulon's father, also Samuel, married Louisa, daughter of William Sanders of Deptford, at Greenwich in 1810.⁵

Although Matthew Saunders lists his profession as cabinet maker in The Churches of S.S. Teulon⁶, (and he may indeed have practiced that trade), he was primarily an auctioneer and surveyor and had business premises in London Street, Greenwich in 1827. His profession as an auctioneer deserves more attention than his cabinet making trade because he was the official auctioneer at the sale of Montague House, residence of Caroline, Princess of Wales.

Samuel and Louisa had five children - Samuel Saunders born

on 2 March 1812, Lewis Seton born on 6 August 1818, Louisa born on 3 June 1819, William Milford born on 30 May 1823 and Harriet Mary born on 26 April 1825. William was an architect of no particular distinction although Saunders notes⁷ that he could

"recast" Georgian preaching boxes as mercilessly as Samuel (as is evidenced by the transformation of St Matthias', Poplar).

Although neither Samuel nor William appear to have worked together as architects, there is nothing to suggest that they were personally disaffected with each other. Harriet, who died unmarried in 1855, was a poetess and published at least two volumes of religious poetry: Blossoms in the Shade and Fruits of the Valley.

Louisa married William Newenham Nash of the London Missionary Society at St Alphege's, Greenwich, in April 1840. Nash was also an amateur author and wrote Thoughts by the Way but his profession consisted in homeopathy. In an interesting social and medical note on the day he inserted this advertisement⁸:

Homeopathic Treatment of Chronic Diseases

Mr Nash.

No. 8 Montpelier Row, Blackheath, Kent, conducts the treatment of diseases on this principle. When the patient cannot attend, a full written description of the case is sufficient and the remedies are transmitted by post. Charge 5s per week, to be paid by post-office

order in Greenwich when most convenient.

Nothing is known of Lewis except that he died, aged 28, on 4 August 1846 and was buried at Greenwich. It appears then that Samuel's and Louisa's family - the children especially - grew up in a domestic environment which, at its simplest, had a concern for, and active interest in, the arts in general - the arts were taken seriously and encouraged and developed in the education of all their children. By contrast with this the family would also have been profoundly aware of their heritage - industry and religion were the backbone of their cultural inheritance, and Anthony Wagner provided an insight into the family's historic sensibilities when he recorded that in August 1863 his cousin Henry visited William Milford and wrote some brief, personal observations:⁹

He seemed good natured, aware and proud of the connection (with the Huguenots) -inclined to have a very humble view of himself and his powers of agreeability.

Of Samuel Sanders' distinctive religious affiliation -an evangelical practicing among many high church architects of his day - there is also little doubt. For the whole of his professional life evangelicals were a force with whom to contend in Church and State. Although, as Alec Vidler points out,¹⁰ the Oxford Movement dominated religious thinking and practice in England until well into the 1840's; the evangelical movement

was far from being a spent force in the 1830's, although it had hardened into a party. It had, and continued to have, missionary zeal and moral fervour in abundance. It was in tune with, and indeed largely responsible for the ethical earnestness of the Victorian middle classes. But its theology was narrow and naive, and partly in reaction from the effects of the Oxford movement it became fanatically anti-Catholic as well as anti-liberal.

Indeed, in terms of his own family's history it was convenient and apposite that Samuel should have identified so closely with the movement. Melchior Seymour Teulon, grandson of Anthony and Anne Teulon (nee Desfaux), and great uncle of Samuel Sanders was deeply influenced by the ministries of two people. The first was Dr Secker, Rector of St James', Piccadilly, who, Dorothy Teulon records,¹¹ as having a lasting effect upon Melchior. The other person, Melchior's cousin Anne, convinced him by her piety that he ought to be going to church with her - which he did. But, more importantly, John and Charles Wesley had begun to have an impact upon the country and, as Dorothy Teulon records,¹²

The reforming zeal of the movement held a natural appeal for one of Huguenot stock. Melchior now became a confirmed follower of the Wesley brothers.

More than a follower, Melchior became deeply involved with the Wesleyan movement. He died in 1806 after a life of "unremitting diligence, regularity, order steadfastness, humility, faith, piety and devotion" and

was buried in the City Road Chapel Cemetery near his friends.

Further indications of Teulon's denominational inclinations can be gleaned from his will.¹³ The Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Church Missionary Society, both evangelical Anglican societies, were left £10 each for their work.

To sum up therefore, what were these early influences and how important would they prove to be in forming Teulon as we know him today? First, the close identity with a minority people - the Huguenots - doubtlessly instilled a sense of religious individuality which needed no public defence, for history had attested their courage and tenacity. Secondly, Teulon's ancestors' close association with Methodism and its singular emphasis on preaching would have instilled into Teulon the centrality of scripture in the liturgy and public worship. Thirdly, his parents seem to have allowed their children such a measure of artistic latitude that they could indulge themselves in artistic pursuits to a point where four of their five children were able to take up - to a greater or lesser extent - professions directly related to their artistic inclinations. This combination of influences and doubtless others, together with the emergence of Teulon's distinctive brand of Anglicanism, produced in later years an architect who was fervently

devoted to the evangelical wing of the church, and also industrious and single minded.

On 8 December 1830 Samuel Sanders Teulon was admitted to the Royal Academy's School of Architecture. At that time, according to the Academy's register, Teulon lived at 13 Nelson Street, Greenwich. He was "recommended" to the Royal Academy by George Legg, the London builder to whom Samuel was apprenticed soon after he left the Royal Academy. We can assume therefore, that Legg was a friend of the family and probably met Teulon's father in his shared professional capacity of surveyor. The staff of the Academy at the time of Samuel's registration consisted of Sir John Soane, Professor of Architecture; J.M.W. Turner, Professor of Perspective; John H. Green, Professor of Anatomy; Thomas Phillips, Professor of Painting; and Sir Richard Westmacott, Professor of Sculpture. The Chaplain, the Rev. J.C. Blomfeld, became Bishop of London. The Professor of Antiquities was Sir Walter Scott, Bt. It is difficult to gauge the effect of this training on Teulon. As we shall see, Teulon dabbled in poetry in an amateur fashion. His draughtsmanship, especially in the sketchbooks now in the possession of the Royal Institute of British Architects and in particular designs displayed in the Royal Academy, are of a high quality. Teulon's style and technique of architectural rendering may have been influenced by Turner. His volume of poetry contains

references to Sir Walter Scott's poems and the stylistic influence is evident in Teulon's Reminiscences.

It is at this point in Teulon's life, after completing his course at the Royal Academy, that this chapter would have had to be concluded. Until now there has been no information available to complete the catalogue of events which led up to his re-emergence with Legg, Porter and Kempthorne. However two volumes of poems and reminiscences have been preserved and made available to me by a direct descendant.¹⁴ It is therefore now possible to complete in part some of the intervening detail of Teulon's life after he left the Academy. What we do know however fills in the detail of what until now were missing years, and also contributes substantially to our understanding of his emotional and spiritual development. We learn from his Sketches in Verse that immediately before his engagement and subsequent marriage to Harriet Baynes, Samuel was probably engaged to, or intended to marry, another woman whose name we do not know, though references to Harriet Baynes occur in both volumes. What seems to be likely is that she died some time prior to 1832, that is to say before he met Harriet. The dedication of his Reminiscences, apart from establishing for whom it was written, is a commentary on a turbulent and muddled period of Teulon's life:¹⁵

The following Remembrances were
written in the days of adversity

soon after I quitted the scenes in
those moments when the storm of
tribulation seemed hurled into
calmness, when the Evedide breeze
wafted its peaceful murmerings,
and the soul crouched to itself
and sought comfort in the
recollection of the past, and
forgetfulness of the present, and
hope in the future.

The immediate impression one gains therefore from the two volumes is that they graphically describe a period prior to and subsequent upon a tremendous emotional upheaval, though the causes of this upheaval are impossible to locate. In September 1832 Samuel wrote an epitaph "...on the Death of Miss I.T."¹⁶. It is unlikely that "Miss I.T." was related directly to Samuel so he was not mourning a close relative and none of the genealogies indicate either a close or distant relation with those initials. Teulon wrote of her:¹⁷

She was a bud of Piety -
Just opening into flower,
But the storm at last came mighty
That she sunk beneath its power

O the love of her Redeemer,
Celestial grace had given.
When sweetly he released her,
And she fled away to Heaven.

Sweet as her release may have been, Samuel seems to have been left with both feet firmly submerged in a trough of despond. A month previously he had written a fifteen stanza poem abruptly entitled 'Death'¹⁸. The poem is mediocre in structure and theme but it does provide tantalysing glimpses into the nature of Teulon's religious fervour - an intense piety which, whatever

criticisms one may have about its real depth or sincerity, seems to have sustained him throughout his life and which is evidenced in this particular poem. Hence the "solemn fun'ral knell" and the loss of "the loveliest summers flowers"¹⁹ were indications to young Samuel of the deeper truth that²⁰

Since then we know that we must die
But when to us unknown,
O let us to that refuge fly
T'ensure a peaceful home

Whatever the exact nature of the calamity that so overtook Teulon at this time he would gladly have left²¹

.... a vale of tears
To find a rest on high.

The "poignant sting" of "Death's fearful darts",²² even at Samuel's tender age, held no fear for him.²³

No more they dread the certain hour,
When truths like these have risen,
But firmly burst in Jesus' power
It is the gate to Heaven.

This particular poem taxed both his literary skills and his physical stamina. It took six months to write and he records the fact that it was begun in August 1832 and completed at "1 o'clock Tuesday Feby 19th/33.". He then re-examined the poem, he records again, at "5 o'clk... 22nd Feby/33".²⁴ It would be all too easy to dismiss poetry like this as juvenile or superficial. However, it seems that this sort of exercise had a cathartic effect and the very act of writing poetry, albeit in a somewhat

tortured fashion, seemed to complete a process of mourning or of curing some personal trauma. Indeed the first two pages of cramped, awkward script - the first ten stanzas - contrast with the almost flamboyant, confident style of the last five. We can assume, then, that some time between 1832 and 1833 Teulon met Harriet Bayne though the circumstances whereby they met are unknown. What we do know is that her appearance on the scene of Samuel's life undoubtedly lifted both his depression and a somewhat morbid obsession with death. He seems from 1833 onwards to settle into a more stable frame of mind. But in embarking on poetic exercises of this kind Teulon was not alone - it was a fashionable exercise for many of his time. Another poem from his Sketches in Verse will serve to display in a little more detail the style he adopted.

In January 1832 he wrote a poem entitled "A Village Church at Sunset (to a young lady)"²⁵. The opening stanza sets the scene and the style he adopted both in his poetry and in his prose:²⁶

A mould'ring Ruin clad in sober gray
The studied beauties were all worn away
A moss crown'd buttress, here and there was
seen,
O'r clothed in ivy's modest garb of green.

The conventions of Gothic literary taste had been assimilated and Teulon assiduously applied them. The poem bears a passing similarity - as far as such conventions are concerned - with Pope's 'Eloisa to

Abelard' (1717) which Kenneth Clark quotes in the chapter headed 'Literary Influences' in his seminal work The Gothic Revival.²⁷

In these lone walls (their days' eternal bound)
These moss-grown domes with spiry turrets
 crowned,
Where awful arches make a noonday night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light;

Samuel's poetry, however, invariably had a point to make, a theological sting in the tail: nature and architecture, many of life's experiences, were an allegory of Christian faith. Nothing seems to have been written for its own sake and, therefore, parallels arose out of his poetry between sunset and death, sunrise and resurrection. The last stanza of one of his poems illustrates this well:²⁸

Thus may thy sun go down,
 in calm serene,
To rise in realms of brightness
 yet unseen,
Cast thy last smile at Summer sun's
 last ray
And then to thy Redeemer flee away.

To sum up this unsettled period of Teulon's life then, we have to take into account first, the considerable talent uncovered while Teulon was a student at the Royal Academy; second, his religious fervour which sustained him throughout his teenage years and on into manhood; third, his propensity to depression (though it would be impossible to prove he was maniacal); fourth, the sheer ability he exercised to 'work out' his trauma through the medium of religious poetry; and, finally, the

appearance of Harriet Bayne who gave Teulon comfort and courage to erase the considerable pain caused by his recent past. This had been a turbulent period of his life and the final entry in his equally turbulent sketches seems to sum it up cogently. Referring to the consolation of scripture he concludes²⁹

...Such are the draughts of consolation to refresh the weary soul of every Journeyer for the heavenly Canaan, while sojourning through this "wilderness world." More and more comforting will they prove as we press onwards, bearing us up through every sorrow.....

CHAPTER 2

Teulon's Reminiscences are, by contrast with his Sketches in Verse, more settled and measured. They provide an important testimony, firstly, to Samuel's emergence from depression; secondly, to his developing interest in architecture, church architecture especially; and, thirdly, to his developing powers of observation although, like his poetry in his Sketches ..., the style is a little awkward. They are¹

dedicated to Harriet with the
most heartfelt affection of the Author.

Moreover, these Reminiscences are an extract from his Sketches in Verse and were probably transferred to a new book as a landmark to his mental and spiritual recovery. In a foreword he acknowledges this new period in his life in the following way:²

The following Remembrances, were written in the days of adversity soon after I quitted the Scenes - in those moments when the storm of tribulation seemed hushed into calmness, when the Evetide breeze wafted its peaceful murmerings, and the soul crouched to itself and sought comfort in the recollection of the past, the forgetfulness of the present, and hope in the future.

S.S.T.
July 1832

Early literary and architectural influences are virtually impossible to detect in Teulon's development.

Undoubtedly, the Royal Academy etched its own influences and, as indicated in the previous chapter, we have his poetry and prose. But Teulon's Reminiscences are the most useful record in our possession of notes in Teulon's own hand regarding the architecture and landscape of his day.

We know from his Reminiscences and from dates he provides in this notebook that Samuel took his holidays on the south coast, probably at Worthing, much of his time³ engaged in business during the day - though precisely what he was doing in Worthing is not revealed to us. Nevertheless, daytime, we can assume, was spent working and the evenings were devoted to relaxation and reflection. This might be:⁴

...a stroll through some of the
neighbouring Villages, a loitering
along the Shore watching the
rippling sea.

The Reminiscences pick up Teulon's attention to detail - especially the coastline and the seascape. His style is packed with clichés, but it is an honest attempt to be true to the literary spirit of the age.⁵

Often have I wandered along the
sandy beach, watching the full
moonbeams glimmering on the
surface of the deep, or tipping
the curving wave as it were with
silver, as they diffused
themselves in broken surges on
those happy shores, while the soft
chant of some evening ditty
warbled along the strand.

For one who leaves us, for the most part, guessing about inner feelings, thoughts and principles, especially during his professional career, these personal notes, however badly written, are an invaluable source whenever one is attempting to piece together stylistic influences. We have, therefore, to take these notes seriously, for as Teulon records⁶

I shall never forget those moments of peaceful and rural retirement I so often enjoyed.

For example, Samuel records faithfully and graphically, the changing colour of the sea at evening. It is a description heavily overladen with theological and spiritual overtone⁷:

It was a foreboding evening in June, dark and heavy clouds rolled in volumes, the wind whistled a wintry blast and the bustling surges rolled in grandeur. The last gleam of departed day, just shone in the west like a ray of hope smiling through tribulation. While I mused with rapture on the sublimity of the scene, the sea towards the horizon gradually became illumined till it glimmered brilliantly from the moon's light which was obscured from my view but shone its rays obliquely downwards and thus lit up a region of light among all that was dark and turbulent. It seemed teaming forth, like those blessings and consolations in adversity which so often arise in darkness to comfort the drooping and dejected spirits. - Often too, when the lightning's flash darted across the sky, and bellowing thunders resounded, peal upon peal, have I mused in silent and solitary Enthusiasm for O how grand how penetrating to the very

Soul are these scenes of awful
magnificence.

Understanding, as we now do, the context within which
these words were written, they come to be charged with
tremendous pathos.

Teulon was also physically active during this period
and, by contrast with the sedentary, solitary,
experiences described above, he wrote in his
Reminiscences of his delight in rambling⁸

' among all the varieties of
rustic scenery and visiting the
different neighbouring Country
Churches. The elaborate remnant of
former days clad with moss and
ivy, still preserved with all that
characteristic neatness of
England, surrounded by all the gay
Scenery of nature, and the
epitaphs of hope and sorrow for
those who were gone, would form a
source of sweet amusement, and
beguile many a lonesome hour. '

Samuel was becoming familiar not only with his heritage
but familiar with landscape and buildings. Here is a
charming though brief reference to a ramble Teulon
undertook in Sussex from Worthing to Findon.⁹

There was a little village church
situated in a lovely valley,
surrounded almost entirely with
high hills richly covered in
fertile verdure, capped with dark
firs and towering cedars that
waved their majestic heads at its
summit. There was much varied
beauty throughout the Cottages,
whose windows were almost hidden
with the woodbine and honeysuckle
united with the rose, with the

little parterre in front adorned
with summer's gayest flowers.
Beautiful avenues branching out of
the high road where the eye
quickly became lost in a variety
of nature's rudest touches,
imposing from their very
irregularities; one of these
opened beneath a shady grove, into
a meadow which led along a winding
path by the side of the hill to
the Village Church, which was
entirely enveloped in a bower of
rich foliage composed of fine
forest trees that seemed to have
weathered many a wintry blast,
interspersed with the Yew and
Cypress, around which the
clustering honeysuckle entwined. I
felt a charm in withdrawing myself
as it were so far from the world,
and contemplating these relics of
the past.

The church Teulon describes here we know from a footnote
in his Sketches in Verse to be St John the Baptist,
Findon, which Gilbert Scott was to restore extensively
thirty years later. The building had badly deteriorated
well before Teulon's arrival. He writes:¹⁰

The greatest part of the ancient
Gothic church which stood so
beautifully enshrined by nature,
was fast mouldering in ruins, the
ivy had crept over the lattice
window, and up the side of the
tower "wherein the swallow had
found her a nest where she might
lay her young". A hallowed silence
seemed to pervade. No sound was
heard but the gentle rustling of
the leaves disturbed only by the
soft breathings of the evening
Zephirs and
"Save when the steed neighed oft
and shrill
And echo answered to the hill."

Inevitably, Teulon digressed in places into his usual

pattern of analogous prose - drawing spiritual insight from¹¹

"the beaming glories of departing radiance, the hymning choir of feathered songsters, and the day of hallowed rest and peace. I thought for a moment, If this is earth, what must be Heaven?

The cycle of life and death continued to hold some fascination for him and later on in his Reminiscences Teulon digresses into a detailed description of a country funeral. Though not important at this juncture it is a good piece of social reporting.

The effect of church buildings in particular was beginning to play a more important part in determining Teulon's future profession and it is worthwhile quoting at length Teulon's description of St John the Baptist, Findon. First, he sets the scene:¹²

The variegated mellow landscape with all its picturesque associations of English Scenery, with the old gray ivy bound tower of some distant village Church peeping above the tops of the lofty trees - the rustic path leads to it with its shady hedges and the simplicity of the Villagers on a fine Sunday morning in their neat Sunday suits, while the distant bells chime in melody with the Scene. I was very fond of visiting the different village Churches. The pathos with which the service is performed in many of them is peculiarly beautiful and impressive - Among the few I occasionally strolled to, was one peculiarly characteristic of England. The huge gray tower

rearing itself majestically above the woody landscape - the wicket gate - the Church Yard wall bound with ivy - the clean swept path, - the _____ * bound grave, - and the chiming bell, - all seemed to impress the mind with a calm thoughtfulness and incline it to muse on the future.

*(The script is unclear at this point)

Having set the scene and plotted the land marks, Teulon enters the building and in it he is led to dwell on impressions rather than detail.¹³

As you entered beneath the ponderous portal the long range of gothic arches intercepting the streaming light from the narrow windows produced a kind of glimmering obscurity that well accorded with the solemnity of the structure while at the end of the richly carved arches, at the intersection, by their sombre union in perspective prepared the eye for the glistenings of painted glass of the distant altar window, which shed a quite varied light upon some ancient monuments around it, producing a seriously impressive Effect.

Teulon then moves on in his description to single out a particular detail which would have struck a chord in his religious experience and which he was later to apply to many of his new churches and restorations.¹⁴

While the eye wandered among these associations of solemnity, emblems and illustrations beautiful in their arrangement, and calculated to calm every bosom engaged the attention. The interspaces of the arches were adorned with scriptural extracts, some of those

touching and exquisite subduing
passages that had once fell from
the lips of the meek and humble
Jesus.

