

The “Missing Middle:” Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Multi-Unit Housing in
the North End of Burlington, Vermont

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Missing Middle Housing – An Introduction

What exactly is the “Missing Middle?” Missing Middle is a term that is wholly unfamiliar to most people, but they are inherently familiar with what the “missing middle” is. “Missing Middle” denotes multi-family housing similar in scale to that of a single-family home. These buildings are often domestically scaled and do not reach the same large proportions as apartment complexes or other various subtypes of housing. They thus represent an intermediate option between the detached single-family home and the apartment building. Yet, in many municipalities around the country, these types of homes are banned from being built. The reason for this lies in restrictive zoning regulations, reinforced and compounded by systemic prejudices in the Post World War Two era.

Duplexes, triplexes, and other forms of middle-income housing used to comprise a sizable portion of available housing stock in most American cities. Smaller than the detached single-family home and larger than renting a single room in a home, this type of housing has occupied a niche that has been left unfilled since the post-World War Two era. The end of World War Two and into the 1950s saw a time of rapidly increasing incomes and prosperity in America. This prosperity dovetailed with the conception of the “American Dream,” which placed a strong emphasis on the single-family home and nuclear family. This time period was also the very height of American urban renewal, which aimed to clear American cities of buildings commonly thought of as slums and replace them with new, up to date homes that were fit for modern living.

Well intentioned as these programs were, they were also driven by darker forces – namely, racism and classism. “Red-lining” and racial discrimination’s relationship to housing policy has been well explored to date, but the classist aspect to banning construction of this type has been less elucidated. Zoning regulations were developed in the years after World War Two to prioritize

single family homes and the growth of the nuclear family at the expense of those people who would not be well served by owning their own home. Indeed, many people fall into this category, especially in Burlington: students, itinerant workers, unmarried people, young couples, etc. With the housing crisis reaching a fever pitch, both in Burlington and around the country, this exploration of missing middle housing seems especially pertinent to our time and place.

What follows in these pages is selected case studies of thirteen such examples of “missing middle” housing in Burlington, Vermont. Examples of several types of housing have been selected, among them “tenements,” duplexes, quadruplexes, converted single family homes, and converted bungalows. Each of these properties is a product of its time and can be appreciated for its historical value independent of what it might have to teach our society today; yet, the value of these properties today, in addition to being a valuable record of an under-studied branch of our built environment, lies in the fact that they represent a viable way forward to solve the housing crisis currently plaguing Burlington and many cities like it, both in the United States and abroad.

These types of homes are smaller in footprint than the detached single-family home; they may therefore be built where zoning bylaws would otherwise prohibit an apartment building or multiple-occupancy dwelling. These structures also contribute to the development of a cohesive streetscape and reflect a multitude of architectural styles and vernacular modes of building. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in this day of extreme polarization these types of buildings may enhance community bonds among members of our communities and draw everyone closer together, increasing our interconnectedness and community engagement to what was at one time commonplace in society. These properties deserve to be studied in their own right and may indeed be part of the solution to the housing crisis.

30-32 Sherman Street



Figure 1- South façade of 30-32 Sherman Street. View facing north, picture taken by author 9/26/2022.



Figure 2 – ¾ Record shot, 30-32 Sherman Street. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Tracking down the history of homes located along Sherman Street is somewhat challenging because Sherman Street was not always its original name. Battery Place was renamed to Sherman Street sometime prior to 1923. Moreover, the transient nature of the occupants of these homes makes discovering information about them very difficult. This property is a 2 ½ story duplex, the primary façade of which faces south towards Battery Park. The home has had multiple additions, visible in the ¾ record shot at top right. The home has been significantly modified with the addition of vinyl siding, replacement windows, and shutters, as well as removal of an elaborate Italianate style porch and cornice bracketing seen in the photo below.



Figure 3- Historic view of 30-32 Sherman Street. 30-32 Sherman Street is the second building in from right. McAllister, L.L. *Automobiles – Accidents*: University of Vermont Libraries. Special Collections. Louis L. McAllister Photographs, Box B01, Folder 15, Item 09.

The earliest recorded entry into the register is found in the 1869 Burlington City Directory, where the property is listed as being owned by an “H.R. Wing.” H.R. Wing was partner in the company of “Wing & Smith, manufacturers and dealers in lasts, boot trees, &c.”¹ The 1871 directory lists an H.R. Wing living at “91 Water Street,” just around the corner from Battery Place/ Sherman Street. Battery Street was known as Water Street before it was renamed. This house was most likely constructed as speculative housing and a means to gain additional rental income.

The earliest resident able to be found for 30 Battery Place (Sherman Street) is an Olive Dyon living at 30 Battery Place in 1890.² By 1893 she is no longer listed in the Burlington Directory.³ The next entry for 30-32 Sherman Street is in the 1900 Burlington City Directory. It lists “Bracken D.R. engineer and Minnie A. Bracken milliner” at 30 Battery Place.⁴ Daniel R. Bracken’s wife, Sabina, does not appear in the directory. Daniel R. Bracken was an engineer, but his place of employment is not specified in the directory. One interesting incident occurred in 1899, when Bracken testified in court against an attempted commission of pedophilia:

Andrew Butler was fined \$30 and costs for an assault on a little girl named Stella Gilmond. Butler, who is about 55 years old, was in Battery Park Sunday afternoon and he compelled the little girl to sit in his lap. He held her there for about 15 minutes, and the performance was watched by John Moran, Hiram Wall, Daniel Bracken, and Fred Kelly, who testified against the respondent.⁵

Daniel Bracken was a longtime resident of 30 Battery Place, living there until 1911-1912.⁶ Bracken moved to Rutland, Vermont where he passed away on December 9, 1912, at the age of 72.⁷ The next resident of 30 Battery Place listed in the 1913 Directory is Lester C. Munson.⁸ His entry on pp. 192 of the 1913 Directory reads “Munson, Lester C., clerk 8 Church, h 30 Battery pl.”⁹ The business that Munson worked for at 8 Church Street has been traced to a “J.J. White,” whose business sold “paints, oils, varnishes, high art, etc., wholesale and retail, 8 Church, h 36 Elmwood ave.”¹⁰ Munson evidently stayed at 30 Battery Place for much of the 1910s; he has left

by 1919, when William H. Russell is listed the sole occupant of 30 Battery Place.¹¹ Thereafter seems to be the end of the days of long term occupancy for 30 Sherman Street, as the names in the directories following 1919 all change from year to year. 30 Sherman Street was converted to a multiple occupancy dwelling at least as early as 1923, when Malcolm G. Cole and W. Carl Mott are listed in residence at the address.¹² This side of the building still provides two rental units today.

The 1890 Directory lists members of the Johonott family at 32 Battery Place. This family consisted of Laura, an employee of Henry, Johnson, & Lord, Leonard, a clerk, and Maud, who was employed by Wells, Richardson & Co.¹³ Maud's employer, Edward Wells, is best known for constructing what is now the UVM Alumni House at 61 Summit Street. Intriguingly, George Sherman, discussed in the next section, is listed as living at 32 in 1886.¹⁴ The reasons for his move next door are unknown, but it may have been that he was downsizing into a smaller apartment and the Johonott's needed more room. Whatever the case, the Johonott family was especially long in residence at 32 Battery Place. They lived there from 1890 until approximately 1916, when Frank Casavant is listed as the sole resident.¹⁵ His occupation is listed as an unspecified laborer in the 1916 Directory.¹⁶ Casavant stayed for about two years, as the 1918 directory then lists William H. Hale at 32.¹⁷ Hale was retired according to this directory.¹⁸ Hale also stayed for two years; the 1920 Directory then lists William E. Kane in residence.¹⁹

Kane stayed at 32 for at least three years. By 1923, the property had been subdivided into two apartments and Battery Place was renamed to Sherman Street, as Kane and Cleo J. Foss are both listed at the address. Foss was also a longtime resident at 32 Sherman Street. His son, Richard, was born there in 1926.²⁰ Cleo and family stayed at 32 Sherman Street for quite a while. Cleo was a salesman for Shearer Chevrolet and made an appearance in the *Burlington Free Press* on 21

February 1936 endorsing the strengths of the new 1936 Chevrolet.²¹ Foss's family stayed at 32 Sherman Street through the 1940s and 1950s, and finally bought the property from Francis R. Peisch in 1953.²² They then sold the property in 1967,²³ after which it changed hands multiple times through the remainder of the twentieth century. The property remains in use today as two rental units.

