Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson at Osgoode Hall: The Debacle of 1855[1]

by Angela K. Carr

Osgoode Hall in Toronto arrived at its present configuration through a process of accretion, beginning with the east wing in 1829, and followed at intermittent intervals over the next hundred and fifty years by no less than fourteen major building additions (see Appendix). In particular, the facade is the result of three separate campaigns undertaken by three different architects at different times (**figure 1**). The east wing was constructed 1829-32 by John Ewart, the west wing 1844-46 by Henry Bowyer Lane, and the central facade 1857-59 by Toronto architects Cumberland & Storm (**figure 2**). The central facade alterations involved the demolition of an existing range of offices constructed in 1833, and their replacement by the stone-fronted reminiscence of Versailles that still graces the park overlooking Queen Street West.[2] However, the scheme built by Cumberland & Storm was actually the second of two proposed for this location. The first, which was never executed, was prepared by a Montreal firm, Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson,[3] in the mid-1850s. The Lawford plans, which include a set of "as found" drawings together with the sketch plans for the proposed changes, survive among the Cumberland & Storm papers in the Horwood collection at the Archives of Ontario.[4] Over the years questions have been asked about how Montreal architects became involved in designing alterations for a building in Toronto, and precisely when the drawings were undertaken. It is now possible to assign exact dates for the project and explain the firm's role–including some of the reasons why Lawford failed to receive the commission.

The Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson plans have long been an ill-fitting piece in the already complex jigsaw of building at Osgoode Hall. Initial speculations by James Cleland Hamilton, and later repeated by Eric Arthur, suggested that the Montreal firm had been architects for the Hall since 1829.[5] Hamilton published a front elevation showing the building after Lane's alterations of 1844-46. This was actually one of Lawford's undated "as found" drawings from the mid-1850s under the signature of Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson (**figure 3**). But Hamilton assumed the elevation recorded a scheme executed by the signatories, and described Lane's role in the 1840s as clerk of the works. This was corrected in 1959 when John Bland noticed that Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson were active in Montreal only between 1854 and 1860. He also cited an engraving of Osgoode Hall signed by Henry B. Lane, which had been published in the 1840s. Based on this piece of evidence he drew the correct conclusion that Lane had been the sole architect 1844-46.[6] Later Stephen Otto and Marion MacRae definitively confirmed Lane's role.[7]

For some time, little else was written on the subject. Then, in 1983, MacRae and Adamson suggested that the Lawford drawings could have been a comparative proposal commissioned by the Law Society in 1856 when Cumberland & Storm were consulted about the proposed alterations.[8] Concurrently, Johnson and Maitland located a *Report of Proposed Additions and Alterations to the Law Courts, Osgoode Hall, Toronto,* which showed that Lawford had filed his plans with the government in March of 1856.[9] In 1984 several Osgoode Hall drawings from the mid-1850s were included in an exhibition entitled *The Glory of Toronto,* curated by Douglas Richardson at the Justinia M. Barnicke Gallery in Hart House on the campus of the University of Toronto. Richardson placed the Lawford plans in chronology before those of Cumberland & Storm, with the "as founds" of the Lane scheme in turn preceding the unbuilt proposal by Lawford. Richardson also pointed out certain similarities between Lawford's ideas and the early drafts for the same project by the Toronto firm.[10]

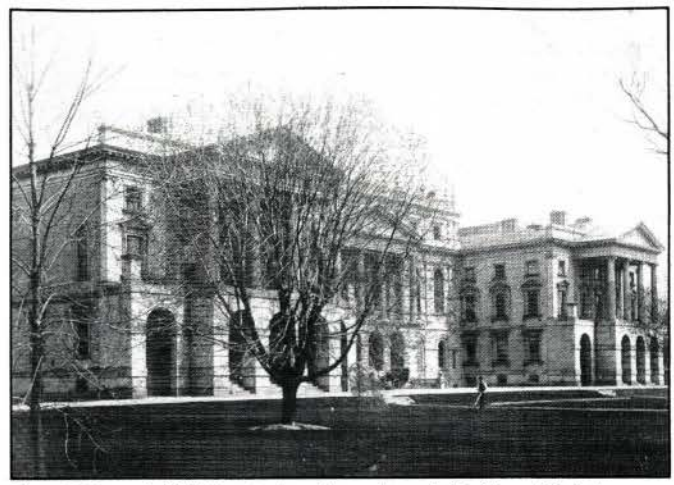

Figure 2. Osgoode Hall, Toronto, from the south-west. (Archives of Ontario, Picture Collection, Acc. 13222-63. Photo: Josiah Bruce, no date)

My own research has since shown that the Lawford plans were prepared in the summer of 1855. Furthermore, Lawford was commissioned by the government, specifically the Board of Works, at a time when The Law Society of Upper Canada had already begun dealing with Cumberland & Storm. The Lawford plans were later turned over to the Toronto firm in 1856 when the Law Society assumed carriage of the project. The two schemes were the result not of a competition, but of the divided responsibility between the Board of Works and The Law Society of Upper Canada in matters of building at Osgoode Hall.

This last point can be elaborated briefly. Osgoode Hall serves two separate functions, one as the home of the Law Society (which is a private professional organization representing the province's lawyers), and the other as the seat of the superior courts of justice in Ontario. By rights the Hall need only have been a private collegiate institution similar to the British inns of court–designed exclusively for the members of the Bar.[11] But when construction began in 1829 the superior courts needed accommodation too. For reasons of economy practicality the Law Society offered the necessary space.[12] This was the beginning of shared premises between the superior courts and the legal profession of the province which has continued to the present day. The arrangement accounts for the joint involvement of the Law Society and the Board of Works in the events of the 1850s–the Law Society on its own account, the Board of Works on behalf of the government and courts. In later alterations to the Hall the two parties even employed different architects. Ultimately, in the 1880s, the division of responsibility was formalized by a transfer of property, so the government now owns the western portion of the Hall, while the Law Society retains the east wing and the law school appurtenant to it.

