Cincinnatians and Cholera: Attitudes Toward the Epidemics of 1832 and 1849

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Cincinnati, like other American cities, experienced devastating cholera epidemics during the nineteenth century. Two epidemic years stand out in the Queen City’s history: 1832 and 1849. Each was the first of a series of at least three consecutive annual outbreaks; each saw the deaths of approximately four percent of the city’s inhabitants.

Cholera, “the plague of the nineteenth century,” though it took few lives by comparison to consumption and malaria, terrified Americans for it killed swiftly, often within four hours, usually within eight. Only occasionally would the patient linger for as much as two days. The bacterium, Vibrio comma, spread around the world from its base in the Far East, to establish itself in the walls of the victim’s intestines. It inflicted violent vomiting and diarrhea, which led to dehydration. Death followed as often as not. Not until the 1880s did researchers discover the organism responsible for cholera and make the connection to the disease’s spread via raw fruit and vegetables, unwashed hands, and water supplies contaminated by sewage.

Cincinnati along with other urban areas suffered greatly from the repeated cholera epidemics. Charles Rosenberg’s classic, The Cholera Tears, looks at cholera in New York City in 1832, 1849, and 1866. In Cholera 1832 R. J. Morris investigates the social response to one epidemic in the British Isles. Both Rosenberg and Morris attempt to understand the society through its response to crisis. An unpublished paper by Theodore W. Eversole examines the cholera epidemics of 1832 and, especially, 1849 in Cincinnati. Similarly to Rosenberg’s findings that New York failed to institute lasting public health reforms in either 1832 or 1849, Eversole concludes that “the Cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849 produced little change in either public attitudes, civic responsibility, or in the general public health program of Cincinnati.” In contrast, John Duffy holds that Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Charleston implemented enduring sanitary improvements following the cholera outbreaks in the 1830s and 1840s. Duffy also credits the 1832 epidemic with stimulating a demand to improve water supplies in many American cities and towns despite most failing to better conditions permanently. The 1849 epidemic in New York, at least, accelerated attention to the need for sewers. However, as Duffy notes, the expansion of the cities and improved technologies would have forced sanitary improvements eventually.

Cincinnati’s failure to take long term health measures, although not atypical, is surprising in its lack of positive leadership. Known as the Queen City, Cincinnati was one of America’s fastest growing cities and the nation’s sixth largest in 1849. Prominant in manufacturing and trade, Cincinnati leaders consciously sought economic and cultural dominance throughout the North American interior. Science was integral to the city’s cultural thrust. Daniel Drake, a nationally prominent physician, served as President of the Faculty of the Medical College of Ohio which he helped found in 1819. Additionally, Drake’s vision and energy contributed to the establishment of the Western Museum in 1818 and the Western Academy of Natural Sciences in 1835.

Contrary to its demonstrated leadership in culture and civic boosting, Cincinnati, as Eversole demonstrated in his examination of governmental and official reactions, made no innovations or lasting improvements in public health in the wake of the cholera epidemics of the 1830s and 1849. The lack of action by Cincinnati’s officials, raises questions. How did the attitudes of private citizens, scientists, and cultural leaders compare and contrast to the collective official responses? Who took action and why? This study explores responses as revealed in the hopes and fears of private citizens along with the attitudes and opinions of physicians, scientists, and businessmen. Newspapers traced the progress of the epidemics’ courses, counseled residents, urged official action, and published attempts by physicians and scientists to explain the phenomena. Extant
letters reveal the concerns exchanged between relatives, friends, or associates. As each epidemic year unfolded, a similar pattern emerged — an escalating tension as the local newspapers chronicled the progress of cholera in other cities around the world; initial denial that epidemic cholera resided in Cincinnati; hysteria; then false optimism that the disease had departed; more gloom when evidence showed otherwise; and finally, joyful recognition that the specter had moved on.

Cholera first visited Cincinnati in epidemic proportions in 1832, an exceptionally traumatic year for the young city. First came flood when the Ohio River reached sixty-three feet on February 18, 1832, sweeping away homes and shops. No sooner had the city begun recovery from the flood, than a measles “epidemic” struck. Although the newspapers never officially credited the measles outbreak with epidemic status, it was the city’s leading killer from April through June 1832 claiming mostly children.

After 1832’s first five months of flood and disease, Cincinnati residents might have noticed with dismay a headline in their May 31 Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette: THE CHOLERA. The disease had appeared in Paris where its “ravages . . . are not confined, as in England, to the lower classes; the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and dissipated vagabonds of the most loathsome parts of town, but high and low, rich and poor, are alike victims of the appalling pestilence.”

Cincinnatians soon received the ominous news that cholera had appeared in North America in Canada on June 8, 1832. Dr. Daniel Drake immediately introduced resolutions on preventive measures before the First District Medical Society. Members responded by appointing Drake Chairman of the Society’s Committee on Epidemic Cholera. Drake predicted that cholera would spread throughout the United States and urged citizens to prepare.

On July 5, 1832, the Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette printed Dr. Drake’s letter of advice to residents thinking of fleeing:

[Cholera] has . . . prevailed with more virulence in the cities and towns, than in the country; and especially in those parts of the former that were damp, confined, filthy, badly ventilated and thickly inhabited. It has likewise fallen with extraordinary violence on armies and other large collections of men, among whom it has frequently ceased on their dispersing in small bands. But high and salubrious spots have also been visited; it has raged in open villages sometimes more than in dense and populous cities, and in numerous instances both in Asia and Europe, has sought out detached private families in the healthiest locations.

... Setting out with these data, I would say that there is no certainty of escaping the disease by a flight to the country, but still that the chances of being preserved would be increased by such a step. With . . . precautions, a flight to the country would promise probably though not absolute safety. Such a flight, moreover, would be salutary to those who remained behind; as the more the population is thinned, the less the disease may be expected to show its most hideous features. Unfortunately . . . those only who reside in the open, and healthy portions of the city, . . . have the means of leaving it, so that the density of the population in the parts most obnoxious to the pestilence, is likely to continue unmitigated.

The same newspaper that carried Drake’s letter brought news of cholera’s decline in Quebec and Montreal. Canadian authorities even questioned whether Cholera Asiatica had been identified correctly. Additional reports indicated that alarm in New York and elsewhere had subsided also.

