

Cesare T. Lombroso

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Considered today among the founding fathers of child neurology, Cesare Lombroso was a student when in 1939, immediately following the promulgation of the racial laws, he left, alone, for the United States, like his sister and his cousins. There, he spent years that were decisive for his education, at Johns Hopkins Medical School, and for his political development among anti-fascist exiles and in the American youth movement. As soon as his father returned as a professor to the University of Genoa in 1946, he returned too, bringing his young wife and their first child to Italy.

After five years, they crossed the ocean again. And so he did, many times, between two countries and two careers, which were not parallel: in Italy, he possessed the qualifications for a chair in a discipline that was not his and, in Massachusetts, he was professor at Harvard Medical School and director of a prestigious international center on epilepsy at Boston Children's Hospital.

An anti-fascist family

Cesare Lombroso was born on 9 October 1917 in Rome, where his father Ugo was pursuing his university career at the Institute of Physiology, and was given the important name of his paternal grandfather, the criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), a physician and psychiatrist. Cesare had spent his childhood and adolescence in Sicily, where his mother Silvia with the children – Nora 5 years-old and Cesare 2 – in 1919 had followed her husband in his university transfers: in Messina until 1923 and Palermo from 1923 to 1935. Cesare had attended the Garibaldi classical high school and in 1933 was already enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine, even before turning 16. The stay in Sicily was interspersed with periods in Tuscany, thanks to ties with uncles and cousins who lived in Florence and, in the

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summer, in the Chianti region, where the whole family gathered: Villa Ulivello would be for all of them a refuge, even when Aunt Gina and Uncle Guglielmo left it to seek in Switzerland¹.

From October 1935, Cesare continued his studies in Genoa. He was a brilliant student in the same Faculty where Ugo Lombroso had been called, in recognition of his remarkable scientific qualifications, to occupy the vacant chair of Physiology and Biological Chemistry². His father's reputation certainly accompanied him, due both to his credentials as a scientist and to the anti-fascist ideas shared by the entire family, his aunts Gina and Paola, their respective spouses Guglielmo Ferrero, in exile, and Mario Carrara, who had lost his job at the University of Turin in 1931 for refusing, among the few, to swear allegiance to Fascism. Ugo Lombroso was under surveillance by the Questura (police) in Genoa and his arrival at the University in October 1935 had caused embarrassment and discontent because he was not a member of the PNF. When Minister Cesare Maria De Vecchi, Count of Val Cismon, complained that, before calling him, they should have made sure the professor had a membership card, the rector justified himself by saying that the Dean of Medicine and his colleague Senator Nicola Pende were also unaware of the fact. Lombroso had failed to inform them³.

Life interrupted

With the expulsion of his father Ugo from the University of Genoa due to the racial laws, a total of six professors were expelled, including two from

¹ See photo in the gallery [here](#) and in that of [Gina Lombroso Ferrero](#).

² ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Ugo»; the MD of 25 April 1935 («Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale. Bollettino ufficiale», 37, 12 October 1935) provides for the transfer of Professor Lombroso, with his consent, from the University of Palermo to that of Genoa as of 29 October 1935.

³ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Ugo», letter from rector Mattia Moresco to Giuseppe Giustini, MEN, DGIS, 13 April 1935. Worth noting is the reference by the rector, senator and professor of ecclesiastical law, to Pende, who was about to transfer from Genoa to Rome, as «scientist of the regime». See Emmanuel Betta, *Pende Nicola*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 82, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 2015 <<https://www.treccani.it>> (accessed 20 January 2021).

Medicine⁴. We do not know how many students were of the «Jewish race». Among them was Cesare. In his diary, from the month of September 1938, «the pages are blank, no notes, nothing at all [...] Life is interrupted, the storm has broken out, everything is broken off - pleasure, work, plans, hopes. White pages. Blank white pages...»⁵. Equally blank is the personal card, where his surname and name appear typewritten, distributed for the census of Jews in the universities. It is curious that he or someone else would have filled it out, only in the initial part, many years later, certainly after January 1946⁶. It was decided that Cesare should leave immediately. His father and his sister's husband had not yet been formally suspended from service, but it was coming. There was no point in sitting and waiting. He would go to France for some time, where his father had many contacts among colleagues and exiles.

His mother noted on 2 October 1938:

So he is gone. We are alone now: just the two of us [...]. He went down the stairs, simply and naturally, just as he always has; I went down with him. I could follow him a little longer, watch him climb into the car and disappear around the corner [...]. We wanted to save him: and now it's done. The price it will cost us doesn't matter [...]. And now he is gone. Full of courage, his face set, not looking backwards. I wandered about that room and from time to time touched one of his books. Tomorrow I will begin to pack everything. Even materially, physically, our home is disappearing. The house was one of the things he loved most... a strange affection in a boy twenty years old; I've waited until he was gone to dismantle it, so as not to hurt him. And now I find I want to leave everything as it is; not to touch anything. I want his room to stay like this, in a disorder that's - warm and alive⁷.

⁴ Maria Stella Rollandi, *Le leggi razziali e l'Università di Genova: prime ricerche sui docenti*, «Atti della Società ligure di storia patria», n.s., 42, 2, 2002, pp. 477-493. The author focuses her attention only on the full professors who were expelled from Genoa, noting with disappointment that the surface of the issue had barely been scratched. See also Clara Rossetti (ed.), *L'Università si racconta. Interviste sull'ateneo genovese*, Genoa, Marietti, 1992.

⁵ Silvia Lombroso, *No Time for Silence*, New York, Roy Publisher, 1945, p. 2; this English edition was issued by the publishing house of the in-laws; or. ed. *Si può stampare*, Rome, Dalmatia editrice, 1945, reprinted with preface by Alberto Cavaglion, Venice, Fondazione CDEC, 2019.

⁶ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», personal card, n.d. but pre-printed in 1938. The date of birth of the first-born is given, Claudia, 31 January 1946.

⁷ S. Lombroso, *No Time for Silence* cit., pp. 1-2.

In this diary of hers, begun after the separation from her beloved son, Silvia Forti wrote of him and her daughter leaving - Nora recently married to Bruno Rossi, expelled from the University of Padua. Struggling against pain and silence, she also wrote of other departures, other separations, of suicides, of life interrupted.

The first time in New York

In the spring of 1939, the whole family gathered in Geneva, where the Ferreros, aunt and uncle, had been living for some years, to say goodbye to Nora and Bruno, who were leaving England for the United States⁸.

It was from the port of Le Havre, on 10 August 1939, that Cesare embarked alone on the *Champlain*: a 22-year-old student, «North Italian», with a temporary visa issued in Genoa on 9 August 1939. On the documents, the address in Italy was given as «parents Mr and Mrs Forti [via] Lagrange 26, Turin», the street of the *Museo egizio* and the *Accademia delle Scienze*. In reality, this was the address of his maternal aunt and uncle; his parents were in Paris at that time. His sister and brother-in-law were already in Chicago, having landed in New York two months before him. Cesare indicated Bruno Rossi's name and professional address, «Physical Laboratory, Chicago, Illinois» as his destination in the United States. Added in pen, next to his name on the passenger list, another reference: a bank in Baltimore.

Cesare intended to resume his university studies, interrupted in Genoa, at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in Baltimore, Maryland. He landed in New York on 17 August 1939. He had never been to the United States before and declared that he had no intention of becoming a United States citizen (contrary to what Nora and Bruno had declared) and that he would return to his country after six months.