A second facet of this sharing arrangement was the commencement of government funding for the various building campaigns. As time went on, most of the expansion was necessitated by the growth of the court system, so it was appropriate that public monies should be used for the projects. But this meant that every undertaking required the cooperation of the Executive Council, the Board of

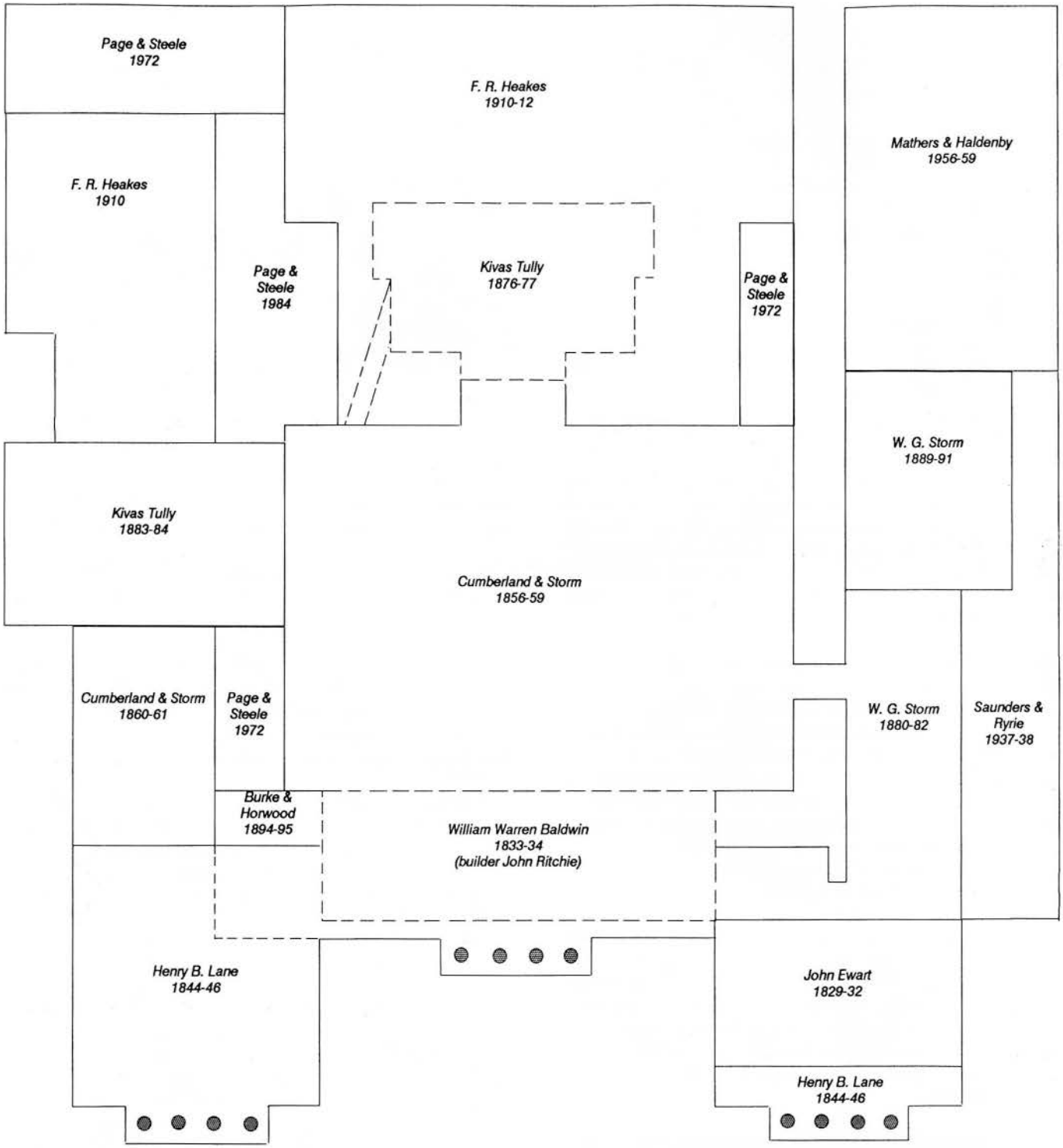

Figure 1. Diagrammatic plan of additions to Osgoode Hall, Toronto (not to scale).