While optimistic Canadians and New Yorkers doubted the identity of the villain, one Cincinnati wrote that he had suffered an attack of Cholera morbus. Even though most accounts suggest a September date for the beginning of the epidemic in the Queen City, some form of cholera existed by early July. Robert Todd Lytle, who survived his July cholera attack to win election to the U.S. House of Representatives in the October election, indicated that cholera should not cause fear and described his encounter with the disease to his wife visiting relatives in New Jersey:

For the last four or five days I have been confined to the House [his home in Cincinnati] by a short but very severe attack of Cholera morbus - I was anxious all the time to drop you a line, but could not raise the stamina to do it - I assailed the disease when it took me in the street - and continued a brisk action upon it until the Enemy was subdued, if not vanquished - I was filled & rank with bile - that is not all quieted yet - I shall go home immediate from here (The Post Office) and take more calomel - I have only extended my visit this far as yet - For Gods sake write often if you cant come home - I feel uneasy about your own health - although no fears of the cholera - considering it is only a high type of the old disease — The Town generally is sickly with the C—— disease - Smith [his brother-in-law, Ezekiel Smith Haines] had it with me, but is about again -

... Be not the least alarmed about me, for I am in a better living condition that I have for a long time been in - Being cleansed of an immense quantity of black & litteraly coagulated bile - the only difficulty is debility - which
[CINCINNATI CHRONICLE—EXTRA.]

CURE OF CHOLERA.

Fellow Citizens,

Would you be cured of Cholera take the disease in time.

It begins with some sort of Bowel Complaint, or disturbance of the stomach. In this stage it is easily cured; and all who neglect this stage are in danger of perishing.

Whoever has a lax or sickness at stomach, or Colic, should instantly take to his bed, in a warm room and drink hot tea of sage, balm, or Thoroughwort, or even hot water—bathing his feet if cold, and applying a warm poultice over the bowels.

Without this nothing will do any good—All who go about in the damp air after the Bowel complaint has set in will get Cramps and Spasms and die—I again say they will die!

Besides what I have mentioned, they should take a powder, of ten grains of Calomel and one of Opium mixed, if grown persons, and children should take less in proportion; or a teaspoonful of powdered Rhubarb.

They should, also, take a tea-spoonful, every hour, of the Aromatic Camphorated water, which is a cheap article, and may be had of most of the Apothecaries.

All who are of a full habit, or have Fever, or Colic should be bled.

Again let me warn every one, that the dreadful Epidemic commences as a mild bowel complaint, and in that stage may be cured—when vomiting colicenes and spasms combined, come on, death will follow—has followed, in almost every case that has yet occurred in the city. He who goes about with a mild complaint upon him should expect to perish.

The Epidemic would loose all its terrors, if people would attend, instantly, to the first symptoms—Go to bed, drink hot water or tea, promote a perspiration, and send for their family Physician.

Terror is a great exciting cause. The disease produced by terror requires treatment. Let no one presume to laugh another out of his fears. All the terrified should take to their beds—they will best counteract its bad effects.

Let all who read what is here written, recount it to their friends. Let us unite in aiding each other, for a few days—the Pestilential Cloud will soon pass away. The disease, absolutely, is not catching.

Daniel Drake. M. D.

Cincinnati, Saturday afternoon, October, 13th—1832.
oblige me to close.\textsuperscript{31}

Two days later, a Cincinnati newspaper published an account from New York dated July 2, 1832, in which the Board of Health reported one mild case of cholera “common bilious cholera.” The same paper contained a July 5 excerpt from the \textit{New York Commercial} saying that without doubt it was the dreaded Cholera in its highest form of malignity.\textsuperscript{32} For the week ending July 11, Cincinnati had three of twenty-seven deaths credited to \textit{cholera morbus}. Newspapers printed the Board of Health's official statement: “The Board, although they have no reason to believe that any case of Asiatic Cholera has hitherto appeared in our city, yet, as from the foregoing account it appears to have commenced its career in our state, they recommend a vigorous prosecution of the measures which have already been commenced for cleansing the city from all those impurities. . . . And, they also recommend a vigilant attention to all those precautions which are known to be useful in guarding against disease.”\textsuperscript{33}

On July 20, 1832, before Asiatic cholera officially reached Cincinnati, Dr. Drake published \textit{A Practical Treatise on the History, Prevention and Treatment of Epidemic Cholera - Designed Both for the Profession and the People}.\textsuperscript{34} Motivated by desire to help residents prepare for the probable epidemic and his belief that “a small microscopic agent — an animalcule” caused the disease, Drake categorized the “restrictions on the social and commercial intercourse of society” as fruitless. In Drake’s opinion, the best preventive measures were “strict sanitation and good personal hygiene.”\textsuperscript{35} Because Drake wrote his book before seeing a case of cholera, few considered him an authority on the subject.\textsuperscript{36}

Another letter from Drake appeared in the \textit{July 26 Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette}. This time the doctor discussed the relationship of intemperance\textsuperscript{37} to the epidemic. Drake speculated that a record of intemperance increased the likelihood of an individual contracting cholera. He recommended “that no one should indulge himself, in fits of drunkeness — that is in excess of his usual stimulation.”\textsuperscript{38}

Throughout the summer of 1832 the newspapers carried accounts of cholera in areas ranging from New York and Philadelphia to Norfolk, Virginia. An August 2 item headed “\textit{FROM THE FRONTIERS}” reported cholera among the troops with General Scott.\textsuperscript{39} Early in August one Cincinnati merchant, writing to his uncle in Philadelphia feared, that there was little chance of any part of the country escaping the scourge. Meanwhile, the \textit{Gazette} urged citizens to understand “the vast importance of regular habits & temperate living, & in that event, if followed up, will convert what to us now appears, a course of the Duty, in fact into a lasting blessing . . . .”\textsuperscript{40}

On September 27, 1832, the headline “\textit{THE CHOLERA}” introduced the promising news that the “scourge continues to abate in the eastern cities,”\textsuperscript{41} and Cincinnatians gained hope. Another letter from Dr. Drake soon disabused them. Under the \textit{Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette}'s dire headline of October 11 “\textit{CHOLERA IN CINCINNATI},” Drake recounted his visit on September 30 to a patient north of the canal.\textsuperscript{42} Taken ill in the morning, the man was dead when Drake arrived in the evening. Knowing that the season for the common \textit{cholera morbus}\textsuperscript{43} had passed, Drake investigated the dead man’s symptoms and concluded they were those of “\textit{EPIDEMIC CHOLERA}.” Further investigation of every reported case of a similar nature in the city confirmed his suspicion:

\textit{from [September 30] to this day, October 7, 10 o’clock A.M. fifteen persons have died with the characteristic symptoms of epidemic, Malignant, or Asiatic Cholera. I have seen some of these early victims, and have collected circumstantial histories of the whole. Seven of them were white men and eight negroes, of whom three were men & five women . . . . Of these fifteen, eight were in the neighborhood of Deer Creek, . . . and none near the mouth of that stream in the neighborhood of the steam boats. Of the whole, but one had been in connection with the river or those who navigate it . . . . How many other deaths have occurred I cannot say. These are what have become known to myself. Of the propriety of making them public I cannot entertain a doubt . . . . the whole mass of our population, should at the very earliest period be apprized that the Epidemic is actually upon us . . . .}\textsuperscript{44}

Other citizens hesitated to agree with Drake. The editor of the \textit{Gazette} thought it only proper to report that “the Board of Health, and several respectable physicians controvert the opinion of Dr. Drake, on the character of the disease of the individuals supposed to have been victims of Epidemic Cholera.”\textsuperscript{45} For almost three weeks most physicians continued to controvert Drake, who\textsuperscript{46} unfortunately, had correctly identified the visitors to the city.

