Original scientific article
Izvorni znanstveni članak

Acta Med Hist Adriat 2026; 24(1);27-47
https://doi.org/10.31952/amha.24.1.2

CC BY

CHOLERA EPIDEMICS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POZNAŃ (1831–1873)

EPIDEMIJE KOLERE U POZNAŃU U DEVETNAESTOM STOLJEĆU (1831.–1873.)

Anita Magowska*

SUMMARY

The article presents the history of cholera epidemics in Poznań to explain how, and with what results, the Prussian authorities used medical knowledge and practices to control the non-German population of the annexed territories of Poland in 1831–1866. The study proves the problematic nature of attributing susceptibility to cholera to Poles as a backward and inferior race, which the Prussian authorities did to justify their racist policy towards Poles. The Berlin government's instrumental treatment of the Jewish population in the conquered Polish lands is also explored. The study emphasizes the relationship between ethnicity, social status, religious denomination, internal politics, and access to medical care. Profiles of Polish, Jewish, and German doctors practising in Poznań during this period are presented because the nineteenth-century epidemics strengthened their authority as new stakeholders in the public life of the Prussian province. The study is based on reports, doctoral dissertations (rare because they were printed in small numbers), nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries, and bibliographies. Secondary literature, especially from the interwar period, was also useful.

***Keywords**: cholera epidemic, history of Poland, Prussia, multiethnicity, racism*

* Poznań University of Medical Sciences, Poznań, Poland. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6046-3993.
Correspondence Address: Anita Magowska, Poznań University of Medical Sciences, Collegium Maius, Fredry 10, 61-701 Poznań, Poland. E-mail: vesalius@ump.edu.pl.

Introduction[1]

Nineteenth-century Poznań, a tri-ethnic city in Prussian Poland, was hit by five dramatic cholera epidemics. The first one spread in 1831, when German doctors thought that cholera was caused by poor diet and moral decline, both of which they associated with poverty. The view very much suited the Prussian authorities in Poznań, where these and the subsequent cholera epidemics were concentrated in quarters inhabited by the poor, mostly Poles (Liczbińska, 2021, pp. 48–49; Lubierska, 2021, p. 127), whom they considered an inferior race. With the flow of time, the relationship between wrong medical views on cholera and power grew stronger. In 1866, the Prussian municipality even limited the fight against cholera to the enclaves of wealthy people and left the poor, as an immoral and undesirable social element, without any medical assistance (Magowska, 2024, p. 65). However, the impact of the ethnic diversity of the city's population on the course of the cholera epidemics was more complex.

The Prussian troops entered Poznań in 1792, finding a city with about 18,000 inhabitants. One fifth of them were Jews, and the remaining population was composed of native Poles and German settlers in almost equal parts, with a slight predominance of the former (Alvis, 2005, p. 56). It quickly became clear that under Prussian rule, ethnicity and religious denomination determined wealth. Most of the ethnic Germans were Protestants, but they also made up 12% of the Catholic population. Germans held jobs in the fields of Prussian administration, the judiciary, and the police, enjoying prosperity. Some Jews obtained the rights of Prussian citizens in 1833, and the rest in 1850. In the following years, they demonstrated an innate predisposition for business and trade and quickly became wealthy. Polish Catholics were in the most difficult position because the Prussian authorities imposed heavy taxes on them and deprived them of the opportunity to obtain an education in their native language (Alvis, 2005, p. 61). The poorer Poles preferred to dwell in the former Catholic church towns located on the right bank of the River Warta. Jews lived in the northern part of the city, where their diaspora had been for centuries. The Germans, on the other hand, occupied dwellings on the left bank of the river. On the map of Poznań, poverty zones coincided with cholera outbreaks (Magowska, 2024, p. 64).

The history of cholera epidemics in the Prussian partition of Poland has already been explored by Richard S. Ross III, who analyzed the first one in the context of the Polish Uprising of 1830 (Ross, 2015). Lenny A. Ureña Valerio applied

[1] This research was funded in whole by National Science Centre, Poland (UMO-2021/41/B/HS3/00594).

the transnational paradigm to demonstrate that Prussia realized its colonial and racist policy against the Poles (Ureña Valerio, 2019, pp. 29–30). Grażyna Liczbińska drew attention to the impact of spatial and socioeconomic inequalities on the death toll from cholera (Liczbińska, 2021). The article presents the cholera epidemics in Poznań to explain how and with what result the Prussian authorities used medical views and practices to control the tri-ethnic population of Poznań. The article focuses on the link between the medical views on cholera and the Prussian policy toward the non-German population in Poznań in 1831–1866. The study is based on reports, dissertations (printed in small numbers and therefore very rare today), nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries, and bibliographies. Secondary literature, especially from the interwar period, was also useful.

