MEMORIES IN ARTIFACT AND STONE: ITALIANS BUILD A NEIGHBORHOOD

Joan L. Saverino, Memories in Artifact and Stone: Italians Build a Neighborhood" in *Germantown Crier*, Vol. 53:2 (Fall 2003):48–64.

This article focuses on Chestnut Hill, looking primarily at the Italian contribution to landscape and the built environment. A previous article (fall 2000) discussed immigration and settlement in Germantown and Chestnut Hill. The word "build' in the sub title refers to both the actual construction of buildings and the social sense of building community

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A pair of wooden clogs waits by a doorstep for their owner to slip them on. For the daughter of the immigrant who handcrafted these *scaletti*, their presence, powerfully symbolic, lends comfort. Material handmade objects may be said to embody memory. This is especially true of clothing and other worn objects that bear the wearer's imprint. The stained leather, the worn soles, tell the tale of the wearer's gait, the trundle of his step through time. Even their smell might evoke memories of a beloved father long deceased, a father who made small versions of his own shoes to fit a daughter's feet.[1] The father's clogs bring to mind small velvet slippers, sewn by a grandmother's hands, replicas of the elder's larger ones. But those miniature shoes have long since disappeared and it is the large ones that remain to recall the small. Like a talisman, the wooden shoes gather the memories of an entire childhood.[2]

It is a fragmentary past that is left us. Folklorist Henry Glassie reminds us, "The past is vast and it is gone. Almost all of it is gone utterly, leaving no trace in the mind or archive. We know the past only through things that chance to exist in the present: old books, broken pots, disturbed memories..."[3] The objects that people make are symbolic remnants of human communication and interaction. Objects, then, permit a window into the beliefs and values of another culture at a different place and time. The artistic aspects of objects, the part that represents the "life of feeling" of the creator, are key entry points into understanding another culture.[4] Even objects made for utilitarian purposes, such as the *scaletti,* reflect a sense of mastery and a tradition of aesthetic principles.[5]

Using the *scaletti* as an example, we glimpse the worldview of the Friulani immigrants, learning how old world values and practices were creatively adapted to new life circumstances. These *scaletti* were made approximately fifty years ago in Chestnut Hill by Alberiglio Roman, an emigrant from the village of Poffabro,

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in the northern Dolomite mountain region of Friuli, Italy. Roman, a carpenter by trade, wore these shoes daily in his basement woodworking shop. Although Roman fashioned the *scaletti* as he would have in Italy, they were made our of scrap materials he had on hand in America.

In Poffabro, women too wore handmade shoes—slippers really—called *scarpetti* ("little shoes"). After her husband died, Luigia Colussi immigrated to Chestnut Hill to live with her daughter Gisella Roman. As she had in Poffabro, Luigia continued to sew *scarpetti* by hand using whatever fabric was available. For celebratory occasions the tops were sewn from black velvet, sometimes embroidered with a flower. Soles were constructed of layers of scrap fabric, sewn together, and then stiffened by tiny repetitive stitches. Finally, the shoes were covered with a finishing fabric such as chicken seed sacking.

In Italy, those of the peasant class who owned a pair of cobbler-made shoes might wear them only on significant occasions. Gisella Roman, in fact, did not own a pair of purchased shoes until she was fourteen years old.[6] In the United States, some immigrants continued to produce and wear hand-made shoes in the private sphere of home, finding them useful for work in the house and garden.[7] At the same time, they quickly adopted American styles for street wear. These hand made shoes, kept as memory objects, have survived. Most material objects have been thrown out, lost, destroyed, or in the case of more ephemeral creations, such as food, consumed. Some of the largest handmade objects that survive are buildings. Architecture is a rich source of study because it survives, it is situated geographically, and it is complex.[8]

The most enduring legacy of Italian artistry in Chestnut Hill is found in the built environment, including architecture as well as human alterations made to the landscape. Through this lens, we can trace changes in the social sphere in Chestnut Hill over time.[9] The residential patterns of houses, the edifices of the ethnic clubs, the gardens hidden from view, all tell the tale of the interconnections of work, ethnicity, and community over time. This history has gone largely undocumented, relegated to personal memory. As such it has been hidden from public view and is subject to being forgotten. Using the material landscape as a map, we can re-create part of that untold story.

Italian Laborers and Community

One aspect of the architectural character of Chestnut Hill that makes it distinctive is the construction in native stone. The abundance of quarries in the area containing Wissahickon schist stone provided a ready source of raw material for construction. Cheap immigrant labor was plentiful and skilled stonemasons and tile setters trained in Italy were highly sought after as workers for the building boom that was going on in northwest Philadelphia at the end of the nineteenth century. Behind the wealth that funded the establishment of Chestnut Hill were the hundreds

of immigrants whose daily labor built the structures, operated businesses that served the rich, cleaned their houses, maintained their gardens, and whose pay-checks supported the neighborhood's economic life.
Before we look at the products of Italian labor, let us turn to some of the stories of those early immigrants and their arrival. Immigration stories not only bring history alive but they help to reveal how individual circumstances as well as regional, national, and international conditions influence familial history. The Lorenzon family who settled in Chestnut Hill illustrates some of these patterns. We learn [50]
why the brothers emigrated, how they decided on their destination, and how they began a construction business that built quite a reputation.

The Lorenzon family was a well-respected land-owning family in the small village of Poffabro, Friuli, and the only Protestant one. According to Herbert Lorenzon, his grandfather, Vincenzo, converted to Protestantism when he encountered missionaries who came through the town.[10] During the economic crisis in Italy at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even better-off families like the Lorenzons, were forced to choose migration as a survival strategy. This was the case for the Lorenzon brothers who had learned stone cutting and building techniques from their father.[11] The Lorenzon brothers were skilled stone masons and builders who had learned the trade in Italy. By 1898, working alongside their father, Vincenzo, they had built the family home in Poffabro, a five-story stone house, still used by the Lorenzon family. They quarried the stone, cut the trees that they used for the wood trim on the house, and even made the tools that they used in the construction. Vincenzo's brother was a cabinetmaker who designed and built furniture for the house.[12]

Since they could not find construction work in Italy, the two elder brothers, Charles and Gus (Agostino) first came to Philadelphia in 1896 in search of work. They were unable to find any employment and so they traveled west to Silverado, Colorado, to find work in the silver mines. "Birds of passage" is a phrase often used to refer to single males who made frequent, even seasonal, trips back and forth to Italy. This phrase is an apt description of the Lorenzon brothers' early travel pattern. Before choosing the United States as a destination, one brother had traveled to Egypt to find work building roads. He returned to Poffabro and then left for the United States. Between 1896 and 1902, Charles and Gus returned at least once to Poffabro and then in 1902 settled permanently in Chestnut Hill. Another brother, Vittorio, traveled to Philadelphia alone in 1904 at age eighteen. A letter to Vittorio dated March 26, 1904, from another brother Emil (Emilio) who was then a soldier in the Italian army and stationed in Padua, illustrates both the pull of immigration and the stress that separation put on a family.[13]

> Dear Brother,
> I was so pleased to receive your letter and hear that you are well. I am sorry however, to learn that you are leaving too to join our brothers. Unfortunately, I cannot come, but God willing soon I'll be able to be free and follow you.