Things turned out differently.

⁸ Nora Lombroso, *As for me...*, in Bruno Rossi, *Moments in the Life of a Scientist*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp.159-175 (or. ed. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1987).

A talented medical student and the Emergency Committee

He was admitted to the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, which, with its teaching hospital, was already a model institution for medical training, and he remained there until the summer of 1942. In addition to courses and internships, Cesare learned the techniques of electroencephalography and participated in the laboratory activities of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic directed by Professor Adolf Meyer (1866-1950) until 1941⁹. Meyer, an eminent psychiatrist of Swiss origin, had emigrated to the United States in 1892, to Chicago, and arrived at Johns Hopkins in 1909. He knew the psychiatrist and anthropologist Cesare Lombroso, who had died in 1909 but was still well known in certain North American circles (a fact ascertained by Cesare's cousin, Leo, a few years earlier). Now he had the grandson with the same name among his students. It emerges from Meyer's correspondence that he was in contact with Gina Lombroso, who was particularly committed to making her father's ideas known in America, and also corresponded with her daughter, Nina Ferrero Raditsa, who, with her husband, settled in the United States in 1940¹⁰. They were respectively the aunt and cousin of Cesare, who began to add the initial T. of his middle name.

To stay in America, his family references could help him. On Christmas Eve 1940, Caesar showed up without an appointment at 2 West 46th Street in Manhattan, at the offices of the Emergency Committee for the Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. He evidently knew that the organization was helping scholars from all over Europe fleeing Nazism and Fascism. At the

⁹ This information comes from a typewritten C.V. of Cesare Lombroso, n.d. but Genoa 1950, preserved among the private papers of the daughter Anna Lombroso, to whom I am grateful. According to what she heard in the family, Cesare won a literary prize at Johns Hopkins but I have not found documentary evidence of this.

¹⁰ Medical Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, *Adolf Meyer Collection* [Series I], *Correspondence with individuals and related material*, ff. «Ferrero, Gina Lombroso», e «Raditsa, Nina Ferrero»; including a typewritten paper entitled «The Spread of Lombrosian Ideas Since the Death of Lombroso». See *Criminal Man According to the Classification of Cesar Lombroso Briefly Summarized by His Daughter Gina Lombroso Ferrero*, New York, Putnam and Sons, 1911; and Patrizia Guarnieri, *Caesar or Cesare? American and Italian images of Lombroso*, in P. Knepper, P. Ystehede (eds.), *The Cesare Lombroso Handbook*, New York-Oxford, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013, pp. 113-130.

ECADFS, he was not known, of course; and he did not explain himself very well to the person who opened the door for him: «Is this man one of yours?», E.M.K. asked in a note for internal use. On 24 December, a certain Lombroso from Johns Hopkins came to the office; he said he was a nephew of Ferrera [sic] and wanted to talk to Stephen Duggan. Who was he? Too young; it couldn't be the same Lombroso for whom they had a file in their archives¹¹.

Cesare gave the name of his uncle Guglielmo Ferrero, who was a historian and had also been received at the White House, rather than naming the family scientists: his brother-in-law, the physicist Rossi, or his father, professor of physiology. In fact, at the Emergency Committee, they had opened a file for both, after news had arrived, at the end of 1938, of the nearly one hundred Jewish professors driven out by Mussolini. Robert Lambert, from the Rockefeller Foundation, had listed them both among the eleven most important Italian scientists: «their loss will be a serious blow to the biological sciences»¹². The note on that unidentified young man from Johns Hopkins ended up in the file in the name of Ugo Lombroso.

After that fleeting attempt, Cesare did not contact the ECADFS in New York again, where in fact he was never given a file. As a student, he did not qualify for their assistance. He managed anyway. During the summer of 1941, he did an internship at Harvard Medical Service, Boston City Hospital¹³. The following year, with his research on «The internal secretion of the pancreas concerning fat metabolism», he received the second prize of the Schering Award for the most gifted medical students, linked to the «Journal of the Association of Medical Students». This allowed him to pay his tuition at the

¹¹ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non Grantees, b. 90, f. 57, «Lombroso Ugo», 1938-40, note by E.M.K., 24 December 1940. The file includes a copy of the article «Vita Universitaria», 5 October 1938, which provided a list of those expelled from Italian universities and which is found also in the files of other academics which Robert Lambert indicated as irreplaceable, with the article in question in attachment.

¹² *Ibidem*, copy of the letter by Robert Lambert to Betty Drury, 28 November 1938, in various ECADFS records (e.g. b. 55, f. 25, «Enriquez Federico»).

¹³ See Maxwell Finland, *The Harvard Medical Unit at Boston City Hospital: History of the Thorndike Memorial Laboratory and the Harvard Medical Services from their founding until 1974*, Cambridge (MS), Harvard Medical School, 1983.

medical school in Baltimore¹⁴.

Political commitment

In those years, he devoted himself intensely to political activity. When he arrived in New York, he immediately established contact with the group of anti-fascist émigrés, some of whom were family friends, especially the Ferreros, such as the historian Gaetano Salvemini and the statesman Carlo Sforza, who had also written the preface to *Meditazioni sull'Italia* by Leo Ferrero, a posthumous book by his cousin, published in Switzerland in 1939¹⁵. With them and others, Cesare participated in the Mazzini Society, founded in the fall of 1939 on the initiative of a group of exiles from *Giustizia e libertà* (Justice and Freedom), which included exponents of anti-fascism who had been in the United States for some time and émigrés from France, following the German invasion. In his view, it was (or should be) a «single anti-fascist front that could make the voice of the Italian people heard in some way by the Allies»¹⁶. This is how he defined it a few years later, in a curriculum for an academic competition in Italy, where he boasted of having been among the founding members and even its co-director, as well as the editor of «United Nations».

What confirmation do we have? Cesare Lombroso's name is not among those usually remembered by historiography, well-known figures – Salvemini, Michele Cantarella, Lionello Venturi, Sforza – from a generation or two before his, as he was then a 22-year-old student¹⁷. In recent, American biographical

¹⁴ Cf. C. Lombroso's C.V., n.d. but attached to Giovanni De Toni's letter, stamped 30 September 1950, op. cit. The information, with a date different from that of the award, is also in Stephen Ashwal (ed.), *The Founders of Child Neurology*, San Francisco, Norman Pub. in association with the Child Neurology Society, 1990, pp. 767-774. Given the topic of the annual award it is probably the Shering Award 1941, cf. <<http://www.healthcommentary.org>> (accessed 20 January 2021).

¹⁵ Cf. Leo Ferrero, *Meditazioni sull'Italia: letteratura e politica*, with a preface by Carlo Sforza, Lugano, Nuove edizioni Capolago, 1939.

¹⁶ The quote is from C. Lombroso's C.V., op. cit.

¹⁷ Maddalena Tirabassi, *Enemy Aliens or Loyal Americans? The Mazzini Society and the Italian American Communities*, «Rivista di studi anglo-americani», 4-5, 1984-85; Ead., *La Mazzini Society (1940-46): un'associazione di antifascisti italiani negli Stati Uniti*, in Giorgio Spini, Gian Giacomo

profiles of him, however, his youthful political activity is exalted with details (and various errors) for which no documentary evidence is provided. His courageously professed anti-fascism is emphasized but typically, in his case as in others, the discrimination suffered by his family due to the racial laws because of his Jewish origin is not mentioned¹⁸.

