

The Missing Middle in Northeast Burlington, Vermont
Winooski Falls, Colchester Avenue, and North Prospect Street

By Lucas Newton

Introduction

Missing middle housing is omnipresent in Burlington, Vermont, and the northeast section of the city is no exception. While the economic and social forces behind the construction of this housing were normally distinct, the units are versatile in their ability to respond and adapt to changing social needs. This is a recurring theme in missing middle housing. Buildings are often designed for one purpose, but are reconsidered, modified, renovated, stripped apart, and generally manipulated to serve contemporary needs. In this area of Burlington, take for example, a building originally utilized as a shop and home that was later converted into an apartment complex, or a multi-home building converted into a college fraternity. At the turn of the twentieth century, the greatest catalyst for housing along and near Colchester Avenue was the drive of the mills at Winooski Falls. As the Winooski Falls cotton and woolen mills grew to become some of the most dominant employers in the area, the concurring need to house those workers became apparent. Moving westward along Colchester Avenue, the housing units gradually tell the story of the demand for student living and a downtown business boom.

The Economic Pull of the Mills

The construction of textile mills and other industrial buildings in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s resulted in the immigration of workers to the Winooski Falls area. Carpenters, plasterers, joiners, and woodworkers were required for the construction of the mills, and these were skills that many French Canadian and Irish immigrants were able to offer. Moving into the latter half of the nineteenth century, the 1860s saw a real rise in textile manufacturing. Unsurprisingly, many of the Canadian and Irish immigrants, who were sparsely represented in professional careers, were employed by these mills. Furthermore, following the European trend, many young women who were not employed as servants were unable to find work outside of the mills in Burlington and Winooski. While a great deal of these workers were housed in Winooski and Colchester, there is still an abundance of housing in Burlington that epitomized their living circumstances.¹

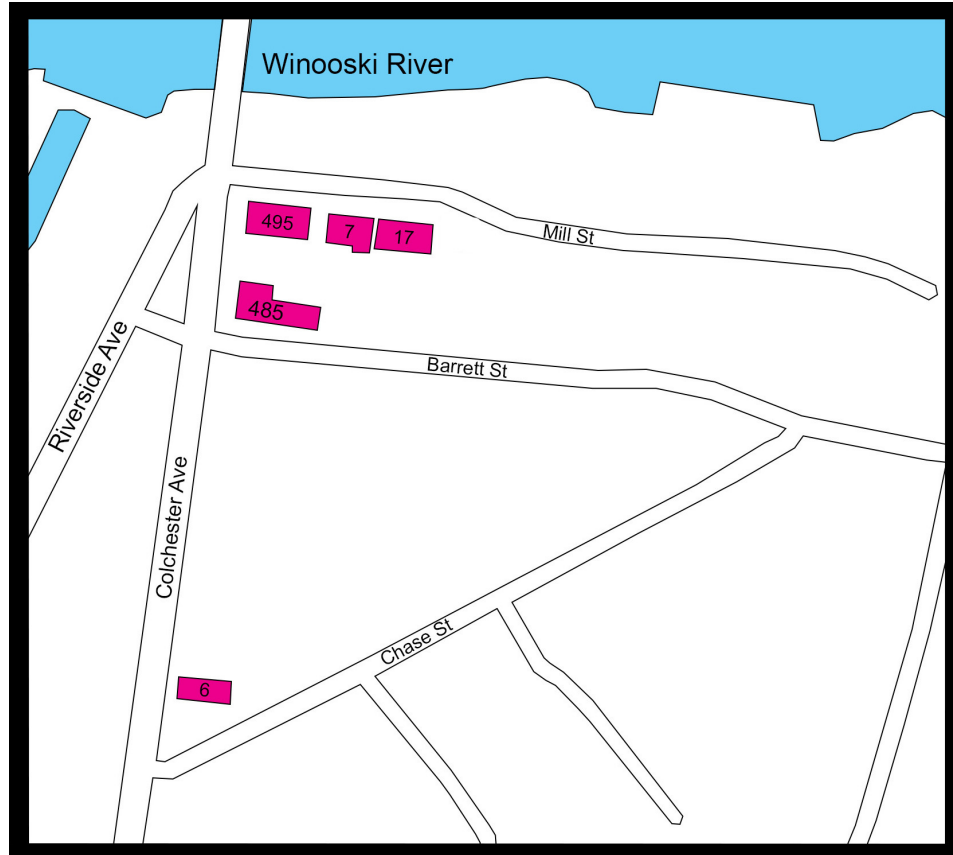


Figure 1. Map of Missing Middle Housing in the Winooski Falls Area. Designed by Lucas Newton.