> You ask me to come and spend a few days with the family before you leave. It's my strong desire to do so, but I am not the one to decide. I'll ask to get leave next week. If our wish to get together is not realized, I hope I'll get permission to come and see you at the station when you pass through here. How sad are our parents now that they are old, [at the time the mother Maria Roman was fifty-five, the father Vincenzo, sixty-four] at seeing us leave one by one! But we have to accept our fate. We were not given the privilege of staying together. I hope some day we'll be all toget- [51]
> her again. I hope Alberro and Marina [siblings ages sixteen and eleven respectively] will help and obey them in everything, they are the only ones left and could make our absence less painful.
> I do hope to see you before you leave. Sending many sincere wishes and kisses. From your loving brother, Emilio Lorenzon.[14]

Only five months after the letter was written the brothers' father, Vincenzo, died of appendicitis. Charles returned to Poffabro to settle the family estate and remained in Italy until 1909. In 1906, Emilio, Alberto, Marina, the mother Maria, and an uncle, Valentino, emigrated and joined the rest of the family in Chestnut Hill.[15]

According to Herbert Lorenzon, the brorhers incorporated as Lorenzon Brothers Company in 1914. They began building in 1908 when they built a three-story twin structure at the corner of Benezet and Ardleigh Streets (7909- 911 Ardleigh).[16]

Herbert Lorenzon describes how the brothers worked and how they starred their own business:

> Herbert Lorenzon: they worked hard and they did everything themselves, like when they were building the buildings across from here they excavated by hand, quarried the stone right out of there and then started building.[17] They went up to the first floor and they started needing some money to buy like lumber and things like that. So they went up to the Chestnut Hill Title and Trust and Mr. Disston was the trustee up there. He's from the Disston Saw people... And he came down and he said, "How did you get all this built?" He said, "We did it all ourselves." He said, "You go up to the bank and tell them how much you need and you've got it." And so they had a good start and, you know, their honesty and hard work, they got their good start in life up here. And that was very important to them all; their name was, you know, so important to them...
>
> Joan Saverino: Did they already have a contracting company when they built those homes?
>
> HL: No. No, they just built and they, of course, didn't have access to a lot of people for the whole building business because they did all their own [several words unclear]. They did the masonry and they did the wood work

and everything else, so they didn't know how to get customers, so they would just bid the stonework. And that's where they started out, with stonework. . . But they were all pretty much accomplished in most of the trades, like [chuckles] the building trades anyway.

Anthony Filippi's description of his father's experience is another good example of the immigration network and how Italians who established businesses provided jobs for fellow townsmen who were new arrivals. "They started here before 1900 and as years went by they were called over by friends who had already established themselves in business. Then they called their friends and anybody who was capable because they knew they were excellent workers and very skilled workers so they didn't hesitate about hiring them.[18] Filippi described his father's arrival in Chestnut Hill in 1921:

David Contosta: Did your father have friends or relatives in Chestnut Hill before he came?

Anthony Filippi: He had a friend. He had no relatives, but he had a friend. He came over leaving Trieste and it took him a month to get here on one of those freighters...

DC: Did he come directly to Philadelphia then?

AF: He came directly to Philadelphia and went to the home of one of his friends. He started working as soon as he arrived here because that was already projected with a few contractors. He went to work for Marcolina Brothers. Marcolina built practically all the Houston/Woodward houses [52] you see in Chestnut Hill, together with Lorenzon Brothers.

DC: What did your father do for the Marcolinas?

AF: He was a stonemason, a general stoneworker.

DC: He had learned that trade how? Had he learned through apprenticeship? How had he learned?

AF: He served an apprenticeship. In Italy, for a stone mason, you have to know how to be a carpenter, a little bit of everything. It's not like it is here. . . distinctive with stone. Over there you have to know a little bit about carpentry work and roofing and so forth.

DC: Did your father ever tell you what it was like when he first came here, what work was like, where he lived, what living conditions were like?

AF: Working conditions? You had to produce in those days. There was

quite a bit of competition. They had to work with Chestnut Hill stone, which is our local stone, which is a little difficult to get used to. Once you knew how. . learned to recognize the vein and how to cut it. A nice stone to work with, the Chestnut Hill stone...

DC: Do you know where he lived?

AF: He lived on Winston Road. He and four other men rented an apartment. They used to work during the day and then they' took turns at night cooking. They did their own laundry. They managed for themselves. They didn't have anyone to do it for them. They lived like bachelors for five years until my mother and the family came over.

Building a Social World

As single men married or saved enough money to bring families from Italy the Italian population expanded and a community took shape. A community is not a place; a community is formed from the bonds that grow out of the daily rhythms of social interaction. David Contosta in his book, *Suburb in the City*, used the phrase "different worlds" to describe what functioned as four or five separate social spheres in Chestnut Hill. In the first decades of the twentieth century, sharp segregation existed along lines of social class, occupation, ethnicity, and religious belief.[19] Italian immigrants had strikes against them on every count in terms of the Anglo elite world around which the neighborhood whirled. Italians had to adjust to this Anglo Protestant culture they encountered daily hut could not enter. Finding themselves in a social climate that ranged from outright discrimination to at best one of tolerance, and separated from Americans by language issues, Italians reacted with their own insularity. They created a web of community based in the network of extended families and friends that helped to ease the adjustment to life in the United States.

Several sources point to Millman Street and West Hartwell Avenue (now Lane) as possibly the earliest residential area for Italians in Chestnut Hill. West Hartwell once ran through what is now Pastorius Park. The transition of that area is a story of immigrant settlement and forced displacement that illustrates the stark differences in power and class on the Hill during this period, It is most vividly told in the story of immigrant Luigi Serianni and the Pastorius Park development.