Personal animosity dictated much of the opposition to Drake. A strongly opinionated man, Drake often appeared “egotistical and unduly ambitious.”\textsuperscript{47} His many adversaries could rarely be brought to accept his views with good grace even, or especially when — as often
happened — fact told in his favor. Rumors spread that Drake had lost all of his patients and gone into seclusion. In reality, without even taking time to mourn his father, Isaac, one of the epidemic’s earliest victims, Drake ministered unremittingly. Just two days before his father’s death Drake addressed his fellow citizens on the latest recommendations for cholera’s prevention. Drake advised: avoid intoxication, night air, and unnecessary medicine. Eat only beef, mutton, veal, poultry, eggs, milk, and “good ham” in moderation; keep rooms dry with fires; wear woolen clothes; be alert to “lax or disordered state of the bowels which usually precedes spasms and vomiting.” If so afflicted, “bathe the feet, take to bed, put poultice of mush or bitter herbs over bowels, send for physician or take a pill of 10 grains of calomel and 1 of opium.” In contrast to his advice of July, he now counseled against leaving the city. Cholera fatalities were occurring in the countryside on both sides of the river. It was not a matter of contagion: “The whole atmosphere is poisonous.”

Along with Drake’s advice, the newspaper carried two reports of particular interest. Statistics for cholera deaths for the week of October 9-15, 1832 listed ninety-six males but only twenty-one females. The editor remarked “... females have much less to apprehend than males. ... They are more temperate and have more passive courage. Let them preserve their confidence, and let men learn whence is the real source of the mortality.”

Secondly, a Cincinnati black made a suggestion that, if followed, would have ended the cholera crisis. Charles Hammond, the Daily Gazette’s editor, stated:

*It is an old saying that in every emergency “even the weak may give some help.” Mr. Henry Boyd, a man of color, has suggested that the source of cholera is in the water, and that it may be removed by boiling all the water we use and letting it cool again before used. This is a very simple process which can produce evil to no one. Even our country friends of the market may boil and bottle their water, before they come to the city, and if the theory be well, bring it with them and incur no risk.*

Hammond’s editorial also reported the Board of Health’s announcement that the cholera had “ameliorated.” Such expressions of unwarranted optimism, themselves approaching epidemic proportions, sought to reverse the flight so that the city’s normal trade might resume. The disease was not contagious, Hammond continued. “There is as much danger in one place as in another...” Merchants were suffering. There were “no more than twenty-five waggons on fifth street.”

Private citizens echoed both the optimism and the concerns expressed in the newspaper. “No deaths yesterday — today not so many — The hope that as our city is small & great caution observed by the inhabitants, that the disease will not remain long with us” wrote merchant J. H. D. Jones on October 13, 1832. Five days later, hopes dashed, Jones admitted to his uncle in Philadelphia that “the Cholera... has completely stopped Business... a gloom seems to cover the countenances of all the citizens and we all look more like beings making preparations for the other world than this.”

When cholera continued to advance and business to decline, Jones, on October 22, notified a customer that “...we can not give the same indulgence that we used to or could wish... money’s getting scarce and business fell off the cholera has alarmed us all very much having been as malignant in Cincinnati as at any other place in the US. A very large portion of the citizens have gone to the country.”

A few days later, this concerned businessman reported that “Our fall trade opened very fair untill the
Cholera made its appearance which of course suspended everything in the shape of business for the present. The pestilence has visted us in its malignant character."46 Even respectable citizens succumbed. Broker Guordon R. Gilmore had died and business was suffering from the consequent lack of available cash. By the epidemic's second week, nearly forty persons were dying daily, a high rate compared to that of eastern cities. In late October, however, hopes rose again as the death rate dropped to between fifteen and eighteen. Jones had reason to hope that "the pestilence will soon leave us and that Business will in consequence be revived."47 While Jones grieved over lost business, others mourned the loss of loved ones. One man reported their sister's death to his brother. Flight had not saved her and she died within five hours of the first symptoms. And this within four weeks following her marriage, when prospects of future happiness abounded. Nevertheless, he counseled, "we . . . must not repine at our bereavement — sparse has there been a family in the City who has not lost more than one of its members . . . .48

The "fleers" occasioned resentment. An editorial in the Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette hinted of retribution: "We have seen also, some extravagant accounts of the numbers that have left the city. There has been a great deal of fleeing, most of it rather 'inglorious'. We may expect the fleers to return shortly, and in due season find them candidates for official places in the city. Doubtless, they will be remembered."49

The epidemic seemed unstoppable. One resident noted that it was found in all parts of the city, in every class of persons, the young, the old, the "temperant" and the "intemperant." Not only was business disrupted but "The theatre is closed. The magistrates offices are no longer open. Several Hotels have ceased to entertain gourmands . . . . The markets are ill-supplied. Every gentleman has shut himself and family up in his house, which is now emphatically his castle . . . ."50 Physicians, however, with lots of business could not stay secluded. Dr. John Henry reported, "I have obtained a large share of business and I trust of the confidence of the afflicted. I venture to say no physician of the city has done more than I have." And, on October 31, Henry noted a visible decline in cholera cases coupled with an increase in "Bilious fevers and such like maladies." And, although accounts have probably exaggerated, "the reality has been appalling enough."51

John Henry accurately foreshadowed the crisis' end. Just when things seemed darkest, release came. On November 6, 1832, John Jones announced to business correspondents. "The Cholera has finally left Cincinnati and business again partially resumed."52 The Office of the Board of Health announced on November 7, 1832, that the Board "considers the Cholera as no longer existing as an epidemic" because no more than one death per day occurred since the first of November.53 By November's
third week the weekly toll dropped to three or less. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* published a poem, *The Cholera—Past and Gone* praising God’s mercy and celebrating the end of the ordeal. The *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* published a poem, *The Cholera—Past and Gone* praising God’s mercy and celebrating the end of the ordeal.

Except for the poem, little during the epidemic in the newspapers or in available private letters sounded a religious note. Though most realized the city’s 571 fatalities reflected a heavy toll on its population of approximately 30,000, few interpreted the disaster as divine retribution. But many expressed strong concern for the welfare of business or made thinly veiled threats of reprisals against prominent citizens who fled the city. When cholera finally disappeared in late November 1832, the city had made no permanent advances in public health facilities. Only the founding of the Cincinnati Orphanage Asylum proved a lasting innovation. Using funds provided by the Masonic Lodge, the ladies of Cincinnati responded to the needs of the many children left without parents. Cholera’s disappearance from the Queen City was short-lived. It returned to plague Cincinnati in 1833 and again in 1834. The response was similar, one businessman reported in August 1833, “Our country has been almost killed by the cholera and business has been dead, dead, dead.”