Perhaps the most distinguished examples of the missing middle in the Winooski Falls area of Burlington are located at 485 and 495 Colchester Avenue. Both properties are recognized in the Winooski Falls Mill Historic District, and were constructed in response to the rapidly growing commercial and industrial center in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Constructed in 1811, the Hickock-Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building on 485 Colchester Avenue is one of the oldest surviving buildings in the area, and is located at the northeast corner of Colchester Avenue and Barrett Street. The two-story, ninety-three foot long building is forty-three feet wide on the east wing, while the main block and west wing only extend twenty-four feet wide.² Wooden clapboard siding is covered by a slate-shingled roof, with the primary gable facade facing south.



Figure 2. South elevation of the Hickock-Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building, October 2022, facing northeast. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

Originally constructed as a store for Reuben Harmon, the building was utilized as a store, tavern, and dwelling for several decades as it was passed between a number of owners. In 1853, Maria Buell Hickock and her husband Henry Hickock spearheaded the first notable alteration to the building. To conform to the construction of Barrett Street, the southern half of the main block of the building was removed entirely and relocated to 14-16 Barrett Street. In the same year, the building was converted to a tenement. Coinciding with a boom of industrial growth, the building was purchased for worker housing by the Burlington Woolen Company in 1866.³ Accordingly, the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps in 1885, 1889, and 1894 recognize the property as a tenement. Additionally, the Burlington city directories identify Joseph Reume with the property in 1902, a mill hand, and William Brisson in 1910, a weaver.

The west wing of the Hickock-Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building was constructed in 1924. This wing was utilized as a grocery store until 1960. The Burlington city directories identify Ernest C. Potvin, fruits and confectioneries, in 1930; and Louis Doria, meats and provisions, in 1940. The Pichierri family is associated with the property, as Cosimo Pichierri was identified as retired and residing there in 1930, and the Pichierri Cosimo Estate sold the property in 1957.⁴ In 1993, the portion of the building that was removed and reallocated eastward on Barrett Street was demolished. The site was cleared to make room for a housing project which would contain eight residential units and a parking lot. City administrators and plan administrators responded to criticism for destroying the historic building by claiming they needed to work within a regulatory time frame.⁵ Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Hickock-Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building provided worker housing, multi-family tenement housing, residential units, and an assortment of shops and businesses. Today, the building houses a Domino's Pizza and contains eight units.



Figure 3. Colchester Avenue at Mill Street, showing the 485 Colchester Ave grocery store and entrance to Barrett Street in the top left, September 1929, facing south. Photograph by L.L. McAllister, courtesy of UVM Special Collections.

Directly north of the Hickock-Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building is the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building, located on the southwest corner of Colchester Avenue and Mill Street, at 495 Colchester Avenue. Built in c. 1841, this two-story gable-front building is thirty-two feet wide on the principal facade facing Colchester Avenue, and sixty-one feet long.⁶ The brick veneer exterior conceals a wooden frame, which is all topped with a slate-shingled roof.



Figure 4. North elevation of the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building, October 2022, facing south. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