Serianni was horn in Soveria Mannelli in the province of Cosenza, in Calabria in 1848 and he died in Chestnut Hill in 1921.[20] In 1886, Luigi left his wife Rosa Morasco and their two children, Mary and Michael, and immigrated to Philadelphia to find work. He first lived at Seventh and Christian Streets in the heart of the South Philadelphia Italian neighborhood, probably renting a room in one of the numerous boarding houses that catered to newly arrived single men. Serianni [53]

found employment as a stonecutter helping to build the water reservoir at City Line and Belmont Avenues. He walked daily to and from this job where he earned one dollar for ten hours of labor. After he had saved enough money, he sent for his family to join him.

As early as 1888, they and a few other families moved into a large farmhouse for rent at Hartwell Lane and Millman Street in Chestnut Hill.[21] Serianni worked as a stonecutter at a Chestnut Hill quarry.

In 1894, the family history indicates that Serianni "was offered a whole block of ground" at Hartwell Avenue, Abington Avenue, and Roanoke Streets for six hundred dollars. Luigi purchased four lots and his friend Joe Paul (most likely an Italian who anglicized his name) bought two lots. Luigi built a three-story single home at 120 West Hartwell on the upper lot. On the lower lot he and Paul built a three-story twin house with Luigi occupying number 124. Rose and Luigi took in single male boarders who had emigrated from their hometown. This was a typical way immigrants augmented their income. In her family notes, Rose Sirianni Coppola said "the other lots of the original ground were sold. Many working class families settled there."

When Jim Longo's father, Gregorio, emigrated from the province of Catanzaro in Calabria, he joined friends who were living on Millman Street (Millman runs into W. Hartwell).[22] Longo remembers that before 1923 (when his family moved to Devon Street), Hartwell was a mix of Italian and African American families.[23]

In 1915, George Woodward began the Pastorius Park development. In keeping with his Progressive ideals, Woodward proposed to donate nine and one half acres of his own property to the city with the stipulation that the city condemn two additional acres and turn the entire plot of land into a park. From Woodward's viewpoint, this was another step in his plan for development of the Wissahickon Heights neighborhood, its inspiration drawn from European architectural and landscaping designs he transplanted to Chestnut Hill from his trips abroad.[24] The plan was also consistent with the goal of the wealthy to keep a physical buffer between themselves and the rest of society. A newspaper article commented that ". . .some residents of Chestnut Hill have considered [the small houses] as out of harmony with the large mansions and extensive grounds of that region."[25]

City Council passed an ordinance condemning the ground and the mayor signed it. The property owners, having heard about the condemnation of their properties after the fact, sent a petition to the mayor requesting an investigation. In the petition, they state that the plan was inequitable because it clearly favored Woodward's interests over the homeowners'. The mayor ignored the petition and allowed a board to proceed with hearings to vote on the extent of damages to be awarded. The final result was that the owners of thirty properties (eight with Italian surnames) were compensated. The eight property owners and twenty-nine tenants'

claims were rejected.

For their two properties, the Serianni family was awarded a total of $6,500.00. An excerpt from Sirianni-Coppola's notes provides the experience of one of the families residing in the Park area:

> Mr. Woodward wanted a park to be built, 'Pastorius Park', so he had all the houses on these three streets condemned by the city. The houses were appraised and given a fair value, but Luigi refused to sell his house. It was in good condition and it was his home. It had been built with great sacrifice, toil, and sweat. He hired a lawyer but they could not win the case, so he had to sell. Mr. Higgins was the last one to sell his house. The families relocated in Chestnut Hill. Louis [Luigi] was saddened by the loss of his house. However he purchased another house, 8138 Shawnee Street. He moved there with his son William and his family. William had been living with his father on W. Hartwell Avenue. Luigi's daughter, Mary, and her husband, Vincenzo Morasco, lived at 8143 Shawnee Street. His son Archie [Achille] and family lived at 8124 Shawnee Street. Louis was surrounded [54]
> by his children and grandchildren. Some of his grandchildren settled on Shawnee Street. Sam and Mamie Rosato at 8125 Shawnee, Emily and Tony at 8123 Shawnee. Luigi worked in later years as a night watchman on E. Abington Avenue, where a sewer was being constructed. He died of a stroke while on the job in September 1921.[26]

Luigi Serianni was 73 years old when he died. We do not know whether he recovered from the emotional loss he suffered at seeing the houses he so lovingly built razed. It was at least his third large loss in less than ten years. His wife Rosa and his grandson had died in 1909. Rose's notes indicate that after Rosa died, his daughter-in-law Michelina took over the household including doing all the work required for the boarders. Luigi, in order to keep busy, started a grocery store in the front room of his house.[27]

Woodward's park was built and we can surmise that he never understood Luigi's tenacious efforts to save his home. The park has become a prominent fixture in the public memory of Chestnut Hill's recent generations. The stories recorded here insure that the area's prior social history will not be forgotten. It was here that immigrants created their own sense of place, filling it with the memories of families born and raised in their adopted land. We can empathize with Luigi's efforts to salvage the tangible thing, a home, that provides human beings with a feeling of rootedness.

To the outsider's eye, Italians were lumped together in one group. The insider, that is, an Italian who lived in Chestnut Hill at the time, knew that there were two communities of Italians and that historical distinction is recognized by their descendants. They divided along lines of regional heritage, between the immigrants from Friuli and Piedmont in the north and those from the south. Due to

cultural and language differences between northerners and southerners as well as regional prejudices transplanted from Italy, they tended to socialize and live near those with whom they were familiar.[28]

Adjustment to life in America may have been somewhat easier for the Friulani, since they had come in such large numbers from Poffabro, so that social networks from the village that existed prior to immigration could be reestablished in Chestnut Hill. When asked if Chestnut Hill seemed strange to him upon his arrival as a boy of ten joining a father he had not seen in six years, Anthony Filippi noted, "We had friends here and they came to the house, my father's friends, and they took us under their wing and we had no problems at all. The only problem was learning the language."[29] At another point Filippi estimates that about five hundred people emigrated from the village of Poffabro and he commented on the social ties: "We are pretty close knit. There are a lot of relationships too. Even with second and third cousins, there are friendships and relationships. We came from the same town more or less and there had to be a pretty close relationship on the whole."[30]

The outline of this early Italian residential settlement pattern is still evident in [55]
Chestnut Hill today. Italians were relegated to the working-class homes at the southern end of the Hill on both sides of Germantown Avenue.[31] On the west side of Germantown Avenue, Italian settle ment today fans out from Pastorius Park. Some southern ers who were displaced by the Pastorius Park development mov-ed to Shawnee Street in the block between W Hartwell and "V. Abington Avenue. Others moved to E. Devon Street. Southerners also lived on Highland Avenue. Those from the Friuli region lived on W Abington Avenue, on Roanoke Street and Willow Grove Avenueand, as we will see, they built many of those homes them-selves.