In 1834 the Board of Health saw “reason to hope that the misfortune of another extensive visitation of the epidemic will . . . be averted,” and requested physicians to report every fatal case of cholera in their practice. Once more, the physicians made false prognostications and the merchants lamented. Then, for no apparent reason, after three straight years of invasion, cholera disappeared for nearly fifteen years. Malaise gave way to activity; business became vigorous; enterprise increased; railroads and more canals were built.

During the respite Cincinnati more than tripled in size to 110,000 citizens. However, concern for public health, did not keep pace. John P. Harrison, a physician and professor, responded to the American Medical Association’s Committee on Public Hygiene’s 1848 survey on sanitary conditions in the principal American cities. His report described the city’s water supply as abundant and salubrious but acknowledged the city’s lack of sewers and poor drainage. Although terming the city’s overall health very good, Harrison reported that Cincinnati’s German community suffered numerous fatalities every summer from cholera infantum. These he attributed to crowded conditions, poorly ventilated apartments, and indigestible food.

The survey’s question on street cleaning and sanitation, elicited Harrison’s brief response,

**Question 4.**—The streets are cleansed by scavengers hired by the city authority; but the streets are not kept in as clean a state as they should be; the courts and alleys are cleansed whenever the streets are; the refuse from the houses, such as kitchen refuse and ashes, is thrown into the streets; the hogs devour what they will, or can, and the remainder is taken up by the scavenger carts about every three weeks. The street manure is thrown on the wharves to extend accommodation to the river landing . . . .

Despite the filthy streets and lack of sanitation, Dr. Harrison, like most citizens, seemed unaware of public health concepts. As mid-century approached, Cincinnati stood poised for disaster.

Cholera returned to the United States in 1848 when two steamships carrying infected German immigrants docked — one in New York on December 1, the second in New Orleans on December 11. The pestilence reached Cincinnati by Christmas day with a sick man’s removal from a boat from New Orleans. Although colder weather probably prevented the rapid spread of the disease, tension and alarm filled the air, often in the form of concern over sanitation in the city. On New Year’s day, 1849,
the *Daily Gazette* reported, “In view of the anticipated arrival of steam vessels from New Orleans, freighted with cases of *malignant Cholera* full meetings of the Board of Health and of the Health Committee of the Council, were held yesterday morning, (Sunday,) at 9 o’clock in the Council Chamber . . . .” The meeting resulted in agreement to hold daily meetings of the members of the Board of Health and the Street Commissioners.  

Unhappy with Council’s seeming indifference to these areas of the city which “resembled pig stys,” some citizens believed municipal government “had abdicated its responsibilities.” Louis Wright, the *Gazette*’s editor, termed Cincinnati “the dirtiest city of its size in the Union.” The officials were the problem, for “‘No love of cleanliness . . . no desire for the health of the people, no fear of cholera . . . , no regard for the wishes of the citizens or of the press, exerts any influence upon the City Council, to take measures to have the city purified.’” Ultimately, Council reacted, but, only within the limits set by charter. Its major act in late 1848 was to draft another sanitary nuisance ordinance and eventually more emergency legislation directed at cleaning up the city. In the course of the ensuing epidemic, Council began to view the city as a social system and to evince some realization that not all residents acted in the public interest. Nonetheless, although New York, for example, moved to eliminate pigs from the city’s center, Cincinnati did not.

Throughout January the *Daily Gazette* reprinted stories of cholera in other locations, particularly New Orleans. The articles included advice ranging from removal of all filth and rubbish and the use of lime, to “the moderate use of Brandy as a preventive, as well as assistant, in the cure of cholera.” But the brandy should be “unadulterated” and of the best quality.

Meanwhile cholera reached Cincinnati from the East. The steamer Lewis Whetzel, from Wheeling, spent four or five days docked in Cincinnati. A colored man from the *Whetzel* died within seven hours of his first attack and simultaneously with two inmates of the Commercial Hospital. The *Daily Gazette* editorial on January 4, 1849, admitted cholera’s presence in town but thought its spread unlikely while cold weather persisted. Above all, the editorial cautioned against panicky “flight” and physicians recognized “fear . . . as one of the most active causes of attacks.” Citizens should “go quietly about their ordinary occupations,” avoiding “exposures or excesses of any kind,” taking “a sufficiency of wholesome, nourishing food,” and observing “regular hours, and trust the issue with Providence.” Too, having a “pure atmosphere” would help prevent any outbreak. Citizens should clean their “cellars and outhouses, and remove[e] from their premises all decaying or otherwise filthy substances.” The editor pleaded, “Let us clean up, at once.”

Another editorial voiced the opinion that cholera’s victims were mostly the poor who did not pay attention to warning symptoms. “We say to the mechanic, the drayman, the stevedore, to all who live by labor: Remember, that the Cholera is a manageable disease, if it is taken in time . . . . The golden rule is not to neglect the warning which nature manifests.”

One local scientist, the geologist John Lea, mused on the origins of cholera. His first newspaper letter, January 15, 1849, pointed the finger at geological factors rather than other “local natural causes.” West Africa, otherwise notoriously unhealthy, remained free of cholera and, while Lea did not deny the influence of “local filth,” he noted that even in a place as well scrubbed as Brock in Holland, “the disease passes around all the primary and arenaceous formations — unless the water used by the inhabitants be impregnated with certain mineral elements, as the carbonates of lime and magnesia . . . .” Describing various limestones in southwestern Ohio, Lea hypothesized that cities such as Dayton and Springfield owed their escape to locations on a metalliferous limestone containing iron, zinc, lead, and other metallic elements. One or more of those could be “the counteracting principle or antidote to the proximate cause of cholera.” Having pointed the way, Lea left it “for medical men . . . to solve this problem.”

Cincinnati’s physicians, meanwhile, displayed no inclination toward scientific research, geological or other, but preferred controversies raging among “the Allopaths, the Homeopaths, and the Eclectics, each group maintaining its own method of treatment to be the superior one.” The cholera epidemic offered a convenient means of attracting attention and support in gaining control over City Hospital and the temporary Board of Health. The old Board of Health with a number of allopathic members resigned under pressure on May 25. Dr. J. H. Jorden, an eclectic, became the Fourth Street Cholera Hospital’s resident physician. Despite the controversy, grounded in part on homeopathic physicians’ claims of fewer patient fatalities, treatment differed little. All physicians prescribed camphor and calomel; homeopaths merely gave smaller doses.