Those same 'touching and exquisitely subduing passages'
were also to be affixed to the naves and sanctuaries of
many of Teulon's future commissions.

Teulon had therefore passed through a turbulent period
of his life. For the sake of those who wish that Teulon
had committed more to the printed word, these diaries
must suffice. Nevertheless, during this period of
recouperation Teulon, perhaps as part of the therapy of
recovery, provides us with the only intimation we
possess of an early, if amateur, interest in
architecture. Moreover, he seems to justify his choice of
a future profession. From here on we ought not to be
surprised that Teulon becomes an architect.

CHAPTER 3

Tracing the route whereby Teulon first became involved in professional practice is difficult to plot; however, we may attempt educated guesses. His writing ceases in March 1834 with the completion of his redrafted Reminiscences and he wrote little thereafter.

Nevertheless, there are signposts along the route to professional practice which provide evidence of influence by friends and family alike.

The Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland¹ does not list Samuel's father as a member of the Surveyors Club. Founded in 1792, the Club comprised a small number of architects and surveyors who acted as surveyors to the ancient City companies. The Select Society of Auctioneers (founded in 1799), which included surveyors among its members, again does not list Teulon's father as a member. Therefore, inasmuch as he was not in a position to introduce young Samuel directly to potential employers we must look for introductions to his profession elsewhere. We do know that George Legg, who recommended Samuel to the Royal Academy as a student, (and who, it must be deduced, was a close and influential friend of the family), and George Porter, to whom he was articled in 1840 or earlier, were both members of the Surveyors Club. George Legg was elected a member in May 1836 and was Secretary, Vice President and President in 1839, 1840

and 1841 respectively. George Porter was elected a member of the Surveyors Club on 5 May 1831 and was elected successively Secretary, Vice President and President in 1837, 1838 and 1839. Both Legg and Porter, therefore, being members of a then rather exclusive club, would have known each other well and, more pertinently to Samuel, would have been in a position to recommend names of aspiring surveyors and architects. A probable sequence of events therefore emerges as follows. Teulon's father, an auctioneer and, perhaps, a surveyor, knew George Legg, an influential member of the Surveyor's Club, on both a personal and professional level. Legg, having recommended Teulon to the Royal Academy, would have been in a position to recommend him to Porter for employment. Having secured a job with Porter, Teulon would have probably then been informed of forthcoming work when he was attempting to establish himself in private practice via Porter's good offices whose work with the City Companies would have put Teulon in touch with an important source of commissions. It is of great significance that Teulon's first major commission, apparently secured without competition, was for almshouses for a City company - the Dyers Company - in Balls Pond Road, Islington.² Indeed, before this happened, Porter and Teulon had worked together on the Waterman's Almshouses in Penge from 1840 onwards.

All that, however, was in the future. Six years elapsed between 1834 (the end of the Reminiscences) and 1840,

when we know Teulon was working, apprenticed to Porter.

The Builder³ in its obituary mentions that Teulon was articled to George Legg. We can assume that, as a surveying practice primarily, Legg's office would have provided Samuel with a thorough grounding in the importance of adequate and detailed land preparation prior to building construction. Teulon's churches like St Mary's, Benwick, and his final great commission for St Stephen's Church, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, could be cited as evidence of a working understanding of the importance of good surveying acumen as a necessary preparation to the erection of a suitable building fitting the topography of the project. St Mary's floated on a raft of rubble in water-logged soil - a consequence of water-saturated ground in Cambridgeshire. St Stephen's Church was carefully constructed in such a way that for the greater part of its life it did not slide down Rosslyn Hill. His imaginative use of internal buttressing in Holy Trinity, Hastings, (1856) enabling the building to fit into an awkward site, and the remodelling of St Mary's, Ealing, (1863) are commissions which reflect a confident use of structural detail to achieve a desired effect. We can assume that his competence and dexterity with pre-construction detail and his skillful use of a variety of building materials was founded on a successful apprenticeship to a competent surveyor in Legg as when later he was to Porter.

In 1835 Teulon was working for Sampson Kempthorne, but how Teulon was engaged by him we do not know. Kempthorne, an architect of no great significance, died in New Zealand soon after 1841. In 1835 Teulon and Kempthorne submitted a joint design for a new town hall and market place for the Corporation of Penzance and the design was exhibited in the Royal Academy in that year. Kempthorne's submissions to the Royal Academy also included plans and elevations of workhouses in 1835 and 1836 and the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education contain twenty-six sheets of school houses drawn from his designs of 1839-40. Anthony Quiney comments⁴ that Kempthorne was helped by George Gilbert Scott to produce almshouses for the Poor Law Commissioners to whom Kempthorne was architect:

Many of Scott's later workhouses, designed when he was in partnership with William Moffat are Jacobean in style, and it is possible that Teulon may have been introduced to the style in Kempthorne's office. Sixteenth and Seventeenth century details were in any case becoming fashionable at that time.

Kempthorne's practice was catholic in the variety of commissions it undertook, and included workhouses in Abingdon, Chertsey, Ticehurst, Bishops Stortford (all in 1836); Buckland Church, Berkshire (1836); Holy Trinity Church, Rotherhithe, (1837); St James, Barton, Gloucestershire, (1837); a lodge at Hadzor, Worcestershire for a Mr J.H. Eatton (1837); alterations

to a bank house in Lombard Street London (1838); and a new chapel at Guilsborough, Northamptonshire (1840).

We can assume that Kempthorne shared Teulon's denominational preferences because in 1836 he designed a new church for converts at Waimare, New Zealand, built by the Church Missionary Society.⁵ It was to the same Society that Teulon left the sum of £10 in his will. We do not know if it was this particular commission which precipitated Kempthorne's migration to New Zealand but he died there shortly after his arrival and for this reason, perhaps, Teulon had to look for employment elsewhere.

Teulon was perhaps at this time also working for other architects and no doubt his competence at architectural drawing meant that this gift was in demand. In 1834, for example, Porter submitted a design for a villa 'now erecting for a gentleman', to the Royal Academy⁶. If the house was 'Tensleys' at Lympsfield, Surrey, then it had belonged to distant relatives of Teulon's family for many years. In 1836 and 1837 Teulon again submitted work to the Royal Academy for exhibition. The first⁷ was for baths near Lee in Kent and the second⁸ was a design submitted to the Corporation of Ipswich "for County Hall and Law Courts". Whether during this time Teulon was working on a freelance basis for Kempthorne or Legg is difficult to assess, but by 1840, at the age of 28, Teulon had, firstly, gained considerable experience as a

draughtsman. Secondly, he had a thorough grounding in the principles and practice of surveying having worked directly for two Presidents of the Surveyor's Club. Thirdly, Teulon was beginning to build up an important list of professional contacts through his work for Kempthorne, Legg and Porter. Fourthly, he had a foothold on an important source of future work, especially the City Companies, one of which, - the Dyers Company - was to provide Teulon with his first important independent commission, almshouses at King Henry's Walk, Balls Pond Road, Islington.

CHAPTER 4

The problem of establishing Samuel Teulon as an independent architect, with clients of his own, personally supervising all design and detail work relating to commissions gained on his own merit, is made difficult by virtue of sheer lack of information about his early professional activity. Teulon established his credentials, however, with a substantial commission from the Dyers Company for almshouses in the Balls Pond Road, Islington, in 1841¹. It was a prestigious commission by any reckoning and one which set a pattern for certain sorts of commissions Teulon gained in later years, for which, also, he was criticised for being elitist, in particular for his work for wealthy patrons. It is my contention, however, that both here in this commission for the Dyers Company, and later in his professional life, Teulon merely capitalised on a wide variety of clients with considerable prudence - clients of like moral or religious inclination and fervour. It is important, therefore, to examine the origins of this first major commission and to trace the circumstances by which it may have been granted.

By 1840 at least, and probably earlier, Teulon was working in the office of George Porter. Porter had built almshouses for the Company of Watermen and Lightermen while employing Teulon. Teulon would therefore have been in a position to note the process by which commissions

were gained from some of the more substantial City Companies. But it is Porter's membership of the Surveyors Club which provides an important clue to how Teulon made his way into architectural practice. Teulon's father was a surveyor by profession as were Porter and Legg.

Porter's and Legg's leading role in the Surveyors Club suggests two important early influences on Samuel's early career prospects. First we can assume (although no records bear witness to the fact) that Samuel's father was kept in touch with the proceedings of the Surveyors Club - his professional inclination at least may have demanded this. But, secondly, George Legg's close association with the family and his membership of the same Club may have been pivotal in placing Teulon in Porter's office at a time when Porter was in need of assistants to help during the Watermen and Lightermen almshouses commission. Two other factors are important here. In the first place the Surveyors Club, though small in membership was composed of architects and surveyors who acted for the ancient City Companies. In the second place the Select Society of Auctioneers included among its membership some senior members of the surveying profession. It would have been foolish and churlish for young Teulon not to have seized these sorts of opportunities to gain lucrative commissions. The importance of the City Companies to Teulon's future prospects is further reinforced by George Porter's 1837

commission to build premises for the London Leather Company.

There is some speculation about how Teulon gained his commission for almshouses for the Dyers Company. Anthony Quiney² in his History of the Almshouses of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen suggests, as have others, that the commission was gained by virtue of open competition. The implication of this suggestion has been that it led Teulon to establish a practice on his own account. Unfortunately there is no correspondence in the archives of the Dyers Company to substantiate this theory. The minutes of the Company's meeting of 2 June 1841³ merely record the decision that each member of the Building Committee was asked to apply to friends for plans, a specification and an estimate for erecting almshouses for ten persons. The budget for the project was £1750. The only deduction that can be made from the evidence available is that Teulon was known to members of the Building Committee at first or second hand. It is unlikely that Porter would have offered Teulon the project for he might have needed the work himself to maintain a flow of commissions through his office on the completion of his work for the Company of Watermen and Lightermen. In any event, Teulon and another unnamed architect were the final choice of the Committee and it is at this particular point in the process, if anywhere, that the element of competition would have arisen. Indeed the interval of time between the initial meeting

of the Building Committee and the final approval of Teulon's plans on 14 July could not have possibly allowed for an open competition for the commission. One cannot emphasise too strongly the significance of the course of events set out above. The only deduction that can be made is that Teulon, firstly, through the judicious nurture of a contact with a City Company while in Porter's office and under the watchful eye of Legg, was known, or made himself known, to those in a position to award the commission. He would have been foolish not to have done what any other aspiring young architect would have done - to cultivate acquaintances in search of work. This was a practice he undoubtedly continued throughout his professional career and in this respect Teulon was no different from his fellow architects. To claim, therefore, as some have, that Teulon selected only wealthy clients and the favour of commissions from them alone is absurd. This first major commission was, one supposes, won skilfully and honestly.

In 1842 the Surveyor, Engineer and Architect⁴ illustrated the almshouses which were then shown to comprise a ground and first floor building, gabled, with a turkish fleche in the centre of the roof. The ground floor had three entrances with a central canopy on four piers with some buttressing. The deep moulding to windows was heavily carved. The first floor bore a significant imprint of Teulon's style - a battlemented oriel window over the central canopy. Two additional

wings were built by Teulon ten years later in 1852. The importance of this commission, therefore, in stylistic terms, lies in its echoes of their recent influences and in establishing early in Teulon's career details by which subsequent commissions were to be recognised. The tenacious way in which Teulon continued to cultivate this particular commission is indicated by the fact that he was awarded a subsequent commission to build the two wings as indicated above. Quiney writes of the commission:⁵

Drawings and photographs (of the two wings of the almshouses) show numerous stylistic similarities to the Watermen's almshouses. The gables, the oriel window and the ogee caps to the towers of the Watermen's almshouses are all echoed in Teulon's design for the Dyer's Company. The gables of both sets of buildings were decorated by plain diamond shaped plaques; the porch of the Dyer's almshouses with its four-centred arches and cogging cornice seems to be descended from the cloister walk around the Watermen's buildings. When in 1852 Teulon added two wings, thus forming an open court, he linked them to his earlier work with canted archways very similar to those employed in the same way at Penge.

Certainly what is important is that motifs by which Teulon's work was later to be recognised are here in embryo. Gables, oriel windows, ogee arches, cogging cornices and arches, diamond-shaped patterns in roof slates and brick work, though not exclusively Teulon's trademarks, occurred frequently enough, and in enough

variety of combinations in subsequent commissions, to characterize his style as belonging exclusively to him. The Dyers Company almshouses were, therefore, significant in establishing Teulon's architectural and personal credentials. He completed the task to his client's satisfaction. He had firmly established himself and his reputation in the consciousness of those of influence in the City Companies. Teulon through his integrity, industry and initiative was now in a position to take on more ambitious and varied projects for his clients.

The years up to 1841, when Teulon received the commission for the Balls Pond Road almshouses, were from a professional point of view relatively quiet. The work he undertook immediately after that commission began in a modest way with a steady flow of commissions for parsonages though Teulon had to wait until 1848 before the volume and variety of commissions mentioned in the previous chapter increased substantially. In the brief examination of some other events up to 1841 it may be that two events set the seal on the way Teulon's commissions were obtained in subsequent years.

It will be remembered that while Teulon was working for Sampson Kempthorne he was also submitting designs regularly to the Royal Academy. Teulon was an excellent draughtsman and colourist, and his sketchbooks, now in the possession of the Royal Institute of British

Architects, bear witness to his command of style and technique. Apart from the two designs submitted by Teulon to the Royal Academy for baths near Lee, Kent, and for a County Hall and Law Courts in Ipswich, Teulon submitted, in 1838, his design for a house, 'Tensleys Villa', Limpsfield, Surrey. It was commissioned by a distant relative of Teulon's, wealthy enough to afford a substantial commission and sufficiently in touch with members of his family to know of Teulon's professional expertise. In this instance family ties were responsible for a potential commission and may also have been later in 1838. In his Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 - 1840 Howard Colvin⁶ ascribes to Teulon some minor repairs to St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe. Teulon left £50 in his will to this church and St Ann's, Blackfriars, London. What is intriguing (and this link can only be guesswork) is that nearly nine years previously the Rev. Daniel Capper (who eventually entrusted substantial commissions to Teulon) married Anne, daughter of Issac Sanders, at that time rector of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe. Samuel's mother's maiden name was also Sanders. So the question must be asked: did Teulon gain this minor commission for repair work (and future work of immense importance some thirty years later in Northumberland and Gloucestershire) because he was related to Daniel Capper, the patron of both commissions? This sort of speculation regarding the source of Teulon's future commissions is compounded again by a further development. Anne, Daniel Capper's

wife, died soon after marriage to Daniel Capper and on 16 July 1840 Capper married Horatia, daughter of Admiral James Slade RN of Uley Lodge, Gloucestershire. This marriage could have been directly responsible firstly for Capper's migration to Gloucestershire from Northumberland and, secondly, for Teulon's consequent commissions in the county at Uley where he was the architect commissioned to rebuild St Giles' (formerly St Matthew's) in 1857 to 1858. The theory does at least account for the way in which Teulon was later commissioned for some of his most lucrative contracts - particularly the village of Hunstanworth, County Durham, and for the method whereby he made subsequent contact with wealthy clients. Teulon was also commissioned in 1840 to design and build a porch for St John's Church, Perry Bar, Birmingham, but how this commission led to a further substantial commission for Perry Hall, Elvetham Hall and a house at Ryde on the Isle of Wight - all for the Gough-Calthorpe family - is difficult to ascertain. All we can assume is that Teulon's name was known among those with both influence and wealth abundant enough to take a risk in employing him.

But what bound Teulon to his early clients was his evangelical fervour and the bald fact that 'like attracted like'. Capper would have had a natural affinity with Teulon's low churchmanship and so would the Gough-Calthorpe family. No building took place in the Perry Bar region of Birmingham without the express

approval of the Gough-Calthorpe family who owned a vast estate there. Peter Allen in his Elvetham Hall⁷ writes of George Gough-Calthorpe thus:

Besides being the family's only true entrepreneur and architect of its affluence, George Gough-Calthorpe was a pious, sober evangelical churchman passionately concerned with moral and spiritual welfare. Throughout the eighteenth and twentieth centuries he championed such liberal causes as Catholic emancipation and the abolition of slavery, was an active supporter of numerous charities in Birmingham and London and granted favourable terms to those local bodies anxious for clean air and silvan surroundings such as the Deaf and Dumb Asylum (1814), the Horticultural Society (1830), and the General Institute for the Blind (1851). In part his motives must be regarded as genuinely philanthropic but at the same time the introduction of such societies aided the growth of Edgebaston as a desirable and morally respectable suburb. Furthermore all permissions for building were subject to his approval and were restricted in respect of function, materials and standards of craftsmanship.

Is there yet another strand here in the network of patronage relationships from which Teulon drew his commissions? If Gough-Calthorpe was a champion for the abolition of slavery he would have known, if not befriended, Sir Richard Buxton in whose memory Teulon designed the Buxton memorial, now in Millbank Gardens, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament. Those 'permissions' of which Allen writes above were to be ruthlessly exercised in favour of Teulon when St John's

Church at Ladywood. Birmingham, was commissioned by Frederick Gough-Calthorpe, George's younger brother and who shared his brother's evangelical earnestness, participated in debates on religious and philanthropic issues during his time as a Palmerstonian in London.

Eighteen forty-one to eighteen forty-two were extremely important in developing the network of friendships in which Teulon was caught up and which, doubtlessly, contributed to his professional standing, for during this time he cemented a deep and lasting friendship with Ewan Christian. Probably the deepest attraction, apart from a shared professional interest, which drew each to either was, again, their deep religious commitment. It is interesting to note, for example, that Christian was articled in 1829 to Matthew Habershon, an architect of distinctly evangelical persuasion. But their friendship was lifelong and more than professional. The evidence for this lies in an extraordinary Log Book which Teulon's son Maurice wrote after he ran away to sea in July 1867 aged 14 years, six months after his mother's death. The final entry, nearly two years later, records his arrival back home in January 1869 as follows:⁸

Fr.22nd ... arrive at Euston station at 6.30 PM take a "Carlton" omnibus (after having booked my chest) and walk up to Hampstead. Meet Mr Christian and hear bad news, go on and wait outside Tensleys for some time, and then go up to Mrs Lang and receive a hasty welcome, she sends down for J.S.T.* and he comes up

for to see me and makes things
pretty square at Tensleys.

Sat.23rd.. Go down to Tensleys and
get all square for the time being.

*Josiah Sanders Teulon

Christian obviously had a domestic concern for the well-being of Teulon's family, but its genesis lay in a tour of Europe Christian and Teulon undertook nearly thirty years earlier in 1841, and it is to this relationship and its consequences we now turn.

J. Standen Atkins in his memoir of Ewan Christian⁹ records that in October 1841 Ewan Christian left for an Italian tour of some seven months. He travelled to Rome, Turin, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Naples, Paestum, Amalfi, Florence, Bologna, Venice and Milan. This was not Christian's first European tour for he had made a shorter French tour of three weeks or so in 1834, but on this second one he and Teulon travelled together. Fortunately Teulon's sketchbooks provide evidence of his enthusiasm for the tour. He collected lithographic prints and engravings of buildings that held his interest and he collated these in his first sketch book. There is evidence in the sketchbooks of buildings he visited other than those in the itinerary of his tour as recorded by Atkins and it is worth noting one or two in particular.

First, the itinerary of the tour took Teulon and

Christian through Germany, and Teulon made one or two sketches of Eltz Castle near Hanover. Secondly, on the route either to or from Italy, they stopped at Ghent where Teulon was impressed by the Dominican Church.

Teulon made a brief sketch of Eltz Castle in one of his sketchbooks of about 1842. Photographs of the building at the Courtauld Institute show the castle to be a massive structure of irregular pitched roofs and complex forms, turrets poking from walls, oblong oriel windows and conical and octagonal spires. All these features were to emerge later in a variety of combinations in Teulon's ecclesiastical architecture and, more especially, in his domestic commissions. The building may have been in a somewhat dilapidated condition when Teulon sketched it - a crumbling tower gate overgrown with ivy features in a Courtauld Institute photograph of 1936. Whether or not the building was dilapidated 100 years previously matters little because the whole effect of the mass was "picturesque" enough to impress itself on young Teulon's Gothic sensibilities.

Either on the way to or from their European Tour Teulon and Christian visited Ghent. Teulon's sketchbooks, particularly his second, are full of lithographs and reproductions of buildings in Brussels and from those prints it can be deduced that part of the tour probably included Ostende, Brussels and Ghent in that order. This sector of the tour in the Low Countries also made a deep

impression on Teulon. Matthew Saunders¹⁰ writes that the precedent for Teulon's St Thomas', Agar Town, London, is the Dominican Church in Ghent and if he is right in this assumption it is worth a brief examination at this juncture.