44-46 Sherman Street



Figure 4 – 44-46 Sherman Street, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot.
Image taken by author, 9/26/2022



Figure 5 – entrance façade, 44-46 Sherman Street.
View facing north. Taken by author, 9/26/2022

This 2 ½ story duplex was built by at least 1869, as it appears on the Beers Atlas Map published that year.²⁴ The 1869 Beers Map lists the land as being owned by “A. Barrows,” but directories from 1865-1870 do not list him. The 1906 Burlington City Directory lists George D. Sherman living at 44, and a Freeman D. Wood living at 46. George Sherman’s first appearance in the Burlington record is in the 1879-1881 City Directory where he is listed as “Sherman Geo D, leader Sherman Band, h Battery Place.”²⁵ George Sherman was born on August 23, 1844 in Richmond, VA and moved to Vermont shortly after the Civil War.²⁶ A consummate musician, he formed Sherman’s Military Band in the late nineteenth century and molded it into one of the most

prominent marching bands in the United States. His most famous composition was “Salute to Burlington,” and many of his works were played by John Philip Sousa.²⁷

Sherman was a longtime resident of 44 Battery Place, residing there until his death at the age of 83 in 1927.²⁸ On the evening of November 3, 1927 (the same date as the Winooski River overflowing its banks), Sherman was walking to get a loaf of bread from the store when he was struck by a “Ford sedan...operated by Charles P. Cassidy of 166 Park Street.” He died later that same evening of lacerations and blunt force trauma.²⁹ His son Wallace H. Sherman took up residence at 44 Sherman Street shortly following his death according to the 1929 Burlington City Directory.³⁰ The younger Sherman lived there until 1936,³¹ after which seems to be the beginning of short-term leases, as the occupants listed change from year to year in the directories following 1937.

46 Sherman Street was occupied as early as 1886 by Freeman D. Wood, employed then at Doubleday & Clement Bros, and who later was employed by the Venetian Blind Company. Also listed as living with him in 1886 was a Mattie Wood, relation unspecified. A boarder, Addie Wood, is also listed as living at 44 according to the 1886 Directory.³² Freeman Wood appears to have moved next door to 46 Sherman Street when George Howard moved into 44 around 1890. Wood was a carpenter, reflective of the middle-income level that these properties catered to. Newspaper records regarding Wood’s activities are scarce, but we

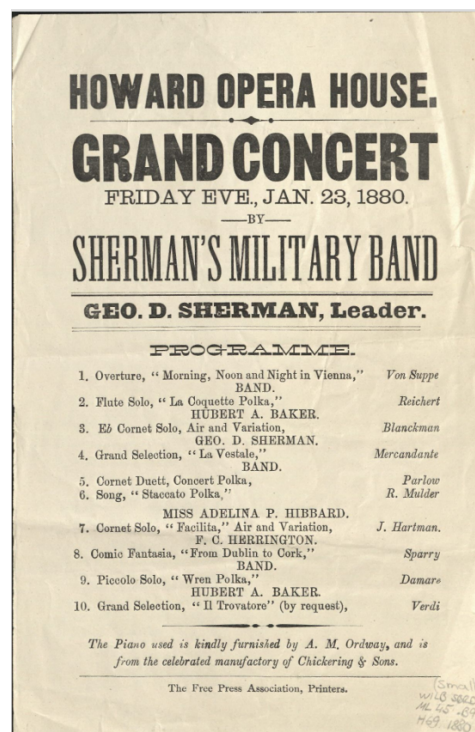


Figure 6 – Sherman’s Military Band performance, 1880.

Sherman, George D., and Sherman Military Band. *Howard Opera House!: Grand Concert Friday Eve., Jan. 23, 1880. By Sherman's Military Band, Geo. D. Sherman.* Burlington, Vt.]: Free Press Assoc. ;, 1880. Courtesy of Silver Special Collections, University of Vermont. Accessed 22 October 2022.

know that he lived at 46 until his death in 1921.³³ He had a wife, Anna, and a daughter Mattie who were both living at 46 according to data from the 1920 census.³⁴

From Wood's death in 1921 forward his wife Anna is listed at 32 Sherman Street. The property was evidently subdivided at some point prior to 1927, as the 1927 directory lists Anna Wood and Edwin H. Vancour at 46.³⁵ From that point on, until 1939, Wood and Vancour's wife are listed at 46 Sherman Street. They jointly purchased the property at some point prior to 1939, when the premises were then conveyed to George Daniel George on 24 March 1939.³⁶ George retained ownership until 1974, selling then to Mary C. Arthur.³⁷ Arthur sold the property to Lawrence and Anh Doane in 1997. It was purchased by its current owner, James Wick, in 2003 and is still operated as a four-unit building.³⁸

103-105 North Avenue



Figure 7 – 103-105 North Avenue, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. Taken by author, 9/26/2022, view facing NW.



Figure 8 – 103-105 North Avenue, primary façade, view facing west. Photo by author, 9/26/2022

The large duplex at 103-105 North Avenue was built by at least 1890 according to the 1890 Hopkins Map.³⁹ Built in a loosely Italianate style, its primary façade faces out onto North Avenue and displays a two-story porch. The limited decoration consists entirely of brackets around the cornice of the building, and transom lights above the doors on the primary façade. Its appearance remains very close to how it was built – the property retains its original clapboarding and bracketed cornice. The original sash have been replaced with vinyl windows.

The property this structure is built on belonged to J.B. Robarge in 1890,⁴⁰ who at that time was living at 27 Front Street.⁴¹ The property is marked as a “Tenement” on the 1906 and 1912 Sanborn maps. Robarge himself purchased the lot from Michael D. Corley for \$116 in 1885.⁴² The first potential mention of the building that currently occupies 103-105 North Avenue is found in a *Burlington Free Press* listing from April 13, 1886, which reads “TO RENT – a tenement of 8 rooms. Inquire of John Robarge.”⁴³ This is presumably the building at 103-105 North Avenue, as a tenement of eight bedrooms must have occupied a sizable footprint.

The earliest tenant able to be located for 103-105 North Avenue is found in the 1895 Directory. Edward Cabana lived at 103 North Avenue until at least 1903; he was employed by the firm of William and D.G. Crane.⁴⁴ The next listing in the 1901 Directory places Paul Shappy and Edward Cabana at 103 and Louis Degraff at 105, with the other half of 105 North Avenue seemingly unoccupied. Shappy was employed by Wells, Richardson & Co.,⁴⁵ and Edward Cabana was still employed by William and D.G. Crane.⁴⁶ Louis Degraff was employed by the Champlain Manufacturing Company,⁴⁷ which was located on South Battery Street.⁴⁸ The next year, 1902, Edward Cabana is the only tenant who has stayed the same.⁴⁹ This property even in its day was widely known as a tenement building; it catered to short term leases and to those who perhaps could not find themselves a formal lease agreement. These properties were derided for being unkempt and unclean, and widely viewed as harbingers of disease. Udetta Brown’s *A Survey of the City of Burlington, Its Charities, and Its Housing Conditions*, makes

FOR SALE —Pressed Hay and Cedar Posts. J. W. Hayes.	73,tf
FOR SALE —No. 50 Cherry Street, my house and lot, with good large barn and store-house. F. A. McWilliams.	69,tf
FOR SALE —At a bargain, a 15-horse power boiler, in fine condition, nearly new, suitable for furnishing power or heating purposes. Free Press Association.	204,tf
To Rent.	
TO RENT —A tenement of 8 rooms. Inquire of John Robarge .	86,6d
TO RENT —House, 9 rooms, corner St. Paul and Maple Sts. John Ready .	86,tf
TO RENT —Barn, two stalls, on Elmwood avenue. G. F. Collison.	85,tf
TO RENT —Small house and barn on North Union St., pleasant location. Inquire at Nye & Lavell’s.	82,tf
TO RENT —A small house and two stores. R. Roberts.	78,tf

Figure 9 – Ad from 13 April 1886, Burlington Free Press. *Burlington Daily Free Press* (1885-1923), Apr 13, 1886: 2. <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/april-13-1886-page-2-8/docview/1948431475/se-2>.

special reference to the area along North Avenue that this building sits on as District B. She defines

District B as follows:

District B includes North Avenue from Battery Park to Canfield and Strong Streets, and North Street from the avenue to Front and Blodgett Streets...Below on the flat land between the foot of the bluff and the water is the roundhouse with locomotives belching black smoke which darkens the air and grimes everything in the vicinity...The curbing and paving of North Avenue has awakened the self-respect of the neighborhood, so that several of the houses have been painted recently and here and there efforts have been made to lay out parkings (sic.) along the sidewalks and grass has been planted about the houses.⁵⁰

Clearly, these buildings were considered beneath occupancy by members of polite society.