Italians, as did other immigrant groups, placed a high value on owning property. It seems likely that they followed a pattern typical of other ethnic enclaves. That is, as they were able to afford property or at least move to better accommodations, they tended to move outward from initial locations. Often, Italians encountered prejudice when they attempted to purchase. For instance, Joseph Galante recall-ed that his family's first residence was on the 7900 block of Roanoke Street. They lived there for about three years and then around 1917 purchased a house at 33 W. Springfield Avenue, a street that had no other Italians at that time. Because the owner would not sell to Italians, in order to buy the property the Galantes had to arrange it through a third party and have the property transferred to them.[32]

By the 1920s, Devon Street on the east side of Germantown Avenue was a mix of southern Italians, families from Poffabro, and Irish. Many more from Friuli and the Piedmont regions purchased property and built homes on the streets on the lower east side of Germantown Avenue (including Mermaid Lane, Ardleigh, Win-ston Road, Benezet, and Last Moreland). In 1923, the Longo family moved to 8128 East Devon Street, at that time a dirt road with no curbs or sidewalks.

Longo lists the family surnames—a mix of Irish and both northern and southern Italians.

Transforming the Landscape

In Chestnut Hill, the built landscape can be divided into three categories. First are the designs that Italians were hired as contractors, sub-contractors, or laborers to build. These include public buildings, private residences, and smaller structures or walls. This category primarily realizes the aesthetic tastes of others but demonstrates the technical skills of the immigrants. Second are the homes and ethnic clubs that Italians modified or designed and built for themselves. Third is the transformation of the land itself through agricultural techniques. It is in these last two categories, within the perimeters of the private sphere of home and yard, that the innermost desires and emotions of Italians got played out.[33]

As mentioned earlier, the abundance of schist, and the demand for it, meant that quarries dotted the Germantown Township landscape. Those I interviewed named eight quarries in the Chestnut Hill area alone. McCrea's was on the west side of Germantown Avenue between Moreland and Mermaid Lane (where TLA Video Passport and other stores are currently located). Comley's Quarry was on [56]
Germantown Avenue (east of McCrea's), now the site of the Trolley Car Diner.[34] Another was at the corner of Germantown Avenue and Cresheim Valley Road where the flower mart is now located.[35] The Lorenzons quarried stone from their properties on Springfield Avenue and Ardleigh Streets. O'Neill's quarry was on Mermaid Lane (behind the Mermaid Inn).[36] Marcolina's quarry was on Waverly Road in Wyndmoor and next to it was Vecchione's quarry.[37] Also on Waverly Road and just across the street from the Marcolina Brothers quarry was Crispo's quarry.[38] According to James Longo, the quarry that formerly existed behind the Water Tower Recreation Center was owned by Louis Marasco. It became commonly known as Caruso's quarry because Gennaro Caruso lived on the bill above the quarry.[39] Many buildings and residences in Chestnut Hill were designed by local architects, who hired Italians as contractors or sub-contractors. Robert R. McGoodwin, for instance, hired the Lorenzon Brothers to work on Samuel P Roten's estate house that was built in 1927 in Wyndmoor and Herbert Lorenzon has said that his father and McGoodwin became good friends.[40] What the exact nature of the friendship was is not known, but undoubtedly good working relationships existed between Italian-owned contracting businesses and those who were the master planners of the building in Chestnut Hill. Beginning with Henry Howard Houston in the 1880s and continuing with his son-in-law George Woodward until the Depression caused the bottoming our of the stone house market in the 1930s, neighborhood development continued unabated.

A number of families from Friuli (Marcolina, Lorenzon, Braun) and John Conti who was from the Piedmont, started their own successful contracting businesses.[41] These families were hired (often subcontracted) to build both residential structures and commercial buildings. They in turn hired other immigrant laborers.

While these buildings stand as testament to the skill of Italian craftsmanship, the architectural styles reflect those of the builders who hired them. The Italian families who were sub-contractors go unrecognized in the historic record; nonetheless, it is their skills that brought to fruition the visible scene that we experience Chestnut Hill as today. Italians also traveled to wherever there were jobs in the vicinity. Anthony Filippi's first job in the building trade was working for contractor John Conti, who was building a church in Elkins Park.[42]

According to Herbert Lorenzon, the Lorenzon brothers were the subcontractors on the Free Library of Philadelphia, Chestnut Hill Branch, at 8711 Germantown Avenue, a one-story Georgian Revival building built in l907,[43] as well as the 1928 construction of the First Union Bank (formerly Germantown Trust) at 8527-8529 Germantown Avenue. They also did the masonry on the Presbyterian Church of Chestnut Hill, a Georgian Revival structure at 8855 Germantown Avenue that was built in 1948.[44] The Braun Brothers were the contractors for developer George Woodward's Cotswold-styled dwellings known as Roanoke Court, built in 1931-1932 at 8014- 8028 Roanoke Street.[45]

The Depression era was a difficult time for Italians as it was for many others. Referring to the many stonemasons who were out of work at the time, Anthony Filippi noted: "You couldn't get anything. Stonemasons, tilese ters,.. .anyone who had a job was considered very, very lucky." If people lost their jobs, "The friends [57] helped out. The ones that had more money like the contractors, the ones that had enough money, helped the ones who were in need."[46]

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) developed projects that employed stonemasons. For example, Luigi Mercaldo who lived in Mr. Airy and became a foreman for the developer Tourison worked on the Cresheim Valley Fountain at the corner of Cresheim Valley Drive and Germantown Avenue. The extensive stone wall at 8811 Towanda Avenue is another example of a Depression-era make-work project.[47] Since their names were not recorded, most of the laborers on building projects will always remain unknown. For example, we know only that name less Italian stonemasons built John and Lydia Morris's Victorian fernery at what is now the Morris Arboretum of the University of Pennsylvania.[48]

Many southern Italians and Irish worked as gardeners for the wealthy who owned the large estates. Joseph Galante's father, Ignatius, was a career soldier who immigrated in 1914 from Castellamare del Golfo, on the north coast of Sicily, to avoid a war he saw looming. He brought his wife Rosa and children to join his mother and a brother who were living in Chestnut Hill. He first worked on the J. Cook estate and then for Lydia and John Morris. After two years he was hired by Henry Howard Houston to take charge of their chicken firm and he worked there until his death in 1938.[49]