St Nicholas' - the Dominican Church - is a building of the early thirteenth century and in many respects it is a mould from which Teulon might be said to have cast some of his future churches. This massive cruciform church with a buttressed apse in three bays, a tower at the crossing with an octagonal cap, turrets springing up at the corners of the west end of the nave and tower (each with conical caps), and transepts at the crossing of the nave produced echoes in Teulon's later churches. The mortuary chapel at Stoney Stratford with its pinnacles on the transept and St Stephen's Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, which squats massively on the side of a hill, with pyramidal roof and staircase turret on the south east corner and transepts at the crossing of the nave, are churches which have their roots in the Gothic architecture of the Netherlands. It is difficult, therefore, to be as precise as Neil Burton when he identifies St Stephen's specifically as a 'French inspired' building. He writes:¹¹

Teulon's church is markedly French in outline, with steep roofs and a massive square tower. Certain details - the rose window in the western gable, the conical roofs of the two stair turrets and the

tall pavilion roof of the tower - are wholly French in origin, but there are many features which, as Charles Eastlake observed, 'can scarcely be referred to any precedent but that of modern fashion.' The architect himself described the style as 'Teulonesque.'

Matthew Saunders refers to Teulon correctly as a 'stylistic magpie'¹² and he is near the truth here. For the Gothic architecture of Germany and the Netherlands as well as of his homeland formed the basis of "Teulonesque" architecture. It is eclectic architecture. It derives from experiences soaked up in his tour with Ewan Christian. It cannot be too easily pigeon-holed for it is 'roguish' and 'acrobatic'.

Teulon and Christian returned to England seven months after their journey began and for the next five years - to 1847 - Teulon was to continue slowly building up his practice and adding to his extraordinary list of wealthy and influential clients. He continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy and among his entries were his design for the Dyers Company Almshouses (1842; no.1166); a mansion at Blythe Hill, Kent, for Robert Espie Esq. (1843; no. 1227); designs for a rectory at Weatheringsett, a market cross, a memorial at Leicester and a rectory house (1844 no's 1092, 1070, 1154 and 1184 respectively); St Mary's Home, Hastings, for the Rev. Thomas Vores and a design for Hall Hyle, Norfolk for T.E. Wallace Esq. (1845; no's 1126, 1288) and in 1846 Teulon displayed a design for a

rectory at North Creake, Norfolk, for the Honorable and Reverend Thomas Keppel (no. 1241). This last commission was executed in 1845 at a cost of £3,500 and is featured in Teulon's first sketchbook along with a design of about 1849 for a school at North Creake built in the same year at the expense of Keppel and the Earl Spenser. Information on the exhibits indicates that Teulon had set up his practice at 2 Lansdowne Place, Brunswick Square.

Parsonages and schools, therefore, were the staple diet of practice. His reputation probably grew precisely because in these minor commissions he was able to prove himself an architect of integrity and reliability. One can imagine that both in his person and his method of working Teulon provided precisely what his clients wanted - industry, honesty of practice and, in the end, a good job well done.

Some time during 1846 Teulon and his family - Harriet and their children - moved to 'Tinsleys', 3 The Green, Hampstead - the family's home until at least a year after his death. In 1848, Ewan Christian married a daughter of Mr William Walker Bentham of Rochester and they also set up home in Hampstead. It was a move which was bound to knit Teulon and Christian in a close friendship and explains the reason why Maurice Teulon met Christian near his parents home after he ran away to sea.

In July 1847 Teulon designed a conservatory at Moor Park, Hertfordshire, the home of Lord Robert Grosvenor. The design is shown in a perspective view from the south-west, included in Teulon's first sketch book. The drawing depicts a terrace with a tower at one end and a rectangular conservatory with Ionic columns and arches crowned with a balustrade and vase finials. The design is formal - Italianate - with no hint at all of what were to become some of the hallmarks of his work. However, the design does illustrate Teulon's competence at using style at random and, more importantly, according to the predilection of his clients. Nevertheless, in this case, given Teulon's youth, relative inexperience and the classical Italian tradition in which Teulon was steeped at the Royal Academy, he used the style well and the effect is pleasant. The design was not executed, but as a representation of his draftsmanship it demonstrates yet again Teulon's proficiency at illustration.

As noted, almshouses and schools continued to provide Teulon's income and stock in trade. In 1848 he exhibited designs for almshouses commissioned by the Earl of Leicester at the Royal Academy. On the whole, however, Teulon's work in respect of secular commissions is uneventful except that two commissions of 1849 are worthy of comment. In that year a terrace of houses was designed and built by Teulon in Ascot Road, Windsor, Berkshire. To gain a prize like this, essentially a commission for the Crown, would surely have been the

envy of his contemporaries. How he came by it is not clear, but at the age of thirty-five Teulon had effectively put himself in the way of it. In any case, Teulon had abundant experience with domestic commissions, especially for parsonages, and, although the work would not have presented Teulon with room to flex his architectural skills, it was a commission which may nevertheless have played a part in Teulon's recognition and acceptance by those who eventually offered him a more valued and sought-after commission - an opportunity to design and build the Chapel Royal at Windsor. The other commission of significance was Tortworth Court, Gloucestershire, for the Earl of Ducie, Teulon's first big country house, which was also commissioned in 1849. It would find its wildest and most 'acrobatic' fulfilment at Elvetham Hall, Hampshire, home of the wealthy and, like Teulon, pious and industrious Gough-Calthorpe family.

Between 1847 and 1852 Teulon's commissions shifted significantly away from domestic commissions towards an increasing number of church-building commissions. During these years he restored nine churches and built eleven new churches. The years prior to his 1841 European tour with Christian brought Teulon only minor commissions, including parsonages and domestic and secular commissions. However, from 1847, for reasons that are not clear, Teulon's reputation greatly increased and

during this period he built new churches across England, from Sussex in the south to Lincolnshire in the north. In the meantime commissions for almshouses, schools, and a mansion at Gomshall Park, Gloucestershire, widened his repertoire. Clients included the Earl of Leicester, the second Earl of Ducie, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Buxton family. The Archbishop, Dr Sumner, and the Buxton family, were rich, influential evangelicals, and in a position to employ a fellow evangelical in Teulon to complete different sorts of commissions - a new church in Croydon, Surrey, and the restoration of St Mary's, Brettenham, Norfolk.

During this period, then, Teulon was, firstly, developing a network of clients whom he cultivated for future commissions. Secondly, he was working extremely hard and for long hours. His office was not large and personal supervision of commissions demanded much personal time and energy.

In view of the quantity of ecclesiastical commissions that Teulon gained from 1847 to 1852 it would be quite foolish to enter into a detailed account of them except to mention that they do represent a significant shift from domestic to church building or restoration commissions. I have therefore selected commissions - eight new churches and one restoration - as much for the reaction they provoked from the Ecclesiologist, and the way Teulon gained them, as for their distinctive architectural merits.

CHAPTER 5

St Paul's Church, Kipling Street, Bermondsey, London, (now demolished), was built in 1847. It came to the attention of the Ecclesiological Society by way of a lithographic drawing submitted to the Society by Teulon which depicted a church in the First Pointed style, a parsonage and a house. This commission brought down on him the wrath of the Society, but the criticism it drew enables us to distinguish the hallmarks of Teulon's future commissions. Teulon's lithograph submitted to the Ecclesiological Society Committee showed a nave with aisles, (the south aisle was finally built under separate gables), and a tower at the north-east corner. The buttresses to the north of the nave were pierced with arches for a footpath. Matthew Saunders in his booklet¹ notes that early photographs of the interior suggested that the galleries might have been supported on iron girders and spandrels. Reviewing the lithograph of the design submitted by Teulon, the Society's reviewer wrote, with an inflection of gratuitous admiration²:

Upon the whole we congratulate Mr Teulon on his church, and earnestly hope he may produce yet worthier designs. He seems to us, however, to need to learn that a master will always be known by the harmonious simplicity of his work: all its parts must cohere, and no ornament must ever be found for which there seems to be no other reason than caprice, or desire to make a show.

Put another way, the Committee felt the design was fussy, somewhat complicated and unnecessarily ornate: "could do better". But the full wrath of the Society descended with all its vehemence when, in 1848, rumours were abroad that Teulon had not built what he promised. Instead, he showed what he wanted to show - a respectable face, or, rather, two faces of the building - or all he had in mind up to that point³.

From more than one trustworthy quarter, we have heard that the actual building of S. Paul's Bermondsey, is extremely bad. The showy lithograph deceived us into some congratulatory remarks upon it, which we are now confident we shall have to modify when we have an opportunity of examining the church itself.

The Society did this and in doing so reversed its prior opinion. Teulon's lithograph had shown two sides in stone. It failed to show of course the other two sides in yellow brick. As for the interior, the Society considered it to be a haphazard amalgamation of styles with no reason behind it. It lambasted Teulon's pillar detail, the bases of which were "considerably stilted, alternatively Romanesque and nonedescript"⁴. In effect, Teulon had produced a "preaching box", that is to say a church in which the prime object of worship is the reading and exposition of scripture. The design of this church, as of many other Teulon churches, was governed by the prominence of the lectern and pulpit and the accommodation of as many people as possible under the

church roof to hear scripture read and expounded. Inevitably, the Ecclesiological Society Committee rounded on details of worship and theology in order to put Teulon well and truly in his place.⁵

The prayer-desk faces west, and is supported by a clerk's desk. The pulpit (the best feature in the church, though not devoid of faults) stands at the south-west angle of the sacrarium. Over the altar is a vulgar gilt representation of the HOLY SPIRIT. The seats are open. Galleries run round the side of the church. The stone carving is executed very coarsely... There is a pretence about the whole design which makes it far more repulsive to us than a church which is honestly cheap and bad.

Matthew Saunders rightly pinpoints the origin of the problem:⁶

What The Ecclesiologist was criticising of course was dictated in good measure by the Low Church sympathies of the Client - the first incumbent, the Revd. John Echlin Armstrong was praised by the local "Seawards Paper" for his "Luther-like vigor (sic) of spirit being brought to bear against Popery".

Teulon colluded with his client, not in deliberately producing a design which would invoke the criticism of the Ecclesiologist but in other important respects. As with so many clients Teulon demonstrated a great talent for giving them what they wanted; first, monuments to their bias and eccentricity and, secondly, bold alternative ecclesiological and theological

statements about the other party vigorously at work building and restoring churches according to the propriety of the evangelical wing of the Anglican church.

However, Teulon's church restorations also came in for severe criticism during this period from the Ecclesiologist. For example, St Nicholas' Icklesham, Sussex, restored by Teulon from 1848-1849 included a proposed clerestory to the nave in itself a feature disliked by the Committee. The design evinced vituperative criticism from the reviewer:⁷

... the remarkable span roof which formerly embraced both nave and aisles has given place to a dandified clerestory; with windows matching the new aisle windows, trefoil headed single ones. We had not much opinion of Mr Teulon's ability, but we were not prepared to see him or any other architect in the present day so wantonly destroying a feature of extreme singularity and picturesque effect in an ancient church.

It was not until three years after the restoration was completed that Teulon replied to the criticism in a letter to the Society dated 20 May 1852. In it Teulon stated that he had found evidence in the building of a clerestory and he submitted a sketch to the Society presumably of the church before restoration depicting this evidence. There is a watercolour of the church which shows the building without the proposed roof.

In the same parish at the same time and under the same patronage as his work on St Nicholas', Teulon was engaged in building a new church, Holy Spirit , Rye Harbour, as a chapel of ease to St Nicholas'. It consisted of a nave and apsed chancel with a north tower at the west end of the church which rises from a square into an octagon. The original plan for one hundred sittings was increased to one hundred and twenty by the date of the consecration on 29 August 1850. Schools and a master's house nearby are also by Teulon but these date only from 1859 and are now in residential use. It would appear that the church was intended to be much bigger than at present and Teulon's drawings and plans lodged with the Incorporated Church Building Society⁸ indicate that the whole of the present building was to have become the chancel and apse of a much larger church attached to the existing west end. The extension was not built due to a lack of funds and, surely, of parishioners, for when the present building was erected this chapel of ease served a population of a mere two hundred and fifty - coastguards, mariners and railway workers. Little growth took place within the community and even today, allowing for a recent growth in population, it is difficult to justify the present building, let alone an enlarged church as envisaged by the patron. But Teulon's plan was a clever compromise and the present building seems to have succeeded inasmuch as it appears to be a total scheme even without

the proposed extension, despite changes in 1912 when Teulon's building was altered and enlarged by Spooner.

Three notable new churches were built in 1851 and 1852, and they are significant churches to concentrate upon here because they highlight what must have caused a continual personal tension for Teulon, (and surely for all architects of all ages); on the one hand, the demand by those who influenced taste to exercise creative constraint and to demand a propriety in the execution of building style and convention and, on the other, the sheer desire to be unfettered in creative output, the only restrictions being finance and a deep empathy between client or patron and architect. That 'tension' between propriety and creativity, (which interestingly may have been echoed in Teulon's theological perspective in the distinction between 'Law' and 'Grace'), had already brought Teulon into sharp conflict with the Ecclesiological Society. The Society had already begun to view Teulon's work with some measure of suspicion, even contempt, since he built St Paul's Church, Kipling Street. The Society felt a deep sense of betrayal and grief at having been 'deceived' by the 'showy' lithograph for this church.

The three churches are St James', Elvetham Road, and St John the Evangelist, Ladywood, both in Birmingham, and Christ Church, Croydon, Surrey. The two Birmingham churches were built on the initiative and under the

considerable influence of the Gough-Calthorpe family. Christ Church, Croydon, was built under the patronage of the evangelical Archbishop Sumner - and to which, as the Ecclesiologist⁹ noted, he contributed the chancel at his own expense.

In terms of style and the joining together of component parts, Christ Church and St James' appear to be very similar. Both churches are cruciform and both were built with one objective in view - to seat the largest possible number of people in the space provided within the constraints of the budget. But there are differences between the two buildings. In Christ Church large spherical triangles light the transepts at the north and south. At St James' the same transepts are lit by rose windows. The staircase to the gallery at St James' rises in the centre of the west wall and divides north and south. The west gallery to Christ Church however is constructed outside the nave wall by the addition of a curious, shallow west transept the sole function of which is to carry the staircase to the gallery.

Both churches are linked by a common thread - that large congregations should hear scripture read and expounded. Teulon, in short, built two more 'preaching boxes' and Pevsner¹⁰ concurs with this when he wrote of St James' that it had a broad, aisleless nave with transepts "so as to make a centralised preaching space". Indeed, the internal arrangements of both churches with their

pulpits and lecterns pushed boldly into the nave north and south of the chancel arch displayed in three-dimensional terms Teulon's inner conviction about the primacy of scripture and preaching. This was totally consonant with his churchmanship, but equally out of step with the crusading righteousness of the Ecclesiologist, which rounded on Christ Church, condemning it as a "...Jumble of styles... we have rarely seen a more mediocre design..." In characteristic style the Ecclesiologist weighed in¹¹:

On the east end of the nave is a bell-cote, of most wretched design, rising square, with a very small square stage.... The whole treatment of this bell-cote is that of a tower and spire on an absurdly diminutive scale... The buttresses are treated without spirit and the copings and crestings, and the gable-crosses are of the most common-place type.

Pevsner¹² acknowledged some quirks in the design when he noted "several odd features, such as the west 'transept' immediately west of the south porch, and the crazy turret with spire on the east end of the nave. The tracery patterns are peculiar too." It has to be admitted that the bell-cote was a disaster. It sits above a double arch astride the nave and chancel and rises on a square tower turning at the top into an octagonal spire - quite literally a tower-cum-bell-cote. Why did Teulon build like this? It may have been a concession to the Archbishop who desired or deserved more than a simple bell-cote or simply that the design

did not work as it might. But these details pale into insignificance when measured against the primary objective: that a low church had to be built with plenty of accommodation in a relatively deprived area of north Croydon.

It is evident that both Christ Church and St James', with minor exceptions, were built to a similar design. Nave and chancel were given the broadest possible exposure to each other. Seating in the nave extended across to the north and south nave walls, that is right across the full extent of the church as there are no aisles. The galleries at the west end were well lit and made prominent by the design of access and egress. The roofs were dominant with hammerbeams at St James', kingposts and queenstruts at Christ Church. On the whole, apart from the 'quirkiness' of minor features, it becomes evident that a basic premise of how a low church should be planned had been expounded here. The component parts of the buildings had been brought together with an over-riding objective in mind. Those parts were then assembled in spite of potential criticism which was concerned with propriety. For Teulon, a church had to be built for a particular function, and however elaborate the designs were to become in his later years, or how far from the double rectangle format his churches would stray, all other considerations were to be subordinated to that function.

It is irritating that Teulon remained silent in the face of the sardonic criticism that St James' and Christ Church elicited from the Ecclesiological Society. He wanted and needed some sort of approval for the sake of his future professional standing. Yet he stood alongside his clients with a diametrically opposed argument - that style was subservient to function and that function was the master of style. He was already entering into the church-building scene as a man of integrity and ingenuity with statements to make in architectural, if not literary, terms about the individuality of taste and propriety - an 'alternative consciousness'. It would appear that Teulon severely mis-judged the effect of the Ecclesiologist's criticism right at the beginning of his career, though it is highly likely that he cared little what the Ecclesiologist wrote, for in the end it did not affect Teulon's clientel and therefore had little effect on the development of his career. However, an examination of the circumstances surrounding the third commission of which I have made mention, St John's, Ladywood, provides important clues as to why Teulon forged his individual path onward into his own style seemingly regardless of criticism from any quarter.

St John the Evangelist was built between 1852 and 1854 and Teulon designed new schools here in addition to constructing the church. The first we hear of this commission is in correspondence to the Incorporated Church Building Society.¹³ On 21 May 1851 the Rev. John

Miller, the incumbent of St Martin's in the Bullring, Birmingham, made an application to the Society for a grant towards the building of St John the Evangelist. The architect cited on this first application was Richard Cranston who was practicing at 14 Newhall Street, Birmingham, and at Leominster. He proposed a building seating 1195 for a price of £4305 plus £500 for extras. The site, donated by the Governors of King Edward's School, stood at the corner of Ladywood Lane and Icknield Street West. Cranston submitted two schemes to the Incorporated Church Building Society, the second submission showing alterations to the seating plan in the gallery and the ground floor. The first scheme was for 930 seats and the second for 974 seats. The Incorporated Church Building Society grant application form detailed the buildings in the following way:¹⁴ Cranston's church was cruciform with a nave, chancel and side aisles. Transepts were to be constructed, presumably at the crossing of the nave and the application indicated a tower. The roof was framed in Memel timber with collars and braces to each pair of rafters in the chancel, nave, vestry, organ chapel and porch roofs and framed principal timbers to the aisle roofs for which Staffordshire tiles were specified by Cranston. The 'extra expenses' were for walls to the boundary of the site, iron fencing, making good streets and roads and earthworks round the church. From this specification we could assume that this was a church by Teulon. But the Incorporated Church Building Society was

unhappy with the plan and complained that access between the galleries and the body of the church was inconvenient for communicants. Nevertheless, the appeal for funds for the church, published on 30 March 1851, was worded in a way that would have warmed Teulon's heart with its vigour...¹⁵

....Surely there is a call to bestir ourselves in such a town and in such times as these. The Papacy has evidently thrown aside the scabbard, and claims all England as her subjects. In the very immediate vicinity of the proposed Church there is in course of erection a large ecclesiastical establishment, as a branch of the Orations. Scepticism is no less bold in her demands and sets up reason against revelation while the general ungodliness of our neglected masses is continually hurrying on its victims into ruin both of body and soul. For this appalling state of things the only remedy is the "glorious gospel of the grace of God."

On 1 October in the same year a second appeal was published and in it an additional list of contributors was published. Lord Calthorpe's name appeared here for the first time at the foot of the list indicating a contribution from him for £200 - the second largest donation by subscribers and contributors to the appeal. Seven months later on 3 May 1852 the Rev. George Lea (who personally donated £1000 towards the project) wrote to the Incorporated Church Building Society informing the architects committee that the plans by Cranston had been laid aside. Evidently the building he designed was

too expensive - £500 over the budget. He wrote:¹⁶

...We have therefore entered into communication with Mr S.S. Teulon of London who, I doubt not, will suit as well ... his name will be a sufficient guarantee...