A young man from the Mazzini Society

From the papers of the Mazzini Society, there is no doubt that Cesare was a member. He was expressly invited to join, through a circular letter signed by Renato Poggioli and sent on 1 October 1939 in the name of Salvemini, Michele Cantarella, Lionello Venturi and Roberto Bolaffio. At the bottom of the letter, there was a list of 23 addresses, including the aforementioned promoters, who had had a first meeting in Northampton on 24 September¹⁹. Cesare had arrived in the United States from Italy only the month before, in August, and although he was just a student he was evidently known and appreciated by some of the authoritative promoters of the initiative. The seriousness of the events in Europe compelled the Italian anti-fascist intellectuals to form an association «whose first task is to contribute to orientating American public opinion, and possibly the figures that direct the

Migone, Massimo Teodori (eds.), *Italia e America dalla grande guerra ad oggi*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1976, pp. 141-158; Ead., *Nazioni Unite (1942-1946): l'organo ufficiale della Mazzini Society*, in Antonio Varsori (ed.), *L'antifascismo italiano negli Stati Uniti durante la seconda guerra mondiale*, Roma, Archivio trimestrale, 1984, pp. 295-313; «*Mazzini news*»: *organo della Mazzini Society*, ed. Lamberto Mercuri, Foggia, Bastogi editrice italiana, 1990. It was not possible for me to consult the thesis on the Mazzini Society by Tirabassi, whom I thank. The papers of the Mazzini Society (January 1940 - June 1943) constitute a sub-fund, donated by Alberto Tarchiani, of the Fondo Giustizia e libertà organized by Ernesto Rossi and entrusted to the ISRT, Firenze <<https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it>> (accessed 20 January 2021).

¹⁸ See for example in the website of the Child Neurologist Society, the celebratory profile published by Robert S. Rust, *Cesare Lombroso MD, PhD (1917-2013)*, n.d. but 2014 <<https://www.childneurologysociety.org>> (accessed 20 January 2021), where it is erroneously claimed that «his father's refusal to declare support for Mussolini resulted in the loss of his University chair in 1937». The oath of allegiance to fascism was expected of academics holding chairs in 1931 and Ugo Lombroso had sworn like practically everyone else, with the exception of his brother-in-law Carrara; he lost his position as a consequence of the racial laws of 1938 along with hundreds of university teachers of various level because he was «of Jewish race».

¹⁹ ISRT, *Fondo Michele Cantarella*, b. 2, f. 9, letter from Renato Poggioli for the Mazzini Society, Providence, 1 October 1939. I thank Mirco Bianchi of the ISRT for having discovered it.

foreign policy of the United States [...on] the 'Italian question'²⁰. At the founding meeting of the Society on 28 December 1939, at Lionello Venturi's house in New York, where Cesare went, eighteen people signed a document. Among them were the jurist Nino Levi (a colleague at the University of Genoa of Cesare's father, Ugo Lombroso, like him expelled) and Max Ascoli, both from the New School in New York, the engineer Roberto Bolaffio, Giuseppe Borgese from the University of Chicago, and Lionello Venturi and Cesare Lombroso, both of whom were indicated as affiliated with Johns Hopkins University. The provisional secretary of the Mazzini Society was the Slavist Renato Poggioli. The headquarters was 1775 Broadway, New York, the 26-story skyscraper of the General Motors Building completed in 1928²¹. Salvemini chose the name of the Society and he was probably the main reference point for Cesare, who became more and more politically committed also in other areas.

In August 1942, he was invited by the International Student Service to be part of an Italian delegation to represent *Free Italy* at an international congress in Washington. He wanted to use an article by Salvemini entitled «How to deal with Italy». Roberto Bolaffio had told him about it and he had found it «stupendous. It has all the most important things that need to be said»²². He therefore asked Professor Salvemini for permission to read it as it was, or adapt it for the event, and in the meantime he updated the professor with the latest news: it was especially Alvin Johnson, the director of the New School, who had involved him in that delegation of young people. Among the others, there would probably have been Sforzino Sforza, son of Senator

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1.

²¹ ISRT, *Fondo Giustizia e libertà*, sez. VI, *La Mazzini Society*, b. 13, f. 1, minutes of the meeting 28 December 1939. There is a photo of the General Motors Building, formerly Promenade Building, prior to its renovation in 2011 at <<https://www.skyscrapercenter.com>> (accessed 20 January 2021).

²² ISRT, *Archivio Gaetano Salvemini, Corrispondenza*, b. 120, letter from C.T. Lombroso to Salvemini, New York, 20 August 1942. I thank professor Luigi Pepe of the Comitato per la pubblicazione delle opere di G. Salvemini for the authorization to consult and cite these papers. The following year would see the publication of Gaetano Salvemini, George La Piana, *What to Do with Italy*, London, V. Gollancz, 1943.

Carlo, in exile since 1927, the florentine Renzo Ravà, lawyer, thirty-six -years - old, and the not yet thirty-year-old Paolo Contini, who had found a position at the New School. Cesare was probably the youngest but very active. He made contact with other European delegations in order to present a united front before those in charge at the State Department. He believed that the occasion would be the «most suitable for a clear and combative position»²³. A few months later, he submitted to Salvemini's judgment a «pamphlet "Italy versus Fascism"» that some young people had prepared and of which the *Common Fight for Freedom* had already purchased five thousand copies. If he approved of it, could the professor intercede with Thompson to get her interested? He was alluding to the American journalist of the *New York Post*, Dorothy Thompson, close to President Roosevelt, with whom the professor was on good terms and to whom the young Lombroso would have gladly introduced himself. The War Information continued to ask them to write other booklets on similar topics but, first, they wanted to see if what they had already done was circulating in the American press. What did Salvemini think about this? Could he help them?²⁴

Unfortunately, we have no record of the professor's answers.

The meeting of his life

Cesare frequented American anti-totalitarian youth organizations and it was at an event related to the World Youth Congress, perhaps during a reception organized by Eleanor Roosevelt at the White House, that he met a Polish girl²⁵. Her name was Irena but everyone called her Rysia. She spoke French

²³ *Ibidem*, for the letters see *Archivio Gaetano Salvemini. Inventario della corrispondenza*, ed. Andrea Becherucci, Bologna, Clueb, 2007, p. 258 and p. 425; C.T. Lombroso does not appear in the collection of Gaetano Salvemini's letters, *Lettere americane 1927-1949*, ed. Renato Camurri, Rome, Donzelli, 2015.

²⁴ ISRT, *Archivio Gaetano Salvemini, Corrispondenza*, b. 101, letter from C.T. Lombroso to Salvemini, New York, 1 October [n.d. but 1942].

²⁵ According to S. Ashwal (ed.), *The Founders of Child Neurology*, op. cit., the encounter took place at the First World Youth Congress, but the congress was held in the month before Rysia arrived in the United States. Despite the support of Eleanor Roosevelt the organization was dissolved in 1941; see <<https://www.encyclopedia.com>> (accessed 20 January 2021) and

and English, came from an educated family of Jewish origin and was involved in the Resistance. She arrived in the United States in the spring of 1941, at the age of eighteen, with her parents Hanna and Marian Kister, her younger sister and an artist aunt, all embarking in Portugal²⁶. In 1942, the Kisters opened Roy Publishers in New York, a publishing house that aimed above all at making Polish culture and literature known in the United States, continuing the experience of «Rój», active from 1924 to 1940 in Warsaw, which Marian Kister (1897-1958) had managed until they fled to the United States²⁷.

