

## ***VIBRIO CHOLERAE*, THE COMMA BACILLUS**



An infectious virus, according to Peter Medewar, is a piece of nucleic acid surrounded by bad news. This is what the virus carried by the female *Culicidae Aedes aegypti* mosquito, causing what was known as black vomit,



the American plague, yellow jacket, bronze John, dock fever, stranger's fever (now standardized as the "yellow fever") actually looks like, Disney-colored for your entertainment:

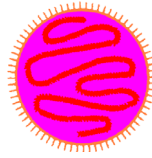


And this is what the infectious virus causing *Rubeola*, the incredibly deadly and devastating German measles,

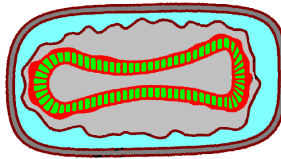
## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

looks like, likewise Disney-colored for your entertainment:



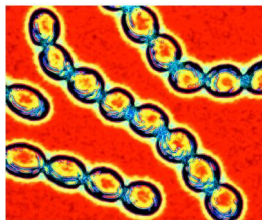
Most infectious viruses have fewer than 10 genes, although the virus that caused the small pox was the biggie exception, having from 200 to 400 genes:



Then, of course, there is the influenza, which exists in various forms as different sorts of this virus mutate and migrate from time to time from other species into humans – beginning with an “A” variety that made the leap from wild ducks to domesticated ducks *circa* 2500 BCE.

(And then there is our little friend the coma bacillus *Vibrio cholerae*, that occasionally makes its way from our privies into our water supplies and causes us to come down with the “Asiatic cholera.”)

On the other hand, the scarlet fever, also referred to as *Scarlatina*, is an infection caused not by a virus but by one or another of the hemoglobin-liberating bacteria, typically *Streptococcus pyogenes*. What did the insightful Herman Melville and little ward-of-the-state Laura Bridgman have in common? –their eyes had been damaged by scarlet fever.

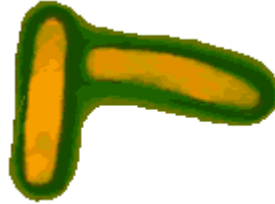


TB, referred to in the 19th Century by such terms as phthisis, is an infection caused by the bacillus *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* which contains 4,411,529

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

coded aminos in the about 4,000 genes of its genome.



A common error nowadays is to presume that tuberculosis affected only the lungs. It did not then and it does not now. It can settle in just about any part of the body, causing abscesses and crippling the bones and causing atrophy of the musculature. Humans can contract a human form of tuberculosis or a bovine form. One of the challenges of the 19th Century was to put a number of apparently quite different ailments together, and come to recognize that they were in fact not different diseases, but various forms taken by TB.

COMPARING 19TH-CENTURY WITH 21ST-CENTURY TERMINOLOGY:

**Lung Sickness**, Consumption = tuberculosis

**Galloping Consumption** = pulmonary tuberculosis

**Phthisis Pulmonalis** = wasting away of a body part

**Pott's Disease** = tuberculosis of the spinal vertebrae

Scrofula = tuberculosis of lymph nodes or glands of neck



Bubonic plague is caused by the bacillus *Yersina pestis* is an infection which is transmitted from rats to humans by the rat flea *Xenopsylla cheopsis*.

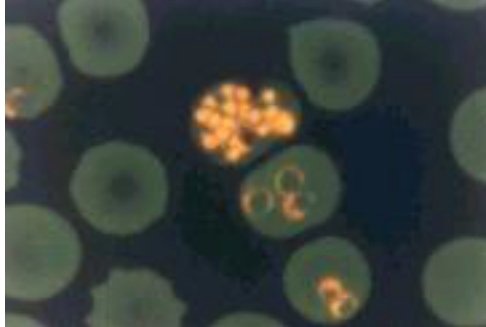


Malaria is a relapsing infection characterized by chills and fever, caused by various protozoa of the genus *Plasmodium* introduced into the bloodstream of reptiles, of birds, and of mammals such as humankind by

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

the *Culicidae Anopheles* mosquito.



(**HINT:** If you ever want to "go there," click on one of these icons. Fear not, these are mere virtual viruses.)

According to Jared Diamond, native American populations were more affected by the germs of the European intrusives simply because they had had lesser contact with the domesticated species and their diseases:



"The major killers of humanity throughout our recent history -[small pox](#), influenza, [tuberculosis](#), malaria, plague, measles, and [cholera](#)- are infectious diseases that evolved from diseases of animals, even though most of the microbes responsible for our own epidemic illnesses are paradoxically now almost confined to humans.... [They] evolved out of diseases of Eurasian herd animals that became domesticated. Whereas many such animals existed in Eurasia, only five animals of any sort became domesticated in the Americas [due to the] ... paucity of wild starting material."



- Jared Diamond, GUNS, GERMS, AND STEEL:  
THE FATES OF HUMAN SOCIETIES  
(NY: W.W. Norton, 1997, pages 196ff)

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1817

➡ November 15, Saturday: At the Dresden Hoftheater, Hold ist der Cyanendranz, a song for solo voices and chorus by Carl Maria von Weber, was performed for the initial time, as part of Der Weinberg an der Elbe, a play by Kind.

A form of [cholera](#) arose in Jessore, in Bengal, [India](#), in which death came four to five hours subsequent to the 1st onset of symptoms of illness. From the diary of Lord Moira, Marquis of Hastings, who was at the time leading one of the armies of native recruits of the East India Company: “500 have died since sunset yesterday.”





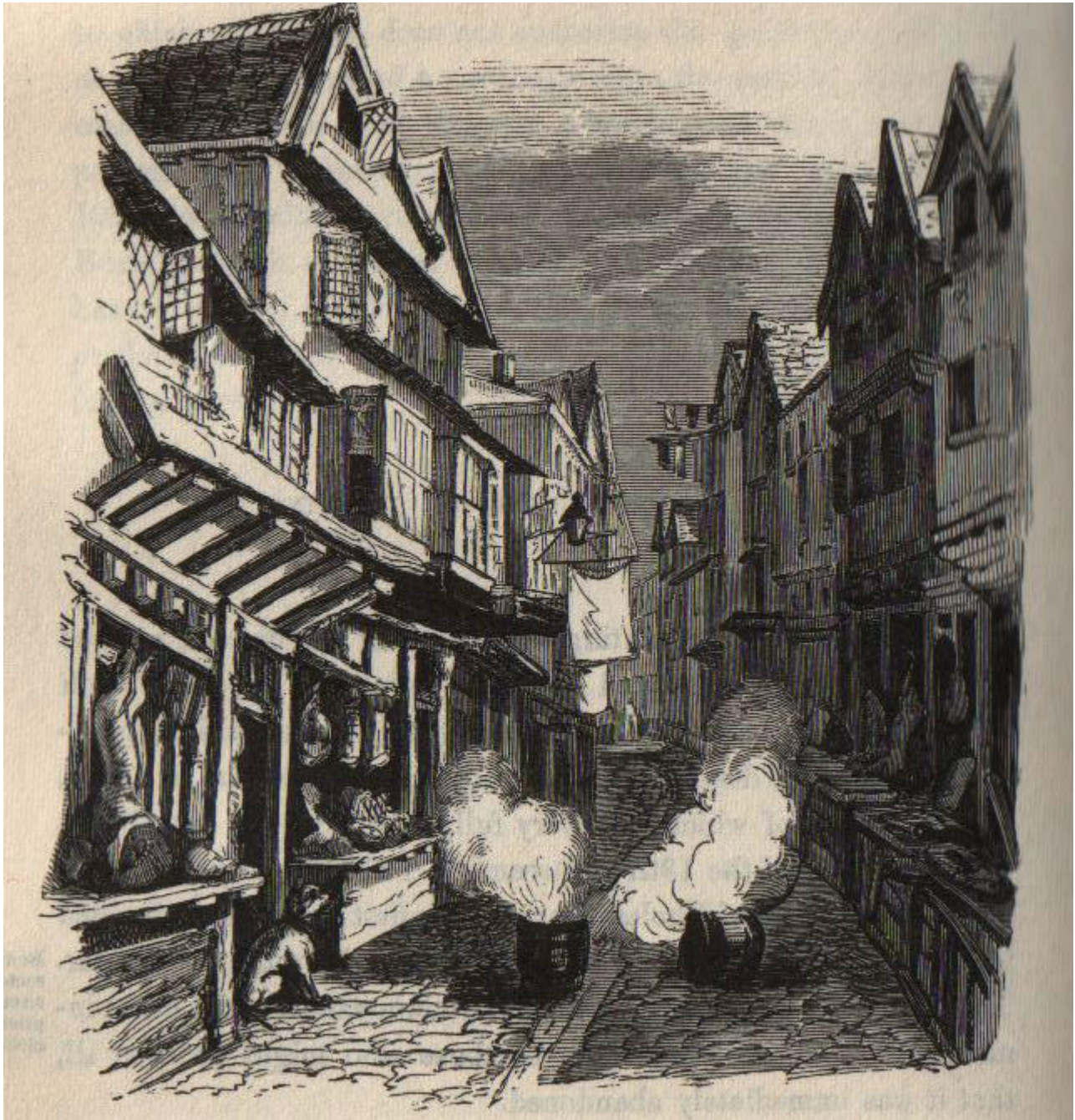
## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1820



During this decade, in Prussia, bans on the smoking of [tobacco](#) would be lifted during outbreaks of [cholera](#) because of the hope that the odorous fumes would provide some barrier to infection. (In this illustration we see barrels of tar being burned in the streets with the same general idea of a protective miasma.)





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1828

➡ Summer: [Reuben Kelsey](#) suffered an attack of [cholera](#) morbus, from which he seemed to recover.

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN:

REUBEN KELSEY,

WHO TOOK TO DRINKING WATER ONLY

1831

➡ Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay](#) sailed to Turkey with his father-in-law, as surgeon aboard a frigate built for the Sultan of Constantinople's navy. He would have an opportunity to study the [Asiatic cholera](#), something that was in that period still entirely mysterious — and develop a pet theory of his own which was entirely wrong.

[De Kay](#)'s and W. Cooper's; J.A. Smith and [J.E. De Kay](#)'s "Report of Messr. ... to the N.Y. Lyceum Natural History, on a collection of fossil bones, disinterred at Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, in September 1830, and recently brought to New York" ([American Journal of Science](#) Volume 20 Number 2:370-372); [De Kay](#)'s and W. Cooper's, J.A. Smith's and [J.E. De Kay](#)'s "On the collection of fossil bones, disinterred at Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, in September 1830, and recently brought to this city (New York)" [Papers on Natural History](#) Volume 1 Number 1:43-44).

➡ July: There was an outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in Dantzig, that would destroy a total of 1,028 lives.<sup>1</sup>

August: Arthur Schopenhauer fled from Berlin to Frankfurt-am-Main to protect himself from the [cholera](#) epidemic that would cause [G.W.F. Hegel](#)'s death.

➡ September: In the outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) that had begun in Dantzig in July, a total of 1,028 had died.

1. The progress of Asiatic cholera is rapid. The urine stops and the person's voice becomes feeble, somewhat hoarse, and without resonance. Averse to talking, the patient tells the doctor of a burning in the pit of the stomach, and asks for water. Vomiting, diarrhoea, and spasms begin. You can give the patient camphor dissolved in alcohol on a piece of sugar, or in a spoonful of water, but this is merely palliative of the symptoms. The victim transits into stadium lethale, sopor, and asphyxia (if a victim should linger and become convalescent there will ordinarily be chronic weakness of the nerves and digestive organs).



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

October 24, day: A report in the Star of Raleigh, [North Carolina](#) was reprinted in the Patriot and State Gazette of New Hampshire. The Star had reported that a copy of the Liberator, printed in Boston, had come to the postoffice there, and that this issue had been found to contain “the most illiberal and cold-blooded allusions to the late supposed insurrection amongst our slaves.” This sedition publication had been placed in the hands of the local Attorney General, and an indictment had been submitted to the local Grand Jury against the editor, William Lloyd Garrison, and the publisher, Isaac Knapp, and the Grand Jury had found it a “True Bill” of indictment for a felony offense. This newspaper report went on to remind local readers that the punishment for such an offense was established by law as, initially, whipping and imprisonment, and for a repeat of the offense, “death, without benefit of clergy”:

Felony—whipping and imprisonment for the first offence, and death, without benefit of clergy, for the second.  
*Raleigh (N. C.) Star.*



The [cholera](#) scare began in London:

# **CHOLERA** *Morbus.*

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**THE** London Gazette of **FRIDAY**, contains an Official Document, issued by the **Board of Health**, for the **prevention** of this **Dreadful Disorder**, the **MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE**, particularly requests, that the **Inhabitants** of this **Town**, and more especially in the narrow **Chares**, and **Streets**, will observe the greatest **CLEANLINESS**, and that they will open their **WINDOWS**, and **Ventilate** their **Houses**, during the **Day**.

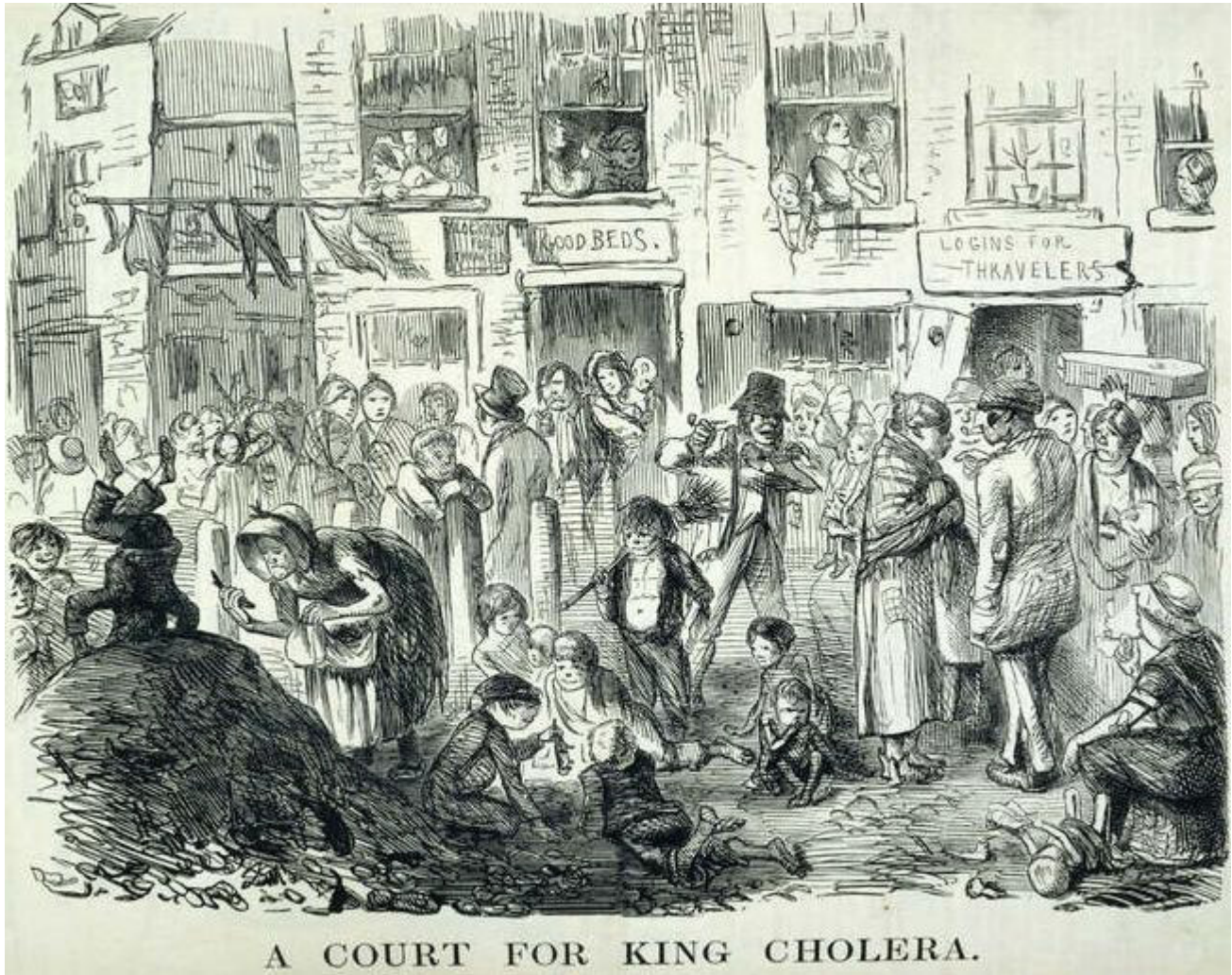
*Mansion House,*  
*Oct. 24th, 1831.*

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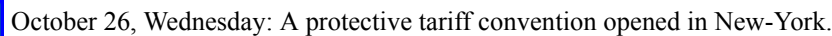
J. Clark, Printer, 11, Newgate Street;

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



A COURT FOR KING CHOLERA.



11

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



November 14, Monday: James Kirk Paulding's play THE LION OF THE WEST was staged, in a version thoroughly revised by [Concord](#)'s playwright [John Augustus Stone](#), at the Park Theater in New-York.

Ignace Joseph Pleyel died in Paris at the age of 74.

[Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel](#) died in Berlin at the age of 61, of the [cholera](#). Contrary to what might have been anticipated history did not come to an end (except, we notice, for him).



The Norfolk [Herald](#) in reporting the [hanging](#) of [Nat Turner](#) added that "General Nat" (the white master Nathaniel Turner) had sold Nat Turner's body for dissection "and spent the money on ginger cakes." That surgeons dissected the corpse seems clear, for this would have been according to usual practice. It is alleged, however, that prior to dissection, they had skinned it, and that after dissection, the flesh was rendered for its grease. Turner's "curious skull" was said by the white people to have "resembled the head of a sheep" and to have been "at least three quarters of an inch thick." The skeleton, presumably inclusive of the skull, was said to have become the property of a Doctor Massenberg. A Southampton souvenir collector would make the claim that he possessed a coin purse made from the skin of Turner's scrotum.



November 19, Saturday: Governor Floyd of Virginia wrote Governor Hamilton of South Carolina that he "favored gradual emancipation and colonization."

James A. Garfield, who would become our 20th President, was born.

The British medical journal [The Lancet](#) published a description of the current [cholera](#) epidemic as it moved from Asia across Europe. They included a map so that readers might monitor its progress.

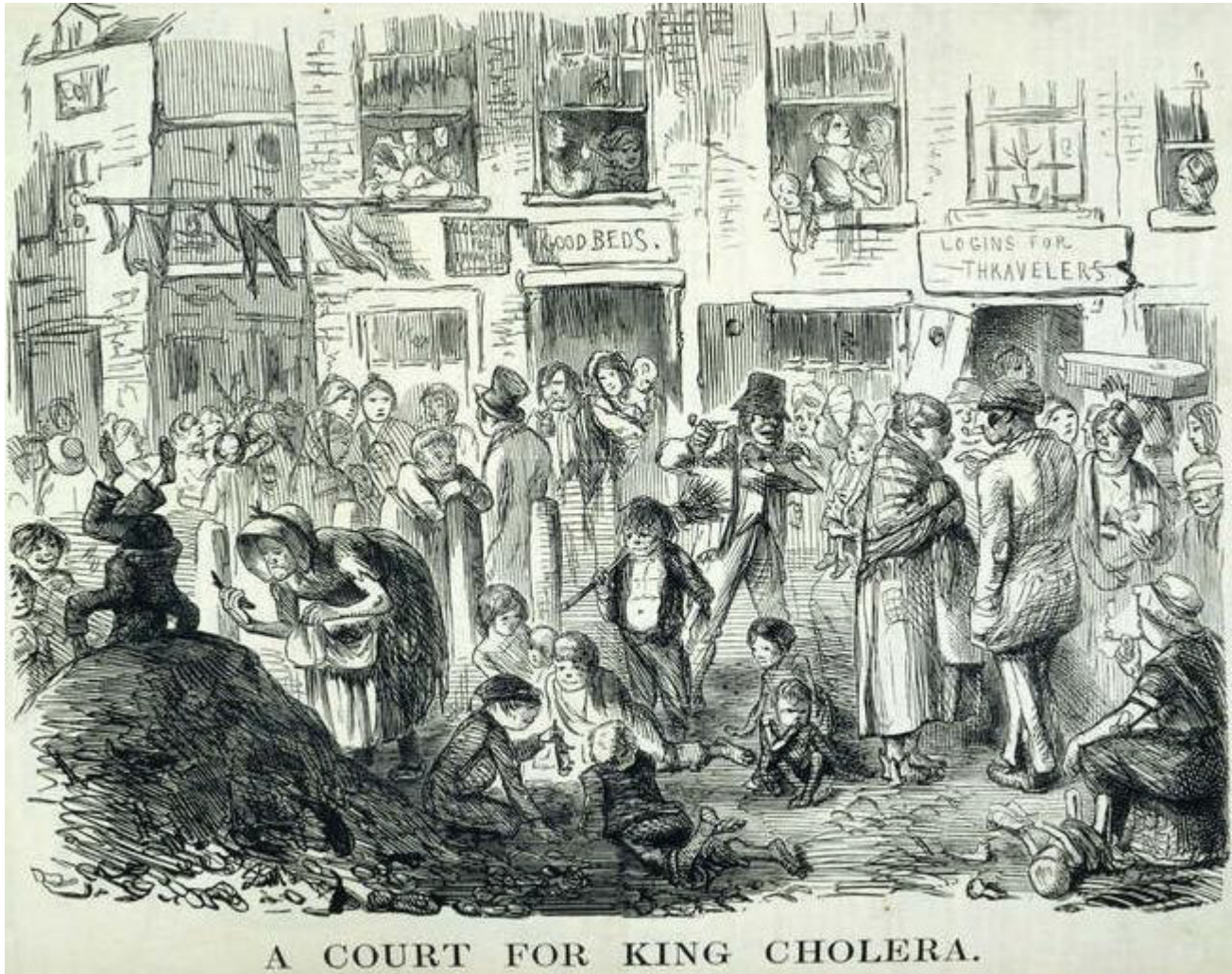


## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



November 16, day: [Carl Phillip Gottfried von Clausewitz](#) died in Breslau as a result of [cholera](#) contracted while in the field with the army (his tomb is in the city cemetery at Burg).




December 23, Friday: A major outbreak of [cholera](#) began in Scotland.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1832

 On the Isle of [Jersey](#) in the English Channel, there was an outbreak of the Asian [cholera](#).



[James Fenimore Cooper](#), in Paris with his family when the scourge hit that metropolis, commented upon how the gardens of the Tuileries suddenly became deserted.

In America, white settlements were not enjoying good health but the Mandan and Hidatsa were being utterly destroyed. Take a look at the discussion by Richard Batman beginning on page 320 of James Pattie's WEST: THE DREAM AND THE REALITY (in hardcover, titled AMERICAN ECCLESIASTES: THE STORIES OF JAMES PATTIE. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1986) having to do with the new and terrifying plague of [cholera](#) sweeping the settled east about the same time. Physicians would reject the contagion theory (with the exception of smallpox), until in the latter part of the 19th Century work on cholera finally would show that it and other such diseases were indeed, like smallpox, contagious.

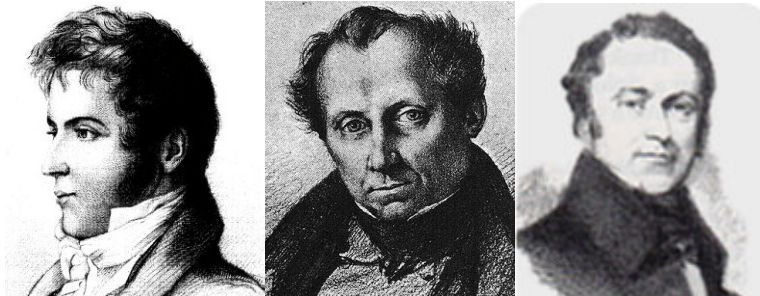


Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay](#) returned from Turkey to New-York, where he began to prescribe port wine as a remedy for [cholera](#) and quickly earned for himself a nickname, "Dr. Port." Saloon customers would be able to ask the bartender to pour them "a Dr. DeKay." Soon he settled at Oyster Bay on Long Island, where he would study natural history, contribute to New-York newspapers, and cultivate literary friendships. Among the

## CHOLERA

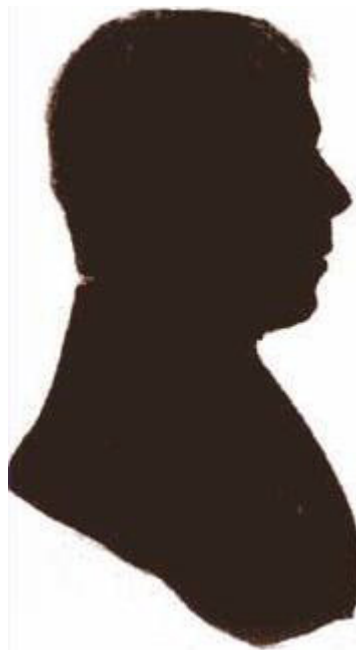
## CHOLERA

romantic literary types whom he would seek to cultivate would be [Washington Irving](#), Joseph Rodman Drake, [James Fenimore Cooper](#), and Fitz-Greene Halleck.



(You will notice instantly that the exigencies of class would make it quite impossible for him ever to cultivate the likes of Henry Thoreau as part of such a clique.)

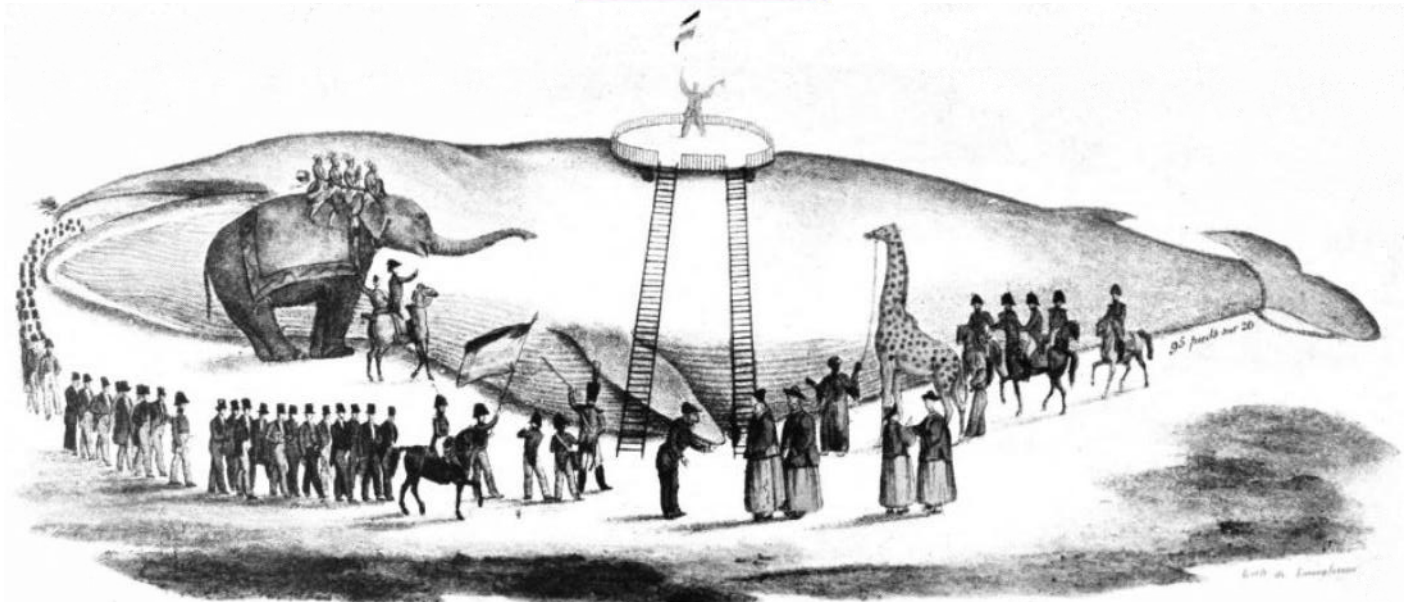
When the 1st person died of the [cholera](#) in his town, [Friend](#) John [Cadbury](#) the [chocolate](#) maker insisted on following in his “broad-brimmed hat and flowing Quaker frock-coat” as the hired laborers carried the coffin to the graveyard. This was at a time when other people were shunning the victims of the infection. Such burial workers smoked [tobacco](#) constantly while on such details, as their effort to ward off the disease or at least somewhat relieve their anxieties.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

[Friend](#) John had installed a window made of panes of plate glass in his shop (rather than using the conventional panes of crown glass), one of the 1st local businesses to do so, and was employing an authentic Chinaman attired in an authentic [Chinese](#) national costume, to sit on display in the window and weigh and pack his [tea](#). Hoo-hah!