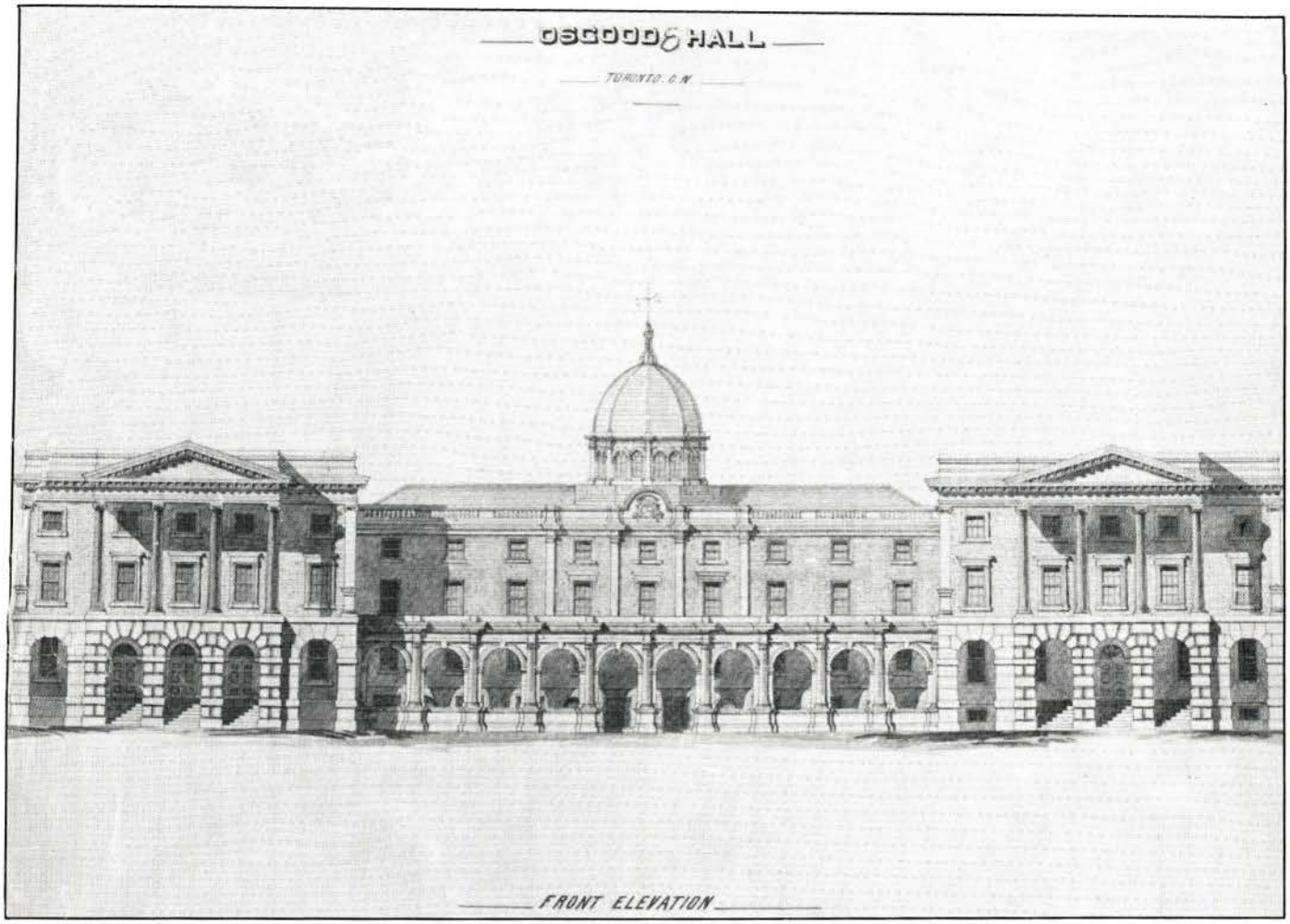

Figure 3. "As found" front elevation of Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 453(5). Arch.: Henry B. Lane, 1844-46, Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, June 1855)

Works, and the Law Society. And as the amount of public funding increased, the level of control exercised by the Board of Works grew at a corresponding rate.

In 1844, when the government first contributed to the cost, architect Henry Bowyer Lane was employed by the Law Society to add a west wing for the courts. In addition, he faced both the east and west wings with grandiose Palladian porticoes and renovated an existing three-storey building in between to provide a library and court offices.[13] In so doing he transformed a pair of adjoining brick pavilions into a *palais de justice* of considerable elegance, a project he executed without any supervision from government.[14] By 1849, however, the creation of two new courts rendered Lane's alterations inadequate, and lengthy discussions ensued while arrangements were made for more financing. Finally, on 19 March 1855, the Executive Council authorized the Board of Works to employ a competent architect to communicate with the Law Society and the courts about the proposed changes.[15] This time the government's participation was to be more significant.

The Board of Works, then in Quebec City with the Parliament it served, dispatched Assistant Commissioner Hamilton Killaly to meet with the judges and officials of the various courts. On 12 June 1855 he suggested to them, in conference with a committee of the Law Society, that a "centre addition" be made between the east and west wings of Osgoode Hall.[16] From the wording it is unclear whether this was to be an alteration to the centre building or a substantial reconstruction of it, but the need to provide temporary accommodation in the east wing was discussed at the same time. Later in the month the Board's appointee Fred Lawford of Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson (Montreal) arrived in Toronto to begin the planning. The Treasurer of the Law Society subsequently reported that

> Mr. Lawford had been named by the Board of Works for the purpose, and that the Gentleman had transmitted to the Society plans . . . as sketches for consideration, on the subject of which and any alterations to the same he would be ready to wait upon the Society at any time upon being written to at Montreal for that purpose.[17]

The fact that the Law Society had already retained Cumberland & Storm to prepare a plan of the east wing seems not to have been an issue of concern to the Board (**figure 4**).[18] In accordance with instructions, Lawford proceeded to map out the entire project, consulting both with the courts and the Society, while Cumberland & Storm waited in the wings.

Lawford completed his survey of the existing buildings in June, and in July developed a full round of sketch plans, elevations, and sections that anticipated a substantial reconstruction of the central portion. In August his work was transmitted to Toronto for consideration. By the

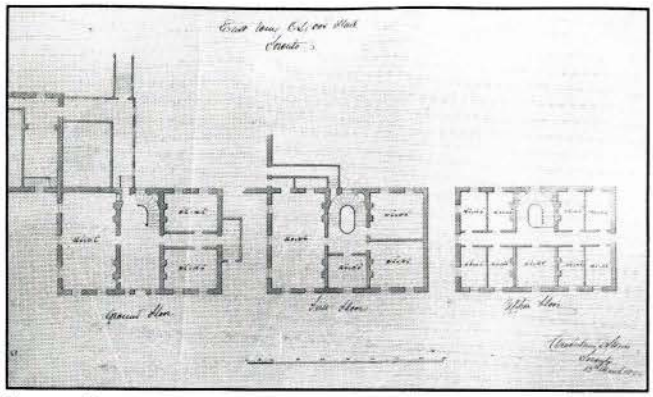

Figure 4. Floor plans of the east wing of Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 683(9). Dwg.: Cumberland & Storm, 12 March 1855)

beginning of October criticisms of his proposals had been received. Lawford then wrote to Killaly about the problems, noting that

> The space allotted in my first plan to vaults above ground is now required for offices, and it is decided to have the vaults in the basement, provided they can be light and dry.[19]

In accordance with the terms of this letter, Lawford's ground floor plan [Horwood 453(8)] includes space for four vaults, a fact which clearly identifies the drawing and its companion pieces as belonging to the scheme drafted in July of 1855 (**figure 5**).[20]

In all there are seven "as founds" of the Lane version of Osgoode Hall executed by Lawford in June of 1855. These include four floor plans of the basement, ground, first, and second storeys; side and back elevations; and a front elevation (**figure 3**) already mentioned in connection with the illustration published by Hamilton. In addition, there are five items datable to the July period which illustrate Lawford's proposed changes. These include three floor plans, longitudinal and transverse sections, and a front elevation. Missing from the latter set is a plan of the basement level.

A comparison of Lawford's proposed ground floor (**figure 5**) with his "as found" of Lane's configuration (**figure 6**) indicates that the facade of the centre building was to be repositioned several feet further forward. This would have blocked out one window on each of the wings, but facilitated links between the central and flanking structures. To the rear of the west wing, the line of the old building would have remained, but a new block was to be added on the north to accommodate offices, vaults, and a stair hall with Imperial staircase.