The report above also demonstrates an early elaboration of the “American Dream” that became embedded in society in the post-World War Two era – namely, that of prioritizing the detached, single-family home and nuclear family. The report makes clear that “tenements” and to an extent detached multiple-occupancy homes were considered unclean and not up to modern living standards. Specifically, the report points to decreased airflow, dark rooms, and a lack of modern sanitation services such as private bathrooms.⁵¹ Whatever the view regarding adult residents, the author makes plain her opinion on children occupying such spaces:

Well enforced regulations similar to those which have been tried out in the most progressive American cities will insure (sic.) the erection of safe and sanitary dwellings. But no code has yet been devised to convert the multiple dwelling into a home. Life in these “human warehouses” is semi-public, unsettled and without community. Those who have grown to maturity may venture on apartment house life, but a multiple dwelling is no place for children. They need the privacy and seclusion of the one-family house, where habits of modesty and a sense of personal responsibility are fostered in the shelter of home.⁵²

John Robarge, the man who built this property, was a blacksmith in the carriage shop of C.B. Gray.⁵³ He is responsible for many buildings in the North End around North Champlain Street, and indeed one such building was placed on the National Register as an outstanding example of multi family housing in a vernacular Queen Anne style.⁵⁴ This building is far simpler in form and was constructed to provide worker housing during the late nineteenth century

population boom that Burlington experienced. The occupations of those that lived at 103-105 North Avenue are typically those engaged in the lumber industry in some capacity, owing to the properties proximity to the waterfront. The 1903 Directory lists four people for 103-105 North Avenue: Alphonse N. Houle, Edward Cabana, Frank Rayta, and Eugene D. Major.⁵⁵ Houle was a carpenter,⁵⁶ Cabana was employed by the Champlain Manufacturing Company,⁵⁷ Rayta was a laborer,⁵⁸ and Major was employed by Horatio Hickock's company which manufactured "packing boxes and cloth boards," according to the 1903 Directory.⁵⁹ These men were all presumably without children, as none had additional occupants listed with them. By the time 1910 arrived, these men had all left for points unknown. Listed in the 1910 Directory are Octave LaPoint, Edward Beauvais, and Mrs. Rosanna Chaput at 103, and Alexander Benoit and Adolphus Croto at 105.⁶⁰ The following directories tell the story that was once common in many American cities, that of itinerant, short term tenants occupying rooms on an as needed basis.

By 1916, Octave LaPoint is the only tenant from 1910 still living at 103-105 North Avenue.⁶¹ Octave Lapoint represents a microcosm of the people that occupied tenement buildings in this period. Whereas most commentary on tenement buildings focused on the ills they supposedly wrought on society and portrayed their occupants as lowly and less virtuous than those that occupied a single-family home, this was not at all the case. Although it is true to an extent that socioeconomic status is one of the predictors of crime, Octave Lapoint was a community minded individual who took great pride in his city and acted in service to his friends and neighbors, as multiple appearances in the *Burlington Free Press* make clear. He served as a pall bearer at multiple funerals,⁶² and was part of multiple community organizations. His wife was similarly civic-minded, and indeed baked a massive wedding cake for a celebration of one of their friend's twenty-fifth wedding anniversaries in 1913:

Cabana's orchestra furnished the music for dancing and for those who did not care to dance tables and cards were provided in the billiard room. Elaborate refreshments were served and the Misses Adelina Boucher and Beatrice Duprat presided at the punch bowl during the evening. The feature of the refreshments was an immense wedding cake built by Mrs. Octave Lapoint. The decorations on it were exceptionally fine, with the numerals 25 in the center. Mrs. St. George cut and served this cake. Mrs. Lapoint and Mrs. Arthur Trombley were responsible for the celebration.⁶³

This passage clearly contradicts Udetta Brown's assertion that life in the tenements was "without community." In fact, it may well have fostered a closer sense of community than that found among those living in the mansions along South Willard and Summit Streets. Brown's report on Burlington housing conditions reveals long-held societal prejudices against those of modest means and moreover represents an early elaboration of the American ideal of the single-family home. Ownership of 103-105 North Avenue has been somewhat difficult to establish. As discussed above, the property and building appears on the 1890 Hopkins map as belonging to John Robarge. The building most likely passed through several successive owners until it was sold to William Hauke in 1946.⁶⁴ From there the property was passed to Leo Gagner in 1979.⁶⁵ The property has seen several successive owners since then and continues to provide 8 apartments for rent.

109 North Avenue



Figure 10 – 109 North Avenue, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. Photo taken by author, view facing NW, 9/26/2022.



Figure 11 – 109 North Avenue, primary façade. View facing west, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Directly next door to 103-105 North Avenue, 109 North Avenue is another example of two-story worker housing constructed in a loosely Italianate vernacular style. Like its neighbor at 103-105 North Avenue, this property is marked as a “tenement” on the 1906 and 1912 Sanborn Maps.⁶⁶ According to the 1869 Beers Atlas map, the land this structure was built on was originally owned by an M. Noyes. Morillo Noyes is listed in the 1869 Burlington Directory as a “jobber and commission merchant,”⁶⁷ and evidently was something of a politician, with a run for Lieutenant Governor netting him 11,851 votes according to a *Burlington Free Press* article from 18 October 1869.⁶⁸ Noyes was also one of the founders of the Winooski Mill Company.⁶⁹ According to the 1890 Hopkins Map, this building was owned by P.E. Girard.⁷⁰ Girard appears in the 1889-1890 Burlington Directory as “Girard Peter E, cabinet maker, h 107 North Ave.” The address of this parcel was most likely changed from 107 North Avenue to 109 North Avenue at some point following 1890. Intriguingly Girard was living at this address despite it being known as a tenement; Girard may have been a small property owner at first, choosing the owner-occupant model for his building and then moving out as he became more established.

Whatever the case of its owner, the building was clearly known as a tenement from early on in its history. Yet despite the tenement’s reputation as places of disease and filth, often these were caricatures of the real situation. Opponents of tenement buildings pointed to the lack of light and adequate ventilation as aggravating factors in the prevention of infectious disease and often liked to paint those who built tenements as nothing more than immoral profiteers who hoped to bilk poor immigrants out of their money and provide substandard living conditions in return. Yet, this trite view of tenement buildings often does not hold up to close scrutiny. Let there be no mistaking the fact that there were genuine public safety issues associated with tenements; but, to go as far as to say that they had zero redeeming qualities is misleading at best and outright duplicitous at worst.

In the case of buildings like 109 North Avenue, tenements represented an economical means of living for those who would not otherwise be able to afford a single-family home or those who wanted to rent. They also provided a way to accommodate travelers who perhaps could not afford a hotel.

109 North Avenue is an example of what tenements could potentially offer people who did not have a “home,” as commonly conceived of in mainstream society. Indeed, it was known as a tenement as early as 1906 according to the 1906 Sanborn Map.⁷¹ The fact that its owner lived at the property from when it was built in 1890 to his death in 1903 is perhaps the greatest evidence of the tenement’s utility for those who fell outside commonly accepted family structures. P.E. Girard was elected City Constable in 1901⁷² and was evidently very involved in his community, including a run for alderman. Girard did not serve very long in his role as Constable. The *Burlington Free Press* of 26 September 1903 announced his death as follows:

Peter E. Girard, whose death at his home on North Avenue at an early hour yesterday morning was announced in yesterday’s Free Press, was born in St. Pie, P.Q., Sept. 10, 1853, and was therefore 50 years of age. He came to Burlington 34 years ago and followed his trade of carpenter so long as his health remained good. He was elected constable and collector of taxes in 1901 and re-elected last year but was obliged to resign his office because of failing health. Or several weeks last spring he was very low but rallied and was able to be out. For the past eight weeks he had been confined to his bed. He is survived by a wife, four sons and five daughters, all of this city, and by an aged mother, three sisters, and two brothers in St. Hyacinthe, P.Q.⁷³

109 North Avenue, although marked as a tenement in later maps, serves as a clear refutation to the overly broad assertion that tenements and high-density housing were invariably places of scum and villainy. It would be a stretch to think that a man elected City Constable and Tax Collector would raise a family in filth and squalor, and moreover would allow the conditions in his building to deteriorate to the point where the tenement label could be well and truly applied to

the situation. This may well have been the case in the years following Girard's death, but it is unlikely to have applied while he was alive.

The tenant history of 109 North Avenue is similar to that of its neighbor at 103-105 North Avenue, namely, that of short-term tenants with occasional occupancy by long term ones. The ownership history of the building prior to 1933 is not available, but the building was sold to Felix and Maude Ploof in 1933.⁷⁴ The building was purchased by William Hauke along with 103-105 North Avenue in 1946,⁷⁵ and then passed through a succession of owners for the remainder of the twentieth century. It survives remarkably intact considering its long use as multiple unit housing and provides several rental units to this day.