On 2 September 1943, Cesare and Rysia were married in New York. She was twenty-years-old, he twenty-six but looked younger²⁸. The wedding photos show the bride's parents. For the groom, there were sister Nora, his cousin Nina and his cousin Corrado Cavalieri, all of whom were already living in the United States. It was not possible for Cesare's parents to be there. Without news for almost a year, his mother had learned of the upcoming wedding a few months earlier: «the letters no longer arrive, but the news arrived anyway, defying the war, censorship and torpedoes [...] because it brought joy»²⁹.

Patricia S. Nolfi, *Peace, Freedom, and Progress: the American Youth Congress Movement, 1934-1940*, PhD thesis, New Brunswick (NJ), Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2014. For the inventory, Syracuse University Libraries, Special Collections Research Center, «American Youth Congress Collection, 1937-44» <<https://library.syr.edu>> (accessed 10 January 2021).

²⁶ Cf. Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search, ad nomen* <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (accessed on registration 20 January 2021). They had left on 22 March 1941 and arrived on 1 April; they all spoke two or three languages. The father Marian, aged 43, was identified as a publisher, the mother Hanna, 38, and the sister, Elzbieta aged 9 – all from Warsaw and all with a six-month visa – were going to Hanna's aunt, Helena Zimet at 2246 Grand Concourse, Bronx. I was provided with information about the quite complicated vicissitudes of the members of the Kister family, especially about the four sisters and the brother Silbert, from the son of the latter, Mark Silber, to whom I express my deep gratitude.

²⁷ Cf. *Roy Publishers Complete Decade of Publishing in this Country*, «Publishers Weekly», 27 December 1952, vol. 162, pp. 2433-2434; Stanford University Libraries, Stanford (CA), Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, M2074, *Roy Publishers Records*. <<https://searchworks.stanford.edu>> (accessed 10 January 2021). See Barbara Krupa, *Działalność Roy Publishers w Nowym Jorku w latach 1941-1960 jako kontynuacja tradycji przedwojennego Towarzystwa Wydawniczego «Rój»*, «Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi», vol. 13, 2019, pp. 291-309.

²⁸ The date of the wedding comes from ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», personal profile, n.d. For the wedding photos, see the [gallery](#).

²⁹ S. Lombroso, *Si può stampare* cit., p. 139; the quote comes from pages from the diary written in Ivrea, 4 April 1943 and they are not translated in the English edition.

In January 1946, Claudia was born in New York. The war was over. The paternal grandparents were burning with the desire to see her, to see their son again, and to meet the «modern girl» he had chosen for his wife.

And after politics?

On a professional level, Cesare still had to find an arrangement. It is not clear what he had accomplished, after the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and the internship in Boston, besides engaging politically. He had collaborated with «United Nations», the newspaper of the Mazzini Society, and with the Office of War Information as a volunteer in contact with «the Italian liberation struggle», he wrote in his resume. Perhaps, he was also involved with the Office of Strategic Services³⁰.

The Foreign Nationalities Branch (FNB) of the Office of Strategic Services had been created in the fall of 1941 to collect information on political exiles in the States and also to promote, through contacts with émigrés, the activities of the Resistance in various European countries. In addition to its headquarters in Washington, it had offices in New York, Boston and other cities with large communities of émigrés. It could count on about 45 officials and a much larger group of volunteers recruited mainly among university professors. Among the émigrés, the FNB had rather close contacts with Luigi Sturzo, for example, who lived in Brooklyn and with whom Cesare was certainly on good terms, even after the dissolution of the Mazzini Society. In addition to the Polish authors, in the catalog of Roy Publisher of Cesare's in-laws, two volumes by Sturzo appear, published in 1945 and 1946: the first was entitled *Italy and the Coming World*³¹.

³⁰ S. Ashwal (ed.), *The Founders of Child Neurology*, cit., p. 768. And C. Lombroso, C.V., cit., n.d. but 1950; the obituaries also give similar information but deriving from family members and based on hearsay in the family, as the daughter Anna Lombroso has confirmed (personal written communication to the author, 16 January 2021).

³¹ Luigi Sturzo, *Italy and the Coming World*, New York, Roy Publishers, 1945, and idem, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, New York, Roy Publishers, 1946. James E. Miller, *La politica dei «prominenti» italo-americani nei rapporti dell'Oss*, «Italia contemporanea», 139, 1980, pp. 51-70, reproduces some documents on the Italian-American organizations of the Foreign

In October 1945, the FNB closed as well. Roosevelt had died in May and was succeeded by Harry S. Truman. As for the Mazzini Society, as is well known, it had a short life and was lacerated by intense internal strife. Its most important members returned to Italy, some following the allies and joining the Resistance, others after Liberation.

And then? Cesare found himself putting aside his political activities. He decided to go to Italy not just for a visit, with Rysia and little Claudia, whose middle name was Gina, like Aunt Lombroso. The exact date of return depended on when his parents would be able to return to Genoa.

Starting over in Italy: father and son

Cesare's father had received a letter dated October 1944 and signed by Minister De Ruggiero readmitting him to the position of full professor in Genoa under the decree-law of January 1944. Of course, some time would pass. The city was occupied by the Germans. Finally, on 23 April 1945, the insurrection of Genoa began, resulting in about three hundred dead and three thousand wounded. With the partisans having blocked the German forces' retreat routes to the north, on 25 April General Günther Meinhold surrendered to the *Comitato Liberazione Nazionale* after negotiations at Cardinal Siri's house. The Allied forces began to arrive only the following evening³². The liberated city was in ruins after years of aerial and naval bombardment. The Lombrosos also proclaimed themselves «casualties of war»: they had lost everything, including the library, except for an apartment, which was occupied. In any case, professor Ugo Lombroso left Rome and

Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services. These FNB reports (May 1943 - January 1945) are preserved in the National Archives of Washington, *Records of the Office of Strategic Services*, Record Group 165, *Intelligence Division of the War Department General and Special Staffs*. The greatest sympathies of the FNB, according to Miller (who does not mention Lombroso), went to Randolph Pacciardi and Carlo Sforza, antifascists with liberal ideas and moderate orientations; FNB collaborated actively with Luigi Antonini, George Baldanzi, Girolamo Valenti and numerous other socialists and trade union leaders (J.E. Miller, *La politica dei «prominenti» italo-americani*, op. cit., pp. 53-54).

³² For a detailed account, see Paolo Emilio Taviani, *Breve storia dell'insurrezione di Genova*, Genova, Ed. Comitato liberazione nazionale, 1956.

resumed effective service in Medicine, at least as of January³³.

At the beginning of 1946, then, Cesare arrived with his wife and their daughter. He took them to live with his parents. He enrolled again at the Faculty of Medicine in Genoa and on 25 May 1946 graduated 110/110 with honors, defending a thesis on «Diabete floriznico e ghiandole endocrine» (Phlorhizin diabetes and endocrinous glands)³⁴. After two months, he was appointed voluntary assistant to Giovanni De Toni (1895-1973), director of the Pediatric Clinic at the Istituto Gaslini, which had been inaugurated in 1938. De Toni had been transferred to Genoa by Minister Bottai in 1942 and it was precisely on 25 April 1945 that his son Tonino was mortally wounded by the Germans during a partisan action³⁵, the date that would be chosen for the celebration of Liberation.

