

Massimo Calabresi

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Linked to Salvemini, and a student of someone *persona non grata* to the regime, he went to Milan in 1927 to become a voluntary, that is, unpaid, university assistant, for a change of scene and to build a career as a cardiologist. Dismissed from service in 1938, at the age of 35, with an excellent record, a wife and two children, the decision to go overseas was almost obvious. With the fall of fascism, what was the right choice to make? To return or to stay in the United States? He taught at Yale University but applied to be reinstated at the University of Milan: it was his right, as the rector recognized. But he did not return.

A model student and his friends

The third child of the industrialist Ettore Calabresi (1870-1937) and Olga Minerbi (1876-1964) he was born on 2 June 1903 in Ferrara, in via Vignatagliata 20¹. He attended the Ludovico Ariosto classical high school, like his two older sisters, and he joined them in Florence in November 1920, where all three attended the Istituto di studi superiori with the same friends. Enrolled in Medicine at the age of 17, he stayed in a boarding house in Piazza Indipendenza, different from the one where Renata and Cecilia² were staying, until then their parents moved to Florence and the family was reunited in a beautiful house in via Masaccio.

Following the ideas in which he had been brought up, he found himself in the years of transition from liberalism to fascism among the ranks of anti-fascists: a small circle of intense and long-lasting relationships. In addition to

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Cecilia Calabresi
Paul Calabresi
Renata Calabresi
Arturo Castiglioni
Enrico Fermi
Bianca Maria Finzi
Contini Calabresi
Leo Ferrero
Alessandro Levi
Giuseppe Levi
Mario Levi
Gina Lombroso
Ferrero
Aldo Luisada
Aldo Mieli
Amelia Pincherle
Moravia Rosselli
Carlo Rosselli
Nello Rosselli
Bruno Benedetto
Rossi
Gaetano Salvemini
Alessandro Seppilli
Dino Vanucci
Mario Volterra

¹ Municipality of Ferrara, extract from the register of birth certificates, Massimo Ettore Amedeo Giulio Calabresi, and the accompanying certificate of his marriage, celebrated on 4 April 1929 in Bologna, Ferrara, 15 September 1933, in Archivi della parola, dell'immagine e della comunicazione editoriale (hereafter APICE), Milano, Archivio storico dell'Università di Milano (ASUMi), *Ufficio Personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo».

the lectures by his professors, Massimo had also begun to follow those of Gaetano Salvemini, his sisters' professor, in Piazza San Marco; listening to him speak on the French Revolution in 1924 there were also students from other Faculties, such as his friend from Trieste, Bruno Pincherle, who wanted to become a pediatrician³. They were often to be found debating at Mrs. Amelia Rosselli's house, in via Giusti, with Carlo and Nello, the young cousins of Professor Alessandro Levi, who had taught in Ferrara until 1920 and with whom Max Ascoli, a childhood friend of theirs, had graduated⁴. They all attended the Circolo di cultura, a stone's throw from the Ponte Vecchio, which the Rossellis, Piero Calamandrei, Ernesto Rossi and some young Salvemini enthusiasts had founded.

On 31 December 1924 the club was wrecked by the Fascist paramilitary force, and it was closed by the police on 5 January⁵. On January 20, Massimo and Bruno, together with Ugo Procacci, a literature student, were beaten with truncheons by fascists immediately after the inaugural ceremony of the University (which succeeded the renowned Istituto di studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento). The assault was mentioned only in the underground paper «Non mollare [Don't give up]», which led to Salvemini's arrest and trial, and which the young Calabresis, at some risk, helped to distribute⁶.

² The accommodation addresses and other data referred to here can be seen in the respective name registration pages of the Istituto di studi superiori. For Massimo's, dated 10 November 1920, in ASUFI, AC, SS, f. «Calabresi Massimo».

³ Cf. Miriam Coen, *Bruno Pincherle*, Pordenone, Studio Tesi, 2006, p. 19, also for Bruno's Florence environment, shared with Massimo Calabresi.

⁴ Simon Levis Sullam, *Tutti amici, tutti, o quasi tutti, dissenzienti: Max Ascoli, Alessandro Levi e Carlo Rosselli*, in Renato Camurri (ed.), *Max Ascoli. Antifascista, intellettuale, giornalista*, Milan, Franco Angeli 2012, pp. 44-52.

⁵ Cf. Piero Calamandrei, *Il manganello, la cultura, la giustizia*, in *Non mollare! (1925). Riproduzione fotografica dei numeri usciti, con saggi di Gaetano Salvemini, Ernesto Rossi e Piero Calamandrei*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1955, pp. 69-112: 74-75.

⁶ *All'insegna del manganello e L'inaugurazione dell'Università di Firenze*, «Non mollare!», 1 (1-2), 1925. On the incidents at the trial see also Gina Lombroso, *Prodromi al diario* of his son Leo Ferrero, *Diario di un privilegiato sotto il fascismo*, Turin, Chiantore, 1946, p. 8.

A fighting socialist

There are no files on them in the central political register in Rome, whereas there are, for example, on some professors in their circle; there are also none in the Fondo Questura di Firenze in Florence, though this is incomplete and awaiting reorganization⁷. Once again, then, it is necessary to proceed by clues.

In 1924 Massimo joined the Unitary Socialist Party of Giacomo Matteotti, Filippo Turati and Claudio Treves; this is vouched for by a document signed by him and thirteen other 'Florentines' (among them Professor Ludovico Limentani) - preserved among Salvemini's papers -, in which they insisted on the impossibility of remaining inactive and the necessity of the struggle⁸. Furthermore, Massimo had been enrolled in «Italia libera [Free Italy]», in which the doctors Luigi Rochat and Dino Vanucci, a *libero docente* in anatomy whom he had met in the Faculty, were also involved. It was a secret association: each member was a «fighter» who took on «the obligation to assert on any occasion, at the cost of any sacrifice, his dignity and responsibility as a free citizen, and to contribute with all his strength to restoring a regime of freedom and justice for the whole country»⁹. Only those were admitted to «Italia Libera» who had been introduced by another member and had passed a sort of interrogation on their views and intentions, on their readiness to commit themselves. First, however, information was collected about the candidate, his acquaintances and his family. Clearly Massimo had received the approval of the board and Ernesto Rossi remembered him as one of the most active: with other students, several professors and lawyers, as well as railway workers, office workers,

⁷ The verification, with negative results, of documentation relating to the Calabresis and others was made by Simone Sartini, whom I thank, at the Florence State Archives, *Fondo Questura di Firenze, Divisione I, Gabinetto*, Cat. A8.

⁸ AISRT, *Salvemini Archive*, typescript, undated but 1924, with the list of signatories. I thank Professor Luigi Pepe for authorization to consult the Salvemini papers.

⁹ Ernesto Rossi, *L'Italia libera*, in *Non mollare! (1925)*, cit., pp. 45-67: 46.

businessmen, young and old, not just intellectuals¹⁰. For him and for others who came from anti-fascist but upper-class families, it was a school of life.

He even ended up in jail, on 10 June 1925. It came about because on that day, the first anniversary of Matteotti's death, less than a dozen of them had arranged to meet to lay flowers in his memory under the Garibaldi monument on the Lungarno Amerigo Vespucci. The police arrested them all; they immediately released the women, including Massimo's sisters, but he ended up in prison at the Murate, for less than two days and in good company: as ever, Bruno from Trieste, his companion in studies and battles, his friend Carlo Rosselli, Dr. Gaetano Pieraccini (a future mayor of Florence, after the Liberation), and Professor Alessandro Levi, who, recalling the episode in 1947, praised those two medical students, later «very talented doctors with feelings that remained constantly unchanged»¹¹.

The situation, however, was becoming dangerous, and there was reason to be afraid, as Salvemini admitted: after the hearing on «Non mollare», which ended with further beatings, in which colleagues who had come to show solidarity with him were also injured, he fled in autumn 1925 to France, then to London, and was dismissed from the University of Florence. The board of the city's Fascist party launched a hunt for Freemasons and anti-fascists: «all means are good, from the truncheon to the revolver». The violence came to a head on the night of 3 October, 1925, in which some socialists were killed who had also been involved in the «Non mollare» network.

Over a year later, in a confidential report to the Public Security Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, the prefect of Ferrara characterized Ettore Calabresi, Massimo's father, «very well known as a high exponent of

¹⁰ Ibid., in which Ernesto Rossi explained the structure of the group, *Il programma di Italia libera*, ibid., pp. 46-47, and the list of the names and professions of the most active (ibid., pp. 51-52), including Massimo Calabrese [sic].

¹¹ Alessandro Levi, *Ricordi dei fratelli Rosselli*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1947, p. 76. On his friend from Trieste, who as a Jew in 1939 could no longer practice his profession, and was then interned in a concentration camp, released and again arrested, cf. M. Coen, *Bruno Pincherle* cit., pp. 19-23, in particular on their commemoration of Matteotti and their consequent arrest. This last episode has been recalled by others many times, with more variations and details.

Freemasonry [...] and as an unshakeable, spirited and also not very prudent opponent of Fascism»¹². They stopped him, searched his home in Florence, and confiscated papers.

Where to find a job?

