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# THE 1771 COMPETITION FOR REBUILDING LINCOLN'S INN

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In 1771 Lincoln's Inn, one of the four collegiate institutions known as Inns of Court that have long accommodated lawyers on the fringe of the City of London, invited Robert Adam, James Paine, Robert Taylor and Matthew Brettingham the younger to submit designs for the rebuilding of their premises. Their surviving drawings offer a rare chance to see how four architects responded to the same commission, and shine interesting light on the eighteenth-century Inns of Court. The background to the competition will be examined before the drawings are analyzed, following which further discussion of the context of the commission will seek to establish the intentions of the patron and the reasons for Taylor's design being chosen.

The architectural history of the legal Inns is, in general, under-researched, and the Lincoln's Inn competition has received only marginal attention. One reason for this is that the drawings by James Paine and Matthew Brettingham the younger in Lincoln's Inn Library were missing for part of the twentieth century, and their plans are illustrated here for the first time.<sup>1</sup> Adam's design, preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum and first considered by Arthur Bolton in 1917, has received some attention on account of the two dazzling perspectives (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>2</sup> David King was first, in *Unbuilt Adam* (2001), to compare Adam's scheme to those of the other three architects, though the fullest treatment of the competition is that by Robert Fookes and Richard Wallington in *A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn* (2007).<sup>3</sup> Missing from these accounts, however, is a detailed analysis of the drawings, an attempt to place them in

a meaningful context, or any thoughts regarding the motives of the patron, the Society of Lincoln's Inn.

The 1771 competition was a radical departure for Lincoln's Inn in many ways. Simply by engaging the services of the country's leading architects, the lawyers were breaking significantly with tradition. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the legal Inns employed builders, rather than anyone we might term an architect. They built with an eye for economy, and it is characteristic of the Inns that the most distinguished building put up in the eighteenth century before the Stone Buildings was a loosely Neo-Palladian brick range by a speculative builder, Nos. 1–3 Crown Office Row (1738) in the Inner Temple by Benjamin Timbrell.<sup>4</sup> Equally unusual was the decision to invite competing designs from several architects. The masters of the bench (known as Benchers) who comprised the ruling body of the inn, had clearly decided that Lincoln's Inn required something out of the ordinary.

Indeed, it was, in many ways, an extraordinary period for Lincoln's Inn, by then established as the most popular of the Inns of Court and apparently undergoing an 'aristocratic resurgence'. Whilst Gray's Inn and the Temple were known for 'Beaus' and 'Whorers', Lincoln's Inn was the inn 'for lawyers', according to a scurrilous publication of 1747.<sup>5</sup> They were attracted by the presence of the Court of Chancery, which occupied Lincoln's Inn Hall outside the legal term times, as well as by the superior accommodation offered by New Square (1680–1697), with its generously-proportioned chambers offering views of the gardens.<sup>6</sup>

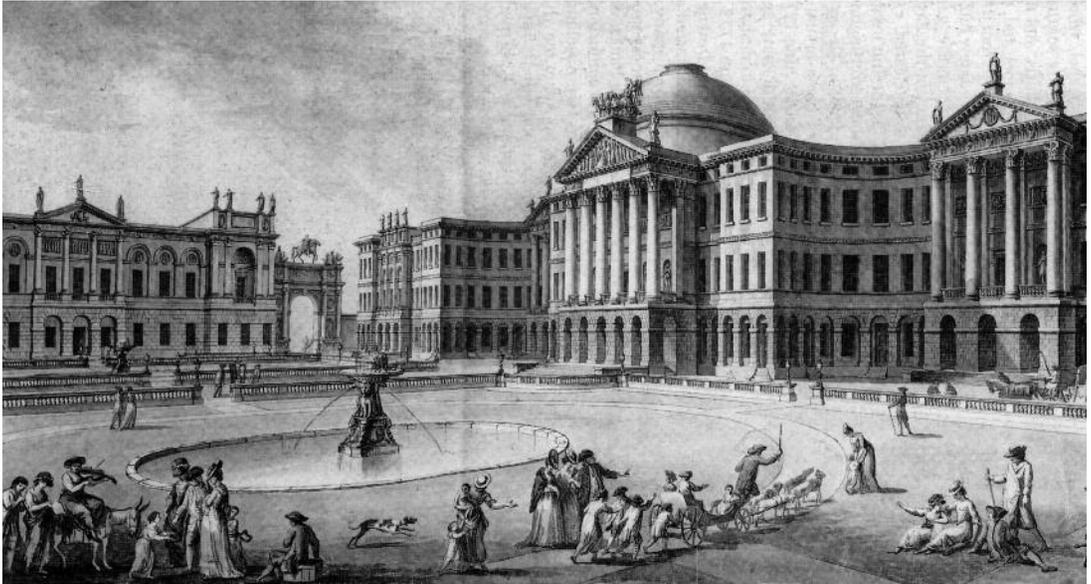


Fig. 1. Adam Office, 'Perspective View of the Fronts towards Lincoln's Inn Gardens and Fields', c.1774.  
*Soane Museum, vol. 28: 13.*