Horwood 453(9) discloses Lawford's intention to create rooms for judges and court clerks on the first of the upper floors where Lane had previously place the law library. In the addition a pair of two-storey courtrooms was planned at the rear. On the next floor, a law library would have traversed the front of the building in a newly-extended attic space lit by a massive dome (**figure 7**). A bearing wall close to the line of the old range (**figure 6**) cuts off any light from the attic windows, making the dome the only source of illumination. Lawford's proposed facade (**figure 8**) shows the extension of the third storey above that of the old building (**figure 3**), its cornice line adjusted to match that of the wings. As Lawford later observed in his final report, he "found it would be necessary to take down and rearrange the whole of the central portion of the Building, this part being badly constructed and very ill-adapted to the purposes of Law offices."[21]

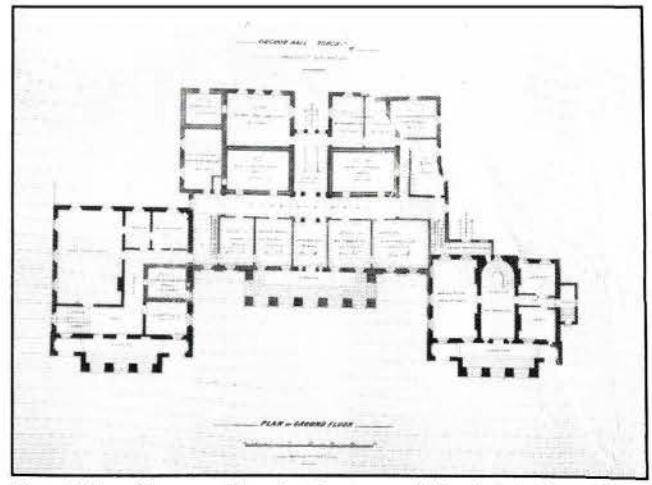

Figure 5. Plan of the ground floor showing proposed alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 453(8). Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, July 1855)

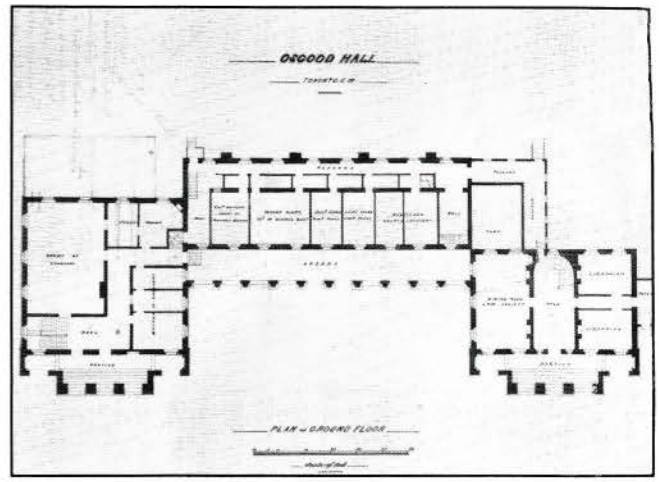

Figure 6. "As found" plan of the ground floor of Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario 453(2). Arch. Henry Bowyer Lane, 1844-46, Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, June 1855)

Despite his disapproval of the fabric as it stood, Lawford's front elevation [Horwood 453(12)], datable to July of 1855 (**figure 8**), shows how much he was guided by Lane's precedent (**figure 3**). The rustication of the porches would have been extended across the whole facade, the main doorway marked by a third immense portico on arcuated foundations. Above it all, the new dome Lawford planned to erect–more soundly conceived than its predecessor–would have followed the earlier design in articulating the public character of the building. So completely conditioned by the preexisting structure was his conception, it seems likely that the patrons may have requested Lawford to maintain as much of the character of the original as possible.

In his letter of 2 October 1855 to Killaly, Lawford indicated that even these changes might prove insufficient. He suggested that the roofs of the wings should be raised in order to provide additional office space, and the massive Palladian porticoes be removed to improve lighting in the interior. The orders decorating the building would also have to be amended, and alterations undertaken that would amount to a reconstruction of the whole. This proposal is embodied in an alternate elevation [Horwood 453(13)] which is the only item in the collection to indicate that the architect ever proceeded with amend-

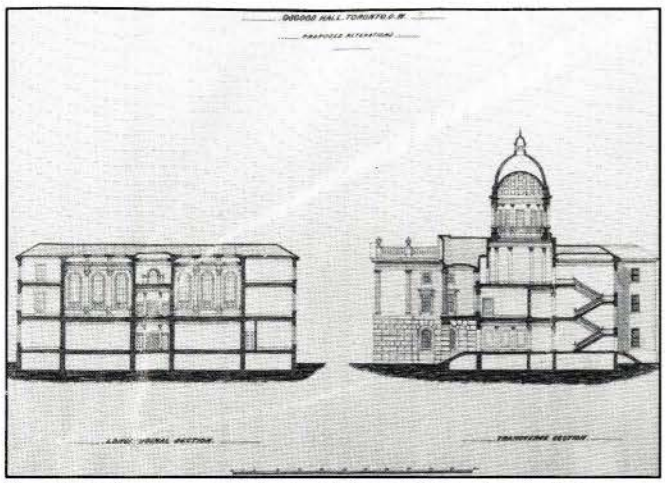

Figure 7. Section of proposed alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 453(11). Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, July 1855)

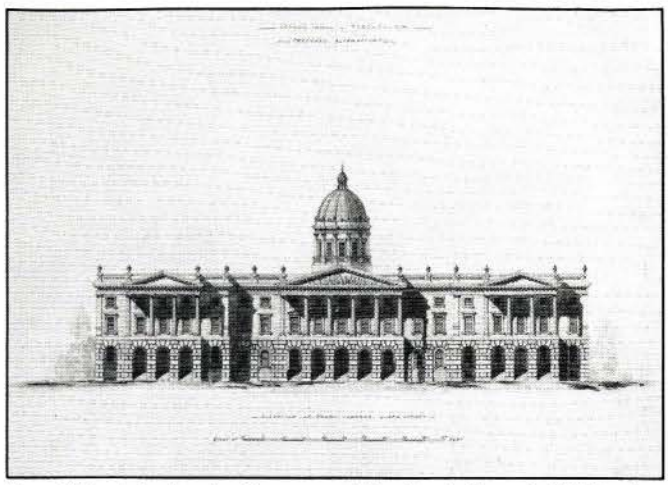

Figure 8. Front elevation showing proposed alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 453(12) Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, July 1855)