The boys, however, had to continue their studies. About ten days after his adventure in prison, Massimo nevertheless passed a «materia medica» exam with honours. His older sisters had graduated, and at the age of 23, on 9 July 1926, he defended his thesis with the highest marks (90/90), in the same session as his friend Alessandro Seppilli and two days before Bruno¹³. A month later he entered the *concorso* for assistant to the professor of anatomy, Giulio Chiarugi, and was successful¹⁴. Professor Chiarugi, who had directed him towards cardiology, was a scholar with wide scientific interests, a former mayor of Florence, dean of the Faculty of Medicine for decades and for a few months the first rector of the University of Florence, a teacher and friend of important students, including Gaetano Pieraccini and the distinguished Giuseppe Levi; but he now found himself isolated even in the face of the «rumpus» against him from Fascist students. His dismissal as rector passed almost without comment,¹⁵ and by January 1926 he had been

¹² ACS, MI, DGPS, DAGR, Cat. A1, 1935, b. 12, Prefect Bertini to the Ministry of the Interior, 12 December 1926. I thank Renato Foschi for alerting me to this source on Ettore Calabresi.

¹³ ASUFI, AC, SS, f. «Calabresi Massimo», minutes of the medical examination, 23 June 1925 with praise from each of the three professors on the committee, which was chaired by the renowned pharmacologist Giusto Coronedi (1863-1941), and the minutes of the graduation examination, with a date which is also on the name file for student Calabresi Massimo, matriculation n. 6578, reg. 20. A typed copy of his thesis (with a different submission date) is kept in the Biomedical Library, University of Florence, *Tesi storiche*, TL.16.4: Massimo Calabresi, *Sul prolungamento del miocardio intorno alle vene polmonari. Ricerche nell'uomo e in alcuni mammiferi*, Facoltà di Medicina, Istituto di anatomia umana normale della R. Università di Firenze, Director Prof. Giulio Chiarugi, a.y. 1925-26.

¹⁴ See ASUFI, *Senato Accademico*, 1926, f. 119, «Università degli studi di Firenze. Concorsi», Massimo Calabresi, application for admission to the *concorso*, 10 August 1926, with the documentation presented. The positive outcome and the duration of the post as assistant are obtained from ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi Docenti*, s. III, 1930-50, b. 85, f. «Calabresi Massimo», registered letter from the prefect of Milan to the MEN, 13 July 1931.

¹⁵ His dismissal was certainly not overlooked in the *Commemorazione del socio Giulio Chiarugi letta dal socio Giuseppe Levi nella seduta del 16 ottobre 1946*, «Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali», CCCXLIII, s. 8, 1, 1946, pp.

replaced by his colleague Enrico Burci, a convinced fascist who had not failed to attack Salvemini, and who certainly did not look favourably on the young antifascists in his Faculty¹⁶. If they wanted to pursue a university career, they had better look for a change of scenery. So this is what they did, all three of them: Alessandro Seppilli and Bruno Pincherle reported to the illustrious Medical Faculty at Padua; Massimo, on the other hand, went to that in Pavia, in the first instance to pass the state exam, which of course was also available in Florence: in November 1926 he qualified to practice medicine¹⁷.

A gifted collaborator

In November 1927 he resigned from the University of Florence and moved to Milan, to via Giuseppe Ferrari 9¹⁸. At the Institute of Medical Pathology in the University of Milan a position as a volunteer assistant was waiting for him; it was not a career progression, quite the contrary; he was not even paid. He had started from scratch, being able to afford it, and gaining the trust of his new director, Domenico Cesa Bianchi, a Catholic of broad views and grand projects who was determined to establish a modern scientific institute, and a group of his collaborators. In addition to being a full professor, Cesa Bianchi was a consultant at the major hospital; in 1929 he had him also appointed as assistant hospital doctor in Corso di Porta Nuova, in 1931 as permanent assistant¹⁹. In May of that year Massimo had applied to the Ministry of

1218-1222.

¹⁶ Of the fascist leanings of the rector who replaced Chiarugi nothing is said by Mario Crespi, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 15, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, vol. 15, 1972 <<https://www.treccani.it/>> (accessed 20 December 2020); but this is discussed by Raimonda Ottaviani, *Enrico Burci 1862-1933*, in Fabio Bertini et alii (eds.), *Storia della Croce Rossa italiana in Toscana dalla nascita al 1915*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2016, pp. 385-392.

¹⁷ This is documented by a registered certificate signed by rector Burci of the University of Florence, 24 August 1938.

¹⁸ For the services performed at the University of Milan, see APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio Personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo». His first year accommodation address appears in his request for a certificate to the rector, undated but with a receipt stamp of 2 September 1928.

¹⁹ The name of Massimo Calabresi is missing from the files of the employees of the Ospedale maggiore policlinico di Milano, probably because he came from the University. I owe this information to Paolo M. Galimberti. See Paolo M. Galimberti, Sergio Reborà (eds.), *Il Policlinico: Milano e il suo ospedale*, Milan, Ospedale Maggiore-Ed. Nexo, 2005.

National Education for appointment as a *libero docente* in special demonstrative medical pathology, and this he obtained in January 32, on payment of 1,000 lire for examination expenses and after a favorable opinion expressed by the prefect of Milan, from whom the ministry had asked for information on the candidate's account, and on his «moral and political conduct»²⁰.

In April 1929 he married Bianca Maria, the eldest daughter of doctor Armando Finzi Contini. He took her with him from Bologna to Milan – to a house at via Guercino 8, then to Corso Porta Nuova 3, and finally to via Carducci 4 –, where Paolo was born in April 1930 and Guido in October 1932. Massimo even took out a PNF membership card on 8 July 1933²¹. Could he have done without it? If they had not asked him for it at the University, he would not have presented the certification of it on stamped paper of the federal secretary of the Fasci. Her sister Renata also knew something about it, having received at the University of Rome a written reminder to take out the card, without which she was not allowed to teach. In August of that same year, the **Royal Decree Law no. 1592**, which imposed the oath of loyalty to fascism not only on tenured professors, as had happened in 1931, but even on *liberi docenti*. Massimo was finally waiting for him to be nominated as permanent assistant at the University, and with his teaching qualification he had begun to give actual courses in clinical pathology in addition to the practicals he was already dealing with²².

²⁰ ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi Docenti*, s. III, 1930-50, b. 85, f. «Calabresi Massimo», Massimo Calabresi's application on stamped paper to MEN on 26 May 1931, with qualifications and publications omitted because they were collected by him on 25 March 1932, and then on his behalf by his sister Renata Calabresi, as per autograph note, undated. The attainment of *libero docente*, for the expenses of which a payment of 1,000 lire was required, is by DM 27 January 1932. From the declaration of the prefect of Milan to the MEN, 13 July 1931, also the address and various details, which are, however, vague and inaccurate, for example concerning when Calabresi had arrived in Milan, in comparison with other more detailed sources cited here.

²¹ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio Personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», Rino Parenti, secretary of the Federazione fasci di combattimento, declaration on stamped paper, Milan 30 September 1933. The addresses are found in the papers in his file.

²² *Ibid.*, the schedules of his special medical pathology courses from 1932-33 to 1937-38, on different topics each year.

The appointment arrived on 1 November 1933. From 14 October 1933 he took over as *aiuto*, clinical assistant professor, in place of Dr. Arturo Arrigoni, on leave for military service, while he showed a certificate, issued in May 1935 by the mayor of Florence, according to which he had been exempted from call-up ten years earlier for health reasons²³. In January 1936 he was promoted to clinical assistant professor (*aiuto*), in advance of the three years required in the role of assistant, and in fact the date was later corrected and deferred²⁴. Alongside his teaching commitment, he could point to a vigorous research activity, with periods at university medical institutes in Wien and Gottingen, and with around 50 specialist publications, the most important of which was an award-winning treatise of over 600 pages on clinical electrocardiography (*Elettrocardiografia clinica*, Bologna 1935), an emerging specialty also in Italy. He was also recognized for contributing to the organization of the Granelli Pavilion, inaugurated in October 1933 as the headquarters of the Institute of Medical Pathology (later Medical Clinic), and for having set up a university cardiology centre with an adjoining municipal hospital consulting service²⁵. In short, Cesa Bianchi declared that he had found in him a talented collaborator.

Almost a professorship, but no

The University of Milan, of course, had asked the ministry to confirm his appointment as *libero docente*, and so it happened, with a ministerial decree

²³ Ibid., Comune di Firenze, Ufficio leva e servizi militari, 18 May 1935.

²⁴ Ibid., his request for a certificate of service to the rector, 10 December 1936, and the rector's decrees on the appointment as deputy, 22 October 1935 (as replacement), 7 January 1936 (appointment), and 25 November 1936 (correction).

²⁵ See the long reference letter from the then rector Alberto Pepere, Milan 25 March 1939, and the printed booklet *Dr. Massimo Calabresi*, undated, [but 1939], with his CV and the research periods abroad (but not dated), both in SPSL, MS 404/8, f. «Calabresi [sic], dr. Massimo », 1939-47. Cf. Domenico Cesa Bianchi, Enrico A. Griffini, *L'istituto di patologia medica della R. Università di Milano*, Milan, 1934; *Istituto di patologia medica Bruno Granelli di Milano*, «Architettura», February 1934, pp. 74-78; and Giorgio Cosmacini, *Scuole cliniche, igiene e sanità, scienze mediche di base*, «Annali di Storia delle Università italiane», 11, 2007, pp. 223-236 (number dedicated to the University of Milan).

of 21 March 1938 signed by Giuseppe Bottai²⁶.