After being constructed as a store between 1841 and 1846, the building was converted to serve as a blacksmith shop and forge for Albert and George Duncan. It is listed in the Beers Atlas map in 1869 as “B.S.Sh.,” which presumably means “blacksmith shop.” I.S. Dubuc continued to use the building as a blacksmith shop and also as a wheelwright when he purchased the property in 1883. The 1885 and 1889 Burlington city directories record a painting shop on the second floor and a lumber drying shed in an addition to the southern elevation.⁷ Beginning in 1894, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps recognized the property as a store for second hand goods, which the city directories at the time indicate were owned and run by I.S. Dubuc and Celia M. Dubuc. The city directories also recognize several other companies at the property in the early 1900s. For example, they list the Burlington Flouring Company and Perfection Overgaitor Company on the property from 1902 until the 1920s. As a reflection of the industrial growth during the time, “Colchester’s Grand List” in 1904 disclosed the Burlington Flouring Company as the heaviest tax paying institution in the town.⁸ In 1912, Dubuc converted the building into a grocery store, which is identified in the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. Some of the early residents identified there in the city directories include Mrs. Agnes Stearns, a weaver, Cosimo Pichierri, who worked at the grocery store, and Salvatore Pichierri, who was a mill worker, all in 1920.

In 1927, one of the most devastating natural disasters in Vermont history altered the landscape of Winooski Falls. The flood of 1927 wreaked havoc on the Winooski Falls dams, the Burlington Flouring Company Grist Mill on the southwest corner of the Winooski Bridge, as well as the bridge itself. In 1928, when a new bridge was constructed to connect Burlington and Winooski at the northernmost point of Colchester Avenue, the grade of the street needed to be raised approximately eight feet to adjoin with the increased height of the new bridge. Hence, the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building was buried by fill up to the second story on the west elevation.⁹ What had previously served as the door to the porch on the west facade had to become the front entrance to the building. Still, city directories indicated that the building continued to offer housing to local laborers, including an electrician named Lawrence J. Fitzpatrick Jr. in 1930 and a laborer named Sarkis Boyajan in 1940. The building remained in that condition until 2016, when the owners began a two-year project to raise the structure almost ten feet and to rehabilitate the shortcomings of the old frame and materials. In the process of raising the building they also solved water infiltration issues, and finally met modern light and ventilation codes.¹⁰ Today the building stands at a height that is historically authentic, and an increased amount of the interior space can be used for four apartment units and the Boardroom Café.



Figure 5. Furniture Store at Colchester Avenue, showing the west elevation of 495 Colchester Avenue, 1927, facing east. Note that this was taken prior to the construction of a new bridge, which consequently buried the bottom half of the principal facade. Photograph by L.L. McAllister, courtesy of UVM Special Collections.



Figure 6. Diagrams of the Existing and Proposed Northern Elevations of the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building, prior to its rehabilitation in 2016. Diagrams from the Historic Preservation Certification Application, Description of Rehabilitation.

The buildings at 485 and 495 Colchester Avenue embody the concept of the missing middle, in that they offered multi-home housing and adapted to shifting social and economic demands. However, the missing middle is also especially prevalent in the surrounding area. While looking through the city directories around the turn of the twentieth century, most of the residents living on northern Colchester Avenue, Barrett Street, and Chase Street are listed as mill hands, weavers, laborers, spinners, loom fixers, or brick layers. In other words, housing was necessary to preserve and operate the mills. Furthermore, while reading the names identified with those properties in the directories, one can only ponder the cultural and ethnic history of the residents. As previously mentioned, an increasing number of immigrants were populating the Winooski Falls and North End areas of Burlington. In fact, in 1860, Burlington was home to approximately 2,376 first generation and 1,374 second generation ethnic individuals. By 1900,

these numbers had grown to 3,818 and 5,064, respectively.¹¹ Directly adjacent to the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building, moving eastward along Mill Street, are the 5-11 and 13-19 Mill Street properties. These buildings are not as old as the aforementioned properties, but they represent missing middle housing in the Winooski Falls area nonetheless. They are also both included in the Winooski Falls Mill Historic District.

The Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building is located on 13-19 Mill Street, and it is a sixty-one foot wide, thirty-four foot long, two and a half-story, side-gabled structure.¹² On the principal facade, short sets of east and west running staircases lead to the covered porch. There is an open porch on the second story.



Figure 7. North elevation of the Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building, October 2022, facing south. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

The Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building was constructed around 1853, but was likely used as a mill storage facility for a couple decades. It was not included in the 1869 Beers Atlas map. In 1874 the Burlington Cotton Company converted the building into a tenement to house workers. This resulted in further recognition of the building, and the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps in 1885, 1889, and 1894 list the property as a two-story tenement. The building was owned by the Burlington Cotton Company until 1928, but it continued to house some mill employees for some years to follow.¹³ It consists of four units and is still an apartment building for Burlington residents today.