The leading lawyers naturally attracted law students; their average ten-yearly enrolment at Lincoln's Inn was more than double in 1800 what it had been in 1700, whilst the total number of students at all four inns remained roughly the same.<sup>7</sup> This increase in popularity went hand-in-hand with a phenomenon identified by Paul Lucas as an 'aristocratic resurgence'. Lucas has shown that from the 1760s until the end of the eighteenth century, Lincoln's Inn became increasingly populated with students and barristers of higher social status. Nearly twice as many English and Welsh students admitted in the 1760s had been to university compared to those admitted the previous decade, indicative of a higher social standing.<sup>8</sup> It seems not unlikely that the initiative for building sophisticated new Neo-Classical premises sprung from a desire to cater for, and perhaps further attract, men of a higher social order, who appreciated such architecture.

Sophisticated their intentions may have been, but Lincoln's Inn's management of the competition

turns out to have been something of a farce. Having first applied to all four architects in April 1771, the Council withdrew this interest after several months to give sole patronage to Taylor, only to re-invite the other three architects six months later to submit their designs, eventually giving the commission back to Taylor anyway. No doubt the benchers settled on Taylor at an early stage but failed to get the word to the other architects, who remained busy drawing, as requested, 'proper plans for the rebuilding the old part of Lincoln's Inn upon any part of the ground belonging to the Society.'<sup>9</sup> The 'old part' of the inn meant all the buildings antedating New Square (c.1685–97) and the Chapel (1619–23): broadly speaking, all of the medieval and Tudor buildings (which, in the event, have largely survived, since Taylor's scheme was only partially executed). This much is clear from the submitted designs, all of which preserve the Chapel and New Square.

With regard to the general grouping of buildings, however, the designs differ considerably, suggesting

that the architects were given considerable freedom in the way they used the site. As further evidence of the incompetence of the committee of Benchers, nothing was built for three years. The project dragged on until June 1774, when it received new impetus from the Lord Chancellor, who intervened to express his wishes that the new offices for the Registrar and Accountant General of the Court of Chancery be erected in Lincoln's Inn.<sup>10</sup> Lincoln's Inn was a suitable home for the new offices of the High Court of Chancery because, as has been mentioned, the proceedings of that court took place in the Hall there outside term time (during term time the court sat in Westminster Hall). By 15 July, however, another court office, that of the Six Clerks, was in discussion with Taylor also, clearly having learned of the rebuilding programme just at the time that it was looking for new premises in the legal quarter.<sup>11</sup> Thus three departments attached to the Court of Chancery were to negotiate with Lincoln's Inn for a share of the new accommodation.

The surviving drawings date from both before and after the intervention of the Chancery offices.

Brettingham's plan (Fig. 3), helpfully inscribed '1772', and Paine's plan (Fig. 4), probably of the same year, both predate the involvement of these offices and thus do not accommodate them. There is also a plan by Taylor from this early stage, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.<sup>12</sup> The later plan by Taylor, which is illustrated here (Fig. 5), does faintly show the outline of the intended new Chancery offices.<sup>13</sup> This plan, marked 'B', is explicitly referred to in the records of the Inn as being approved for execution on 6 August 1774.<sup>14</sup> In the event only the part to the north of the intended hall was built (right half as illustrated), with a slightly smaller angle block.<sup>15</sup> The site of the hall was eventually filled by Philip Hardwick, who matched Taylor's executed northern pavilion, thus creating the strange building we see today that lacks any central emphasis. None of Taylor's elevation drawings survive, so we must rely on the Stone Buildings as built (Figs. 8, 9) to recover his intentions regarding the façades of his full scheme, though full elevation drawings survive by both Brettingham (incorporated into his plan, Fig. 3) and Paine (Fig. 6).



Fig. 2. Adam Office, 'Perspective View of the Front towards Chancery Lane', c.1774.