108 North Avenue



Figure 12 – 108 North Avenue, primary façade. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022



Figure 13- 108 North Avenue, showing companion at 112 North Avenue. View facing northeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

108 North Avenue is another example of the modestly scaled, loosely Italianate style homes that were in vogue around the turn of the century. The Italianate style was especially popular because it allowed those of modest means to build attractive homes at reasonable prices. 108 North Avenue was built around 1890; the 1890 Hopkins Map shows an Angeline Tatro in residence at this address, but she is listed at “110 North Avenue.”⁷⁶ Just a year later her son Augustus Tatro is also listed as a boarder at this address; he is employed at the Burlington Shade Roller Company.⁷⁷ By 1900, 110 North Avenue has been reassigned to 108 North Avenue, and Augustus Tatro is

listed as a resident, not boarder, at 108 North Avenue. It is unclear what merited his change in status from “boarder” to “resident,” i.e., whether by that time he had obtained an ownership stake in the property.

Intriguingly, although Augustus married his wife Maggie Tatro in 1892, she is not listed in any of the directories. Census Records indicate that they were married on November 23, 1892 in Shelburne.⁷⁸ Augustus’ occupation is listed as a “teamster” in the 1900 Directory.⁷⁹ By 1901, Augustus seems to have moved out of the property; Angeline is still listed at this address. Angeline Tatro passed away at the age of 82 on July 24, 1903. By this time ownership of 108 North Avenue had transferred to Augustus. Her obituary in the *Burlington Free Press* reads as follows:

The death of Mrs. Angeline Tatro, who for the past 13 years has been a resident of this city, occurred yesterday morning at the home of her son, Augustus Tatro, on North avenue (sic.) at the age of 82 years. Until about two weeks ago she had enjoyed good health, but at that time the infirmities of [old] age began to appear...She is survived by two sons, Augustus J. of this city and Henry of Hinesburgh (sic.) ...Mr. Tatro has been dead for several years.⁸⁰

This obituary sheds light on Augustus’ relationship to Angeline and provides material evidence for his change in residence status at 108 North Avenue. The 1904 Directory then lists Augustus as the owner of 108.⁸¹ Augustus Tatro is listed as the sole resident of 108 North Avenue in directories from 1904-1914. In 1914 Roy Tatro, relation unspecified, but assumed to be Augustus and Margaret’s son, is listed as a boarder at 108 North Avenue.⁸² He was employed by the Baldwin Refrigerator Company, located on Lake Street in 1914.⁸³ Roy lived with Augustus at 108 until at least 1925. By this time, Augustus had become a foreman at the Baldwin Refrigerator Company, and Roy found new employment with Company #1 of the Burlington Fire Department.⁸⁴

The 1941 Burlington Directory lists a Margaret Tatro as Augustus J. Tatro’s wife. They had undoubtedly been married for some time before this, but records regarding this marriage outside of Augustus’ marriage certificate are not forthcoming. Roy is still living at 108 North

Avenue and is still employed by the Burlington Fire Department, but by this time has been transferred to station three.⁸⁵ Augustus and Margaret celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary in 1942; a *Burlington Free Press* article from December 7, 1942 reads:

Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Tatro, 108 North Ave., are receiving congratulations from friends and relatives on their golden wedding anniversary. They came to Burlington to reside following their marriage in Shelburne. Tatro is 85; his wife, 73, and both are in fair health. They have two children, Mrs. Rufus Ham, who resides with her parents, and Roy Tatro, U.S. Coast Guard, Portland, ME.; also three grandchildren and a great grandchild.⁸⁶

Margaret sadly passed away on 27 January 1943 at 108 North Avenue. Her obituary in the *Burlington Free Press* says that she was born in 1870 in Shelburne to John and Margaret Lassor.⁸⁷ The record of the Tatro family at 108 North Avenue remains quiet for a few years until 1948, at which time a Warranty Deed dated 19 June 1948 transferred ownership of 108 North Avenue from Augustus Tatro to his son Roy and Roy's wife Alta.⁸⁸ Following the transfer upon Augustus' death, the property was sold to Esther Reid Friedrichs and Ruth Reid Steele on 27 September 1949.⁸⁹ The property remained in the Reid family until 2004 when the Friedrichs Revocable trust sold it out of the family to Nicholas and Robert Hemingway.⁹⁰ The property remains in use today as apartment housing.

112 North Avenue



Figure 14 – 112 North Avenue, view east.
Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.



Figure 15 – 112 North Avenue, ¾ record shot.
View facing southeast, photo taken by author,
9/26/2022.

112 North Avenue, like its twin next door, was built around 1890 according to the 1890 Hopkins Map. The 1890 Burlington Directory lists an “F.M. Sharpley” in residence at 112 North Avenue. Frank M. Sharpley built his house in 1888 for the sum of \$1900; a *Burlington Free Press* article from 1889 titled “*Our New Buildings: The Progress Made by Burlington in 1888*” lists all the new buildings constructed in 1888. The second entry in the second column reads “Frank Sharpley, North Avenue, house and barn, H.A. Jones, \$1900.”⁹¹ Previously, Sharpley was living at 76 Blodgett Street.⁹² Record of the builder, H.A. Jones, is scant, but one anecdote from the *Burlington Free Press* on 10 March 1897 merits special mention:

H.A. Jones, a Lafountain street builder, went to the Mary Fletcher Hospital yesterday, expecting to have his left thumb amputated but a further effort will be made to save it. A few days ago he cut it quite badly with a hatchet and before the wound had healed it was badly scratched by a cat which Mr. Jones was on the point of killing. Blood poisoning followed and his thumb is now very badly swollen.⁹³

Clearly, calamity befell those who would kill a cat in the days before antibiotics. The outcome of Mr. Jones’ finger debacle has been lost to time, but Jones makes an appearance in the 1886 directory. He is listed as living at 80 Lafountain Street, and his occupation is listed as a carpenter.⁹⁴ Records from the 1890 Census were lost to fire in the 1920s, but Frank Sharpley appears in the 1900 Census. By this time, he had moved out of 112 North Avenue, but the census records provide invaluable information regarding his family composition. He married his wife Carrie in 1880, and by 1900 they had three children: Harrison, age three, Lily, age eight, and Emma, age four.⁹⁵ The 1892 Burlington Directory lists Sharpley as working for J.R. Booth & Co., one of the large lumber yards down by the waterfront. Frank’s choice of employment makes perfect sense considering his physical proximity to the waterfront. The site of his house at 112 North Avenue is a short walk down Canal Street to the waterfront, which in the days before automobiles was almost a necessity if one was to get to work on time.

Frank and Carrie sold their house at 112 North Avenue to John A. Gibson on or about 1 February 1896 as recorded in the *Burlington Free Press*, for \$2150.⁹⁶ The 1896 Directory records John Gibson living at the address and lists his occupation as a chef at the Van Ness House.⁹⁷ Gibson's tenure at 112 North Avenue was evidently rather brief. He is still listed in the directories, but by 1901 two tenants make an appearance at 112 North Avenue: Charles Moss and Louis Ploof.⁹⁸ Louis Ploof lived at 112 North Avenue until 1906, when his place was taken by Patrick Hassett.⁹⁹ 112 North Avenue was most likely subdivided into apartments around this time; the record is unclear regarding ownership of the building. Hassett lived at 112 North Avenue until at least 1916, when he disappears from the record. The property was occupied by a series of tenants until at least 1920-1923, when it was rented by Albert Wakefield. Wakefield was the proprietor of James Wakefield's Sons Riggers and Sailmakers, operating out of 52 College Street according to the 1923 Burlington Directory.¹⁰⁰

Albert Wakefield is one of the longest running occupants of 112 North Avenue. The 1924 Burlington Directory lists his son, Albert Jr., living with him at 112 North Avenue. Additionally, the 1920 Census lists four people living at North Avenue: Albert, age 54, sailmaker; Lucretia, age 44; Albert Jr., 15, bellboy; and Ruth, age 2.¹⁰¹ By 1927, John W. Wakefield (relation unspecified) is also living at 112 North Avenue. James Wakefield's Sons Riggers and Sailmakers is still in operation at 52 College Street at this time. The 1932 Directory Lists both Albert Jr. and John W. Wakefield living at 112 North Avenue. Albert Jr. was a member of the U.S. Navy, perhaps fitting for the son of a sailmaker.¹⁰²

The property was finally sold to the Wakefields by Louis Lisman in 1942.¹⁰³ Perhaps taking advantage of his newfound freedom from rent payments and lax mixed-use zoning regulations, Wakefield moved his business from 52 College Street to 112 North Avenue.¹⁰⁴ The business

remained at 112 North Avenue for several more years until Lucretia's passing in April 1948.¹⁰⁵ Like 108 North Avenue next door, the property was sold to the Reid family in 1949 before being sold to Robert Hemingway in 2004, the current owner. It remains in use today, and currently provides two rental units.¹⁰⁶ D

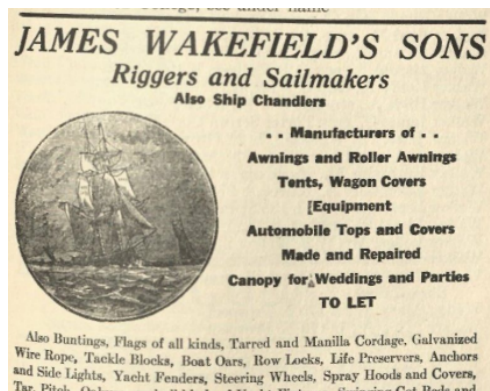


Figure 16 – *J. Wakefield's Son's advertisement. 1923 Burlington Directory, 319.*

71-73 Lakeview Terrace



Figure 17 – *71-73 Lakeview Terrace, view facing west. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.*



Figure 18 – *71-73 Lakeview Terrace, ¾ record shot showing depth. View facing southwest, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.*

71-73 Lakeview Terrace is another example of a turn of the century worker's housing constructed along Burlington's waterfront. The duplex appears on the 1919 Sanborn Map, and its occupants in 1919 were listed as Emil Kieslich and Mrs. Julia Trudell.¹⁰⁷ Emil Kieslich was the

brother of Robert Kieslich, owner of Kieslich Construction who built this duplex. The property is therefore significant as the prototype for other Kieslich duplexes built throughout the North End.¹⁰⁸ This duplex was constructed during one of the final pushes for development along North Avenue and retains much of its original detailing including the 2/2 sash, slate roof, and turned porch posts with brackets. There is a small pediment above the center of the porch.