*La Baleine d'Ostende*  
Visitee par l'Elephant, la Giraffe, les Osages et les Chinois.

George W. Warren would write of the activities of his father Josiah Warren (1798-1874) the anarchist, during the public crisis of this year:

Then in 1832 the [cholera](#) first made its appearance, and I well remember how my father set up his type and printed hand-bills cautioning the people how to live during the prevalence of that disease. These bills described the symptoms and how to treat them. Then I was allowed to go with my father to scatter the bills of caution along the streets, and I remember how proud I was when those who saw what my father was doing, shook hands with him so warmly.

What with his work of printing precautionary notices and attending a large number of funerals with masonic lodges, firemen and other organizations requiring bands, my father was kept busy for days and weeks and months; there was scarcely an



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

hour that a funeral didn't take place. Time went on, so did deaths, but our family lived through it. Fortunately the writer, being only six years of age, could not realize the state of affairs, nor the horror of the situation – he trotting along, scattering [and] broadcasting the “caution” notices, proud of telling how many papers he had given to the people each day. If the city records of 1832-1834 were not destroyed during the destruction of the court house some years ago, the thanks of the city alderman to him will be found recorded to Josiah Warren if I mistake not.

A New York City peddler brought [cholera](#) up the canal to Rochester, New York, population 11,000, and 400 to 500 of them died, filling many of the city's small cemeteries such as the 3 1/2 acre graveyard on Buffalo Street. One local resident, Ashbel Riley, buried 80 of the victims unaided. The Rochester Board of Health was established. The Monroe County Jail, called the “Blue Eagle Jail,” was built off Court St. between the west bank of the river and the Carroll-Fitzhugh raceway. It had a walled courtyard not only for prisoner exercise but also for executions.

[Professor Richard Harlan](#) was a member of a commission of Philadelphia physicians to Montréal, to collect information on the effective treatment of [cholera](#). He became surgeon to the Philadelphia hospital.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

In this year [Friend](#) Charles Farquhar, Sr. graduated from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania and opened a practice in Alexandria, Virginia, where the city council immediately put this new physician in charge of their town's struggle to deal with the ongoing epidemic.

The cholera outbreak of this year would give rise to at least one monument. It is atop a hill in Sheffield, England and commemorates 402 victims buried in grounds between Park Hill and Norfolk Park adjoining Clay Wood. The monument was designed by M.E. Hadfield and sculpted by Earp and Hobbs and would be complete in 1835. Its plaque names John Blake, Master Cutler, one of the victims, and notes that the foundation stone was laid by a poet, James Montgomery:







## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



May 6, Sunday: Among the paintings upon which Samuel F.B. Morse was working while he was in Paris was an interior of a gallery in the Louvre, in which he was able to situate careful miniatures of some celebrated canvases. He wrote on this day to his brothers:

My anxiety to finish my picture and to return drives me, I fear, to too great application and too little exercise, and my health has in consequence been so deranged that I have been prevented from the speedy completion of my picture. From nine o'clock until four daily I paint uninterruptedly at the Louvre, and, with the closest application, I shall not be able to finish it before the close of the gallery on the 10th of August. The time each morning before going to the gallery is wholly employed in preparation for the day, and, after the gallery closes at four, dinner and exercise are necessary, so that I have no time for anything else.

The cholera is raging here, and I can compare the state of mind in each man of us only to that of soldiers in the heat of battle; all the usual securities of life seem to be gone. Apprehension and anxiety make the stoutest hearts quail. Any one feels, when he lays himself down at night, that he will in all probability be attacked before daybreak; for the disease is a pestilence that walketh in darkness, and seizes the greatest number of its victims at the most helpless hour of the night. Fifteen hundred were seized in a day, and fifteen thousand at least have already perished, although the official accounts will not give so many.

# CHOLERA



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In New Orleans 4,340 people would die of the cholera.

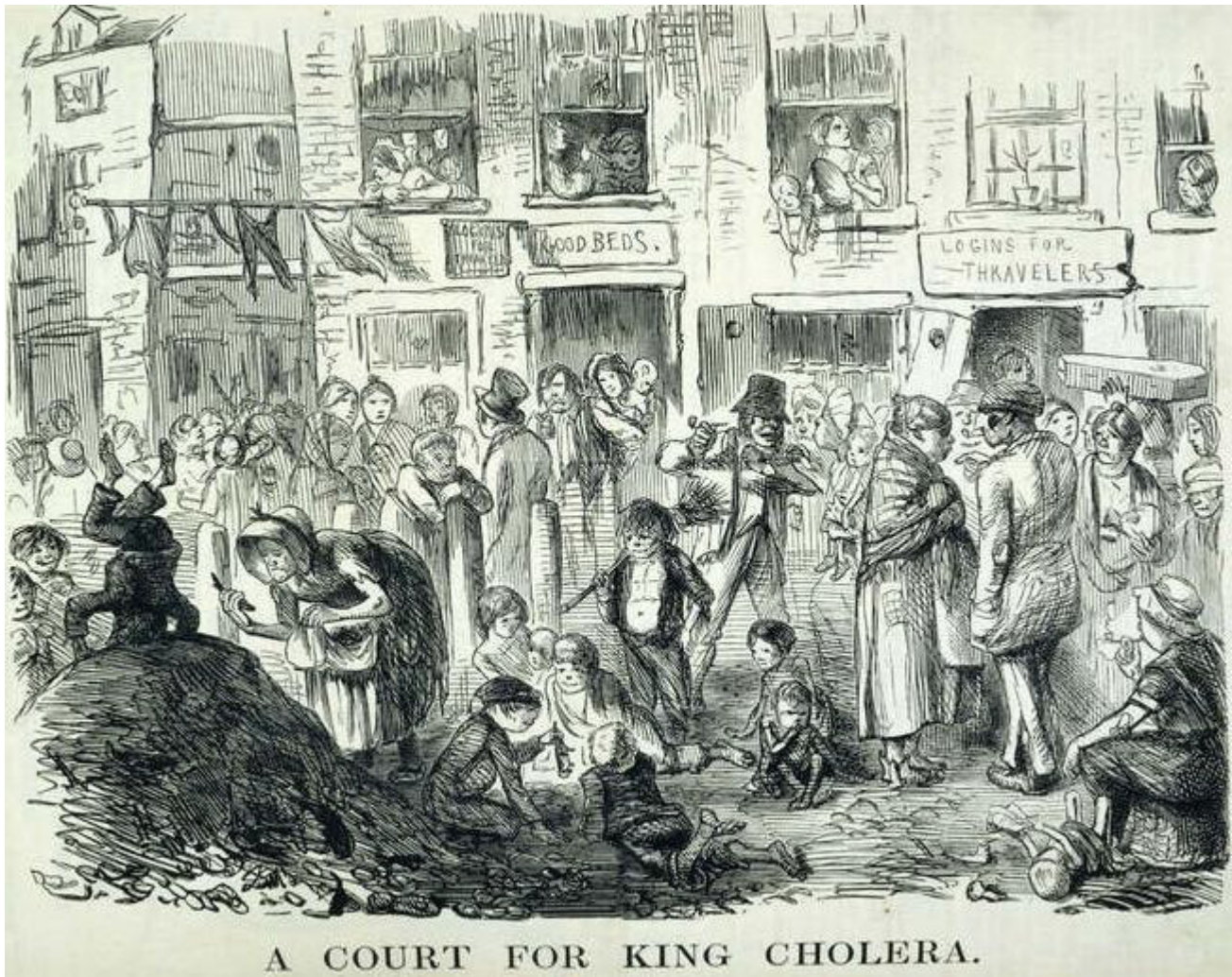
## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



Early part of June: [Sam Houston](#) went to New-York to negotiate trips to [Texas](#).

During the early part of this month a Canadian epidemic of the [Asiatic cholera](#) (it had originated on the Indian subcontinent in 1817 and its symptoms were diarrhea and consequent dehydration) would be having its beginnings, in Québec and Montréal.<sup>2</sup>



The 1st death due to this epidemic, in the United States of America, took place aboard the vessel *Phoenix*.




June 19, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), all the physicians assembled at the summons of Dr. Levi Wheaton, and by the request of the mayor, in the Senate chamber, to plan what might be done in regard to the current outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#).

2. Rosenberg, Charles E. THE CHOLERA YEARS: THE UNITED STATES IN 1832, 1849, AND 1866 (published in 1987)





## CHOLERA


## CHOLERA

 June 25, Monday: New-York temperatures reached into the 90s. Less than an inch of rain has fallen all month. A recent Irish immigrant named Fitzgerald felt ill on his way home to Manhattan from work in Brooklyn (it would turn out to be the [Asiatic cholera](#)).

[Felix Mendelssohn](#) returned home to Berlin after his grand tour. In two years he had visited Italy, France and England.


 June 26, Tuesday: In New-York, the day after Mr. Fitzgerald fell ill with the [Asiatic cholera](#), his children Margaret, 7, and Jeremiah, 4, also fell ill.

 June 27, Wednesday: In New-York, Margaret and Jeremiah Fitzgerald died of the [Asiatic cholera](#).


 June 28, Thursday: General Henry Atkinson overcame his inertia and moved his forces out of Dixon's Ferry in pursuit of Black Hawk's band.

The [German](#) Diet enacted a "Six Articles" document proposed by Metternich, expressing thanks for the leadership of Austria and Prussia and expressing faith in the ruling monarchies of [Germany](#). This document had been carefully crafted in such manner as to provide the Diet with ample power to stifle any liberal reforms.

An epidemic of [Asiatic Cholera](#) began in New-York. It would spread throughout New England.

 June 29, Friday: In New-York, two days after his children had died of the [Asiatic cholera](#), Mr. Fitzgerald's wife Mary also succumbed. He would recover his health.

The French Cour de Cassation determined the declaration of a state of siege on June 6th to have been in violation of the Charter.

 Summer: A [cholera](#) pandemic that had begun in India in 1826, and had killed hundreds of thousands of Russians, spread to London and to Scotland (in Leith, Dr. Thomas Latta experimented with injecting cholera sufferers with saline solutions) and to New-York (before the end of the year the death toll there would exceed 4,000).

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



Beginning of July: The epidemic of the [Asiatic cholera](#) had made its way from Québec and Montréal to New-York. With a death rate of over 100 per day, some 2,500 of the city dwellers would succumb over the following two months.





## CHOLERA

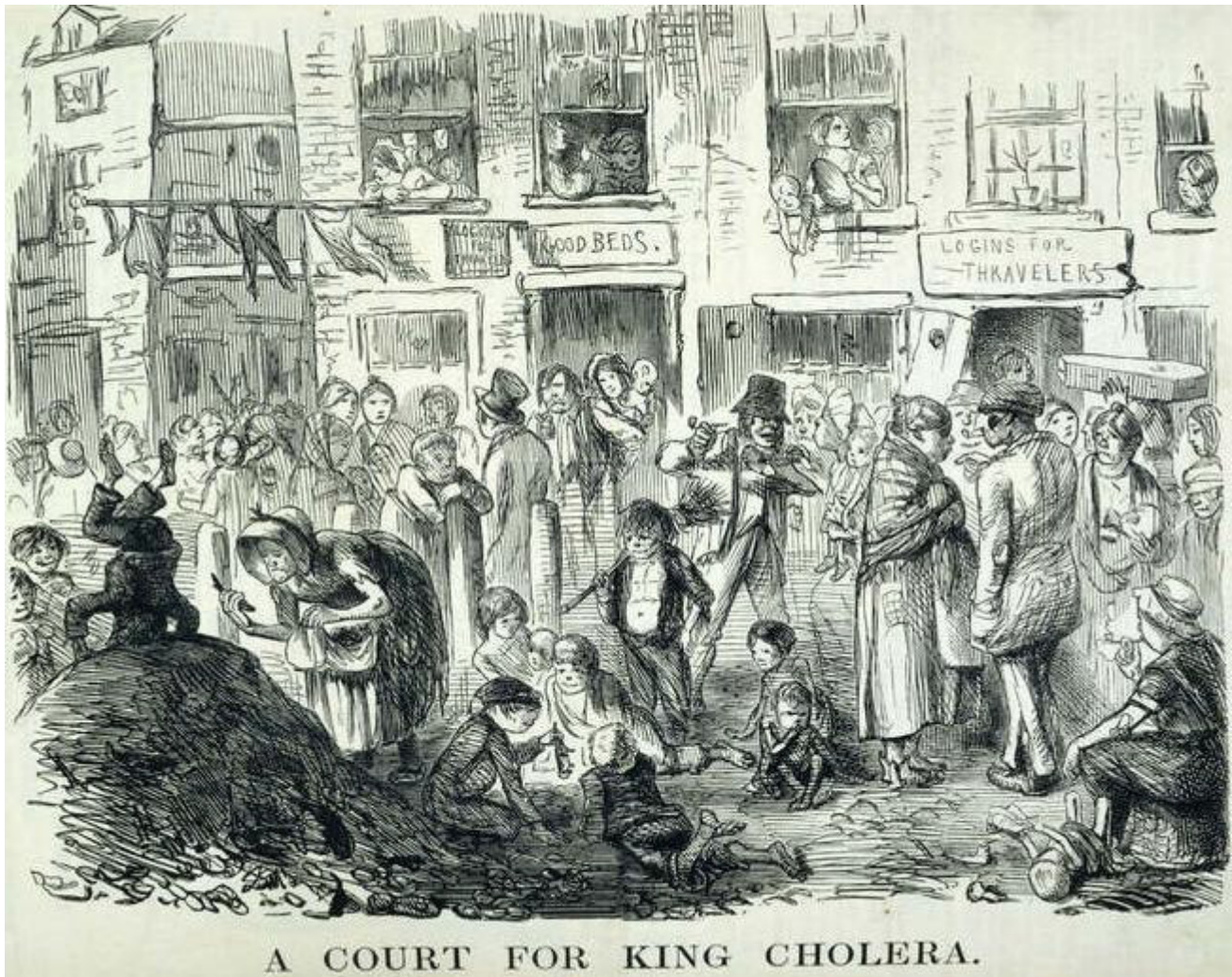
## CHOLERA



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 28th birthday.

The song "America" that had been jotted down by Dr. Samuel Smith on a scrap of paper was performed by Boston schoolchildren.

In New-York, Fourth of July celebrations were subdued due to a [cholera](#) epidemic.



On the bank of the Potomac River, Henry Clay was guest of honor at a National Republican Celebration.



In England, the Durham University founded by Lord Protector Cromwell had been suppressed at the Restoration. At this point re-opening of that University was authorized by the monarch.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day the 4th of 7 M – The Meeting for Sufferings Met at the time & place, & entered into a feeling & solemn view of the Subject of the Cholera in NYork & the probability of it*



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

appearance in [Providence](#), & fully Authorised the School committee to Vacate the [School](#) in case it should appear necessary. –

*In the Afternoon the committee again met & on examining the evidence before us, it did not appear that the disorder had increased in NYork & it was concluded to meet again next 7th day Afternoon, again to consider the subject & act as wisdom & prudence might then dictate*

*I attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the Meeting House in Town. – Those who attended our Week day meeting at the Insitution report it to have been a remarkable solemn meeting & I did not learn there was any preaching*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 10, Tuesday: Alvan Graham Clark was born in Fall River, Massachusetts.

[Providence, Rhode Island](#) doctors Joseph Mauran, Thomas H. Webb, and Samuel Boyd Tobey journeyed to the city of New-York expressly for the purpose of observing the outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) there, in order to make recommendations as to how their own community might best respond to this threat.

The US Department of the Treasury revived the US Coastal Survey.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley was appointed organist at Hereford Cathedral. He would begin duties in September.



Middle of July: The epidemic of the [Asiatic cholera](#) had spread to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to [Boston](#), Massachusetts, and to [Cincinnati](#). In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), steamboats were forbidden to land passengers, and began to offload instead at Seekonk, at East Greenwich, at Somerset, and at other points around the Narragansett Bay. When the three local physicians Joseph Mauran, Thomas H. Webb, and Samuel Boyd Tobey returned from their inspection tour of the cholera situation at New-York, they landed at Seekonk and proceeded to Pawtucket, being refused admission to all public and private houses along the way until they reached Horton's Grove, where they were permitted to remain through the night. On the next day, after being fumigated, they would be allowed to return to their homes inside the city of Providence. A few days later the disease appeared in [Newport](#), and so the Fall River authorities stopped the mail coach from Newport, refusing it entry to the town.

During this long hot summer in [Cincinnati](#), blacks were being required to register and present their certificates of manumission within 30 days or abandon their homes and livelihood. Mobs of white youths were invading black neighborhoods and searching homes. More than half the black people of Cincinnati, about 1,100 persons, would be forced out. The remaining free blacks whose papers were in order were organizing a private school to educate their children, children who of course were not permitted to set foot in the public schools.



July 20, Friday: The 1st cases of the [Asiatic cholera](#) appeared in [Boston](#).



July 25, Wednesday: The initial deaths due to the [Asiatic cholera](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).



July 31, Tuesday: The first symptoms of the [Asiatic cholera](#) began to appear in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



August 1, Wednesday: People began to die of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

In 1828 it had been enacted that murderers were to be executed in England the day next but one after their sentencing, and their bodies dissected or hung in chains. At this point the dissection clause was rescinded (in 1834 the hanging-in-chains clause would also be rescinded).

In England it was decided that the distillation of spirits from mangold wurzel was to be permitted.

The “British Band” of Fox and Sac under the general leadership of headman Black Hawk arrived at the junction of the Bad Axe River and the Mississippi, and disagreement broke out. Black Hawk was trying to lead his people north to find refuge among the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), but most of this band chose instead to attempt a crossing of the Mississippi. During the crossing the steamship *Warrior* opened fire on the band, killing 23.



“...the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”

— [Declaration of Independence](#)



August 6, Monday: In the election for the General Assembly in Illinois, Abraham Lincoln failed to win a seat. Soon, the village store in which he was working would go out of business, and he and a partner, William Berry, would purchase another village store in New Salem.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the “Tockwotten house” was offered as a [cholera](#) hospital by its owner Moses B. Ives, and conversion of the facility was begun and physicians began to congregate there — but as yet there was no identified local patient who could be there isolated, since those who had been displaying symptoms had already all died.

The last gibbets in England were erected near South Shields for a hanging that took place on this day and at Leicester for a hanging that would take place on the 11th (although the gibbet near South Shields would be removed promptly, the one at Leicester would continue to stand until 1856).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 6th of 8 M / Enoch Breed our Superintendent left the Institution this Mornng - on a visit to his relations & friends at Weare, Lydia his wife having gone Several days previous, & Pliny Earl & Saml Gumere on a Tour to the White Mountains which make the house very lonesom & gives it an additional appearance of disertion. - We are however, who remain preserved in the quiet*



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

*& do not give way to distrust, or a repining disposition*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS




Mid-August: The epidemic of the Asiatic cholera had spread at this point to Baltimore, Maryland.

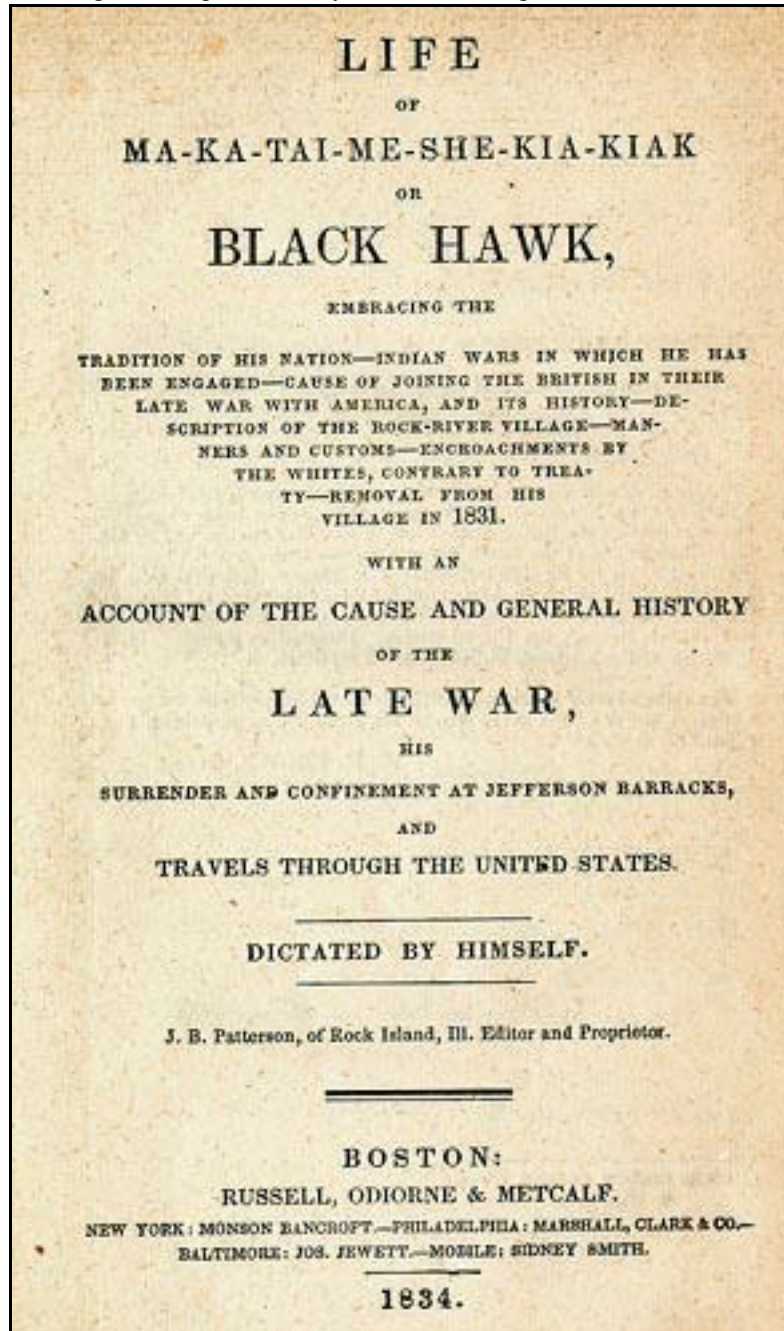


## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

 Late August: Since so far there had been merely six fatal cases of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), vigilance was relaxed and the bothersome ordinances that had been restricting commerce and travel were allowed to lapse.

Black Hawk had managed to make his way, with a small band of warriors, to the territory of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) to the north of the slaughter on the Bad Axe River. The Ho-Chunk, however, betrayed him to the whites. He would languish in a prison for a year, and then be placed on exhibit in a national tour.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

➡ October: By early in this month, an additional 29 cases of the [Asiatic Cholera](#) had occurred in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), bringing the score there to a total of 25 dead and 11 recovered.

The epidemic had spread at this point to New Orleans, Louisiana.

When Edward Bettle, who had been courting [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#), died of [cholera](#), the Bettle family informed Angelina that her presence at the memorial ceremony in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or at the burial, would be unsettling to them.

1833

➡ In [India](#), Maria Jane Jewsbury died of the [cholera](#). There was an outbreak in Columbus, Ohio. There was a 2d epidemic in Rochester, New York.

➡ July 19, Friday: In Indianapolis there was widespread fear that there would be another [cholera](#) epidemic:



### Report of the Board of Health in reference to the approach of CHOLERA

At a meeting of the Board of Health of Indianapolis on Friday, July 19, A.D. 1833, with reference to the duties assigned them by their fellow-citizens in anticipation the Epidemic Cholera, Dr. Cox, from the Medical Committee, made the following Report, which, after being somewhat modified, is unanimously adopted, to wit:

The Medical Committee appointed for that purpose, respectfully report the following advice to the inhabitants of our town and County:

- 1st. That in anticipation that we as well as others may be visited with the cholera, they would recommend at present as a preparatory preventive, a strict course of temperance and regularity in diet, drinks and exercise, the spare use of meats, vegetables and fruit, and more particularly if the bowels be in any degree disordered, avoiding especially fresh pork, spiritous liquors, green corn, cucumbers



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

and melons, excessive fatigue, wet and night exposure, and the keeping comfortably clothed especially during sleep. Of meats they would recommend ham or bacon, chickens and mutton as best; of vegetables, good ripe potatoes, boiled onions and cooked tomatoes; of table drinks, sage, tea, store tea, sweet milk, chocolate and coffee.

- 2d. Should Cholera appear, Be still more careful in observing. the above directions, use no fruit, no vegetables except potatoes. onions and tomatoes as above and little or no meats, live chiefly on bread and butter, toast crackers rice, gruel or light soups, and the table drinks above named, and above all do not overload the stomach with any thing.
- 3d. Should any looseness of the bowels or sickness of the stomach occur while the disease is prevailing; consider it the commencement of a disease which may then easily be cured, but if neglected will certainly kill. Go to bed between blankets and be pretty warmly covered, and if you have lately taken a hearty meal or eaten fruits or vegetables, or if there is much sickness at the stomach, take a tablespoon full of salt in half pint of warm water, and repeat it every five minutes until it vomits, then immediately take from 20 to 30 grains of calomel, mixed with dry sugar and wash it down with water or tea, and if purging with watery and thin stools continues, repeat it every two hours adding half a tea spoonful of [laudanum](#) to each dose, until the discharges are checked or billious ones take place, and if after this it does not operate in 6 or 8 hours take two or three table spoonfulls of castor oil every two. hours, until it does, and, immediately after giving the first dose of calomel, if there be fever or a strong pulse, bleed and let the drinks be warm sage or other herb teas and take no food but gruel. This course has in other places been sufficient to cure in almost all cases when early commenced.
- 4th. When the cholera decidedly attacks, producing frequent and copious stools resembling rice water or soap suds, and which is generally followed spasms, take the salt and water emetic if the stomach is loaded or very much sickness is present as above directed, and after it calomel, but if not, begin with the calomel and laudanum, and take from 40 to 60 grains of calomel and a teaspoonful of laudanum every two hours until this purging is stopped and the spasms, if occurring, checked and then in six or eight hours after the medicine does not operate and bring away billious discharges from the bowels, give castor oil as before until it operates.  
Apply a large mustard plaster over the stomach, and if coldness occurs, apply mustard also to the soles of the feet and inside of the thighs as hot as it can be borne, if spasms occur, rub the places well with the hands; and if the pulse is strong or there is fever, bleed as before directed, but if the pulse is weak, bleed only under the direction of a physician, and depend chiefly on calomel and laudanum; and in all cases call in a physician as soon as one can be got, not forgetting that wherever the disease has prevailed it has usually been easily checked at the first moment of attack, but delay is dangerous and often death.
- 5th: Every family should be supplied with calomel in ten and -twenty grain doses; an ounce or more laudanum; a vial or bottle of castor oil, and some ground mustard, and fire and candle should at night always be ready to be lit. The above doses are for adults For a child 8 years old, 10 grains of calomel and 5 drops of laudanum in diarrhoea, and 20 grains of calomel and 10 or 12 drops of laudanum in cholera. One year old, 5 gr. Calomel and two or three drops laudanum in the diarrhoea, and 10 or 15 gr. calomel and 5 or six drops of laudanum in the cholera. And for other ages, proportionally to the stage and severity of the attack, but in giving laudanum, much will depend on the child being accustomed to its use.