*Soane Museum, vol. 28: 14.*

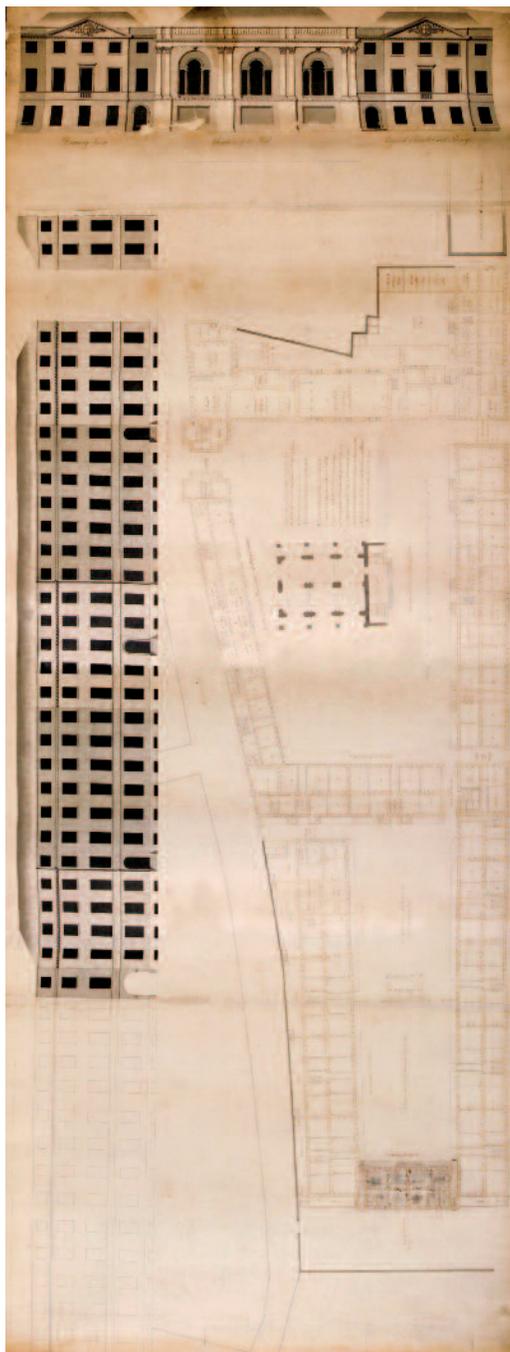


Fig. 3. Matthew Brettingham, plan and elevations for Lincoln's Inn, 1772.

*Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 11.*

The surviving drawings by the Adam office, all in Sir John Soane's Museum, seem to date from 1774 since they accommodate the Chancery offices. These drawings include the elevation of the façade to Lincoln's Inn Fields as well as one showing the façade fronting onto Chancery Lane at the east. Both of these façades are also depicted in the two lavish perspective views with foreground figures engaged in various activities (Figs. 1, 2). They are typical of the views prepared by the highly-skilled draughtsmen employed in the Adam office, intended primarily to impress clients with a view to opening their wallets. They were presumably created for the benefit of the Benchers, if not for exhibition, in order to aid the process of 'reading' the elevations against the plan and to impress upon them the scale and grandeur of Adam's design. The sole surviving plan relating to the Adam scheme is a large drawing that shows clearly the relation of the proposed new buildings to the site, though without details of the internal arrangements (Fig. 7). There are smaller drawings by Paine,<sup>16</sup> Brettingham and Taylor<sup>17</sup> that serve the purpose of indicating the relationship of the proposed buildings to the existing ones.

As David King has pointed out, all four architects needed to adapt to an awkward site, irregularly shaped because its main boundaries, Chancery Lane to the east and Lincoln's Inn Fields to the west, are at a slight angle to each other.<sup>18</sup> If the architect of the new buildings wished to have frontages that ran parallel with these boundaries then the resulting composition would necessarily be wedge-shaped in plan. In the event, all of the architects opted for this approach except Taylor, whose single large block (Fig. 3) is oriented with respect to neither axis, as is shown on his outline plan. Because of this, Taylor's design stood out from the others from the start simply by virtue of not being an odd shape.

In analyzing the drawings, it will be instructive to begin first with the similarities between them. The detailed plans by Taylor, Paine and Brettingham share many common features in the planning of the