It seems a strange decision to have taken. Cranston was nearer the site and could have modified his plans to accommodate his clients' concerns. Cranston would also have been a cheaper architect to employ for Teulon would have had to be paid travelling or hotel expenses or both while supervising the construction of the church. Nevertheless, Teulon's name was a 'guarantee' to the building committee for the new church and to the Incorporated Church Building Society on whose panel of architects sat Teulon's close friend Ewan Christian. Teulon may have already been known to the industrious and evangelical Gough-Calthorpe family through Teulon's commission to build a porch for St John's Church, Perry Bar, Birmingham. We can deduce, then, that credit for this new commission must be attributed to the personal influence and intervention of Lord Calthorpe, for Teulon had also recently completed St James' Church to his satisfaction.

Plans for Teulon's church, 1062 seats for a cost of £4500, were approved by the Incorporated Church Building Society on 5 June 1852 and work proceeded immediately. This design was markedly different from Cranston's Decorated church. He chose his favourite geometrical

Decorated style to design in. The form of the church was his preferred double rectangle consisting of a nave and chancel with side aisles, a tower and a vestry. No galleries were indicated on the specification. The roof of fir timber consisted of principals, collars and curved braces and it was covered in tiles. The dimensions of the nave and chancel, a massive 90' x 23' and 24' x 18'6" give the lie to his plan, for, by any other name, Teulon had built another preaching box without fear of contradiction or recrimination by the Ecclesiologist or whoever. He gave his clients what they would have required in the crusade against 'Popery' - an amphitheatre for the "glorious gospel".

As befitted such an auditorium the pulpit and the desk (which faced the congregation) were again pushed well out into the nave with seating surrounding both features. The chancel and nave (in one) were narrow and short. The organ was located under the tower at the west end of the north aisle on the Incorporated Church Building Society plan. St John's, at least on the evidence of the ground plan, was the kind of preaching box Teulon's clients would have warmed to: it seated the largest number of listeners in the space provided. Whatever else it was, it most certainly did not provide the 'spectator sport' the Ecclesiologists would have preferred. Rather, congregation and clergy rubbed shoulders and infiltrated each other's domain.

Christ Church, Croydon, and St John the Evangelist, Ladywood, highlight the tension mentioned earlier. It was to be a tension that was never completely resolved throughout Teulon's career. The obligation to conform to the requirement of propriety - fulfilling the demand for 'proper' worship and, therefore, a proper architectural setting for the liturgy - was counterbalanced by a growing personal and professional security which gave Teulon a measure of comfort and courage. For his patrons in both instances were wealthy and sympathetic, important factors to be born in mind by a relatively young architect with the prospect of further fabulous commissions looming large in the immediate future.

Other churches of this period, 1848 - 1851, serve to complete the scope of Teulon's range of work and the ever-growing network of patrons who engaged his services. St Stephen's, Manciple Street, Southwark (demolished 1965); St Helen's, North Ormsby, Lincolnshire, and St Michael's, East Torrington, also in Lincolnshire, were all built or begun in 1848; St Mary's, Birch, Essex, and St Mary's, Benwick, (now redundant) are of 1850 and St Mary's Church, Riseholme, and St Helen's Church, North Elkington, both in Lincolnshire, are of 1851. On the whole these churches are straight forward and, surprisingly, elicited only relatively mild criticism from the Ecclesiological Society. Of St Mary's Church, Riseholme, the Ecclesiologist merely notes:¹⁷

With many redeeming points, the design is low and depressed in its general appearance and has very little of a rural character. The tower and spire, shown in one of the two lithographs, though somewhat slender, would have greatly improved the external effect. Of the ritual arrangement, of course we can say little.

St Helen's, North Elkington, provoked little enthusiasm and the critique in the Ecclesiologist damned it with faint praise;¹⁸

On the whole we think this is a favourable specimen of a type of church, which is the more difficult to build in proportion to its simplicity and consequent poverty of resource.

A perspective of this church is shown in Teulon's first sketch book. None of these churches are particularly note-worthy. They bear none of the architectural traits for which Teulon's churches have become well known, and of all the churches of this period St Mary's, Benwick, puts into sharp focus a particular problem with regard to the creativity of Teulon's solutions to his church building.

In 1981 the Council for the Care of Churches published a report which tersely indicated that St Mary's was of no particular architectural merit:¹⁹

There is little to suggest the hand of Teulon in this straightforward, rather uneventful church. Only the tracery of some

of the windows particularly the west window and the slightly odd lancets of the north aisle, are out of the ordinary.

This particular church therefore raises a question which is difficult to answer owing, in part, to the lack of evidence Teulon provided in articles or journals or in response to criticism of his work: why did he build churches of no particular merit bearing in mind the extraordinary versatility he displayed at other times throughout his professional career? Granted no one can be expected to sustain a flow of brilliant creative solutions throughout professional practice, Teulon's creative output seems to have fluctuated between the frankly mundane and great heights of creative genius which verged on the unbridled and unrestrained. In answering the question certain other questions must be asked. Was Teulon so intensely busy that he had little or no time to supervise the output of his office adequately, thereby being unable to ensure a consistent standard of work? Yet it is difficult to imagine that Teulon would have let slip designs he did not personally supervise or endorse. Did Teulon take the occasional creative chance with a client whose patronage and largesse he felt he could afford to gamble with in architectural terms? Some of his patrons may have had more money than taste and desired nothing more than to erect monuments to their own egos. Matthew Saunders has reminded me that Elvetham Hall, Hampshire, for example, was constructed at a vast distance from Staffordshire,

the origin of the commission. Did the Gough-Calthorpe family actually know in detail what they were paying for? One can only ask the question, but bearing in mind Teulon's deep religious commitment and his theological stance it is difficult to imagine that he would have set out deliberately to deceive or hoodwink his clients. Another interesting possibility, as we shall see, is that at some time during his life Teulon suffered from a disease which prevented a consistent creative flow of architectural ideas and their consequences. Teulon did not achieve a consistency of output and not all his buildings bear the hallmarks which verify the 'signature' of his hand.

But to return to Benwick, Cambridgeshire, Teulon's church there puts into sharp focus another aspect of his work -that he took a stance in his relationship with his clients which, in other professions today, would be inadvisable. In 1857 one Algernon Freyton of Doddington, Cambridgeshire, wrote to Teulon²⁰ with the apparent intention of merely informing him that he had taken delivery of some material "to repair the chancel of Benwick Church". The letter was marked confidential and the primary reason for writing and the nature of the confidence becomes apparent:

...it will soon be generally known and is known now that Sir Henry Freyton has nearly concluded the sale of the Advowson of Doddington with a person as I hear of a most plebeian manner and a High Papist. I am doing all I can to prevent this but I fear with no great hope of success - I shall therefore be more inclined to destroy what I have done than to do more - but it is very aggrieving....

Apart from the fact that seven years after its consecration St Mary's Church was in need of repair, (it was built on a raft of rubble on extremely unstable soil near the bank of a drainage canal), it is of some significance that Teulon was able to sustain some kind of relationship with a nearby parish on the strength of his churchmanship if not, in this instance, on the direct strength of his architectural expertise. But whatever the reason for this petition by Algernon Freyton, a relative of Sir Henry Freyton, Teulon's personal integrity counted enough in this instance for an anxious parishioner to vent his personal anxiety to Teulon and to solicit his advice with regard to matters of advowsons and patronage.

Another church of this period, St Mary's Church, Birch, Essex, won that inverted approval so typical of Pevsner's commentaries on Teulon's churches....²¹

... none of the offensive features so favoured by this architect. Quite a normal aisled interior and exterior, ambitious, but not showy.

St Mary's, Birch, was reviewed in the Ecclesiologist some nine years after its completion in 1850:²²

"of flint with Caenstone dressings. Middle Pointed".

The church comprised a chancel with a vestry on the north side, a nave with two aisles and a south west porch. The low tower, capped with an octagonal broach spire of stone, was positioned at the west end of the north aisle (c.f. St Mary's, Alderbury, Wiltshire).

The bulk of Teulon's other commissions during this period was for existing church restoration work viz: St Mary's, Packenham, Suffolk (1847); Stibbington Church, Cambridgeshire, for the Duke of Bedford (1848); St Mary's, Clay-next-the-Sea, Norfolk (1848); St Peter's, Ampton, Suffolk (c.1848); St Paul's, Sandgate, nr. Folkstone, Kent, (1849); All Saints', Brocklesby, Lincolnshire, (1850); St John's, Kingscote, Gloucestershire (1851); and St Mary's, Brettenham, Norfolk (1852), for the wealthy and influential Buxton family for whom Teulon extensively restored Shadwell Court, their house nearby.

We must conclude here that during this period Teulon succeeded first in establishing his credentials not only architecturally but also professionally. By capitalising on a network of professional and social associations Teulon had established his reputation. Secondly, he had

begun to formulate a method of planning a building which expressed a liturgical stance. His churches invited participation - albeit passive - between clergy and congregation. Thirdly, he had shown great resilience to criticism, a resilience sustained by profound faith.

CHAPTER 6

From 1853 to 1855 Teulon built eight more new churches and executed a number of other ecclesiastical commissions for the restoration or remodelling of existing churches. The general workload of his office continued to expand and was supplemented by some secular, domestic commissions for schools, almshouses and parsonages. The scope of his work became more varied, there was a greater volume of it, and it took Teulon further afield. For example, at Wynyard Park, Durham, Teulon produced a report about, and new plans for, the roofs of houses and offices for the estate of the Marquis of Londonderry. However, other architects were also engaged in producing similar reports on the estate buildings, including the local architect Ignatius Bonomi, and Thomas Prosser, Philip White and Vulliamy. Therefore, although it should not be assumed that Teulon was gaining or cultivating exclusive patronage, he was at this stage of his career considered to be an architect of sufficient standing and reputation to be considered with others to produce a report and plans for repairs to the outhouses and offices of Wynyard Park.

Teulon's reputation now meant that he could maintain a "high profile" among his contemporaries and among patrons who could exercise considerable influence upon the development of his career.

St Michael on the Mount, Lincoln, St Andrew's, Watford, Hertfordshire, St John the Baptist, Netherfield, Sussex, and St Andrew's, Coin Street, Lambeth, are four churches designed by Teulon which were either planned, or begun, in 1854. The Incorporated Church Building Society made a grant towards the construction of these churches subject to certain conditions being met (e.g. free seats for the congregation), and the ground plans and the searches lodged with the Society are an interesting comment on Teulon's variety of style and reflect different solutions to the basic issue of designing churches.

St Michael on the Mount replaced an earlier church of 1745, which fell into a dilapidated condition, and was built on the site of the old churchyard. The Vicar of the parish, the Rev. J. Somerville Gibney, was responsible for its construction and built the church as much for the provision of children of his school - Christ's Hospital School - a few hundred yards north of the church, as for the adult population of the parish. The plan of the building was simple but, nevertheless, too irregular for the Ecclesiologist.¹ Constructed in the Geometrical style it consisted of a nave with a central aisle with three bays to the north and five to the south. The porch was constructed at the west end of the south side. No tower was built - perhaps the risk of building one on a steeply sloping site proving too much even for the temerarious Teulon. A south transept was

constructed which internally broke into the chancel. As we shall see, that particular detail aggrieved the Ecclesiologist. The east end terminated abruptly with a polygonal apse. Externally, the east part of the nave was marked off from the rest of the church by a richer ridge crest. Inside the church, bays four and five of the north side opened up to a gallery for use by the children of Christ's Hospital School - the gallery being at street level to the north side of the church. A prayer desk and pulpit side by side were fitted on the north side of the nave facing towards, and virtually sitting in the middle of, the congregation.

On the whole the Ecclesiologist remarked² that the plan was "unusual" - a linguistic device to which Teulon had become accustomed and which heralded impending criticism. In a sense the design was unusual, but the site did slope steeply from north to south and the school children had to be accommodated with the least possible fuss (what better solution than to usher them in and out, out of sight at gallery level?). The open arcading of the north gallery the journal described as "striking",³ but the apsidal sanctuary was considered to have a "confused and huddled effect".⁴ Matthew Saunders notes⁵ that the three gables of the sanctuary running into the three slopes of the apsed roof "led internally to a typical skeletal apsidal roof made the more matchstick-like by the absence of chamfers or cusps". The Ecclesiologist's criticism, however, did not turn

out to be as caustic as it might. Rather, it appreciated the difficulty of the topography but would not excuse the impropriety of the internal arrangements. So, to return to the problem of the south transept....⁶

We are far from denying that the peculiarity of the site may more than justify the unusual treatment of the north aisle; and the effect is rather piquant and effective; but we protest against the south transept as being not only the best way of securing the additional accommodation there required, but as quite contrary to all good precept in the fact of its opening by an arcade of two into both the nave and the chancel. The external effect of this is most puzzling, and makes the whole building needlessly look like a nave and sanctuary merely, instead of, as it really is, a very properly arranged church. The effect is heightened by the position of the belfry turret over the sanctuary arch. Indeed, here, as in Watford, the church is structurally divided into nave and sanctuary, and not into nave and choir; the chorus cantorum in both cases being locally in the nave.

The Ecclesiologist concluded that it is "by no means desirable that, in a new design, what is a mere expedient should become a regularised normal form"⁷.

Teulon seems, then, to have left the Ecclesiologist with a dilemma. In short, St Michael's looked, externally, like a nave and sanctuary - a needless effect, because inside it looked like a properly arranged church. The internal arrangement of the church was at odds with the external form of the building.

The Ecclesiologist's ritual principles had been broken because⁸ "a church ought to be built or remodelled or re-equipped to make it fit for the rubrics and the ritual of the Anglican church", and that in turn, as Nikolaus Pevsner has pointed out in Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century⁹ demanded that style and arrangement, and therefore, external form, be subservient to precedent:

The architectural demands to achieve the 'sacramentality' the Ecclesiologists fretted to re-introduce are long chancels for surpliced choirs, no galleries, no organs, no pews, but screens, because a 'distinction must be made between the clergy and the flock', (E., II, 91), a proper altar, preferably of stone (E., III, 6) and a priest's doorway simply because it is invariably found in ancient churches and ought therefore to be reintroduced in every modern design'. (E., III, 61) (p. 126)

If St Michael on the Mount, or many of Teulon's other new churches were set against this sort of prescriptive requirement for 'sacramentality', then Teulon would be judged to have failed on every count. For he made no distinction here, and hardly any elsewhere, between 'clergy and flock'. In fact he openly flouted it by deliberately setting the clergy among the congregation. He never built a stone altar - that would have been abhorrent to his evangelical stance vis-à-vis the nature of the sacrament of holy communion and, of course, he filled this church and others with a gallery, choir,

organ loft and pews. If there was a screen, (and they were usually built on a diminutive scale), they served only to denote a minimum differentiation of function in a church, not to mark off clergy and congregation.

The devotional requirements of Teulon's clients, were on the whole not those of the Ecclesiological Society. For the Society¹⁰

The ideal architect, the Ecclesiologist says, (E., IV, 277) is pictured 'pondering deeply over his duty to do his utmost for God's holy religion and obtaining by devout exercises of mind a semi-inspiration', and the final result, 'the beautiful effect of every building' is attributed to the architects' 'religious calling and lives'. (E., IV, 279).

Teulon's 'religious calling', and that of the majority of his clients, was to be an evangelical Anglican with an emphasis within that tradition on preaching. Teulon's 'devout exercises of mind' are encapsulated in the form of St Michael on the Mount.

St Andrew's, Watford, appears to have been planned with a layout similar to St Michael on the Mount. Both churches had provision for children to be seated on the north side of the church - St Michael's in a separate broad north aisle, St Andrew's in the north chancel, with seats, as at St Michael's, facing south. Pulpit and prayer desk are in the north-east of the nave in both churches and on the north-east side of both churches is

situated the vestry. Yet the unease of the Ecclesiologist persisted with the sacramental layout of St Andrew's as at St Michael's, except that at Watford Teulon is architecturally more explicit about his theological intentions. Both churches defy a proper separation of clergy and congregation and of nave and sanctuary. At St Michael's the sanctuary is a mere appendage to the chancel. At St Andrew's, the Ecclesiologist, while noting some redeeming features of the design, bemoaned what appeared to it to be an architecturally and sacramentally undifferentiated church:¹¹

The great mistake... is that, in construction, what would be called the chancel-arch is used for the separation of the sanctuary and the chancel, and not for distinguishing the chancel from the nave. In plan the church appears to be started in the usual manner, but in section and in elevation the effect is that of a church with nothing but nave and sanctuary. The chancel proper, in fact, is nothing more than the eastern bay of the nave. And yet this is not done for the sake of degrading the chancel, for the detail is considerably enriched, in the arch-mould, the piers and the roof, in this eastern part of the constructional nave. The only reason we can assume for this novel arrangement is that the greater bulk of the chancel arch piers is then got rid of, and the chancel aisle made more open to the general area of the interior.

Teulon made no attempt to differentiate the functional arrangements of the church. Indeed the only visible sign

of such a differentiation in the church, apart from two steps up from the nave to the chancel, is that the bay of the nave devoted to the chancel has a richer roof crest than the others.

In the volume of the Ecclesiologist for 1854 - Teulon's own copy - there is a note by him which underscores the criticism of the Ecclesiologist. Teulon responded to the criticism by endorsing the last sentence with his own terse note: "my reason"¹². This is probably the closest we come to any principle of church building in Teulon's own hand. I have already mentioned that Teulon wrote little about architectural theory and practice and the danger would be to read more into this note than is warranted. However, here are principles of design which Teulon endorsed and advocated in practice: nave and chancel were to be built as a piece, creating a sense of spaciousness in the nave; little focus, if any, was to be placed on the sanctuary; there was to be no or little differentiation of clergy and congregation. Instead, the focus of his churches was the primary function of the congregation, to listen, in relation to the expository function of the clergy, to preach.

The third church of this period 1852 to 1855 is interesting inasmuch as it shows Teulon mellowing somewhat in the face of the relentless tirade against him by the Ecclesiologist. On December 18th 1839, fifteen years before St James', Netherfield, Sussex, was

constructed, the Dean of Battle, the Rev. John Little wrote to the Incorporated Church Building Society¹³ requesting a grant towards a new church in the District of Netherfield, "very thickly peopled with labourers and lying between three and four miles from the (parish church)." The motive behind the request seems to have been sectarian:

... if a building could be erected similar to one which the Baptists have there I might be able to rescue that part of my church people from the influence of this proselytising sect, but we have no funds.

In the same letter he also asked for funds from the Society towards repewing the parish church of Battle. The application does not seem to have been successful and at the time of this request no funds were forthcoming from the Society towards the construction of the new Netherfield church. However, the application re-emerges in the Society's archives¹⁴ when on 1 April 1854 Teulon submitted a drawing for their consideration. The patron of this new commission was Lady Sarah Webster who at the time of Teulon's submission to the Society had been recently widowed. In addition to paying for the building Lady Webster established an endowment fund which guaranteed a stipend amounting to £55 per year for five years. Her personal and financial investment in the project seemed to be considerable.

The plan followed what was by now an established format.

A tower incorporating a porch was situated at the west end of the south wall - a feature Teulon was unable to execute at St Michael's, Lincoln. The font, as at St Andrew's, was situated in the west end of the south aisle; the pulpit abutted the chancel arch at the north side of the nave and the prayer desk was situated within the chancel proper. A vestry lay to the north of the chancel and was separated from the north aisle by a wooden screen. The more important difference, however, lay in the organisation of the chancel and sanctuary. St Michael's and St Andrew's, Leckhampstead, could be said to have moved away from their denominational roots and, in terms of the organisation of their main parts, had become less Anglican and more nonconformist in feel. Perhaps, it could be said, they were deliberately 'low church' and this is quite understandable given what we know of Teulon's theological stance. But it may be that the jibes by the Ecclesiologist regarding the impropriety of the sacramental layout may finally have registered in Teulon's consciousness. This process of critical appraisal, coupled, perhaps, with the moderately different sympathies of his patron (who immediately after the consecration of the church became a Roman Catholic), may have helped to bring about in Teulon a re-appraisal of the sacramental details of his work. At Netherfield, for example, the chancel arch really does differentiate between the nave and the chancel. The pulpit is placed westwards however, away from the seating in the chancel. As a consequence of

this the prayer desk, positioned firmly in the chancel, denoted it as a different space in which a different activity took place. Pulling the chancel arch further into the nave helped the sanctuary to recede visually further towards the east, further, for example than Lincoln or Leckhampstead. The internal arrangements were at least a move towards a more Anglican setting for worship. These changes are small but important, what George Wightwick in the third volume of the Quarterly Papers advocated for a Protestant church - "an Auditorium and at the same time a Spectatory..."