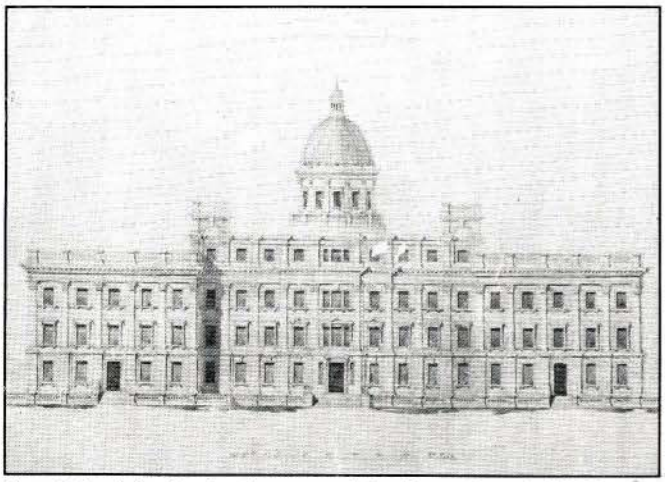

Figure 9. Front elevation showing proposed alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 453(13). Dwg.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, October 1855)

ments to the project after his initial plans of July 1855 (**figure 9**). In accordance with Lawford's comments to Killaly about raising the roof of the wings to provide offices, windows in the upper floors are enlarged to match those on the ground and first floors. In addition, the porticoes are eliminated in favour of giant order pilasters, and the cornice line of the centre building rises above that of the wings. The result is a structural unity, a single sculptural mass, which departs decisively from the earlier concept of linked pavilions.[22]

Lawford went on to estimate the cost of rebuilding the entire structure at £30,000. If this conclusion disturbed Killaly we do not know. That same month the Board of Works moved to Toronto from Quebec City, along with the government it served.[23] Nothing further was done. Lawford tried to fulfill his mandate by seeking instructions. When none were forthcoming he sent along his report with the original sketch plans and revised elevation in February of the following year. These were studiously filed by the Department of Works with the notation "no action."[24] In March, Lawford sent a further communication, his report reasserting the conclusions of the previous October. This time he pressed his case to rebuild the entire structure, stating in part

> The style of the architecture of the present building is inappropriate to the purposes of Courts of Law, from its too great lightness, and we consider that for such a city as Toronto, and for such a building as the Law Courts, perhaps the most important in the place, a more massive and more imposing style should be adopted.[25]

What this might have implied can be surmised from Lawford's design for the Custom House and Post Office at Kingston, on which he was working at the same time (**figures 10 and 11**)–the former reminiscent of Inigo Jones, the latter like Barry's Travellers' Club. But Lawford, it appears, received no further instructions from the Board on the subject of Osgoode Hall.

Fortunately, other correspondence with the Board gives some insights into the situation. When Lawford first wrote to Killaly in October 1855, he included a request for an advance on fees. This was answered by Mr. Begly, Secretary of the Board, who responded

> I am directed . . . to inform you that the Secretary of the Board of Works is the proper channel for communication on all business matters connected with the Department . . . . As this is the first time that the names of the other gentlemen subscribing the application have been before the Office, you will be so good as to state whether, in such work you may undertake for the Department henceforth, they are to be considered partners. You will also specify the works on which you ask for an advance, and the amount on each, respectively.[26]

Later correspondence reveals that the Board's patronage was not solicited by the firm, but Lawford forwarded his confirmation of the partnership together with the following reply:

> I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday's date and must apologize, in addressing my letter to Mr. Killaly, for not acting according to the routine of the office–as all correspondence connected with the Public Works has hitherto been carried on with him, I was not aware he was not the proper channel of communication.[27]

In closing, Lawford requested £50 on account of his work at Osgoode Hall, and an additional £50 for plans of the Kingston Lunatic Asylum on which he was also working.

Figure 10. Custom House, Kingston. National Archives of Canada, Picture Collection PA46303. Arch.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, 1856)

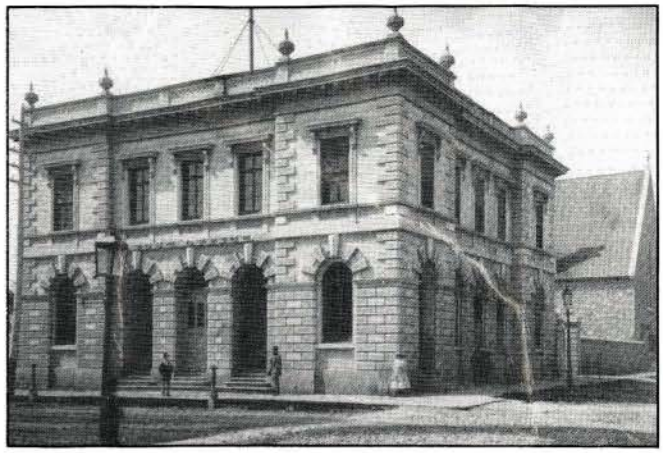

Figure 11. Post Office, Kingston. National Archives of Canada, Picture Collection PA46463. Arch.: Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson, 1856)

Six weeks later Lawford wrote to the Board to ask for the instructions to Osgoode Hall. The cover of this letter bears a notation to the effect that no action could be taken in the absence of Mr. Killaly.[28] At the opening of the New Year nothing had changed, but Lawford was still getting work from the Board. They sent him to survey the Ordinance Buildings in London, Canada West with a view to their conversion for use as an auxiliary Lunatic Asylum. And at this time Lawford also received the commission for the Custom House and Post Office in Kingston, mentioned above.[29] Everything seemed to be going well for the firm.

Periodically Lawford tried to collect on his outstanding accounts with the Board. The reminders went unheeded until January of 1856 when Lawford appended a claim for £50 travel expenses to his interim account for Osgoode Hall. This prompted an immediate funds requisition, but the travel expense claim was disallowed. The Board obviously hoped the firm would accept this as payment in full of its claim. But Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson applied the money on account of their Kingston fees. After months of inertia, this stirred Mr. Begly to activity. He telegraphed his disapproval, and Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson were obliged to write back in the following terms:

> Of course it makes no difference to ourselves upon what we receive the money but we should be glad to have the remaining £100 as soon as you can conveniently arrange it, made out for whichever works it is thought desirable.[30]

Within the month Lawford's firm had more trouble with the Board. Mr. Begly wrote to say that the plans and elevations for the Kingston Custom House and Post Office did not match. In addition, he complained that Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson were assuming too much control over the tendering process there. The Board's clerk of the works was to deal with this matter. In their reply the architects admitted a discrepancy between the plans and the elevation: one was figured in fathoms, the other in feet. But the firm obviously did not anticipate that Lawford would soon be told to formalize his accounts in full so they could be submitted to Parliament with the annual estimates.[31]