From mid-January through March 1849
Cincinnati newspapers concentrated on topics such as railroads and annexation of suburbs. Cholera received little mention though reports of its presence in New Orleans and Louisville were eyed uneasily. On March 27, 1849, the *Cincinnati Gazette* reported the disease’s arrival in Louisville via steamboats from New Orleans including the *Bride*, the *George Washington*, and the *Belle Key*. Fifteen had died on the *George Washington* before her arrival at Memphis. Queen City citizens should have been wary when the Steamboat Register for April 3 listed the *George Washington’s* arrival, but there came word that the New Orleans Board of Health did not consider the cholera outbreak to be of epidemic proportions. Cincinnati physicians also remained complacent. As early as April 8, 1849, William Haines Lytle wrote his uncle that “There is much apprehension here of Cholera, though Medical men tell us it will be of a mild character.” The *Cincinnati Gazette* confidently announced that “The general health of the city is now good, and all reports to the contrary are sheer fabrications...”

Many citizens refused to recognize cholera’s invariable movement along the lines of travel despite the Queen City’s continuous intercourse by steamboats with afflicted river towns including New Orleans, Nashville, and St. Louis. Some believed hysteria resulted from the popular mind’s inflammability, which transformed “every death every remotely related, even twenty or forty miles away” into many more cases. “The falsehood is then fairly fixed in the public mind, the thing flies with the speed almost of thought, and Cincinnati becomes the seat of a pestilence that is fast decimating its inhabitants.” Others even believed that fear increased a person’s susceptibility to cholera and lended urgency to measures to reduce fear.

The editor of the *Gazette*, worried about the city losing tourist trade, addressed the question, “How is it [hysteria] to be counteracted?” Newspapers should avoid engaging in the “Cholera - No Cholera war; a perfect tempest in a teapot.” Public controversy about numbers of victims and speculations about the disease only served to confuse prospective visitors who, “their minds being in a state which naturally inclines them to side with the worst view... will conclude that what has till now been rumor is the real truth- and, in spite of business, curiosity or pleasure, Cincinnati will be a place no longer to be visited.”

In order to “give something tangible, and of official character, for the popular mind to work upon...” and avoid ‘Much-ado about Nothing,’” the editorial proposed to “let the Board of Health hold daily meetings, and make daily reports... This was the course we recommended in December last, when the Cholera was brought among us by steamboats from New Orleans, and although it was tardily adopted, it was the means which quieted the public mind...” Such instances as yet reported were probably the “sporadic cases” which were “likely to occur... where radishes and other young vegetables are eaten freely... and where sour and half rotten oranges, at which pigs would turn up their noses, are devoured as if they were the healthiest food in the world.”

Cincinnati authorities did not completely ignore the cholera outbreak. They established a Cholera Hospital on the north side of the city in a house owned by leading citizen Charles Cist. Cist received $450 a month in rent, together with angry protests from many of his neighbors. The *Gazette’s* editorial urged that a new location be found. A leisurely two months later, A. E. Gwynne reported that “We have, in this ward, to-day established a cholera hospital. By coming home, I have been enabled to contribute my mite. We have a Ward Association, which I attend, and which meets every Tuesday and Friday. Much is doing here for the poor.”

Still active in 1849, Daniel Drake found time to write two open letters to the public with advice almost identical with earlier counsel. He cautioned against flight and reiterated the need for immediate preventive action. Drake considered “the premature laying aside of flannel and other warm clothing” a contributing cause. Additional recommendations included maintaining “a nourishing diet” without hot breads and without vegetables except for “mealy potatoes, well boiled hominy, and rice.” Macaroni and cheese would be acceptable. Those drinking malt liquors at meals “should limit themselves to freshly brewed beer, well hopped.” Alcoholic drinks such as brandy might even “bring on the disease, and sour wines are still more likely to have that effect.”

Drake strongly reaffirmed his earlier recommendation against travel, citing the difficulty of regulating food intake. Travel also could lead to loss of sleep, constipation, motion sickness, and risk from the high mortality on steamboats. He concluded, “While the pestilence prevails, every man’s house, whether it be a cabin or a mansion, should be regarded as his citadel.” A second Drake letter discussed the yearly seasonal arrival of “common Cholera Morbus and Cholera Infantum, commonly called the summer sickness of children...” Drake speculated that “either the first intense heat of summer or something generated by that heat” caused those diseases.
Margaret Lytle\textsuperscript{92}, a member of Cincinnati’s pioneer upper crust, described the mood of the city to her son, Elias Haines, and offered her own suggestions on prevention and treatment.

There has been quite a panic in our city for the last few days - relative to the cholera - several cases has no doubt occurred - generally among the labouring classes - no one that I know except Col. Bruff - he was at a wedding on Thursday Evening indulged in the luxuries freely - was taken ill at nine o’clock on Friday. Expired before one at noon - a sudden and awful change from time to eternity - our doctors think very much depends on being particular in your diet - not to eat - salade - redishes - spinach - apples - pickles - or things of that nature - not to expose yourself to the evening air or damp . . . .

Diarrhea should it occur - however slight - take a teaspoonful of paregoric if that should not check it - then the next movement of the bowels take a campher and opium pill - if that does not prevent a return of operations - then one of campher-calomel & opium pills repeat - these last everytime the bowels is moved - provided it be not more frequent than every half hour - Brandy may be used if the patient feels weak . . . . you had better my dear Son have a little good Brandy - Laudnium - paregoric and camphorated spirits by you - as you cannot always have a doctor at hand I should also advise you to sleep at the Hotell until this panic passes by - it is very imprudent to sleep in a house alone as it sometimes comes like a thief in the night . . . . doctor Drake advises all to stay at home as he thinks it will be more or less through the United States.\textsuperscript{93}

Reactions paralleled those of 1832; Cincinnatians were all too eager to believe the worst was over. On May 16, 1849, a few days after her grandmother’s letter, Josephine Lytle wrote her Uncle Elias to “relieve your anxiety concerning us, with respect to the Cholera . . . .” Although still maintaining caution in regard to food, the family hoped that the worst was over. Meanwhile, the gardeners were complaining “bitterly” because they could not sell vegetables.\textsuperscript{94}

Newspaper editorials focused on the lack of clean streets and blamed private citizens for “refuse from kitchens” and builders “in almost every square of the city” for “obstructing gutters.”\textsuperscript{95} Other public concerns included overcrowding in the jail which, combined with the warm
Weather, meant that the prisoners had few "chances of escape."96

Mid-May's positive outlook soon turned into depression, fear, and feelings of helplessness. Private correspondence and public utterances had assumed religious overtones. Members of the Hill family in Pleasant Ridge, on the outskirts of Cincinnati, wrote a relative, "... good health is the greatest blessing that can be enjoyed, in worldly affairs, for there is at this time in the Country a great deal of bodily affliction, Cincinnati, is again visited with the Colery, and other diseases, many die dayly . . ."97 Margaret Lytle credited the Almighty with her family's good health, although she again emphasized caution regarding diet - "little or no fruit or vegetables - meat and Rice a few potatoes or young peas or beans well cooked - no salted or Readishes."98 Later, she banished fish from the table.99