In another church of that period - Christ Church, Fosbury, Wiltshire, consecrated on September 30th 1856 (now redundant and in private ownership), Teulon differentiated between the nave and the chancel by the striking change in the method of roof support. The nave is arch-braced and the chancel roof has hammerbeams. In what the Ecclesiologist¹⁵ called "the form...most difficult to handle" - a simple parallelogram in the "Flowing Middle Pointed" style, - both roof and floor marked the differentiation of ritual function for the chancel floor rose by two steps from the nave. In St James', Netherfield, then, Teulon was responding to a variety of constraints - patronal, critical, theological and ritual.

The fourth church of this period, consecrated in June 1856, is St Andrew's, Coin Street, Lambeth. Like St

Mark's, Silvertown, (1861) it really was a jewel planted in the midst of gross squalour and decay. There is little doubt that at first sight, and from the illustration in the Builder¹⁶ the intention of the building as an object in an urban landscape was to offer an alternative aspiration to the parishioners and to deflect attention from the injustices of social and financial deprivation. Therefore, spiritually and architecturally the church domineered "the mean, low houses of that quarter of Lambeth".¹⁷ It was built four years after William Butterfield drew up plans for All Saints', Margaret Street, London, and drew comparisons with that church in the Ecclesiologist.

St Andrew's was erected in accordance with Peel's Act "to make better provision for the spiritual care of populous parishes."¹⁸ Peel consented in 1843

to introduce an act which permitted separate districts to be formed out of old parishes even where no church existed, and empowered the Ecclesiastical Commission to borrow £600,000 from Queen Anne's Bounty to pay the stipends of the ministers of new districts.

As a consequence St Andrew's was built tall and broad. It seated 800 people and according to the L.C.C. Survey of London (1951),¹⁹ cost £10,000 to construct.

Saunders²⁰ puts the cost at £5,989 excluding heating. It consisted of a nave, north and south aisles, a chancel extending to the second bay of the arcading and a tower

at the west end of the north aisle. The engraving in the Builder²¹ shows the north bays of the nave to be gabled - a method of construction Teulon also used at St Mary's, Horsham. The whole building was constructed in brick and from the plans and elevations Teulon showed to the Ecclesiologist they got him off to a good start with the Building Committee. It was doubtlessly conscious that Teulon had learnt his lesson from Butterfield's All Saints', Margaret Street, and was gratified that Teulon had followed Butterfield's precedent with that church. The Ecclesiologist waxed poetic, and Teulon must have been comforted and encouraged that from within the same period in which two of his churches had received fierce criticism, here at last he had done the right thing by the Ecclesiologist:²²

The passenger who crosses Waterloo Bridge and looks leftward will have his attention attracted by a slate spire, rising German-fashion over the four gables of a tower, built with bands of red and white brick....

Of the interior the Ecclesiologist²³ remarked that it was 'spacious, dignified and church-like'. Teulon succeeded in making a striking contrast between the exterior and the interior. The exterior materials were grey stock bricks with hammer-dressed stone - "too crude and rough for a town church"²⁴ remarked the Ecclesiologist. The jambs of the windows and doors were also of brick with vousoirs of red and grey brick. The raking sides of the gables were constructed in what the

Builder²⁵ called 'dovetailing' (but which we know as tumbled brick) instead of horizontal courses. The brickwork details are usefully illustrated in the Builder²⁶. The tower was gabled - each tympanum occupied by three circles and triangles. From the top and two bottom corners of the gables rose the octagonal timber spire covered in slates of two colours in bands. The banding of the tower at St Thomas', Wells (1856-57), as Matthew Saunders notes²⁷, is reminiscent of engravings of the tower at Lambeth although without the pinnacles. St Andrew's is less fussy than St Thomas'.

The interior was constructed in white Suffolk brick diapered and banded with red brick. The motifs in the gables of the spire were repeated in the spandrels of the arches in the nave - circles and reversed triangles in red. The chancel walls in the east end and the sides were heavily diapered in red and white:²⁸

The effect is rich and the
contrast thus produced marks out
the chancel most completely

In St Andrew's Church Teulon had at last met and mastered not only the Ecclesiologist's demand for proper 'sacramentality', he had proved that he could delineate the functions of different parts of the building without surrendering his theological principles. Thus, although the altar, in wood, not proprietorial stone, was deemed "not successful",²⁹ the reredos as the focus of the sanctuary was successful. It consisted of an arcade of

seven trefoil-headed arches constructed of brick and resting upon shafts of lizard serpentine with carved caps and bases of stone. The spandrels have "carved medallions in circles of brick"³⁰. As in other churches the Decalogue was written on roles of tin. But of the reredos the Ecclesiologist³¹ concluded with uncustomary delight:

There is much vigour in this effect, and we shall be curious to see its actual effect.

But St Andrew's is an important design in another respect for here Teulon mastered polychromy in a strident display of enthusiasm for the effect - a hallmark of High Victorian Gothic. Henry Russell Hitchcock usefully puts the polychromy of St Andrew's into context. In the early 1850's polychromy began to take hold of buildings - churches especially - All Saints', Margaret Street, blazing a trail for its use. In 1849 Teulon had built Tortworth Court without polychromy, although Hitchcock rightly points out:³²

...its architect was soon to be the most unrestrained of all in its exploitation.

In 1850 Butterfield built St Bartholomew's, Yealmpton, in which he introduced striped piers of two tones of marble, and in the same year William White also built All Saints', Kensington, using near polychromy. Within this enthusiastic use of the effect Teulon, in the mid 1850's, built St Andrew's, "using the boldest of brick-

and-stone banding externally and, inside, elaborate patterns of light-coloured brickwork".³³

Teulon's inventive use of stained glass, for instance monochrome yellow at Netherfield with figures depicted in outline, was put to use again in St Andrew's where he made use of glass in two shades of green with the leading worked to represent flowers on stalks. The Ecclesiologist³⁴ commended the idea to other builders of churches who could not afford painted glass.

What, then, can we make of these four churches - what do they tell us about Teulon's creative output and his search for personal integrity in his work and religion?

First, Teulon learnt how to build churches big enough to seat the maximum number of people for their size. In many of his churches this meant the construction of galleries and densely pewed naves. Secondly, and following on from the first observation, Teulon seems to have provided in nearly all his churches a box, embellished or plain according to financial constraint, in which the central act of devotion was preaching and listening. Thirdly, although Teulon seems to have been arrogant in his dismissal by silence of the criticism of the Ecclesiologist, he nevertheless began to adapt and modify his designs to differentiate between the different ritual parts of his churches. The difference however for example between St James', Leckhampstead,

and St Andrew's Church, Lambeth, may have been a response to different sorts of patronage. Fourthly, All Saints', Margaret Street, was a touchstone for Teulon - it land-marked Teulon's extraordinary use of patterned brickwork and it gave Teulon, as with many other architects, courage and liberty to produce exciting ecclesiastical and secular commissions.

Gradually, Teulon was emerging from the rigidity and the arrogance of youthful inexperience into a more mature and adaptable architect and person.

CHAPTER 7

It is patently not my intention in this thesis to catalogue or comment upon all Teulon's new churches but to note some architectural landmarks which enable one to understand better the man through his buildings and his buildings through the man.

From 1856, then, to his death in 1873 Teulon continued to produce a quite extraordinary variety of church buildings ranging from the restrained to the exuberant and from the diminutive to the cathedralesque. Among the "restrained" churches, St Mary's, Alderbury, (1857) stands out in the sense that except for peripheral embellishment to the nave and chancel arches it contains items of furniture which are of a plain unadorned form. All Saints', Benhilton, Surrey, (1863) is probably Teulon's most restrained church by virtue of the almost total lack of complication or quirkiness. It is indeed a very plain church, and in its very simplicity is as odd as some of Teulon's more 'acrobatic' buildings. Exuberance in Teulon's churches, by contrast, has come to mean excess either in decoration or in form as at St Mark's, Silvertown, (1861) in the London Borough of Newham. Here, Teulon's exuberance extended from the building materials he employed in its construction to decorative brick pattern work.

Matthew Saunders¹ notes particularly Teulon's

extensive use of terracotta bricks both inside and out although the effect has been rather spoiled by the garish renewal of many of them on the exterior. It is interesting that Teulon used terracotta on the shell and to provide the lipped spring courses which run round the whole building.....

Teulon vividly contrasted materials, form, pattern and decoration on the exterior, and photographs from the National Monuments Record illustrate these variations. For example, within the top of the tower and the steeple (at the crossing of the nave) are gables with tumbled brickwork; spherical triangles with stone tracery inside; voussoirs to the triangles; a staircase turret with a conical roof incorporating the flue to the heating system and at the top of the turret intricate notched brickwork which seems to be repeated at the top stage of the tower. Exterior forms are contrasted by virtue of a rounded apse with a roof line extended from the east of the tower wall, and the high pitched pyramidal roof on the tower. The low aisles add weight at the bottom of the building making it sit squat, like so many of Teulon's churches, preventing it from soaring to the sky. Inside, the forms are vividly contrasted with a hammerbeam roof to the nave, a flat roof to the chancel, another skeletal apsidal roof and yawning arches between the nave and chancel and the chancel and sanctuary. The voussoirs to the arches appear to be a severe contrast with the brickwork of the interior walls. It is difficult to get to the logic of this

excess, if there is any, and one is tempted to reduce criticism to mere idiosyncrasy on Teulon's part.

For quirkiness of exterior form, however, there is probably no Teulon church to compare with another destroyed in the War - St Thomas', Wrotham Road, built in St Pancras, in 1863. What we know of it from the photographs at the National Monuments Record is that it was built of brick which was diapered and banded. The tower over the chancel, (not as Matthew Saunders writes² over the crossing), is, however, an incredible pile of forms which seem to be crammed and fitted on top of one another without any justifiable reason. Granted, the site was awkward, but Teulon seems to have bulldozed all the forms on to the rounded nose of the site leaving the rest of the church trailing in their wake and filling out the rest of the site. From the east end therefore the building reads: rounded and heavily buttressed apse, tower terminating in an octagonal brick lantern on top of which sat a stunted octagonal spire. And beyond the chancel extended a broad aisleless nave with transepts abutting the chancel wall. Vestries were built along the north side of the church and extended east beyond the apse.

The last two buildings mentioned above are a vivid contrast with All Saints', Benhilton, and St Mary's, Alderbury. Pevsner, undoubtedly relieved at having nothing to note about All Saints', (he was unusually

scathing in his criticism of Teulon's churches), noted that the building bore "none of the more obtrusive mannerisms of Teulon"³ Another source described All Saints' as a "very handsome building"⁴. It is certainly imposing, built on a small hill and dominated by its four-storey west tower. The Incorporated Church Building Society's records note in the application for a grant⁵:

The Church proposed to be erected on the Angel Hill is after the model of the venerable and picturesque neighbouring church of Beddington of the Decorated period 500 years ago.

This church can only be St Mary's, Beddington, Surrey, and it may have been viewed by Teulon while visiting his son Josiah who might have lived in the district. The south-west elevations of both churches are strikingly similar. Both churches are overshadowed by their square four-stage towers at the west end of the nave except that Teulon's tower is embattled. The detailing of the tower buttressing on both churches extends to the top of the fourth stage and both towers are dominated by Perpendicular windows on the west elevation extending up to the second stage. Both churches have west porches into a south aisle at the second bay and the same aisles terminates in a small chapel.

The interior is very spacious due partly to Teulon's habit of making a wide chancel open on to a broad nave. St Mary's, Aldersbury, built five years before All

Saints' is described by Saunders as a 'calm design'⁶ - nothing here of the temerarious Teulon and little embellishment to the pillar capitals, font or pulpit. Like All Saints' above, Teulon used the ploy of a broad arch at the nave and chancel at St Mary's to give an illusion of spaciousness to the nave. The use of short shafts to the nave pillars on the north side of the church again (as in St Mark's, Silvertown) give a low, broad feel to the building. But there are touches of depth also in this building and the transepts north and south abutting the chancel open up vistas from the nave which are quite subtle in their effect. Perhaps the clue to this particular building lies in its sheer lack of distraction. The arcaded pulpit, for example, with its trefoil arches sits simply on a bulbous base. There is no infill to the arcading. The font likewise is a simple structure - octagonal with quatrefoils in the eight stone panels of the bowl sitting a little uncomfortably at its conical base. The Ecclesiologist thought the plan was "rather peculiar"⁷ and despaired that the 'picturesque grouping'⁸ of the component parts had reduced the church to 'a mere auditorium for sermon and prayers'⁹. To reinforce the criticism the Ecclesiologist complained that in seating the congregation within sight and sound of all that was said from desk and pulpit "a considerable portion of the congregation are removed from ... all that is said and done at the altar."¹⁰ However, the point has been made earlier in this thesis that Teulon was prepared to

sacrifice the communion in favour of the pulpit and prayer desk, though in personal practice and piety one has no indication from Teulon that one took precedence over the other. The buildings must speak, in this respect, for themselves.

This strident criticism of the Ecclesiologist for what it termed Teulon's 'meagre' ritualism, (St Thomas', Lambeth), and the implied criticism of Teulon's use of transepts at St Mary's, Alderbury, is worthy of some further comment here. Both St Thomas' and St Mary's were designed with transepts north and south and although both churches could be described in plan as cruciform there is a case to be made for describing them as 'T-shaped' churches with the addition of a chancel and sanctuary in St Mary's church and an extremely shallow sanctuary only at St Thomas'. I am grateful to Professor George Yale of the Department of Church History, University of Aberdeen, who has pointed out to me in correspondence the phenomenon of 'T-shaped' churches in Scotland and also in England where the advantage was the conjunction of word and sacrament and the gathering of all the people around the Table. It is now clear to me that where the patterns of a new church were distinctly conducive to an emphasis on the preaching and praying function of a church, as at St Thomas' Lambeth, Teulon built such a church. Both St Thomas' and St Mary's are variations of the same plan except that St Thomas' has been compacted east and west.

Perhaps to Teulon's surprise the Incorporated Church Building Society also complained that the design of St Thomas' was too much like an auditorium, the transepts being positioned too near the east end. The Committee of Architects therefore asked that they be moved westwards to form a proper chancel and for an apsidal termination to the sanctuary.¹¹ Both of these alterations Teulon refused to comply with on the grounds, firstly, that a school and house were required to be built on the site adjacent to the church. The design of the church was therefore also governed by future plans. Secondly, although an apsidal termination might have been aesthetically desirable, it would have taken the cost of the building beyond the budget for the project.

So much for exuberance and restraint. It is difficult to reason why Teulon vacillated between the two extremes, except that Teulon's more restrained churches might have been the product of a restraining patron, as, for example, in the case of St Thomas', Lambeth, for whom the Church Pastoral Aid Society were patrons. The Society was within the mainstream of the Evangelical revival and held to the supremacy of scripture in all matters of doctrine and deliberation. The exuberance, as at St Mark's, Silvertown, may have been Teulon quite simply accepting the new style of the Oxford Movement and employing to excess techniques of decoration and embellishment. The problem here, as ever with Teulon, is a severe shortage of material in his own hand by which

one can assess his *raison d'être* for building as he did.

Of Teulon's diminutive churches, St Mary's, Ebony, Kent (1858), stands out as being small both in size and budget. The church was both rebuilt and resited for a total cost of £225. The plan was extremely simple comprising a rectangle 50' long by 25' wide with the addition of a small vestry at the east end of the north wall. Within that space Teulon planned a nave, font at the west end, pulpit and reading desk at the north and south of the nave respectively, both 20' from the east wall.¹² The foundation stone was laid on 24 August 1858 and the building consecrated for worship three months later on 18 November by Archbishop Sumner for whom Teulon had built Christchurch, Croydon, six years previously. It is puzzling why Teulon even accepted this commission. He did not need the work for his office was always busy. St Mary's stands alone among all Teulon's commissions with regard to its size. That Teulon may have had a personal interest in this building we do not know. However, the Incorporated Church Building Society records do not indicate a fee to the architect, or a salary for the clerk of works. It is highly likely that Teulon did this work for nothing and that contrasts sharply with highly lucrative contracts Teulon secured six years later and which made him a very wealthy man.

From 1863 to 1865 the Rev. Daniel Capper rebuilt a church in Huntley, Gloucestershire, and built, virtually

ex nihilo a church, parsonage, school and houses in the village of Hunstanworth, County Durham. He was extremely wealthy, having inherited estates in Northumberland and Durham, and therefore proved to be a generous patron and benefactor. Moreover, the Gloucestershire Extracts¹³ noted, Capper "took an active part in church affairs in the diocese (of Gloucester), his views being Evangelical". While Rector of Huntley Capper founded the Lay and Clerical Society which in its day had branches in many English parishes and proved to be an invaluable bond between Evangelical members of the Church of England. Teulon never had, and never would enjoy, such a combination of assets in a patron, for Capper was both wealthy and an Evangelical. Both St John's, Huntley, and St James', Hunstanworth, were consecrated in 1863 and both were important commissions, for, apart from the commission by way of fees, Capper gave Teulon a commission which would have been the envy of any architect - an opportunity to create a community at Hunstanworth and to build a church in Gloucestershire which was described as "one of the most interesting buildings in England".¹⁴

How Teulon gained these commissions we do not know, but the Incorporated Church Building Society records are useful because, like the commission for St John's, Ladywood, Birmingham, they show that Teulon was not the first architect to be chosen for St John's, Huntley. The original intention of the incumbent, the Rev. John

Morse, was to build a north transept to the existing building. In 1835 he made a grant application to the Incorporated Church Building Society¹⁵ which was turned down by the Architect's Committee because "the intended construction appears altogether objectionable". Two further applications were made to the Incorporated Church Building Society in December 1835 and October 1836. But in 1839, the same year that Capper was inducted Rector of Huntley, he wrote to the Society asking for details of the plans submitted and informed the Society that he was in favour of an enlarged church. The plans included the provision of a north aisle with a gallery above drawn up by Thomas Fulljames of Gloucester. No further correspondence took place with the Society after 1839 but twenty three years later in 1862 Teulon was commissioned not to draw up plans for additional accommodation but to rebuild the entire church with the exception of the tower. It is highly likely that negotiations with Teulon began at least two years earlier than the date given by Verey¹⁶ of 1863 because Teulon's Drawing Office account held with the Bank of England¹⁷ indicates an initial payment into his account from Capper for £1,000. If the entries into Teulon's account for 1862 onwards marked 'Cheltenham' are from Capper (he was born there in 1804), then during 1862 alone a total of seven payments were made into Teulon's account amounting to £8,700. This sum could have been held by Teulon as banker for payments to the contractor - Messrs Wingate of Gloucester - and

certainly to artists and sculptors. In 1863 payments out of his account included £145 to Lavers, who executed the stained glass work and £68 to Earp, who carved the alabaster and marble furniture. Other payments to these and other craftsmen were frequently made by Teulon and it is difficult, therefore, to deduce with certainty that these were specific payment for St John's, Huntley. We can guess, however, that a sum in the region of £6-£8,000 seems a reasonable contract price for the rebuilding of St John's. In addition to the sum of £8,700 mentioned above, nearly £13,000 was paid in by Capper to Teulon's account, probably for St John the Evangelist, Huntley, St James', Hunstanworth, and probably for other buildings, for example a parsonage at Hunstanworth. However, considerably larger amounts of money would have been required to complete the school, school house and cottages at Hunstanworth, and to refurbish Huntley Manor, the Capper's parsonage which Teulon was commissioned to design; 'The Rectory ...at once suggests the idea that this is the residence of wealth and taste of a high order. The buildings are very extensive, and the irregularly jutting gables, peaked roofs, etc, seem well adapted to the scenery of the locality'.¹⁸ As for Hunstanworth, we know again from the Incorporated Church Building Society files that Capper personally contributed £1,400 towards the cost of the rebuilding of St James' which in 1861 was partially repaired and at that date was in poor condition.¹⁹ He also contributed an endowment to the living of which he

was perpetual curate, Lord of the Manor and patron from 1834 onwards until the first vicar was appointed in 1868. Some of the massive sums of money that went into Teulon's account, we can assume therefore, were either earmarked for Huntley Manor or for St James' and the village of Hunstanworth.

In these two commissions for what were virtually new churches, (the tower of St John's, Huntley, excepted), we have an opportunity to contrast and compare two buildings built at more or less the same time for the same client. The first striking difference between the two buildings is that St John's, Huntley, appears to be more of a shop window for Teulon's skills than St James'. Well assembled as St John's is, one has the impression of viewing exhibits at an exhibition - not unrelated exhibits, but exhibits all the same.