In the meantime, Lawford's report had been forwarded to the Provincial Secretary's Office, but again no action was taken. More bad news was in store. A month later, Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson were advised about their failure to gain the premium for the new Custom House at Quebec. That competition was won by William Thomas of Toronto, whose estimate was the second highest of the fifteen entrants, nearly £30,000 more than that presented by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson. Then, in September 1856, Lawford discovered that the clerk of the works in Kingston had taken over all responsibilities, and that his firm was to have nothing more to do with the project. At the end of December the appointment of Cumberland & Storm at Osgoode Hall reached Lawford via the grapevine.[32]

The error in the Kingston plans is one obvious explanation for Lawford's fall from grace. Possibly it was the only factor undermining the Board's confidence. But the Board had already filed Lawford's report with the notation "no action" a month before the problem occurred at Kingston, and in an era of manual drafting, discrepancies were not uncommon.[33] Indeed, Lawford assumed his firm would be supervising the building during construction, so the consistency of the plans would not have been so crucial.[34]

Alternately, the fees dispute may have annoyed Mr. Begly. Yet Lawford seems to have been within his rights to claim travelling expenses. The practice, according to one writer, had been established as early as the 1770s by Sir William Chambers, who relied upon the affirmation of James Paine to prove travelling expenses as the general custom of the profession in his dispute with the Earl of Thanet.[35] And Lawford was not alone in his disputes with the Board. Cumberland & Storm had reason to question the Board's handling of its accounts not long afterwards.[36]

Another point of friction may have been Lawford's approach to the project. While the Board of Works was unconcerned about the size of the Thomas estimate for the Custom House in Quebec, it appears that the Executive Council had not contemplated such a large sum for the alterations at Osgoode Hall. A refinancing of the existing debt was approved in April 1855, and an additional £10,000, charged against the fee fund levied on legal proceedings, was considered in September 1856. This did not pass Parliament until May 1857. In the meantime, at the end of November 1856, the Law Society had realized the funding still would be inadequate, and sought more aid. The latter was not forthcoming until May 1859, when the final installment of £30,000 was approved by the government.[37]

Perhaps Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson were the authors of their own misfortune. Or perhaps it was never intended they should do more than provide sketch plans. The documentation repeatedly refers

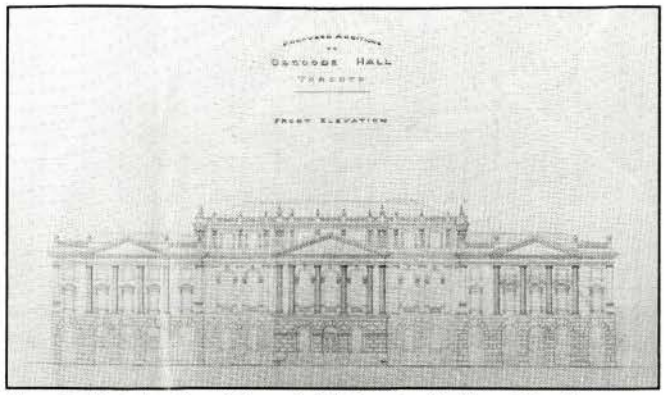

Figure 12. Front elevation of Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 102(10). Arch.: Cumberland & Storm, October 1856)

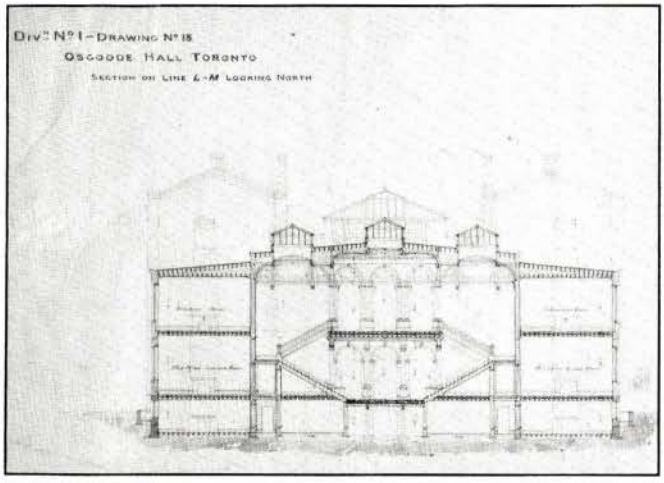

Figure 14. Section showing alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 102(27). Arch.: Cumberland & Storm, May 1857)

to the employment of an architect to determine the nature and extent of the alterations. The fact that this was never communicated to Lawford is evident from the correspondence. But in the 1850s in Canada there were no professional organizations to codify the rights of architects. Once deprived of the superintendence of a project, the architect could only seek reimbursement for his drafting work, not for the time and trouble spent in developing his ideas. Lawford's correspondence with the Board of Works reflects this situation:

> We would draw [the Commissioners'] attention especially to the accounts for the Custom House and Post Office [at Kingston] from the fact of our not being allowed the preparation of the working drawings or the superintendence of the buildings, both of which form the chief remuneration of an architect in his usual charge of 5% upon the whole outlay.[38]

Once payment was received for drawings an architect might cease to have control over their use, and in certain cases could even be deemed to have waived his copyright.[39] In at least one instance (in 1906) the Board was the beneficiary of such a situation. A public competition was staged for Departmental buildings in the nation's capital, and the government declined to offer an assurance that the winner would receive anything more than the stipulated premium. After the competition was won by the Maxwell firm in Montreal, there was much quibbling and delay. The Maxwell plans were eventually handed over to an in-house architect who was to develop the actual scheme. The project died on the order paper when the government

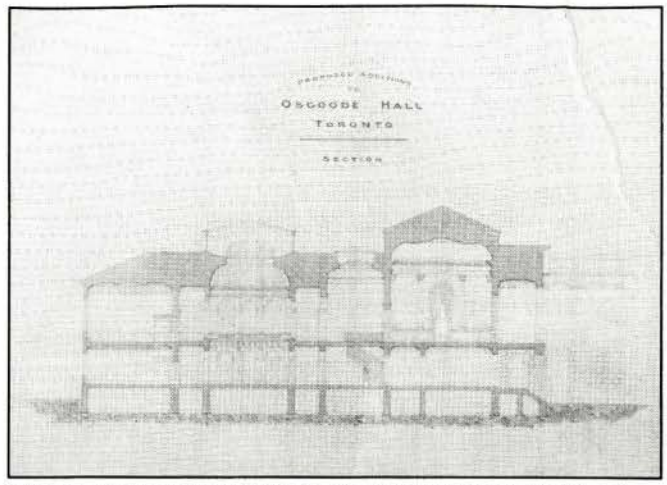

Figure 13. Section showing alterations to Osgoode Hall, Toronto. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection 102(11). Arch.: Cumberland & Storm, 1856)

changed,[40] so the issue was never put to the test. But the assumption that outside expertise could be utilized in a consulting capacity was consistent with the experience of Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson at Kingston and Osgoode Hall.