In the Faculty and in the Pediatric Clinic itself, there were losses due to the war and to the racial laws. In the list of confirmations, terminations and appointments of personnel, Semah Frida, a student of pediatrician Dante Pacchioni, who had been a voluntary assistant for years until 1938³⁶, does not appear. Cesare, on the other hand, was a newcomer, with training at prestigious medical research centers in the United States, which the luminary

³³ This is a very synthetic summary of the correspondence preserved in ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Ugo», between 1944 and 1946, which reveals difficulties and misunderstandings. Ugo Lombroso's first letter from Genoa, rather than from Rome, after Liberation, is dated 30 January 1946.

³⁴ Private papers in the possession of the Lombroso heirs, certificate of the University of Genoa, Student registrar's office, issued 18 March 2015. Unfortunately, the student file for Cesare Lombroso is missing, due to recent flooding, as I have learned from the registrar of the Scuola di Medicina e farmacia dell'Università di Genova, to which I am grateful for the verification.

³⁵ See Roberto Burgio, *Giovanni De Toni*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 39, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1991 <<https://www.treccani.it>> (accessed 20 January 2021); on Gaslini's request to Bottai for the transfer of De Toni see Paride Rugafiori, *Rockefeller d'Italia: Gerolamo Gaslini imprenditore e filantropo*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, p. 84n, who cites primary sources in this regard.

³⁶ His name is given among those expelled by Angelo Ventura, *Il fascismo e gli ebrei*, Rome, Donzelli, 2013 (the paper is from 1997), p. 174. Born in Salonico on 17 April 1908 to Yomtov and Ada Cuzzeri, expelled at the age of 30 due to her Jewish origins, Frida surely had some publications, among which *Recherches sur la toxicité de quelques organes dans l'intoxication diphtérique expérimentale*, «Acta Paediatrica», 27, 2, 1939, pp. 219-232. There is no record of her; cf. the reference to *Semah Frida*, in *Scienza a due voci. Le donne nella scienza italiana*, 2004-2010 <<http://scienzaa2voci.unibo.it>> (accesso 20 gennaio 2021).

De Toni certainly appreciated. At the latter's request to the rector, Dr. Lombroso was appointed «paid voluntary assistant» in the Pediatric Clinic on 1 January 1948 and was confirmed for the academic year 1948-49 with a clause of tacit confirmation from year to year until otherwise disposed³⁷.

Pursuing a university career in Italy

He began submitting himself to university competitions, as emerges from the documentation he collected from the beginning of 1948: the certificate of Italian citizenship, issued by the City of Genoa on 12 January 1948 at the request of the interested party for purposes of «employment», where he was identified as a student, married and living in Via Montallegro³⁸; the official certificate of the criminal record of the Public Prosecutor's Office of Rome, also requested for «competition» use; the medical certificate of sound physical constitution issued on 1 February 1948 by Dr. Ugo Dachà, assistant surgeon at the Civil Hospitals, and student of his father.

In the fall of 1950, he prepared the application for a grant at the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*, with a research project on radioactive isotopes regarding the problems of metabolism in childhood and growth. He indicated that he would conduct the research in the Gaslini laboratories, directed by De Toni, and also that he counted on having free material from unspecified American laboratories. He also proposed to work on nitrogen replacement in certain diseases, «a problem which is currently given great importance in America, also for practical purposes», as well as childhood obesity from a

³⁷ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», letter from the rector Carlo Cereti, Università di Genova, to Cesare Lombroso, 5 February 1948, with appointment; G. De Toni's request to the rector, 16 January 1948, in which De Toni proposed that the appointment be made retroactive, from 1 November 1947. The confirmation for the academic year 1948-49 is dated 21 January 1949; G. De Toni's request, of 23 December 1948, concerned the confirmation of nine collaborators of various levels for the Pediatric Clinic: among the paid assistants in addition to Lombroso were Maria Crisalli e Paolo Tolentino, as well as two appointed assistants, three unpaid voluntary assistants and a voluntary aide.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, Comune di Genova, Divisione servizi anagrafici, certificate of Italian citizenship, n. 35607; stamped certificate of the Casellario giudiziale, 28 February 1948.

metabolic, psychosomatic and endocrine perspective³⁹.

He had ready a letter of recommendation from De Toni praising his aptitude for research, which he had already demonstrated between 1935 and 1939 with 11 academic publications in Italian and foreign journals, and recalled that the candidate, forced to expatriate in the fifth year of Medicine, had spent years of study in Baltimore and Boston and had won a prize and an international competition in New York. In addition to experience and teaching skills brought to bear in both theoretical and clinical courses carried out with «passion and diligence», in the Pediatric Clinic of Gaslini, Cesare had performed all the duties of «head of department» and had proved «capable and original in setting scientific research goals, meticulous on the job, helpful to young people». The professor declared that he himself had directed him in particular to the problems of nutrition, human pathophysiology and biochemistry, and concluded: «I wish Dr. Lombroso all the recognition of which I consider him worthy»⁴⁰.

However, Cesare Lombroso did not receive a CNR grant. Things were not going well.

Three children and very few prospects

In the meantime, the family had grown.

Anna Cristina was born on 29 September 1948, baptized on 10 October in the local parish of San Francesco d'Albaro, with Enrico Carrara, Cesare's cousin and son of Mario and Paola, as godfather, and Maria Pacchioni, Cesare's contemporary and known as Marilli, as godmother. She was the only child of the former Director of the Pediatric Clinic of Genoa, the by now elderly Dante Pacchioni, who in 1942 was replaced by De Toni⁴¹.

³⁹ Private papers of Anna Lombroso; it is typewritten, I would say a draft of a project with the letter from G. De Toni, n.d. but authenticated 30 September 1950.

⁴⁰ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», Università di Genova, typewritten letter from G. De Toni, n.d. but with rector C. Cereti's authentication of De Toni's signature, 30 September 1950.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, certificate of baptism «issued for purposes of confirmation», by the parish priest of S. Francesco d'Albaro, 9 March 1957, and City of Genoa, Servizi civici, Stato civile, birth

Less than two years later, the third child arrived. Paul was born on 22 July 1950 in Rutland, Vermont, where Rysia's parents had bought a farm. Rysia had returned to the United States with the girls at the beginning of June and, when she gave birth, Cesare was apparently not with her⁴². They had also left Italy separately on the previous trip to New York in 1947: his wife with Claudia flying from Rome on 7 May, he by ship from Genoa on 6 March. By now, he had a permanent permit for the United States but, once again in 1947, he declared his intention to return to his country, as we have seen he did. But then, the prospects for his future in Italy had objectively changed; not for the better.

He landed in New York on a flight from London on 8 April 1951. There was good news. The rector congratulated him in a note addressed to him at the University of Genoa: by ministerial decree of 12 June 1951, Dr. Lombroso was «qualified to teach Food Science at universities and colleges for five years from the date of the decree»⁴³. He was in the United States, but he certainly learned about this from his colleagues or from his father, who, in addition to teaching physiology in Medicine, also taught Food Science in Pharmacy on a paid basis from 1946-47, the contract renewed every year⁴⁴.

certificate, issued 1 December 2004. There is some information about Marilli Pacchioni (Genoa 27 January 1916 - Genoa 12 March 2011) and about her father Dante Pacchioni (Reggio Emilia 26 August 1872 - Genoa 24 July 1953), who had received training under the great pediatrician Giuseppe Mya, in the introduction to *Le Carte Pacchioni-Vitelli. Inventario a cura di Davide Debernardi*, «Atti della Società ligure di storia patria», n.s. 53, 2, 2013, pp. 247-252.