Hunstanworth by contrast is a plain building (except for the diapered roof tile patterning on the exterior). All the interior walls are rendered with pale biscuit-coloured dressings; "on the whole Teulon lets us off lightly", wrote Pevsner,²⁰ whereas Saunders perhaps understates the design with the note: 'Perhaps the single most striking internal feature is the pulpit'.²¹ There is nothing fussy in the decoration, nothing quirky in the detailing except, perhaps, for the pulpit which is placed in a shallow south transept immediately adjoining the chancel. Interestingly, this was a modification to the plans Teulon had presented to the

Incorporated Church Building Society for in them the pulpit, presumably of stone, was placed in the nave at the south side of the chancel. The modification of the design, which was eventually built set into the south wall in two bays, may have been requested by Capper. By removing the pulpit from the sight line to the chancel, the sanctuary came into the full view of the majority of the congregation while at the same time no architectural obstacle of significance came between the officiant and the congregation. It seems here then that word and sacrament were held together not by Teulon, but by his client whose reverence for both encouraged Teulon to change his design in this respect. To gain extra seating the font was removed north from the centre of the west end of the nave to the conjunction of the nave and north aisle. It was undoubtedly a purely pragmatic decision on Capper's part, for the object here was to seat as many as possible within the budget for the building (if there in fact was one). Teulon provided a building which increased the seatings from 124 seats in the rebuilt church of 1781 to 273 seats in the new church when it was consecrated on 9 June 1863. On the whole, then, this church is plain with regard to exterior form and interior fittings except, perhaps, for the bold lozenge design on the roof of the church and school which seem to beckon the passer-by like an outsized hoarding. The effect is quite magnetic.

St John the Evangelist, by contrast, appears to be quite

an unprepossessing building except for a buttressed, shallow transept at the east end of the church with a window of flamboyant tracery and a blind arcade below. The red sandstone and Painswick stone spire do not betray the interior, for on entering the church through the south porch one is immediately stunned by the riot of materials, forms and patterning which assault the eye. The interior walls are striped with red and white stone; the voussoirs to the arches windows and doors are chequered with alternate red stone and a fretted design. The patterning to the chancel arch extends to every facet of its profile and texts abound in this arch and in the arches to the north aisle. Columns everywhere are clustered with the exception of that to the chancel arch. The carving is extremely rich everywhere. The clustered columns in the nave are surmounted by rich foliage, the springers to the same arches and the corbels on the south nave wall are richly carved with figures, with those of the four evangelists in medallions in the spandrels of the nave arcade. Texts decorate all the nave arches and the chancel arch and at the wall plates in the nave. As in many Teulon churches, the Decalogue and Lord's Prayer are placed on the east wall of the shallow sanctuary either side of the reredos. The reredos, pulpit and lectern (of alabaster and marble), the font (of stone and marble) are extraordinary in their intricacy and detail and form very separate foci of attention. The reredos, notes Saunders,²² was exhibited at the Great Exhibition of

1862 and was awarded by "Honourable Mention". A year later it was transported to St John's, Huntley. It depicts the Institution of the Lord's Supper in relief and on either side of it, set in niches, are carvings of the birth and resurrection of Christ. The whole reredos is flanked by trefoil arched niches on marble columns. The pulpit is arcaded with angels at the base, mosaic patterning above and in the centre of the arcade a statue of St John the Baptist after whom the church is dedicated. The lectern is a low design with a central cluster of shafts surmounted by a brass eagle. The font, an octagonal bowl incised and carved with angels is enclosed in railings, probably by Skidmore, who also manufactured the pendant glass lamps in the church. The roof, open in the nave and bossed in the sanctuary, helps to delineate the function of the various spaces in the church. The chancel arch visually encloses a sanctuary arch corbelled and rising in wood, fretted, cusped and highly decorated. There is also considerable stencil work applied to both the chancel and sanctuary roof panels.

The contrast, then, between the two buildings in decorative terms could not be more marked. Yet in terms of their function and the disposition of the furniture they are similar. Capper, then, seemed to hold both word and sacrament together in equal theological and, therefore, architectural importance. The difference, in the end, is that Huntley is a literary and visual

building which tells stories in words and pictures, Huntley outstripping Hunstanworth in terms of the sheer literary and visual assault upon the senses. The difference therefore may also have been budgetary. Capper, after all, lived in Huntley Manor and it might have been a purely pragmatic decision on his behalf to build the more sumptuous of the two buildings on his doorstep. But the Great Exhibition came at just the right time for Teulon's commission to build St John's. What better hoarding could Teulon erect than the ornate reredos to St John's, and what better edifice to contain it than St John's, Huntley?

Saunders in his description of St John's makes the interesting comment that the lavishness of the carving and the "highly animated figures over the nave columns (are) very much in the spirit of William Burges".²³

There is an interesting link between this observation and firstly, a chapter in the Catalogue to the Burges Centenary Exhibition²⁴ in which J. Mordaunt Crook writes of Burges's approach to religion as "aesthetic rather than theological".²⁵ He continues

In his art and in his writing he emphasised the visual rather than the metaphysical side of religion. His ideal was the church candescent, an aesthetic version of the church militant: Faith made manifest in Art. He loved ceremony almost for its own sake.

Teulon's temperament may have favoured just this one

opportunity to discover if it were possible to hold together the 'church candescent' and the church militant. The combination of architect and patron seems to have held these two ideals together, for Capper provided three ingredients - the arena, the theological restraint and the cash - for Teulon to produce this "treasure house".²⁶

The second connection between the comment of Saunders and Burges is that, as Clive Wainwright notes,²⁷ the Medieval Court in which Teulon exhibited his reredos for St John's was laid out by Burges for the Ecclesiological Society and in it both Teulon and Burges exhibited. A photograph of the Medieval Court in the Catalogue shows a richly carved stone panel on the wall; highly patterned, carved and infilled furniture on display; and inscriptions on the wooden skirting of the display podia. In terms of clusters of objects on display for view and commendation the arrangement is evocative of the way Teulon appears to have displaced his church furniture in St John's. In short, St John's, Huntley, was Teulon's 1863 Exhibition. As the Gloucester Journal²⁸ reported on the re-opening of the parish church:

The eye ranges over the various
beautiful details which everywhere
arrest the eye with a chastened
pleasure, and

"all from a scene
Where musing solitude might love
to lift
Her soul above this sphere of
earthliness".

If one compares both St John's and St James', therefore, the architectural and underlying theological similarities are a careful balance between word and sacrament with the pulpit in both churches moved discretely to the south of the nave, (completely in to the wall in the case of St James'). The effect is to reduce the ritual impression from preaching boxes into properly ordered churches with carefully defined naves, chancels and sanctuaries, though it has to be admitted in the case of St James' the nave and north aisle are broad, so perhaps the broad 'auditorium' is implicit in the design. The difference of carving and decoration are harder to account for except that, as has been mentioned, the 1862 Exhibition coincided conveniently with the schedule of works at Huntley and St John's provided a convenient arena for display. But perhaps more important than all this is the fact that in Capper Teulon met a literate and deeply devout patron who, it seems, knew what he wanted in terms of his theology and churchmanship, and got it in both churches with Teulon's co-operation.

Of Teulon's 'masterpiece' - St Stephen's, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead - much is made of the final cost of the project - about £27,000 compared with the original estimate of £7,500. Although in financial terms it is of some import (it is by no means as spectacular an error as Burges's St Fin Barre's Cathedral at Cork which finally cost £100,000 compared with the original costs

of £15,000), both projects, in the strictly financial sense, went wildly out of control, and any appreciation of St Stephen's, Hampstead, has to be made with this important caveat in mind. There may have been no shortage of money, but it seems strange that Teulon should have acted without due care and attention to the stewardship of other people's largesse in subscribing to the church.

In terms of the ground plan of the church, the immediate impression is that here Teulon was dealing with an arrangement tried and tested by him elsewhere - for example at St James', Hunstanworth, and St Frideswide's, Oxford, (1870). The broad nave with north and south aisles and north and south porches at the west end is similar to Hunstanworth while the chancel and sanctuary configuration resembles a pattern established at St Michael on the Mount, Lincoln, St Thomas', Wells, Hunstanworth and St Frideswide's. Therefore, like all Teulon churches "St Stephen's is clearly not a building intended for High Church ritual".²⁹ The chancel here opens by arcades into the north and south aisles. At St Frideswide's the north transept opened directly on to the choir. This layout is symptomatic of what Neil Burton³⁰ describes as Teulon's "ritualistic ambivalence". But the same ambivalence is evident in St Thomas', Wells, where in the ground plan deposited with the Incorporated Church Building Society³¹, Teulon also indicated a broad nave opening into a broad chancel

with, as at St Frideswide's, pews in the north 'transept'. Teulon was doing nothing new at St Stephen's in terms of ritualistic layout except that by moving the reading desk into the Sanctuary, which, and Burton is right here, is more clearly defined by virtue of the central tower placed over it, Teulon made both word and sacrament the foci of attention. Teulon had done the same in Hunstanworth where the prayer desk is also situated in the chancel and directly underneath the chancel arch. However, the layout of the chancel and sanctuary, though more refined and spacious than, for example, St Thomas' Lambeth, (1857), is still reminiscent of it inasmuch as the congregation sat close to the sanctuary, which, at St Stephen's, as elsewhere, was extremely short. It remains, however, primarily an auditorium for the 'glorious gospel' - and a 'glorious' auditorium at that.

The exterior form of the church is massive. As Burton explains, the fact that it was built on a site sloping downward west to east added to the impression of bulkiness, almost the aggression, of the church. The external forms are deceptive, as at St Michael's, Lincoln, for the immediate appearance is that of a cruciform church with deep broad transepts. However, the exterior walls north and south of the nave extend east to encompass the chancel aisles or transepts. So while externally St Stephen's appeared 'regular', inside Teulon created a cathedralesque preaching box, square

with a broad chancel. Moreover, an early photograph of the interior looking east from a point near the font indicates quite clearly Teulon's intention, and that of the first incumbent, the Rev. Joshua Kirkman, to get the theological balance right between word and sacrament. It shows the pulpit proper not in its present position but occupying a considerable part of the northern half of the chancel step. The pulpit, therefore, at St Stephen's vied with the sanctuary as the focus of attention and devotion. In fact the base of the present pulpit is quite unlike anything else Teulon designed elsewhere being only a plain cylindrical base. It may have been moved to its present site at the same time that the wooden screen was erected at the south chancel arch and the organ was installed in the north transept, or else it was repositioned as the building was erected. A ground plan³² redrawn from the Builder of September 1869 indicates the pulpit in its present position. However, an important detail like the position of the pulpit was modified between plan and construction as indicated by the example cited of St James', Hunstanworth.

If Teulon wrote little we can at least eavesdrop on the architectural conversations - or, better, monologues - of his churches in their development and construction and St Stephen's represents one of those conversations. The exterior, with its stripped brickwork effect and yet its bold early French forms is in marked contrast with the

sumptuous, almost distracting, detail in, for example, the notched and chamfered brickwork of the nave and chancel arches. The exterior form, as I have indicated, betrays something of the intention of the architect and the patrons, for it is stamped 'low church' by the extensive use of roundels in the north and south spandrels of the nave arches, one of which, Burton points out³³, was paid for by Ewan Christian as a protest against Romanising practices within the Church of England. That seems to have been a rallying call for Teulon's office on many occasions. St Stephen's, like St John's, Huntley, is bedecked with inscriptions in the arches, punctuated by illustrations of the life of St Stephen in the base of the corbels of the chancel arch, externally garlanded with statues and punctuated with acclamations and Biblical scenes.

By contrast, and probably due to the debilitating effect of illness towards the end of Teulon's life, St Frideswide's, Oxford (1870-72) somehow seems a 'tired' church. It was consecrated on 10 April 1871, two years before Teulon's death. In the first place the watercolour to which Malcolm Graham refers in his excellent guide to the church³⁴ depicts the building as it was intended to have been finished, with an octagonal tower and spire. The tower was never built due to a lack of funds and the interior walls, finished with a cement rendering with rough dressings, lend an unfinished appearance to the church. On the exterior, the

arrangement is reminiscent of St Thomas', St Pancras', where Teulon attempted to build over the Sanctuary a square tower with an octagonal brick lantern capped by a pyramidal roof. At St Frideswide's he planned a development on the same theme by building an octagonal tower rising from the sanctuary. The 54' tower was to incorporate a belfry and the octagonal spire should have risen a further 40' but it too was not built. St Thomas' looked ridiculous because the tower was a very complicated arrangement, St Frideswide's because the unfinished church appears stumpy and squat without the spire. St Stephen's survived budgetary crises because it was well endowed by patrons and parishioners prepared to meet the considerable expenditure incurred in bridging the deficit between the contract price and the final bill. St Frideswide's failed to be built as planned for opposite reasons: it simply ran out of money and had to be pared down and adapted as the crisis deepened. By the time St Frideswide's was consecrated it was far from the building Teulon envisaged it to be. Exterior modifications were major ones and so were the interior arrangements, for it is a church with seats instead of benches. Teulon's office provided the Incorporated Church Building Society with two sets of plans both identical with regard to broad dimensions and the arrangement of the church.³⁵ The 1870 plan showed the pew arrangements as for a normal aisleless nave of four bays with a central aisle. Another plan of the seating arrangement dated 1872 indicated to the Society's

Secretary, the Rev. George Ainslie, that all places in the nave were to be by means of moveable seating - chairs - no doubt because of cost factors. Nevertheless, this alteration to the design was symptomatic of deeper underlying problems arising between the builder, Mr King, and the Church Building Committee. The Incorporated Church Building Society records indicate that King³⁶ may have taken the initiative in calling a halt to the building programme, presumably at the stage we now see the building, in order to save him over-running his expenses and thus preventing the Building Committee from incurring the embarrassment of debt. It was probably the Building Committee who, in view of the rising costs of the project, decided to save further money by installing chairs instead of benches. Graham writes of the 'disenchantment'³⁷ of King's partner, Mr Young, and notes that supervision of the project passed to a new committee comprising the Archdeacon of Oxford, the Warden of All Souls College, Frederick Morrell, William Ward and the Rev. Francis Chamberlain. They launched a successful public appeal and, Graham notes,³⁸

entered into a fresh contract with the builders to 'render the church as speedily as possible fit for Divine Worship ... without at present attempting the erection of the Tower, or any such other ornament as may not be absolutely required.'

There is no record in the Incorporated Church Building Society files of Teulon's correspondence with the Society especially as the Society had threatened to withhold some of its £100 grant towards the building project because the change of method of seating the congregation had not been forwarded to them prior to their award. The Committee of Architects had also asked for modification to the nave roof trusses - that they should be built closer together - and that an additional entrance should be provided, presumably that to the east wall of the shallow north transept. Teulon's clumsy and awkward signature is appended to a letter in another hand with regard to these criticisms. With regard to the modifications to the seating in the nave Richard Forster, Teulon's devoted assistant in his office, entered into correspondence with the Incorporated Church Building Society³⁹ One senses, therefore, that all was not well with Teulon, his practice and his reputation even at this point before his death. Moreover, there are features of the building which, frankly, seem to be too ambitious, from the broad concept of the building, for so limited a budget and therefore Teulon's ability to make value judgements - budgetary and schematic - must be called into question.

The building seems to be an amalgam of all that had ever passed through Teulon's office, and we may conjecture that Teulon himself need have had little more to do with the building other than give a generalised indication of

its scheme. Indeed, Forster may have taken on the role of Teulon's amanuensis. Firstly, the broad arrangement was nothing new to Teulon's office. An aisless nave, north and south transepts, a tower over the chancel and an apsidal sanctuary was an arrangement Teulon knew how to handle well - indeed, aesthetically, it was probably his most successful formula. With variations it featured at St Michael's, Lincoln; St Thomas', Wells; Holy Trinity, Oare, Wiltshire; Holy Trinity, Hastings and St James', Hunstanworth.

The roof of the nave was arch braced - a method of construction Teulon had used at St Stephen's. The windows too are similar to St Stephen's in that they are simple, cusplless designs. A strong similarity to St Stephen's is also evident in the brick vaulting at the crossing, a feature similar in both buildings, except that at St Stephen's the course of the dark brick striping is in two bands and at St Frideswide's in one. There is little subtlety in the design or the detail even given the financial problems which dogged the construction. It is a tired church by a tired architect who here and, it must be said, at St Stephen's, seemed to be losing budgetary control. At St Frideswide's, Teulon's aesthetic grip seemed to be loosening still further.

CHAPTER 8

Samuel Teulon died aged 61 on 2 May 1873 at his home 'Tensleys', The Green, Hampstead. His death certificate¹ records that his son Josiah was 'In Attendance'. The cause of his death was 'Paralysis Insanorum. 5 months. Exhaustion certified'. Paralysis Insanorum is also known as G.P.I. - General Paralysis of the Insane - tertiary syphilis. A symptom of G.P.I. is an inability to sustain consistent creative output. So in his illness, which probably lasted some years before he died of its effects, we have the seeds of a deeper physical incapacity which could have drastically affected that consistency for which we would rightly be justified in seeking. In view of the fact that no new churches were built after, say, 1870 - the date the first plans for St Frideswide's were lodged with the Incorporated Church Building Society - the 'exhaustion' from which Teulon is reckoned to have died could not have been due to overwork and the consequent physical and mental strain of supervising a busy office.² I do not pretend any expertise in medical matters but some research into the disease is useful inasmuch as it may account for the fact that Teulon probably did not continue a busy practice up to the end of his life but seems to have gradually run down the number of commissions from about 1870 onwards. The disease known now as 'General Paresis' is comparatively rare but Spillane notes³ that 'change in temperament usually precedes any evidence of

intellectual decline'. He notes - and this may account for the assumption by some that his exhaustion was brought on by the sheer volume of work flowing through his office - that a patient's symptoms may present themselves as business or domestic worries. 'Something more serious is not usually suspected until there has been some failure of memory, lapse in social refinement, errors of judgement or grotesque expressions of opinion or untoward behaviour'.⁴ Teulon rarely expressed an opinion but the failure to adhere to a budget both at St Stephen's and St Frideswide's speaks eloquently of 'errors of judgement' and these have been investigated elsewhere in this thesis. In an excellent account of the disease in Price's Textbook Of The Practice of Medicine⁵ Price writes of patients 'inattentive and ignorant of what he once knew well', of 'impaired judgement' and 'tremulous script',⁶ symptoms we can recognise in aspects of Teulon's final commissions. Price is particularly helpful in rectifying the impression that Teulon was incapacitated for many months prior to his death. On the contrary,⁷

In many patients who do well the personality has the edge taken off it, and there may be less initiative and force in mental activity, emotion may be less controlled, especially in the proneness to anger or to frivolous levity, yet the patient is able to return to his former work, even though it is responsible and complex; he could scarcely, however, except in the most

favourable cases, learn a new job
or adapt to new and exacting
situations.

It is my guess that towards the end of his life Teulon, while holding no more than a feeble grip on the work of his office, entrusted its organisation and its output to his clerk Richard Forster. In his will of April 1869 Teulon left Forster the sum of £200 'as a mark of my esteem for him'. In the first Codicil to his Will dated August 1870 Teulon, sensing further his indebtedness to Forster, charged his trustees and executors⁸

if they think it prudent to do so
but not otherwise to carry on my
business under the superintendence
of my Clerk Richard Forster.....

In addition to a salary Forster was also offered a share in the profits of the business. In the fourth Codicil dated November 1871 Teulon's esteem for Forster increased by £100, the money to be given to him in addition to the legacy already bequeathed to him of £200. Greater responsibility, therefore, rested on Foster's shoulders as Teulon's inability to govern and inspire his business decreased in line with the passage of his disease.

There is tremendous pathos in the predicament and the progress of Teulon's illness. His wife Harriet, to whom he was deeply devoted, died 6½ years previously on 15 December, 1866. There is mystery surrounding her death for although she was buried in Highgate Cemetery there

is no death certificate available in the Hampstead
Registration District which seems to indicate that she
died away from home - outside the Registration District.

Teulon died with his son Josiah at his bedside and after
the funeral service fittingly conducted at St Stephen's
he was buried in Hampstead Parish churchyard.