In conclusion, the committee would remark that after full consideration of the subject, they believe, by making due preparation our citizens will be exposed to less danger by calmly remaining, should the cholera appear, than by flying from their homes, and would recommend that families now take care to secure female and other family help who will not desert them and flee in the hour of need; and that as there are abundant funds, that the Board of Health assure all such persons acting as domestic assistants that they shall be well attended in case of sickness from cholera, without charge.

All which is respectfully submitted.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

ISAAC COE,  
SAMUEL G. MITCHELL,  
J.L. MOTHERSHEAD,  
L. DUNLAP,  
JOHN E. M'CLURE,  
JOHN H. SANDERS.

In furtherance of the above suggestions, the Board of Health pledge themselves to every resident of this place or wayfaring person here, if the Cholera prevails that our efforts and the liberal means furnished by the citizens shall be promptly used for their comfort and aid, which shall be extended without charge to all such as are unable to pay.

It is recommended to every family to supply themselves with the Medicines above recommended, within a week from this time; and all families in this place, unable to procure them, will be furnished by the Ward committees.

It is recommended to the citizens to form into associations of five, ten or more families, according to their own discretion, without reference to wards; who will pledge themselves to remain with, take care of, and nurse each other, in case of Cholera, under the direction of a Superintendent chosen by themselves; and that the names of those belonging to each association be furnished by its Superintendent to the Committee of the Ward in which he resides.

B.F. MORRIS, President Teste,  
J.M. RAY, Sec'y

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1834

➡ There was another outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in New-York.




➡ September: In [Boston](#)'s House of Corrections, an epidemic of [cholera](#) killed off 40 of the inmates.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

 October 12: Thomas Grimké died of [cholera](#) at a wayside near Columbus, Ohio while he was on his way back from having delivered an address on education before the College of Professional Teachers in Cincinnati.



His sister [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) would write:



The world has lost an eminent reformer in the cause of Christian education, an eloquent advocate of peace, and one who was remarkably ready for every good work. I never saw a man who combined such brilliant talents, such diversity and profundity of knowledge, with such humility of heart and such simplicity and gentleness of manner. He was a great and good man, a pillar of the church and state, and his memory is blessed.... He was deeply interested in **every** reform, and saw very clearly that the anti-slavery agitation which began in 1832 would shake our country to its foundation. He told me in Philadelphia that he knew slavery would be the all-absorbing subject here, and that he intended to devote a whole year to its investigation; and, in order that he might do so impartially, he requested me to subscribe for every periodical and paper, and to buy and forward to him any books, that might be published by the Anti-Slavery and Colonization societies. I asked whether he believed colonization could abolish slavery. He said: "No, never!" but observed; "I help that only on account of its reflex influence upon slavery here. If we can build up an intelligent, industrious community of colored people in Africa, it will do a great deal towards destroying slavery in the United States."



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1835



October 2, Friday: A Requiem mass for Vincenzo Bellini was held at Les Invalides. According to a report “Paer, Cherubini, Carafa, and Rossini each held one corner of the shroud.” The earthly remains of the musician were deposited in Pere-Lachaise Cemetery, between those of Andre Ernest Modeste Gretry and Francois-Adrien Boieldieu.

[Margaret Fuller](#)’s father Timothy Fuller died of the [cholera](#), throwing much family responsibility onto her shoulders.



For the first two days, my grief, under this calamity, was such as I dare not speak of. But since my father’s head is laid in the dust, I feel an awful calm, and am becoming familiar with the thoughts of being an orphan. I have prayed to God that duty may now be the first object, and self set aside. May I have light and strength to do what is right, in the highest sense, for my mother, brothers, and sister.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 10M 2nd 1835 / This morning word came in from [Portsmouth](#) that Uncle Stanton was very low - my Wife & I went our immediately & found he had breathed his last sometime before we got there. We found our dear Aunt in much affliction but as composed as could be expected on the occasion We spent the remainder of the day there & staid all night.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

**1842**

Spring: It became possible for American Irish families to visit the offices of Thayer and Warren in Boston, and purchase prepaid passages for their relatives also to come over from [Ireland](#).

FAMINE



We don't know precisely how many people have starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in [Ireland](#) during the ensuing period, but we do know that the first great die-off would occur during the winter of 1846-1847. A table prepared after the fact by Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

year probably worked out to something like this:

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

Year	%
1842	5.1%
1843	5.2%
1844	5.6%
1845	6.4%
1846	9.1%
1847	18.5%
1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

The figures shown for 1849 are the result of a [cholera](#) epidemic in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general starvation.



CHOLERA

CHOLERA

1843

October 6: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) went for a hike in the bucolic Concord countryside:



*I took a solitary walk to Walden Pond. It was a cool, north-west windy day, with heavy clouds rolling and tumbling about the sky, but still a prevalence of genial autumn sunshine. The fields are still green, and the great masses of the woods have not yet assumed their many-colored garments; but here and there, are solitary oaks of a deep, substantial red, or maples of a more brilliant hue, or chestnuts, either yellow or of a tenderer green than in summer. Some trees seem to return to their hue of May or early July, before they put on their brighter autumnal tints. In some places, along the borders of low and moist land, a whole range of trees were clothed in the perfect gorgeousness of autumn, of all shades of brilliant color, looking like the palette on which Nature was arranging the tints wherewith to paint a picture. These hues appeared to be thrown together without a design; and yet there was perfect harmony among them, and a softness and delicacy made up of a thousand different brightnesses.*

*Walden Pond was clear and beautiful, as usual.*

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

(Did he see what Cindy Kassab saw, that is depicted in her painting?)



In the course of his excursion the author discovered something of great interest and relevance, that even some [Irish](#) day-laborers have a life and loved ones and need to have somewhere for their families to lay their heads ([see next page](#)). According to the author's AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS, he got lost on his way home to the Old Manse:



*According to my invariable custom, I mistook my way, and emerging upon a road, I turned my back, instead of my face, toward Concord, and walked on very diligently, till a guide-board informed me of my mistake. I then turned about, and was shortly overtaken by an old yeoman in a chaise, who kindly offered me a ride, and shortly set me down in the village.*

This has now all been replayed for us, on the last page of Part II: TRAVELING IN STYLE of the [Los Angeles Times Magazine](#) for October 16, 1994. The anonymous article, allegedly or ostensibly dealing with early literary appreciation of the aesthetics of hiking through the woods to “**Walden Pond**,” is facing an advertisement of a cruise from La-La Land to Puerto Vallarta, Mazatlán<sup>3</sup>, and Cabo San Lucas on the good ship *Nordic Prince*, and a cruise to Catalina and then Ensenada on its sister ship *Viking Serenade*, and headlines the idea that

3. Minus, of course, the Spanish acute accent in the [Times](#) newspaper, which does not truck with foreigners or their languages.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



*In a small and secluded dell, that opens upon the most beautiful cove of the whole lake, there is a little hamlet of huts or shanties, inhabited by the Irish people who are at work upon the rail-road. There are three or four of these habitations, the very rudest, I should imagine, that civilized men ever made for themselves, constructed of rough boards, with protruding ends. Against some of them the earth is heaped up to the roof, or nearly so; and when the grass has had time to sprout upon them, they will look like small natural hillocks, or a species of ant-hill, or something in which Nature has a larger share than man. These huts are placed beneath the trees, (oaks, walnuts, and white pines) wherever the trunks give them space to stand; and by thus adapting themselves to natural interstices instead of making new ones, they do not break or disturb the solitude and seclusion of the place. Voices are heard, and the shouts and laughter of the children, who play about like the sunbeams that come down through the branches. Women are washing beneath the trees, and long lines of whitened clothes are extended from tree to tree, fluttering and gambolling in the breeze. A pig, in a sty even more extemporary than the shanties, is grunting, and poking his snout through the clefts of his habitation. The household pots and kettles are seen at the doors, and a glance within shows the rough benches that serve for chairs, and the bed upon the floor. The visiter's nose takes note of the fragrance of a pipe. And yet, with all these homely items, the repose and sanctity of the old wood do not seem to be destroyed or prophaned; she overshadows these poor people, and assimilates them, somehow or other, to the character of her natural inhabitants. Their presence did not shock me, any more than if I had merely discovered a squirrel's nest in a tree. To be sure, it is a torment to see the great, high, ugly embankment of the railroad, which is here protruding itself into the lake, or along its margin, in close vicinity to this picturesque little hamlet. I have seldom seen anything more beautiful than the cove, on the border of which the huts are situated; and the more I looked, the lovelier it grew. The trees overshadowed it deeply; but on the one side there was some brilliant shrubbery which seemed to light up the whole picture with the effect of a sweet and melancholy smile. I felt as if spirits were there -or as if these shrubs had a spiritual life- in short, the impression was undefinable; and after gazing and musing a good while, I retraced my steps through the Irish hamlet, and plodded on along a wood-path.*

## Thoreau Didn't Invent This Celebrated Body of Water.

### Years Before He Moved There, Another Noted Writer Enjoyed Its Charms.

Following such an egregious headline, the article in the L.A. Times inserts anonymous remarks in italic type:



*Sometimes the footsteps of the famous overlap. When Henry David Thoreau built his cabin in 1845 at Walden Pond, near Concord, Mass., the pond itself and the surrounding woods were already well-known to his contemporaries. Ralph Waldo Emerson owned the land on which the pond stood, and Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the writer and editor Margaret Fuller and other literary lights of the time frequented the area. In the edited excerpt below, Hawthorne (1804-1864) -who had not yet written THE SCARLET LETTER, THE HOUSE OF SEVEN GABLES, THE MARBLE FAUN and the other books by which he is remembered- describes a stroll through the autumn-bright woods and a visit to the pond in the early 1840s. The most surprising aspect of the account, which was written in 1843, is the author's discovery of a small settlement of environmentally sensitive Irish railroad workers living at the edge of the pond.*

Well, one shouldn't come down too hard on the efforts of some newspaper peckerwood, who is obviously merely attempting to draw a paycheck by devising some sort of "news-hook" for a freebie citation from public-domain 19th Century sources, intended merely as another page-filler between the pretty travel ads. -But who, in the first place, is it, specifically, by name, who has had this idea that is here headlined, that Thoreau did "**Invent**" Walden Pond, that "**Celebrated Body of Water**"? And why precisely is it, that we should now be temporizing about the First Literary Appreciation of a body of water that has existed in that precise spot since the melting of the buried blocks of ice left behind by the latest glacial era, something like 10,000 years ago? And how is it that this news maven has created the perception that before Thoreau went out to Walden Pond to build his shanty in late March of the following spring season, it was "*literary lights of the time*" such as Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller who had "*frequented the area*"? Presumably this newsie is unaware that Henry Thoreau was "frequenter" that pond and those woods as a little

CHOLERA

CHOLERA





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

child as much as two decades before Hawthorne had ever even visited Concord:

**WALDEN:** When I was four years old, as I well remember, I was brought from Boston to this my native town, through these very woods and this field, to the pond. It is one of the oldest scenes stamped on my memory. And now to-night my flute has waked the echoes over that very water. The pines still stand here older than I; or, if some have fallen, I have cooked my supper with their stumps, and a new growth is rising all around, preparing another aspect for new infant eyes. Almost the same johnswort springs from the same perennial root in this pasture, and even I have at length helped to clothe that fabulous landscape of my infant dreams, and one of the results of my presence and influence is seen in these bean leaves, corn blades, and potato vines.



and presumably this newsie is likewise unaware that it was the adult surveyor of woodlots Thoreau who had in fact recommended to Emerson that he purchase these several woodlots with some frontage on Walden Pond,<sup>4</sup> and is likewise unaware that Thoreau had had his little homemade boat *Red Jacket* on Walden Pond for some years and had, long before, taken literary light Fuller for a row on this pond in this boat, and is likewise oblivious to the fact that Thoreau had written about his experiences at Walden Pond many, many times in his journal before the Hawthornes ever considered moving to Concord for the cheap rent at the vacant Old Manse,<sup>5</sup> and writing about his daily experiences in his own unpublished journal, not to speak of the fact that at the juncture at which Hawthorne witnessed these oh-so-picturesque shacks for the first time, these families of “railroad workers” which they had sheltered from the elements were needing—quite unbeknownst to the self-centered Hawthorne—to abandon their habitations and shoulder what of their scant possessions they could carry upon their backs, and trudge on down the American tracks which they had helped to construct and beneath which some of them in fact lay buried—because the heavy work in this area had been completed and they were all by that time without steady work and, if they had elected to remain there in bucolic Walden Woods next to bucolic Walden Pond, beyond the Concord Alms House and Poor Farm to which they were of course not eligible to have recourse, they would have eventually starved or frozen (whichever came first). Perhaps the newshawks are also innocent of an understanding that, as Thoreau most carefully described in *WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS*, one of these shanties Hawthorne saw, the one pertaining to the departing James Collins family, would be purchased by Thoreau for its construction materials to use in the creation of

4. Not, incidentally, “*the land on which the pond stood*,” a phrase which is quite remarkable not only as an impoverished simplification but also as an impoverished metaphor. And anyway, Emerson did not begin to purchase these woodlots with money from his dead wife’s estate until about a year after this initial visit by [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), so here again our hapless news flack has gotten his or her chronology back-assward.

5. Not all of which he bothered to pay, by the way.



his own anti-desperation shanty, on the hill-edge down on Bay Henry, etc., etc.



**A 19th-Century Irish shanty in the Merrimack Valley**

Such analyses seem entirely to avoid the fact that one object of Thoreau's constructing this shanty was to demonstrate that it was possible, with care, to construct a healthful and clean and comfortable abode at an expense that anyone might afford, **and thus to furnish these impoverished refugees of the potato famine with an inspirational model for imitation.**<sup>6</sup> And if "*the surrounding woods were already well-known to his [Henry Thoreau's] contemporaries*" then we are left with an interesting "how-cum" about Hawthorne getting himself so turned around and lost in these surrounding woods at the end of this quoted piece from his AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS that, as the newspaper confesses, he had to ask for directions and had to be offered a lift back home to civilization! Just precisely how compatible is that with such terminology as "*already well-known*"? —Face it, most members of the Brahmin overcaste of "*literary lights of the time*," with which Thoreau the offspring of a peasant or tradesfamily had to deal, wouldn't have been able to find their own asses had they been privileged to hunt for them with both hands. Over and above all that, we may marvel at the casualness of the newspaper's characterization of these desperately poor families of refugees of a foreign famine, forced to attempt to live on this sandy, virtually barren soil among the pines in dark Walden Woods where they could not conceivably have created productive cottage gardens, while their men had labored for like \$0.<sup>73</sup> the day for 18 hours of exhausting and quite dangerous rude labor, as, now get this, "*environmentally sensitive*." Come on, newspaper people, "*environmentally sensitive*," that's for proper WASPs whose lives are not at constant risk, people who suppose that they can save the planet by sorting out their green empties from their clear empties — people like the ones who purchase your cruise tickets on the *Viking Serenade* and the *Nordic Prince* and the *Love Boat*! While one is at this sort of historical redactionism one might as well characterize the nigger-hating, nigger-baiting "Plug Ugly" *Irish* mob actions of the Boston urban hub of this period as having been, in actuality, mere prototype protests against the wickedness of chattel slavery! As a retort to this sort of newspaper-PC rewriting of history, a retort which might also be able to pass muster as an attempt at good humor, we might mention that among these "*environmentally sensitive*" Irishmen it was little Johnny Riordan of Concord's Riordan Family who was the most environmentally sensitive of all — because in the New England turn of seasons it was getting cold and his little toes were turning blue.<sup>7</sup> If one perceives anything at all about "sensitivity" in the quoted passage from Hawthorne's literary notebook, it is not sensitivity but insensitivity which one perceives — originally, we can

6. In fact *Waldo Emerson* eventually sold Thoreau's empty shanty to one of them, his drunken *Irish* gardener Hugh Whelan, to shelter this man's family.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

here perceive very starkly that author's notorious insensitivity to the problems of others, and, now, we are given an opportunity to perceive this news person's utter insensitivity to Hawthorne's having chosen to depict the plight of these refugees as merely picturesque.<sup>8</sup>



And in fair days as well as foul we walked up the country — until from Merrimack it became the Pemigewasset that leaped by our side — and when we had passed its fountain-head the wild Amonoosuck whose puny channel we crossed at a stride guiding us to its distant source among the mountains until without its guidance we reached the summit of agiocochook. But why should we take the reader who may have been tenderly nurtured — through that rude country — where the crags are steep and the inns none of the best, and many a rude blast would have to be encountered on the mountain side. (*FD* 82-83)

We don't know precisely how many people have starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in [Ireland](#) during the ensuing period, but we do know that the first great die-

7. Refer to Thoreau's poem about Johnny's plight during the early winter of 1850 and to his carrying a cloak to Johnny in the late winter of 1851-1852: "I found that the shanty was warmed by the simple social relations of the Irish." Thoreau's good attitude of compassion and involvement contrasts sufficiently with [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s attitude of aestheticism and disengagement to remind one of the following distinction which Simone Weil drew during WWII in her New York notebook:



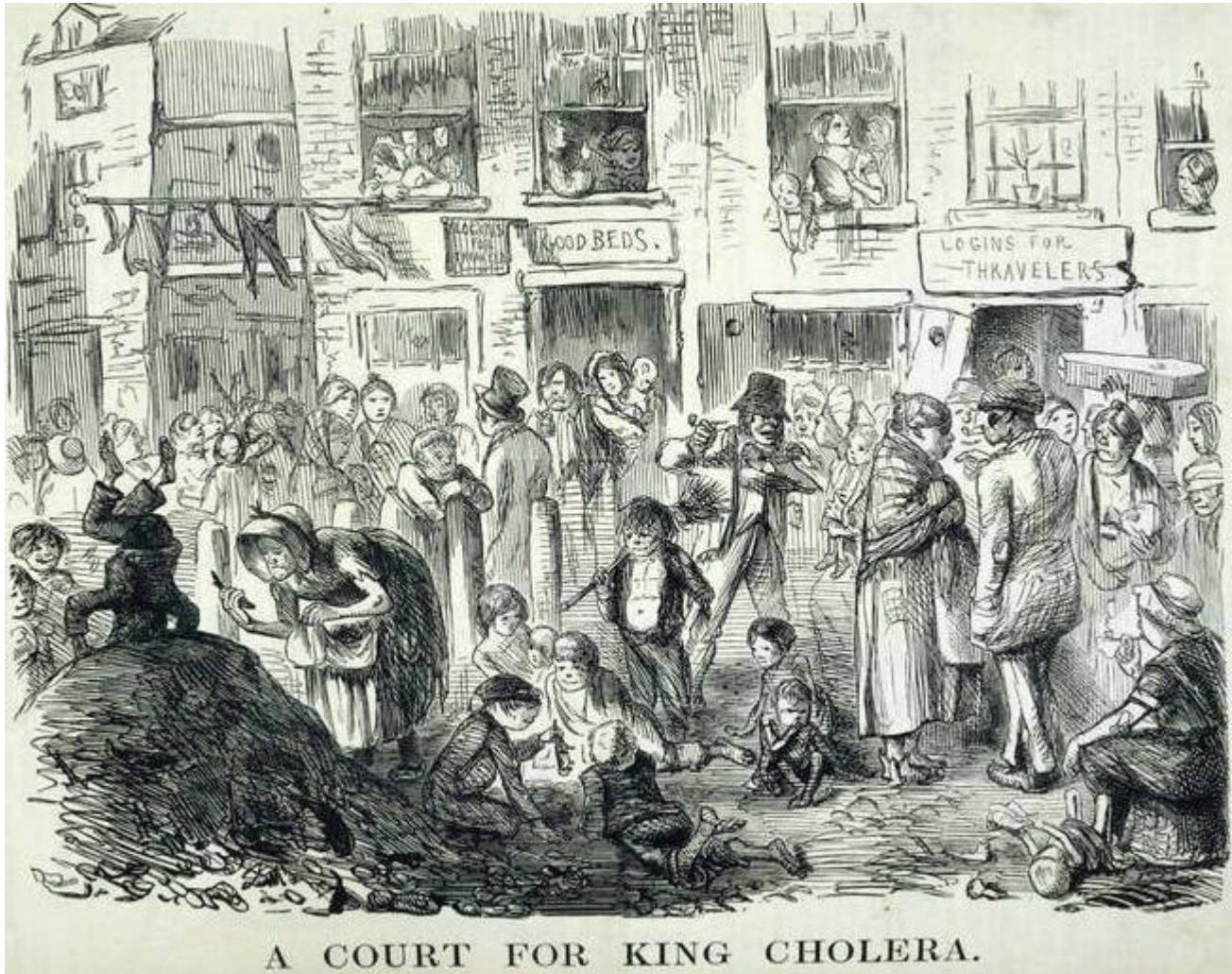
Natural piety consists in helping someone in misfortune so as not to be obliged to think about him any more, or for the pleasure of feeling the distance between him and oneself. It is a form of cruelty which is contrary only in its outward effects to cruelty in the ordinary sense. Such, no doubt, was the clemency of Caesar. Compassion consists in paying attention to an afflicted man and identifying oneself with him in thought. It then follows that one feeds him automatically if he is hungry, just as one feeds oneself. Bread given in this way is the effect and the sign of compassion.

8. Professor Walter Roy Harding considered that [Thoreau](#), in [WALDEN](#); OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, wrote disparagingly of the [Irish](#), although, as he got to know them personally, he changed his mind about them and became their defender. He commented that why Thoreau did not then excise his disparaging remarks is not known. So the question would be, **did** Thoreau in fact write disparagingly of the fugitives from this ecological disaster, the [Irish Potato Famine](#)? Or was Harding quite mistaken here, misconstruing for derogation what in fact was mere frank description? And, was the impact of this episode in our human history the direct result of the ecological disaster, the late blight, or was it instead the direct result of a mean and contemptible English social policy — and was Thoreau aware of and contemptuous of this political causation?

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

off would occur during the winter of 1846-1847. A table prepared after the fact by Census Commissioners,



presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each year probably worked out to something like this (the figures shown for 1849 are the result of a [cholera](#)



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

epidemic in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general starvation):

### **Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population**

Year	%
1842	5.1%
1843	5.2%
1844	5.6%
1845	6.4%
1846	9.1%
1847	18.5%
1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%



CHOLERA

CHOLERA



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1844

A number of reports appeared in [Irish](#) newspapers, of a blight (now known as *Phytophthora infestans*) which had attacked the potato crops in America for the 2d consecutive growing season. This was not a known disease



such as “the curl” or “the dry rot,” but something new. We don’t know precisely how many people have starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in Ireland during the ensuing period, but we do know that the first great die-off would occur during the winter of 1846-1847. A table



prepared after the fact by Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each year probably worked out to something like





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

this:

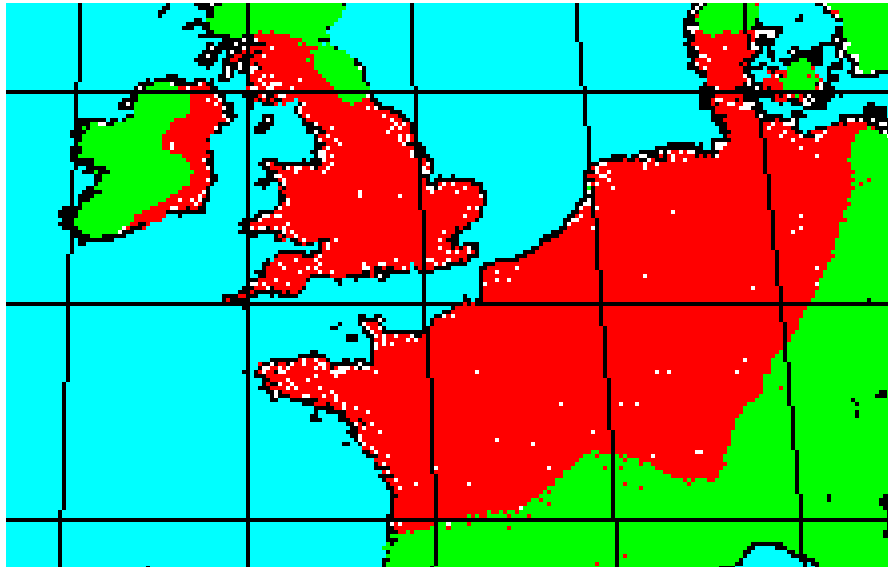
IRISH POTATO FAMINE

**Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population**

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1847	18.5%
1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

1845

September 16, day: Official confirmation of widespread blight in Irish [potato](#) patches across the entire eastern portion of the island.



Evidently the October crop was not about to be so abundant as had been anticipated:

### Acreage in Potatoes

Year	Acres
1845	>2,000,000
1846	>1,000,000
1847	300,000
1848	700,000

Prior to this year the average daily intake of an Irish adult during a winter would have consisted of 10-12 pounds of [potatoes](#), with buttermilk. We didn't know then precisely how many people would starve to death or, weakened by starvation, succumb to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in Ireland during the 1845-1851 period, and we still don't know now, but we do know that the first great die-off had occurred during the winter of 1846-1847. A table prepared after the fact by Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each year probably worked out to

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

something like this:

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

Year	%
1842	5.1%
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1847	18.5%
1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

The figures shown for 1849 are the result of a [cholera](#) epidemic in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general starvation.

**1846**

[Richard Francis Burton](#) returned from Sind in [India](#) to England to recover from [cholera](#).





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

A pamphlet appeared in [Boston](#) summarizing the munificence and beneficence of the 1,496 men in the commonwealth who were worth at least \$50,000, each.