Granting medical licenses to Jews as a practice of power

Soon after the occupation of the western territories of Poland, the Prussians had to face the threat of epidemics that occurred there. The integration of the Polish annexed lands into Prussia required the urgent implementation of Prussian sanitary law, despite the limited number of medical personnel. To protect the Germans against epidemics spreading from Russia, the Berlin government granted medical licenses to Jewish practitioners educated in the kahal's guild of surgeons in Poznań. In 1793–1799, three local Jewish båarbers and wound doctors (a traditional Jewish profession) were licensed to practice as physicians (Riharz, 2022, p. 192). They remained anonymous, but one of them may have been Hirz, because he was listed in official registers first as a barber, then as a doctor (Koren, 1973, p. 112). The second was probably Adolph Lewek, a physician and wound doctor in the population census of the city's inhabitants in 1832 (Witkowski, 2009, pp. 37–38). The granting of medical licenses to Hirz and Lewek would have been an unprecedented event in the interior of Prussia but did not raise any objections in Poznań at the time. In Prussia, Jews were allowed to study medicine at universities as early as 1721 (Efron, 2001, p. 60), but Jewish doctors were prevented from practicing among Christians (Riharz, 2022, pp. 191–193). They were not allowed to enter the Prussian civil and military service because they could not take the same oath as Christians (Efron, 2001, p. 60). Therefore, Dr. Levi Sobernheim, a Jew, who held the post of city physician in Poznań from 1795 to 1798, was an exception to the legal rules (Koren, 1973, p. 62). In 1806, the position was entrusted to Dr. Lewin Fliess (vel Flies), a practicing Jew as well (Witkowski, 2009, p. 31).

For centuries, residents of the tri-ethnic city of Poznań were used to seeking medical help from Jewish barbers, wound doctors, and surgeons, which is why they trusted Jewish doctors with university degrees. One of them was Karol Lud-

wik Wolff (ca. 1770–ca. 1850), the first assessor at the Medical Council (Collegium Medicum), established in 1794 in Poznań (Jacobson, 1916, p. 36). His father, Abraham Emanuel Wolff, after his baptism in the Protestant church, adopted Polish identity and, over time, became the chief physician of the Polish army. His son, Karol Ludwik, considered himself to be a Pole too. After graduating from the University of Göttingen, he moved to Poznań to take two posts: assessor at the Medical Council and teacher at the newly opened midwifery school (Motty, 1999a, p. 118).

Another representative of the second generation of Jews-converts was the Christian Gottlieb von Gumpert (1772–1832) (Koren, 1973, p. 56). His great-grandfather was a rope master in the Saxon town of Glachau. His grandfather, who practiced the same craft, moved to Miedzyrzecz, which was then in Poland, where he started a family. His two sons also became masters of rope making, while the third, Christian Gottlieb (1743–1825), completed his medical studies and became a city physician in Międzyrzecz. The fragments of treatises by the ancient physician Asclepiades of Bithynia, which he translated from Greek into Latin and published in Weimar in 1794, are interesting because the author dedicated his work to two Poles: Andrzej Onufry Wierzbinski, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Bledzewo, and Boguslaw Maksymilian Bojanowski, a nobleman from the Leszno area (Gumpert senior, 1794). His son and namesake, the already mentioned Christian Gottlieb Gumpert Junior, graduated in medicine from the University of Jena. Knowing that his father's book will be published, he wrote his doctoral thesis on Asclepiades and his merits for medicine. In this way, two books on Asclepiades of Bithynia were published in 1794, both with the name Christian Gottlieb Gumpert on the cover. One was written by the father, the other by the son. After graduating, Christian Gottlieb Jr. joined the Prussian civil service and took the post of assessor at the medical boards in the towns of Piotrkow Trybunalski and Kalisz. During the war of 1813–1814, he performed his duties so earnestly that he attracted the attention of the Prussian King, who awarded him a hereditary nobility title. The honor was given to him when he was already the husband of a Prussian noblewoman, Henrietta von Eckartsberg und Weisstrupp. In 1816, he arrived in Poznań to work as an assessor at the Medical Council and medical counsellor to Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, governor of the Grand Duchy of Posen and husband of Princess Luise née Hohenzollern, the Prussian King's niece (Callisen, 1840, p. 322).