Many buildings incorporate architectural elements—the arch and balcony par-

ticularly that mark them as Italian built and owned. As one heads up Germantown Avenue, on the left at 8020-26, a row of buildings developed by A.J. Sabia and contracted by the Braun brothers have small center balconies and an arched doorway.[50] The Lorenzon Building at 8001-8009 Germantown Avenue, built in 1925, is the former location of Foster's Drug Store, a popular gathering spot for school age children. Standing at the front of the building, one can see the words Lorenzon Brothers written in stone near the cornice, the wrought iron balcony, and the arch at the peak of the roof.[51]

Like frosting on a cake, the work of the tile setters still embellishes exteriors, [58]
entrances, and foyers throughout the neighborhood. The Philadelphia Tile Company was located at 7904-7006 Germantown Avenue and it was from their offices that much business was conducted.[52] If one peers in the front picture window, fine examples of the tile work typical of the Friulani including a fountain and animal figures can still be seen. Angelo Morosco, the owner and contractor of 7916-7918 Germantown Avenue, installed a new two-story façade in 1928, adding tile mosaics in the stepped parapet on the second floor.[53]

Another building at 8012 Germantown Avenue was built in 1896 but in 1924, a pebble-dashed stucco, two-story front addition with a mosaic tile design was added.[54] The worker is unknown hut the design is typical of other period decorative work in the neighborhood suggesting that the tile setter was Italian. The Roanoke Garage, at 31 Willow Grove Avenue at the corner of Willow Grove and Roanoke Street, was built in 1922 by Antonio Roman, an immigrant from Poffabro. The name of the garage is spelled out in a decorative brick design.

Other tile work that was in evidence only a few years ago has been destroyed. The former office of Marcolina-Hollis Marble-Tile Works at 7733 Winston Road was built in 1955. Unfortunately, since its conversion to an antique store, the decorative tile work that formerly graced the front of the building was removed or covered.[55]

The separate social worlds of the northern and southern Italians in Chestnut Hill are symbolically memorialized in the buildings that housed the two Italian clubs.[56] The Venetian Social Club and the Chestnut Hill Athletic Bocce Club still exist today although they are a shadow of what they once were. The impetus for both clubs was to recreate the social atmosphere of the Italian village in which men had a place to congregate together away from women and children. As the clubs grew in membership over the decades, they increased their social activities and also raised money for social causes.

The Venetian Club was officially founded on October 12, 1924. Its original charter stresses friendship and good fellowship as the purpose for forming the club. For a few years before its official formation, the men held meetings in the *baracca* (literally meaning shed or hut) that was located on the grounds of the former

Marcolina Quarry on Waverly Road. In 1924, the Club purchased the Gilbert School Annex located at 8030 Germantown Avenue. In order to finance the purchase, Herbert Lorenzon said some members put up their homes as collateral.[57] In 1929, [59] to accommodate increased membership, club members raised funds and constructed a three-story addition onto the front of the original school building with the members doing much of the decorative work themselves.[58] The craftsmen's aesthetic tastes are reflected in the brick addition with its stone ground floor, center arched two-story stone entrance with terrazzo floor, stone lintels and sills, tile roof, and the stone caps with a winged lion sculpture at the top. In memory of their brother Agostino who died in 1929, the Lorenzon brothers donated the fireplace they carved out of local "Fox Croft" stone to resemble natural wood logs.[59] The members hired an Italian who was working on the Bryn Athyn Cathedral to carve the wonged lion, the symbol of Venice.[60] Bowling alleys, a game room, and a lounge were also added.

In 1971, another alteration was made to the Club commemorating the immigrant workers and the stone that was their livelihood. In the second floor bar room, a terrazzo lion by Matthew Rosa is embedded in the floor. Agnes Yarnel, a nationally known artist, recreated in mosaic one of the Lions of St. Mark which was set in the stone wall behind the new bar installation.[61]

The children of the immigrants literally grew up at the Club. Naomi Colussi Houseal recalled the weekly socializing by members and their families. One of her fondest memories is the Sunday ritual of accompanying her father to the Club before returning home for the family dinner at one o'clock. Fathers treated children to soda and a Hershey's chocolate bar at the bar and then the children played together while the men congregated in the card room to play Italian games. The card room was sacrosanct and the children dared not interrupt, only calling from the doorway if they needed help. Families returned to the Club on Sunday evening to eat roast beef sandwiches made by Albert Marcolina.

Music and dancing was central to the Saturday (and sometimes Sunday) social events. The Gondoliers first began playing traditional Friulani songs during the 1930s, and later added mazurkas and polkas. Sometimes their original threesome (Anthony Filippi, bass fiddle; Louis Filippi, accordian; and Joe D'Angelo, guitar) was expanded when relatives from Poffabro would visit from New York. When George Filippi, Louis's son, grew older, he joined the band playing drums. During the 1940s, Pete Marcolina's band also played at the Club as well as a Polish band, the Nicetones (from Nicetown). Naomi told me that women often danced together and children learned to dance by dancing with their fathers and grandfathers.[62] [60]

The Bocce Club was founded by men from the southern regions. James Longo recalls that the Bocce Club's charter name is the Chestnut Hill Athletic Bocce Club, started around 1925 or 1926. Before the Club acquired the property at 118-120 Hartwell (at Devon Street) in 1929, they met once a week in members' homes.

According to Longo, unlike many early ethnic organizations that were founded for reasons of mutual assistance in the era before any protections for workers existed, the Bocce Club was neither a beneficial association nor a fraternal society. It was begun as a social club for Italian men onlv.[63] The Bocce Club building was originally a farmhouse built in 1866-1867. The members added the one-story rear addition and a bocce court in 1940.[64]

"It's either in your hands or not... ": Handing Down a Legacy[65]

The desire to pass on the familial tradition of a trade continued with the immigrant generation and children were schooled early in the importance of hard work and pride in craftsmanship. Children often began working at a young age to contribute to the family economy.

Emil Lorenzon passed on the skills he had learned in Italy to his American-born children. Herbert described how his father took him on the job even as a small boy so that he began to model his father even as a small child:

> JS: So in your father's time can you talk a little bit about the actual work process?... Just describe a typical day and when you told me that you started working with him, right?
>
> HL: When I was a little kid and I was water boy [61]
>
> J S: Well, tell me about that because that's really interesting.
>
> HL: Ya, well, we were doing a building over at the Presbyterian Home over in West Philadelphia there. And I was running up and down—we used to have the wood scaffolds and I'd run up and down with— was too little to even carry a bucket of water so I used to carry bottles up... the masons would take—you know, take a little cup of that and then they would throw the—temper their cement with the rest. I used to get mad because that would mean I'd go down the ramps all the way down and have to go up again. But it was—kept me out of trouble all the time.
>
> JS: How old were you?
>
> HL: He kept me on the job—well, about seven, I guess—six, seven years old. My father would just take me on the job all the time. Now, you wouldn't be able to do that.
>
> JS: Right.
>
> HL: With all the OSHA laws and everything. That way he had me around and I did whatever I could, just stayed out of trouble that way. It was very

interesting. You know, you'd see all the building going on and everything. I guess I felt back then that it was going to be where I would go...