### BOSTON'S FIRST MEN

Strict rules were utilized for the determination of benevolence. Since [Queen Victoria](#) had given \$900,000 for relief in the [Irish Potato Famine](#) out of her vast fortune, the size of which was approximately known — by computation a Boston laborer receiving an average wage would have needed to donate \$0.<sup>80</sup> in order “to be precisely as benevolent as Her Majesty.” Similarly, the editors knew of a Boston man with an annual income of \$20.<sup>00</sup> who annually gave \$0.<sup>50</sup> to charity. It was on the basis of this sort of “widow’s mite” high standard that only 375 of the 1,496 were being declared to be “more or less Benevolent”:

Amount of property owned	\$244,780,000
Number worth over one million dollars	18
Number worth just one million dollars	8
Number worth three fourths of a million dollars	10
Number worth half a million dollars	45
Number worth quarter of a million dollars	147
Number who began poor, or nearly so	705
Number who rec'd all, or the greater part, by inheritance or marriage	282
Number of rich Farmers	90
Number of rich Manufacturers (Cotton, Woolen, &c.)	53
Number of rich Merchants (and Various Traders)	463
Number of rich Lawyers (including Judges)	75
Number of rich Physicians	31
Number of rich Clergymen	12
Number of rich Brokers (including some speculators)	46
Number of rich Publishers	11
Number of rich Editors	4
Number of rich Shoe makers (and Dealers)	50
Number of rich Tailors (and Clothes-Dealers)	10
Number of rich Carpenters (and Ship-Builders)	15
Number of rich Masons	9
Number of rich Butchers (and Provision-Dealers)	13
Number of rich Distillers	14
Number ascertained to be more or less Benevolent	375

CHOLERA

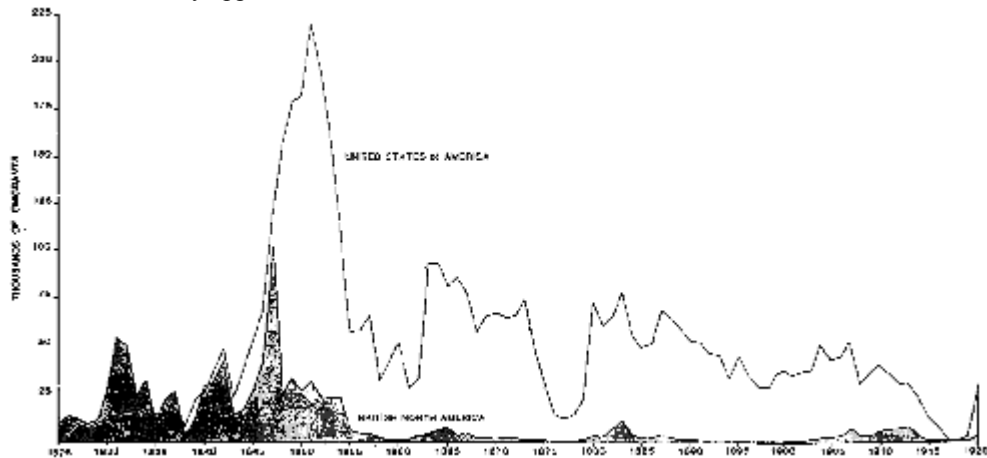
CHOLERA

Number of rich Old Bachelors	68
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While this benevolence was going on in [Boston](#) in the New World, in [Ireland](#) the apparently sound and meaty white tubers of the new [potato](#) crop, upon which so very much depended, suddenly again disintegrated into stinking black slime — just as they had in the previous harvest season. This episode of the “late blight” of *Phytophthora infestans* was merely as bad as before but the population was already in an emaciated condition.



Therefore a visit which had been planned for Queen Victoria would obviously need to be postponed. Of over 100,000 malnourished, [cholera](#)-ridden [Irish](#), off-loaded from the converted cargo holds of sailing ships into Canadian quarantine stations, one-third died within this year. Next to a wharf at Montréal, in a pit, 6,000 bodies were dumped and the cause of death was set down simply as “ship fever.” Spectators on the banks of the St. Lawrence noticed that, as survivors of the trans-Atlantic voyage were being barged upriver toward the Canadian interior, they appeared too weak to return the waves of children on shore.



We don’t know precisely how many people have starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in [Ireland](#) during the ensuing period, but we do know that the first great die-off would occur during the winter of 1846-1847. A table prepared after the fact by Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each



## CHOLERA

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1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

Prior to 1845 the average intake of an [Irish](#) adult during a winter had consisted of ten to twelve pounds of potatoes, with buttermilk, daily. In the oncoming winter it would consist of one pound of Indian meal **or** one bowl of soup with one slice of bread — and to prove oneself worthy to receive such sustenance one would need to be doing daily hard labor.

In this year a painting was made of [Albert Edward, Prince of Wales](#). The 5-year-old appears well enough nourished.



A Mrs. Thynne brought some of the corals of Torquay to London “for the purpose of study and the entertainment of friends.” Each day, this lady’s housemaid<sup>9</sup> would need to spend thirty to forty-five minutes

9. Possibly, but of course not necessarily, an [Irish](#) woman.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

pouring the six gallons of salt water of the aquarium backward and forward before an open window, in order to keep it fresh. The “aquarium craze,” something that Brits would be referring to as “sea-gardening,” had fairly begun.

On a related note (?), the “Boston Museum” was constructed on Tremont Street in [Boston](#).<sup>10</sup> Many edifices of this type were in this period becoming economically possible, due in part to the wealth being generated by the sea trade and in part to of the eagerness of these [Irish](#) unfortunates to part with their labor for ridiculously low wages. —Hey, it’s an ill wind that blows **nobody** any good!

At this point John Mitchel and other Young Irelanders who had come to disdain the doctrine of “moral force” broke with Daniel O’Connell and founded the Irish Confederation, devoted to an agenda of the doing of harm so that good might result. —Hey, let’s give terrorism a chance!



[Thomas Carlyle](#) would be doing his part, from this year into 1851, by making a study of the situation in Ireland in order to inform curious Englishmen what they ought to make of it.

10. This structure is not to be confused with the “Boston Museum of Natural History” which was constructed in 1863 in the newly filled Back Bay and which eventually became the Museum of Science. This structure wasn’t a museum at all, it was a 1,200-seat auditorium at which plays were regularly performed. It was termed a “museum” in order to reassure blue-blooded [Boston](#) clients who might have been reluctant to visit anything so vulgar as a “theater.”

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1847

Fall: In [Ireland](#), the prospects for an 1847 [potato](#) harvest had appeared good, despite the continuing presence of some “soot” on the leaves.



However, the number of acres not planted, and the continuing presence of the blight, would mean a rather small dig that October.

FAMINE

### Acreage in Potatoes

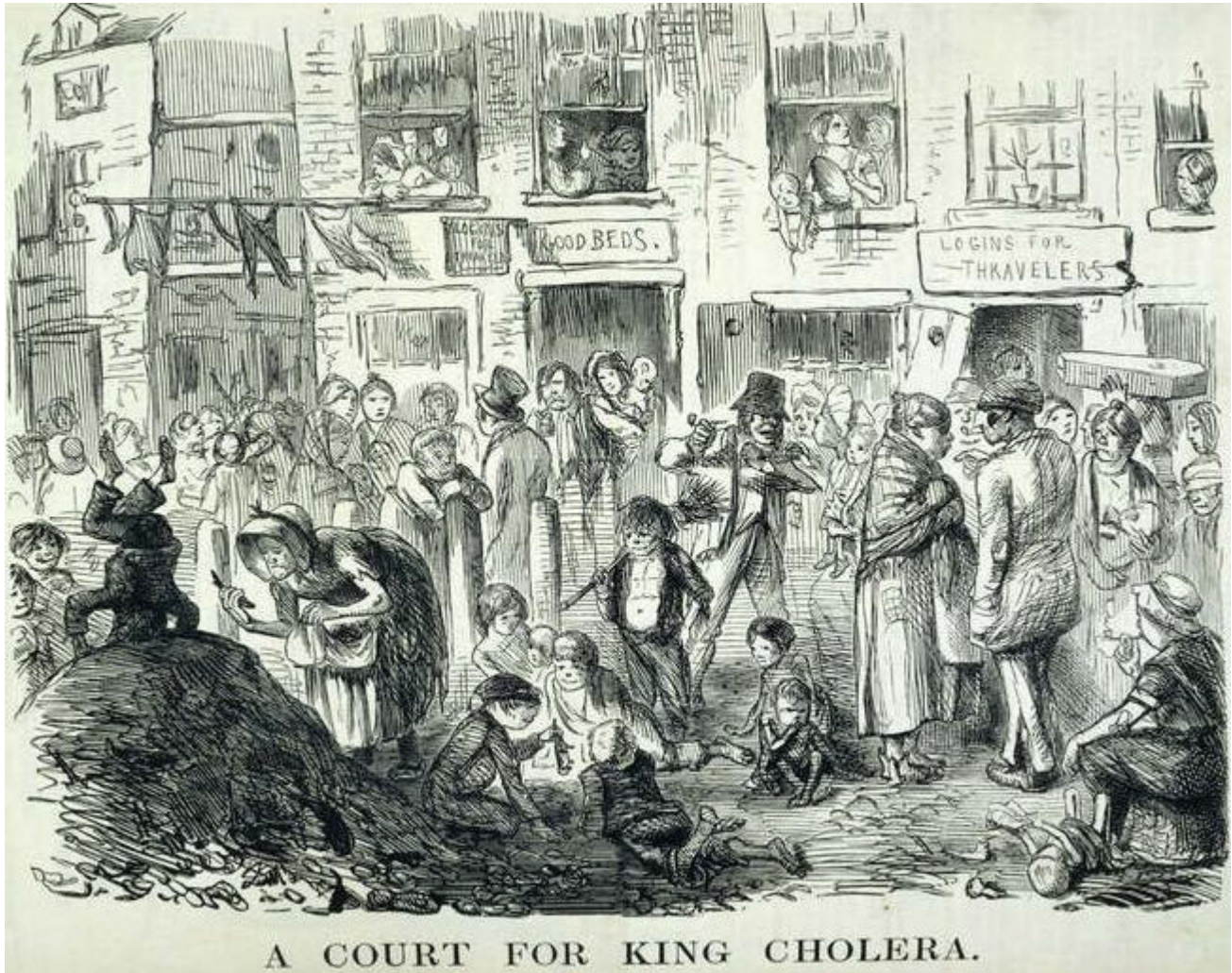
Year	Acres
1845	>2,000,000
1846	>1,000,000
1847	300,000
1848	700,000

At this point the Relief Commissioners began to predict that neither home potatoes nor the wages needed to procure other sustenance were going to be available during the coming winter. Later on, –although we don’t know precisely how many people starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in [Ireland](#) during the period– we would be able to calculate that the first great die-off had occurred during the winter of 1846-1847. A table prepared after the fact by the Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would be tabulated.



Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each year probably worked out to something like this:

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1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

The figures shown for 1849 are the result of a [cholera](#) epidemic in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general starvation.



One of the most important and highly regarded charitable organizations was the Society of Friends, or Quakers. They first became involved in the Irish Famine relief in November 1846, when some Dublin-based members of the Society decided to establish a Central Relief Committee. The Quakers had a long tradition of philanthropic activity and were well regarded for their avoidance of proselytism. Although the Quakers were numerically small in Ireland, their numbers did include a relatively high proportion of successful businessmen. They also had the support of co-religionists throughout the world. Initially, the role of the Central Relief Committee was to be mainly advisory, as they believed that it was important for accurate information to be provided by disinterested experts. They intended that any assistance which they gave was to be merely supplementary to other relief. However, in the early months of 1847, the relief provided by the Society of Friends often proved crucial in keeping people alive, as other systems of relief failed in this basic purpose. This was particularly so during the vacuum in relief provision following the closure of public works in some areas.

At the end of November 1846, two Englishmen, James H. Tuke and William Forster, with the assistance of local Quakers, commenced a tour of the most distressed parts of Ireland. During the course of this journey, they visited counties Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Longford and Cavan. The Quakers admitted that their extensive experience in working with distressed people in England had not prepared them for what they saw in Ireland. They reported to the Central Relief Committee





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

that they were appalled by the scenes which they witnessed and had never encountered such suffering before. Tuke was driven to record: "the scenes of poverty and wretchedness are almost beyond belief ... notwithstanding all my experience derived from my years service in the Poor Law Commission, three of which were spent in Yorkshire and Lancashire during the extremity of distress there."

A number of Quakers criticised the relief policies of the government, holding them to be inadequate and misjudged. As the Quakers who were touring the west of Ireland quickly realised, the distress was often most severe in the areas where the administrative machinery for the distribution of relief was most limited. They believed that absentee or irresponsible landlords were to a large extent responsible for this. Consequently, although the Quakers identified the most severe distress as existing in the province of Connacht, the amount of relief which they provided was restricted because of the absence of an interested middle and landlord class in some places through which to channel this assistance. Joseph Bewley, the Secretary of the Society of Friends, realised that government policies meant that the relief taxes were heaviest in the districts which were least able to afford them. He judged these policies to be short-sighted and incapable of bringing any long-term benefit to the people of Ireland. During his visit to Co. Donegal, Tuke was delayed for weeks by heavy snowstorms. He realised the implications that this had for people who were employed on the public works: bad weather reduced the amount of money which could be earned. Also, the effort to remain warm and dry -- through the wearing of warm clothes or the lighting of a small fire-- proved an additional drain on the limited resources of the people. Those who attempted to continue working during the bad weather invariably increased their propensity to fall ill. Apart from the relief provisions, Tuke was also critical of the social structures within Ireland. He regarded the abject poverty and wretchedness of the small farmers and cottiers as not being surpassed even in the "most barbarous nations." Tuke saved his most severe criticisms for the role played by absentee landlords, particularly those who, although they owned large estates, had not "subscribed one farthing" to help alleviate the suffering of their tenants.

The main form of relief provided by the Quakers in 1848 was the distribution of seed, primarily on behalf of the government. The Relief Commissioners had a supply of seed but the government would not permit them to become involved in the direct sale of it. Instead they requested the Quakers to distribute it in the most impoverished districts in Ireland. The Quakers agreed, as they felt that this would be of permanent benefit to the country. In total, they distributed nearly 200,000 lbs of seed which was estimated to result in the cultivation of approximately 800 acres of green crops. The vast majority of the seeds were turnip, although carrot, parsnip and cabbage seeds were also distributed....

The Society of Friends had undertaken to import supplies of food mostly from America into Ireland in 1847. Even before it arrived, it was obvious to Tuke and Forster that in many areas



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

more extensive and immediate assistance was required than that envisaged by their colleagues in Dublin. In each of the areas which they visited, Tuke and Forster distributed both food and cash. Although the Quakers had intended that their provisions should be sold at cost price, they realised that if they adhered to this, it would still be beyond the means of the most distressed people. Increasingly, the relief provided by the Quakers in the field was given gratuitously even though in doing so they offended both the central committee in Dublin and the Treasury. As far as possible, the Quakers worked through the local relief committees or local gentry or clergy. Money was not to be provided directly to the destitute people. The money which they provided was frequently used for the establishment of a soup kitchen, the purchase of seed, or the provision of local employment. In Dunfanaghy, for example, money was given to the local minister for the purchase of boilers for a soup kitchen and the purchase of materials for the local women to knit Guernsey shirts.

Apart from food and cash, the Quakers donated clothes and bedding. They also imported boilers for soup kitchens, being one of the first organizations to favour the use of soup kitchens as a means of providing large-scale relief. This was approved by the government, which disliked giving either money or uncooked food. The government, who regarded the involvement of the Quakers as very valuable, paid the freight and warehouse charges of all goods imported by the Quakers and waived all port duties. Most of the food was imported directly into the area where it was to be distributed. It included Indian meal, flour, rice, biscuits, peas, Scotch barley, American beef and tapioca. During 1846 and 1847, the Quakers provided approximately £200,000 for the relief of distress in Ireland, which was spent almost exclusively in the west of the country. The following statistics which refer to Co. Donegal provide an insight into the assistance afforded by the Quakers:

### Quaker Relief in Co. Donegal

Estimated number of grants:	266
Number of boilers:	19
Quantity of food, in tons:	400
Value of food and boilers:	£6,659 0s 0d
Amount of money grants:	£1,429 5s 9d
<b>Total Value</b>	<b>£8,088 5s 9d</b>

During the summer of 1847, as the Temporary Relief Act was implemented, the Quakers began to wind down their operations with a view to ending them totally when the extended Poor Law became operative in the autumn. Instead, they decided only to provide relief which would contribute to developing the industries and resources of the country. However, in the winter of 1847-8, the government asked them if they would consider again becoming involved in the provision of relief, particularly

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

in the re-establishment of soup kitchens. The Quakers were reluctant to do so. As one official explained, providing this form of relief would be similar to "giving the criminal a long day." They believed that it was better if they used their energies to contribute to the long-term improvement of Ireland and leave the provision of immediate relief to the government. In 1849, Trevelyan, at the request of the government, offered the Quakers £100 if they would provide direct relief as they had previously done, but again they refused.

1848

There was another outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in New-York, in which more than 5,000 died. In Rochester, New York, the cholera killed 160.<sup>11</sup>



11. The progress of Asiatic cholera is rapid. The urine stops and the person's voice becomes feeble, somewhat hoarse, and without resonance. Averse to talking, the patient tells the doctor of a burning in the pit of the stomach, and asks for water. Vomiting, diarrhoea, and spasms begin. You can give the patient camphor dissolved in alcohol on a piece of sugar, or in a spoonful of water, but this is merely palliative of the symptoms. The victim transits into stadium lethale, sopor, and asphyxia (if a victim should linger and become convalescent there will ordinarily be chronic weakness of the nerves and digestive organs).

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

December: [Cholera](#) appeared in the large [famine](#) workhouse at Belfast, [Ireland](#) and, as well, among the general population of the city. We don't know precisely how many people starved to death or, weakened by starvation,



succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to cholera during this period, and a table prepared after the fact by the Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for any family all of whose members had succumbed, of course zero deaths would be tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage which would occur in each year probably worked out to something like this:

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

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1842	5.1%
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1850	12.2%

(The figures shown for 1849 are the result of this outbreak of [cholera](#) as it spread in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general starvation.)

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1849

A 2d dam was constructed at Holyoke, Massachusetts, in seven months. Meanwhile, the squalid conditions in the [Irish](#) neighborhoods of such laborers caused a [cholera](#) epidemic.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

News of last year's discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill was bringing a rush of 7,000 "Forty-Niners" to California, whose white population would jump in the next 7 years from 15,000 to nearly 3,000,000.



Dr. Thomas J. Hodges was part of this population movement. Unsuccessful as a prospector, for several years he would be drifting around California as a gambler, and a doctor at times.

A [cholera](#) epidemic, spread by gold-rush enthusiasts while crossing the Texas panhandle, wiped out the leadership of the Comanche tribe. A popular song was "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie."

[Josiah Gregg](#) was one of those who would participate in this gold rush.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Charles Kingsley, author of the manly adventure *WESTWARD HO!*, advised an audience at the University of Cambridge that degenerate races such as, for one instance, the North American Indian, were better dead than red:



The truest benevolence is occasional severity. It **is** expedient that one man die for the people. One tribe exterminated, if need be, to save a whole continent. "Sacrifice of human life?" Prove that it is **human** life.



Later, in a private letter, he would explain how Anglo-Saxons could spread virtue through extermination:



Because Christ's kingdom is a kingdom of peace; because the meek alone shall inherit the earth, therefore, you Malays and Dyaks of Sarawak, you are also enemies to peace ... you are beasts, all the more dangerous, because you have a semi-human cunning.

Clearly, by "Westward Ho!" he did not mean "Ho-Ho-Ho, Merry Christmas!"

Sometimes sanitation through ethnic cleansing was something that simply took care of itself, without the intermediation of any white man. Conveniently, a [cholera](#) epidemic was at this point filling the cemeteries of the colored Seneca Village district of upper Manhattan Island, which eventually Frederick Law Olmsted would be able to seize in order to enact his Central Park scheme for a "surpassingly beautiful pleasure grounds

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

[for the] refreshment and recreation” of the peaceful white citizens of the civilized city of New-York.



Speaking of New-York, it was in this year that John Snow did his investigations at the Broad Street pump which led to his suggestion that cholera was spread by way of contamination of the public water supply.<sup>12</sup>



Snow had worked as an anesthetist with the stricken coal miners outside Newcastle-upon-Tyne during England's 1st great epidemic of the cholera, in 1831-1832. His new theory would not be immediately accepted, as the forces of colonialist denial were very strong and the [Indian](#) Medical Service was engaged in the usual blaming of the victims, by alleging without evidence that cholera actually was afflicting only those who were anyway predisposed to such infections:



The alleged predisposition was nothing visible or evident: like the elephant which supports the world, according to Hindoo mythology, it was merely invented to remove a difficulty.

Eventually a simplistic story would be derived, which now requires neutralization. According to this simplistic story, it was the removal of the handle of the Broad Street pump that ended the outbreak of cholera, thus demonstrating the correctness of Dr. Snow's theory on the mode of communication of cholera. However, the pump handle was not removed until September 8th, after the outbreak had largely waned, its peak having been on September 1st. Dr. Snow himself never made any allegation that the epidemic had waned because of the removal of the pump handle, nor does the raw data support such an inference. Dr. Snow's actual suggestion as to what had caused the waning of the epidemic was that this had been brought about by a general public flight

12. Rosenberg, Charles E. THE CHOLERA YEARS: THE UNITED STATES IN 1832, 1849, AND 1866. Published in 1987

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

in all directions, out of the geographical area that was being afflicted.



March: [Cholera](#) appeared in the west of [Ireland](#). The rescheduled tour by [Queen Victoria](#), originally planned for 1846 and canceled then due to the famine, would need to be confined to the east of the island. In addition, this tour was declared not to be a state visit but a private one — so the monarch would not be required to take any posture in regard to [famine](#) or epidemic.<sup>13</sup>



13. After the assassination attempt of 1839 and the two attempts of 1842, a 4th attack would occur during this year, and then attempts would be made in 1850, 1872, and 1882. What happened in this year was that an Irishman, William Hamilton, attempted to alarm Queen Victoria by discharging a pistol loaded only with powder in the direction of her carriage as it passed between Buckingham Palace and Hyde Park. Interestingly, nobody seems to remember on what day of the year this event took place! Hamilton would be awarded the maximum punishment under the 1842 act, of seven years in a penal colony.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

April: Hundreds of Conestoga wagons left Missouri for California. In the crowded conditions along the Mississippi River, [cholera](#) ran rampant.



For instance, in the 2d, and most serious, [cholera](#) epidemic to strike St. Louis, more than 4,000 died.

Unbeknownst to these people, this month would turn out to have been the peak of the [cholera](#) epidemic in Ireland. We don't know precisely how many people were starving to death or, weakened by starvation, were succumbing to diarrhea and fever or to cholera on the island during this [famine](#) period, and the table prepared after the fact by the Census Commissioners, presented below, in all probability has underestimated mortality because of the manner in which they were tabulating such data: for a family all of whose members succumbed, zero deaths would of course have been reported. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would had been occurring in each year probably worked out to something like this:

### IRISH

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

Year	%
1842	5.1%
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1848	15.4%



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

Year	%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

This would be decimation even in the etymological sense of that term. The figures shown for 1849 are the result not only of the general starvation but also of this outbreak of [cholera](#) as it spread in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster.

May 15, Tuesday: While visiting with Bronson Alcott at the Alcott home at 12 West Street, [Waldo Emerson](#) encountered his earlier student [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) at a meeting of the Town and Country Club.

Prussia declared war on the Baden revolutionaries.

Neapolitan royal troops entered Palermo, thus ending the rebellion there.

[Louis A. Surette](#) got married with [Frances Jane Shattuck](#), daughter of the Honorable [Daniel Shattuck](#) of [Concord](#), Massachusetts. The couple would produce five children there, two of whom would die young.



May 16, Wednesday: A warrant for the arrest of Richard Wagner was issued in Dresden.

New-York opened a hospital above a tavern to try to deal with the increasing number of [cholera](#) deaths (2,500 would succumb before the end of July).

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

June 4, Monday: Lady Blessington died.

There was an outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in [Boston](#) — by November there would be roughly 1,000 new graves.



Charlotte Brontë wrote in regard to her family's [tuberculosis](#): "...They are both gone, and so is poor Branwell, and Papa has now me only-the weakest, puniest, least promising of his children. [Consumption](#) has take the whole five.... I am ordered to remain at the sea-side awhile...."

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

June 5, Tuesday: [James Knox Polk](#) succumbed to the [cholera](#).

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) wrote [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) expressing an intent to avenge himself for the manner in which he was being removed from his overlordship of the Salem Custom House. That he had obtained such a cushy posting through the nefarious processes of political patronage was just fine (because he was such a fine fellow that he deserved to have fine things happen to him), but it was unconscionable that he might lose such a cushy posting through the nefarious processes of political patronage (because he was such a fine fellow that he didn't deserve to have such a thing happen to him). This just wasn't right!



**A CUSHY POLITICAL PLUM, THE REWARD FOR PARTY LOYALTY  
HOW UNFAIR THAT I SHOULD BE SO SUDDENLY DEPRIVED OF IT!**



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

June 10, Sunday: Frédéric Kalkbrenner died at Enghien-les-Bains in the midst of a [cholera](#) epidemic, at 63 years of age.

The song “Susannah” was already wearing at people’s nerves. Here is a 49er diary entry, by Andy Gordon:

I have heard “Susannah” sung at least forty times today, and now it’s bedtime and Tommy Plunkett is picking out the tune on his banjo and singing it loud enough to keep most of us awake. Don’t he ever get tired of it? I used to like that song, but enough is enough, and I believe it will drive me crazy before we get to California.

[Margaret Fuller](#) wrote to [Waldo Emerson](#):

Rome, June 10, 1849.

I received your letter amid the round of cannonade and musketry. It was a terrible battle fought here from the first to the last light of day. I could see all its progress from my balcony. The Italians fought like lions. It is a truly heroic spirit that animates them. They make a stand here for honor and their rights, with little ground for hope that they can resist, now they are betrayed by France.

Since the 30th of April, I go almost daily to the hospitals, and though I have suffered, for I had no idea before how terrible gun-shot wounds and wound-fevers are, yet I have taken pleasure, and great pleasure, in being with the men. There is scarcely one who is not moved by a noble spirit. Many, especially among the Lombards, are the flower of the Italian youth. When they begin to get better, I carry them books and flowers; they read, and we talk.

The palace of the Pope, on the Quirinal, is now used for convalescents. In those beautiful gardens I walk with them, one with his sling, another with his crutch. The gardener plays off all his water-works for the defenders of the country, and gathers flowers for me, their friend.

A day or two since, we sat in the Pope’s little pavilion, where he used to give private audience. The sun was going gloriously down over Monte Mario, where gleamed the white tents of the French light-horse among the trees. The cannonade was heard at intervals. Two bright-eyed boys sat at our feet, and gathered up eagerly every word said by the heroes of the day. It was a beautiful hour, stolen from the midst of ruin and sorrow, and tales were told as full of grace and pathos as in the gardens of Boccaccio, only in a very different spirit, – with noble hope for man, and reverence for woman.

The young ladies of the family, very young girls, were filled with enthusiasm for the suffering, wounded patriots, and they wished to go to the hospital, to give their services. Excepting the three superintendents, none but married ladies were permitted to serve there, but their services were accepted. Their governess then wished to go too, and, as she could speak several languages, she was admitted to the rooms of the wounded soldiers, to interpret for them, as the nurses knew nothing but Italian, and many of these poor men were suffering because they could not make their wishes known. Some are French, some



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Germans, many Poles. Indeed, I am afraid it is too true that there were comparatively few Romans among them. This young lady passed several nights there.