72 Lakeview Terrace



Figure 19 – 72 Lakeview Terrace, view facing northeast. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022



Figure 20 – 72 Lakeview Terrace, view facing southeast. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

The duplex at 72 Lakeview Terrace was built in 1911 in the Colonial Revival style. Lakeview Terrace, which up until the 1890s was named Bissell Street,¹⁰⁹ stands as something of an anomaly in terms of the buildings that were constructed there. Although Lakeview Terrace has arguably one of the most commanding views of Lake Champlain in Burlington, the buildings that line this street are domestically scaled, vernacular interpretations of popular architectural styles of the time. Burlington's mansions are located closer to the center of town, clustered around the area known today as the Hill Section, where they took advantage of the steep slope of the hill leading down to the lake. This disparity is explained by the lumber industry that occupied the waterfront area. Despite its stunning view of the lake, Lakeview Terrace was extremely close to the hustle and bustle of the waterfront, leading to higher levels of noise and disturbance for the people that populated it and resulting in correspondingly lowered property values. Additionally, before the

development of Burlington's trolley line in the late 1800s this area would have been more difficult to access from the city center.

Accordingly, this street along with most of the Old North End developed later than the rest of Burlington, and mainly to accommodate a large influx of immigrant workers. 72 Lakeview Terrace was built as a duplex in 1911 and displays some Victorian detailing which is interesting given its relatively late construction date.¹¹⁰ According to the NRHP District Nomination for Lakeview Terrace, the earliest residents in 1912 were B. Goretti and Peter Benoit, a teamster.¹¹¹ At this time the home appears to have been numbered 64-66 Bissell Street. By 1922, Lawrence Fitzpatrick is living in at 72 Lakeview Terrace; his family later started Fitzpatrick's Garage just up the street.¹¹² Fitzpatrick moved out of 72 Lakeview Terrace by at least 1927, when Thomas J. Powers, a paper hanger, is listed at the address.¹¹³ Powers lived at 72 until at least 1931.¹¹⁴ Not all was quiet on this street, however; in 1929, someone ran down Power's nine-year-old son Clarence on North Avenue. According to the newspaper on 26 April 1929, the driver still had not been found:

The driver of the automobile which knocked down and injured Clarence Powers, nine-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Powers, of 72 Lakeview Terrace Wednesday evening on North Avenue, has not yet been found. The boy was taken to the Bishop DeGoesbriand Hospital suffering from a bad scalp wound. The automobile driver apparently did not think it necessary to report the accident to the authorities.¹¹⁵

Although ordinarily a quiet place to live, Lakeview terrace could certainly present danger to a young boy. Powers had moved out of 72 Lakeview Terrace by 1933, when the directory lists John M. Dillingham, barber, at the address. Also listed is Avis L. Dillingham, collector.¹¹⁶ Dillingham was a barber at 254 North Street. Intriguingly the 1933 Directory lists 254 North Street as vacant in 1933. Details on John's place of employment are therefore not forthcoming. John had left 72 Lakeview Terrace by 1936, when Joseph A. McDonald is listed at the address.¹¹⁷ This appears to be the end of the period of multi-year leases for 72 Lakeview Terrace, as the tenants

listed in directories change from year to year in 1937. Its history for much of the remainder of the twentieth century is not forthcoming, aside from the fact that it was brought under the umbrella of the Lakeview Terrace Condominium Association in 1983. This may have been when its large street facing dormer was added, and the original windows replaced.¹¹⁸ Aside from the dormer the home still stands very similarly to its original configuration, and still provides multiple units on Lakeview Terrace.

88 Pitkin Street



Figure 21 – $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot of 88 Pitkin Street. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.



Figure 22 – Primary façade of 88 Pitkin Street. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

This spectacularly painted example of middle-income housing was built around the turn of the century to house working class residents of Burlington’s Old North End. It survives remarkably intact with much of its original detailing visible and properly maintained. The land that 88 Pitkin Street sits on was owned by an “F. Smith” according to the 1890 Hopkins Map.¹¹⁹ The 1890 Directory does list one Frank W. Smith. It does not specify his occupation but does note that he lived at 415 Maple Street.¹²⁰ In any event, this building dates from approximately 1919-1923, as it appears on the 1919 Sanborn Map for the first time,¹²¹ but the first tenants listed at the address appear in 1923. In 1923 it was occupied by Leo A. Vincent, Basil Hardy, Albert M. Duchaine, and Frank J. Gilmond.¹²² The property is also marked as a tenement on the 1926 Sanborn Map,¹²³

lending further weight to Udetta Brown’s assertion from eleven years prior that the Old North End was full of overcrowded tenements.

Like so many of the other buildings constructed as worker housing in the Old North End, tracking down the history of those who lived here is difficult due to the transient nature of their stay. The tenants listed change from year to year, but their occupations remain relatively consistent: carpenters, laborers, painters, etc. Like its neighbor directly next door at 86 Pitkin Street, 88 Pitkin Street was purchased by the Mintzer family and combined into one property in the late 1930s. The family continued to live there and operate a grocery store out of 86 Pitkin Street until at least 1961, after which time the property changed hands several times. 88 Pitkin is significant today as a relatively intact example of vernacular worker housing constructed in the early twentieth century.

86 Pitkin Street



Figure 23 – *¾ record shot of 86 Pitkin Street. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022*



Figure 24 – *Street-facing façade of 86 Pitkin Street, view facing east. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022*

86 Pitkin Street stands directly next door to 88 Pitkin Street and is another example of vernacular Italianate worker housing constructed in Burlington’s Old North End. The house has been extensively modified and has lost most of its original detailing, but it was clearly originally built as a duplex. The house appears on the 1919 Sanborn Map. The land was apparently owned

by a W.G. Reynold in 1890 according to the 1890 Hopkins Map.¹²⁴ It was constructed around 1923 by Vartun John as an investment property. A *Burlington Free Press* column from 4 April 1922 recorded the sale: “T.J. McDonnell has sold for Mrs. Nellie (Sullivan) McDonough of Huntingdon, Canada, two building lots on Pitkin Street to Vartun John of 87 Pitkin Street, this city.”¹²⁵ Vartun John was evidently something of a lecher; his wife, Alma, filed for divorce in 1916, alleging “intolerable severity, adultery, and refusal to support.”¹²⁶ Two years later, John found himself in court defending against charges of fraud:

Vartun John of 87 ½ Pitkin Street was fined in city court yesterday afternoon \$60 and costs of \$7.95 for selling goods on short weight measure to customers. John pleaded guilty to four counts, being fined \$15 on each. On July 6 at his store at 26 North Street, he sold a pound of cookies underweight to Mrs. F.J. Robair...John pleaded that he had been in business in this city the last six years, and that yesterday was the first-time complaint was made against his integrity. He said the scales on which the four purchases were made were purchased recently and that he supposed them to be all right.¹²⁷

The 1924 directory, the first one in which 86 Pitkin Street appears, lists Henri Benjamin at 86 Pitkin Street, and “John Vartun (sic.)” at 86 ½. John’s occupation is listed as a grocer in 1924.¹²⁸ By 1925, Leslie J. Shephard and Moses Zakarran occupy 86, and “Vartam John” occupies 86 ½.¹²⁹ This property was occupied by yearly tenants from the time it was built until the present. John used the lower level of 86 ½ Pitkin Street as a grocery store for some time, until it was purchased by the Mintzer family in 1939.¹³⁰ The 1943 Directory lists Harold Mintzer, grocer, at 86 Pitkin Street. The Mintzers evidently operated the grocery store at 86 Pitkin until the mid-1950s, at which time Mintzer’s widow took over and operated the grocery store at 86 Pitkin until at least 1961.¹³¹ Past the 1960s, the directories revert to strictly residential listings. Eventually, 86 and 88 Pitkin Street were combined into one property; the property has been sold multiple times over the course of the past seventy years and continues to provide multiple rental units on Pitkin Street.