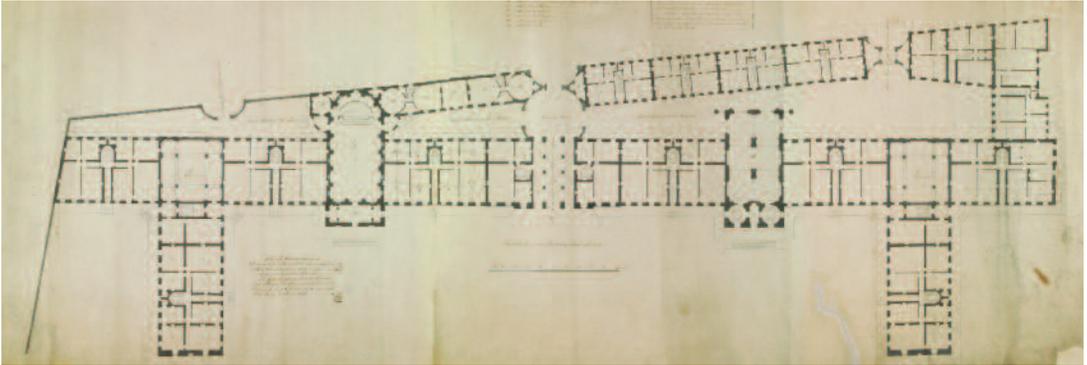


Fig. 4. James Paine, 'General Plan of the Proposed New Buildings of Lincoln's Inn', c.1772.  
*Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 7.*

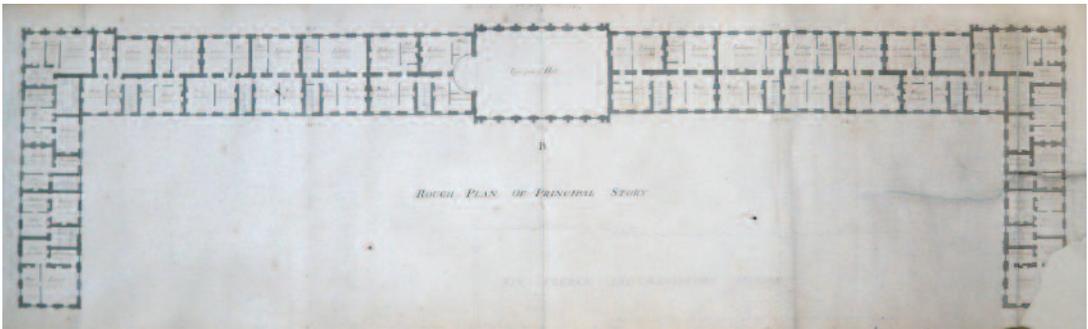


Fig. 5. Taylor, plan 'B' for Lincoln's Inn, 1774.  
*Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 11.*

chambers that suggest specific recommendations on the part of the Benchers. Nearly all the chambers are divided into suites of four rooms opening off communal stairs in the manner traditional to the Inns, so it is safe to assume that Adam's chambers would have been arranged similarly. The large Brettingham plan (Fig. 3) provides for 180 sets of chambers, some of which are labelled as being divided into four rooms with the following uses: 'Library', 'Anti Room', 'Clerk's Room' and 'Lobby'. These must correspond with, respectively, the 'Library', 'Bed Chamber', 'Office' and 'Study' in both of Taylor's plans. These are, with slightly different names, the same four rooms that can be

found in chambers from the seventeenth century, the usual pattern of two rooms for working in and two rooms for living in (in practise, however, four-room chambers were often subdivided to provide two smaller, affordable chambers). It is characteristic of the usually conservative nature of the Inns' patronage that traditional patterns should lie at the heart of a seemingly radical scheme in this way.

The arrangement of chambers is close to that found at New Square, the late seventeenth-century brick chambers at Lincoln's Inn arranged around three sides of a square, open to the gardens. The Council may have pointed to New Square as an important exemplar regarding layout; the importance



Fig. 6. Paine, Elevation towards Lincoln's Inn Fields, c.1772. *Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 6.*

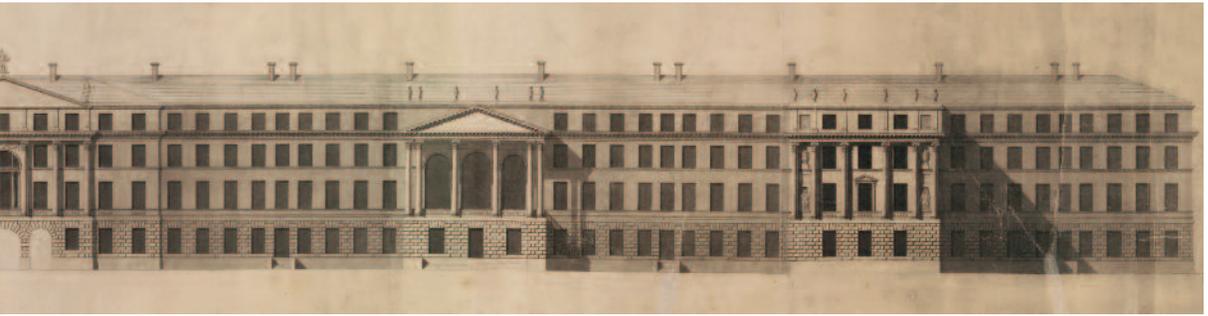
of its influence is supported by the fact that Taylor used, in the executed Stone Buildings, an unusually wide and well-lit basement area that is entered by full-size staircases descending from street level, an arrangement also found at New Square.