Meanwhile Massimo was presenting himself for public *concorsi* for the chair in special medical pathology: three in three years, in 1935 at the University of Modena, in 1936 at Catania, and in 1937 at Pisa. The last was a rather fraught *concorso*, with a very mixed judging committee, with Cesare Frugoni, Nicola Pende and six others; Father Agostino Gemelli, although a professor of psychology, also intervened to some extent from outside: «You know how deeply interested I am» for your brother, he had assured Renata Calabresi, whom he addressed as *Signora* (even though she was a graduate, an university lecturer and, if anything, *Signorina*), and who, as a psychologist with a post in the Ministry of National Education, had unavoidably to negotiate for work with the rector of the Cattolica. That *concorso* had «an abrupt interruption» and went on for a long time, until February 1938²⁷. Her brother Massimo thought he deserved to win it, but he came second. His turn had not yet come, he had been told. But it was a fatal postponement. Maybe something had broken in the relationship with his director, who was also on the committee?

On 11 July 1938, the medical rector of the University of Milan Alberto Pepere communicated to Dr. Calabresi that in the following academic year 1938-39 «you will not be confirmed in the post of clinical assistant professor (aiuto)». Why? «In accordance with the provisions in force and at the request of the Director of the Istituto di Paologia speciale medica», that is, of Cesa Bianchi²⁸.

²⁶ ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi Docenti*, s. III, 1930-50, b. 85, f. «Calabresi Massimo», MEN, registered letter to the rector of the University of Milan, 29 March 1938, DM 21 March 1938.

²⁷ See the mention of Massimo Calabresi's *concorso* in the exchange of letters, in very formal tones, between Renata Calabresi and Gemelli, in Archivio Università Cattolica, *Corrispondenza*, b. 77, f. 19, sf. 11.15, from Calabresi to Gemelli, 27 October 1937, and his reply 28 October 1937. For the competition, «Bollettino Ufficiale Ministero Educazione Nazionale», 8, 28 February 1938, p. II. Excerpts from the decision on Calabresi, translated into English, are cited in his CV pamphlet, *Dr. Massimo Calabresi*, cit., pp. 10-11.

²⁸ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio Personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», letter from the rector to Massimo Calabresi, Milan 11 July 1938.

Suspended, dismissed, disqualified

The worst came soon after. On 14 July, the so-called racist scientists manifesto; in August, the questionnaire for the census of Jewish staff in universities; at the beginning of September, the first measures in defence of the Aryan race. Rector Pepere also proceeded with expulsions of staff of Jewish origin: Massimo was «suspended from service» from 16 October 1938 by decree of 24 October; and «dismissed from service» by decree of 19 April 1939, retrospectively from 14 December 1938: from the latter date, the revoking of his *libero docente* status, which the ministry had confirmed just nine months earlier, also took effect²⁹.

In the University of Milan there were fewer Jewish professors than in Florence, and in his Faculty three were affected: a full professor – the surgeon Mario Donati, a fascist, signatory of the Gentile manifesto –, an *aiuto* or clinical assistant professor, namely himself, and an assistant, Paolo Mieli³⁰. It was happening everywhere, with his family – his sister Renata, his brother-in-law Guido –, with his friends and acquaintances: all out, all expelled. They had to decide what to do. Bianca wanted to have their children baptized: in September 1938 it emerged that Paolo and Guido were Catholics, as she had been for some years, and yet of «Jewish race» according to the laws in force. Like almost all of his colleagues, Massimo filed an application with the Demorazza, Directorate General for Demography and Race of the Ministry of the Interior, to obtain the so-called «discrimination», that is, special treatment that the law granted to certain categories of «Italian citizens of Jewish race» considered particularly worthy, which in reality served few and very little. The prefecture of Milan – from which more than 1400 requests were issued –,

²⁹ Ibid., the rector's decree of 14 October 1938 for the suspension, and decree of 19 April 1939 for the dismissal, both signed by the rector Alberto Pepere; and ACS, MPI, DGIS, *Liberi Docenti*, s. III, 1930-50, b. 85, f. «Calabresi Massimo», MEN to the rector of Milan, the revoking of the qualification of *libero docente*, with DM 18 March 1939.

³⁰ Cf. Emanuele Edallo, *L'applicazione delle leggi antiebraiche alla Regia Università di Milano*, report to the conference *Razza e istruzione. Le leggi anti-ebraiche del 1938*, Milan 18 February 2019, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, edited by Marina Calloni <<https://doi.org>> (accessed 29 November 2020).

even in his case did not recognize the exceptional merits specified by the legislation, and he therefore sent the usual contrary opinion to the Demorazza, in mid-January 1940³¹.

By that date, however, Massimo and his family had left Milan, and their last home in via Canova 364, and were in another continent.

Advice? Away from Europe

They were convinced it was the right decision. Other couples of their age, with small children, sometimes even left with their parents, perhaps joining other family members or acquaintances: his brother-in-law and Bianca's sister from Milan moved to São Paulo in Brazil; likewise the Seppillis, his friend Alessandro with his wife and their little boy Tullio. Mostly their acquaintances were looking to move to New York or its neighbourhood, and Massimo had contacts to go to do research in the United States on the East coast; instead of a brief period on his own, as planned, he could stay on and be joined by his family. Meanwhile, his sisters were also looking around, although they had the problem of not leaving their mother, widowed just a year before. Renata wanted to leave and take her along with Cecilia; she was writing left, right and centre, looking for a job abroad for herself, but she was also concerned for her brother.

She even recommended him to a British women's organization, the British Federation of University Women, founded in 1907, which had just opened an Emergency Sub-Committee for refugees: between February and March 1939 she sent them her own CV and that of her brother with various documents. The secretary, a Viennese Jewish woman with a PhD in languages, an exile in London, was mortified: she had nothing to suggest to them, except in

³¹ ACS, MI, DGDR, *Divisione Razza, F. personali*, 20953-21004, b. 285, f. «Calabresi Massimo», report of the Prefect of Milan on Massimo Calabresi to the Demorazza, 13 January 1940, which also referred to the Catholic baptism of Paolo and Massimo. For an incident from a random sample from the total of 1424 cases in Milan, see Enrica Asquer, *Autobiografie di supplica: alcune considerazioni sulle richieste di «discriminazione» degli ebrei milanesi, 1938-1943*, «Società e storia», 151, 2016, pp. 97-135.

Australia, where, however, it appeared that they accepted domestic workers. She therefore recommended them to her colleague from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), the best-equipped British organization: «the two Calabresis are eminent scientists, especially the brother»³². On 10 March, Miss Esther Simpson immediately sent the SPSL questionnaires for both of them to their Florence address, promising that she would do everything possible to help them, though she still advised them to initiate their contacts in the United States without delay, if they had any, given the exceptional difficulties that gripped Europe³³.

Renata evidently sent the questionnaire to Massimo, who sent it back from Milan on 27 May, more than two months later than her, to 6 Gordon Square, London WC1, with his own letter on letterhead; he enclosed his list of publications, a pamphlet in English of his CV (Renata had also had hers printed as a pamphlet), and a long reference on stamped paper, though entirely in Italian, signed by the rector of the University of Milan, Alberto Pepere, on 25 March 1939³⁴. It was carefully prepared documentation, which he probably used several times.

The bilingual questionnaire – in English and German –, prepared for displaced scholars expelled from Nazi Germany, he answered in English, which he declared as a known language after Italian, French, German, as well as reading knowledge of Spanish and Latin. His research field was human physiopathology and biochemistry, with a specialization in cardiology. For references he provided five professors and their respective addresses, in this order: Giulio Chiarugi from Florence, Domenico Cesa Bianchi and Alberto Pepere from Milan, Cesare Frugoni from Rome, Giuseppe Levi in Liège: Levi

³² Copies of the letters referred to are in both their name files, in BLO, SPSL, MS 404/8, f. «Calabressi [sic], dr. Massimo», and in BLO, SPSL, MS 343/7-12, f. «Calabresi Renata», Erna Hollitscher to Esther Simpson, 8 March 1939, and E. Simpson's reply, 10 March 1939. Renata's letter to BFUW is missing, probably not sent by Hollitscher.

³³ Ibid., letter from Esther Simpson to Massimo and Renata Calabresi, 10 March 1939.

³⁴ BLO, SPSL, MS 404/8, f. «Calabressi [sic], dr. Massimo», reference letter and note from Esther Simpson to Massimo Calabresi, 1 June 1939, in acknowledgment.

had in fact already moved to Liège after his expulsion from Turin. Massimo was aware of this, because to find a fellowship in the United States he had also turned to him, a friend and ex-student of his own teacher Chiarugi and a convinced anti-fascist (his son Mario, exile in Paris for years, was an activist with «Giustizia e libertà [Justice and Freedom]», with the Rossellis who had been murdered in 1937). Professor Levi was esteemed abroad as a leading histologist, and the SPSL had opened a file for him too. The United States was the preferred destination that Dr. Calabresi stated in the questionnaire, before the British dominions, South America and the Dutch Indies; he also declared himself available for employment in industry, possibly in the biochemical or health field. Among the confidential information, he replied regarding his religious position – «not practising» – and his financial position: he was not entitled to a pension, he had no other income, no temporary positions or facilities; with his own resources he calculated that he could go on for a few more months, having been officially dismissed from 18 October 1938, and with a wife and two children, aged 9 and 6, as dependents³⁵.