8 Strong Street



Figure 25 – Façade of 8 Strong Street. View facing north, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.



Figure 26 – $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot, 8 Strong Street. View facing northwest, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

8 Strong Street was built by at least 1890; the first residents according to the 1890 Directory were Elzear and Mary Marcelais, a carter and dressmaker, respectively.¹³² The structure survives with at least one addition; the portion to the right appears on the 1890 Hopkins Map with the duplex addition added sometime later. The house is a much altered, vernacular Italianate form with a bracketed cornice. The original windows and clapboarding have been lost, but it retains its turned porch posts and small pedimented portico. Its original owner, Elzear Marcelais, only made a few appearances in the record outside of the city directories. From these few anecdotes, Marcelais evidently led quite the exciting life. The first entry in the *Burlington Free Press* from 1894 details how Marcelais was thrown from his carriage by his horse by what is now the Police Station on North Avenue. The horse then apparently ran all the way to the foot of College Street by the Follett House, where it fell over from exhaustion.¹³³ Marcelais' next appearance details how he was arrested for public intoxication. He was fined five dollars plus costs, for a total amount of \$48.51 on 16 February 1894.¹³⁴ Marcelais was then arrested a second time for public intoxication in 1903, while he was working at the jail on North Avenue:

Jerry Benoit appeared in court to answer to the charge on intoxication. He was arrested by the police department about noon yesterday near the lower end of North Street. The officer called the team of Elzear Marcelais, the carter, and started for the jail with his prisoner.

When they arrived at the jail the officer found that Marcelais was as drunk as the other man and he put them both in. In city court Benoit was let out on bail and his case was continued until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. Marcelais will probably have his hearing to-day.¹³⁵

Clearly, Elzear enjoyed a tippie from time to time – sometimes at inopportune moments. These incidents evidently tempered Elzear's ways, as he does not make any more appearances in the record. 8 Strong Street was sold to Mary Ellen Cassidy on 5 November 1920,¹³⁶ and from there she owned it until her passing. Her estate sold it to William Koch in 1982, and it has changed hands multiple times since then.¹³⁷ The property currently supplies several rental units.

26-28 Drew Street



Figure 27 – 26-28 Drew Street, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.



Figure 28 – 26-28 Drew Street, primary façade. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

The building currently occupying 26-28 Drew Street first appears on the 1912 Sanborn Map, where it is marked as “flats.”¹³⁸ This building is a 2 ½ story flat roofed apartment building which retains some of its original features. The original clapboards have been covered with vinyl, but the building retains its original windows. The doors to both units have been replaced with new ones. The first tenants in 1912-1913 were William Davenport and Frank Desaw at 26, and Harlan D. Smithers at 28.¹³⁹ Davenport was employed by the railroad,¹⁴⁰ and Desaw by C.V. Ry.¹⁴¹ Smithers was a baker, his exact place of employment unspecified.¹⁴² Although who built the property originally is unknown, it was sold to Edmund L. Plant in 1913.¹⁴³ Plant's estate owned it

for some time after his passing, renting it out on a yearly basis. The property remains in use as apartment housing and was sold most recently in 2020.¹⁴⁴

22-24 Drew Street



Figure 29 – 22-24 Drew Street, primary façade. View facing northeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.



Figure 30 – 22-24 Drew Street, ¾ record shot. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

22-24 Drew Street is a 2 ½ story duplex built in 1920 by Peter Benway. The building has been significantly modified since it was built, with the addition of vinyl siding, replacement windows, and loss of the original porch structure. The area that Drew Street occupies was originally owned by L.S. Drew, manager at the Van Ness House according to the 1890 Burlington City Directory.¹⁴⁵ The man who built this house, Peter Benway, was the owner of a large woodyard at 22 Drew Street according to the 1920 Directory.¹⁴⁶ Benway may have built this house with materials from his woodyard. The building is significant as an example of vernacular worker housing constructed directly prior to the Great Depression. There were very few long-term tenants listed in the directories, with most tenants appearing to have stayed for a standard one-year period. The building was sold to Mary and Edward Gaynor in 1941;¹⁴⁷ following that, the property changed hands multiple times through the remainder of the twentieth century. The property provides four rental units today.

The Missing Middle Today

The “missing middle” is not quite as missing as one would expect from reading the term. These buildings have never gone away completely; they comprise a sizable portion of available building stock in many cities around the nation. Yet, for much of the twentieth century they have been a prohibited class of structures. This prohibition of domestically scaled, multiple occupancy units is one of the single largest contributors to the housing crisis the United States and much of the western world is currently facing. The reasons for this prohibition are manifold, and its effects far reaching.

These buildings were banned in the immediate post-World War Two era because the government prioritized single family homes and the development of nuclear families over responsible housing policy that would have encouraged the types of walkable, community-oriented cities that characterized much of the United States before World War Two. The United States saw unprecedented economic growth after World War Two; this economic growth coincided with a population boom and subsequent increase in the demand for housing. Thereafter, land developers such as the William Levitt and Robert Moses sought to bridge the housing gap by creating affordable properties for returning servicemen who had fought in the war. Part and parcel of the American dream was individually owning property; this strain of rugged individualism undoubtedly plays a key part in explaining why Americans are generally more averse to apartment buildings and other forms of multi-family housing. Planned developments also relied heavily on exclusionary sales practices to bring new residents into the fold; by specifically excluding residents of color from these communities the builders played an integral part in reinforcing the systemic and structural racism that has existed in American housing policy since time immemorial.

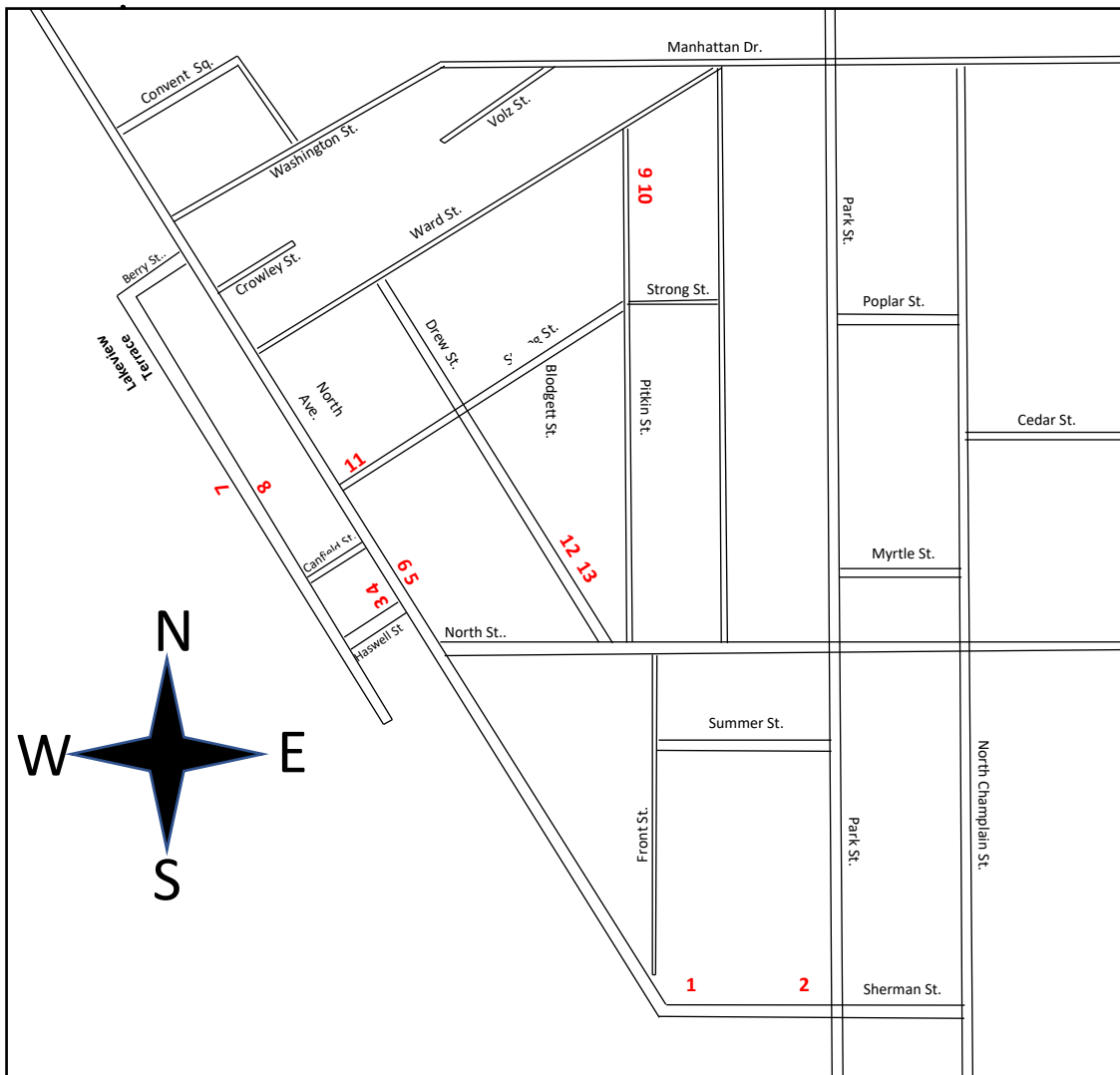
The study of these housing forms thus has real utility in addressing the housing crisis and issues of systemic racism and housing equity that continue to plague our communities. As has hopefully been established, these styles of housing represent a middle ground that has broad applicability to the way people live in 2022. These styles of housing are typically banned due to the high population densities they play a role in creating; most localities are aware of the deleterious effects of overcrowding and attempt to mitigate those effects through zoning bylaws and regulations. Yet, many units have been grandfathered under the zoning regulations with calculated population densities that far exceed the posted limits. These units function as an integral part of the Burlington cityscape and do not present many ill effects of their own. Is it time, then, to consider revising the existing zoning standards upward?