Although the sets of chambers in the plans were, to a general degree, standardised in their layout, the architects also seem to have been aware of the need for the accommodation to allow for the professional hierarchy present among the occupants of the inn. In Brettingham's plan, some of the chambers are provided with an ensuite water closet, while others, such as those in the rectangular court, are situated some distance from communal facilities. Such chambers would have been cheaper and probably occupied by the more junior lawyers. In the Paine and Taylor plans, the occupant hierarchy is expressed more by the differing sizes of the rooms than in the provision of facilities. Thus, in the Paine plan, every set of chambers has an en-suite water closet, although some of the chambers are significantly smaller than the others, some being only of three rooms. In Taylor's plan, the sizes of the rooms fluctuate considerably.

These apparent expressions of social hierarchy in the competition plans are given credence by the use of the Stone Buildings after their completion. We know from *Browne's General Law List* that the occupants were of mixed professional standing; there were at least two members of the King's Council who

had their addresses at the Stone Buildings in 1783, at the same time as several barristers and even two attorneys.<sup>19</sup> The KCs were higher up in the pecking order than the barristers, who were themselves above the attorneys, and thus expected, and could afford, the more spacious and better-equipped chambers. By way of example, John Scott (later Lord Eldon) of Lincoln's Inn moved to a larger set of chambers upon becoming Solicitor-General in 1791.<sup>20</sup> This custom parallels the practice at Oxford and Cambridge colleges, where the more senior fellows often had the first choice of the available accommodation.<sup>21</sup>

The plans by Adam and Paine, and to a lesser extent those by Brettingham and Taylor, devote large amounts of space to administrative and ceremonial facilities such as grand entrance vestibules and, most importantly, the Hall. This was not only the centre of collegiate life, where the members of the inn dined together, but had also housed the Court of Chancery outside the legal terms since 1737.<sup>22</sup> This explains why the 'Great Hall' on Brettingham's plan is marked for use as a 'court' at one end and why the 'Comon Hall' in Paine's plan (labelled 'C'), is referred to on the plan as the place 'where the Lord Chancellor sits to determine suits'. As has been mentioned, the use of the Hall by the Chancery Court gave Lincoln's Inn a certain cachet and may partly account for the desire to replace the modest Old Hall (completed c.1490).<sup>23</sup>



The buildings in the Adam plan (Fig. 7) are not labelled with regard to their function, but the intended hall must, owing to its size and central position, be the large room with apses at either end. Alistair Rowan attributes the role of the hall to the rotunda, and that of the library to the apsidal room.<sup>24</sup> But, in light of the apsidal halls proposed by Taylor and Paine, a shape that allows for the hierarchical use of space that a courtroom demands, this can now be discounted. None of the Inns had a particularly large library at this point, and it was not until 1785, after a bequest, that the Benchers decided their books required new accommodation (within the north wing of the Stone Buildings).<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the circular vestibule is clearly descended from the unrealised rotunda that Adam planned for Syon House (begun 1762), which was itself intended as a ‘general *rendez-vous*’, therefore the most likely function here.<sup>26</sup>

Each of the architects except Brettingham thus designed the hall as a rectangle with at least one apsidal end, a shape that clearly was considered specially suited to the context. Edward Lovett Pearce’s Dublin Parliament (1729–39) also contains an apsidal court room.<sup>27</sup> The prototype is, of course, the ancient Roman basilica, originally intended as a court of law, which was illustrated in Isaac Ware’s 1738 edition of Palladio.<sup>28</sup> Paine’s hall makes an even more explicit archaeological reference in having a separate narthex to the west, resembling the *pronaos*

of a Roman temple. Thus the three apsidal courtrooms can be interpreted as expressing the ancient origins of organised justice.

Brettingham’s plan is easily the least sophisticated, lacking the curved forms of Adam and Paine and the ruthless symmetry of Taylor. This is, however, due to Brettingham’s decision to rebuild the Inn on the old foundations, which is apparent from the shape of his irregular southern court, closely matching the outlines of the fifteenth and sixteenth century nucleus of the Inn that remains today. Brettingham seems even to have proposed retaining the old Gatehouse (1517–21). This suggests an economical rather than an antiquarian approach. Brettingham was cannily appealing to the Benchers’ purse, since reusing the foundations would have made his design by far the cheapest. Otherwise, his design is conservative and unimaginative; the elevation of his hall, with three Venetian windows between coupled pilasters, is cribbed directly from James Paine’s design for a house for Sir Matthew Featherstonehaugh in Whitehall (begun 1754), as illustrated in the first volume of Paine’s *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Houses*: a cheeky conceit considering Paine and Brettingham were competing against each other.