Unlike his sisters, he did not submit an application to the American Emergency Committee, which assisted displaced scholars from Germany, and later from other countries. He had the qualifications, including the academic one that the organization in New York preferred, but doctors actually turned more often to other channels. In one way or another he tried to get his act together.

In New York: well-to-do Italian Americans

They managed to get their permits. For Massimo this was ready on 26 July 1939, for Bianca and the children they arrived on 3 August, all issued in Naples³⁶. They sailed from Genoa on the Rex on 8 September, registered as

³⁵ Ibid., questionnaire, date-stamped 1 June 1939.

³⁶ Dates and data are taken from the Rex's ship manifest, 8 September 1939, in *Ellis Island Foundation, Passenger Search*, under name <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (accessed by login 2 December 2020). Regarding the documents and so on, there are various discrepancies

Jews, except for her, «Italian»; they stated that they did not intend to return and that they wished to become American citizens. The crossing to New York lasted 8 days, and as a referee for their arrival Massimo gave the name and address of Allen Perera, 49 East 80th Street. It was a house out of the ordinary, even if perhaps they did not yet know it (currently in the *National Register of Historical Places*, it was bought in 1970 by Barbra Streisand):³⁷ the only Art deco town house in Manhattan, according to the well-known architect Harry Allan Jacobs, who had designed it in 1929-30, during the Great Depression, on behalf of the banker Lionello Perera. In this house there were frequent receptions and musical evenings, especially of Italian opera, organized for philanthropic purposes by his wife, Mrs Carolyn Allen Perera, a personal friend of Arturo Toscanini³⁸.

Not that Massimo and Bianca thought of settling down with the Perera family, who had five adult children (the eldest, Charles, was married and a doctor, like Massimo, but two years younger). With their children they took up accommodation in a cheap hotel, the Hotel Raleigh on the West side, apparently on the advice of Paolo Contini, a cousin from Ferrara, who was already in America to study law, at Berkeley, and who had recently settled in New York as Max Ascoli's assistant at the New School³⁹. Massimo could also turn to Max, in fact a childhood friend, who was helping all the newly arrived

with the memories recorded in 2017 of their son, who was then 7 years old, see United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Interview with Guido Calabresi*, 27 July 2017, RG-50.030*0942 <<https://collections.ushmm.org/>> (accessed 2 December 2020).

³⁷ See the registration form of *Perera House* in *National Register of Historical Places* <<https://anthonywrobins.com>> (accessed 3 December 2020), also with photos of the interiors.

³⁸ Mrs. Carolyn Allen Perera (1883-1966), twelve years younger than the man she married in 1904, was the first president of the Italian Welfare League, founded in 1920 for veterans of the Great War, and then devoted generally to the most needy. Always a lover of classical music, she learned Italian and became a collector of Verdi material, as well as a supporter of Arturo Toscanini, to the extent that she was one of the founders of the Toscanini Memorial Archives at the New York Public Library, where the *Mrs Lionello Perera Papers, 1888-1966* (1930-1965) are also kept in NYPL, Performing Art Division. See *Mrs Perera Died, Led Welfare Work*, «New York Times», 25 September 1966, p. 84.

³⁹ On Massimo Calabresi's friend from Ferrara, see Renato Camurri, *Max Ascoli and Italian Intellectuals in Exile in the United States before the Second World War*, «Journal of Modern Italian Studies», 15, 2010, pp. 644-656; Id. (ed.), *Max Ascoli*, cit.

in their circle, since he was by now well settled: he had arrived as early as 1931, and had remarried a very rich American widow, Marion Rosenwald, which Bianca, however, did not view favourably, as Anna Maria, from whom he had divorced, had followed him to the United States and had actually fallen ill⁴⁰.

The Pereras, friends of La Guardia and Toscanini

First and foremost, they knew that they could count on the Perera family's readiness to help, which even took the form of a generous cash loan when Bianca pointed out to Mrs Perera that they were in financial difficulties⁴¹.

Mrs Carolyn Allen Perera, in love with Italian culture, and president of the Italian Welfare League founded in 1920 for Italian veterans of the Great War and later for the most needy Italian immigrants,⁴² was originally from the Upper East side of Manhattan;⁴³ but her husband was from Venice, born in 1871, and had emigrated to the United States at the age of 23; going into business with his uncle Salvatore Cantoni, after two years he became president of the Commercial Exchange Bank, which in the State of New York had reached a turnover exceeding a quarter of all banking activities, and in 1929 he joined the board of the Bank of America⁴⁴. On his retirement in 1932, he dedicated himself to welfare activities with his wife, and Fiorello La

⁴⁰ With Ascoli's first wife, originally from Lucca, and her Cocchetti family, who had remained in Italy, the Calabresis maintained good relations: they addressed her as Annamaria, while the other was Mrs Ascoli; cf., for example, a letter from Massimo Calabresi to Max Ascoli, 12 December 1944, in Boston University, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center (HGARC), *Ascoli Collection*, b. 185, f. 6, «Massimo Calabresi».

⁴¹ Statement from Guido Calabresi to the author, 13 August 2018, also reported by Gianna Pontecorboli, *America. Nuova terra promessa. Storie di ebrei italiani in fuga dal fascismo*, Milan, Brioschi, 2013, p. 40.

⁴² Center for Migration Studies of New York, *Italian Welfare League Records* (CMS 003) 1916-1987; there is also a photograph of Carolyn Allen Perera on the CMSNY site <<https://cmsny.org>> (accessed 4 December 2020).

⁴³ Lionello Perera was born in Venice (5 June 1871 – 26 April 1942) to Cesare Lopez Perera of Livorno and Emilia Cantoni; for biographical details see *Lionello Perera Banker Dies at 69*, «New York Times», 27 April 1942, p. 15.

⁴⁴ See Nino Calice, *Il fascismo e l'emigrazione lucana negli Usa*, «Studi Storici», 23, 1982, pp. 881-896. The vice-president of the Commercial Exchange Bank was Antonio Pinto, from Basilicata.

Guardia appointed him to the Child Welfare Board of New York. He also held the position of vice president of the Italian American Chamber of Commerce, because his specialty, in addition to the safe deposit values he had introduced, was the placing in America of loans from both the Italian government and private companies. In this business, and in his constant coming and going between New York and Italy, it is likely that some contact was established with Ettore Calabresi, his contemporary and Massimo's father, who was a very wealthy business owner.

The group of important Italian bankers to which Lionello Perera belonged, and especially those originally from Basilicata, like his vice-president at the CEB, are credited with a part in consolidating fascism in the Little Italies,⁴⁵ marked by tensions between anti-fascists and pro-fascists which became even more complex after the racial laws. Perera financed the Italian House of Columbia University directed by Giuseppe Prezzolini, where Salvemini had difficulty setting foot, but at the same time he publicly and actively supported Fiorello La Guardia (1882-1947), re-elected mayor of New York from 1933 to 1945, the son of a musician from the province of Foggia and Irene Coen Luzzatto, accused by the fascists of Bolshevik and Jewish sympathies. He even supported him when the Italian-American mayor was attacked in 1936, during the surge of enthusiasm for the war in Ethiopia, because that year he did not participate in Columbus Day and because he did not accept «that Fascism and Italy are one and the same thing», as the Fascist «Grido della stirpe» asserted.⁴⁶

Another strong public bond of Perera was his and his wife's long and well-

⁴⁵ Cf. Stefano Luconi, *La frattura dell'antisemitismo. La contrapposizione tra intellettuali fascisti e lavoratori italoamericani di fronte ai provvedimenti razziali del 1938*, in Patrizia Guarnieri (ed.), *L'emigrazione intellettuale dall'Italia fascista. Studenti e studiosi ebrei dell'Università di Firenze in fuga all'estero*, Florence, Firenze University Press, 2019, pp. 73-87.

⁴⁶ The quotation from «Il Grido delle Stirpe», 17 October 1936, is in Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States*, ed. by Philip Vincent Cannistraro, New York, Center for Migration Studies, 1977, pp. 167-187: p. 173. On the financial backing of the Pereras for the Casa italiana at Columbia University, see Columbia University, *Annual Report of the President and Treasurers*, New York [Columbia University], 1928, p. 39.

known friendship with Arturo Toscanini – a symbol of the Italian spirit which opposed fascism – who, when he came to New York, also performed in aid of the Italian Welfare League chaired by Mrs. Perera (held from 1920 at Carnegie Hall) and attended receptions at 49 East 80th Street. When in February 1938 the maestro cancelled his participation in the Salzburg festival, after Austria's falling in line with Hitler's demands, his uncompromising statement appeared on the front page of newspapers around the world: he unleashed insults against «his idiotic anti-fascist propaganda», and aroused the gratitude of many, especially those «scattered throughout the world by the storm». Touched, Salvemini wrote to him: «To the cowards who bow down before the Great Beast, mistaking it for Italy, we can show that Italy today is represented not by Mussolini, but by Toscanini»⁴⁷.

During those days in New York, the maestro took part in various events; he received the American Hebrew Medal, and naturally dined with Lionello and Carolyn Perera, having already planned his concerts in Palestine for April 1938⁴⁸.

Who knows how often the Calabresis visited the Perera house? They met the maestro in person, and other interesting guests, including doctors, since Lionello Perera, among other things, financed the Italian hospital in New York⁴⁹.