More Jewish doctors adopted a German identity to gain social advancement. One of them was Johann Eduard Cohen van Baren, born in 1796 in London to a family of rich Dutch Jews. His parents baptized all of their children in the Protes-

tant church, thereby opening career paths for them. After completing his medical studies, Cohen married the German aristocrat Ottilie von Beneckendorf und Hindenburg, thus rising into the hierarchy of German society. The couple settled in Poznań, where Cohen took the post of assessor at the Medical Council. After his wife's premature death, he married her sister Bernhardine. Their brother chose to serve in the Poznań regiment to be closer to the Cohens. When his son Paul von Hindenburg, the future president of the Reich, was born, Dr. Cohen held the baby during the baptism ceremony (Wilhelmy, 1989, p. 623).

After 1833, Eduard Flottwell (1786–1865), the supreme president of the Grand Duchy of Posen, instructed that Jewish access to university studies would be conditional on prior acculturation. Wealthy and educated Jews, who also rejected traditional clothing, spoke German fluently, and who were possibly baptized in the Protestant Church, could integrate with German society (Makowski, 1996, p. 49). Naturalized Jews eagerly took advantage of the career paths previously available to Germans. In 1816, only six doctors of the Mosaic faith practiced in Poznań (among them was Jacob Julius Remak, a relative of Robert Remak, an outstanding researcher of the nervous system). In 1835, their number increased to fourteen (Riharz, 2022, p. 192). By 1849, when the Constitution of Prussia came into force, providing Jews from the Duchy with full civil rights, 1,005 Poznań Jews were naturalized, equating to 14% of their local population. In official population censuses, naturalized Jews were included in the German population (Kiec, 2001, pp. 347–355; Trzeciakowscy, 1987, p. 64).

Doctors of Jewish origin arranged their careers differently. Ludwig Marcus Jaffe (1791–after 1862), who came from a diaspora in Swarzędz near Poznań, was faithful to Judaism throughout his life. He received his initial education at home and attended a junior high school in the town of Leszno. While studying medicine at the University of Berlin, he also participated in lectures on logic, Greek grammar, and the works of Cicero, Aristophanes, Tacitus, and Plato. In 1823, he obtained a doctorate on the platypus, an Australian mammal with some reptile characteristics. The zoology topic was unusual and rare for a medical dissertation (Jaffe, 1823, p. 16). After his studies, Jaffe worked in his hometown, and only in 1842 did he move to Poznań (Schwarz, 2017, p. 10). Ludwig Neustadt (1802–?) was born in Poznań and was initially educated at home. After attending a gymnasium in Berlin, he completed his medical studies at the University of Berlin (Neustadt, 1826, p. 23). Nathan Lippmann (1809–?), the son of Peter and Minna née Goldschmidt, was born in Poznań. First, he was educated at home, and then at a newly opened German gymnasium in Poznań. During his medical studies at the University of Berlin, he revealed versatile interests, apart from strictly medi-

cal subjects, including physics, meteorology, chemistry (he passed the course of two outstanding chemists, Mitscherlich and Schubarth, as complementary), logic, physiology (a newly emerging field of science), medieval history, geography and the works of Goethe (Pauly, 1874, pp. 928–929). Sigmund Hantke (1810–?), the son of Joseph and Rasalia née Manasse, was also from Poznań. He received his primary and secondary education in a similar way. As a graduate of the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin, he returned to his hometown to practice there (Hantke, 1835, pp. 43–45).

Another Poznań Jew, Oskar Kupke (1829–?), the son of Adolf and Hulda née Herbst, studied medicine at the universities in Berlin, Vienna, and Würzburg, attending an exceptionally large number of classes (Kupke, 1853, p. 40). With the flow of time, he became a staff doctor at the Poznań garrison (Anonymous, 1879, p. 95). There were more naturalized Jews practicing as doctors in Poznań: Julius and Wilhelm Samter (Luft, 2015, p. 361), Wolf Cohn (Luft, 2015, p. 356), Eduard L. Fliess (Koren, 1973, p. 49), Jacob Mosino, Goldmann, Hirschberg, Magnus G. Lőwenstein, E. Munk, Jacob Selig Remak, and Julius Siegrid Remak (Koren, 1973, p. 112; Witkowski, 2009, pp. 37–38). So, their group was getting bigger and bigger. They preferred integration into German society, whose language and culture they learned at school (Makowski, 1996, p. 58).