Between the Burlington Cotton Company Tenement building and the Duncan Blacksmith Shop building is the I.S. Dubuc Tenement building, located on 5-11 Mill Street. The two-story structure follows the same general profile as the two flanking buildings, and it is four unequally spaced bays-wide. Clapboard siding is covered by a flat roof and bracketed cornice that wraps around the east, north, and west elevations.



Figure 8. North elevation of the I.S. Dubuc Tenement building, October 2022, facing south. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

While the current building at 5-11 Mill Street was constructed around 1912, the Burlington city directories show that the site was utilized by I.S. Dubuc several decades prior. The 1889 and 1894 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps show a two story livery on the property. The livery also had a carriage house on the southern elevation that connected to the neighboring lumber shed. That structure presumably housed mill workers, or the current structure was built earlier than it is currently recognized, because the 1910 city directory identifies a number of mill workers and laborers living there. Some of these individuals include George St. Louis, William Walker, Mose Debarge, Julius Parrott, and Theophile Parrott. The framing store, Frames For You and Mona Lisa Too, is located there today.

It should be noted that even though it may not be as obvious that they were once tenements for mill workers, many of the houses and apartment buildings in the Winooski Falls area of Burlington also served as worker housing. Moving north along Colchester Avenue, there are gradually fewer single-family homes and more buildings that were cramped together to house the growing working class. This includes surrounding duplexes, triplexes, and other multi-home buildings; many of which were constructed for the sake of maintaining industry. 46 Chase Street, 49-55 Chase Street, 460-462 Colchester Avenue, 454 Colchester Avenue, 429 Colchester Avenue, 414 Colchester Avenue, and many more buildings along Colchester Hill were constructed around at the end of the nineteenth century or start of the twentieth century, and they all at some point housed mill workers.

An especially old example of this type of housing is located at 6 Chase Street. The building is a two and a half-story, side-gabled, shingle-roofed, brick triplex. A staircase on the southern elevation leads to the second-story covered porch and entrance. Another second-story covered porch is located on the eastern elevation. It is listed on the 1869 Beers Atlas map as E.W. Chase. A few of the directly neighboring buildings were also listed as E.W. Chase, and the 1869 Burlington city directory indicates that this signified the firm Chase and Smith. Sanborn

Fire Insurance Maps from 1889 and 1894 label the site as a two and a half story dwelling. A mill hand named Alex Reume was identified with the property from at least 1902 to 1920 in the city directories. The triplex has provided housing for residents of Burlington since its construction in the mid-1800s, and the exterior has undergone relatively few changes.



Figure 9. South elevation (right) of 6 Chase Street, October 2022, facing northeast. Photograph by Lucas Newton.



Figure 10. Colchester Avenue, showing 6 Chase Street on the right side, 1900, facing north. Photograph by Innamorati, courtesy of UVM Special Collections.

Student Housing and New Business

The landscape of housing just a mile or so southwest of Winooski Falls looks very different. The western section of Colchester Avenue contains a mixture of apartments, businesses, and university buildings. What is notable, especially when moving onto North Prospect Street and Mansfield Avenue, are the increases in yard space, distances between properties, quality of structures, and ornamentation on buildings. It is apparent that most of the buildings there were constructed for a more affluent or privileged demographic of people than what is found around Winooski Falls. Rather than the mills and industrial growth being the driving force behind the necessity for housing, in this location, increased enrollment at the University of Vermont (UVM) and the flourishing downtown commercial areas served as the catalyst for new construction. To provide some context, in 1882 UVM awarded over one hundred degrees for the first time in the University's history, and in 1925 the same can be said for over two hundred degrees.¹⁴ In that time, according to the United States Decennial Census, the population of Burlington increased from about 11,400 to about 23,000.