Medical scientists

The important contact on which Massimo counted for a professional appointment for himself was with Dr. Emanuel Libman (1872-1946), who was the president of the Dazian Foundation for Medical Research and also a

⁴⁷ Gaetano Salvemini to Arturo Toscanini, 18 February 1938, quoted by Harvey Sachs, *Toscanini. Musician of Conscience*, New York, Liveright Publishing 2017, especially p. 338n, 452n, 529, 691, also with references to the Pereras.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 854 et seq.

⁴⁹ Cf. James J. Walsh, *History of Medicine in New York: Three Centuries of Medical Progress*, vol. 3, New York, National Americana Society, 1919, p. 791. Their acquaintance with Toscanini was confirmed to me by Guido Calabresi (written statement to the author, 20 December 2020).

cardiologist, specializing in endocarditis (Libman-Sacks endocarditis), as well as professor of clinical medicine at Columbia and founder of the Mount Sinai School of cardiology, where he had created a group who in their laboratories were doing a great deal of electrocardiographic research – on which Massimo had worked and published a treatise in Italy in 1935 – and they had been doing this from the 1920s, with state-of-the-art devices that allowed thousands of electrocardiograms to be performed⁵⁰.

It seems that it was through Giuseppe Levi that Massimo came into contact with this renowned Jewish doctor of Polish origin, who had among his patients Alfred Einstein, Gustav Mahler and Thomas Mann, and to whom the «Time» devoted a cover⁵¹. Libman's interest in Calabresi appears from a letter dated 19 December 1939, sent to him at the Raleigh Hotel, 121 West, 22nd Street, NY, where the Italian doctor and his family had already been staying for three months, in a precarious situation. In that letter from Yale University, Professor Francis Blake (1887-1952) reported that he had received a written guarantee from Dr. Libman on 13 December that the Dazian Foundation would provide a grant for Dr. Calabresi; so at last he was offering him «an opportunity to work as a Fellow in the Department of Internal Medicine of the Yale University School of Medicine» for that academic year, that is, until 1 July 1940⁵².

The Dazian Foundation and the School of Medicine at Yale enjoyed a good

⁵⁰ On the relevance of Emanuel Libman and his school of cardiology, cf. Arthur H. Aufses Jr., Barbara Niss, *This House of Noble Deeds: Mount Sinai Hospital, 1852-2002*, New York-London, New York University Press, 2002, pp. 57-61.

⁵¹ See the cover of the «Time», XXV, 23, 1947. The *Emanuel Libman Papers* (1885-1988) are kept, with access restrictions, in the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda (MD), Archives and Modern Manuscripts Collection, History of Medicine Division, MS C406. On the probable mediation of Giuseppe Levi, written statement to the author from Guido Calabresi, 20 December 2020. Among Libman's correspondents, also «Castiglioni, Arturo 1934-1946», s. 2, b. 3, f. 24 <<https://oculus.nlm.nih.gov/>> (accessed 20 December 2020).

⁵² Francis G. Blake to Massimo Calabresi, 19 December 1939; the copy of this letter was kindly provided to me by Guido Calabresi; cf. Yale University, Manuscripts and Archives, School of Medicine, Yale University, *Records of the Dean, Series Accession 1961-A-002*, b. 86, f. 1736 <<https://archives.yale.edu/>> (accessed 20 December 2020). The Records of the Dazian Foundation for Medical Research, 1928-1963, collection not yet sorted, are in the G. and J. Levy Library, School of Medicine at Mount Sinai, New York.

collaboration, so much so that thanks to the foundation another Italian doctor of Jewish origin arrived in New Haven in May 1940, the young Silvano Arieti (1914-1981), shy and with difficulties in English, who would become famous in the United States for his studies on schizophrenia. Helped by Libman and other American colleagues, the medical historian Arturo Castiglioni also arrived at Yale that year with his wife Marcella; he was from Trieste, 66 years old, and had an almost fatherly relationship with Bruno Pincherle, the unforgettable friend of Massimo's years in Florence⁵³.

To accept or to leave: New Haven

Excellent news, from the Dazian Foundation. Except that the grant lasted just 6 months, as the New Englander Francis Blake immediately pointed out; he was a prominent immunologist, appointed Sterling Professor at Yale in 1927, and one of the youngest at the highest academic level⁵⁴. From 1940 he was dean of the School of Medicine, and he addressed the Italian grant recipient in rather abrupt tones: «in order that the matter may be clearly understood, I am taking the liberty of stating that the place which we are offering will not provide opportunity for the assumption of clinical responsibility for the care of the patients»⁵⁵. Apart from the distrust of foreign doctors (especially if Italian? Especially if Jewish? New Haven was a small place, and prejudices were strong), there was an objective obstacle: the foreign licence for the exercise of the medical profession was not recognized in the United States (and not even in Italy, for that matter). Professor Blake did not bother to ask

⁵³ Cf. Maria Conforti, *Gli storici della medicina in Italia non hanno avuto mai molta fortuna. Arturo Castiglioni tra Trieste e Stati Uniti*, in Fabio D'Angelo et al., *The Scientific Dialogue Linking America, Asia and Europe Between the 12th and the 20th Century. Theories and Techniques Travelling in Space and Time*, Naples Viaggiatori, 2018, pp. 133-146.

⁵⁴ John R. Paul, *Francis Gilman Blake 1887-1952*, «Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine», 24, 6, 1952, pp. 435-443 <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/>> (accessed 20 December 2020). One of Blake's three children was Francis Gilman Blake Jr., born in 1917, with a degree in physics from Harvard, who would participate in the Atomic Laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico, where Enrico Fermi and Bruno Rossi were also involved. See John Rodman Paul, *Francis Gilman Blake 1887-1952. A Biographical Memoir*, Washington (DC), National Academy of Sciences, 1954.

⁵⁵ Francis G. Blake to Massimo Calabresi, 19 December 1939, cit.

if Dr. Calabresi happened to hold an American licence or intended to acquire it; he allowed, however, that the ban on caring for patients «will not preclude the possibility of the investigation of cardiovascular problems on the hospital or clinic patients under Dr. Geiger's supervision»⁵⁶. Furthermore, Professor Blake would have appreciated that Doctor Calabresi had asked for a (further) contribution of 250 dollars to the Foundation, «either directly or through Dr. Libman», to cover the costs of his lab work.

In other words, the Yale School of Medicine would not spend a penny on him, a medical scientist with an excellent track record, who was going to work for them. If those conditions seemed acceptable to him, Doctor Calabresi was to confirm them.

Massimo accepted. They moved to New Haven, to 335 Willow Street,⁵⁷ in one of those typical wooden houses, certainly not as beautiful as those they were used to in Italy. The children would change schools again; Guido had not got on with his classmates in New York. But all that remained was to adapt.

Bianca went back to studying; at Yale she attended the lectures of a professor of French literature, himself an exile. Massimo worked with Arthur Geiger, Blake's collaborator both in the university clinic and at the New Haven Hospital (since 1946 renamed Grace-New Haven Community Hospital); it was with him that he published his first cardiological contributions in American medical journals, at the beginning of 1942⁵⁸. With temporary contracts as assistant clinical professor of Medicine at Yale he taught and attended the hospital; he also began to deal with public health, in which Yale enjoyed a leading role thanks to the special Department of Public Health; founded in

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ National Archives and Records Administration, Washington (DC), *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Roll m-t0627-00541, p. 4B, under name, accessible online at <<https://www.ancestry.com/>> (accessed by login 11 December 2020).

⁵⁸ See Massimo Calabresi, Arthur J. Geiger, *Potential Changes in Injured Cardiac Muscle*, «The American Journal of Physiology», 137, 2, 1942, pp. 440-446, and Massimo Calabresi, Arthur J. Geiger, Loren F. Blaney, *A Justification for the Increasing Use of Electro-Cardiography in Hospital Practice*, «The American Journal of the Medical Sciences», 203, 2, 1942, pp. 219-230, and afterwards others, again with Geiger.

1915, it was headed by the Boston bacteriologist Charles Edward A. Winslow (1877-1957), a supporter of reforms which combined science with social justice⁵⁹.

Arturo Castiglioni held a course on the history of public health in 1942-43;⁶⁰ the following year several Italians also took part in the celebrations for his 70th birthday, including the historian of science Aldo Mieli, the philologist Leo Olschki, the cardiologist Aldo Luisada, and Massimo, who for various reasons often met Castiglioni. They both felt more anti-fascist than Jewish.

An interview on Hartford Radio

Even for contacts with anti-fascist exiles in the United States, being in New Haven was not like being in Cambridge, at Harvard where Salvemini was, much less like living in New York where everyone was living or was passing through. Discussions on the political situation were not lacking, however, even in the small community of which he and Bianca had become part.

Yale interprets the News was a Sunday evening program on WTIC Radio in Hartford, Connecticut:⁶¹ at 6.45 pm Bernard Mullins, also known as Bunny, the director of the WTIC public affairs programmes, who also talked about books on the *Library of the Air*, would interview university professors on topical issues. In the edition of 20 December 1942, the well-known

⁵⁹ Among the *Charles-Edward Amory Winslow papers*, in Yale University, Manuscripts and Archives, there are papers of the American Public Health Association, and in s. 1, *General Correspondence*, b. 6, f. 134, also «Calabresi, Massimo (*), 1944-1949, undated» <<https://archives.yale.edu>> (accessed 20 December 2020).