German doctors as representatives of the rulers

For Prussian doctors, accepting a post in Poznań resembled exile, which is why there were fewer German than Jewish doctors in the city. The first German doctor in Poznań was the medical counsellor Daniel Friedrich Freter (ca. 1774–1837). After an apprenticeship at the pharmacy in Spandau, he completed his three-year medical studies at Pépinière, the Academy of Military Medicine in Berlin (later renamed the Friedrich Wilhelm Military Medical-Surgical Academy) (Anonymous, 2023b). He must have been ambitious and gifted because in 1798, he earned a Doctor of Medicine and Surgery degree from the University of Halle. His dissertation on the surgical techniques for cleft lip was cited in surgical textbooks and published in different European countries and the United States (Anonymous, 1873, p. 663). In 1799, he took up two positions: city physician and principal of the midwifery school in Poznań. In 1823, the Sisters of Charity employed him in their newly opened hospital in Poznań. In the following year, he retired but continued to run a private practice, drawing inspiration from case studies published in German medical journals (Callisen, 1831, Vol. 6, p. 475).

Karl Suttinger (1784–after 1862) also had to earn his own money from an early age. He first learned the profession of a pharmacist, then studied medicine in his hometown of Leipzig (Suttinger, 1809). After graduating, he joined the Prussian civil service in Poznań in 1810. In 1831, during the first cholera epidemic in Poznań, he ran the largest cholera hospital. During the Spring of Nations in 1848, he turned out to be a hard-headed Prussian patriot who signed a memorandum issued by the German National Committee, established in Poznań in response to the uprising against Prussian rule. Its authors claimed that about 24,000 Germans and only 18,000 Poles lived in Poznań at the time. Using contemptuous language and a racist narrative, the Committee emphasized the division between the German population, portrayed as a wealthy and educated middle class, and the local Polish population, depicted as uneducated and poor. Therefore, it argued that it would be better for the Polish nation 'to be under German protection for as long as they needed it' (Deutsche National-Comité, 1848).

We know that Dr. Francke was a pioneer of smallpox inoculations in 1804 (Łukasiewicz, 2015, p. 298) and August F. W. Protz (1784–after 1862) settled in Poznań early (Anonymous, 1844, p. 54). Only after 1812, when the first batch of graduates left the walls of the University of Berlin, did German doctors begin to arrive in Poznań in greater numbers. Most of them were the sons of coopers, nail makers, bakers, carpenters, and other local craftsmen (Molik, 1989, p. 35). One of them was Friedrich Heinrich Karl Schneider (1797–1828), who gained his doctoral diploma in 1821 in Berlin. Four years later, he successfully applied for the position of chief physician at the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Poznań (Schneider, 1821, p. 17). Born in Poznań, Eduard Ludwik Rehfeld (1812–after 1888) was the son of Jan Andreas Rehfeld and Eleonora, née Jankowski (a Polish surname). His parents were Evangelicals from a Polonized German family. After graduating from the Catholic middle school in his hometown, he became a student at the Friedrich Wilhelm Military Medical-Surgical Academy in Berlin. He obtained his doctorate at the University of Berlin and returned to Poznań to run a practice (Rehfeld, 1837, pp. 31–32). There was another doctor Rehfeld in Poznań, assessor of the Medical Council and principal of the midwifery school (Anonymous, 1844, p. 87). Eduard August Herzog (1800–c. 1853), a German Catholic from Głogow (then Glogau), studied medicine in Wrocław (then Breslau) and Berlin (Herzog, 1823, pp. 28–29). As can be seen, the stereotype of a German Protestant and a Polish Catholic did not exist in tri-ethnic Poznań.

In 1815, the King of Prussia recognised the Grand Duchy of Posen (established by the provisions of the Congress of Vienna) as a province of Prussia. Soon, the decision was made to transform Poznań into a fortress, and German military doc-

tors came to Poznań. Ludwig F. W. Ordelin (1791–after 1848), a graduate of the University of Göttingen, was the first to arrive. Men like him, veterans of the Franco-Prussian War, formed the core of the Poznań garrison. After the declaration of war in 1813, he joined the Lützowsches Freicorps and became the battalion's doctor. Serving from 1823 in the 5th Artillery Brigade in Poznań (Prűmers, 1915, pp. 101–105), Ordelin treated soldiers suffering from syphilis (Dierbach, 1843, p. 1079). Like other veterans of the war, he was a member of the Prussian nationalist organisation 'Verein der Posener Kriegsfreiwilligen'. Johann Peter Trusen (1797–1857) joined the Prussian army as spontaneously as Ordelin. During the war of 1813–1815, he was assigned to military hospitals, and only after its end could he complete his medical studies at the Friedrich Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. In the following years, he served in the Landwehr in Nysa (Neisse) and Prenzlau (Hirsch, 1888, p. 19), and after completing an additional year of studies at the University of Wrocław, he earned a doctoral diploma (Trusen, 1826). As a staff doctor at the Poznań garrison, he had enough time to write a surgical textbook and a book on Jewish diseases described in the Old Testament. Both books were published in Poznań (Hirsch, 1888, p. 19). Martin L. Hanke (1796–after 1848), a doctor of the 7th Hussar Regiment in Poznań from 1841, also belonged to 'Verein' (Prűmers, 1915, p. 98).