With regard to the advancement of student housing, there are an abundance of properties along Colchester Avenue, some of which were/are owned by UVM, that housed students. Prior to its demolition, the Commons Hall building on Colchester Avenue was an example of this type of housing. Located where the UVM Fleming Museum of Art is located today, Commons Hall was built in 1888. The construction of Commons Hall was reportedly to provide a place for the UVM Summer School of Foreign Languages. Supposedly, it was the first building erected especially for summer school in the United States.¹⁵ Between 1902 and 1910, the Burlington city directories recognized the property as Commons Hall, a boys boarding house. The 1910 city directory also identified Sherman E. Felton with it, and Henry A. Marshall, who was manager of Commons Hall. However, a 1912 *Burlington Daily Free Press* article declared that previous management of Commons Hall did not have the students' best interests in mind, and the building would fall under new ownership. Apparently the boys who were living there had nicknamed the boarding house, "Hash House," to express that Commons Hall was purely a money-making proposition. The new payment for board at Commons hall starting in 1912 was \$3.50 weekly, or \$3.25 in advance, or \$3.00 four weeks in advance. Commons Hall served as a dining hall for over 100 students; breakfast from 6:45-8:00 am, dinner from 12:30-1:30 pm, and supper from 6:00-7:00 pm. Additionally, an optimal number of the students living there were employed wherever possible¹⁶ Throughout this time, Commons Hall continued to house separate students and faculty members intermittently for summer school. Not much changed at Commons Hall until 1920, when it was converted into a cafeteria. It remained a cafeteria until the Burlington Junior High School was constructed and assumed the cafeteria equipment. Between 1925 and its demolition in 1930, the UVM College of Engineering held classes at Commons Hall.¹⁷

In 1930, Commons Hall was demolished to make room for the UVM Fleming Museum of Art, which happened to be designed by the illustrious architect William Mitchell Kendall of McKim, Mead, and White. Despite being demolished, the symmetrical, side-gabled building with classical features is a historically significant example of the missing middle. Inherently, student housing that is multi-residential and to scale with single-family housing is part of the missing middle. In the case of Commons Hall, it undoubtedly conformed to shifting social needs.



Figure 11. Commons Hall, 1929, facing west. Photograph courtesy of the UVM Special Collections.

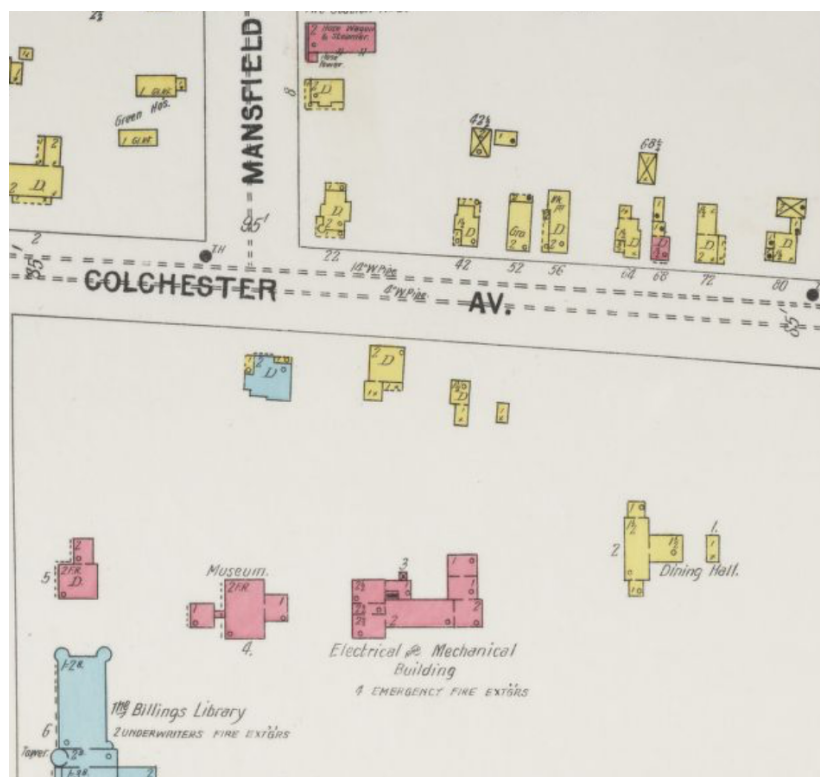


Figure 12. Map of Colchester Ave and Mansfield Ave, showing Commons Hall as the southeastern most (bottom right) building, 1900. Map designed by Sanborn Fire Insurance Map and Publishing Company, courtesy of UVM Digital Collections.¹⁸