By June 30, 1849, diets, complacency, fulminations against filth and strong drink, observing regular hours while staying at home, proper clothing, and medicines all having proved unavailing, with city residents seemingly powerless against the intruder, the city's ministers, acting in concert for once, proposed "a day of special religious observance in reference to the prevailing epidemic."100 Margaret Lytle prayed that the day of fasting and prayer be "solemnly kept — this is coming to the Right foundation of every good and Evil thing - the Almighty has signally blesed this City with many Mercies for which I fear we have been unthankful - and will he not send Evil - to chastise us for our faults and Ingratitude and to reflect seriously on the uncertainty of life - and the Importance of preparation for death . . ."101 Cincinnatians, like most Americans, considered cholera an act of "God's will." Even the President, Zachary Taylor, recommended "a day of national prayer, fasting and humiliation."102

The sense of helplessness and desperation increased, leading some residents to express uneasiness about smoke from the lime kilns on the hillside up Vine Street toward the city's north edge. Linking the smoke with the area's frightening increase in cholera cases,103 the Health Officer urged that "all brick and lime kilns, within the limits of the city, should be put out of action, at all events during the prevalence of the epidemic Cholera." Another proposal sought to stop burning of coal heaps in the streets.104

A local geologist, John Lea, suggested that the origins of cholera were the result of geological factors which he discussed in his pamphlet Cholera with Reference to the Geological Theory. (CHS Printed Works Collection)
On July 2, Margaret Lytle described formerly gay Cincinnati as “sad and somber” from “this fearful visitation of providence —.” Although not afraid for herself, she worried about her grandson and son, both of whom were “obliged to be exposed to the hot Sun and poisonous atmosphere . . . .” Meanwhile, every “precaution is now used to purify the air — such as burning Tar and Coal in the streets — spreading of lime cleaning the gutters.” Despite the resultant increased humidity, the Health Officer approved watering the streets as preferable to the inhalation of dust composed of “decayed and rotten excrement, refuse . . . .” However, “the disgusting and noxious practice of daming up the gutters, and throwing the filthy water over the street . . .” required protest.

Along with the bad air and filthy streets, the high incidence of cholera among immigrants could not be ignored. Margaret Lytle noted that these people, ignoring dietary cautions, continued to eat fruit and vegetables “until they sicken & die.” One “poor German famely in the lower part of the city - five or sise in number . . . all died . . . from Eating a Calf - three days old - some one gave them but very few of the more respectable people died.” Another citizen told his wife that there had been 130 cholera deaths the day before, “But do not be alarmed at this. They are mostly Germans and Irish. Very few whom we know have died.”

When Edward D. Mansfield, Daniel Drake’s friend and first biographer, set about analyzing the deaths from cholera in Cincinnati in 1849 by social group, he found that from mid-April to mid-October, 4,700 of Cincinnati’s 116,000 inhabitants succumbed. One in sixteen Germans and Irish died, but only one in fifty-eight native-born American, English, Scotch, or Welsh. No doubt the explanations were many, but Mansfield believed, the “inferior civilization of the Germanic and Irish elements in America” was the most significant factor. His list of immediate causes included:

1. Greater density of habitation . . . , 2. Dirty habits. The proof . . . is palpable to the eyes and nose of any who observe closely, 3. Disregard of proper diet . . . , 4. Inferior medical treatment. This remark applies especially to the Germans, who, with a conceit scarcely ever excelled, imagine that in a warm climate, damp atmosphere, and abundance of vegetable malaria, they can resist bilious disorders with a few simples and plasters.

Immigrants remained a concern throughout the 1849 cholera epidemic. Civic leaders and private citizens fretted over the large numbers of “non-Americans.”

On July 8, Margaret Lytle noted that concerned citizens were not leaving the immigrants a choice on whether to clean up. “Eight Gentlemen has been appointed out of Each Ward - search out the dismal haunts of the distressed and dying Emigrants — have their habitations cleansed and their many wants supplied.” She feared for her son, Smith Haines, exposed while participating in the cleanup. Yet, she trusted in the Lord to “protect and bless Smith for his acts of kindness & mercy but few among the higher classes have fallen victims.” Meanwhile, one of her granddaughters, Lillie, “had a slight touch of cholera from Eating one small ear of corn . . . .” Green corn, she admonished her son Elias was “considered poison - pray do not Eat it - tomatoes - beets - potatoes - well cooked we have on our Table - with Rice in profusion fresh Rasberrys & Blackberrys - Eat a few.” A. E. Gwynne limited his own food intake to “meats, bread, and rice.”

Some in the German community had their own opinions on the epidemic and the way authorities dealt with it. Although the Volksblatt did not mention cholera often during the summer, the June 21, 1849, issue, carried a major article, “Die Cholera und die Critic ihres Humbugs, von Dr. E. Fritsch.” Deploring the quackery being foisted upon the public, and the feuds between the homeopathic and allopathic physicians, Fritsch criticized the health committee. In defense against that terrible sickle of mankind — “die Cholera” Fritsch recommended a good diet of meat, milk, and bread, not the beer and brandy on the homeopaths’ list.

Yet, despite the best efforts of physicians and any number of suggested remedies and diets, cholera continued unabated through mid-summer. A. E. Gwynne, his wife out of town, and fearful of a sudden, violent cholera attack, hired a black boy to sleep at his house in case he needed immediate assistance. Young Lillie Lytle, bedridden after two weeks, recovered slowly from cholera turned into chronic dysentery. Lillie’s illness prevented her brother William from accompanying the body of cholera victim, Anne Lytle Rowan, their great-aunt, to Louisville. Margaret Lytle could only pray that “the almighty may turn away his wrath from this wicked city - and say - it is enough . . . .”