CHAPTER 9

Throughout his life Teulon was reluctant to set down in a logical manner a theory of architecture by which we are able to gauge his progress or his successes. Conversations with him therefore, as I have stated elsewhere, have to be initiated by those engaged into research into his life. The only ways in which he replies are by reference to his domestic circumstances; his religious convictions; his perceptive cultivation of lucrative commissions and the buildings he erected. Amalgamated, these characteristics disclose the sort of person I have outlined at the beginning of this thesis. I have attempted to establish the domestic environment which threw up Teulon. His parents seem to have been generously disposed to nurture all their children in a creative environment and each child seems to have been given liberty and licence to pursue their individual creativity to its conclusion. After all, few families could boast two architects, a theological college vice principle and an amateur poetess. But coupled with this creativity was a strong sense of family history. It was a history which would have reinforced on the one hand Teulon's strong minority identity as a Huguenot and, on the other hand, his profoundly deep religious evangelical convictions. It is probably these two personal convictions which, above all else, provided Teulon with the sheer stamina to pursue a reason and method of designing his new churches especially, in a

way frequently contrary to the prescriptions of the Ecclesiologist.

Teulon's first important commission for the Dyers Company -the almshouses in Balls Pond Road - was in many ways a prototype of the way Teulon went about his business affairs. He undoubtedly beavered away at the possibility of this commission while capitalising on his association with Porter and Legg in an opportunistic manner. But many of Teulon's clients were also wealthy, influential Anglicans and Teulon has come in for some unjust criticism of the exclusiveness and the sheer wealth of his patrons. I have argued that Teulon was too astute - too industrious - to let any commission from any quarter bypass his office. In any case, it is only reasonable that wealthy evangelical patrons would want to enlist the services of a like-minded architect. But in his new churches Teulon probably saw an opportunity to engage in a crusade against Popery. His buildings were an expression, not only of his personal theological convictions, but also of his clients' convictions. Broad naves, galleries, broad chancel arches and shallow chancels, coupled with the wild internal and external polychromy of some of his buildings were together part of that crusade. They stood like jewels in, in some cases, areas of depressing squalor. Many buildings, however, seem to be extraordinarily tame by comparison, and one is continually confronted with a strange inconsistency of creative output which defies

explanation. I have argued in this thesis that the course of the illness from which Teulon eventually died could have begun up to twenty years or more before his death and that the solutions to Teulon's inconsistency have its cause in the effect of his disease.

With regard to his place among other rogues of his time Teulon, while ranking among them, seems, sadly, either to miss the mark of extraordinary inventiveness, like, for example William Burges, or else Teulon seems to have lacked that fine detail for three-dimensional design that we recognise in William Butterfield's Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. Teulon was not the complete designer - the Burgesian 'art-architect' - but he did innovate as, for example, in his clever use of monochrome stained glass in St John's, Netherfield, Sussex. No, Teulon did not approach the structural acrobatics of a contemporary like Lamb who built the complicated roof structure for St Mary's, Addiscombe, Surrey. Teulon's clever use of a site is not called into question here. Like Butterfield's All Saints', Margaret Street, Teulon also mastered the organisation of space. Holy Trinity, Hastings, on an awkward, triangular plot, was built with internal buttressing which allowed for a broad naved church.

However, Teulon's sole objective - the goal to which all other disciplines were subject - was to produce glorious 'amphitheatres' for the Gospel. He was single-minded in

his determination to create spaces for the prime function of worship - the declaration and reception of Scripture. And that overriding concern was the product of an architect of profound religious conviction.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. The term 'Acrobatic Gothic' was coined by J.P. Seddon and was the title of an article by Dr Mark Girouard, Acrobatic Gothic, *Country Life*, CXLVIII (1966), pp.1282-1286.
2. 'Pedigree of the Huguenot Refugee Family of Teulon', in Genealogica et Heraldica by Henry Wagner, FSA.
3. Gerald R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789, vol. iv, The Pelican History of the Church, ed. Owen Chadwick, revised edition, Harmondsworth (1960), p.20.
4. 'Pedigree'.
5. 'Pedigree'.
6. Matthew Saunders, The Churches of S.S. Teulon, London (1982), p.4.
7. *Ibid*, p.3.
8. London Borough of Greenwich, Local History Library.
9. This observation is attributed to Henry Wagner by Anthony Wagner. From the private papers of Miss D.L. Teulon.
10. Alex R Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, vol. v, The Pelican History of the Church, ed. Owen Chadwick, revised edition, Harmondsworth (1974), p.49.
11. Miss D.L. Teulon, The Huguenot Refugee Family of Teulon, privately published, Newhaven, (1971), pp.11-13.
12. Miss D.L. Teulon, *ibid*.
13. Teulon's Will deposited at General Register Office, St Catherines House, London.
14. Samuel Teulon Sketches in Verse Etc. and Reminiscences.
15. Samuel Teulon, Reminiscences, p.2.
16. Samuel Teulon, Sketches in Verse Etc., p.17.
17. Sketches, p.17.

18. Sketches, p.18.
19. Sketches, p.18.
20. Sketches, p.18.
21. Sketches, p.20.
22. Sketches, p.19.
23. Sketches, p.19.
24. Sketches, p.20
25. Sketches, p.3.
26. Sketches, p.3.
27. Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival, third edition, Great Britain (1969), p.29.
28. Sketches, p.4.
29. Sketches, p.24.

CHAPTER 2

1. Reminiscences, p.3.
2. Reminiscences, p.2.
3. Reminiscences, p.3.
4. Reminiscences, p.3.
5. Reminiscences, p.3.
6. Reminiscences, p.3.
7. Reminiscences, p.4.
8. Reminiscences, p.6.
9. Reminiscences, pp.6-7.
10. Reminiscences, p.7.
11. Reminiscences, p.8.
12. Reminiscences, p.12.
13. Reminiscences, p.12.
14. Reminiscences, p.13.

CHAPTER 3

1. Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland - 1550-1850, ed. by Peter Eden, Folkstone (1975).
2. Demolished 1939
3. The Builder, XXXI (1873), p.384.
4. Anthony Quiney, History of the Almshouses of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen, report for the Historic Buildings Board of the Greater London Council (1968).
5. Algernon Graves, Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769 - 1904 London (1906), iv, p.311; (exhibit no. 998). Kempthorne's father-in-law was secretary of the Church Missionary Society.
6. Graves, op.cit. vi, p.185; (exhibit no. 920). This exhibit may correspond to Tensleys Villa, Surrey.
7. Ibid. vii, p.349; (exhibit no. 930).
8. Ibid. p.349; (exhibit no. 1012).

CHAPTER 4

1. Demolished 1939. Records held with the Dyers Company.
2. Quiney, *op.cit.*, p.3.
3. Minutes deposited at the Dyers Company.
4. Surveyor, Engineer and Architect. XXXII (1 August 1842), pp.246-247.
5. Quiney, *op.cit.*, p.3.
6. Howard Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 - 1840, London (1978), p.928.
7. Peter J. Allen, 'Elvetham Hall' (unpublished dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981), p.25.
8. Maurice Teulon, Log Book, 1867-1869, entry for 22 and 23 January 1869, p.81.
9. J. Standen Atkins, 'Ewan Christian: A Memoir', in the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, XVIII, 3rd. series, 30 September 1911, pp. 711-730.
10. Saunders, *op.cit.*, p.12.
11. Neil Burton, The Church of St Stephen, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, Greater London Council, Historic Buildings Paper, No.1. London (1980),
12. Saunders, *op.cit.*, p.9.

CHAPTER 5

1. Saunders, op.cit., p.15.
2. Ecclesiologist, VII (1847), p.111.
3. Ibid, VIII (1848), p.264.
4. Ibid, p.317.
5. Ibid, p.317.
6. Saunders, op.cit., p.15.
7. Ecclesiologist, VI (1848), p.268.
8. Incorporated Church Building Society; 4107.
9. Ecclesiologist, IX (1851), p.429.
10. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England, Warwickshire, Harmondsworth (1966) p.165.,
11. Ecclesiologist, op.cit., p.429.
12. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England, Surrey, second edition, Harmondsworth, (1972), p.180.
13. Incorporated Church Building Society; 4441.
14. Ibid. 4441.
15. Ibid. 4441.
16. Ibid. 4441.
17. Ecclesiologist, XIV (1853), p.455.
18. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.153.
19. Benwick, St. Mary the Virgin, Cambridgeshire (Ely), a report for the Council for the Care of Churches, (London, 1981).
20. From the papers of Miss Hazel Teulon.
21. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England, Essex, second edition, Harmondsworth, (1965), p.86.
22. Ecclesiologist, XX (1859), p.207.

CHAPTER 6

1. Ecclesiologist, XV (1854), pp.63-65.
2. Ibid. p.64.
3. Ibid. p.65.
4. Ibid. p.65.
5. Saunders, op.cit., p.40.
6. Ecclesiologist, XV (1854), pp.64-65.
7. Ibid, p.65.
8. Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, (1972), p.124.
9. Ibid, p.126.
10. Ibid, p.127.
11. Ecclesiologist, XV (1854), p.63.
12. Ibid, p.63.
13. Incorporated Church Building Society; 4769.
14. Ibid.
15. Ecclesiologist, XVI (1855), p.64-66.
16. The Builder, XIV (1856), p.315.
17. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.422.
18. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, third edition, London, (1971), i, p.223.
19. London County Council, Survey of London, XXIII London, (1951), i p.22.
20. Saunders, op.cit., p.37.
21. The Builder, XIV (1856), p.315.
22. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.422.
23. Ibid. p.423.
24. Ibid, p.423.
25. The Builder, XIV (1856), p.314.
26. Ibid, p.314.

27. Saunders, op.cit., p.51.
28. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.423
29. Ibid, p.423.
30. The Builder, XIV (1856), p.314.
31. Ecclesiologist, XIV (1856), p.72.
32. Henry Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art, Harmondsworth (1958), p.175.
33. Ibid, p.177.
34. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.423.

CHAPTER 7

1. Saunders, op.cit., p.46.
2. Ibid, p.12.
3. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England, Surrey, second edition, Harmondsworth (1972), p.474.
4. List of buildings of special architectural or historic interest, London Borough of Sutton, Department of the Environment, London, (1971).
5. Incorporated Church Building Society, file no. 6126, 3rd series. St Mary's, Beddington, is described in a pamphlet by the Rev. E. Bond, Historical Guide to the Parish Church of St Mary, Beddington, Surrey.
6. Saunders, op.cit., p.13.
7. Ecclesiologist, XVII (1856), p.307.
8. Ibid. p.307.
9. Ibid. p.307.
10. Ibid. p.307.
11. Incorporated Church Building Society; 5010.
12. Incorporated Church Building Society; 5285.
13. Typescript from Gloucestershire Extracts, (1883-88), p.252.
14. David Verey, Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean, in The Buildings of England, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner, Harmondsworth, (1970), pp.274-275. Verey quotes Goodhart-Rendel here.
15. Incorporated Church Building Society; Box 8, 1822-1827 and 1836-1839.
16. Verey, op.cit. pp.274-275.
17. I am indebted to the Bank of England Museum and Historical Research Section of the Corporate Services Department for access to Teulon's Drawing Office Account and Stock Account, 1836-1884.
18. 'Festivities at Huntley', Gloucester Journal, 27 June 1863.

19. Incorporated Church Building Society; 5897. The Builder XXI (1863), p.555 noted that the cottage and parsonage house cost £14,000.
20. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England, County Durham, second edition, Harmondsworth (1983), pp.333-334.
21. Saunders, op.cit., p.34.
22. Ibid, p.34.
23. Ibid, pp.34-35.
24. The Strange Genius of William Burges: 'Art-Architect', 1827-1881, exhibition catalogue ed. by J. Mordaunt Crook Cardiff, (1981).
25. Ibid, p.12.
26. Saunders, op.cit., p.34.
27. Clive Wainwright, 'Pre-Raphaelite Furniture', The Strange Genius of William Burges..., op.cit. p.69.
28. Gloucester Journal.
29. Burton, op.cit.
30. Ibid.
31. Incorporated Church Building Society; 6626.
32. Reproduced in Burton, op.cit.
33. Ibid.
34. Malcolm Graham, St. Frideswide's Church, Osney, Oxford, Oxford (1978), p.3.
35. Incorporated Church Building Society; (2) 7176.
36. Ibid.
37. Graham, op.cit., p.2.
38. Ibid.
39. Incorporated Church Building Society; (2) 7176.

CHAPTER 8

1. Teulon's death on 2 May 1873 recorded in Hampstead Registration District, County of Middlesex, registered 5 May 1873 by the Registrar, William Paxon.
2. I am grateful to Dr John Etherton for his advice in this chapter.
3. John D. Spillane MD, FRCP, An Atlas of Clinical Neurology, second edition, London (1975), p.314.
4. Ibid.
5. Price's Textbook of the Practice of Medicine, edited by Sir Ronald Bodley Scott KCVO, MA, MD, FRCP, eleventh edition, London (1973), p.1353.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Teulon's Will.

CATALOGUE OF NEW CHURCHES by SAMUEL SANDERS TEULON

The following abbreviations have been used in the Catalogue.

I.C.B.S.	Incorporated Church Building Society
B.E.	Buildings of England.
E.	Ecclesiologist.
B.	Builder.
B.N.	Building News.
C.C.	Church Commissioners file.
H.G.R.	History of the Gothic Revival (second edition).
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.

The churches marked with a red circle in this Catalogue of New Churches are discussed at length in the text of this thesis.

ALDERBURY (Wiltshire) St Mary.

Client: Three people helped found this church:
William, Third Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle;
Sir Frederick Harvey Bathurst, Bart, of Clarendon Park
George Fort of Alderbury House.
Built 1856.

Nave; north aisle and north transept; chancel and
sanctuary; north west tower with broach spire.

Cost. £5-7,000.

Stained glass by Morris; Halliday; Heaton, Butler and
Bayne.

I.C.B.S. 4984.

B.E. Wiltshire, second edition (1975), p.83.

E. XVII (1856), p.307.

Wiltshire R.O., petition for faculty, 1856, number 9.

BENTLEY HEATH (Hertfordshire) Holy Trinity.

Client: Second Earl of Stratford.

Built 1865.

Small, red brick with double bellcote.

Builder: John and Charles I'Anson, Cirencester Place, St
Marylebone.

B.E. Hertfordshire, second edition (1977), p.95.

GLC R. O. (Middlesex Section) no.1717; plans, elevations
and correspondence.

C.C. 13504.

BENWICK (Cambridgeshire) St Mary.

Replaced unconsecrated chapel of 1637 on same site.

Client: The Rev. Algernon Peyton, rector of Dodington
and Sir Henry Peyton, Bart.

Foundation stone 12 June 1850, consecrated 14 August
1851.

Nave; chancel; arcading to aisles.

Builder: Cushing of Elmham, Norfolk.

Cost: £1,400 excluding foundations.

B.E. Cambridgeshire, second edition (1970), p.302.

B. IX (1851), p.534.

University of Cambridge, University Archives, The
University Library; EDR G3/29/2 pp.97-113, record of
consecration.

Council for the Care of Churches; PM 1024; description
of the church; summary of recommendations for
demolition.

BERMONDSEY (London) St Paul (demolished).
Client: Rev. John E. Armstrong (first incumbent), 1847-1848.

Consecrated 16 May 1848.

Nave with three galleries; sanctuary.
Chancel constructed 1902.

Builder: Myers.

Cost: £5,350.

I.C.B.S., 4925.

B.E. London, (1952), p.59.

E. VII (1847), pp.110-111; VIII (1848), p.264, p.317.

BESTWOOD (Nottingham) Emmanuel.

Client: probably 10th Duke of St Albans.

Built 1868-69

Nave and shallow apse; pulpit approach through wall (cf. St James', Hunstanworth, County Durham). The church is situated a few hundred yards west of Bestwood Lodge which Teulon built (1862-1865) for tenth Duke of St Albans.

Builder: John and Charles I'Anson, St. Marylebone.

Stained glass in chancel by Morris and Co., 1911.

I.C.B.S., 9673; 12630.

B.E. Nottinghamshire, second edition (1979), p.72.

BIRCH (Essex) St Mary.

Client: Charles Gray Round Esq. of Birch Hall.

Built 1850 (rectory 1860-61).

Nave; chancel; porch; north-west steeple.

Builder: Baldiston and Son, Ipswich.

Cost: £4,000

B.E. Essex, second edition (1965), p.86.

B. VII (1849), p.164; VIII (1850), p.531.

Essex R.O. D/CC 2/1, consecration papers for new church; faculty for taking down old church.

BIRMINGHAM (West Midlands) St James (redundant).
Client: the wealthy Gough-Calthorpe family for whom
Teulon built Elvetham Hall, Hampshire.
Built: 1850-51.

Aisless nave and transepts with galleries, south-east
tower with spire; internal buttressing (cf. Holy
Trinity, Hastings, Sussex); hammerbeam roof.

Cost £3,000

B.E. Warwickshire, (1966), p.165.
B. VIII (1850), p.430; X (1852), p.263.

BIRMINGHAM (West Midlands) St John the Evangelist.
Parish carved out of St Martin's in the Bullring.
Consecrated 15 March 1854.

Nave, chancel, aisles. Seating for 1,062.
Transept of 1881 by J.A. Chatwin.

Builder: Hardwick of Birmingham.

Cost: £5,000.

I.C.B.S., 4441.
B.E. Warwickshire, (1966), p.137.
B. X (1852), p.494; XII (1854), p.97.

BURRINGHAM (Humberside) St John the Baptist.
Foundation stone 18 June 1856, consecrated November
1857.

Nave; apse; west tower with spire.

Builder: Johnson of Laisby, Nr. Grimsby.

Cost £1,300.

Stained glass by Gibbs.

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.207.
E. XVII (1856), p.230.
B. XV (1857), p.257; XV (1857), p.661.

CROYDON (Surrey) Christ Church.
A Commissioners Church. Part of cost borne by
Archbishop Sumner. Consecrated 17 July 1852.

Nave, chancel and apsidal sanctuary, bellcote;
Galleries in transepts and at west end of nave.
700 sittings.

Cost: £2,650

B.E. Surrey, second edition (1972), p.180.
E. XII (1851), pp.429-430; XXI (1860) p.257.

EAST TORRINGTON (Lincolnshire) St Michael.
Built 1848-50

Small church of nave and chancel; thick buttresses.

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.231.
Lincolnshire R.O., Consec. LT/1/1849; consec. Reg. 2
p.284; miscellaneous papers regarding consecration.

FOSBURY (Wiltshire) Christ Church
Client: R.C.L. Bevan Esq.
Consecrated 30 September 1856.

Nave and chancel without chancel arch (but distinction
between functions indicated by distinction in roof
construction); arched braces in the nave, and hammerbeam
in the chancel; south-west porch with tower above.

B.E. Wiltshire, second edition (1975), p.250.
E. XIII (1855) pp.64-65; XX (1859), p.207.

GREENWICH (London) St Paul.
Patron: probably Rev. George Blisset, (c.f. Wells, St
Thomas).
Built 1865, consecrated 30 July 1866.

Built on triangular site; tower with stair turret.
Rebuilt after bomb damage and now looks nothing like the
original.

Builders: Dove Brothers (c.f. St Peter, Greenwich).

GLC R.O., P78/PAU 1/26-27; P78/PAU 1/19; part of
specification for church, S.Teulon, 1865; accounts, 1867
and 1869.

GREENWICH (London) St Peter (demolished 1955).
The site, a gift of Rev. George Blissett (St Thomas' Wells), transferred to Ecclesiastical Commissioners 31 July 1866.
Consecrated 20 November 1866.

Nave and short chancel; iron columns; galleries.

Builder: Dove Brothers.

HAMPSTEAD (London) St Paul (demolished 1958-59).
Built 1858.

Nave with west gallery; transepts; apsidal sanctuary.

Cost; £2,800.

B.E. London, (1952), p.187.

E. XIX (1858), p.277; XX (1859), pp.69-70.

HAMPSTEAD (London) St Stephen's.

Client: Rev. Joshua Kirkman and Charles Henry Lardner Wood.

Foundation stone 12 May 1869, consecrated 31 December 1869.

Nave, chancel and apsidal sanctuary; aisles, porches; wests narthex; south transept. Advantage taken of sloping site to construct chapel and rooms under the chancel.

Cost: £27,000

Windows by Clayton and Bell; Heaton, Butler and Bayne. Sculpture by Thomas Earp and mosaic work by Salviati.

B.E. London, (1952), p.188.

B. XXVII (1869), pp.706-708.

B.N. XIV (1867), p.544.

H.G.R. second edition (1978), pp.368-369.

HASTINGS (East Sussex) Holy Trinity.

Client: Rev. Dr. Thomas Crosse.

Foundation stone 22 July 1857, consecrated 13 April 1862.

Nave with north and south aisles, chancel and apsed sanctuary; internal buttressing due to constricted site; south porch.

Builder: Howell of Hastings.

Site alone cost £2,500.

Sculpture by Thomas Earp; east window by Clayton and Bell.

B.E. Sussex, (1965), p.522.