A surviving example of missing middle student housing would be the Rand House building at 60 Colchester Avenue. Built c. 1934, the Rand House building is a three bay-wide, gable-front, four-story building on the northern side of Colchester Avenue, about mid-way between Mansfield Avenue and Fletcher Place. At its date of construction it was owned by Sedgwick A Rand, a janitor at Morrill Hall.¹⁹ Immediately, plans were organized for the property to be used as a girls dormitory. Interestingly enough, 16 Colchester Avenue also operated as a boarding house for girls, and was owned by Henry M. Lord, a janitor at Billings Library.²⁰

Beginning in 1934, Rand House was to serve as the location to experiment with a new style of cooperative living for female students. The goal of the dormitory was for each girl to take responsibility for a distinct form of labor in the house, which was assigned based upon experience and schedules. The students who lived there were also provided with three meals per day, with breakfast being informal and lunch and dinner being formal. In its first year of operation, twenty-three girls resided at Rand House. To emphasize their dedication to financial responsibility they adopted, "wise buying and careful saving" as their slogan. At a cost of \$2.00-\$2.50 a week per girl, Rand House offered affordable housing and the cooperative living was designed to teach collaboration. Finally, while the house was owned privately, it was "supervised by the University."²¹

The cooperative living method was seemingly very successful, because the following year UVM conducted a plan to expand the housing style to an additional location. The three-story brick building at the northeast corner of College Street and South Willard Street, which had previously been occupied by Phi Mu Delta, would replicate Rand House.²² Rand House continued to provide cooperative living for girls until 1944. Unable to build new facilities during WWII, but lacking adequate housing for their students, Mary Fletcher Hospital was forced to purchase Rand House. The twenty-two rooms at Rand House provided ample housing for student nurses, as the rooms could be used as doubles or singles depending on enrollment. Robert F. Rand would be the individual to sell Rand House.²³ Still, this solution was only temporary for the Hospital, because in 1948 the plan was announced for a new, four-story School of Nursing to be erected. This meant that Mary Fletcher Hospital was able to sell Rand House and two other buildings that had been used to house graduate nurses.²⁴ The building continued to offer an array of unique housing opportunities. In the immediate years following Mary Fletcher Hospital selling Rand House, the Burlington Cardinals quartered players there.²⁵ In 1961, in the midst of constructing new dormitories, Trinity College housed students at Rand House to accommodate for record high enrollment rates.²⁶ Since then it has provided general housing for residents of Burlington



Figure 13. South elevation (left) of Rand House, October 2022, facing north. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

Overall, a number of the multi-unit buildings along the west end of Colchester Avenue tell fascinating stories of housing functioning in a variety of manners. This trend continues up North Prospect Street, as most of the buildings are multi-unit homes, and many of which are listed in a 1978 Historic Sites and Structures Survey. 49 North Prospect Street is a two and a half-story, four-unit, gable-front building with Queen Anne style ornament. It is approximately thirty feet wide and fifty feet long.²⁷ It is decorated with a variety of brick, aluminum, and shingle siding, and it has a slate-shingle roof, and it is located on the southeast corner of North Prospect Street and Brookes Avenue.



Figure 14. South elevation (left) of 49 Colchester Avenue, October 2022, facing southwest. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

The building is first acknowledged in the 1900 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map as a dwelling. The first resident identified with the property in the Burlington city directories is Eben Putnam in 1902, a business manager at the International Monthly Savings Bank. In 1903, a UVM instructor named Horace A. Eaton resided there, and between 1904 and 1910 John Flynn was listed there. He was employed in real estate by the YMCA. The occupations of the residents contrast sharply with those who lived in the Winooski Falls area, as this building was home to people who would be described as having professional jobs. Between those occupations and the clear quality and ornamentation of design, this house characterizes the upper middle class in the late nineteenth century. In 1929, the house was purchased from N.E. Pierce by the Nu Sigma Nu Medical Fraternity with UVM. The Fraternity remained at the location for at least two decades.²⁸ Once again, the building at 49 North Prospect Street is an example of multi-unit housing being conducive to student living.