⁴² This is what emerges from the data-base which makes it possible to check the arrivals at the port of New York until 1957, apart from errors and omissions, which are not lacking, in the recording of names and surnames. It cannot be excluded that there were other trips between those indicated here; see Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search, ad nomen* <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (accessed on registration 10 January 2021), respectively Irena Lombroso (or Irene or I.), who was travelling with Claudia and Anna, and Cesare Lombroso, who travelled alone, as an American citizen. In the previous crossing, on 6 March, aboard the *Marine Perch*, with a return permit issued in Philadelphia in December 1945, his references were his father, residing in via Montallegro 7, Genoa, and his sister Nora at 25 West 45 Street, New York, NY (*ibid. ibid.*); his wife and Claudia, on the other hand, took a TWA flight on 7 May (*ibid. ibid.*); the address was 44 Washington Square, New York.

⁴³ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», message from the rector C. Cereti to Lombroso, 20 June 1951, copy of Ministerial Decree sent to the University of Genoa on 13 June 1951 («Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bollettino Ufficiale. Parte 2^a. Atti di amministrazione», 48, 29 novembre 1951).

⁴⁴ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Ugo», all the annual confirmations of positions at the Facoltà di

Qualifications but not work

Obtaining qualifications for teaching did not mean, however, in Italy, obtaining a university job or even a temporary position. It was only a qualification, an academic degree necessary but not sufficient to be called by a particular university. It is clear that the young scholar hoped to be called, otherwise he would not have participated in the competition, and that he had a better chance of being called to Genoa, where he had done his apprenticeship with merit and where he undeniably had some contacts. But no.

On 31 October 1950, his service as a paid voluntary assistant at the chair of Pediatric Clinic of the Faculty of Medicine of Genoa ended, as is attested by a recent certificate⁴⁵. According to what had been set out at the time by the Faculty, he should have received formal notice of the termination of his contract, which was otherwise renewed automatically. This cancellation, however, is missing from his personal file at the University of Genoa. Was it he who left or the director who did not keep him? From the documentation it is not possible to reconstruct whether and how the various relationships might have changed.

In the personal file of his father, however, there is another act issued on the same date as that of the act of termination of employment relating to Cesare Lombroso and issued from the same Faculty of Medicine. By ministerial decree of 31 October 1950, professor Ugo Lombroso, full professor of physiology, was assigned in excess to the Faculty of Medicine as of 1 November 1947. The retroactive decision was communicated to the rector on 7 May and by him to the person concerned on 16 May 1951, i.e., more than five years after his effective return to service⁴⁶. The decision was not totally

Farmacia from 1946-47 to 1951-52 (the rector's last renewal is dated 1 February 1952).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. «Lombroso Cesare», certificate of the University Genoa, Personnel Department, 9 July 1990, on request of the interested party.

⁴⁶ On the attribution of third grade supernumerary, see *ibidem*, f. «Lombroso Ugo», letter from the Ministry of Public Education, DGIS, to the rector of Genoa, 7 May 1951, and letter from the rector to Ugo Lombroso, 16 May 1951, which copied the letter from the Ministry.

unexpected but the qualification «in excess» caused him a sense of great bitterness, and not the only one.

It is likely that the news also influenced Cesare's decisions, who urgently needed to find a position.

In the space of a few years: a balance sheet

His father's academic influence had been drastically reduced by the time he returned to the Faculty of Medicine, eight years after the racial laws. It wasn't only because he was about to retire. The whole climate of the country had changed and the great hopes of the immediate post-war period, when Cesare had returned, had been dashed. In their environment, at the University of Genoa, the rector – who had applied the racial laws – had been dismissed in August 1944 and in 1945 was removed from his post as senator by the High Court of Justice for sanctions against fascism⁴⁷. The new rector had proceeded to rehire the professors who had been expelled and indeed the Minister of Public Education himself had done so in some cases, as in the case of Ugo Lombroso. However, with time, the restitution of positions unjustly removed for political and racial reasons was redefined and the power relations in the academic environment weighed in heavily, resulting in non-homogeneous solutions. The situation of Medicine in Genoa is a case in point. The two professors who were expelled and rehired were Ugo Lombroso and Amedeo Della Volta, and their respective experiences were almost diametrically opposed. When the professor of forensic medicine was reinstated as a professor, the first rector of the Liberation, in 1945, was very much against it because the Faculty had never given him a chair; Della Volta had had one only by order of the Minister of National Education, having then always enjoyed special privileges as a member of the Fascist party since 1921. In 1948, however, with another rector, Della Volta was rehired, and not

⁴⁷ Cf. Senato della Repubblica, *Senatori del Regno, Moresco Mattia (1877-1946)*, referred on 7 August 1944, removed on 30 August 1945 as he was «held responsible for having maintained fascism [...]», died on 26 July 1946 <<https://notes9.senato.it>> (accessed 20 January 2021).

as a supernumerary or by splitting the chair he had occupied for others. Rather, a special chair was created for him, one of psychology, as recommended by the powerful Father Agostino Gemelli, rector of the Catholic University, and with the help of De Toni. Indeed, the Institute of Psychology was inaugurated with Gemelli right inside Gaslini⁴⁸. Ugo Lombroso, on the other hand, a physiologist with an international reputation, and an anti-fascist, had been called back to his professorship in 1944, even before Genoa was liberated, and then, a few years later, received the retroactive treatment mentioned above.

Yet his value as a teacher was undisputed, as confirmed by the Rockefeller Foundation's citing him among the irreplaceable Italians in the biological sciences. Many were the letters of condolence that the university received for its great loss when he left for good, on 10 April 1952, before he even reached retirement.

Cesare flew to Genoa, alone. On 2 May, he took a TWA flight from Milan to Boston⁴⁹.

News from Italy to Boston

From the Ministry, in February 1957, the Directorate General of Higher Education asked the Rector of Genoa for clarification on the qualified university lecturer Dr. Cesare Lombroso: the five years validity of his qualification had expired on 12 June 1956, but the offices had not received any request for confirmation. The Directorate awaited a reply and enquired whether the case had been examined by the competent Faculty. The rector replied almost immediately: Lombroso had moved to the United States some years earlier and his last address was 22 Allerton Village, Massachusetts⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ This is discussed in M.S. Rollandi, *Le leggi razziali e l'Università di Genova*, cit., pp. 487-488.

⁴⁹ Ellis Island Foundation, *Passenger Search, ad nomen* <<https://heritage.statueofliberty.org>> (accessed on registration 10 January 2021).

⁵⁰ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», MPI, DGIS letter to the rector on lack of confirmation of qualification for university teaching, 23 February 1957, and rector's reply to the Ministry, DGIS, Genoa 27 February 1957.

He was contacted, but we do not know by whom, because there are no letters in his university file; and he reappeared. The lecturer who had been qualified to teach at the university but whose qualification had expired proposed a free course program of his own. In December 1957, it was forwarded to the dean of the Faculty. Not the Faculty of Medicine, but the Faculty of Pharmacy approved his course, as the rector informed him on 31 January 1958⁵¹. Not only that, but in the following June session – presumably after the professor had given his lectures – the Faculty of Pharmacy unanimously proposed that Professor Lombroso be granted a three-year extension for the presentation of the teaching and scientific qualifications necessary for confirmation of his professorship in Food Science, noting that in the past five years, from 1952 to 1957, the applicant had not been able to teach regularly at the Faculty in Genoa, since he was a member of Harvard University⁵².