E. XVII (1856), p.298; XVIII (1857), p.129; XIX (1858), pp.127-128; XX (1859), p.69.

B. XV (1857), pp.350-351; XVI (1858), p.306.

East Sussex R.O., ref. A2572; block plan of site, accounts.

HAWKLEY (Hampshire) SS Peter and Paul.

Client: J.J. Maberly Esq.

Built 1865.

Vaulted nave; north and south aisles; chancel and sanctuary; west tower with Rhenish roof.

B.E. Hampshire, (1967), p.280.

HOPTON nr. Lowestoft (Suffolk) St Margaret.

Site donated by Mr. Daniel Gurney of North Ructon Hall.

Foundation stone 5 September 1856, consecrated 27 September 1866.

Aisless nave; low walls; high roof; tower at the crossing.

Builder: Browne and Bailey of Norwich.

Cost: £3,300.

Stained glass by Morris and Burne-Jones 1881;

Organ case by Burges or Seddon.

I.C.B.S., 6369.

B.E. Suffolk, second series (1974), p.278.

B. XXIII (1865), p.681; XXIV (1866), p.802.

HUNSTANWORTH (County Durham) St James.
Client: Rev. Daniel Capper of Lyston Court,
Herefordshire.
Church designed 1862, consecrated June 1863.

Nave and north aisle, apsidal chancel, pyramidal roof to tower.

Builder: Howes of Hingham, Norfolk.

Stained glass by Kemp; Lavers and Barraud.
Carving by McCulloch (pupil of Earp).

I.C.B.S., 5897.

B.S. County Durham, second edition (1983), pp.333-334.

E. XXIV, (1863), p.221, p.249, p.251.

B. XXI (1863), p.555.

HUNTLEY (Gloucestershire) St John the Baptist.
Client: Rev. Daniel Capper (see also Hunstanworth, Co.
Durham, St James)
Built 1861-1863.

Nave and north aisle; transepts; chancel; south porch.

Builder: Messrs Wingate of Gloucester (who also built the Rectory nearby).

Cost of this church not known but probably incorporated also in the cost of the rectory.

Earp, Street's principal sculptor carved the lectern, reredos and pulpit; glass by Lavers and Barraud; pendant lamps by Skidmore.

B.E. Gloucestershire: 2 The Vale and the Forest of Dean, (1970), pp.274-175.

B.N. X(1863), p.517.

Gloucestershire R.O., P184 CW3/2; portfolio of plans and documents compiled 1905.

ISLINGTON (London) St Silas.
Client: Rev. A.L. Courtney.
Foundation stone 19 July 1860.

This church, an irregular trapezium, of Kentish rag with brick dressings was the subject of legal action brought against Teulon. He was dismissed by Courtney and the building was completed by E.P. Loftus Brock. It eventually took three years to build and was opened in April 1863.

Cost not known and probably considerably more than the estimate.

B.E. London, (1952), p.229.

LAMBETH (London) St Andrew.
Clients: Commissioners for New Churches.
Plans 1854; foundation stone 30 May 1855, consecrated 20 June 1856.

Clerestoried nave and aisles; north-west tower and spire.

Cost: £5,989 excluding heating.

Forsyth executed the foliated capitals and Skidmore built the wrought iron fronts to galleries.

B.E. London, (1952), p.27.

E. XVII (1856), pp.72-73, pp.422-424.

B. XIV (1856), pp.314-315.

GLC R.O. P85 AND 2/16; P85 AND 2/18; P85 AND 2/19;
account for inspection of sites for new church;
negotiation of contract for new church, 1855;
heating apparatus account, 1856 - 1857.

LAMBETH (London) St Thomas. (bombed and demolished).
Foundation stone 24 November 1856, consecrated 24 June 1857.

Long broad parallelogram; galleries at west end;
interior almost undivided liturgically.

Cost: £5,000.

I.C.B.S., 5010

E. XIII (1855), p.256; XVIII (1857) pp.256-257.

LECKHAMPSTEAD (Berkshire) St James.
Client: Rev. John Robinson, Vicar of Chieveley.
Design approved by Street, diocesan architect, 3 March
1858; foundation stone 3 May 1859, consecrated 30
October 1860.

Double rectangle; nave of four bays; south aisle, short
sanctuary with sacristy to north; crossing tower with
bell-turret.

Builders: Taylor of Sunbury and Messrs. Child, Son and
Martin of London

Cost: estimated, £1,325; actual £1,410 (I.C.B.S.
records).

East window by Lavers and Barraud

I.C.B.S., 5233.

B.E. Berkshire, (1966), p.168.

E. XIX (1858), pp.196-197.

LINCOLN (Lincolnshire) St Michael-on-the-Mount.
Client: Rev. John Somerville Gibney (parish priest and
priest vicar of Lincoln Cathedral).
Church designed 1853; built 1855, consecrated 16
September 1856.

Aisless nave with north gallery; chancel and apsidal
sanctuary; south porch; bellcote on west end.

I.C.B.S., 4671.

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.145.

E. XV (1854), pp.64-65; XVI (1855), p.64.

Lincolnshire R.O. Consec. L/L/11/1856; Consec. Reg. 2.
p.817; miscellaneous papers regarding consecration.
Lincoln St Michael par. 9; subscribers; accounts for
rebuilding and later work, 1856-1921; detailed plan of
roof and porch.

NETHERFIELD NR. Battle (East Sussex) St John the Baptist.

Client: Sarah, Lady Webster of Battle Abbey in memory of her husband.

Consecrated 27 November 1856.

Nave with north and south aisles; chancel and sanctuary. Part of a bigger complex of school, master's house and vicarage.

Earp employed as sculptor.

I.C.B.S., B. Box 3.

B.E. Sussex, (1965), p.570.

E. XV (1854), pp.285-286; XX (1859), p.77.

NEW BOLLINGBROKE (Lincolnshire) St Peter.

Built 1854.

Brick and stone; nave and chancel; tower with spire.

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.321.

E. XV (1854), pp.137-138.

Lincolnshire R.O. Consec. LB/7/1854; consec. Reg. 2 p.406; miscellaneous papers regarding consecration.

NORTH ELKINGTON (Lincolnshire) St Helen, (redundant).

Built 1852.

Nave and chancel in one. Pulpit ascended through twin-arched parapet in wall, (cf. Hunstanworth, St James).

Builder: Ryall and Ryley

Cost: £1,000

East window by Wailes of Newcastle

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.325.

E. XVII (1856), p.153.

B. IX (1851), p.470.

Lincolnshire R.O. Consec. LE/3/1852; Consec. Reg.2 p.397; miscellaneous papers regarding consecration.

NORTH ORMSBY (Lincolnshire) St Helen, (redundant).
Client: Miss M. Ansell.
Built 1848.

Nave and chancel; west porch set in large buttresses;
bellcote on west gable.

I.C.B.S., 3947

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.325.

Lincolnshire R.O. Fac. 13/13; petition for demolition of
old church and rebuilding.

NORTHWOOD (Middlesex) Holy Trinity.

Client: probably Nathaniel Soames of Northwood.

Built 1854

Nave and north aisle; tower and spire.

I.C.B.S., 2211; 9809.

B.E. Middlesex, (1951), p.126.

OARE (Wiltshire) Holy Trinity.

Client: Mrs Mary Ann Goodman. Church built in memory of
her husband, Rev. Maurice Hillier Goodman. His wife
donated £1,000 towards the building erected on land
donated by her nephew Edward Goodman.

Consecrated 16 September 1858.

Romanesque church (at Mrs. Goodman's request?)

Nave and chancel in one with rounded apse; south porch;
bell turrett.

Cost: £1,900.

I.C.B.S. 5114.

B.E. Wiltshire, (1975), p.363.

E. XVIII (1857), p.130.

OXFORD (Oxfordshire) St Frideswide.
Built for Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
Foundation stone 13 December 1870, consecrated 10 April
1872.

Aisless nave; sanctuary and apse; north and south
transepts; low central tower.

Builders: Honour and Castle, Thames Street, Oxford.

Cost: £2,990.

Glass by Herbert Davis; Morris hanging; lamp by Benson;
de Morgan ceramics.

I.C.B.S., 7176.

B.E. Oxfordshire, (1974), p.334.

B.N. XXXV (1878), p.236, p.244. (Drinkwater's tower to
Teulon's unfinished church).

Department of Western MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford;
MSS. Top. Oxon., c.104, fols. 143-165; d.42, fols. 110-
113; correspondence concerning building of the church,
1870-1872. Little in Teulon's hand.

RISEHOLME nr. Lincoln (Lincolnshire) St Mary.

Client: Bishop Kaye of Lincoln

Foundation stone 4 April 1850, consecrated 7 April 1851.

Nave and chancel; bellcote on west gable.

Chancel window by Gibbs.

B.E. Lincolnshire, (1964), p.343.

E. XIV (1853), p.455.

B. IX (1851), p.534.

Lincolnshire R.O. Consec. L/R/4/1851;

Consec. Reg.2.p.3644; miscellaneous papers regarding
consecration.

RYE HARBOUR (East Sussex) Holy Spirit.

Chapel of Ease to St Nicholas', Icklesham, East Sussex.

Foundation stone 29 March 1849, consecrated 29 August
1850.

Nave and apsidal chancel in one; north-west porch and
tower. It was intended that the present church should
become the chancel to a larger church.

I.C.B.S., 4107.

B.E. Sussex, (1965), p.600.

ST. PANCRAS (London) St Thomas (bombed and demolished).
Client: may have been Dean of Rochester.
Second church for the parish. The first, (also by
Teulon), demolished after acquisition by the Midland
Railway Company to make way for St. Pancras Station
development.

Nave; apsidal sanctuary; massive tower, octagonal brick
lantern and pyramidal roof over the crossing.

Cost; £4,175.

B.E. London, (1952), p.362.

E. XIX (1858), pp.276-277; XXI (1860), p.324.

B. XV (1857), p.311; XVI (1858), pp.394-395.

SILVERTOWN (London) St Mark, (destroyed by fire and
under reconstruction).

Client: Probably Rev. H. Douglas who published an appeal
for subscriptions.

Built 1861-62.

Nave with dormers for clerestory; apsidal sanctuary;
crossing tower with pyramidal roof.

B.E. Essex, second edition (1965), p.348.

E. XXI (1860), p.187.

SOUTHWARK (London) St Stephen (demolished).

Client: probably trustees appointed from parish of St
George the Martyr out of which St Stephen was carved.

Built 1848, consecrated 27 April 1850.

Constructed on plan of a Greek Cross; Rhenish roof.

I.C.B.S., 3937.

B.E. London, (1952), p.399.

SUTTON (Surrey) All Saints.

Client: Thomas Alcock, who donated £18,000 towards the cost of the church.

Foundation stone November 1863; licenced for worship 1 January 1865, consecrated 3 March 1866 by Archbishop Sumner. (c.f. Croydon, Christchurch).

Nave; chancel and sanctuary; north aisle of 1873; hammerbeam roof; massive west tower. Church modelled on St Mary, Beddington, Surrey.

Cost: £24,000.

Windows by Heaton, Butler and Bayne; Clayton and Bell and Kempe.

I.C.B.S., 6126.

B.E. Surrey, second edition (1972), p.474.

ULEY (Gloucestershire) St Giles.

Client: probably Mr C. Jackson.

Foundation stone 15 May 1857, consecrated 18 September 1858.

Nave with south aisle and north transept; chancel and sanctuary; porch and north tower.

Builder: Jackson of Uley

Cost: £2,500.

Stained glass by Kempe; Wailes and by Teulon.

I.C.B.S. U and V, Box 1, 1821-1822; 5093.

B.E. Gloucestershire: 1 The Cotswolds, (1970), pp.459-460.

E. XVIII (1857), pp.129-130.

B. XVI (1858), p.713.

WARLEY (Essex) Christchurch.
Site donated by East India Company.
Foundation stone May 1853, consecrated April 1855.

Nave; apse; north vestry; south porch; west tower; south aisle of 1877.

Builder: Hammond of Warley.

Cost: £2,200.

I.C.B.S. A3582.

B.E. Essex, second edition (1965), p.213.

B. XI (1853), p.327; XIII (1855), p.166.

Essex R.O. D/CC 6/6; consecration papers for new church.

WATFORD (Hertfordshire) St Andrew.

Client: probably Mr H. Henson who paid for most of the building.

Consecrated 21 August 1857.

Nave; chancel (eastern bay of nave); north and south aisles.

Builder: Messrs Fassnidge and Sons (Uxbridge)

I.C.B.S., 4686.

B.E. Hertfordshire, second edition (1977), p.386.

E. XV (1854), pp.63-64.

WELLS (Somerset) St Thomas

Client: Mrs Jenkyns in memory of her husband Dean Jenkyns, Dean of Wells.

Foundation stone 6 March 1856, consecrated 21 December 1857.

Nave with north aisle; south transept; north east tower and soaring spire.

Builder: M. Davis, Langport.

Cost: £6,000.

Stained glass by Wailes; altar rails and font cover by Skidmore.

I.C.B.S., 6626.

B.E. North Somerset and Bristol, (1958), p.325.

E. XVIII (1857), p.129; XVII (1856), p.72.

B.N. III (1857), p.140.

Somerset R.O. D/P/W. St.T. 6/1/1; faculty of 1866 for removal of pulpit, reading desk, seats in transept, wall between chancel and tower, western wall of nave, erecting new vestry room.

WIMBLEDON (Surrey) Christ Church.
Consecrated 5 August 1859.

Nave; sanctuary and chancel; south transept; low broad tower over chancel with steep Rhenish roof.

Builders: Henry Mills, Senior and Junior, Egham.

Cost: £3,425.

Heaton and Butler executed a window in the south-east corner of the church.

B.E. Surrey, second edition (1972), p.522.

E. XIX (1858), p.196; XVIII (1857), p.181.

B. XVI (1858), pp.142-143.

Surrey R.O. 2052/7/1-3; seven contract plans and elevations, 7 June 1858; Articles of Agreement regarding building additions, 1860, with three plans by Teulon.

WINDSOR (Berkshire) Chapel at Royal Lodge.

Client: The Crown.

Consecrated 3 November 1863.

Nave with south transept; chancel; tower; kingpost roof.

East window by Kempe.

B.E. Berkshire, (1966), p.297.

E. XXIV (1863), p.192.

Berkshire R.O., LRR01/1458; LRR01/1460; LRR01/3797; Rack 418; drawings of Royal Chapel Lodge; Royal Chapel alterations.

P.R.O. Crest 35.159; 174B; 177; 184; drawings of the building.

WOODCHESTER (Gloucestershire) St Mary.
Consecrated 14 September 1863.

Nave; chancel; north aisle; south porch and south tower.

Builder: Harrison of Kingstanley.

Cost: £3,400.

Stained glass by Lavers and Barraud and Preedy.

I.C.B.S., 5808.

B.E. Gloucestershire: 1, The Cotswolds, (1970),
pp.485-486.

E. XXII (1861), pp.196-197.

B. XXI (1863), p.729.

B.N. X (1863), p.753.

Gloucestershire R.O. P375. CW2/2; note of parish meeting
to discuss new church building on land given by Edward
Wise.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished sources.

Incorporated Church Building Society parish files in the archives of Lambth Palace Library.

S.S. Teulon, Reminiscences; Sketches in Verse, etc.

Anthony Quiney, History of the Almshouses of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen, report for the Historic Buildings Board of the Greater London Council, (1968).

Published sources.

Neil Burton, The Church of St Stephen, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, Greater London Council, Historic Buildings Paper No. 1 London (1980).

Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, third edition, London (1971), Part II, second edition, London (1972).

Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival, third edition, London (1973).

Basil F. L. Clarke, Church Buildings of the Nineteenth Century, London (1938).

Gerald R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason 1648 - 1789, vol iv, The Pelican History of the Church, ed. Owen Chadwick, revised edition, Harmondsworth (1960).

Charles L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, ed. J. Mordaunt Crook, second edition, Leicester (1978).

Mark Girouard, Acrobatic Gothic, Country Life, CXLVIII (1970), pp.1282-1286.

H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, English Architecture Since The Regency, London (1938).

Malcolm Graham, St. Frideswide's Church, Osney, Oxford, Oxford (1978).

Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century, Oxford (1972).

A.P. Quiney, John Loughborough Pearson, New Haven and London, (1979).

John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture, London (1849).

Matthew Saunders, The Churches of S.S. Teulon, London (1982).

Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, London (1971).

Alec R. Vidler, The Church in the Age of Reason, vol v, The Pelican History of the Church, ed. Owen Chadwick, revised edition, Harmondsworth (1960).

The Strange Genius of William Burges: 'Art-Architect' 1827-1881, exhibition catalogue, ed. J. Mordaunt Crook, Cardiff (1981).

Appendix I. Documentary sources.

The two prime documentary sources used in this thesis, written in Teulon's own hand between 1832 and 1834, are Sketches in Verse, 20 pages of text, and Reminiscences, 18 pages of text.

Teulon's Reminiscences, is an extract from the longest article in Sketches in Verse and was made into a separate diary dated, at the beginning of the piece, July 1832, and at the the end of it, 11 March 1834. It is an amended version of an entry in his Sketches in Verse, under the title Summer's Evenings at Worthing, begun in July 1832, but concluded in his Sketches..., on 22 June 1833.

Whereas Sketches... seems to be a impulsively written diary, disjointed and, in places, somewhat morbid, Reminiscences is a more considered, carefully written piece of work, rewritten from Sketches... after an unsettled period in Teulon's life.

The order of contents of Sketches in Verse is as follows:

A Village Church At Sunset, (to a Young Lady). Begun in January 1832, completed February 1833.

Summer's Evenings At Worthing. Begun in July 1832, completed 23 June 1833

Harriet _____ of _____ . Dated January 1833.

Epitaph On The Death Of Miss I.T. Dated September 1832.

Death. Written in August 1832, completed 19 February 1833.

The full title of the article Teulon wrote in his Reminiscences is Reminiscences Of Summer's Evenings Near The Sea. It was dedicated to Harriet Baynes, whom Teulon eventually married, "with the most heartfelt affection of the Author." The most important entry in Reminiscences is Teulon's description of St John the Baptist, Findon, Sussex.

Appendix II: Known number of seatings in Teulon's new churches.
This list to be read in association with the
Catalogue of New Churches on pp. 131 - 147.

The following abbreviations have been used in this Appendix:

I.C.B.S.	Incorporated Church Building Society.
M.S.	Matthew Saunders, <u>The Churches of S.S. Teulon</u> , see p. 149.
GLC R.O.	Greater London Council Record Office.
B.	<u>Builder</u> .
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.

ALDERBURY (Wiltshire) St Mary. 430 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

BERMONDSEY (London) St Paul. 1,200 seats. (M.S.).

BIRMINGHAM (West Midlands) St John the Evangelist. 1,062 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

BURRINGHAM (Humberside) St John the Baptist. 197 seats. (M.S.).

CROYDON (Surrey) Christ Church. 700 seats. (M.S.).

GREENWICH (London) St Paul. 1,000 seats. (GLC R.O.).

HAMPSTEAD (London) St Stephen's. 900 seats. (B.).

HOPTON (Suffolk) St Margaret. 220 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

HUNSTANWORTH (County Durham) St James. 273 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

LAMBETH (London) St Andrew. 1,100 seats. (M.S.).

LAMBETH (London) St Thomas. 1,033 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

LECKHAMPSTEAD (Berkshire) St James. 243 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

LINCOLN (Lincolnshire) St Michael-on-the-Mount. 490 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

NETHERFIELD (East Sussex) St John the Baptist. 304 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

NEW BOLLINGBROKE (Lincolnshire) St Peter. 350 seats. (Teulon's Sketchbook).

NORTH ORMSBY (Lincolnshire) St Helen. 120 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

OARE (Wiltshire) Holy Trinity. 186 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

OXFORD (Oxfordshire) St Frideswide. 362 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

RYE HARBOUR (East Sussex) Holy Spirit. 120 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

SOUTHWARK (London) St Stephen. 800 seats. (M.S.).

SUTTON (Surrey) All Saints'. 874 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

ULEY (Gloucestershire) St Giles. 384 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

WATFORD (Hertfordshire) St Andrew. 400 seats excluding additional seating after extentions to the church. (M.S.).

WELLS (Somerset) St Thomas). 592 seats. (I.C.B.S.).

WIMBLEDON (Surrey) Christ Church. 571 seats. (M.S.).

WINDSOR (Berkshire) Chapel at Royal Lodge. 290 seats. (P.R.O.).

WOODCHESTER (Gloucestershire) St Mary. 507 seats. (I.C.B.S.).