Much like the building at 49 North Prospect Street, the A.J. Willard Sanitarium building at 89 North Prospect Street is a great example of a Queen Anne Style Building for the growing upper middle class. This is reinforced by the fact that in the year the building was constructed, 1888, nearly half a million dollars was spent on erecting new buildings in Burlington. Many laborers had to travel from New York to contribute to the projects.²⁹ It is located on the west side of North Prospect Street, just north of Loomis Street. The monumental, three and a half-story building has a complex roof line and plan, and is approximately thirty-four feet wide and sixty-eight feet long. The building has clapboard siding, a slate-shingled roof, and expresses style in its porches, dormers, staircases, and more.



Figure 15. South elevation (left) of the A.J. Willard Sanitarium building, October 2022, facing northwest. Photograph by Lucas Newton.

As the name suggests, this building was first constructed for Dr. A.J. Willard in 1888 as a private hospital/sanitarium. Willard himself was a graduate from the UVM Medical School and was a superintendent at Mary Fletcher Hospital until 1886.³⁰ Newspaper articles from the time period suggest that when he opened his Sanitarium, it was rather popular. A notice in the *Burlington Daily Free Press* that he had a couple rooms vacant stated, “judging the future by the past this vacancy will not be allowed to last very long.”³¹ An advertisement in another newspaper article stated that the Willard Sanitarium was for “Nervous Disease Only.”³² The building was eventually converted into apartments in 1906, and Dr. A.J. Willard died in 1907. Like the building at 49 North Prospect Street, the building was home to a UVM instructor and several businessmen. From the 1930s until 1947, the building served as offices for the Chittenden County Farm Bureau.³³ Today, the A.J. Willard Sanitarium Building contains ten apartment units.³⁴

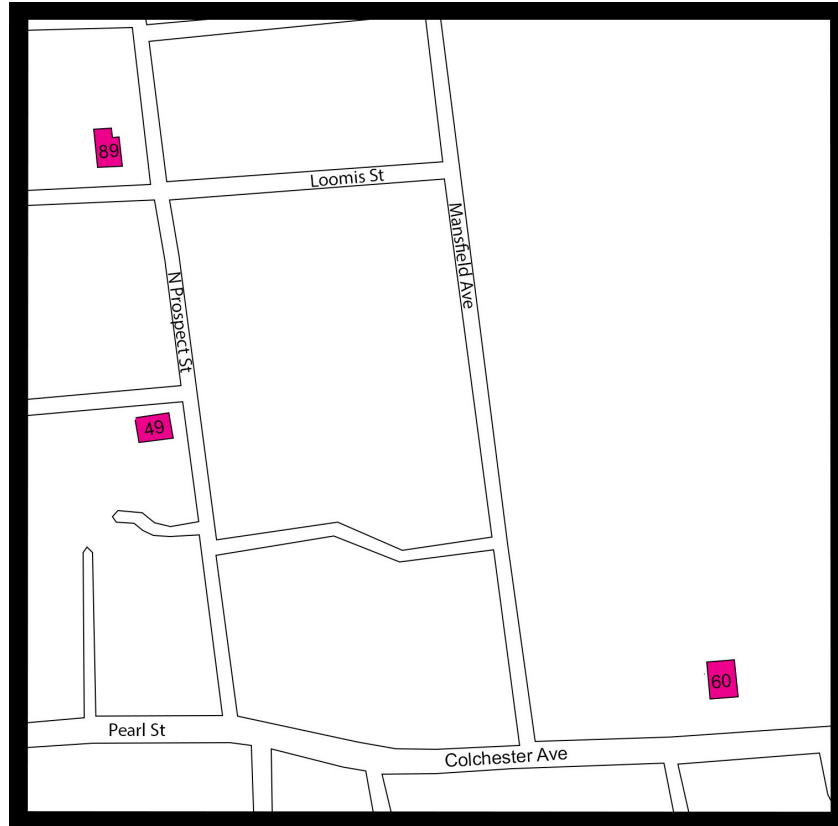


Figure 16. Map of Missing Middle Housing on Colchester Avenue and North Prospect Street. Designed by Lucas Newton.