JS: How did you learn on the job?

HL: Ya. Well, as you're ten, eleven years you just picked up and you made stone and everything else. We did some carving right here in the backyard. And you learned a little hit at a time. It's either in your hands or not, the carving sometime. Some fellows could never get to it, never do it right…[66]

JS: ...And so did you learn the trade from your dad and your brother?

HL: Yes, from [time we were] kids. I learned it from my dad. We worked—we carved different things right here in the yard for like fancy balustrades. One was from the old—for the old Harris estate. We built it around their pool. And that is now the country club up there right behind the Bluebell Inn…and then so we were cutting all these fancy balustrades in the yard here, these little one-inch pneumatic hammers, and carving in—I carved a few cornerstones and things like that.

JS: And what year would that have been?

HL: That was about—I guess it was in 1939—something like that.[67]

Italians Build Their Dreams

Immigrants saved money to move from a rented property to owning property with incredible speed. Whereas initially men immigrated with the desire to earn enough money to return to Italy and own property there, this goal often was transformed to an aim of home ownership on American soil. The ultimate Italian ideal was to build a home of one's own.[68] We have already read how Luigi Serianni [62] achieved this ideal in the 1890s only to lose his dream house soon afterward. Many other stories of Italian homeowners have a less tragic ending. These houses transformed the lower end of the Hill and can still be seen today.

By 1927, only six years after immigration, Anthony Filippi's father, through frugality and hard work, was not only able to bring his family from Italy but he had built a house and had it ready for them to occupy.

Filippi described his father's accomplishment to David Contosta:

DC: Did he save enough money to bring you over?

AF: They saved enough money not only to send for us but also in those five years that it took them to become citizens, in his spare time and with all the money he could spare he built a house on Roanoke Street. When

> we arrived in 1927 the house was already built and we moved into the new house.[69]

The house Filippi refers to is a twin, 8037 Roanoke. Filippi goes on: "He and another stonemason built it together and they drew lots after it was completed to see who would get the northern exposure. He was lucky to get the southern one."[70]

Alberiglio Roman and Sante Marcolina, a tile setter, are another example of friends who cooperated to build a house together.[71] By 1929, Alberiglio and his new bride, Gisella Roman, had moved to 96 E. Moreland Avenue, the right side of a twin, with Marcolina and his family occupying the left side. Gisella remembers that it took forever to finish the house (1942 to be exact) because they worked on it as they could afford it.[72] The house, a two-and-one-half story stucco over concrete block dwelling with a stone foundation has ground floor porches, brick sills, matching front gables and hipped roofs. The house closely resembles the twin houses built by Victor Lorenzon (8029-31) and Sante Filippi (8037-39) on Roanoke Street.[73]
As early as 1895, Louis Morosco built a two-and-one-half story stone house at 8132 Ardleigh. The arched entranceway, arched stone openings on the first and second floors, center door openings on the second and third floor with balconies fronting these door openings reflect an Italian aesthetic. A grape arbor can still be seen in the rear.[74] In 1896, Valentine Roman built a double two-story stone house with ground floor porches and arched stone openings at 8010-12 Willow Grove Avenue. Between 1925 and 1937, Friulani immigrants built six residential [63]
properties on Roanoke Street, two adopting the double house plan so characteristic of Philadelphia. A twin house probably appealed to the frugal and practical immigrants since it was a more economical way to build as well as the fact that it fit into the familiar pattern of connected houses in Italian villages.[75] All these properties have a similar utilitarian style. They are two-and- one-half story stuccoed brick houses and all but one have ground floor porches.

Max Felix, an immigrant from the Friuli region, was the owner and contractor of a single house built in 1911 at 114 West Abington Avenue whose front now faces the south side of Pastorius Park. In 1913 Felix constructed a stone kitchen addition. In 1924 he added a one-story rear brick addition and a second floor rear addition. Finally, in 1926 he added a stone porch railing.[76] This two-and-one-half story stone dwelling reflects how Italians methodically improved their properties over time as finances allowed. They usually did the work themselves aided by family and friends.[77]

In 1926 Emil Lorenzon was successful enough to build a substantial middle—class home at the corner of Ardleigh Street and Springfield Avenue. The home reflects an achievement of some status for Emil.[78] Emil served as his own contractor and hired the well—known architect H. Louis Duhring to design his two-and-one-half story house. Although its design, a classic center hall colonial, is in keeping with contemporary American tastes of the period, if it is closely surveyed, certain features indicate values of Italian craftsmanship and aesthetic ideals. Although the tile roof is not uncommon to the period when various kinds of classical architectural

styles had been popularly revived, the roof is also typical of the landscape of the immigrant's Italian folk past. The fine stone work evidenced by the cut stone quoining, cut stone window and door surrounds, the gargoyle on the front portico, the arches on the sun porch, are all elements that reflect an Italian cultural aesthetic. Although most Italian immigrants could not afford to build a home of the grand nature of the Lorenzon house, their more modest homes nonetheless reflect a worldview that emphasizes the primacy of home ownership.[79]

Immigrants shaped the land to reflect the values of an agrarian peasant past that saw nature as requiring domestication with food production being the ultimate goal.[80] Even in the present day if one looks carefully into the small side and backyard spaces or spare lots in Chestnut Hill, examples of grape arbors, manicured gardens, and terraced land reveal an emphasis on taming the land to yield food. Joseph Galante commented that in the Springfield Avenue area, much of the land was fields. At the time the land was owned by Houston who would allow anyone who wished to use the land for a garden and many Italians took advantage of the opportunity. Galante's family, like many others, had a large garden and raised their own chickens, as many as one hundred, as well.[81] [64]

For a glimpse at what many yards in Chestnut Hill probably looked like in the past, one can drive by 900 Murdoch Street at Stenton Avenue to see the entire yard terraced and cultivated complete with cold frames for seedlings, a grape arbor, and a fig tree.

The architectural heritage existing in Chestnut Hill today is, in large part, due to the labor of the early Italian immigrants. The material pattern of much of this neighborhood remains largely intact from its developent as a wealthy suburb in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In Chestnut Hill, unlike less wealthy areas of the city where buildings have been razed or so neglected that they are mere shadows of their former selves, the privileges of the monied enabled a unique state of preservation.[82] Since the establishment of the neighborhood as a national historic district, this architectural record is now insured and the Italian contribution to the beauty of the neighborhood is there for all to enjoy. It is one aspect of the ethnic history of Philadelphia and part of the bigger story of Italian immigration, settlement and the development of community.