In the end, Lawford was the loser in a stalemate. One year after he had drawn up the plans, no progress had been made. It was not until Chief Justice Draper wrote to the Provincial Secretary in June 1856 that anything began to change. The letter was referred to the Attorney-General. A second letter from the Chief Justice in August extracted the paperwork, which went before the Executive Council in mid-September. Fifteen months after Lawford began, the project was finally approved, and the Law Society was advised tentatively that £10,000 in new funding would be forthcoming.[41] Just nine days after this advice was sent, Cumberland & Storm signed their first set of plans for the project.[42] This suggests that their involvement resumed when the Attorney-General entered the picture. At any rate, the work was now passed into the hands of the Law Society architects, and the Board stipulated only that the plans be submitted for the approval of the Board before building was undertaken. This was done on 5 November 1856, whereupon the Executive Council agreed to the proposals, and approved in principle aid for the Society to the full extent of the fee fund, a measure that was only passed in Parliament in May of 1859.

Lawford's successors on the project, Cumberland & Storm, fared better. They began with copies of the earlier proposal in hand. Their scheme prepared in September assumed that the old range would be demolished. In its place the firm proposed to erect a palatial new centre which would dominate the diminutive scale of the wings, and provide a focus for the entire facade (**figure 12**). Instead of the three-storey building proposed by their predecessors, the Toronto firm increased the depth of the structure from front to back, and reduced the number of storeys to two (**figure 13**). The ground floor was occupied by court offices, a stair hall, and a two-storey skylit courtyard known as the "Rotunda," inspired by the precedent of Barry's London clubhouses. At the rear were the Probate and Practice Court. The upper floor housed the library which ran parallel to the main facade. Also included were two additional courtrooms for Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and a Judges' library and chambers.

Cumberland & Storm omitted the expensive dome proposed by Lawford, but substituted the equally costly Rotunda, executed at the

request of the Law Society in Caen stone, the most lavish of three materials offered by the architects. In place of the dome a skylight was planned for the library, but tradition prevailed and an artificial plaster dome was introduced in recollection of the Lane original (**front cover**). The Toronto architects initially opted for a Victorian hanging stair (**figure 13**), but later acknowledged the practicality of Lawford's Imperial design, incorporating a modified version in their final scheme (**figure 14**). On the exterior, the grand central portico and elevated rusticated foundation once again made an appearance. Cumberland & Storm achieved the weighty grandeur to which Lawford aspired by vermiculating the entrance portals, and enhanced the projection of the porch by pairing the outer columns. They benefited from their predecessors' experience, and successfully integrated expectations conditioned by the Lane precedent with the constraints of the existing structure.

The estimates Cumberland & Storm presented in November 1856 indicate that the decision to rebuild the centre range was under review. Their calculations were broken down into separate sections: £11,000 for the renovation of the old range; £13,000 for a new addition to the rear of the building; and £2,000 for the wing facades. By May of 1857 a new set of drawings had been prepared to provide for the possibility that the 1833 range might have to stay. But the first stage of the new government funding finally received Parliamentary approval, and the core between the east and west wings was torn down and rebuilt, creating what Scadding described as a "Genoese palace." The final cost was £45,000, £15,000 more than Lawford's highest estimate.[43] But the Toronto firm's flexibility in staging its estimates to coincide with the funding process assured success. Cumberland & Storm married the associations of the private club and the public monument to attain a suitable reflection of the dual functions served by Osgoode Hall. Their involvement was fortuitous, but their achievement was synthesis.

Appendix

Osgoode Hall

Major Building Additions and Alterations

Date	Addition/alteration	Architect
1829-32	East Wing	John Ewart
1833-34	Central Range	John Ritchey (builder)
1844-46	West Wing & Renovations to Central Range	Henry Bowyer Lane
1855	New Central Building (project not built)	Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson
1856-59	New Central Building & Renovations to East and West Wings	Cumberland & Storm
1860	Addition to West Wing	Cumberland & Storm
1861	Outbuildings, Wall & Gatekeeper's Lodge	Cumberland & Storm
1862-67	Fence	W. G. Storm
1876-77	Court of Appeal, North Wing	Kivas Tully
1880-82	Law School Addition	W. G. Storm
1883-84	Chancery Court Wing & West Wing Extension	Kivas Tully
1889-91	Second Law School Addition	W. G. Storm
1894-96	American Room & East Wing Renovations	Edmund Burke, Burke & Horwood
1896	Caretaker's Cottage	Public Works
1910-12	North & West Wing Additions	F. R. Heakes
1910-24	Alterations to Law School	Darling & Pearson
1921-23	New Caretaker's Lodge	Molesworth, West & Secord
1925	Law School Renovations	Vaux Chadwick
1937-38	Third Law School Addition & Library Extension (West Room)	Saunders & Ryrie
1956-59	Fourth Law School Addition	Mathers & Haldenby
1965-72	Renovations & Northwest Addition	Page & Steele (Public Works)
1984	Enclosure of Northwest Courtyard	Arthur Heeney (Law Society), Page & Steele

Endnotes

1 This discussion draws upon the writer's research paper entitled "The Architecture of Osgoode Hall from 1829 to 1984," completed in September 1984 for the M.A. program at the University of Toronto.

2 Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City*, 3rd ed. revised by Stephen A. Otto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 108, quoting Hitchcock.

3 See Robert Hill, *The Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800-1950* (in preparation), Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson entry, for details of the partners' respective careers.

4 Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Horwood Collection, file 453.

5 James Cleland Hamilton, *Osgoode Hall: Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar* (Toronto: The Carswell Company, 1904), pp. 16ff; Charles H.A. Armstrong, *The Honourable Society of Osgoode Hall*, appendix by Eric Arthur (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1952), p. 49.

6 John Bland, "Osgoode Hall," Royal Architectural Institute of Canada *Journal* (July 1959), pp. 250-52; see also Gerard Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Quebec: Editions du Pelican, reprinted 1980), p. 133, who earlier said the firm was active 1853-60.