Should I never return, and sometimes I despair of doing so, it seems so far off, – so difficult, I am caught in such a net of ties here, – if ever you know of my life here, I think you will only wonder at the constancy with which I have sustained myself, – the degree of profit to which, amid great difficulties, I have put the time, – at least in the way of observation. Meanwhile, love me all you can. Let me feel that, amid the fearful agitations of the world, there are pure hands, with healthful, even pulse, stretched out toward me, if I claim their grasp.

I feel profoundly for Mazzini. At moments I am tempted to say, "Cursed with every granted prayer," – so cunning is the demon. Mazzini has become the inspiring soul of his people. He saw Rome, to which all his hopes through life tended, for the first time as a Roman citizen, and to become in a few days its ruler. He has animated, he sustains her to a glorious effort, which, if it fails this time, will not in the age. His country will be free. Yet to me it would be so dreadful to cause all this bloodshed, – to dig the graves of such martyrs!

Then, Rome is being destroyed; her glorious oaks, – her villas, haunts of sacred beauty, that seemed the possession of the world for ever, – the villa of Raphael, the villa of Albani, home of Winckelmann and the best expression of the ideal of modern Rome, and so many other sanctuaries of beauty, – all must perish, lest a foe should level his musket from their shelter. I could not, could not!

I know not, dear friend, whether I shall ever get home across that great ocean, but here in Rome I shall no longer wish to live.

O Rome, *my* country! could I imagine that the triumph of what I held dear was to heap such desolation on thy head!

Speaking of the republic, you say, "Do you not wish Italy had a great man?" Mazzini is a great man. In mind, a great, poetic statesman; in heart, a lover; in action, decisive and full of resource as Cæsar. Dearly I love Mazzini. He came in, just as I had finished the first letter to you. His soft, radiant look makes melancholy music in my soul; it consecrates my present life, that, like the Magdalen, I may, at the important hour, shed all the consecrated ointment on his head. There is one, Mazzini, who understands thee well, – who knew thee no less when an object of popular fear than now of idolatry, – and who, if the pen be not held too feebly, will help posterity to know thee too!

### ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York Tribune from Rome on the latest negotiations and the latest betrayals:

Rome, June 10, 1849.

What shall I write of Rome in these sad but glorious days? Plain facts are the best; for my feelings I could not find fit words. When I last wrote, the French were playing the second act of





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

their farce.

In the first, the French government affected to consult the Assembly. The Assembly, or a majority of the Assembly, affected to believe the pretext it gave, and voted funds for twelve thousand men to go to Civita Vecchia. Arriving there, Oudinot proclaimed that he had come as a friend and brother. He was received as such. Immediately he took possession of the town, disarmed the Roman troops, and published a manifesto in direct opposition to his first declaration.

He sends to Rome that he is coming there as a friend; receives the answer that he is not wanted and cannot be trusted. This answer he chooses to consider as coming from a minority, and advances on Rome. The pretended majority on which he counts never shows itself by a single movement within the walls. He makes an assault, and is defeated. On this subject his despatches to his government are full of falsehoods that would disgrace the lowest pickpocket, — falsehoods which it is impossible he should not know to be such.

The Assembly passed a vote of blame. M. Louis Bonaparte writes a letter of compliment and assurance that this course of violence shall be sustained. In conformity with this promise twelve thousand more troops are sent. This time it is not thought necessary to consult the Assembly. Let us view the SECOND ACT.

Now appears in Rome M. Ferdinand Lesseps, Envoy, &c. of the French government. He declares himself clothed with full powers to treat with Rome. He cannot conceal his surprise at all he sees there, at the ability with which preparations have been made for defence, at the patriotic enthusiasm which pervades the population. Nevertheless, in beginning his game of treaty-making, he is not ashamed to insist on the French occupying the city. Again and again repulsed, he again and again returns to the charge on this point. And here I shall translate the letter addressed to him by the Triumvirate, both because of its perfect candor of statement, and to give an idea of the sweet and noble temper in which these treacherous aggressions have been met.

LETTER OF THE TRIUMVIRS TO MONSIEUR LESSEPS.

"May 25, 1849.

"We have had the honor, Monsieur, to furnish you, in our note of the 16th, with some information as to the unanimous consent which was given to the formation of the government of the Roman Republic. We to-day would speak to you of the actual question, such as it is debated in fact, if not by right, between the French government and ours. You will allow us to do it with the frankness demanded by the urgency of the situation, as well as the sympathy which ought to govern all relations between France and Italy. Our diplomacy is the truth, and the character given to your mission is a guaranty that the best possible interpretation will be given to what we shall say to you.

"With your permission, we return for an instant to the cause of the present situation of affairs.

"In consequence of conferences and arrangements which took place without the government of the Roman Republic ever being called on to take part, it was some time since decided by the Catholic Powers, — 1st. That a modification should take place in the



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

government and institutions of the Roman States; 2d. That this modification should have for basis the return of Pius IX., not as Pope, for to that no obstacle is interposed by us, but as temporal sovereign; 3d. That if, to attain that aim, a continuous intervention was judged necessary, that intervention should take place.

"We are willing to admit, that while for some of the contracting governments the only motive was the hope of a general restoration and absolute return to the treaties of 1815, the French government was drawn into this agreement only in consequence of erroneous information, tending systematically to depict the Roman States as given up to anarchy and governed by terror exercised in the name of an audacious minority. We know also, that, in the modification proposed, the French government intended to represent an influence more or less liberal, opposed to the absolutist programme of Austria and of Naples. It does none the less remain true, that under the Apostolic or constitutional form, with or without liberal guaranties to the Roman people, the dominant thought in all the negotiations to which we allude has been some sort of return toward the past, a compromise between the Roman people and Pius IX. considered as temporal prince.

"We cannot dissemble to ourselves, Monsieur, that the French expedition has been planned and executed under the inspiration of this thought. Its object was, on one side, to throw the sword of France into the balance of negotiations which were to be opened at Rome; on the other, to guarantee the Roman people from the excess of retrograde, but always on condition that it should submit to constitutional monarchy in favor of the Holy Father. This is assured to us partly from information which we believe we possess as to the concert with Austria; from the proclamations of General Oudinot; from the formal declarations made by successive envoys to the Triumvirate; from the silence obstinately maintained whenever we have sought to approach the political question and obtain a formal declaration of the fact proved in our note of the 16th, that the institutions by which the Roman people are governed at this time are the free and spontaneous expression of the wish of the people inviolable when legally ascertained. For the rest, the vote of the French Assembly sustains implicitly the fact that we affirm.

"In such a situation, under the menace of an inadmissible compromise, and of negotiations which the state of our people no way provoked, our part, Monsieur, could not be doubtful. To resist, — we owed this to our country, to France, to all Europe. We ought, in fulfilment of a mandate loyally given, loyally accepted, maintain to our country the inviolability, so far as that was possible to us, of its territory, and of the institutions decreed by all the powers, by all the elements, of the state. We ought to conquer the time needed for appeal from France ill informed to France better informed, to save the sister republic the disgrace and the remorse which must be hers if, rashly led on by bad suggestions from without, she became, before she was aware, accomplice in an act of violence to which we can find no parallel without going back to the partition of Poland in 1772. We owed it to Europe to maintain, as far as we



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

could, the fundamental principles of all international life, the independence of each people in all that concerns its internal administration. We say it without pride, – for if it is with enthusiasm that we resist the attempts of the Neapolitan monarchy and of Austria, our eternal enemy, it is with profound grief that we are ourselves constrained to contend with the arms of France, – we believe in following this line of conduct we have deserved well, not only of our country, but of all the people of Europe, even of France herself.

"We come to the actual question. You know, Monsieur, the events which have followed the French intervention. Our territory has been invaded by the king of Naples.

"Four thousand Spaniards were to embark on the 17th for invasion of this country. The Austrians, having surmounted the heroic resistance of Bologna, have advanced into Romagna, and are now marching on Ancona.

"We have beaten and driven out of our territory the forces of the king of Naples. We believe we should do the same by the Austrian forces, if the attitude of the French here did not fetter our action.

"We are sorry to say it, but France must be informed that the expedition of Civita Vecchia, said to be planned for our protection, costs us very dear. Of all the interventions with which it is hoped to overwhelm us, that of the French has been the most perilous. Against the soldiers of Austria and the king of Naples we can fight, for God protects a good cause. But we *do not wish to fight* against the French. We are toward them in a state, not of war, but of simple defence. But this position, the only one we wish to take wherever we meet France, has for us all the inconveniences without any of the favorable chances of war.

"The French expedition has, from the first, forced us to concentrate our troops, thus leaving our frontier open to Austrian invasion, and Bologna and the cities of Romagna unsustained. The Austrians have profited by this. After eight days of heroic resistance by the population, Bologna was forced to yield. We had bought in France arms for our defence. Of these ten thousand muskets have been detained between Marseilles and Civita Vecchia. These are in your hands. Thus with a single blow you deprive us of ten thousand soldiers. In every armed man is a soldier against the Austrians.

"Your forces are disposed around our walls as if for a siege. They remain there without avowed aim or programme. They have forced us to keep the city in a state of defence which weighs upon our finances. They force us to keep here a body of troops who might be saving our cities from the occupation and ravages of the Austrians. They hinder our going from place to place, our provisioning the city, our sending couriers. They keep minds in a state of excitement and distrust which might, if our population were less good and devoted, lead to sinister results. They do *not* engender anarchy nor reaction, for both are impossible at Rome; but they sow the seed of irritation against France, and it is a misfortune for us who were accustomed to love and hope in her.

"We are besieged, Monsieur, besieged by France, in the name of a protective mission, while some leagues off the king of Naples,



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

flying, carries off our hostages, and the Austrian slays our brothers.

"You have presented propositions. Those propositions have been declared inadmissible by the Assembly. To-day you add a fourth to the three already rejected. This says that France will protect from foreign invasion all that part of our territory that may be occupied by her troops. You must yourself feel that this changes nothing in our position.

"The parts of the territory occupied by your troops are in fact protected; but if only for the present, to what are they reduced? and if it is for the future, have we no other way to protect our territory than by giving it up entirely to you?

"The real intent of your demands is not stated. It is the occupation of Rome. This demand has constantly stood first in your list of propositions. Now we have had the honor to say to you, Monsieur, that is impossible. The people will never consent to it. If the occupation of Rome has for its aim only to protect it, the people thank you, but tell you at the same time, that, able to defend Rome by their own forces, they would be dishonored even in your eyes by declaring themselves insufficient, and needing the aid of some regiments of French soldiers. If the occupation has otherwise a political object, which God forbid, the people, who have given themselves freely these institutions, cannot suffer it. Rome is their capital, their palladium, their sacred city. They know very well, that, apart from their principles, apart from their honor, there is civil war at the end of such an occupation. They are filled with distrust by your persistence. They foresee, the troops being once admitted, changes in men and in actions which would be fatal to their liberty. They know that, in presence of foreign bayonets, the independence of their Assembly, of their government, would be a vain word. They have always Civita Vecchia before their eyes.

"On this point be sure their will is irrevocable. They will be massacred from barricade to barricade, before they will surrender. Can the soldiers of France wish to massacre a brother people whom they came to protect, because they do not wish to surrender to them their capital?

"There are for France only three parts to take in the Roman States. She ought to declare herself for us, against us, or neutral. To declare herself for us would be to recognize our republic, and fight side by side with us against the Austrians. To declare against us is to crush without motive the liberty, the national life, of a friendly people, and fight side by side with the Austrians. France *cannot* do that. She *will not* risk a European war to depress us, her ally. Let her, then, rest neutral in this conflict between us and our enemies. Only yesterday we hoped more from her, but to-day we demand but this.

"The occupation of Civita Vecchia is a fact accomplished; let it go. France thinks that, in the present state of things, she ought not to remain distant from the field of battle. She thinks that, vanquishers or vanquished, we may have need of her moderate action and of her protection. We do not think so; but we will not react against her. Let her keep Civita Vecchia. Let her even extend her encampments, if the numbers of her troops require it, in the healthy regions of Civita Vecchia and



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Viterbo. Let her then wait the issue of the combats about to take place. All facilities will be offered her, every proof of frank and cordial sympathy given; her officers can visit Rome, her soldiers have all the solace possible. But let her neutrality be sincere and without concealed plans. Let her declare herself in explicit terms. Let her leave us free to use all our forces. Let her restore our arms. Let her not by her cruisers drive back from our ports the men who come to our aid from other parts of Italy. Let her, above all, withdraw from before our walls, and cause even the appearance of hostility to cease between two nations who, later, undoubtedly are destined to unite in the same international faith, as now they have adopted the same form of government."

In his answer, Lesseps appears moved by this statement, and particularly expresses himself thus: —

"One point appears above all to occupy you; it is the thought that we wish forcibly to impose upon you the obligation of receiving us as friends. *Friendship and violence are incompatible.* Thus it would be *inconsistent* on our part to begin by firing our cannon upon you, since we are your natural protectors. *Such a contradiction enters neither into my intentions, nor those of the government of the French republic, nor of our army and its honorable chief.*"

These words were written at the head-quarters of Oudinot, and of course seen and approved by him. At the same time, in private conversation, "the honorable chief" could swear he would occupy Rome by "one means or another." A few days after, Lesseps consented to conditions such as the Romans would tolerate. He no longer insisted on occupying Rome, but would content himself with good positions in the country. Oudinot protested that the Plenipotentiary had "exceeded his powers," — that he should not obey, — that the armistice was at an end, and he should attack Rome on Monday. It was then Friday. He proposed to leave these two days for the few foreigners that remained to get out of town. M. Lesseps went off to Paris, in great seeming indignation, to get *his* treaty ratified. Of course we could not hear from him for eight or ten days. Meanwhile, the *honorable* chief, alike in all his conduct, attacked on Sunday instead of Monday. The attack began before sunrise, and lasted all day. I saw it from my window, which, though distant, commands the gate of St. Pancrazio. Why the whole force was bent on that part, I do not know. If they could take it, the town would be cannonaded, and the barricades useless; but it is the same with the Pincian Gate. Small-parties made feints in two other directions, but they were at once repelled. The French fought with great bravery, and this time it is said with beautiful skill and order, sheltering themselves in their advance by movable barricades. The Italians fought like lions, and no inch of ground was gained by the assailants. The loss of the French is said to be very great: it could not be otherwise. Six or seven hundred Italians are dead or wounded. Among them are many officers, those of Garibaldi especially, who are much exposed by their daring bravery, and whose red tunic makes them the natural mark of the enemy. It seems to me great folly to wear such a dress amid the dark uniforms; but Garibaldi has always done it. He has now been wounded twice here and seventeen times in Ancona.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

All this week I have been much at the hospitals where are these noble sufferers. They are full of enthusiasm; this time was no treason, no Vicenza, no Novara, no Milan. They had not been given up by wicked chiefs at the moment they were shedding their blood, and they had conquered. All were only anxious to get out again and be at their posts. They seemed to feel that those who died so gloriously were fortunate; perhaps they were, for if Rome is obliged to yield, – and how can she stand always unaided against the four powers? – where shall these noble youths fly? They are the flower of the Italian youth; especially among the Lombards are some of the finest young men I have ever seen. If Rome falls, if Venice falls, there is no spot of Italian earth where they can abide more, and certainly no Italian will wish to take refuge in France. Truly you said, M. Lesseps, "Violence and friendship are incompatible."

A military funeral of the officer Ramerino was sadly picturesque and affecting. The white-robed priests went before the body singing, while his brothers in arms bore the lighted tapers. His horse followed, saddled and bridled. The horse hung his head and stepped dejectedly; he felt there was something strange and gloomy going on, – felt that his master was laid low. Ramerino left a wife and children. A great proportion of those who run those risks are, happily, alone. Parents weep, but will not suffer long; their grief is not like that of widows and children. Since the 3d we have only cannonade and skirmishes. The French are at their trenches, but cannot advance much; they are too much molested from the walls. The Romans have made one very successful sortie. The French availed themselves of a violent thunderstorm, when the walls were left more thinly guarded, to try to scale them, but were immediately driven back. It was thought by many that they never would be willing to throw bombs and shells into Rome, but they do whenever they can. That generous hope and faith in them as republicans and brothers, which put the best construction on their actions, and believed in their truth as far as possible, is now destroyed. The government is false, and the people do not resist; the general is false, and the soldiers obey.

Meanwhile, frightful sacrifices are being made by Rome. All her glorious oaks, all her gardens of delight, her casinos, full of the monuments of genius and taste, are perishing in the defence. The houses, the trees which had been spared at the gate of St. Pancrazio, all afforded shelter to the foe, and caused so much loss of life, that the Romans have now fully acquiesced in destruction agonizing to witness. Villa Borghese is finally laid waste, the villa of Raphael has perished, the trees are all cut down at Villa Albani, and the house, that most beautiful ornament of Rome, must, I suppose, go too. The stately marble forms are already driven from their place in that portico where Winckelmann sat and talked with such delight. Villa Salvage is burnt, with all its fine frescos, and that bank of the Tiber shorn of its lovely plantations.

Rome will never recover the cruel ravage of these days, perhaps only just begun. I had often thought of living a few months near St. Peter's, that I might go as much as I liked to the church and the museum, have Villa Pamfili and Monte Mario within the



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

compass of a walk. It is not easy to find lodgings there, as it is a quarter foreigners never inhabit; but, walking about to see what pleasant places there were, I had fixed my eye on a clean, simple house near Ponte St. Angelo. It bore on a tablet that it was the property of Angela -- ; its little balconies with their old wooden rails, full of flowers in humble earthen vases, the many bird-cages, the air of domestic quiet and comfort, marked it as the home of some vestal or widow, some lone woman whose heart was centred in the ordinary and simplest pleasures of a home. I saw also she was one having the most limited income, and I thought, "She will not refuse to let me a room for a few months, as I shall be as quiet as herself, and sympathize about the flowers and birds." Now the Villa Pamfili is all laid waste. The French encamp on Monte Mario; what they have done there is not known yet. The cannonade reverberates all day under the dome of St. Peter's, and the house of poor Angela is levelled with the ground. I hope her birds and the white peacocks of the Vatican gardens are in safety; -- but who cares for gentle, harmless creatures now?

I have been often interrupted while writing this letter, and suppose it is confused as well as incomplete. I hope my next may tell of something decisive one way or the other. News is not yet come from Lesseps, but the conduct of Oudinot and the formation of the new French ministry give reason to hope no good. Many seem resolved to force back Pius IX. among his bleeding flock, into the city ruined by him, where he cannot remain, and if he come, all this struggle and sorrow is to be borne over again. Mazzini stands firm as a rock. I know not whether he hopes for a successful issue, but he *believes* in a God bound to protect men who do what they deem their duty. Yet how long, O Lord, shall the few trample on the many?

I am surprised to see the air of perfect good faith with which articles from the London Times, upon the revolutionary movements, are copied into our papers. There exists not in Europe a paper more violently opposed to the cause of freedom than the Times, and neither its leaders nor its foreign correspondence are to be depended upon. It is said to receive money from Austria. I know not whether this be true, or whether it be merely subservient to the aristocratical feeling of England, which is far more opposed to republican movements than is that of Russia; for in England fear embitters hate. It is droll to remember our reading in the class-book.

"Ay, down to the dust with them, slaves as they are"; -- to think how bitter the English were on the Italians who succumbed, and see how they hate those who resist. And their cowardice here in Italy is ludicrous. It is they who run away at the least intimation of danger, -- it is they who invent all the "fe, fo, fum" stories about Italy, -- it is they who write to the Times and elsewhere that they dare not for their lives stay in Rome, where I, a woman, walk everywhere alone, and all the little children do the same, with their nurses. More of this anon.

**ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK**

## CHOLERA

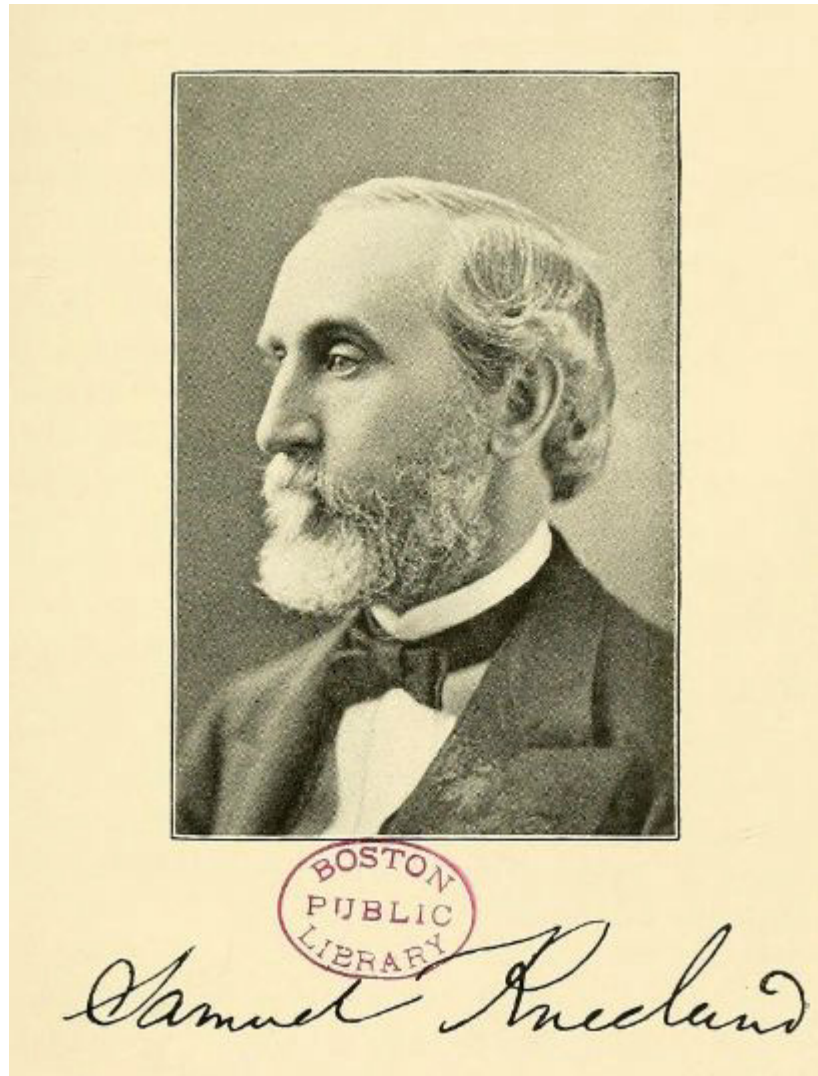
## CHOLERA

August 1, Wednesday: In [New Bedford](#) during the late 1840s, bands and other marching groups and societies were turning out in force for parades on the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, with the city's schoolchildren joining in as well.

EMANCIPATION DAY

ABOLITIONISM

[Dr. Samuel Kneeland, Jr.](#) got married with Eliza Maria Curtis, daughter of Daniel T. Curtis, Esq. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, grand-daughter of General Paul Curtis of the American Revolution. They would have a son and a daughter, Samuel Kneeland on December 10, 1850 and Eliza Curtis Kneeland on October 21, 1852.



(We can be quite certain that in the case of this 1850 childbirth by Mrs. Kneeland, and in the case of this 1852 childbirth by Mrs. Kneeland, her murderous physician husband did not experiment to demonstrate yet again as he had proved in 1846, that “puerperal fever could be produced by the inoculation of a woman with fluid from a sick woman or from the body of one who had died after labor.” No, this particular mother was no charity patient — who might be killed for the improvement of science and her unfortunate infant left motherless. This one was the physician’s spouse, and the infant in question was the physician’s own child, and thus mother and infant would be awarded the very best of care! She, no, *she* was not injected.)



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

The [cholera](#) was making an extraordinary visit to [Ireland](#). The Morning Herald editorialized that “A feeling is becoming very general that some mode of nationally supplying the DIVINE mercy should be immediately adopted, with reference to the pestilence which is now raging among us. It is no longer to be doubted or denied that not in our generation has a visitation of like severity been known. The worst periods of the cholera of 1832 did not approach in extent or intensity to that through which we are passing. We entirely accord with the feeling we have described, and trust that Parliament will not separate without some appeal being made to the heads of her Majesty’s Government as to the propriety of such a step. There is something exceedingly awful in the mysterious character of this pestilence. Nearly twenty years has it been a known disease, in one sense, throughout Europe; and yet, in another sense, it remains utterly unknown to this moment. Medical professors of the highest attainments are obliged to admit that they know not how or whence it comes; how or in what cases or circumstances it acts; or of what character the remedies ought to be. All the modes of dealing with it are little better than guesses. One insists on brandy, another prefers ice mixed with salt. Chloroform is the remedy here, bleeding there. Heat or cold, stillness or friction, all manner of differing or opposing modes of treatment, are advocated on all sides, and with equal zeal. The plainest facts are called in question. A Doctor H., at Liverpool, declares that in one week he effected 74 cures! All the other doctors of the town assert with decision, that he has effected no cures at all.” The Limerick Chronicle reported, on the bright side, that the supply of potatoes was looking up this year, so that although you might fear to die of the cholera this season, this season you need not fear to die of [famine](#): “Precisely at this time last year unmistakable symptoms of the potato disease were generally visible in our market. At present, we have sincere pleasure in announcing that no sign of any distemper affects the large supply now at market in Limerick.”

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

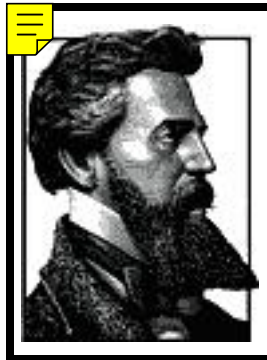
October 11, Tuesday: [Herman Melville](#) was departing for England in an attempt to persuade his British publisher of the authenticity of his narrative *WHITE JACKET, OR, THE WORLD IN A MAN-OF-WAR*.<sup>14</sup>

WHITE JACKET: Rio is a small Mediterranean; and what was fabled of the entrance to that sea, in Rio is partly made true; for here, at the mouth, stands one of Hercules' Pillars, the Sugar-Loaf Mountain, one thousand feet high, inclining over a little, like the Leaning Tower of Pisa. At its base crouch, like mastiffs, the batteries of Jose and Theodosia; while opposite, you are menaced by a rock-founded fort.

The channel between -the sole inlet to the bay- seems but a biscuit's toss over; you see naught of the land-locked sea within till fairly in the strait. But, then, what a sight is beheld! Diversified as the harbor of Constantinople, but a thousand-fold grander. When the *Neversink* swept in, word was passed, "Aloft, top-men! and furl the t'-gallant-sails and royals!"

On the pier while embarking in New-York, he met philologist George Adler, who was sailing for Europe for a year in an attempt to recover from a bout of insanity (they would become friends).

Aboard the vessel *Southampton* with Melville would be an English gent who was taking back moose antlers from the woods of Maine, "trophies of his prowess."<sup>15</sup>



14. You may consult this in *JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO LONDON AND THE CONTINENT, 1849-1850*, edited by Eleanor Melville Metcalf in 1949.