Joan Saverino has a doctorate in folklore and folklife from the University of Pennsylvania and a master's degree in anthropology from The George Washington University. She has worked in museums and education for more than twenty years. She is currently an educator at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania working on a website project on immigration and ethnicity in Pennsylvania.

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to all those who have continued their support for this project. First, many thanks again to all the members of the Germantown

Historical Society's Italian American Community History Committee for their time, help, and suggestions in the last phase of this project. Gratitude is expressed as well to all those who allowed me to interview them and to those who donated documents, artifacts, and photographs to the Italian American Collection housed at the Society. I especially thank historian David Contosta for reading the manuscript and for his generosity in sharing his own research data and to pointing out sources on Pastorius Park. Special thanks to committee member Naomi Colussi Houseal, and to Getty Serianni and Herbert Lorenzon, for reading the manuscript. I also wish to thank the staff at the Germantown Historical Society for their support of and interest in this project and Elizabeth Jarvis and the rest of the staff at the Chestnut Hill Historical Society for their research assistance. Thanks also to Jennifer Kanthor for her volunteer time transcribing tapes. Any errors are my own. This article is one of the outcomes of a Visiting Scholar Grant from the Pennsylvania Humanities Council to the Germantown Historical Society. The Society's Italian American Communities in Northwest Philadelphia Project has been supported in part by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, the Federal-State Partner of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Endnotes

1. Peter Stallybrass writes about cloth as a "kind of memory" in "Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning, and the Life of Things." *The Yale Review* April 1993: Vol. 81, 38.
2. Nevis DePaul, Alberiglio Roman's daughter, told me that she felt that something was missing, felt a sense of loss, when the shoes were absent (as they were when she lent them for a museum exhibition). Nevis DePaul, personal communication, October 2003.
3. Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomingtnn: Indiana University Press, 1999), 6.
4. Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Material Life in America 1600—1860*, edited by Robert Blair St. George (Northeastern University Press, 1988), 31, 33; Robert Plant Armstrong uses the phrase "the life of feeling" in *The Affecting Presence, An Essay in Humanistic Anthropology* (Urbana: U. of Illinois, 1971), xviii.
5. Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building." *Common Places Readings in Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 394.
6. Nevis DePaul, personal communication, 14 October 2002. In rural areas throughout Italy, during the first decades of the twentieth century, many utilitarian items, including clothing, were often handmade.
7. All data about the *scaletti* and *scarpetti* is from Nevis DePaul. Personal communication 14 and 23 October 2002.
8. Henry Classic, "Folkoristic Study of The American Artifact: Objects and Objectives." *Handbook of American Folklore*, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 377; Prown, "Mind in Matter," *Material Life*, 30.
9. Allan R. Pred, "Space as Historically Contingent Process," *Place,Practice, and Situation: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden, 1750-1850* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1986), 6.

10. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 19 June 2002, tape 28, P. 20, Italian American Oral History Collection (IAOHC) Germantown Historical Society library.
11. Ibid., tape 28, p. 17.
12. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 19 June 2002, tape 28, p. 31 and 26 June 2002, tape 30, p. 31-32.
13. Ibid. tape 28, p. 21, IAOHC, GHS library. See family genealogy in Herbert Lorenzon file, IAOHC, OHS Library.
14. Translation of letter was one already existing in the family papers except for minor adaptations by author. See Herbert Lorenzon file, Germantown Historical Society, for photocopy of the original letter in Italian as well as a copy of the original Translation.
15. Family genealogy in Herbert Lorenzon file, GHS Librarty.
16. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author, tape 28, p. 14-1 6; Jefferson Moak. Chestnut Hill Historic District Inventory, compiled for the Chestnut Hill Historical Society, 1985, 15. Moak comments that the stone used for both structures is "darker in texture and composition than the Chestnut Hill stone used for most of the stone buildings within the district," Why they chose this stone is unknown.
17. He is referring to 7909—7911 Ardleigh. The practice of using the stone that was uncovered during initial excavation to build the structure was common practice.
18. Anthony Filippi, interview by David Contosta 26 June, 1985, Chestnut Hill Historical Society (also available at GHS library)
19. David Contosta, *Suburb in the City* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1992), 138-139.
20. Accordiog to Gerry M. Serianni, Luigi's great—grarandson, Luigi's surname on his record from Ellis Island is spelled Sirianni but once in America, the records show it as Serianni. Gerry M. Serianni, personal communication, 16 July 2003. Variations in surnames were not uncommon especially among those who, like Luigi, were illiterate.
21. Data on Serianni is from the following sources: Rose Sirianni—Coppola's notes written in the 1970s and given to Gerry Serianni, Gerrv Serianni's website,, <http://www.serianni.com> and Boyd's City Directory 1910. The earliest Boyd's City Directory listing for Serianni living at 124 W Hartwell is 1910 and the 1910 U.S. Census lists the family as living on Hartwell. According to the family history, however, the family was living at Hartwell as early as 1888 because Serianni's son, Michael, was born there. The family surname is spelled either Sirianni or Serianni by different branches of the family.
22. The exact date of Gregorio Longo's immigration is unknown.
23. Although work on Pastorius Park was begun in 1915, it may have been that the homes on Hartwell weren't demolished until later, given that according to Longo, his family lived there until 1923.
24. Contosta, *Suburb*, 108, gives the date as 1913.
25. "'Woodward Gift Costly to City," Jane Campbell Scrapbook, Germantown Historical Society, vol. 31, 12.
26. Rose Sirianni-Coppola's notes about Luigi (Louis) Sirianni, email from Gerry M. Serianni, 19 June, 2003, Serianni family file. GHS libtary