⁶⁰ Cf. *Historical Backgrounds of Public Health (A. Castiglioni): course outlines, 1941-1943*, in Yale University, Manuscripts and Archives, *Charles-Edward Amory Winslow papers*, b. 109, f. 154 <<https://archives.yale.edu>> (accessed 20 December 2020). See the volume *Essays in the History of Medicine, Presented to Professor Arturo Castiglioni on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, April 10, 1944*, «Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine», 3, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944.

⁶¹ John Ramsey, *Hartford Radio*, Charleston (SC), Arcadia Publishing, 2012, and on WTIC's experimental FM station opened in 1939-40 <<http://www.hartfordradiohistory.com/>> (accessed December 20, 2020). To hear some recordings of the years 1935-44 from this hugely popular radio station on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, WTIC Radio in Hartford, Connecticut, *The Broadcaster at Forty*, written and produced by David Wilkinson, 1965 <<https://www.youtube.com/>> (accessed 8 December 2020).

announcer invited Dr. Calabresi and asked him:

«How do Italians feel about the war now?»

«What are the chances for a revolution in Italy now?»

Mussolini's pro-war propaganda had completely failed in Italy, especially among young people, insisted the interviewee. Italians were ready to fight, but against the Nazis. The Duce had been officially recognized by other countries, but never by the votes of Italians; and fascism had violently eliminated anti-fascist leaders, arresting them, making them flee abroad, assassinating them. Still, there was clandestine opposition.

«The king of Italy, the Vatican or even Marshall Badoglio might replace Mussolini in governing Italy?»

No member of the royal family enjoyed popular trust anymore; the Vatican had necessarily to keep to the separation between Church and State; as for Badoglio, «I never been able to understand why he is presented as a possible chief of the Italian new order [...] Badoglio has always obeyed his master and this is bad even for a general, when the master is Mussolini». He used a medical metaphor: «Fascism is a social disease; but the Italian body is still essentially healthy». He especially invited Americans to trust Italians: «who on the whole do not hate foreign people, who are not bigoted». The United Nations must help them, they were not to be invaded as if they were an enemy nation⁶².

In these replies there were concerns for the near future and also the ideals and the experiences of the past with which he was linked. Massimo wanted to send the transcript of the interview – in «devout homage» – to Mrs. Amelia Rosselli, who was living opposite Long Island, in a small house in Larchmont. They went there immediately, Massimo with Bianca, Paolo and Guido, and many of them, including Renata, Salvemini of course, to greet those brave

⁶² WTIC, *Yale Interprets the News*, interview with Dr. Massimo Calabresi, 20 December 1942; the transcript was sent by Yale University News Bureau to Calabresi, as shown in the typewritten copy sent by Massimo Calabresi to Amelia Rosselli, New Haven, 16 January 1943, in the Florence State Archives, *Archivio Familiare Rosselli*, b. «Amelia Pincherle Rosselli».

women, the mother and the widows of Carlo and Nello, who had crossed the ocean, she at the age of 75, with their seven children.

Amelia kept that envelope with Massimo's interview; she packed it in her suitcase when she returned to Italy. In July 1946, she retired to her villa, L'Apparita. That is how I found it among her papers, which came back to Florence in 2017⁶³.

Possible return

His mother and his sister Cecilia were doing well, and so were more or less all their other relatives, «in spite of the great difficulty of the general situation»; Massimo wrote to his friend Max – sometimes in English, sometimes in Italian – also asking him for advice on recent legal provisions⁶⁴. They were anxiously awaiting news from Italy. Some people were leaving, either to return permanently, or on reconnaissance, so as to understand what the situation was.

At last he too made up his mind: on 24 April 1946 – on the eve of the first anniversary of the Liberation, of Italy and of Milan – he bought himself a ticket for a TWA flight⁶⁵. He left on his own, at the end of June, and stayed there for less than a month: «I saw a lot of people and ... I didn't pick up many pointers – he admitted to Ascoli – but it is clear that, still in a chaotic and somewhat makeshift way, after the national fashion, they 'make do'»⁶⁶. He

⁶³ When I consulted it, and for this I thank Carla Zarrilli, then director of ASFi, the collection had just arrived from Turin and was being inventoried. The detailed description of the Rosselli Archive, preserved in multiple locations, is recent <<http://www.sa-toscana.beniculturali.it/>> (accessed 9 December 2020).

⁶⁴ Boston University, HGARC, *Ascoli Collection*, b. 185, f. 6, «Massimo Calabresi», letter from Massimo Calabresi to Max Ascoli, 12 December 1944.

⁶⁵ Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search*, under name <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (accessed by login 8 December 2020); on the boarding pass can be read the date of purchase of the ticket, 24 April 1946, and not the date of departure, but that of the return from Rome, landing in New York on 17 July 1946. He returned home, to New Haven at 614 Orange Street.

⁶⁶ Boston University, HGARC, *Ascoli Collection*, b. 185, f. 6, «Massimo Calabresi», letter from Massimo Calabresi to Max Ascoli, New Haven, 24 July 1946. There follow further attempts to meet, on 4 May and 6 May 1947, and on 25 May 1947, aimed, it seems, at obtaining a recommendation for the grant of American citizenship, which Ascoli in fact wrote on 9 June 1947. The file is incomplete, however, because the next letter in chronological order is from

would gladly have had a chat with Max, who was always so well informed. He needed an appointment with him; he knew that. What he did not tell him by letter was that he was trying to be reinstated in the place from which they had thrown him out, eight years before.

On 9 July 1946, while he was visiting his mother, he had sent from Florence a formal request for reinstatement on stamped paper to the rector of the University of Milan,⁶⁷ who from October 1945 was the Milanese radiologist Felice Perussia (1885-1959), at that university for about twenty years, and married to one of the first female doctors. The former rector Alberto Pepere, who had applied the racial laws, even though he had written him a letter of recommendation, was a fascist, made a senator in June 1939 almost as a reward for his performance on the recommendation of the Minister of National Education⁶⁸. Perussia, on the other hand, was the rector of reconstruction, and was a socialist, like his father.

He had no doubts about the legitimacy of Dr. Calabresi's request. On 21 October 1946 he informed the director of the Clinica medica generale, and definitely asked him to kindly communicate «at your earliest convenience the name of the *aiuto* [clinical assistant professor] who will have to stand down in relation to the return of Dr. Calabresi»⁶⁹.

To see a right recognized

It was a question of applying the law, no more, no less: the reinstatement measure consisted in restoring the post, illegally taken away by a totalitarian regime from which freedom had at last been achieved. If in the meantime

Max Ascoli to Massimo Calabresi, 18 March 1954, replying (in the negative, because on vacation) to the invitation to the wedding of his elder son Paul.

⁶⁷ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, «Calabresi Massimo», request from Massimo Calabresi to the rector of the University of Milan, Florence, 9 July 1946.

⁶⁸ See on the website of the Senate of the Republic, *Senator Alberto Pepere (1873-1940)*, and his personal file <<https://notes9.senato.it/>> (accessed 10 December 2020). And from his student Arduino Ratti, *Felice Perussia: commemorazione tenuta nell'aula maggiore dell'Università di Milano*, no place, no obligation details, 1960.

⁶⁹ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», rector Perussia to the director of the Medical Clinic, 21 October 1946.

that post had been taken, it was for the incomer to step aside and for the university to find him perhaps an opening of some kind. The view of the director of the Institute, who did not welcome the rector's request, was quite different. «There are no clinical assistant professor [aiuto] posts available in the General Medical Clinic and therefore» – he replied – «Massimo Calabresi cannot be taken back into service at the Clinic except as a supernumerary clinical assistant professor [aiuto]»⁷⁰.

Perussia at once admonished him to respect the regulations: the applicant *«has the right, according to the provisions in force, to be reinstated in his post»*. The alternative proposed by the director, however, conflicted with «precise and explicit ministerial regulations» and with the facts: in service at that clinic there was already an assistant appointed as supernumerary, and therefore, *«being unable to refuse the request of Dr. Calabresi, the aforementioned supernumerary assistant must leave his post at the very moment of Dr. Calabresi's return»*⁷¹.

The director took a break for a few days, then returned to the attack: Dr. Calabresi «has spontaneously declared to me – he wrote to the rector – that in no way would he have wanted to damage his colleagues in post currently and for some years before, and that he therefore requested that he be assigned a supernumerary place for an academic year». Was this really the case? How «spontaneous» could such a statement be when given to his own superior, who clearly did not want him around? The new request by the interested party for a supernumerary post did not exist, nor his alleged «declaration»; the director could have attached it but it seems unlikely that such a rapid exchange of letters had suddenly occurred in a week from Milan to New Haven and vice versa.

As for the two factual objections that the illustrious academic expressed as

⁷⁰ Ibid., the director, Domenico Cesa Bianchi, to the rector, 21 October 1946. All this correspondence is recorded on receipt.

⁷¹ Ibid., rector Perussia to the director of the medical clinic, 21 October 1946, but stamped 28 October. The italics are mine.

director, both were proven wrong by the official checks: the assistant cardiologist, salaried, according to him, by the De Marchi Foundation in a post which was supernumerary but not open to termination because of the late benefactor's will, had in fact been taken on to the university complement from 1942 and was principally paid by the university; the medical clinic had not a lower number of assistants than the other university clinics, as the director stated, but a higher: four rather than three, and in total had four more staff units than the complement, as appears from a table enclosed in the dossier.