By July 20, a more optimistic mood appeared as relief seemed imminent. Relatives encouraged loved ones to visit the city. Steamboats came and left throughout the summer. Hotels stayed busy; cultural events, including concerts and circuses, maintained established schedules; and businessmen eagerly anticipated renewed
prosperity with cholera's demise.118 As July 1849 ended, the Cincinnati Gazette rejoiced to announce that only nine had died on July 30, compared to eighty-seven on July 15.119 Two weeks later, under the headline “Death’s Doings,” the paper ruefully revealed that during the three days August 7-9, the city suffered eight-nine cholera fatalities.120 Nonetheless, when Josephine Lytle wrote on August 7, she believed that cholera had retreated.121

Finally, the retreat became fact. After the City Council’s August 13 announcement of a $5000 appropriation for cholera expenses, reports of the disease virtually disappeared.122 Margaret Lytle, writing on August 27, confirmed the abatement, “We have had but a few solitary cases of the cholera and but few at any time in the higher classes - chiefly emigrants.”123

John Lea, had a final public word in 1849. On September 1, the Gazette printed Lea’s letter claiming proof of his geological theory of cholera on the grounds that “the places ... severely scouraged by the disease are on the limestone formation or supplied with impure river water while the towns of Pittsburgh, Parkersburg, Zanesville, Marietta, Knoxville, Mobile & etc. escape. Pittsburgh escapes by reason of its being supplied by the Allegheny River ...”124

When cholera did visit a locality it played no favorites. More than one upper class Queen City family, including the Lytes, had cholera in its midst. Daniel Drake suffered greatly, losing three grandchildren and his son-in-law, James Campbell.125 Several physicians, including John P. Harrison, succumbed to the scourge.126

Cincinnatians’ response to the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849 fell into a pattern. The newspapers conveyed a sense of mounting tension as they tracked outbreaks in European, then American, cities. City officials and physicians rejected the evidence until the pestilence was among them. Then, fear and hysteria reigned as the death lists lengthened; joyful optimism, ever encouraged by the business community, abounded as they declined.

Medical practice appears to have gained little from the experience though evidence suggests that in the seventeen year interval between widespread cholera outbreaks physicians’ approaches moderated and they displayed a more supportive attitude toward cholera patients.127 In 1849 the doctors less frequently employed such drastic remedies as bloodletting, which exacerbated weakness and dehydration.128 Daniel Drake and John Lea provided leadership in 1832 and 1849, respectively, in postulating rational, scientific explanations for the disaster. Each was partially right, but only an unlettered black man, Henry Boyd, in 1832, suggested what later proved to be the simple solution: boiling the water. Drake recognized the need for sanitation and believed in an animalcular cause. Had he listened to Boyd instead of prescribing temperature and calomel, the Queen City’s residents could have achieved pasteurization’s benefits decades earlier than they did.129

Each cholera year, while many fled the city, others stayed, complacently asserting “We have become cliomet — but wo[e] to strangers ...”130 Some felt helpless and sought relief by appealing to the Almighty, especially in 1849. But all residents, whether rich or poor, young or old, could understand the many who “dwell too much on cholera & get dreadfully nervous.”131 As one citizen wrote, “if talking could bring it on, I think Cincinnati would be depopulated for nothing else seems to be thought of ...”132

Not all citizens, however, stood by either complacent or simply talking. A few took action. In 1849 most upper class residents viewed the poor immigrant neighborhoods, virtually non-existent at the time of the earlier epidemic, as a breeding ground for cholera. Determined Cincinnatians, already displeased with Germans’ obdurate separateness in retaining their own language, schools, churches, and newspapers, self-organized and marched into the quarters of protesting German householders to clean them up.

Unfortunately, not even the citizens’ organized clean up operations, much less all the hand-wringing conversations, translated into actions directed at permanent public health improvements. When the disease returned in 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1866, and 1873133 Cincinnatians, at least partially, had to blame themselves. At each epidemic’s passing survivors eagerly turned back to everyday activities, often, for elites, the pursuit of pleasure or wealth. After cholera’s retreat in 1849, civic leaders sought to free “the city of the social evils and to convert the city’s non-American inhabitants into Americans.” Some believed “foreign emigration” combined with “the late epidemic” had increased both “pauperism and poverty.”134 Recognition of the city as a social system came slowly, but it had begun. Although little lasting action was taken in 1849, the Council and leading residents gradually acknowledged the need for aid to the poor.

Yet, Cincinnati’s lack of fundamental, decisive, farsighted action to prevent future epidemics typified its curious mid-nineteenth century character. Carl Abbott,
writing about antebellum, midwestern cities, describes the Queen City’s mood,

A slow paralysis afflicted Cincinnati enterprise in the twenty years before the Civil War. In the early 1840s, the city still retained the ambition and foresight which had made it the unquestioned Queen of the West. Around mid-century . . . its citizens lost their ability to conceive and carry out projects of benefit to the city as a whole. 135

City officials, along with most inhabitants, failed to understand the basic necessity for more than surface cleanliness. Surprisingly, even the cholera epidemics of the 1830s and 1849 could not catalyze sufficient vision and leadership to bring individuals together for effective action to benefit the whole city. City government did not create a permanent Board of Health. No sense of ongoing crisis or need emerged. 136 The role of municipal government remained as Dr. Harrison reported in late 1848, “Our municipal regulations are . . . on the whole, rather leaning to the side of laxity.” 137 Lack of positive response to the second great cholera epidemic characterized the inertia that set the scene for the 1850s in Cincinnati — “lethargic boosterism and ineffectual entrepreneurship, . . . decreasing cogent economic thought, and . . . the mounting bitterness of internal strife.” 138

Neither public correspondence nor public pronouncements discussed the need to develop long term public health strategies. More than one factor seems to be involved in Cincinnati’s passivity. Most of the early civic boosters and pioneers were gone. The intellectual and culturally oriented New Englanders, with their ethic of social responsibility, had diminished as a key influence in the Queen City’s leadership. 139 The Germans and the Irish who might have energized the leadership, still remained outside Cincinnati’s governing structure. 140

Elite families attributed the problem to the lower classes or to improper food. Newspaper editors, businessmen, and others committed above all to civic prosperity, denied a problem existed in order to maintain busi-

In June 1849, ministers of the city churches, acting in concert, proposed a “day of special religious observance in reference to the prevailing epidemic.” (CHS Photograph Collection)
ness as usual. Cincinnati's scientists, regardless of point of view, served as voices of reason. Yet, no scientist or physician, in the Queen City or elsewhere, determined cholera's cause or how to prevent the disease's spread. Cincinnati's attitude, both public and private, in the aftermath of the cholera epidemics, reflected complacency, distrust of different ethnic groups and classes, and, commonly, materialism. There is little evidence to indicate that private citizens noticed or understood the implications of their collective inertia and self-centeredness. Explanations are not readily apparent, but it seems probable that Cincinnati's nearly equal division at mid-nineteenth century into native born and foreign born exacerbated the inability of civic leaders to focus on common goals. Lacking cohesive positive leadership in public health and economic initiatives, Cincinnati in 1849 seemed poised to lose "Queen City" status.

The author thanks Professor William Stanton for his suggestion of the topic and his advice through many revisions.

1. Antebellum Cincinnatians had a variety of names for cholera including Cholera morbus, Asiatic cholera, cholera infantum, cholera asphyxia, Cholera sicca, and spasmodic cholera.