15. Here is a contemporary photograph in which two men are mourning the recent death of a moose (one of the two was willing to pay \$3,450 to the other of the two, in a jet boat at Chilko Lake BC, to lead him to this moose so he could off it):



"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



### WEEK 3

October 13, Thursday: Giuseppe Verdi and Antonio Barezzi arrived in Rome, trying to get to Naples to produce Luisa Miller, but found themselves quarantined for two weeks due to an outbreak of [cholera](#).

In England, [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) received a one-paragraph pan in The Spectator:

This volume is an American importation. The Concord and Merrimack are two rivers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The title of the book would have led one to expect an agreeable series of excursions incidents and descriptions of landscape in a half-reclaimed state. There is something though not much of these two subjects, but neither of them done in a very lively or attractive way. The bulk of the book consists of Mr. Thoreau's reveries, that might have been written anywhere: they are rather flat and not of a kind to interest.

#### TIMELINE OF A WEEK

December: Although rumors of a coming epidemic of the [cholera](#) were making the rounds in Rochester, New York, fortunately no such outbreak would develop.

1850



[Caleb G. Forshey](#) was instrumental in drawing up the report of the Louisiana Legislature's Senate Standing Committee on Levees and Drainage. He would, however, find himself in disagreement with the major recommendations of this report.

In this year the federal congress was donating almost 15,000,000 acres of federal swampland to the midwestern states, in the Swamp Land Act. Originally, you may or may not know, the swamplands of the midwest encompassed some 64,000,000 acres — that's collectively the size of the state of Oregon. Nearly a quarter of the state of Illinois was wetland. The entire northwestern corner of Indiana, up near Lake Michigan, was swamp. Such a "desolate waste" was to be transformed by this giveaway program into a "habitat for industrious, healthy, and happy people" (white people, that is), by the states selling the public lands to these trusting private citizens and using the moneys collected to then begin hearty and helpful and humongous public drainage projects. Make the water go away. Relocate it through drainage pipes. Excrete it through sewer pipes. (Fortunately all such projects would collapse due to mismanagement and theft before any great damage would be done to the biomes of the midwestern American swamps.)

During this decade some farmers would begin utilizing horse-driven machinery instead of day-wage Irishmen to dig the deep ditches needed for the tiling of their meadows. The value of their farmland might rise 500% upon proper drainage. (A few generations after these horseshoe-shaped drainage tiles had been laid under the

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

fields, their grandchildren would not even be aware that the fields of their family farm had at one time been soggy with surface waters.)

The sewage system of Chicago consisted of hollowed-out logs that drained by gravity to Lake Michigan (the main source of Chicago's drinking water). In this year the city began to plan to raise the general level of the foundations of all buildings by ten to fifteen feet, in order to allow the creation of a comprehensive system of combined sewers that would drain freely and quickly into the Chicago River (which of course debouched into the aforesaid Lake Michigan). This ambitious project would later be recognized as the 1st comprehensive sewerage plan in the United States of America. Per a report prepared in this year by Rogers, Chesbrough, and Parrott for the municipality of [Boston](#):

As the law now stands, any proprietor of land may lay out streets at such level as he may deem to be for his immediate interest, without municipal interference; and when they have been covered with houses and a large population are suffering the deplorable consequences of defective sewerage, the Board of Health is called upon to accept them and assume the responsibility of applying a remedy.

After a series of [cholera](#) epidemics in the 1830s, Paris had begun to pay attention to its toilets. During the following decades of the 19th Century, newer and larger sewers (*les egouts*) would be being constructed, and Eugène Belguard would receive design credit for much of this. Construction work began in this year, with the borrowing of the necessary moneys. By 1870, beneath the rues of Paris over 500 kilometers of new sewers would be in service or under construction.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

June 4-28: [Waldo Emerson](#) went with a group on the *Ben Franklin* steamboat on the Ohio River from Cincinnati to Louisville, then took the *Mammoth Cave* steamer to Evansville and up the Green River and the Barren River to Bowling Green KY. There they transferred to stagecoaches for a visit to Mammoth Cave. The party walked from 7:30AM to 9:30PM, venturing nine miles into the cave. Emerson went back into the cave again for four hours the next day, and missed his transportation and had to hike seven miles before he got a ride back to Bowling Green. He then took a stagecoach to Eddyville and a steamer down the Cumberland River to Paducah, and took another steamer down the Ohio River to Cairo and up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Since people were dying of [cholera](#) in Emerson's hotel, he left as soon as possible for Galena, and took a stagecoach to Elgin and a train to Chicago. While in Chicago he took a buggy ride along the shore of Lake Michigan. He then crossed Lake Michigan to New Buffalo and took a train through Detroit back to Boston.



June 5: To night June 5th after a hot day I hear the first peculiar summer breathing of the frogs. When all is calm a small whirlwind will suddenly lift up the blazing leaves & let them fall beyond the line & set all the woods in a blaze in a moment— Or some slight almost invisible cinder seed of fire will be wafted from the burnt district on to the dry turf which covers the surface & fills the crevices of sunny rocks—& there it will catch as in tinder & smoke & smoulder perchance for half an hour heating several square yards of ground where yet no fire is visible until it spreads to the leaves and the wind fans it into a blaze. Men go to a fire for entertainment. When I see how eagerly men will run to a fire whether in warm or in cold weather by day or by night dragging an engine at their heels, I am astonished to perceive how good a purpose the love of excitement is made to serve.— What other force pray — what offered pay — what disinterested neighborliness could ever effect so much. No these are boys who are to be dealt with — & these are the motives that prevail. There is no old man or woman dropping into the grave but covets excitement. Yesterday when I walked to Goodman's hill It seemed to me that the atmosphere was never so full of fragrance and spicy odors. There is a great variety in the fragrance of the apple blossoms as well as their tints — some are quite spicy— The air seemed filled with the odor of ripe strawberries — though it is quite too early for them. The earth was not only fragrant but sweet & spicy to the smell — reminding us of Arabian gales & what mariners tell of the spice islands. The first of June when the ladies slipper & the wild pink have come out in sunny places on the hill sides — then the summer is begun according to the clock of the seasons.

In his journal, [Henry Thoreau](#) was for the first time able to deal with the forest fire he and [Edward Sherman Hoar](#) had caused on April 30, 1844. At the start of Volume II of his journal we find seven leaves full of miscellaneous jottings prior to the initial recorded day date (which was that of May 12, 1850). These miscellaneous jottings included the following curious retrospective of said event:



I once set fire to the woods. Having set out, one April day, to go to the sources of Concord River in a boat with a single companion, meaning to camp on the bank at night or seek a lodging in some neighboring



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

country inn or farmhouse, we took fishing tackle with us that we might fitly procure our food from the stream. Indian-like. At the shoemaker's near the river, we obtained a match, which we had forgotten. Though it was thus early in the spring, the river was low, for there had not been much rain, and we succeeded in catching a mess of fish sufficient for our dinner before we had left the town, and by the shores of Fair Haven Pond we proceeded to cook them. The earth was uncommonly dry, and our fire, kindled far from the woods in a sunny recess in the hillside on the east of the pond, suddenly caught the dry grass of the previous year which grew about the stump on which it was kindled. We sprang to extinguish it at first with our hands and feet, and then we fought it with a board obtained from the boat, but in a few minutes it was beyond our reach; being on the side of a hill, it spread rapidly upward, through the long, dry, wiry grass interspersed with bushes.

"Well, where will this end?" asked my companion. I saw that it might be bounded by Well Meadow Brook on one side, but would, perchance, go to the village side of the brook. "It will go to town," I answered. While my companion took the boat back down the river, I set out through the woods to inform the owners and to raise the town. The fire had already spread a dozen rods on every side and went leaping and crackling wildly and irreclaimably toward the wood. That way went the flames with wild delight, and we felt that we had no control over the demonic creature to which we had given birth. We had kindled many fires in the woods before, burning a clear space in the grass, without ever kindling such a fire as this.

As I ran toward the town through the woods, I could see the smoke over the woods behind me marking the spot and the progress of the flames. The first farmer whom I met driving a team, after leaving the woods, inquired the cause of the smoke. I told him. "Well," said he, "it is none of my stuff," and drove along. The next I met was the owner in his field, with whom I returned at once to the woods, running all the way. I had already run two miles. When at length we got into the neighborhood of the flames, we met a carpenter who had been hewing timber, an infirm man who had been driven off by the fire, fleeing with his axe. The farmer returned to hasten more assistance. I, who was spent with running, remained. What could I do alone against a front of flame half a mile wide? I walked slowly through the wood to Fair Haven Cliff, climbed to the highest rock, and sat down upon it to observe the progress of the flames, which were rapidly approaching me, now about a mile distant from the spot where the fire was kindled. Presently I heard the sound of the distant bell giving the alarm, and I knew that the town was on its way to the scene. Hitherto I had felt like a guilty person, — nothing but shame and regret. But now I settled the matter with myself shortly. I said to myself: "Who are these men who are said to be the owners of these woods, and how am I related to them? I have set fire to the forest, but I have done no wrong therein, and now it is as if the lightning had done it. These flames are but consuming their natural food." (It has never troubled me from that day to this more than if the lightning had done it. The trivial fishing was all that disturbed me and disturbs me still.) So shortly I settled it with myself and stood to watch the approaching flames. It was a glorious spectacle, and I was the only one there to enjoy it. The fire now reached the base of the cliff and then rushed up its sides. The squirrels ran before it in blind haste, and three pigeons dashed into the midst of the smoke. The flames flashed up the pines to their tops, as if they were powder.

When I found I was about to be surrounded by the fire, I retreated and joined the forces now arriving from the town. It took us several hours to surround the flames with our hoes and shovels and by back fires subdue them. In the midst of all I saw the farmer whom I first met, who had turned indifferently away saying it was none of his stuff, striving earnestly to save his corded wood, his stuff, which the fire had already seized and which it after all consumed.

It burned over a hundred acres or more and destroyed much young wood. When I returned home late in the day, with others of my townsmen, I could not help noticing that the crowd who were so ready to condemn the individual who had kindled the fire did not sympathize with the owners of the wood, but were in fact highly elate and as it were thankful for the opportunity which had afforded them so much sport; and it was only half a dozen owners, so called, though not all of them, who looked sour or grieved, and I felt that I had a deeper interest in the woods, knew them better and should feel their loss more, than any or all of them. The farmer whom I had first conducted to the woods was obliged to ask me the shortest way back, through his own lot. Why, then, should the half-dozen owners [and] the individuals who set the fire alone feel sorrow for the loss of the wood, while the rest of the town have their spirits raised? Some of the owners, however, bore their loss like men, but other some declared behind my back that I was a "damned rascal;" and a flibbertigibbet or two, who crowed like the old cock, shouted some reminiscences of "burnt woods" from safe recesses for some years after. I have had nothing to say to any of them. The locomotive engine has since burned over nearly all the same ground and more, and in some measure blotted out the memory of the previous fire. For a long time after I had learned this lesson I marvelled that while matches and tinder were contemporaries the world was not consumed; why the houses that have hearths were not burned before another day; if the flames were not as hungry now as when I waked them. I at once ceased to regard the owners and my own fault, — if fault there was any in the matter, — and attended to the phenomenon before me, determined to make the most of it. To be sure, I felt a little ashamed when I reflected on what a trivial occasion this had happened, that at the time I was no better employed than my townsmen.

That night I watched the fire, where some stumps still flamed at midnight in the midst of the blackened waste, wandering through the woods by myself; and far in the night I threaded my way to the spot where the fire had



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

taken, and discovered the now broiled fish, — which had been dressed, — scattered over the burnt grass.

July 9, Tuesday: In Washington DC, Zachary Taylor succumbed to the [cholera](#) at 35 minutes past 10 o'clock P.M.



July 10, Wednesday: Millard Fillmore was sworn in as President of the United States of America. Congress would authorize him to disburse \$250.<sup>00</sup> for “purchase of books for library at the Executive Mansion,” seeing as that edifice did not currently boast so much as a Bible.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

October: The [Irish](#) harvest was mostly healthy, with patches of blight isolated from one another, such as in counties Clare and Limerick, but the quantity of potatoes harvested was still below pre-Famine levels. We don't know precisely how many people starved to death or, weakened by starvation, succumbed to diarrhea and fever or to [cholera](#) in Ireland during this period, and a table prepared after the fact by the Census Commissioners, presented here, in all probability under-estimates the mortality because of the manner in which they collected data: for a family all of whose members succumbed zero deaths would have been tabulated. Of the total number of deaths, which would be between 500,000 and 1,500,000, the percentage of that total which would occur in each year probably worked out to something like this:

### Mortality, expressed as %ages of the 1841 Population

Year	%
1842	5.1%
1843	5.2%
1844	5.6%
1845	6.4%
1846	9.1%
1847	18.5%
1848	15.4%
1849	17.9%
1850	12.2%

The figures shown for 1849 are the result of this outbreak of [cholera](#) as it had spread in Connacht, Leinster, and Munster, as well as of the general [Irish](#) starvation.

November 27, Wednesday: Stuck near San Mateo in the Gulf of Tehuantepec, various members of the abandoned foraging party, including Eugene Ring, became sick with [cholera](#). Within days one of them would die.

[Giuseppe Garibaldi](#), down on his luck for the moment, was working in a friend's candle factory on Staten Island. Moses Hicks Grinnell, president of the New-York Chamber of Commerce, wrote to his friend Secretary of State [Daniel Webster](#), requesting that government employment be found for this [Italian](#) patriot.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1851

On the island of Jamaica in this year, there began an epidemic of the [cholera](#).



There was [cholera](#) in Coles County, Illinois, on the Great Plains, and in Missouri.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1852

Following a [cholera](#) outbreak that killed 420, the city of Rochester, New York chartered a public water company.



Hey, good move.

1853

November: The [cholera](#) was making its way aboard emigrant vessels.

CHOLERA

CHOLERA

# TO EMIGRANTS.

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## CHOLERA.

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**CHOLERA** having made its appearance on board several Passenger Ships proceeding from the United Kingdom to the United States of America, and having, in some instances, been very fatal, Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners feel it their duty to recommend to the Parents of Families in which there are many young children, and to all persons in weak health who may be contemplating Emigration, to postpone their departure until a milder season. There can be no doubt that the sea sickness consequent on the rough weather which Ships must encounter at this season, joined to the cold and damp of a sea voyage, will render persons who are not strong more susceptible to the attacks of this disease.

To those who may Emigrate at this season the Commissioners strongly recommend that they should provide themselves with as much warm clothing as they can, and especially with flannel, to be worn next the Skin; that they should have both their clothes and their persons quite clean before embarking, and should be careful to keep them so during the voyage,—and that they should provide themselves with as much solid and wholesome food as they can procure, in addition to the Ship's allowance to be used on the voyage. It would, of course, be desirable, if they can arrange it, that they should not go in a Ship that is much crowded, or that is not provided with a Medical Man.

By Order of the Board,

**S. WALCOTT,**  
SECRETARY.

*Colonial Land and Emigration Office,  
8, Park Street, Westminster,  
November, 1853.*

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1854

Yet another outbreak of the [cholera](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) prompted Dr. Edwin M. Snow to characterize the condition of the local Moshassuck River as “filthy as any common sewer.”





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Dr. John Snow, who had in 1849 investigated the Broad Street pump on Manhattan Island and suggested that [cholera](#) was being spread by way of contamination of the public water supply, was still having problems



getting his theory accepted in the medical community, as the disease centered in the [India](#) of the East India Company and as the forces there of colonialist denial were firmly in the saddle. The Indian Medical Service was still engaging in its usual blaming of the victims, alleging that cholera actually was afflicting only those who were anyway predisposed to such infections, and so in this year the elder Dr. Snow charged that:



The alleged predisposition was nothing visible or evident: like the elephant which supports the world, according to Hindoo mythology, it was merely invented to remove a difficulty.

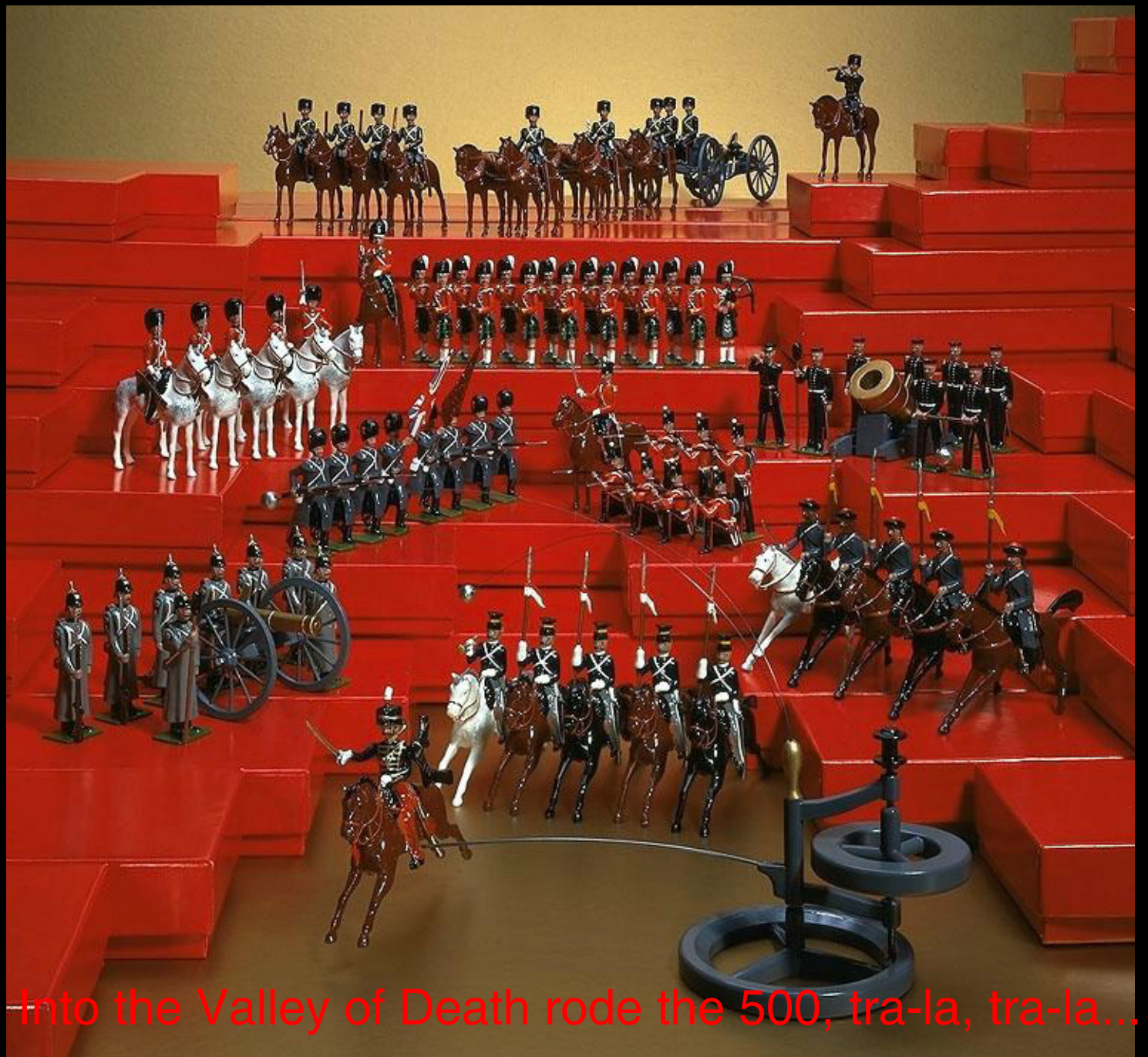


The Crimean War expanded, as Britain and France allied themselves with Turkey and declared war on Russia on March 28th. The city of Sevastopol was placed under siege. Florence Nightingale was given permission to take a group of 38 nurses to Scutari to look after the wounded Brits. She would find appalling conditions in the army hospital. The men, unwashed, were still wearing army costumes “stiff with dirt and gore.” There were

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

no blankets and there was no decent food. With such conditions at the army hospitals, only one death in six was being caused by the wounds themselves. Diseases such as [cholera](#), typhus, and dysentery were the primary causes of the high death-rate. Nightingale overcame the opposition of the brass by using her contacts at The Times of London to inform the British public of how the Army treated its victims. Given the task of organizing the barracks hospital after the battle of Inkerman, she improved the sanitation and dramatically reduced the death-rate.



Into the Valley of Death rode the 500, tra-la, tra-la...

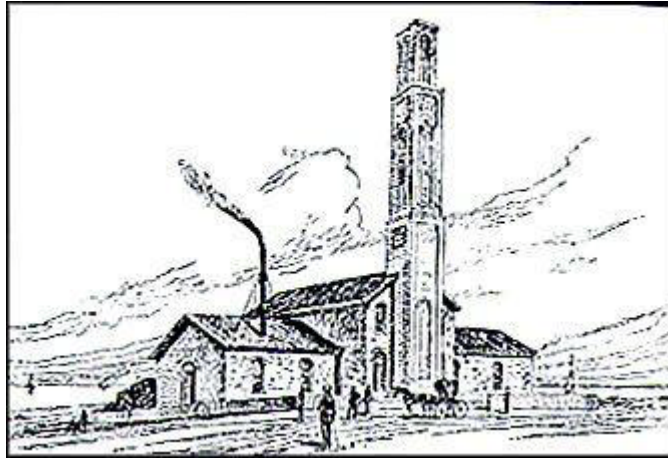
In the Crimea, a typhus epidemic spread from the Russian army to the French and the British. It spread

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

throughout Russia and Turkey thanks to merchant ships. Florence Nightingale took nearly three dozen nurses from London to Scutari, and tried to use sanitary measures to block the spread of the disease. Still, disease would claim many more lives in the Crimean War than the battles.

February: The 1st water-pumping station for the city of Chicago:



From this point forward this city's water was going to be clean.

Not.

July: 650 people died of [cholera](#) in the Brooklyn suburb of New-York.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1855

An outbreak of [cholera](#) and [yellow fever](#) in Lisbon killed nearly 8,000.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

The London sewers were rebuilt.

In London, in a classic study in epidemiology, Dr. John Snow provided the first definitive evidence that the water supply could be a source of infection to humans. The [cholera](#) began to be associated with contamination of public water pumps.



James P. Kirkwood (born in Scotland in 1807, died 1877), a railroad engineer, was asked to head up the reconstruction of the water supply system of the city of New-York. (Later he would become the chief engineer for the City of Brooklyn waterworks.)



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

October: An early adventure in epidemiology: Evidently J.F. Reigert of Lancaster, Pennsylvania had had his thinking cap on, for he had noticed correctly that the [cholera](#) that had so troubled Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1832 and in 1852 had some connection to the water supply. Not knowing anything as yet about germs (of course) he nevertheless fancied that maybe there was some sort of tiny organism, he supposed it might be a tiny fly, connected with this water — only this fly would have to be so very tiny that it could not be seen. The fly or whatever it was must be poisonous, and we must be inhaling them. Noticing that Lancaster, which has lime water, had very few cases of cholera, he suggested that maybe this tiny poisonous fly that gave us cholera was being repelled by this lime water.



**1860**

The manager of a co-operative Turkish bath, a Mr. Jagger, created a pamphlet for prospective customers:

Many are afraid of the Turkish Bath, simply because of the cold shower after being in the hot room. We cannot blame such, because a short time ago we should have thought of nothing but instant death if such a change had been proposed to us.

He explained to his clientele, how to take a shower:

The proper plan, and one which makes the matter quite easy, is to stand firmly with the feet exactly under the centre of the rose. Make an effort to brace up the nerves, and assume a defiant attitude as though about to encounter an enemy. Let the first shock of cold fall on the face and chest, then move the upper part of the body gently to and fro, so that the water may fall on the back and front alternately; then on the sides in turns, holding up the arms alternately, that the armpits and sides may receive their due share of the bracing stream.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

After dealing with other parts of the body, he continued:

When there is time and opportunity, the pleasure may be increased by the bather putting his hands on the floor, and moving about, or laying down, so as to receive the shower on different parts of the body. By laying on the back the feet may be held up, which is very agreeable. In short, the shower should be a source of fun to all who take the Turkish Bath.

Today we might find this sort of pamphlet amusing rather than informative, but in the period, George Jacob Holyoake wrote that this pamphlet was “a very sensible and practical tract.” It is probably worth remembering that this was a period during which the majority of townies still had no easy access to water in their dwellings. During an outbreak of [cholera](#), they might well have been well-advised to avoid getting any water on their faces.

July 30: In Concord, Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and Caroline Downes Brooks Hoar had Sherman Hoar.

When 2-month-old Ethel Abbot died of [cholera](#), her mother Katie Loring Abbot wrote from Winona, Minnesota to her husband Francis Ellingwood Abbot:

*Our little one is no more. Weep, Frank, weep!*



July 30, Monday: 2 P.M.—To Martial Miles’s Swamp.

MARTIAL MILES



Fimbristylis capillaris, probably several days in some places. See very pretty pink yarrow, roadside opposite Whiting’s orchard.

See hen-hawks perched. Are they not more at liberty now, their young being better able to shift for themselves, some of them?

Am glad to press my way through Miles’s Swamp. Thickets of choke-berry bushes higher than my head, with many of their lower leaves already red, alternating with young birches and raspberry, high blueberry andromeda (high and low), and great dense flat beds of Rubus sempervirens. Amid these, perhaps in cool openings, stands an island or two of great dark-green high blueberry bushes, with big cool blueberries, though bearing but sparingly this year.

In a frosty hollow in the woods west of this and of the blackberry field, find a patch of amelanchier, probably oblongifolia (?), full of fruit now in its prime. Comparing it with the Botryapium of the Cliffs, it appears to be



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

the oblong, being much more obtuse and very little serrate, and not heart-shaped like the Botryapium. It is an open sedge hollow surrounded by woods, with some shrubs in it rising above the sedge which have been killed by frost formerly. Here grows a pretty thick patch of the shad-bush, about a rod and a half long, the bushes about three feet high, and quite interesting now, in fruit. Firm dark-green leaves with short, broad, irregular racemes (cluster-like) of red and dark dull-purplish berries intermixed, making considerable variety in the color,—of peculiar color among our small fruits. The ripest and largest dark-purple berries are just half an inch in diameter. You are surprised and delighted to see this handsome profusion in hollows so dry and usually so barren and bushes commonly so fruitless. These berries are peculiar in that the red are nearly as pleasant-tasted as the more fully ripe dark-purple ones. I think this crop is due to the wetness and coolness of the summer.

Though an agreeable berry, they are hardly so grateful to my palate as huckleberries and blueberries. These conspicuous red—for most are red—[BERRIES] on rather high and thin-leaved bushes, growing open and airy, remind you a little of the wild holly, the berry so contrasts with the dark leaf.

Returning, we come through the midst of the nearly quite dry J. P. B.'s Cold Pool. Excepting a little pool in the middle, this is now one great dense bed of *Cyperus diandrus*, well out, and *Juncus Conradi*, as I call it, now in prime (together with *Juncus acuminatus*). The lower and internal part of this bed is yellow, bright-yellow like sedge, i. e. the cyperus stems and leaves, while the spikes of this and the rest form a soft reddish-brown crust, as it were, over all. Mixed with these over the whole area is literally a myriad of *gratiola* (say in its prime); a most remarkable sight,—countless yellow dots, and occasionally you see a perfectly white one among them.

Quite a sultry day, and smells mustyish, as if dog-days were beginning. Is it not the height of summer when the locust is heard?