7 George W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), entry yet to be published on Henry Bowyer Lane by Stephen A. Otto and Marion MacRae.

8 Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Cornerstones of Order* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1983), p. 153.

9 Dana Johnson and Leslie Maitland, "Historical Report on Osgoode Hall," Canadian Inventory of Historic Buildings, Parks Canada, Ottawa, referring to National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Records of the Civil and Provincial Secretaries' Offices, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, Report on the Proposed Additions and Alterations to the Law Courts, Osgoode Hall, Toronto.

10 Justinia M. Barnicke Gallery, Hart House, University of Toronto, *The Glory of Toronto*, exhibition by Douglas Richardson, 1984. Douglas Richardson has generously offered his unpublished catalogue entries to assist in the preparation of this text.

11 *Black's Law Dictionary* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co., 1968), p. 927.

12 Archives of The Law Society of Upper Canada, Osgoode Hall, Toronto, Minutes of The Law Society of Upper Canada, 18 November 1825.

13 Law Society minutes, 18 June 1844, 8 August 1846, 11 and 29 June 1849; also 9 Vic., c.33 (U.C.) regarding funding; Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), Horwood Collection, file 453; MacRae and Adamson, pp. 123ff; Arthur, pp. 141ff. The west wing provided space for the Court of King's Bench and the newly created Court of Chancery.

14 Henry Scadding, *Toronto of Old* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, reprinted 1987), pp. 226-28; Armstrong, p. 49.

15 National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 103 of 1855 filed with 1136 of 1856, Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council dated 17 March 1855 and approved 19 March 1855. The new courts were Common Pleas and the Court of Error and Appeal.

16 Law Society Minutes, 12 June 1855.

17 Law Society Minutes, 28 August 1855.

18 AO, Horwood 683(69), which bears a date of 12 March 1855.

19 NAC, Board of Works, Registered Correspondence, RG 11, A 1, vol. 24, letter 27493 dated 2 October 1855 from Fred Lawford to Hon. H. H. Killaly.

20 AO, Horwood 453(8).

21 NAC, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 1136 of 1856, Report of Proposed Additions and Alterations to the Law Courts, Osgoode Hall, Toronto dated 28 March 1856 by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson. The old centre range, designed in 1833 as a student residence, was poorly constructed. Lane applied an arcade to disguise the absence of a central doorway, and then raised a dome on beams supported by the chimneys of the original structure. A wooden balustrade and window sills completed the pastiche.

22 Leslie Maitland, *Neoclassical Architecture in Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), pp. 52ff; Dana Johnson and Leslie Maitland, "Osgoode Hall and the Development of Public Architecture in Canada," SSAC *Bulletin* 10:4 (December 1985), pp. 14-18.

23 *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1856), vol. 14, pp. i-vi, which indicate the government moved to Toronto at the end of October 1855.

24 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 28716 dated 8 February 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly, Secretary of the Board of Works; see also Board of Works, Registers of Letters Received, 1842-1860, RG 11, vol. 103, re letter 28716.

25 NAC, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 1136 of 1856, Report of Proposed Additions and Alterations to the Law Courts, Osgoode Hall, Toronto dated 28 March 1856 by Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson.

26 NAC, Board of Works, Letterbooks of the Chairman of the Board of Works and Commissioners of Public Works, RG 11, A 3, vol. 125, letter 18314 dated 2 October from Thomas Begly to Mr. Lawford.

27 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 24, letter 27514 dated 4 October 1855 from Fred Lawford to Thomas Begly.

28 NAC, RG 11, A 3, vol. 127, letter 18425 dated 21 November 1855 from Thomas Begly to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson.

29 NAC, RG 11, A 3, vol. 127, letter 18881 dated 26 January 1856 from Thomas Begly to Fred Lawford; RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 28434 dated 29 January 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly.

30 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 28446 dated 21 January 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly; RG 11, A 3, vol. 127, letter 18793 dated 1 February 1856 from Thomas Begly to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson; RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 28659 dated 4 February 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly; RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 28669 dated 5 February 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly.

31 NAC, RG 11, A 3, vol. 128, letter 18939 dated 5 March 1856 from Thomas Begly to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson; RG 11, A 1, vol. 25, letter 29119 dated 10 March 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly; RG 11, A 3, vol. 128, letter 19199 dated 30 April 1856 from Thomas Begly to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson.

32 NAC, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 103 of 1856; RG 11, A 3, vol. 128, letter 19270 dated 13 May 1856 from Board of Works to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson; Board of Works, Unregistered Correspondence, RG 11, vol. 90, Schedule of Competitors for Proposed Quebec Custom House dated 25 March 1856; RG 11, A 1, vol. 26, letter 31016 dated 20 September from Fred Lawford to Hamilton Killaly; RG 11, A 1, vol. 27, letter 31873 dated 15 December 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly; RG 11, A 3, vol. 130, letter 23617 dated 4 March 1858 from Thomas Begly to Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson. The latter was the communication that finally settled the firm's outstanding account.

33 The proposal by Cumberland & Storm for Osgoode Hall is riddled with inconsistencies. AO, Horwood 102.

34 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 27, letter 32013 dated 29 December 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly.

35 Peter Ferriday, ed., *Victorian Architecture* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1963), p. 40, in a chapter by Frank Jenkins entitled "The Victorian Architectural Profession." I have been unable to verify this example from art historical or legal sources, but assume from the particularity of the facts cited by Jenkins that this was documented.

36 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 26, letter 30444 dated July 1856 from Cumberland & Storm to Board of Works.

37 NAC, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 1136 of 1856; *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada* (1854-59); NAC, Executive Council, Analytical Index, RG 1, E 1, vol. 98, p. 382; Law Society Minutes, 28 November 1856.

38 NAC, RG 11, A 1, vol. 27, letter 32013 dated 29 December 1856 from Hopkins, Lawford & Nelson to Thomas Begly.

39 Beverley M. McLachlin and Wilfred J. Wallace, *The Canadian Law of Architecture and Engineering* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1987), pp. 234ff.

40 NAC, RG 11, vol. 4239, Report of the Assessors; *House of Commons Debates*, 1905-13; Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), pp. 137, 139-140.

41 NAC, RG 5, C 1, vol. 484, file 1136 of 1856; the government had previously approved a refinancing of the existing debt.

42 AO, Horwood 102.

43 Archives of the Law Society, Statement by Cumberland & Storm dated 28 May 1859.