This resolution was sent to the Ministry in three days by the rector, who on 6 August 1958 took the trouble to send a notice to Lombroso (but without an address) and to the Faculty of Pharmacy: the Ministry had authorized the extension until 12 June 1959. After that date, it was up to the Faculty to decide whether or not to confirm him as a free professor⁵³.

Commuting between Boston and Genoa

For eight years, Cesare Lombroso had been living in the United States with his family; his widowed mother also lived there, near him or his sister Nora. He was professionally well integrated, as we shall see, in the scientific and

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, file from the managing director to the dean of Pharmacy, 17 December, and letter from rector on approval of proposed course, 31 January 1958.

⁵² *Ibidem*, Università di Genova, Facoltà di Farmacia, extract from the minutes of the Faculty Council meeting, 12 June 1958, signed by the dean Andrea Gandini and by professor Ferdinando Petrilli as secretary, 16 June 1958; letter from the rector to the Ministry of Public Education MPI, DGIS, 19 June 1958. Among those present at the Faculty meeting were G. Orestano, G. Zanoni, L. Mazza, E. Sanero, F. Rossi De Rubeis. C. Zummo, G. Scortecchi, A. Bonsignore.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, rector to Cesare Lombroso and c.c. to the dean of Pharmacy, 6 August 1958, with a nearly complete transcription of the Ministry's letter.

clinical activity that most interested him. However, evidently, he still wanted to have his qualification valid to teach in Italian universities. In order not to risk losing it, he worked hard: he managed to obtain permission from his director in Boston to teach in Italy for part of the year and to reach an agreement with the University of Genoa.

From the academic year 1956-57, each year the teacher had to submit a regular course proposal; the Faculty approved it; the rector notified him; and he held lessons twice a week, in a classroom of the Institute of Human Physiology, with the authorization signed by the director, Professor Cataldo Zummo⁵⁴. Zummo had been a student of Ugo Lombroso⁵⁵. At least, two other professors of the Faculty of Pharmacy had also been students of the distinguished professor, of a total of ten. The course in Food Science, held by Prof Cesare T. Lombroso beginning in 1946, had actually been taught by his father. In addition to the courses in physiology, which he taught in Medicine, he had accepted and conducted the annual course at the Faculty of Pharmacy until 1951, the year in which Cesare obtained, after a public competition, a teaching qualification in that discipline which allowed him to hold courses in any university or faculty that called him.

In September 1959, the Rector of the University of Genoa sent the Dean of Pharmacy the documentation confirming Cesare Lombroso's qualification to teach in Food Science. He attached eleven publications, specified that the professor had taught regular courses in the two-year period 1957-59, and pointed out that the three-year extension granted by the Ministry on 6 August 1958 had begun on 12 June 1956 (and had therefore expired again)⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Council of the Faculty of Pharmacy, 22 January 1959, again signed by the dean Gandini and by Ferdinando Ferrilli; program for the course for the academic year 1958-59 authorized by professor Cataldo Zummo, n.d. but signed by Cesare Lombroso.

⁵⁵ See the obituaries of Ugo Lombroso, published in «Il Corriere del popolo», 11 April 1952; «Il Secolo XIX», 11 April 1952; the latter was written by students, with a list of 15, among whom Zummo and, again from Pharmacy, Gerolamo Orestano. See also C. Zummo, *Profilo di un maestro*, «Gazzetta del lunedì», 14 April 1952.

⁵⁶ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», registered letter from the rector to the dean of Pharmacy, September 1959.

The Faculty unanimously approved the confirmation and stressed that the publications were the result of studies carried out in foreign research institutes, often presented at international scientific congresses. Therefore «while noting that some topics of Dr. Lombroso's scientific activity are not related to the discipline in question, [the Faculty] considers his teaching activity sufficient»⁵⁷.

Wasted competences and opportunities

This was a very fair assessment, even if we do not know exactly which scholarly articles were presented, as there is no list in the file and no extract or copy. Suffice it to say that in those years, Lombroso published in prestigious journals such as «Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology», «Epilepsia», «Pediatrics», and that already in 1955 he had co-signed, with the great William Lennox, a masterful study on a form of epilepsy in children⁵⁸.

The Faculty of Pharmacy had responded to the desire of an esteemed colleague, the son of a distinguished professor, by allowing him to teach courses and confirm his qualification, but it would certainly have been more sensible and convenient for the university to use him for his specific competences, which were considerable. In Genoa, he lectured on proteins, vitamins, amino acids, energy turnover and other topics of nutritional science. At the international level, he was among the top neurologists specialized in childhood epilepsy at Boston Children's Hospital, a center at the forefront of studies and treatments. Innovative contributions in that area

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, extract from the minutes of the Faculty Council, meeting held on 27 October 1959, signed again by Gaddini e Petrilli; *ibidem*, rector to the minister, DGIS, 6 November 1959, and minister's reply to the rector, 23 November 1959.

⁵⁸ No publications by Cesare Lombroso (1917-2013) appear in the catalogue of the Library of Genoa and on *PubMed* there are 90 beginning in 1955. There are various references to earlier publications, including those that recognized with awards and those presented in applying for qualification for university teaching in 1951, both in archival documents and in secondary but without bibliographic references; there is also no list among the private papers of the heirs, to whom I am very grateful, in particular Anna C. Lombroso.

could have come from him, and this would have benefited students and colleagues, benefited childhood science and medicine, and benefited the interests of young patients and their families. The Faculty with the greatest interest should have been Medicine, in particular the Pediatric Clinic at Gaslini, which naturally also dealt with neurological disorders and, since 1950, had wanted a child psychologist, calling Della Volta. It was at Gaslini that Cesare T. Lombroso had worked until October 1950.

On an occasion, in 1995, celebrating the late Giovanni De Toni, a professor of childcare and his successor recounted that the professor had sent to America to Professor Lennox, the father of encephalography, one of «his students, Cesare Lombroso [...] who, however, *scenting* the prospect of a more rapid career, had already indicated that he had decided not to return to Genoa [...] and after many years managed to become a second Lennox»⁵⁹. The teacher's recollections of events of some 40 years earlier were, at the very least, partial and inaccurate. Yet his attitude was emblematic. By treating Lombroso almost as an ingrate, or as a greedy careerist, for having settled abroad, he ignored both that the university under Fascism, with its racial laws, had in any case unjustly expelled him, his family and many other professors and students, and that the post-war university was continuing to cause the country to lose important resources that other countries were able to attract. Such as the neurologist Cesare T. Lombroso, or his brother-in-law the physicist Bruno Rossi, their cousins and uncles, just to mention an important and gifted family almost all of whose members left Italy.

Non-parallel careers

At the beginning of 1960, with a Ministerial Decree of 11 January, the Ministry of Public Education decreed the confirmation of Dr. Cesare Lombroso's

⁵⁹ Among the celebratory pieces *In ricordo del professor Giovanni De Toni nel centenario della sua sua nascita*, «Gaslini. Rivista di pediatria e di specialità pediatriche», 27, 1995, n. 3, p. 333-351, I am referring to that by Rolando Bulgarelli, *Il maestro inesauribile precursore e innovatore*, pp. 347- 351. The author confirmed that De Toni wanted Della Volta as child psychologist at Gaslini precisely in 1950.

qualification to teach Food Science, which the rector of Genoa forwarded to him⁶⁰.