Paine’s and Adam’s plans were far more ambitious, and designed for pomp and ceremony. Both incorporated a grand central entrance leading

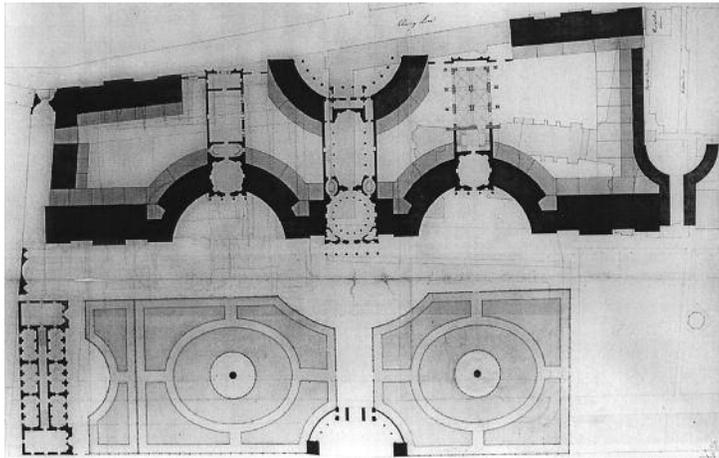


Fig. 7. Robert Adam, plan for Lincoln's Inn, c. 1774. The building in the lower left corner was for the Chancery offices. *Soane Museum*, vol. 28: 15.

to a columned vestibule, domed in Adam's design and vaulted in Paine's, where it acts as a passage connecting Lincoln's Inn and Chancery Lane. Enlivened by sculpture and articulated by forcefully projecting porticoes, their designs are more public-spirited than either Brettingham's or Taylor's, whose elevations could almost be mistaken for terraced houses. That Paine and Adam considered a highly formal composition appropriate for Lincoln's Inn is perhaps further suggested by their decision to mask the retained Chapel (1619–23, identifiable on the plan by the footprint of its undercroft) behind classical façades that would preserve symmetry on both main frontages. These interesting differences in interpretation between the four schemes are the result not only of the different characters of the architects, but stem also from the ambiguous identity the Inns possessed, as simultaneously institutional and domestic entities.

Adam's proposal is coloured by his firm opinions on public buildings, which he thought should be of sufficient majesty to commemorate the times in which they were built: he called them 'the most splendid monuments of a great and opulent people' in the fourth book of the *Works in Architecture* (1776).<sup>29</sup>

Adam may have been pining after his lost opportunity at Lincoln's Inn when, in the same publication, he lamented how the religion and government of Britain were disposed so as to deprive Britain of magnificent public works.<sup>30</sup> He would certainly have seen the commission as a great opportunity to put his ambitious ideas about public buildings into practice, which goes some way to explaining the extraordinary richness of the design. Copiously ornamented and made spectacular by the Pantheon-like dome and great sweeping quadrants, providing the 'movement' that the Adam brothers sought for picturesque ends<sup>31</sup>, this would all have been prohibitively expensive to build, even with the sculpture program scaled down to a sensible level. The design may well have been deliberately over-cooked so as to catch the eye of the Benchers, after which Adam might put forward a more modest design. This very possibility is, in fact, supported by a drawing of a much smaller courtyard complex, roughly sketched in faint pencil onto the large Adam plan (where it makes a ninety degree angle with the Chancery offices). Though barely visible today, this design seems to be essentially a much-condensed version of the larger one and may represent a more realistic proposal by Adam.

Whilst the schemes by the four architects seem to embody slightly different principles regarding the appropriate appearance and layout of the new buildings, they all represented, broadly speaking, demonstratively classical buildings. The implied references to ancient architecture inherent in their proportions and ornament would have been fully understood and appreciated only by the educated elite, those who had studied the classics and experienced the Grand Tour. As mentioned above, it was probably this social group that the Benchers were seeking to attract by substituting Neo-Classical architecture for the Tudor and Stuart buildings that stood at the time. In the event, the Inn ran out of money half way through Taylor's scheme and the older buildings were suffered to remain.