The concept of “missing middle” housing is intimately related to housing equity and the economics of housing policy. Property developers understandably want the largest return possible on their investment. All things being equal, a larger building will typically provide a larger return than a smaller building. Large apartment complexes are typically built more than small single-family homes for this exact reason. However, due to setback requirements and a whole host of other zoning by-laws, most apartment complexes are further from city centers and are therefore more difficult to get to, especially if their occupants do not have cars or public transportation options available. These small duplexes, triplexes, and the like have several advantages over apartments. For developers, they are easier to construct and adapt to a site in question, requiring less materials and presumably a shorter regulatory review process prior to breaking ground. They can typically be located closer to city centers and therefore play an integral role in creating the sorts of community oriented, walkable cities that have become *de riguer* over the past twenty years. They are also a key force in ensuring equity in the housing market. As shown, most of the

inhabitants of these properties in Burlington around the time they were built were blue collar workers: carpenters, laborers, clerks, etc. These properties provided housing at lower costs than owning a detached single-family home and were often used by the families that lived in them as a springboard to owning a home of their own. With rent and home prices quickly spiraling out of control, any means possible to bring prices down should be investigated.

The “Missing Middle” clearly has great utility in today’s world. With home and rent prices skyrocketing, it is time for municipalities to examine their existing zoning regulations to uncover what structural changes may be made to alleviate the housing crisis and create more equitable housing policy. These properties are domestically scaled and provide housing for multiple tenants in a smaller footprint than an apartment complex. This smaller footprint is one of these building’s greatest assets. By virtue of their size, they are easily adaptable to their setting, allowing them to blend more readily with the existing streetscape by emulating the massing and form of surrounding structures. This would foster the development of a cohesive community consciousness among residents of these communities. With so much attention paid to walkability and pedestrian access in contemporary city planning trends, creating communities that are domestically scaled and incorporate mixed use space may indeed present part of the solution to the current housing crisis. Medium density and mixed use housing is a viable option, worthy of consideration and careful study.

Number	Location
1	30-32 Sherman St.
2	44-46 Sherman St.
3	103-105 North Ave.
4	109 North Ave.
5	108 North Ave.
6	112 North Ave.
7	71-73 Lakeview Terrace
8	72 Lakeview Terrace
9	88 Pitkin St.
10	86 Pitkin St.
11	8 Strong St.
12	26-28 Drew St.
13	22-24 Drew St.



Notes
30-32 Sherman Street

¹ *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser, From July 1871 to July 1872* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Association, 1871), 121.

² *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1890* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1890), 116.

³ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1893* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1893), 124.

⁴ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1900* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1900), 86.

⁵ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*. Aug 09, 1898: 5. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/august-9-1898-page-5-8/docview/1950483159/se-2>.

⁶ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1911* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1911), 281.

⁷ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*. Dec 10, 1912: 8. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/december-10-1912-page-8-12/docview/1950892580/se-2>.

⁸ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1913* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1913), 267.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 259.

¹¹ *Manning's Burlington Winooski and Essex Junction (Vermont) Directory For Year Beginning September 1919* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1919), 403.

¹² *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1923* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1923), 392.

¹³ *1900 Burlington City Directory*, 159.

¹⁴ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1889* (Burlington, VT: L.P. Waite & Co., 1889), 199.

¹⁵ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for 1916* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1916), 427.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹⁷ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for 1918* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1918), 363.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁹ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for 1920* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1920), 417.

²⁰ *Burlington Free Press (1923-2007)* July 03, 1926, 7. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/july-3-1926-page-7-16/docview/1951645338/se-2>.

²¹ *Burlington Free Press (1923-2007)*. February 21, 1936) 22. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/february-21-1936-page-22-32/docview/1953122512/se-2>.

²² *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 130, 501-502.

44-46 Sherman Street

²³ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 184, 805.

²⁴ Beers, F. W. *Plan of City of Burlington and Town of South Burlington* (New York: F. W. Beers, 1869).

²⁵ 1879-1881 City Directory, pp. 103

²⁶ *Burlington Free Press*, November 4, 1927, 2.

<https://www.proquest.com/hnpvermontcollection/docview/1951689975/DA54379CA79D4A66PQ/1?accountid=212384>

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1929* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1929), 222.

³¹ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1936* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1936), 222.

³² *Burlington City Directory, 1886-87* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Association, 1886), 231.

³³ Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, *Freeman D. Wood Death Certificate, Box Number PR-01925, Roll Number S-30912, Archive Number M-2073435* (Montpelier, Vermont). Accessed through Ancestry.com, 15 October 2022, https://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1607&h=469489&tid=&pid=&queryId=56b69f8e0a69c6fed30c98c7a42b1a3c&usePUB=true&_phsrc=oXp93&_phstart=successSource

³⁴ U.S. Census Bureau, *1920 Census. Burlington Ward 4, Chittenden, Vermont. Roll T625_1871, page 8B, Enumeration District 49*. Accessed through Ancestry.com, 15 October 2022, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/37212255:6061?tid=&pid=&queryId=56b69f8e0a69c6fed30c98c7a42b1a3c&_phsrc=oXp92&_phstart=successSource

³⁵ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1927* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1927), 397.

³⁶ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 112, 362.

³⁷ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 225, 93.

103-105 North Avenue

³⁸ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 747, 759.

³⁹ Hopkins, C.M. *Map of The City of Burlington, Vermont: From Official Records, Private Plans, and Actual Surveys/ Surveyed and Published under the Direction of C.M. Hopkins*. Philadelphia, PA.: C.M. Hopkins, 1890.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1888* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Association., 1888), 149.

⁴² *Burlington Daily Free Press and Times (1869-1885)*, July 23, 1885: 4. <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/july-23-1885-page-4/docview/1948391202/se-2>.

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- ⁴³ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Apr 13, 1886: 2.
<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/april-13-1886-page-2-8/docview/1948431475/se-2>.
- ⁴⁴ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1895* (Burlington, VT: L.P. Waite & Co., 1895), 103.
- ⁴⁵ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1901* (Burlington, VT: L.P. Waite & Co., 1901), 210.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.
- ⁴⁹ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1902* (Burlington, VT: L.P. Waite & Co., 1902), 282.
- ⁵⁰ McLean, Francis Herbert, and Brown, Udetta D. *A Survey of the City of Burlington, Its Charities, and Its Housing Conditions. Made Under the Direction of the Committee on Social Survey. Burlington, VT: 1915, 53-54.*
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 58-65.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 81-82.
- ⁵³ Burlington Department of Planning and Zoning, “North Champlain Street,” Burlington Department of Planning and Zoning,
<https://www2.burlingtonvt.gov/Archives/assets/0/122/318/302/614/621/fa6344c3-1452-41fb-9761-6a023650dc4c.pdf> (Accessed 22 October 2022)
- ⁵⁴ “Roberge-Desautels Apartment House,” National Parks Service, 2013,
<https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/d3ea828d-97c0-438f-8a68-c0d9d12317da/>
- ⁵⁵ *1903 Burlington City Directory*, 291.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 142.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 138.
- ⁶⁰ *1910 Burlington City Directory*, 336.
- ⁶¹ *1916 Burlington City Directory*, 456.
- ⁶² *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*. June 16, 1913: 8. Available from:
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- ⁶⁴ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 124, 441.
- ⁶⁵ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 263, 183-184.