Hear the sound of the first flail,—some farmer, perchance, wishing to make room in his barn, or else wanting the grain. Is it wheat or rye? It may be either.

As I come through Hosmer's potato-field, I see the great clusters of potato-balls on the sandy ground, bespattered with sand, on each side. Methinks they are unusually abundant this year. Somebody has hung up one great cluster at the post-office. Is it owing to the wet and coolness?



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1863

January: [Louisa May Alcott](#) contracted the [cholera](#) at Army Hospital and was administered massive doses of calomel, a mercury-based emetic.<sup>16</sup> While lying desperately ill, Louisa May Alcott received \$100.<sup>00</sup> for her first “lurid” piece for [Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper](#), a piece titled “Pauline’s Passion and Punishment” published under the pseudonym “A.M. Barnard.” But she was thinking of [Henry Thoreau](#), and writing a poem about him. The poem would be published in [The Atlantic Monthly](#), in the summer of 1863, as “Thoreau’s flute.”

16. She would suffer for the remainder of her life from this systemic poisoning. Under such a regimen it was common for the hair and teeth of the patient to fall out, and for their tongues to protrude until they lost their voices and could scarcely swallow. In fact, if the patient’s reaction were not sufficiently severe, the physician of that era was likely to increase the dosage. (In May 1863, too late for Louisa May, the Surgeon General of the United States would proscribe this use of the calomel emetic.)

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



*As I shall forget the strange fancies that haunted me I shall amuse myself with recording some of them. The most vivid & enduring was a conviction that I had married a stout, handsome Spaniard dressed in black velvet with very soft hands & a voice that was continually saying, "Lie still, my dear." This was mother, I suspect, but with all the comfort I often found in her presence there was blended an awful fear of the Spanish spouse who was always coming after me, appearing out of closets, in at windows, or threatening me dreadfully all night long. I appealed to the Pope & really got up & made a touching plea in something I meant for Latin they tell me. Once I went to heaven & found it a twilight place with people darting thro the air in a queer way. All very busy & dismal & ordinary. Miss Dix, W.H. Channig [sic] & other people were there but I thought it dark & "slow" & wished I hadn't come. A mob at Baltimore breaking down the door to get me; being hung for a witch, burned, stoned & otherwise maltreated were some of my fancies. Also being tempted to join Dr. W. & two of the nurses in worshipping the Devil. Also tended millions of sick men who never died or got well.*

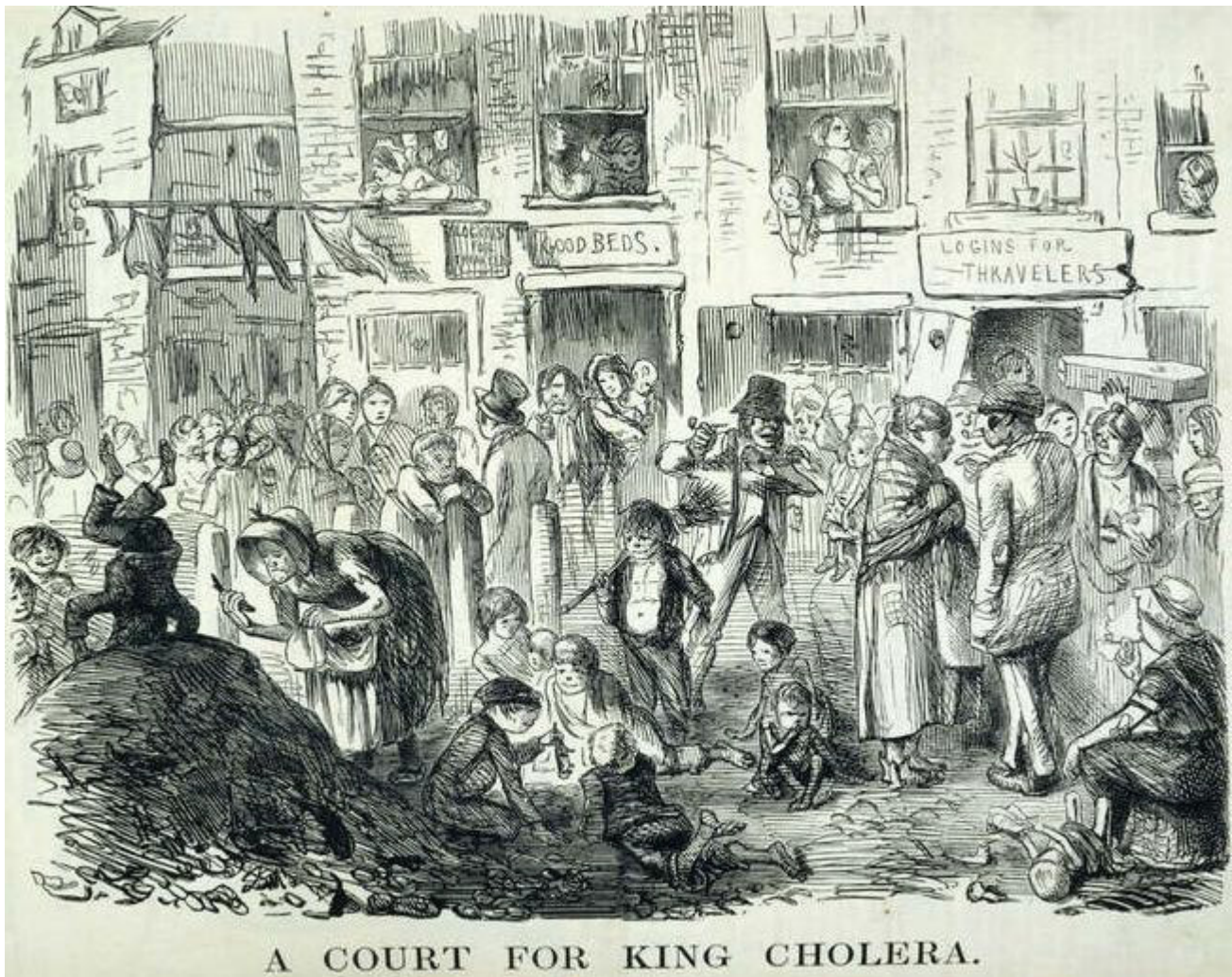


## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1865

A [cholera](#) epidemic in Paris removed 200 people a day at one point, one of the fatalities being a daughter of Louis Pasteur. From this year into 1873, there would be major American outbreaks of the cholera, in particular in Baltimore, Memphis, and Washington DC. In Baltimore, Memphis, New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington DC there would be not only recurring epidemics of cholera, but also of scarlet fever, smallpox, typhus, typhoid, and yellow fever.





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1866

Eighteen year old Jack Newton Daniel established a [whiskey](#) distillery in Tennessee.

The [cholera](#) spread to the US from Russia and Europe, killing 50,000 Americans this year, including 2,000 in New-York alone. That city responded to such recurring epidemics, not only of cholera but also of scarlet fever, measles, typhoid fever, typhus, diphtheria, whooping cough, and yellow fever, by creating the 1st municipal board of health. (Refer to Charles E. Rosenberg's THE CHOLERA YEARS: THE UNITED STATES IN 1832, 1849, AND 1866.)

[Perry Davis](#) & Son opened a branch depot in London for the exclusive sale of their Pain Killer in Great Britain — a painkiller consisting of a solution of [opiates](#) in [ethanol](#) which was alleged to be just the very thing with which to cure this [cholera](#).

Extensive agencies also have been opened up in China, India, Japan, Turkey, Australia, Africa, New Zealand and other countries both in the new and old world, until now the manufacture and sale of this medicine exceeds that of any other. Mr. Davis' liberality has also contributed largely to the advertisement of this medicine. Missionaries to heathen lands, especially those of the [Baptist](#) church, have been furnished medicine free of charge to take with them. This alone has brought the remedy into great notoriety with the natives of heathen lands.

When a young man Mr. Davis became converted to God, and from that time till his death lived a consistent Christian life. He was baptized by Elder Job Borden of the First Baptist church in Tiverton, R.I. In church work Mr. Davis was also active. He was very liberal with his money to all classes of society, and was a generous, kind hearted man to the needy and distressed. On the day of his burial the streets about his door were lined with the poor and the needy of the city, who loved him for the many benevolent acts of his life. Although almost in poverty himself till after 50 years of age, he always gave freely and sometimes of all he had to others in distress. His donations to the church were extensive. He first built a chapel on Broad street, used for several years; then the little chapel on Stewart court, then called High Street church; then the Stewart Street church, which cost him \$36,000. He himself was an earnest preacher and was

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

ordained to the ministry November 9th, 1853.

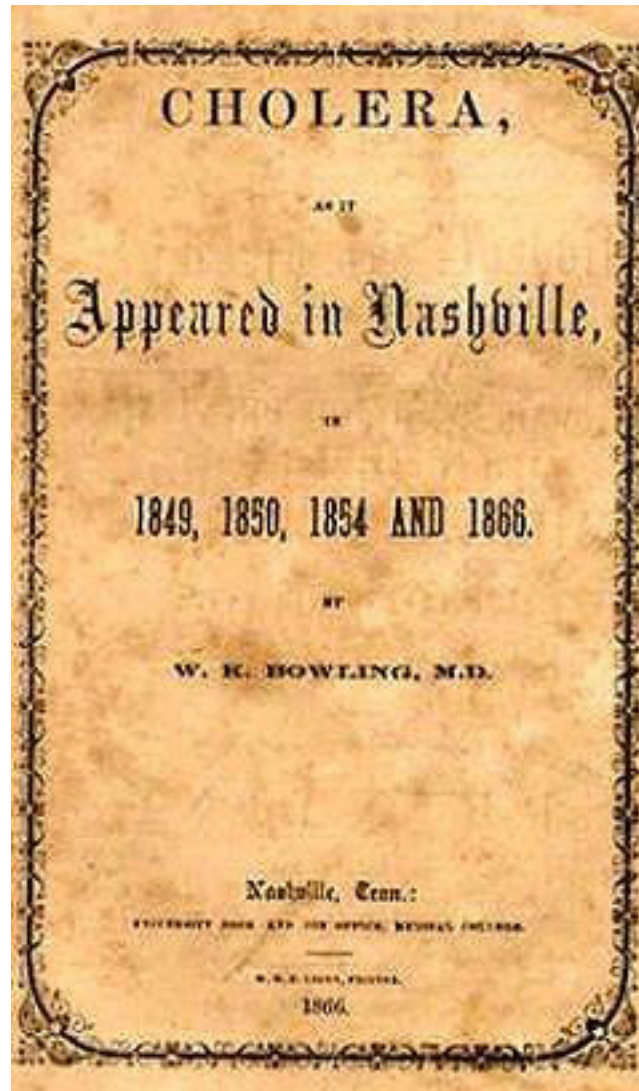




## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

W.R. Bowling, M.D.'s CHOLERA AS IT APPEARED IN NASHVILLE IN 1849, 1850, 1854 AND 1866.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

September 14, afternoon: [Dr. Augustus Addison Gould](#) began to exhibit the recognizable symptoms of [Asiatic cholera](#),<sup>17</sup> and soon collapsed.



September 15, just before dawn: [Augustus Addison Gould](#) died in [Boston](#) (the remains would be interred at Mount Auburn Cemetery).

On this day Edmund Quincy Sewall (Senior) died in Cohasset, Massachusetts at the age of 69.

17. The progress of Asiatic cholera is rapid. The urine stops and the person's voice becomes feeble, somewhat hoarse, and without resonance. Averse to talking, the patient tells the doctor of a burning in the pit of the stomach, and asks for water. Vomiting, diarrhoea, and spasms begin. You can give the patient camphor dissolved in alcohol on a piece of sugar, or in a spoonful of water, but this is merely palliative of the symptoms. The victim transits into stadium lethale, sopor, and asphyxia (if a victim should linger and become convalescent there will ordinarily be chronic weakness of the nerves and digestive organs).

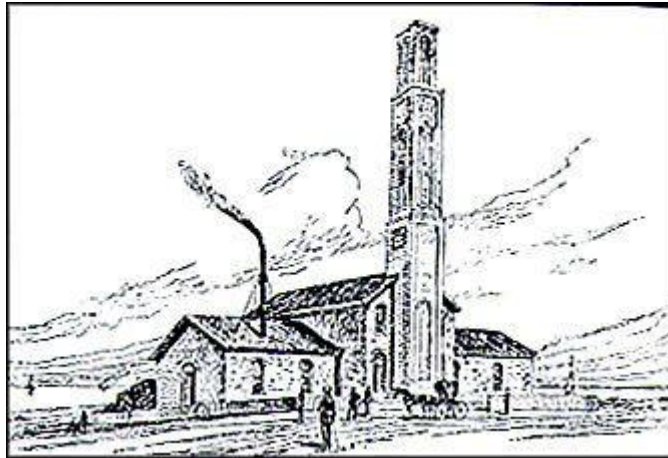


## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1869

The Chicago Water Tower was completed, supplying the city with water via the initial tunnel of what would be a twin-tunnel system extending two miles out into Lake Michigan.<sup>18</sup> Offshore, the clear take water entered an underwater shaft leading to the tunnel below the lake bed, with the intake shaft protected by a wooden crib. This initial tunnel contained a three-foot-wide, 138-foot-tall standpipe that equalized pressure in the mains throughout the city's water supply system.



This structure, which would be one of the few to survive the Great Fire of 1871, would go out of service in 1906 and now stands as a monument to Chicago's past. Coal-fired steam engines drew water from the tunnel beneath Lake Michigan and poured 15,000,000 gallons of clean fresh (cross your fingers) take water per day

18. Two miles would prove not to be far enough — a bad design calculation, resulting in much death. Sixteen years later, in 1885, a particularly heavy storm would cause untreated sewage in the Chicago River, and in the “near-land” polluted areas of Lake Michigan, to be flushed out to and beyond this intake point for the city's drinking water. When that would occur, outbreaks of typhoid and [cholera](#) would destroy approximately 11-13% of Chicago's population. The city would be, in effect, **decimated**.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

into the city's mains.



1882

Dr. William Simpson explained why it is that we react in such a relaxed manner when our children fall victim to deadly killers such as [cholera](#), diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, smallpox, typhoid fever, typhus, and whooping cough. When victims are cleanly dead and gone, they no longer count for that much:

It comes out, as a peculiar fact, that the most dreaded diseases are the least fatal, and the least dreaded diseases are the most fatal ... measles, whooping cough and scarlet fever are the most serious, although it is usually considered they do little harm ... their very frequency makes them less dreaded ... the disease that comes unexpectedly, and passes over quickly is looked upon with greater feelings of terror than the disease which may be more fatal, but more common.

(We'll encounter this reaction in spades in 1918 when an entire American army, useless since WWI was over, while returning on ships from Europe, is devastated in transit by a flu epidemic — and is then simply written off and forgotten about.)

## CHOLERA

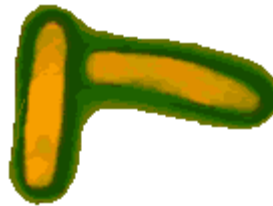
## CHOLERA

March 24, Friday: In Cambridge, Massachusetts, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow died at the age of 75.



Herr Professor Dr. Robert Koch reported to the Berlin Phthisiological Society that he believed a bacillus, *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*, to be the sole agency of the disease that had been known since antiquity as *phthisis*, or *consumption* or *tuberculosis*.

ASSLEY



*DIE ACTIOLOGIE DER TUBERKULOSE*: "If the number of victims which a disease claims is the measure of its significance, then all diseases particularly the most dreaded infectious disease such as bubonic plague, *Asiatic cholera*, etc. must rank far behind *tuberculosis*. Statistics teach that 1/7 of all human beings die of tuberculosis, and that, if one considers any of the productive middle-aged groups, tuberculosis carries away 1/3 and often more of these ... when the conviction that tuberculosis is an exquisite infectious disease has become finally established among physicians, the question of an adequate campaign versus tuberculosis will certainly come under discussion and it will develop by itself."

Various people had various reactions to this new and novel information — some intelligent, some rather stupid. Here, for instance, is the reaction of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle:

Your remedy does not treat the real seat of evil. It continually removes the traces of the enemy, but is still leaves him deep in the invaded country.

During the 1880s, in the United States, hundreds of people would be moving to the dry, sunny climate of Arizona with the expectation that this might ameliorate their *tuberculosis*. What has been commonly forgotten, however, is that before Arizona was opened up for safe white settlement, while it was still dangerous frontier territory, these sufferers had been migrating to Indiana, and then to Minnesota, and then to such places as Costa Mesa and Riverside in Southern California.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1884

Robert Koch investigated the comma bacillus, the cholera vibrio –the beastie that is the causal agent of the disease known as [cholera](#)– in the water tanks of Calcutta, [India](#). At last we knew!

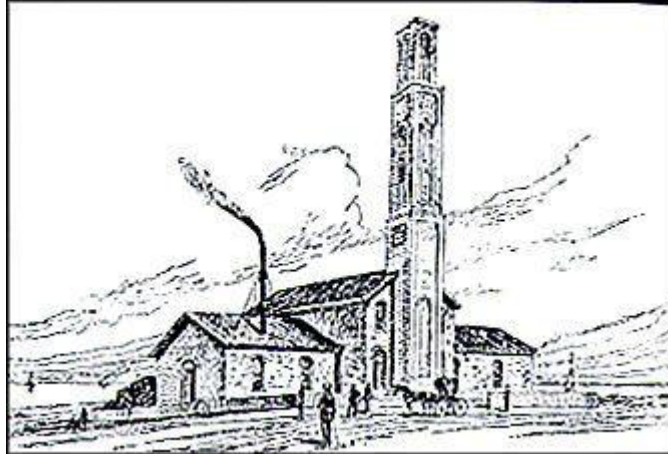


1885

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

A particularly heavy storm caused untreated sewage in the Chicago River, and in the “near-land” polluted areas of Lake Michigan, to be flushed out to and beyond the intake point for the city’s water supply.



Outbreaks of typhoid and [cholera](#) would destroy approximately 11-13% of Chicago’s population, and E.S. Chesbrough would be called upon to design a new municipal sewage system.



The 9-story Home Insurance Building, the world’s first “skyscraper,” was completed on LaSalle Street. Its architect was Major William Le Baron Jenney and its construction led to the “Chicago Skeleton” form of construction and the big skyscrapers of later years.

**1892**

August 29, day: Steerage passengers on the Hamburg-American Line’s *Moravia*, docking in New York harbor, brought a fresh outbreak of the [cholera](#) to US shores.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1893

November 6, day: Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, Russian composer, died of [cholera](#) after seeming to have knowingly drunk unboiled water.



The pathos of the last movement of Tchaikovsky's last symphonic composition has made some people suspicious, that the composer may have become suicidal: "A week after the premiere of his Sixth Symphony, Tchaikovsky was dead.... The cause of this indisposition and stomachache was suspected to be that he might possibly have infected himself with cholera by drinking contaminated water. For when, on the day before, he was having lunch with Modest [his brother and biographer] ..., he is said to have poured faucet water from a pitcher into his glass and drunk a few swallows. Since the water was not boiled and cholera was once again rampaging in St. Petersburg, such a connection seemed very conceivable...."

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1900

Over the course of the previous century, the English had sacrificed only approximately 130,000 of their citizens to a sequence of five epidemics of [cholera](#). Not only that, but after 1848 the epidemics had been falling off in their intensity, with each fresh sacrifice claiming a smaller percentage of the client base than the previous one. By way of radical contrast, India had sacrificed and over the first 25 years of the new century would sacrifice some 25,000,000 souls, with each epidemic of cholera actually increasing in amplitude.



In this Year of our Lord 1900 the most radical such reduction was occurring in [India](#), centering in Bengal, with over 800,000 succumbing to this bacillus during the course of this year.

1903

March 10, day: The *Karmania*, aboard which six had succumbed to the [cholera](#), was quarantined in the harbor of New York City.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1906

The [cholera](#) again struck New York City.



1909

The active ingredients in Dr. B.J. Kendall's "remedy for diarrhea, dysentery, [cholera morbus](#), biliousness, and costive liver," beneath a heady blackberry-balsam flavoring, amounted to a potent mixture of 122-proof [whiskey](#) and [opium](#).

A prohibition movement developed in Sweden, and the failed Gothenburg system would finally be replaced in 1917 by the Bratt system of monopoly sales rationing of [alcohol](#) based on the use of a pass book.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

A prominent British medical textbook, A SYSTEM OF MEDICINE edited by Allbutt and Rolleston, attacked all [caffeine](#) drinks, while regarding [opium](#) as relied upon in the Orient as "a reasonable aid in the work of life."

An international commission, the Shanghai Opium Conference, met in [China](#) to consider the [opium](#) problem.

Import of [opium](#) into the US for smoking or nonmedical use was banned.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1912

A new visualization of the [cholera](#):





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

**1925**

Great Britain, the USA, and [Germany](#), among other nations, agreed in principle to a proposed [Geneva](#) Protocol renouncing first use of biological weapons. Isn't that nice?

**WORLD WAR II**

Although this Protocol prohibited the use of chemical and biological agents, it omitted to mention any halt to research and development of these agents.

Despite this, for some reason [Japan](#) was unwilling to be a party to this treaty. Were they up to something?

Also, although the United States became a signatory, a full half century would elapse before our Senate would be willing to ratify the signature of our diplomat. Were we up to something?



**GERM WARFARE**

Oh, gosh, Mr. Pogo, you don't suppose we have met the enemy and they are us?

In this year the German Jewish couple who would become the parents of [Anne Frank](#) married and settled in Frankfurt, [Germany](#).

**1931**

September 18, day: [Japanese](#) troops attacked the city of Mukden — and they were on their way to creating in [Manchuria](#) their puppet state, Manchukuo.

**WORLD WAR II**

**1932**

As [Japanese](#) Army troops poured into [Manchuria](#), Dr. Shiro Ishii, an officer intrigued by the vast potential of [germ warfare](#), began developing biological weapons at a plant near Harbin. The extensive human experimentation involved would go entirely unpunished, following [World War II](#), in a secret deal that would allow the Allies full access to the Japanese findings.



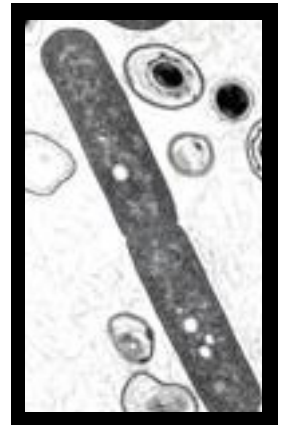
## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1936

In [Japan](#), there was a militaristic coup. In occupied [Manchuria](#), Unit 731, a biological-warfare unit of the Japanese army disguised as a water-purification unit, was formed and Dr. Shiro Ishii built a huge compound – more than 150 buildings over six square kilometers– outside the city of Harbin.<sup>19</sup> Some 9,000 test subjects, which Ishii and his peers denominated “maruta” or, in English, “logs,”<sup>20</sup> eventually would succumb at the compound. Japanese scientists would test the lethality of various disease agents, including [anthrax](#), [cholera](#), typhoid, and [bubonic plague](#).<sup>21</sup> As many as 10,000 people would succumb horribly in the course of such experiments, but after [World War II](#) the perpetrators would be granted full pensions by the Japanese government, and in return for cooperation with our own research into techniques of biological warfare, the US occupation would grant the perpetrators anonymity, with full protection not only from prosecution and punishment but even from reproach. We needed these real-world guys with their no-nonsense approach to human affairs!

GERM WARFARE



19. Lieutenant General Shiro Ishii's Unit 731 was officially known as the “Kempeitai Political Department and Epidemic Prevention Research Laboratory,” for whatever that's worth. This was not the only biological warfare unit in the Japanese army. We also know of a Unit 516 which was based in Qiqihar, Unit 543 based in Hailar, Unit 773 based in Songo, Unit 100 based in Changchun, Unit 1644 based in Nanjing, Unit 1855 based in Beijing, Unit 8604 based in Guangzhou, Unit 200 based in [Manchuria](#), and Unit 9420 which was based in Singapore. However, Unit 731 seems to have been the central or headquarters unit, or perhaps the one with the biggest budget or which got the mostest results.

20. It was a joke, see? –The cover story for this complex of buildings was that it was merely a lumbermill.

21. Unit 731 was divided into eight sections and it was the 1st section that did all the experimentation with the [cholera](#) on live subjects.