This is not the whole story, though, for there is a wider context that concerns public architecture across London. The building boom that followed the Peace of Paris in 1763 is well known; it created, in Sir John Summerson's words, a 'Golden Age of Georgian Culture' marked by great 'confidence' and 'imaginative creation'.<sup>32</sup> Giles Worsley notes how this building boom engendered an increase in public building, and places the Lincoln's Inn competition in the context of other innovative London projects such as James Wyatt's Pantheon and George Dance's Newgate Prison, begun respectively in 1769 and 1770.<sup>33</sup> This was indeed a creative period for public architecture, but the Lincoln's Inn project needs also to be understood within the context of a dissatisfaction with the existing fabric of London, as expressed in John Gwynn's *London and Westminster Improved*. This far-sighted manifesto, published in 1766, called for London's street plan to be remade along regular, Neo-Classical lines, which would have been possibly only with the demolition of the older courts and alleys, which Gwynn despised as 'narrow and crooked', 'inconvenient and unwholesome'.<sup>34</sup> The Benchers of Lincoln's Inn may well have looked upon their older buildings with similar distaste.

The question remains to be answered, why was

Robert Taylor's design (Figs. 8, 9) chosen? First of all, it is likely that he was on friendly terms with certain of the Benchers, not only as he had many contacts in and around the City<sup>35</sup> but also because his son Michelangelo Taylor was enrolled as a student at Lincoln's Inn, having been recently admitted on 30 October 1770.<sup>36</sup> The lawyers are unlikely to have awarded such a crucial commission as a matter of personal favouritism alone, though, especially having taken the trouble to invite different designs from four architects. There is also the matter of Taylor's proven track record in designing large institutional buildings. He had been appointed to extend the premises of the Bank of England in 1765 and in 1768 had completed the impressive Court Room and Committee Room suite.<sup>37</sup> But Adam's experience in building the ambitious Adelphi housing complex (begun 1768) on the River Thames was surely just as relevant, and James Paine had built Middlesex Hospital in 1755. The reasons for Taylor's appointment, it seems likely, had more to do with the design itself.

It may be that the refined and yet undemonstrative character of Taylor's design was just what the Council of Lincoln's Inn was looking for. The swagger and spectacle of Adam and Paine's designs might well have backfired on the Inn in an era when lawyers were constantly under fire for dishonesty and immorality. Criticism for unprincipled and dishonest practice is readily evident in the literature of the time. One attack on the Inns for their neglect of legal education and financial unscrupulousness took the form of an anonymous preface attached to the 1780 reprint of Dugdale's *Originales Juridiciales*. This vehement attack was apparently penned by a barrister who was keen to expose the immoral practices of the Inns with regards to the fees charged by their members: '... the greater *part* of the *practicing* barristers are needy adventurers, constantly employed in business or soliciting to get it; and such of them as are opulent, and are trained up in the habit of getting money for every word they



Fig. 8. Sir Robert Taylor, Stone Buildings court, showing (left and ahead) the Stone Buildings (1774–80), and (right) The Offices of the Six Clerks, the Registrar and the Accountant General (1775–77).

speak, and every act they do in matter of law, have no liberal, generous sentiments, no idea of doing any public service *without money*.<sup>38</sup>

Charges of dishonesty and immorality can also be found within contemporary accounts of the Inns of Court from outside their ranks. A scurrilous pamphlet styled as a satire on London, also published in 1780, describes the inns as ‘fifteen squares’, in which ‘youth are bound to spend five years to learn the art of confounding truth, supporting falsehood, and torturing justice’, adding that ‘Their original intention was to preserve property entire. Their present practice is how it may be divided.’<sup>39</sup> Such was the perception of the Inns amongst some members of the public around the year 1780.

Lincoln’s Inn would have been well aware of such criticisms. Under scrutiny for dishonesty and overcharging, the Society might well wish to present itself as honest, plain-speaking and non-pompous. Such

terms could easily be applied to Taylor’s and Brettingham’s designs, whilst not quite so easily to Adam’s and Paine’s. Brettingham’s design was, of course, cheaper to build, though Taylor’s design possessed that element of learned sophistication, with its austere display of the orders on the central and end pavilions, that the benchers seemed to be seeking.

Other possible reasons for Taylor’s success centre around the range of chamber accommodation offered. Marcus Binney highlights Taylor’s uncanny ability to plan the chambers intricately whilst ensuring that all windows were symmetrically placed within each room, citing this as a possible reason for Taylor’s success in the commission.<sup>40</sup> In fact, on comparison of Taylor’s plans with those by Paine and Brettingham (which Binney, writing in 1984, could not examine), the most fundamental difference setting them apart is that no two sets of chambers were the same, with regard to both layout and dimensions,



Fig. 9. Taylor, the Stone Buildings (1774–80).  
The right pavilion was added by Philip Hardwick in 1842–45.

in either of Taylor's plans. The Council may have been impressed by this; such an arrangement would give every set of chambers its own character and, more importantly, allow for the hierarchy inherent within the profession, whereby more senior lawyers expected larger suites. It may have been something as simple as this that gave Taylor's design the edge over those of his rivals.