3. Ibid., p. 1.


15. The *Daily Gazette* began publishing weekly mortality statistics on May 18, 1832. During the six week period ending June 20, 1832, 112 persons died. Of those, 26 deaths (23%) were due to measles. Following measles, 16 deaths (14%) were listed as children's deaths from unknown causes. The third leading cause of death was consumption with 13 deaths (12%). No other cause of death claimed more than five victims in the six week period. The causes listed included bilious fever, diabetes, dysentery, worms, inflammation in

Although Cincinnati's physicians argued over the best treatment and the homeopathic physicians claimed fewer patient fatalities, all prescribed camphor and calomel. Homeopaths merely gave smaller doses. (CHS Printed Works Collection)
Drake established the Physiological Temperance Society of the Louisville Medical Institute. Members pledged total abstinence from intoxicating beverages for five years. The society planned to study the causes of excessive use of alcoholic drinks and other narcotic stimulants, discourage intemperance by example, study the diseases of mind and body the drinks and narcotic produced and devise both curative and preventive remedies. (Horine, Daniel Drake, p. 341.)

28. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, August 2, 1832.
29. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, August 2, 1832.
30. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, July 26, 1832.
31. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, September 27, 1832.
32. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, October 11, 1832.
33. As noted in Footnote 1, Cincinnatians used many names for cholera but the distinctions are not clear. The Encyclopedia of Medical History's entry for Cholera is followed immediately by "Asiatic Cholera; Cholera Morbus," but the text does not discuss any distinction. (Roderick E. McGrew, Encyclopedia of Medical History, New York, 1985, p. 99-64.)
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
38. Horine, p. 263.
39. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, October 18, 1832.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid. Charles Hammond's editorial was first published in the Daily Gazette.
42. Ibid.
44. J. H. D. Jones to John K. Graham, October 18, 1832 Letterbook, Cincinnati Historical Society.
45. J. H. D. Jones to R. C. Gist, October 22, 1832, Letterbook, Cincinnati Historical Society.
47. Ibid.
48. Thomas J. Henderson to J. C. Henderson, October 26, 1832, Letterbook, Cincinnati Historical Society.
49. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, November 8, 1832.
51. John Henry to John Cleve Short, October 31, 1832, Cincinnati Historical Society.
53. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, November 15, 1832.
54. Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette, November 29, 1832.
55. Ibid.
64. Daily Gazette, January 1, 1834.
66. Marcus, "In Sickness and In Health," p. 159-160.
68. Daily Gazette, January 8, 1834.
70. Ibid.
71. Cincinnati Gazette, January 9, 1849.
72. Cincinnati Gazette, January 15, 1849.
75. Ibid. p. 14.
76. Ibid.
78. Cincinnati Gazette, April 3, 1849.
79. Cincinnati Gazette, April 9, 1849.
80. William Haines Lytle to Elias H. Haines, April 8, 1849, Lytle Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society.
81. Cincinnati Gazette, April 12, 1849.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Cincinnati Gazette, May 7, 1849.
88. A. E. Gwynne to Cettie M. Gwynne, July 8, 1849.
89. Ibid. p. 385.
90. Cincinnati Gazette, June 14, 1849.
91. Ibid.
92. Margaret Haines' second marriage was to William Lytle. Her daughter Elizabeth Haines married Robert Todd Lytle, son of William Lytle so Margaret Lytle was both Robert Lytle's stepmother and mother-in-law.
93. Margaret Haines Lytle to Elias H. Haines, May 12, 1849, Lytle Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society.
95. Cincinnati Gazette, May 12, 1849.
96. Cincinnati Gazette, June 26, 1849.
100. Cincinnati Gazette, June 30, 1849.
103. Cincinnati Gazette, July 8, 1849.
104. Cincinnati Gazette, July 6, 1849.
105. Margaret Lytle to Elias H. Haines, July 2, 1849.
106. Cincinnati Gazette, July 5, 1849.
110. Ibid. p. 222.
111. Margaret Lytle to Elias H. Haines, July 8, 1849, Lytle Papers,
ASIATIC CHOLERA:

Appeared in Cincinnati in 1849-'50 and in 1866.

By ORIN E. NEWTON, M.D.
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

With, What to Observe; How to Prevent an Attack; the Position of the Body to be Assumed; Medicines to be Kept on Hand, with full Direction for their Use by Everyone when the Disease is Threatening their Locality.

I offer a brief essay on the subject of Cholera, giving, to some extent, the peculiar characteristics of the disease, especially as it appeared in the year 1849, as well as a reference to its character and ravages in 1849 and 1850 in Cincinnati, with some account of its progress. I also present such practical hints as I am able to offer in regard to the prevention of the disease, and its general management and cure.

The disease named is one which physicians, in all countries, have been forced to acknowledge, in view of its danger and peculiarities, as one of the very first importance; a malady requiring the most prompt measures, not only in the way of guarding against its advent, but also in its treatment.

In the United States, as well as in the more western parts of the eastern hemisphere, Cholera has made its appearance in three successive periods, namely, those of the years 1822-33, 1849-50, and 1866, a fact which appears to show a period of return hereafter corresponding to seventeen years.

The course and ravages of Cholera in 1822-33 were very alarming, the attacks being generally fatal. In 1849 I became

Cincinnati Historical Society.

112. A. E. Gwynne to Cettie M. Gwynne, July 8, 1849.
113. Volksblatt, 21ten Juni 1849.
114. A. E. Gwynne to Cettie M. Gwynne, July 12, 1849.
115. Joseph R. Buchanan to John Rowan, July 20, 1849. Rowan Collection, Western Kentucky University. Anne Lytle Rowan, in Cincinnati to visit her daughter and physician son-in-law, Joseph R. Buchanan, was the sister of William Lytle and wife of John Rowan, the builder of "My Old Kentucky Home" at Bardstown, Kentucky.
118. Eversole, p. 19.
119. Cincinnati Gazette, July 31, 1849.
120. Cincinnati Gazette, August 15, 1849.
122. Cincinnati Gazette, August 13, 1849.
123. Margaret Lytle to Elias H. Haines, August 27, 1849, Lytle Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society.
124. Cincinnati Gazette, September 1, 1849. Lea was at least partially right about Pittsburgh. John Duffy in "The Impact of Asiatic Cholera on Pittsburgh," p. 210, proposed that Pittsburgh escaped a severe outbreak of cholera in 1849 because: it did not rely on "shallow wells for drinking water," and the sparse population on the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers above Pittsburgh meant that the large volume of water was able to dilute any contaminants and keep the rivers fairly safe for drinking. In addition, Pittsburgh was not one of the larger cities which had extensive slums providing ideal conditions for cholera to flourish. Lea later published Cholera with Reference to the Geological Theory. Juettner notes that medical schools received Lea's work favorably although Lea was a layman. (Juettner, Daniel Drake and His Followers, p. 115.
126. Juettner, Daniel Drake and His Followers, p. 115.
130. Margaret Lytle to Elias H. Haines, July 8, 1849.
132. Ibid.
134. Marcus, "In Sickness and in Health," p. 165-167.
138. Ibid.