CHOLERA

CHOLERA

## UNIT 731

### JAPAN'S WARTIME HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION PROGRAM

Unit 731 was the secret biological warfare unit set up in the northeast of China following the Japanese invasion; the headquarters were on the outskirts of Harbin in Manchukuo. Unit 731 researched, developed, produced, and tested biological weapons. As part of its research program, it experimented on humans and animals. The details of Unit 731's activities remained largely unknown until the mid-1980s, when a number of documents concerning its activities came to light. Many of these documents were produced by U.S. military organizations, such as G-2 (Intelligence) in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff and the Office of the Judge Advocate General. Substantial parts of these records were information seized by the US occupation forces directly from former members of Unit 731 after the war, but these were never disclosed to the public. In 1931 Japanese forces invaded the northeast of China, claiming that Chinese forces had destroyed the railway at Lake Liu near Mukden in southern Manchuria, although this had actually been done by the Japanese themselves to provide a pretext for the invasion. This marked the beginning of the so-called Manchurian incident. In 1932 the Japanese government annexed the northeast of China and set up the Manchukuo puppet state. In reality, Manchukuo was a Japanese colony and was governed by the Kwantung Army, the most powerful of the Japanese forces. Ishii Shiro, a prominent physician and a graduate of Kyoto University, traveled to Europe in 1928 to investigate the situation concerning biological weapon. When Ishii returned to Japan in spring 1930, he urged the military leaders to provide a means for researching biological warfare and developing the capability to wage it. At that time, various Western nations were actively involved in research on biological weapons, although the United States had not yet started it. In 1932 Ishii set up the Epidemic Prevention Laboratory within the military medical school in Tokyo with the full support of the military. At the same time, Ishii set up in Manchukuo a small and secret subgroup, the Togo Unit, in the village of Bei-inho, 100 kilometers southeast of Harbin. Remote Manchukuo was chosen primarily because researchers wanted to conduct medical experiments on human using Chinese prisoners began as soon as the Togo Unit was established. Thus, research on defensive methods against biological weapons as conducted mainly in Tokyo, and research on offensive use and actual production of such weapons was carried out in Manchukuo. In 1925 the Geneva Convention prohibited the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Ishii obviously knew that his plans contravened the convention, but he also knew how effective biological weapons could be. The Ishii group sought out all bacteria and viruses that could prove useful as weapons and for which vaccines could be developed so as to protect the Japanese



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

forces using them. In 1936 the Togo Unit was reorganized and expanded into the Epidemic Prevention Department of the Kwantung Army (the Ishii Unit). A smaller section (the Wakamatsu Unit) concerned with combating animal diseases was set up by the Kwantung Army at Xinjing. Both units were set up with the approval of Japanese Imperial Headquarters. In 1938 a special military zone was declared at Pingfan, 25 kilometers southeast of Harbin, and the local residents were all evicted. Construction of a huge facility for the production of biological weapons began. On August 1, 1940, the Ishii Unit was renamed the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Kwantung Army (a description the very opposite of its real aims), although after 1941 it was more commonly referred to as Manchukuo Unit 731. Unit 731 was composed of four sections: research, experiments, antiepidemic, and water purification and productions. After Unit 731 was set up in Pingfan, many faculty members of the military medical school were sent to Manchukuo and became involved in experimenting on humans to develop biological weapons. In fact, Ishii started recruiting young elite medical specialists from various Japanese universities a few years before the establishment of Unit 731 in 1936. Professors in the medical school of Kyoto University in particular assisted Ishii with his recruitment. Branch units were set up in Beijing, Nanjing, Guangdong, and Singapore; there units conducted experiments on weapons developed by Unit 731 and made plans for waging biological warfare within those regions. At this time Colonel Ishii had 3,000 staff in Unit 731 and as many as 20,000 staff under his command if all members from the branch units were totaled. Various methods were developed for dispersal of biological weapons. One was to introduce the pathogen to a local water supply or food supply. Another was to use airborne means, and Unit 731 developed a bomb specifically designed for dispersing pathogens from aircraft. In 1939, when Japanese and Russian force, Unit 731 introduce the typhoid-fever pathogen into river in the area. In 1940 and 1941 the unit used aircraft to spread cotton and rice husks contaminated with the black plague at Changde and Ningbo, in central China. About 100 people died from the black plague in Ningbo as a result. From the viewpoint of the Japanese, the casualties at Ningbo were insufficient, so they developed a bomb enabling more efficient dispersal from greater heights (thus making the process less hazardous for air crews, who would be subject to anti-aircraft fire if required to fly low over an area in order to deliver their payload.) This bomb was not widely used, however, as it was not perfected until close to the end of the war. Unit 731 regarded fleas as the most useful vector for pathogens, especially the plague. The unit bred massive numbers of fleas and rats for producing the plague bacillus and tested whether fleas could survive being released from bombs dropped from aircraft. The unit also developed anthrax-bacillus bombs, which proved successful because the bacillus is heat resistant. Shrapnel from the bombs carrying the bacillus was highly efficient at infecting those hit by it. The anthrax bomb was tested many times on humans at Anta, 146 kilometers from Pingfan. After the outbreak of World War II, the Japanese continued to use



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

biological weapons against the Chinese. They sprayed cholera, typhoid, plague, and dysentery pathogens in the Jinhua area of Zhejiang province in June and July 1942. The was done in retaliation for the first U.S. air raids on mainland Japan, in which Tokyo and Nagoya were bombed. After these raids, the Allied aircraft landed at airfields in China, and the Japanese took this as Chinese collaboration with the Allies. In the Jinhua pathogen attack, however, the Japanese also fell victim to the diseases, and large numbers of Japanese casualties occurred. According to one source, over 1,700 Japanese soldiers died. It is well known that Unit 731 used large number of Chinese people for experiments. Many Chinese who rebelled against the Japanese occupation were arrested and sent to Pingfan where they became guinea pigs for Unit 731; there is evidence that some Russian prisoners were also victims. The prisoners subjected to experiments were called "maruta" (literally "logs") by the Japanese. Every year the military police rounded up approximately 600 maruta send to Pingfan. After succumbing to the disease, the prisoners were usually dissected, and their bodies were then cremated within the compound. Unit 731 also conducted frostbite experiments on the maruta. Frostbite was a severe problem for the Japanese forces in Manchukuo, where the winters are extremely cold. The prisoners were tied up outdoors in temperatures as cold as -20 degrees Celsius and parts of their bodies were sprayed with salt water in order to induce frostbite. Their arms were hit with hammers to determine whether they were frostbitten. They were then immersed in hot water of ranging temperatures in orders to determine how recovery from frostbite could best be facilitated. In extreme cases, the prisoners' skin and muscles sloughed off in response to this treatment and the victims died immediately. As a result of the experiments, it was found the immersing frostbitten limbs in body-temperature water best facilitated recovery. It is said that General Ishii and his colleagues were particularly proud of this discovery. Maruta also were subjected to poisonous gas experiments. In one experiment conducted September 7-10, 1940, 16 Chinese prisoners were exposed to mustard gas in a simulated battle situation that employed a macabre form of experimental manipulation. The prisoners were positioned in various places, such as under a machine-gun cover or inside a building, and mustard gas shells were fired toward them. Some of the prisoners had gas masks and others did not, and they were also dressed in different types of clothes. Every few hours after firings the condition of the prisoners was monitored. In another experiment, five prisoners were forced to drink a liquid form of mustard gas and their condition was then monitored for a five-day period. Most Japanese citizens were unaware of the unit's activities until 1981, when author Seiichi Morimura exposed the unit's dark history in a book, "The Devil's Gluttony." Many of the unit's doctors and researchers became heads of medical and pharmaceutical firms in post-war Japan. The Japanese government has never formally apologized for Unit 731's activities, and did not even admit to its existence until August 1998, when the Supreme Court ruled that the existence of the unit was accepted in academic circles. In 1995, families of Chinese victims filed



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

a lawsuit demanding the Japanese government pay compensation of 100 million yen (US\$826,000).

**1939**

September: [Japanese](#) Army Unit 731 based in Harbin, [Manchukuo](#), the [germ warfare](#) unit cleverly disguised as a water-purification unit, cleverly introduced typhus bacteria into water supplies they expected advancing Soviet units would need to use. Won't they be surprised!

**WORLD WAR II**



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

**1940**

[Italy](#), [Germany](#), and [Japan](#) signed a tripartite pact as the “axis powers.” The [Japanese](#) military occupied French Indochina ([Vietnam](#)) with approval by France (which is to say, with the approval of the Vichy government of collaborators) and announced that its intention was the creation of a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”

Founding in 1815 in Boston by William Tudor and the journalist Nathan Hale, the North American Review, the oldest American literary magazine, had come to be owned by a hack writer named Joseph Hilton Smyth. In this year this owner was unmasked as having received \$125,000 from Manhattan’s Vice Consul Shintaro Fukushima in payment for publishing pro-[Japanese](#) sentiments, and so the magazine discontinued publication).

The [Japanese](#) tradition of the Cherry Blossom Pageant was introduced in Washington DC.



The [Japanese](#) military dropped bombs on the city of Ningbo in [China](#) containing fleas which they had carefully infected with the [bubonic plague](#).

The [Japanese](#) military introduced typhus and the [cholera](#) into [China](#) by way of Chekiang Province.

WORLD WAR II
GERM WARFARE



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1942

Dr. Shiro Ishii's [Japanese](#) Army Unit 731 began field tests of [germ warfare](#) on [Chinese](#) soldiers and civilians. Tens of thousands would succumb to [bubonic plague](#), [cholera](#), [anthrax](#), and other diseases. US soldiers captured in the Philippines would be sent to [Manchuria](#) and there "experimented upon."

WORLD WAR II

May: According to THE PAST AS PROLOGUE by Renato Redentor Constantino, "In May 1942, a [cholera](#) epidemic created by Unit 731 in Yunnan province kill[ed] over 200,000 people. Three months later, another 200,000 die[d] in Shandong province as a result of Unit 731's germ warfare. In the Zhekiang province city of Quzhou alone, over 50,000 perish[ed] from bubonic plague and cholera."

WORLD WAR II

GERM WARFARE

JAPANESE

CHINESE

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WORLD WAR II

GERM WARFARE

JAPANESE

CHINESE

1944

June 19, Monday: Artificial harbor area Normandy, France, was severely damaged by storm.

During the 2-day battle of the Philippine Sea, a spread of 6 torpedoes was sent out by Lieutenant-Commander Kossler's USS *Cavalla* and 4 struck Captain Matsubara Hiroshi's aircraft carrier IJN *Shokaku*.



The carrier was dead in the water and aflame. One of the torpedoes had touched off the forward aviation fuel tanks near the main hanger, and planes that had just landed and were being refuelled were on fire. There were ammunition and bomb explosions, and gasoline was spewing from shattered fuel pipes. With the ship down at the bow and its fires very much out of control, the crew began to abandon ship. Volatile gas fumes had been seeping throughout the vessel and an aerial bomb exploding on the hanger deck set off a series of fuel/air explosions which simply blew the giant ship apart. 1,263 died. The 570 floaters included the ship's skipper. (The USS *Cavalla* is on public display in Galveston, Texas.)

Also during this naval engagement, Japan's largest and newest carrier, the 29,300-ton IJN *Taiho*, was torpedoed west of Guam by Lieutenant-Commander H. Rimmer's USS *Albacore*. Flagship of Vice-Admiral





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Jisburo Ozawa, the carrier sank after sparks from an electrical generator set off a fuel/air explosion and 1,650 of the ship's complement of 1,751 crewmen died. (On November 7, 1944 the USS *Albacore* would hit a mine while submerging during its 11th patrol off the coast of Japan, and its crew of 86 would die.

WORLD WAR II

Summary: The battle of the Philippine Sea opened as [Japanese](#) carrier-based aircraft attacked Fifth Fleet (Admiral R.A. Spruance) covering Saipan operation. Two United States battleships, two carriers, and a heavy cruiser were damaged. [Japanese](#) lose over 300 aircraft, and two aircraft carriers were sunk by United States submarines. The Japanese military attempted ineffectually to use [bubonic plague](#) and the [cholera](#) against American landing forces on Saipan.

GERM WARFARE

United States naval vessel sunk:

- LST523, by mine, Normandy area, 49 degrees 30 minutes North, 1 degree 10 minutes West

United States naval vessels damaged:

- Battleship *South Dakota* (BB-57), by dive bomber, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 10 minutes North, 143 degrees 15 minutes East
- Battleship *Indiana* (BB-58), by Kamikaze, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 4 minutes North, 143 degrees 23 minutes East
- Carrier *Bunker Hill* (CV-17), by dive bomber, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 46 minutes North, 143 degrees 2 minutes East
- Carrier *Wasp* (CV-18), by dive bomber, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 19 minutes North, 143 degrees 48 minutes East
- Heavy cruiser *Minneapolis* (CA-36), by horizontal bomber, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 11 minutes North, 143 degrees 9 minutes East
- Destroyer *Hudson* (DD-475), accidentally by United States naval gunfire, Battle of the Philippine Sea, 14 degrees 11 minutes North, 143 degrees 9 minutes East

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

- Motor minesweeper YMS-323, by coastal defense gun, Saipan, Marianas Islands, 15 degrees 10 minutes North, 145 degrees 58 minutes East
- Ocean tug ATR-15, by grounding, Normandy area, 49 degrees 22 minutes North, 0 degrees 26 minutes West

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk:

- Carrier *Shokaku*, by submarine *Cavalla* (SS-244), Battle of the Philippine Sea, 11 degrees 50 minutes North, 137 degrees 57 minutes East
- Carrier *Taiho*, by submarine *Albacore* (SS-218), Battle of the Philippine Sea, 12 degrees 22 minutes North, 137 degrees 4 minutes East
- Submarine I-184, by aircraft (VT-60) from escort carrier *Suwannee* (CVE-27), Central Pacific area, 13 degrees 1 minute North, 149 degrees 53 minutes East

WORLD WAR II



"A victory described in detail is indistinguishable from a defeat."

— Jean-Paul Sartre





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1945

The [Japanese](#) military hatched a desperate last-minute plan to deliver [bubonic plague](#) and the [cholera](#) to the United States mainland by submarine — a sort of “Hail Mary” pass, as it were — no more Mr. Nice Guy. They



blew up the headquarters of Unit 731 in an attempt to conceal evidence of its previous activities. As part of this general attempt to cover up, Dr. Shiro Ishii ordered that the remaining 150 “logs” be disposed of. [General Douglas MacArthur](#), who would be cutting a sweetheart deal with this Japanese [germ warfare](#) activist, was named to be the commander of the victorious Allied powers in Japan. Between 1945 and 1955, our federal government would in its “Operation PAPERCLIP” be smuggling more than 700 Nazi weapons scientists into the US — but of course we couldn’t smuggle any of these Japanese germ people into our nation because, due to their race, they would have been very much too noticeable. The US State Department, Army intelligence, and the CIA were all involved, offering immunity and secret identities in exchange for work on top secret government projects inside the USA. In addition to providing the government with valuable technological expertise, “Operation PAPERCLIP” would eventually be spawning some rather more notorious programs such as “Operation ARTICHOKE” (interrogation techniques, torture) and “Operation MK-ULTRA” (mind control). Eventually, Dr. Frank Olson, the Army biochemist expert in charge of the Special Operations Division at Fort Detrick, with ties to Operation Paperclip, would fall out of a hotel window in New York City. A German documentary would report that “The search for the circumstances surrounding the mysterious death of Dr. Frank Olson begins in 1945, with the liberation of the concentration camp at Dachau, Germany.” In 1975, when the Rockefeller Commission unearthed information about CIA involvement in Dr. Olson’s fatal plunge, we would settle with the Olson family by paying them \$750,000 (the names of Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney came up during the investigation).

WORLD WAR II

June 21, Thursday: The major island of Okinawa in the Ryukyu Islands group was declared secured 82 days after our initial landing there (the [Japanese](#) attempt to use bubonic plague and the [cholera](#) against our landing forces had been as ineffective as their aerial suicide bombers or “Kamikaze”).

GERM WARFARE

United States naval vessels damaged:



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

- Destroyer escort *Halloran* (DE-305), by [Japanese](#) Kamikaze suicide plane, Okinawa area, 26 degrees 0 minute North, 128 degrees 0 minute East



- Seaplane tender *Curtiss* (AV-4), by [Japanese](#) Kamikaze suicide plane, Okinawa area, 26 degrees 10 minutes North, 127 degrees 18 minutes East
- Seaplane tender *Kenneth Whiting* (AV-14), by [Japanese](#) Kamikaze suicide plane, Okinawa area, 26 degrees 10 minutes North, 127 degrees 18 minutes East
- Motor minesweeper YMS-335, by coastal defense gun, Balikpapan area, Borneo, 1 degree 18 minutes South, 116 degrees 50 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

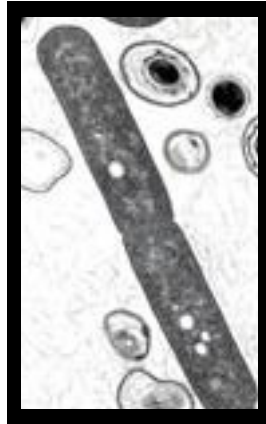
August 8, 1945: [Elbert Russell](#) delivered the address that would become be distributed as THE INNER LIGHT IN THE HISTORY AND PRESENT PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIETY OF [FRIENDS](#): THE HISTORICAL LECTURE DELIVERED AT [NORTH CAROLINA](#) YEARLY MEETING ON EIGHTH MONTH, THE EIGHTH, 1945 (North Carolina Friends Historical Society).

The Allies established a [War Crimes Tribunal](#), to prosecute the war crimes that had been committed by the side that had been defeated.<sup>22</sup>

WORLD WAR II

### WAR CRIMES TRIALS

Pingfan, the [Japanese](#) experimental Biological and Germ Warfare Centre in occupied [Manchuria](#), had been established by General Shiro Ichii in collaboration with an Imperial prince and cousin of Emperor Hirohito, the documentation authorizing the establishment being sealed with the Imperial Seal of the Emperor. The Experimental Units 731 and 100 of the Germ Warfare Complex at Pingfan was experimenting primarily upon Chinese and Manchurian prisoners. It is not known exactly how many Western POWs were also subjected to these experiments, but their numbers, relatively, would have been few. It is estimated that a total of some 60,000 prisoners, including the Chinese and Manchurian slave labor, died at Pingfan and Mukden. At Pingfan were 4,500 flea-breeding machines capable of producing batches of 100,000,000 fleas infected with plague, typhoid, [cholera](#), and [anthrax](#) every few days. This facility had been intended to save the homeland through the dropping of infected fleas on invasion forces.



GERM WARFARE

22. Guess what? [German](#) war crimes would be prosecuted, [Japanese](#) war crimes would be prosecuted, but precious little attention would ever be given, in parallel, in regard to war crimes that had been committed by the side that had been victorious!

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

When Russia invaded [Manchuria](#), the [Japanese](#) government ordered the destruction of the facility. Most of the available plague-infected fleas were released (in northeastern China at least 30,000 people would perish over the following three years from plague and other diseases). After the prisoners in holding cells had been killed, Chinese and Manchurian slave laborers who had been being used around the complex were machined-gunned. Some 600 bodies were cremated in ovens similar to the ones used in Nazi death camps and the ashes dumped into the Sungari River, and the complex was then blown up. Although the terrible experiences suffered by these prisoners at Pingfan and Mukden, has been, for over 40 years, a rather poorly kept secret, it has been a rather poorly kept secret that few of us have wanted to be aware of. Except for one or two, the Japanese scientists and doctors at Mukden or Pingfan would not be brought to justice, because they had been granted an immunity deal by [General Douglas MacArthur](#) and were providing us with their scientific data.



Fill my cup with your poisons.

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Repeatedly, requests by war crime investigators for the arrest of General Ishii and Imperial Prince Takamatus (Emperor Hirohito's brother) would be rejected at MacArthur's headquarters. About 35 of these scientists and doctors would hold top positions in postwar [Japanese](#) scientific and medical institutions. General Ishii would succumb to throat cancer in 1959.



This sort of conduct is readily comprehensible, to Disney, ABC, and radio personality Paul Harvey:

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA



"For what it's worth, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, [Winston Churchill](#) told the American people, "We didn't come this far because we are made of sugar candy," and that reminder was taken seriously. We proceeded to develop and deliver the time bomb, the bomb. Even though roughly 150,000 men women and children perished in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a single blow [WWII](#) was over. Following New York's September 11 Pearl Harbor [Winston Churchill](#) was not here to remind us. That we didn't come this far because we're made of sugar candy.



So, we mustered our humanity. We gave old pals a pass. Even though men and women from Saudi Arabia were largely responsible for the devastation of New York, and Pennsylvania and our Pentagon, we called Saudi Arabians our partners against terrorism and we sent men with rifles into Afghanistan and Iraq, and kept our best weapons in their silos. Even now, we stand there dying. Daring to do nothing decisive because we've declared ourselves to be better than our terrorist enemies. More moral, more civilized. Our image is at stake, we insist. But we didn't come this far because we're made of sugar candy. Once upon a time, we elbowed our way onto and across this continent by [giving smallpox-infected blankets to Native Americans](#). That was [biological warfare](#). And we used every other weapon we could get our hands on to grab this land from whomever. And we grew prosperous. And yes, we greased the skids with the sweat of slaves. So it goes with most great nation-states, which -feeling guilty about their savage pasts- eventually civilize themselves out of business and wind up invaded and ultimately dominated by the lean, hungry up-and-coming who are not made of sugar candy.

- Disney/ABC radio personality Paul Harvey,  
expressing family values on June 23, 2005





## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

1946

In Wisconsin, [Joseph Raymond McCarthy](#) was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate. In the primary election he had defeated fellow Republican Robert M. La Follette, Jr., who was a “coward” who had failed to serve his nation (when the Japanese had struck at Pearl Harbor, La Follette had been 46 years of age), and then in the general election he had defeated Howard McMurray, in part by alleging that this Democratic candidate was being supported by Communists.

UNAMERICANISM

In the Senate, McCarthy would achieve an exceedingly bad reputation, with angry colleagues accusing him of lying, and of insulting them — eventually the Republican leadership would exile him from the Banking Committee to the District of Columbia Committee, their doghouse where they considered that he would be able to do little harm.

McCARTHYISM

A reading room set up in Bad Homburg, Germany by the Psychological Warfare Division of the US Army was at this point relocated to Frankfurt am Main and redesignated as the first of what would become 27 *Amerika-Häuser*.

The federal government of the USA secretly cut a deal with Dr. Shiro Ishii and other leaders of the [Japanese Army](#)’s infamous Unit 731 by which we were to be provided with hands-on [germ warfare](#) experience gained largely from human experimentation, in exchange for us forgiving their war crimes (it would take the following couple of years for this deal to be formalized — but while the Tokyo War Crimes Trial of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East would be going on, between April 29, 1946 and April 16, 1948, none of these people would be being suggested as defendants).

WORLD WAR II

SECRET MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS

1981

John Powell (a former publisher of a Shanghai magazine who had unsuccessfully been prosecuted for sedition in the early 1950s for accusing the United States of having resorted to [germ warfare](#) in [Korea](#)) courageously did his duty as an American citizen by exposing in the pages of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists the immunity deal transacted at the end of [World War II](#) between [General Douglas MacArthur](#) and [Japanese](#) germ-warfare officers.<sup>23</sup>

SECRET MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS

KOREAN WAR

23. Lest anyone barf at my including this on the list of the USA’s involvement in secret medical experiments, allow me to point out that 1.) under our criminal code someone who makes himself an “accessory after the fact” to a crime or who knowingly benefits from the proceeds of a crime is as guilty of that offense as was the original perpetrator and that 2.) among the victims of this series of atrocities committed in the name of science had been American soldiers who at the time were defenceless prisoners of war.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

**1985**

At the Anniversary dinner of the [War Resisters League](#) the League Peace Award was presented to Barbara Reynolds. No secret medical experiments were performed in the course of this meal.

Dr. Murray Sanders, a former lieutenant colonel who was a US adviser on biological warfare, claimed that it had been he who had brokered the sweetheart deal between [General Douglas MacArthur](#) –a man to whom the concept of insisting upon personal principles and standards must have seemed truly weird– and the [World War II](#)-era [Japanese germ warfare](#) perps, during Fall 1945, promising them immunity in return for their teaching us how to use bugs to off civilians en masse.

**SECRET MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS**

## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

**1986**

When Shigechiyo Izumi died at the age of 120, he was the oldest man in the world. When he had been born, in 1866, feudal [Japan](#) had been under the rule of the shogun Yoshinobu of the Tokugawa dynasty and each lord had needed his own private army. Although there were firearms, *samurai* warriors were still ambling through the alleys with long and short swords tucked into their waistbands. There was as yet no religious freedom whatever and there were as yet no railroads — and the Gregorian calendar was quite unknown.

A total of 676 new [Japanese](#) cherry trees would be planted in Washington DC from this year into 1988 at a cost of over \$101,000 in private funds donated to the National Park Service, to restore the number of trees to what they were at the time of the original gift.



A Congressional subcommittee held a one-day hearing in Washington DC, called by Representative Pat Williams of Montana, aimed at determining whether US [World War II](#) prisoners of war in [Manchuria](#) had been victims of [germ warfare](#) experimentation. The evidence offered at this brief hearing was inconclusive (no-one was eager to go there). Among the interesting details were that a Unit 731 doctor had vivisected a girl whom he had raped, after she had been delivered of his baby.

"I cut him open from the chest to the stomach and he screamed terribly and his face was all twisted in agony. He made this unimaginable sound, he was screaming so horribly. But then finally he stopped. This was all in a day's work for the surgeons, but it really left an impression on me because it was



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

my first time.”

Sheldon Harris, a historian at California State University in Northridge, estimates that more than 200,000 [Chinese](#) died in these [Japanese germ warfare](#) field experiments. That wasn't what this hearing was about, however, this hearing being about whether, horror of horrors, any **white people** had been treated in such a manner.

SECRET MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS



**CHOLERA**

**CHOLERA**

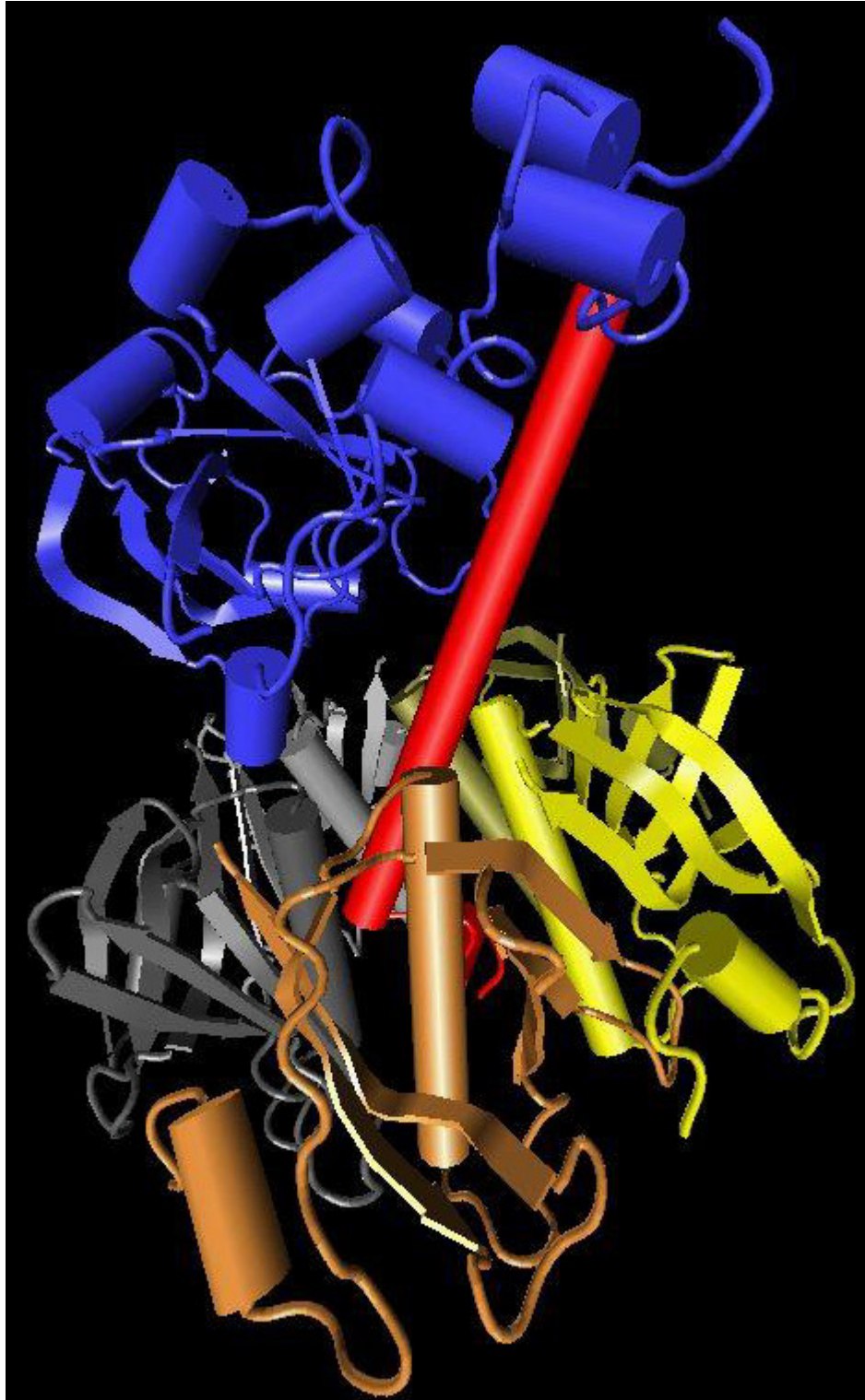
**2006**



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

A striking new visualization of the [cholera](#) holotoxin:



As you contemplate this new visualization, your task, should you choose to accept it, will be to attempt to figure out how we made the transition we have made, between an early 19th Century in which we were



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

struggling to figure out what was causing these mass grotesque deaths in order to prevent them, and an early 21st Century in which our primary focus has been on figuring out new ways to use the cholera organism to kill large numbers of enemy noncombatants.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

– Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: May 4, 2013

# ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



## CHOLERA

## CHOLERA

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.  
Arrgh.