Notes

1. Vincent Feeney and Brendan Keleher, "Burlington's Ethnic Communities, 1860-1900," *Vermont History* 86, no.2 (2018): 132-161.

2. "Property Database," The City of Burlington, Vermont, <https://property.burlingtonvt.gov> (Accessed November 7, 2022).

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5. Deena Miller, "Through Historic Ruins, Housing Project Sprouts," *Burlington Free Press*, March 10, 1993, Section 1B and 2B.
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8. "Colchester's Grand List," *Burlington Daily Free Press*, May 28, 1904, 6.
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10. Historic Preservation Certification Application, Description of Rehabilitation, 495 Colchester Avenue, United States Department of the Interior, Burlington, Chittenden County, Vermont, June 9, 2015, http://accdservices.vermont.gov/ORCDocs/Chittenden_ProjectFile_31970_ApplicantSubmittal-DivisionResponse_88054-2299.pdf.
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12. "Property Database," The City of Burlington, Vermont, <https://property.burlingtonvt.gov> (Accessed November 7, 2022).
13. National Register of Historic Places, Winooski Falls Mill Historic District (boundary increase), Burlington, Chittenden County, Vermont, 1993, <https://www.burlingtonvt.gov/sites/default/files/PZ/Historic/National-Register-PDFs/WinooskiFallsHDAamendment.pdf>.
14. Summary of Degrees Awarded, 1804-2019, The University of Vermont, <https://www.uvm.edu/sites/default/files/UVM-Office-of-Institutional-Research/other-files/degrees2019.pdf>.
15. "University Starts Tearing Down Commons Hall to Make Way For Museum," *Burlington Free Press*, April 16, 1930, 8.
16. "University Notes," *Burlington Daily Free Press*, September 19, 1912, 7.

17. "University Starts Tearing Down Commons Hall to Make Way For Museum," *Burlington Free Press*, April 16, 1930, 8.
18. *Burlington, Vermont* (Sanborn Map & Publishing Company, 1900).
19. *Burlington City Directory 1934*, edited by L. P. Waite and Co. (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Company, 1934).
20. 16 Colchester Avenue, University Green Area Heritage Study, Historic Burlington Research Project, UVM HP 206, 2011, <https://www.uvm.edu/~hp206/2011/sites/59.html>.
21. "Twenty-Four Girls at University to Live Co-operatively," *Burlington Free Press*, May 17, 1934, 8; "Wise Buying and Careful Saving," *Burlington Free Press*, September 19, 1934, 9.
22. "Girls to Return to Dormitory," *Burlington Free Press*, August 22, 1935, 9.
23. "M.F. Hospital Buys Rand House," *Burlington Free Press*, August 18, 1944, 9.
24. "School of Nursing Will Be Built at Mary Fletcher Hospital," *Burlington Free Press*, April 10, 1948, 13.
25. Walt Hickey, "First of Candidates for Burlington Cardinals Arrive in City," *Burlington Free Press*, June 15, 1949, 16; Walt Hickey, "52 Cardinals Will Workout at 2 Today," *Burlington Free Press*, June 17, 1952, 12.
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27. "Property Database," The City of Burlington, Vermont, <https://property.burlingtonvt.gov> (Accessed November 7, 2022).
28. "Club and Fraternal," *Burlington Free Press*, October 15, 1949, 13.
29. "Twenty-Five Years Ago," *Burlington Daily Free Press*, February 7, 1914, 8.
30. "Death of Dr. A.J. Willard," *Burlington Daily Free Press*, March 6, 1907, 3.
31. "Home Matters," *Burlington Daily Free Press*, October 11, 1895, 5.
32. "Do you Want to Save a Dollar?" *Burlington Daily Free Press*, October 23, 1897, 5.
33. "Last of Farm Bureau Offices Will Be Moved Today from 89 N. Prospect St.," *Burlington Free Press*, November 28, 1947, 15.

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