The rector promptly rebutted the director's unfounded arguments, trying to convince him. But the latter did not give up: «in no way could I give up even one of the current assistants»; according to him, the functioning of the Clinic and of the three postgraduate schools, including that of cardiology, would be «deeply» compromised. He did not even take into consideration the possibility that Calabresi could make a useful contribution, having been in the Medical School of a prestigious North American university for years, with a very advanced clinic in cardiology. In fact, he argued just the opposite: «A good eight years away from the Clinic and already elderly (43 years old), he could not properly replace a young assistant in post»⁷².

An autocratic attitude and a bad memory

But what were they talking about? Calabresi's age was certainly not advanced; in academic terms he would still have had over thirty years before retiring. The director, aged 67, was not thinking of justice, of the law, nor of the interests of the clinic or scientific merit. Yet he was the very one who had lavished praise on Massimo Calabresi. Perhaps this was in fact why Massimo had hoped for it: in 1946 the director of the medical clinic was still Domenico Cesa Bianchi, for whom he had worked continually in the eleven years he had been in Milan, from 1927 to when they had expelled everyone. It was at this

⁷² Ibid. the director, Domenico Cesa Bianchi, to the rector, 30 October 1946.

very point, after the notorious racial laws, that the director had given him two splendid letters of reference to present abroad: both reproduced in the printed brochure with the CV that his *aiuto* was sending at the time seeking a job. Perhaps the director had forgotten what he had written: that «Professor Calabresi» had an extensive scientific production, conducted «with a rare mind»; in the specific field of cardiovascular pathologies his «exceptional competence» had been generally recognized, in fact with a series of awards; his contributions «have brought to light exceptional and often new results»; his treatise on electrocardiography «represents one of the best productions both here and abroad on this difficult and complex subject». In addition to the proven teaching aptitude that made him an excellent guide for students, he «has manifested rare qualities» in the organization of laboratories and hospital departments. «Untiring» with patients, he possessed high moral qualities: «straightforwardness, seriousness yet gentle disposition». After having had him by his side for many years, his director declared himself convinced «that a brilliant future awaits my dear pupil both in scientific and in the clinical career for which he is so well prepared»⁷³.

Arrangements

Who would not want such a collaborator? Domenico Cesa Bianchi, nevertheless, no longer wanted him. And this even though in the Milan Clinic, which had invested so much in cardiology, the two current *aiuti* were neither cardiologists like Calabresi, nor more productive than him⁷⁴. But the director had 'his own people' to fix up. Just to weaken the applicant's position, he also

⁷³ See Marcello Cesa Bianchi, certificate, Milan, 28 August 1938, and id., Milan, 3 January 1939, in *Dr. Massimo Calabresi*, cit., a copy of the pamphlet with these certificates, accompanied by the aforementioned reference letter from rector Pepere; these are in BLO, SPSL, MS 404/8, f. «Calabresi [sic], dr. Massimo».

⁷⁴ Table of staff belonging to the General Medical Clinic, filled in by hand, undated, in APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo». The two deputies recorded in the same table had fewer publications than former deputy Calabresi (consulting Opac Sbn for all): those of Marcello Cellina, as early as 1931, had an oncological specialty; later, however, was the production of Anton Spartaco Roversi, whose main work was a multi-authored *Manuale medico di diagnostica e terapia*, Milan, Pirola, 1940.

attributed the intention of coming at his own convenience: «He recently wrote to me that for personal reasons he would delay his return from America»⁷⁵. This statement was quite unproven, and in any case the conditions for return would have to be clarified with the person concerned. But given that he had not yet returned, the rector agreed that the extra temporary assistant would continue to serve in the Clinic until Dr. Calabresi returned⁷⁶.

It was a compromise: Perussia was no longer asking, as he had done nine days earlier, to reinstate Doctor Calabresi as an *aiuto*, making his successor leave. Given the opposition of the director of the Clinic and given that among the Clinic assistants there was one non-tenured supernumerary, he fell back on Dr. Calabresi's «return to service as assistant». This wording was in fact the subject of his final communication to Cesa Bianchi. It was not the same thing, of course: the restorative law enacted in January 1944 required that every public administration must restore to dispensed and dismissed staff «the grade and seniority in that grade which they had had at the time of dispensation or dismissal»⁷⁷. Here, instead, from being a clinical assistant professor, as he had been, he was moving to assistant in a supernumerary post. Getting rid of a supernumerary seemed easier than removing, even by transfer, whoever had taken over from someone who had been expelled for racial reasons; the supernumerary assistant was the weakest link in the chain⁷⁸.

Eventually, instead of reinstatement in the post that was his, a downgraded reinstatement to a lower status was envisaged. Quite humiliating. Yet the arrangements devised in the Faculties were often precisely of this type in

⁷⁵ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», the director Domenico Cesa Bianchi to the rector, 30 October 1946.

⁷⁶ Ibid., rector Felice Perussia to the director, 30 October 1946 but with a stamp of 14 November 1946.

⁷⁷ Art. 4 of the RDL 6 gennaio 1944, n. 9. See the text here in *Tra accanimento e riparazione*.

⁷⁸ In the table of staff belonging to the General Medical Clinic, filled in by hand, undated, in APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», the supernumerary was Dr. Gualtiero Bergamasco, a cardiologist.

order not to disturb the so-called internal equilibrium, in line with academic customs unfortunately never completely surmounted. It was not anti-Semitism; even the great Salvemini, to mention a non-Jewish exile whom Massimo knew and who enjoyed considerable fame, was initially offered a second rate return, in a supernumerary position. Doctors, such as Mario Volterra, who had emigrated to New York, were often asked to move to hospitals instead of returning to the university environment, where more than any other, perhaps, those who were inside closed ranks against so many undesirables, outsiders, almost usurpers, who reappeared because they had been illegitimately expelled or never accepted.

In the entire State university of Milan, only about 10 of the 28 academics, including deputies, assistants and lecturers, suspended for being Jews, were readmitted. Even for tenured professors, readmission to service was as «*aggregati*» to those who had taken over from them in 1938-39. In the Faculty of Medicine itself, when the well-known surgeon Mario Donati was taken back but placed alongside the one who had taken his place, tensions ran very high and died out, so to speak, only with Donati's sudden death in January 1946⁷⁹.

To return to Italy

Calabresi had applied for reinstatement, but, it was stressed, had not yet returned to Italy. Of course not. He had to think about it, since nothing was the same as before: apart from losses, his close family members and Bianca's were split between Italy and the Americas, so that his mother-in-law was commuting between her own home, Brazil and New England; their children were now two adolescents, well-established in schools and with their American peers, after attending for eight years, more than they had spent in Italy; their respective homes in Milan, Florence, and, for Renata, Rome, if not bombed or occupied or looted, still needed to be put back in order. And

⁷⁹ E. Edallo, *L'applicazione delle leggi antiebraiche*, cit., p. 13.

above all there was the problem of work: it had been very hard to settle in New Haven, to get accepted at Yale, and now he found himself rejected in the Milan environment. Was it up to him, unjustly expelled, to get himself accepted by them?

Bianca Maria hoped that things would be fine again. If they had returned to Italy, to teach, the master's degree from Yale would not have been enough. She spent months preparing her thesis, and she made the whole round trip on her own, eight years after leaving; in 1947 she went to the panel of the University of Bologna, which she had left about twenty years before without completing her studies, and she graduated⁸⁰. But in Milan they were not awaiting Massimo and his family with open arms: when did he talk about it with his wife? Perhaps he did not even understand Cesa Bianchi's refusal at first. Did they tell him about the offer to be re-hired as an assistant? Unfortunately he did not keep the correspondence; and in the university's file there is no outcome to his reinstatement application, no follow-up to the aforementioned letter from rector Perussia.

A very desirable citizen

They remained in New Haven, in their home at 614 Orange Street. And became American citizens. Massimo had submitted his declaration of intention for citizenship on 16 January 1940; in June 1947 he filled out the final application, and Max Ascoli, a prominent American since 1939, wrote a letter of recommendation to the Immigration and Naturalization Office. He had known him since they were boys:

We both come from the same city, Ferrara, Italy, Dr. Calabresi's family has a long tradition of devotion to democratic ideals and was always outstanding in civic and national affairs. From early youth, Dr. Calabresi showed remarkable intellectual gifts, equalled only by an extraordinary sense of moral integrity.

During the hard years of the Fascist regime, I followed Dr. Calabresi fairly closely and I know for a fact that he was always opposed to the regime and that he never conformed to fascist orders beyond the strictest limits

⁸⁰ Cf. for further details *Lives on the Move* for [Bianca Maria Finzi Contini Calabresi](#).

determined by necessity in order to follow a career and make a living. I know, too, that he abstained, at great personal cost from volunteering any manifestation of approval of the regime.⁸¹

In conclusion, he considered him «a most desirable citizen» for the United States, where Dr. Calabresi had arrived in 1939 and, in New Haven, had integrated both into the community and into the medical profession. Ascoli did not say much about the American period; his entire recommendation was based on the anti-fascist background. Obviously an anti-fascist profile was considered very useful for an Italian who intended to stay in the United States. It is remarkable that it was of little use returning to Reconstruction Italy and to the university, where people should have moved on, purging those who had most compromised with the regime and reinstating those who had been persecuted by it. Yet the first decree under which, in January 1944, from the so-called Southern Kingdom, the compensation process was initiated, had privileged the definition of «exempt or dismissed for political reasons» including also «those to whom racial laws have been applied» because the fascist persecution had in any case been political.