At this point, no one could take it away from him. It was definitive. However, he did not just take the title for his own personal satisfaction and go back to Boston. He presented another course proposal for the academic year 1960-61, which the Faculty approved, countersigned by Cataldo Zummo as guarantor. He did the same in the following years, at least until 1963-64, with lessons to be held in the lecture hall of the Institute of Human Physiology, twice a week. Every year, the Rector sent a reminder that, in order to validate the course, the register of lessons had to be handed in once the course was over, by 31 October⁶¹.

In the meantime, the scholar with confirmed qualification to teach Food Science in all Italian universities succeeded William G. Lennox (1884-1960) in the Seizure Unit of the Children's Hospital in Boston and was then appointed its chief. It was a position of great prestige and responsibility, which Lombroso held until his retirement from the Faculty of Harvard Medical School. How did he get there?

When he joined his wife in 1951, they moved to Boston, where he had already worked at Boston City Hospital and where Stanley Cobb had been working for decades. In 1928, he and William Lennox had done pioneering work on the treatment of epilepsy. Cesare was already familiar with ECG (electrocardiogram) techniques, which he had learned at the psychiatric clinic in Baltimore with Adolf Meyer. And he knew that there were pioneering studies in electrophysiology at Harvard. He presented himself to the Epilepsy

⁶⁰ ASUGe, f. «Lombroso Cesare», cf. DM 11 January 1960 for the definitive confirmation and the relative correspondence.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*. From the program for the course for 1960-61, presented on 18 November 1960 up until that for 1963-64, as well as the relative approvals: extract from the minutes of the Faculty meeting on 12 December 1961; from the extract from the minutes of the meeting on 2 March 1964, last file, it emerges that as many as three courses were approved, those respectively of M. Lodi, C. Lombroso e A. Missale Colajacono. In addition, the file preserves the usual notes from the rector about the Cesare Lombroso's obligations to complete the register, 5 January 1962, 30 December 1962 and 24 March 1964.

Fellowship in the Seizure Unit implanted in the Carnegie Building at Harvard by Lennox and was welcomed. He became Lennox's student and close collaborator⁶².

Whether there was any recommendation from De Toni that got him taken in by Lennox in 1951 is yet to be demonstrated. The Italian pediatrician had a good scientific reputation, almost as good as the physiologist Ugo Lombroso, who had referred his son, already in 1941, when Cesare was between Baltimore and Boston, to his friend James Lawder Gamble (1883-1959), born in Paris and a lover of Italy. He was a professor of pediatrics at Harvard Medical School and Boston Children's Hospital, and later president of the American Pediatric Society⁶³. The young man certainly showed uncommon clinical talent and a solid scientific background in various lines of research that proved to be very useful in dealing with the complexity of the diseases he wanted to treat with Lennox. This is how he would become a «second Lennox»; according to some, a «legendary figure» of epileptology.

Clinician and scientist

Cesare Lombroso's crucial years were those between 1952 and 1956. He obtained his Board Certification in Neurology and Psychiatry, alternating on the one hand regular training periods in neurology with Raymond Adams and colleagues at the Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH), where he mainly dealt with children, and on the other hand research and clinical activity at the Seizure Unit, producing pioneering publications together with Lennox and others for the treatment of epilepsy. It is understandable, then, that he was

⁶² Cf. Robert S. Rust, *Cesare Lombroso MD, PhD (1917-2013)*, «Pediatric Neurology», 51, 1, 2014, pp. 5-9, which contains much information but no bibliographic references; see also Cesare T. Lombroso, *William G. Lennox: a remembrance*, «Epilepsia», 29, Supplement 2, 1988, pp. 5-14. Unfortunately, it was not possible to consult Children's Hospital Boston Archives, *Oral History of Cesare Lombroso, M.D., August 1993*.

⁶³ The information about the relationship between Gamble and Lombroso via Ugo Lombroso is R.S. Rust, *Cesare Lombroso*, cit., but see *Obituary of James Lawder Gamble*, «The Boston Globe», 29 May 1959, p. 20.

not able, at that time, to come to Italy to teach Food Science, but from 1956-57 he even resumed holding courses in Genoa. With Lennox's retirement and death in 1960, the burden of leadership in Boston passed to Lombroso as Acting Chief of the Epilepsy Unit, and as Acting Director of the Division of Neurophysiology and Laboratories. The Seizure Unit was responsible for diagnosis and treatment, training of physicians, psychologists, nurses and social workers, as well as for research and publications. Lombroso became Director in 1968 and promoted projects financed by the National Institutes of Health, such as the «mental retardation research program» for Boston Children's Hospital, continuing the activity of information and education to overcome the stigma of epilepsy⁶⁴.

He traveled frequently, for conferences and for pleasure, throughout Europe, the Americas, and Japan⁶⁵. An internationally recognized authority in his field, he trained researchers from all over the world, spreading the concept that the treatment of epilepsy in children requires a comprehensive medical and psychosocial approach. Opposed to the excesses of pathologizing, he demonstrated that febrile seizures in children are often benign and clarified that variants of ECG patterns previously considered abnormal were instead normal.

In 1981, he was awarded the gold medal of the International League Against Epilepsy (ILAE). A founding member of the American Epilepsy Society (AES), he was its president from 1986 to 1987. In 1990, he received the Distinguished Clinical Investigator Award from the Milken Family Foundation and in 2008 the Lifetime Achievement Award. He retired from Harvard Medical School in 1988. That same year Paul, his third-born, a molecular biologist and psychiatrist by training, became a professor at the Yale School

⁶⁴ US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington (DC), Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, Division of Research Grants, «Research Awards Index», Fiscal Year 1970, vol. II, p. 409, p. 794.

⁶⁵ Toru Kurokawa, *In the Memory of Professor Cesare T. Lombroso with Great Gratitude*, «Brain & Development», 36, 4, 2014, pp. 275-276.

of Medicine and later joined the Yale Child Study Center.

The link with Italy

After his retirement, at the age of 72, he asked to be enrolled in the Registry of Italians living abroad (AIRE) in Rome, where he was born. He obtained this recognition from the city of Genoa and maintained it throughout his long life, with a certificate issued by the mayor in June 1990. Cesare Lombroso, married, of Italian citizenship, had had his last Italian residence in Genoa in Via Montallegro 7, until 1 January 1950⁶⁶. In reality, he had been there longer and had returned regularly for years and many times again.

He was very attached to Italy and to his Italian citizenship. For years his daughter Anna, who was born in Genoa, has been trying to have it for herself and for her children, who also bear the Lombroso surname. This is a wish shared by the entire family and a promise made to her father Cesare T. Lombroso, who died in Cambridge, MA, on 19 October 2013, at the age of 96.

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⁶⁶ Private papers of Anna Lombroso, Cesare Lombroso to the mayor of Genoa, form with original signature, 8 May 1990; his enrolment was granted with a stamped certificate issued by the City of Genoa, Aire, 13 June 1990, which identifies him as resident at 1000 Memorial Drive, Cambridge (MS), married an Italian citizen, and residing abroad since 2 January 1950. His previous request filed with the Aire of Rome was rejected on the grounds that he had been cancelled from the resident population of Rome on 5 February 1926 due to his transfer to Palermo (Comune di Roma, Ufficio cambi di residenza, 5 December 1939).

* For Cesare T. Lombroso's publications the most results were obtained *PubMed*, which includes the medical literature from 1966 and only a selection of previous works <<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov>> (accessed 10 January 2021). This selection goes back to 1950 but the author had been publishing at least since 1941. I thank Giovanna Cestone of the Biblioteca di Scienze sociali, Università di Firenze, for her invaluable help in the bibliographic research.

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