27. Boyd's City Directory, 1915, lists "Louis Serianni, grocer," confirming Coppola's notes.
28. See Sayerino, "Italians of Northwest Philadelphia" *Germantown Crier* Vol.50:2, 2000, 48-49, and Contosta, ,*Suburb*, 158-159.
29. Anthony Filippi, interview by David Contosta, 26 June, 1985, p. 6.
30. Ibid. p. 23.
31. See Contosta, *Suburb*, p. 132-136; also see Saverino, "Italians", *Germantown Crier*, Fall 2000.
32. Joseph Galante, interview by David Contosta, 25 February 1985, 3—4. Chestnut Hill Historical Society. Also available at CHS library.
33. Glassie in "Eighteenth Century…" 394, talks about buildings as the products of human desires and emotions.
34. Jay L. Lininger, "Mineralizing in Germantownr: An Avid Pursuit in an Earlier Era." *Germantown Crier,* Vol.52:2 2002, 51.
35. This may have been the one that Jim Longo told me was owned by Dominic Nocero.
36. Several sources told told me that the O'Neill family changed the name from Sabia when they moved to Philadelphia from New York.
37. The Marcoline quarry is now owned by Mark Lorenzon and has been renamed Chestnut Hill Stone Ltd..
38. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 26 June, 2002, tape 28. p.3—8. IAOHC, GHS library.
39. James Longo, interview by author 17 July, 2002. tape .34, p. 4; tape 35. p. 9. IAOHC, GHS library.
40. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 26 June, 2002, tape 30. p. 23-24, IAOHC, GHS library.
41. Brun was the original surname of two families from Poffabro. At some point after immigration, one family changed the spelling to Braun. The brothers Joe, Raymond, and Oliver were in business together. Joe and Raymond were the Workers, while Oliver took care of the estimating. Naomi Colussi Houseall, personal communication, 11 July, 2000.
42. Anthony Filippi, interview by David Contosta, 26 June 1985, 25. Chestnut Hill Historical Society. Also available in GHS library.
43. Moak, National Register, dates the library as 1907. Contosta, quoting others, dates it at 1909.
44. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author, tape 28, p. 29-30. We are dependent here on an individual's memory about information that was passed down from a previous generation.
45. Moak, 279.
46. Anthony Filippi, interview by David Contosta, 26 June 1985, 11.
47. contosta, *Suburb*, 194.
48. Bob Gutowski, personal communication, 22 June, 2003.
49. Joseph Galante, interview by David Contosta, 25 February, 1985, 1-2, 5.
50. Moak, 110.
51 Luisa Del Giudice, " The 'Archvilla': An Italian-Canadian Architectural Archetype,"

Studies in Italian American Folklore, edited by Luisa Del Giudice (Logan: Utah: Utah State University Press, 1993), 64, 75.
52. The original owners of Philadelphia Tile were John Marcolina, Louis Roman, Angelo Rosa, and Joe Peraglia. Personal communication, Naomi Colussi Houseal, 1 July,2003.
53. The original building was built circa 1832. Louis J Taboya is also listed as a contractor (Moak, 107).
54. Moak, 109.
55. Owners were Basil Marcolina and Emerson Hollis, H .S. Steids is listed as the architect, with the Braun brothers as the contractors. Moak, 371; Colussi Houseal confirmed the name of the company. Personal communication, 1 July, 2003.
56. Conosta, *Suburb*, 158, and Saverino, "Italians," 65.
57. Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 19 June 2002, tape 28, p. 4, IAOHC, GHS library
58 The Historical Survey lists John Graham as the architect and Aldred W. Accetta as the contractor
59. The stone fireplace was quarried at Fox Croft quarry (now closed) on the Main Line. It is from the same vein of schist that runs through Chestnut Hill to Lima PA; however, the schist from Foxcroft was denser and easier to carve than schist from Chestnut Hill. The Lorenzon Brother Company offered such fireplaces and stone planters for sale as special orders. Herbert Lorenzon, personal communication, 29 July, 2003.
60. Vilma Marcolina, interview by author, 16 May 2002, tape 23. Vilma only remembered the first name (Atillio) of the stone carver. She said he lived in Chestnut Hill but he was not from Poffabro.
61. Naomi Colussi Houseal and Alma Marcolina Fuess, personal communication, October, 2002; History of the Club also from pamphlet "Venetian Social Club 50th Anniversary Celebration, October 12, 1974, IAOHC, GHS library.
62. Naomi Colussi Houseal, personal communication, 1 July 2003.
63. James Longo, tape 32, 9-15.
64. Moak, 169. The bocce court was demolished in 1964. In 2003, the Bocce court was rebuilt. James Longo, interview by author 11 July, 002, tape 32. p. 14 *Chestnut Hill Local,* 10 July, 2003, 14.
65. Herbert Lorenzon referring to the artistry of stone carving, interview by author, 26 June, 2002, tape 30, p. 5. IAOHC, GHS library
66. Herbert Lorenzon, interview with author, 26 June, 2002, tape 30, p. 2—6, IAOHC, GHS library.
67 Herbert Lorenzon, interview by author 19 June, 2002, tape 28, p. 28-29.
68. Del Giudice, "The 'Archvilla'" 57.
69. Anthony Filippi. interview by David Contosta, 26 June 1985. 2—4, Chestnut Hill Historical Society.
70. Ibid. 4.
71. Gisella Roman, interview by author, 18 April 2002, tape 20, p. 1—2, 4, 8, IAOHC, GHS library.
72. Ibid. p. 2-3, 11, IAOHC, GHS Library

73. Moak, 234, 280. R.V (Victor) Lorenzon is listed as the architect in the Historical Survey. Although,he was not a trained architect, Roman's daughter, Nevis DePaul, told me that Lorenzon may have drawn the plans for the house. Marcolina and Roman are listed as the owners and contractors. According to Nevis DePaul, budgetary considerations were the reason the house was concrete block instead of brick. Personal communication, 16 July 2003.
74. Moak, 16.
75. In 1925 to 1926, Sante Filippi developed 8037—39 Roanoke Street. In 1927—28, Victor Lorenzon was the contractor for 8035 Roanoke Street. In 1928, R.V Lorenzon built 8029—31 Roanoke Street. In 1937 Valentine Roman built 8013 Roanoke Street (Moak, Chestnut Hill Historic District Survey).
76. Naomi Colussi Houseal (personal communication 14 June and 1 July, 2003) confirmed that Max Felix was an Italian immigrant front the town of Buia, near Udine, in the Friuli region. Felix's name was originally Massimo Felice. He changed his name to pass as a German in order to get work. It is unclear if the name change occurred before immigration to the United States. Many residents of Poffabro immigrated to Germany in search of work.
77. Saverino, Joan Lynn. "Private Lives, Public Identities: The Italians of Reading and Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 96, 105; Del Giudice, "The 'Archvilla'" 55-56.
78. Lorenzon Brothers continues to operate as a commercial contracting company with offices in Chestnut Hill.
79. Del Giudice, "The 'Archvilla,'' 55.
80. Ibid. 60.
81. Josepb Galante, interview by David Contosta, 25 February, 1985, 6-7.
82. For information on many structures in Chestnut Hill and a list of Italian—owned businesses, see the *Italian American Heritage Guide to Philadelphia Historic Northwest,* published by the Germantown Historical Society, 2003.