On the other hand, there was perhaps not much more to add: from 1941 Dr. Calabresi had practiced as a doctor, was affiliated as an assistant clinical professor of Medicine at Yale University, was appreciated as a teacher despite his accent, oddly rather like German (a language he had learned from a very young age), but was no longer publishing as much as he had done in Italy. In the mid-fifties he became part of an experimental research group on blood pressure, but a setback in his scientific production seems to have occurred as early as 1946, after the failure to be reinstated. A little over forty years old, with his children still small boys, he had considered the possibility of starting again at the University of Milan. It had not come, either for him or for many others. After that he had in some way resigned himself. He was

⁸¹ Boston University, HGARC, *Ascoli Collection*, b. 185, f. 6, «Massimo Calabresi», copy of the letter from Max Ascoli to the US Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York, 9 June 1947.

convinced that leaving Italy had entailed a very high price for his scientific career⁸².

It was as an American citizen that he would return to Italy, for the first time perhaps in July 1948, and certainly in December of that year (although he does not appear in the Ellis Island Passenger Search database) and many more times⁸³.

Omissions and faults

Ten years after his request for reinstatement, the question of the rights of academics who had been damaged by the dictatorship's laws, later abolished by laws of the democratic state, was raised again. The Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione found instances of non-compliance on the part of the universities. His case was one.

«Dr. Massimo Calabresi, qualified to teach in special medical pathology by DM of 27 January 1932, qualification definitively confirmed by DM of 21 March 1938, was, at the time, declared disqualified as *libero docente* because of Jewish race». But the ministerial decree of the forfeiture (DM of 18 March 1939) had been «declared null and void» by the DM of 7 August 1944⁸⁴.

For what reasons, therefore, did Dr. Calabresi not appear in the lists of *liberi docenti* of the University of Milan? The Ministry's Direzione generale per l'istruzione superiore requested the rector of the University of Milan to respond on 19 November 1956.

⁸² Statement from Guido Calabresi to the author, 8 January 2019.

⁸³ In Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search*, which for now is updated to 1957, the name Massimo Calabresi reveals only three trips to the USA, two of which in 1946 are connected by change <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (access by login 8 December 2020). There is a return in 1954 in company with Bianca, but recorded with a typo under «Massino [sic] Calabresi». A flight by him from Paris to New York appears on 7 July 1948, in *US, Departing Passenger and Crew Lists, 1914-1966*, under name, accessible online at <<https://www.ancestry.com>> (access by login 11 December 2020); and then from Rome to New York, 28 December 1948, with a boarding pass in *New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957*, under name, accessible online at <<https://www.ancestry.com>> (access by login 11 December 2020).

⁸⁴ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», MPI, DGIS, to the rector of the University of Milan, 19 November 1956.

On 4 January 1957, the Ufficio Personale issued two letters under the rector's signature: a registered letter for Dr. Calabresi, asking him to report to the office urgently «to set the matter right», in line with what was noted by the ministry and summarized, without a word of apology, to the interested party. A second letter was for the ministry, which was informed that the doctor in question «after his reinstatement in the qualification of a *libero docente* had not presented himself to this University»⁸⁵. Thus it was implicitly intended to convey that compliance over the dismissal from the university had been discharged, and if the *libero docente* did not appear in the relevant university lists, the fault was his.

Spurious investigations

They were still carrying out investigations to track him down, the rector assured them.

But where? At via Carducci 4, in Milan: it was to this address that an invitation had been sent for him to attend. The envelope was returned to the sender. It was an address from over twenty years before, and before the war, and was not even the addressee's last abode in Milan⁸⁶. The teacher expelled in 1938 had emigrated to the United States, they were aware: it was all documented in the file compiled under Calabresi in which the same Ufficio personale continued to turn over the papers concerning him. There was also the request that he had sent in 1946, in other words, two years after the suspension rulings, under which, thirteen years later, the university was now at the very least non-compliant. A decade had already passed since that matter of reinstatement, and there was no longer even the director of the

⁸⁵ In addition to the two aforementioned letters from the rector, both 4 January 1957, the file also contains: the envelope addressed to Calabresi and returned to the sender, the return receipt of the registered letter, two reminders from the MPI to the rector, 19 January 1957 and 26 February 1957, the rector's reply to the MPI, 8 March 1957.

⁸⁶ The Calabresis' last address in Milan before leaving the country was via Canova 36, as Guido Calabresi explained to me (written statement to the author, 22 December 2020).

medical clinic at the time, who had even written to him, as it turned out⁸⁷. Cesa Bianchi had recently died, in February 1956. The office asked the Comune of Milan for information.

Dr. Calabresi was no longer registered in the registry office. Obviously, since he had emigrated in 1939. Was it possible that no one among his colleagues knew where Calabresi was? Yet since 1939 he had always been at Yale University, not among the most unknown in the world. He had not moved for work, except for short stays, especially in Italy, where he had been invited from time to time to medical conferences. Some photos show him – there is one here in the [gallery](#) –, no longer young, at the exit of the Granelli Pavilion, the one he had helped organize as assistant and *aiuto* to Professor Cesa Bianchi, at the Ospedale maggiore in Milan.

Several months passed to allow the university to carry out those checks, on something already certain. Quite useless for the stated purpose of finding the teacher to guarantee him his rights, they served, nevertheless, for self-justification: «this University is unable to trace the aforementioned *libero docente*», and is therefore unable to «set the matter right», wrote the imperturbable rector to the ministry⁸⁸. Something of the sort was done and written by other legal representatives of universities, for example in Rome, in similar cases⁸⁹. After the doctor, Felice Perussia, whose tenure lasted three years, the head of the State University of Milan from November 1948 to 1960 was a professor of administrative law; in Italy, which with the referendum of 2 June 1946 had decided the end of the monarchy and chosen the Republic,

⁸⁷ With the transfer of the director's post to other hands, his favourite students – the aforementioned Marcello Cellina and Enrico Poli – were left without protection, and were diverted elsewhere or put side by side and overtaken by those of the new director, in line with customary practice and the memories (sometimes inaccurate, for example, regarding the non-fatal stroke of Cesa Bianchi) of Claudio Rugarli, *La scuola di Melli Zanussi*, «Medicina e Chirurgia», 64, 2014, pp. 2907-2912 <<http://www.quaderni-conferenze-medicina.it>> (accessed 20 December 2020).

⁸⁸ APICE, ASUMi, *Ufficio personale*, b. 602, f. «Calabresi Massimo», the rector to the MPI, 15 May 1957.

⁸⁹ For a general comparison of the two paths, see Patrizia Guarnieri, *Displaced scholars in cerca di libertà e lavoro in America: reti familiari, generi e generazioni*, in Ead. (ed.), *L'emigrazione intellettuale dall'Italia fascista*, cit., pp. 89-117.

he was an active member of the national monarchist party, and a member of Parliament from 1953 to 1958⁹⁰.

It was by that rector that, without any embarrassment, on 15 May 1957 the Calabresi question was closed and the file in his name was «terminated».

The children's success

Massimo Calabresi – who from 1946 celebrated his birthday on the same day as the Republic Day – had also done with the Italian University. He continued to teach at Yale University until 1973, when he also retired from the West Haven Veterans Administration Hospital;⁹¹ he felt that his wife should also be teaching at Yale, but women were not admitted until 1969, and she was satisfied with a less prestigious teaching position. Paul and Guido studied successfully at Yale, the eldest in Medicine like his father, the second in Law. In their respective fields they both achieved extraordinary results from a young age throughout their professional lives: Professor Paul Calabresi in 1968 left Yale for Brown University, and received prestigious positions as an oncologist from both George Bush and Bill Clinton. Guido Calabresi entered Yale Law School in 1959, and became its youngest full professor, and dean from 1985 to 1994,⁹² when President Bill Clinton appointed him Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

The children, who understandably did not wish to return to live in Italy, rescued their parents from their bitterness as expatriates in the United States with no return. Massimo became an emeritus professor, and continued to collaborate in the «Journal of the American Medical Association»; he spent his last few years without Bianca, but with his sister

⁹⁰ See the entry on the website of the Parlamento italiano, Camera dei Deputati, *De Francesco Giuseppe Menotti (1885-1978)* <<http://legislature.camera.it>> (accessed 13 December 2020).

⁹¹ Cf. the details on the obituary *Massimo Calabresi, 84, Yale Medical Professor*, «The New York Times», 2 March 1988.

⁹² David Margolick, *'Citizen of Yale' Is Named New Dean of the Law School*, «The New York Times. Special to the New York Times / Late Edition (East Coast)», 31 January 1985 <<https://hollis.harvard.edu/>> (accessed 20 December 2020).

Renata, who moved from New York to New Haven. He died on 28 February 1988.

When in 1961 Anne and I married – Professor Guido Calabresi recalled –, my father rather wryly in a toast thanked Mussolini and all of those who had hampered their return after the war; because if it had not been for them, Paul would not have married Celia, and Guido would not be marrying Anne.⁹³

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