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- ⁶⁶ *1906 Sanborn Map*, Sheet 3, *1912 Sanborn Map*, Sheet 2
- ⁶⁷ *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser, From July 1869 to July 1870* (Burlington, VT: The Free Press Association, 1869), 65.
- ⁶⁸ *Burlington Daily Free Press and Times (1869-1885)*. October 18, 1869: 3. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/october-18-1869-page-3-4/docview/1947605632/se-2>.

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⁷⁰ *1890 Hopkins Map*

⁷¹ *1906 Sanborn Map*, Sheet 3.

⁷² *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*. April 24, 1901: 5. Available from: <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/april-24-1901-page-5-8/docview/1950529703/se-2>.

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⁷⁴ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 93, 237.

⁷⁵ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 124, 474.

108 North Avenue

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Burlington City and Winooski Directory for 1891* (Burlington, VT: LP Waite & Co., 1891), 230.

⁷⁸ New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; State of Vermont. *Vermont Vital Records, 1871–1908, Augustus J. Tatro Marriage Certificate*. Accessed through Ancestry.com, 10 October 2022, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/1024426:4661?tid=&pid=&queryId=5db6e7a00abb5c8f1f2330b1572c6a0b&_phsrc=oXp6&_phstart=successSource

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⁸² *1914 Burlington Directory*, 247.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 446.

⁸⁴ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for 1925* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1925), 320.

⁸⁵ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for 1941* (Greenfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1941), 200.

⁸⁶ *Burlington Free Press (1923-2007)*, Dec 07, 1942: 9. <https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/december-7-1942-page-9-16/docview/1953390628/se-2>.

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⁸⁸ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 129, 603.

⁸⁹ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 132, 558.

⁹⁰ *Burlington Land Records*, Document 31616.

112 North Avenue

⁹¹ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Feb 08, 1889: 5.
<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/february-8-1889-page-5/docview/1948751261/se-2>.

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⁹³ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Mar 10, 1897: 8.
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⁹⁴ *1886-1887 Burlington Directory*, 117.

⁹⁵ U.S. Census Administration, *1900 Census. Frank M. Sharpley, Burlington Ward 2, Chittenden, Vermont. Roll 1690, Page 22, Enumeration District 0066, FHL Microfilm 1241690*. Accessed through Ancestry.com, 22 October 2022,
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⁹⁷ *1896 Burlington Directory*, 145.

⁹⁸ *1901 Burlington Directory*, 270.

⁹⁹ *1906 Burlington Directory*, 314.

¹⁰⁰ *1923 Burlington Directory*, 319.

¹⁰¹ U.S. Census Administration. *1920 Census, Albert E. Wakefield Census Data. Burlington Ward 4, Chittenden, Vermont; Roll: T625_1871; Page: 7B; Enumeration District 48*. Accessed through Ancestry.com, 17 October 2022,
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¹⁰² *1932 Burlington Directory*, 191.

¹⁰³ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 114, 275.

¹⁰⁴ *1943 Burlington Directory*, 276.

¹⁰⁵ *Burlington Free Press (1923-2007)*. Apr 06, 1948: 12. Available from:
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¹⁰⁶ "Property Summary for 112 North Avenue," City of Burlington Assessor's Office,
<https://property.burlingtonvt.gov/Details/?id=4324>

71-73 Lakeview Terrace

¹⁰⁷ *1919 Burlington City Directory*, 404.

¹⁰⁸ "Lakeview Terrace," City of Burlington, 1993,
<https://www2.burlingtonvt.gov/Archives/assets/0/122/318/302/614/621/4043b70f-ef5c-4482-9025-016e55100957.pdf#page=35>

72 Lakeview Terrace

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² *1922 Burlington Directory*, 409.

¹¹³ *1927 Burlington Directory*, 282.

¹¹⁴ *1931 Burlington Directory*, 387.

¹¹⁵ *Burlington Free Press (1923-2007)*. Apr 26, 1929: 10. Available from:

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¹¹⁶ *1933 Burlington Directory*, 67.

¹¹⁷ *1936 Burlington Directory*, 206.

¹¹⁸ “Lakeview Terrace,” City of Burlington, 1993,

<https://www2.burlingtonvt.gov/Archives/assets/0/122/318/302/614/621/4043b70f-ef5c-4482-9025-016e55100957.pdf#page=35>

88 Pitkin Street

¹¹⁹ *1890 Hopkins Map*

¹²⁰ *1890 Burlington Directory*, 216.

¹²¹ *1919 Burlington Sanborn Map*, Sheet 2.

¹²² *1923 Burlington Directory*, 390.

¹²³ *1926 Burlington Sanborn Map*, Sheet 14.

86 Pitkin Street

¹²⁴ *1890 Hopkins Map*

¹²⁵ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Apr 04, 1922: 8.

<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/april-4-1922-page-8-12/docview/1951340843/se-2>.

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¹²⁷ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Jul 13, 1918: 7.

<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/july-13-1918-page-7-12/docview/1951225491/se-2>.

¹²⁸ *Burlington and Winooski Directory for the Year Beginning May, 1924* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning Co., 1924), 383.

¹²⁹ *Burlington and Winooski (Vermont) Directory for the Year 1925* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning, 1925), 412.

¹³⁰ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 112, 374.

¹³¹ *Manning's Burlington, South Burlington, Winooski, and Essex Junction (Vermont) Directory for Year Beginning August, 1961* (Greenfield, MA: 1961), 563.

8 Strong Street

¹³² *1890 Burlington City Directory*, 175.

¹³³ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, May 11, 1895: 8.

<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/may-11-1895-page-8/docview/1950361243/se-2>.

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- ¹³⁴ *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Feb 16, 1894: 5.
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- ¹³⁷ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 282, 253-255.
- ¹³⁸ *1912 Sanborn Map*, Sheet 2.
- ¹³⁹ *1913 Burlington City Directory*, 282.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 101.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 104.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 234.
- ¹⁴³ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 59, 355.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Burlington Land Records*, Document 23354.
- ¹⁴⁵ *1890 Burlington City Directory*, 114.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Burlington and Winooski Directory 1920* (Springfield, MA: H.A. Manning Company, 1920), 89.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Burlington Land Records*, Volume 114, 201.

Figures

Figure 1- South façade of 30-32 Sherman Street. View facing north, picture taken by author 9/26/2022.

Figure 2- $\frac{3}{4}$ Record shot, 30-32 Sherman Street. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 3- Historic view of 30-32 Sherman Street. 30-32 Sherman Street is the second building in from the right. McAllister, L. L. *Automobiles - Accidents*: University of Vermont Libraries. Special Collections. Louis L. McAllister Photographs, Box B01, Folder 15, Item 09.

Figure 4- 44-46 Sherman Street, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. Image taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 5- entrance façade, 44-46 Sherman Street. View facing north. Taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 6- *Sherman's Military Band performance, 1880. Sherman, George D., and Sherman Military Band.* Howard Opera House!: Grand Concert Friday Eve., Jan. 23, 1880. By Sherman's Military Band, Geo. D. Sherman. *Burlington, Vt.]: Free Press Assoc. ; 1880.* Courtesy of Silver Special Collections, University of Vermont. Accessed 22 October 2022.

Figure 7- 103-105 North Avenue, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. Taken by author, 9/26/2022, view facing NW.

Figure 8- 103-105 North Avenue, primary façade, view facing west. Photo by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 9- Ad from 13 April 1886, Burlington Free Press. *Burlington Daily Free Press (1885-1923)*, Apr 13, 1886: 2.
<https://login.ezproxy.uvm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/april-13-1886-page-2-8/docview/1948431475/se-2>.

Figure 10- 109 North Avenue, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. Photo taken by author, view facing NW, 9/26/2022.

Figure 11- 109 North Avenue, primary façade. View facing west, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 12- 108 North Avenue, primary façade. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 13- 108 North Avenue, showing companion at 112 North Avenue. View facing northeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 14- 112 North Avenue, view east. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 15- 112 North Avenue, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 16- J. Wakefield's Son's advertisement. *1923 Burlington Directory*, 319.

Figure 17- 71-73 Lakeview Terrace, view facing west. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 18- 71-73 Lakeview Terrace, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot showing depth. View facing southwest, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 19- 72 Lakeview Terrace, view facing northeast. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 20- 72 Lakeview Terrace, view facing southeast. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 21- $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot of 88 Pitkin Street. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 22- Primary façade of 88 Pitkin Street. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 23- $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot of 86 Pitkin Street. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 24- Street-facing façade of 86 Pitkin Street, view facing east. Photo taken by author, 9/26/2022

Figure 25- Façade of 8 Strong Street. View facing north, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 26- $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot, 8 Strong Street. View facing northwest, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 27- 26-28 Drew Street, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 28- 26-28 Drew Street, primary façade. View facing east, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 29- 22-24 Drew Street, primary façade. View facing northeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.

Figure 30 - 22-24 Drew Street, $\frac{3}{4}$ record shot. View facing southeast, photo taken by author, 9/26/2022.