In conclusion, the drawings associated with the competition for rebuilding Lincoln's Inn bear fruit in many areas, not least in the four architects' differing approaches to the kind of architecture suitable for institutional patrons and to the competition itself. Taken as a whole, the corpus of drawings sheds much light on the requirements and pretensions of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, at a singular moment during its long history. The Inn set out upon a brave mission to reinvent its own image, an image borne out of the refined tastes of aristocrats and gentlemen.

Though they may have been only partially successful, in 1801 a young student could nevertheless write home to his father: 'a card with Lincoln's Inn upon it is as genteel for a young man as Grosvenor Square.'<sup>41</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article is based on my MA dissertation of the same title, completed in 2004, and also on more recent research undertaken for a doctoral thesis on the Inns of Court, all undertaken at the Courtauld Institute under the unfailingly helpful supervision of Christine Stevenson. Thanks are also due to Sir John Soane's Museum and the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn for kind permission to reproduce drawings in their collections.

## NOTES

- 1 As Stillman notes, no trace of them could be found in 1978. They were, however, rediscovered in 1988 in the cellars of Lincoln's Inn Library, slightly too late to be included either in Peter Leach's monograph of James Paine or in Stillman's survey of the period, which compares Adam's design with Taylor's executed building. See D. Stillman, *English Neo-classical Architecture* (London, 1988), pp. 388, 581 (notes. 9–11), and P. Leach, *James Paine* (London, 1988), pp. 102, 193.
- 2 A. Bolton, 'Lincoln's Inn and the Fields in relation to a Scheme of Rebuilding and Development by Robert Adam between the years 1771 and 1772', *Architectural Review* (June 1917), pp. 111–115. See also W. P. Baildon, 'The Quincentenary of Lincoln's Inn – II', *Country Life*, LII (23 December 1922), pp. 848–55, and A. Rowan, 'Bob the Roman': *Heroic Antiquity & the Architecture of Robert Adam* (Exhibition Catalogue, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2003), pp. 27, 30–32.
- 3 D. King, *Unbuilt Adam* (London, 2001), pp. 33–35, 38; R. Fookes & R. Wallington, 'The Buildings: Long History and Picturesque Variety', in A. Holdsworth (ed.), *A Portrait of Lincoln's Inn* (London, 2007), pp. 32–34.
- 4 G. Tyack, 'The Buildings of the Inner Temple', in C. Rider & V. Horsley (eds.), *The Inner Temple: A Community of Communities* (London, 2007), p. 69.
- 5 R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 74; quoted in D. Lemmings, *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000), p. 64.
- 6 Lemmings, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
- 7 P. Lucas, 'A Collective Biography of Students and Barristers of Lincoln's Inn, 1680–1804: A Study in the 'Aristocratic Resurgence' of the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Modern History*, XLVI (June 1974), p. 234.
- 8 Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
- 9 *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books*, III (1899), pp. 407, 410, 412, 423.
- 10 *Ibid.*, III, p. 420.
- 11 *Ibid.*, III, p. 421.
- 12 'Rough Plan of the Principal Story of the Building intended to be erected on the East Side of the Garden', Ashmolean Museum, Print Room, Robert Taylor folder.
- 13 Plan 'B', Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 11.
- 14 *The Black Books*, III, p. 424.
- 15 There are three surviving plans in Lincoln's Inn Library (E5 Stone Buildings: 14, folder C8) that show Taylor's alteration to the design of the angle block, involving shortening it as well as rethinking the internal layout somewhat.
- 16 Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 10, folder C3.
- 17 Lincoln's Inn Library, E5 Stone Buildings: 12, folder C4.
- 18 King, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 19 *Browne's General Law List* (London, 1783), pp. 9, 22–30, 31, 62.
- 20 Lemmings, *op. cit.*, p. 50, footnote.
- 21 R. Willis & R.W.Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1886), pp. 301–2.
- 22 R. Megarry, *An Introduction to Lincoln's Inn* (London, 2000), p. 6.
- 23 Lucas, *loc. cit.*, p. 235, footnote.
- 24 Rowan, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 25 *Black Books*, IV, pp. 32–33.
- 26 See J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 396.
- 27 See E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland. 1680–1760* (New Haven and London, 2001), frontispiece.
- 28 See A. Palladio, ed. Ware, *The Four Books of Architecture* (New York, 1965), Book III, Ch. 20, pl. xvii.
- 29 R. Oresko, (ed.), *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*. (London, (1975), p. 54.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 32 J. Summerson, ed. H. M. Colvin, *Georgian London*. (New Haven and London, (2003), p. 131.
- 33 G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*. (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 289.
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