Medical counsellor of the regency and assessor of the local Medical Council, Carl Julius Leviseur (1795–1874) was a member of the organization as well. In 1813, he interrupted his medical studies at the University of Marburg to join the Prussian army and be assigned as a surgeon in the 3rd company of the famous Füsilier Battalions (Prűmers, 1915, pp. 98, 106–107). Only in 1817 did he finish his medical studies in Berlin (Verzeichnis, 1899). He entered the civil service in Nakło (then known as Nakel) and later worked at the Institute for Research on Plica in Poznań (at the time, plica was considered a disease, although its actual cause was neglect of hygiene) (Skrobacki, Völker, 1980, p. 163). In 1848, Leviseur published a German-language brochure on cholera prevention and treatment, which was soon translated into Polish (Leviseur, 1848). From 1831 to 1866, more German military doctors practiced in Poznań (Anonymous, 1845, p. 97; Anonymous, 1862, pp. 15–80).

In 1831, a few newcomers from Baden and Württemberg came to Poznań to investigate the nature of cholera. Hermann Hardegg (1806–1853) studied medicine at the universities of Tübingen and Würzburg (Anonymous, 2023a). In 1828, after approval and scientific trips to Paris and Vienna, he settled in Ludwigsburg, from where he arrived to Poznań. He treated patients under Cohen's supervision in the cholera lazaret on Szewska Street. Later, at the request of the Prussian Royal

Central Commission for Cholera, he wrote a brochure titled *Über die asiatische Cholera* (Hardegg, 1832) about his work in Poznań. Over time, he became the supreme medical counsellor, assessor, and physician of the family of the dukes of Württemberg (Nekrologe, 2024). Slightly older, Franz Joseph Hergt (1801–1851) was the son of a pharmacist from Zaisenhausen in Baden and a graduate of the universities of Würzburg and Heidelberg. He practiced in Langenbrücken near Heidelberg (Saur, 2011, p. 19). In Poznań, he worked with Karl Sommerschu in three cholera hospitals, among others, under the supervision of the Polish doctor Huison. Hergt and Sommerschu performed autopsies on 13 bodies of cholera victims, visited the infected in their homes, and carried out meteorological observations to determine, in accordance with the medical views of that time, what atmospheric factors caused cholera. After returning to Germany, they published a report on their work in Poznań (Hergt & Sommerschu, 1831, p. 86). The medical expedition facilitated their further careers. Hergt became a city physician in Ettenheim in Baden-Württemberg and the Editor-in-Chief of the annual entitled 'Annalen der Staatsarzneikunde' (Billings, 1885, p. 79). Over time, he took the same office in Überlingen and Karlsruhe (Saur, 2011, p. 19). In summary, German doctors in Poznań formed a heterogeneous environment. They were subject to the civil or military authorities of Prussia, or in some cases those of another German state. While German doctors born in Poznań were somewhat Polonized, newcomers from Prussia tended to be hostile toward Poles and obeyed the King of Prussia.

The Prussian ambiguous pattern of the fight against cholera in 1831

Prussia officially remained neutral toward the anti-Russian uprising that broke out in the Kingdom of Poland in November 1830. But in the spring of 1831, under the pretext of cholera prevention, Prussia cut off the insurgents from supplies of horses, weapons, and ammunition, creating a cordon sanitaire with quarantine stations around Poznań. Only a small part of Polish volunteers managed to reach the insurgent units. Moreover, Prussia accelerated the fall of the uprising by making it easier for the Russian army to cross the River Vistula near Toruń (Kocój, 2001, pp. 27, 143).

When a wave of cholera cases approached Poznań, Flottwell appointed a municipal sanitary commission, composed of the chief mayor, the director of police, the deputy city commander, the city physician Freter, and the garrison staff Dr. Trusen (Stasch, 1933, p. 7). The commission divided the city into 12 districts with supervisors who were: Freter, Trusen, Cohen van Baren, Herzog, Rehfeld, Suttinger, and Wolff, who were Germans by birth or choice; Huison and Jagielski, who

were Polish; and Fliess, Mosino (Stasch, 1933, p. 35–36), and J. J. Remak, who were Jewish (Anonymous, 1874, p. 694). These were almost all of the doctors practicing in Poznań. The district doctors met every day at Gumpert's office to discuss the epidemic status (Stasch, 1933, pp. 17–18).

On Flottwell's orders, Gumpert prepared a brochure on cholera prevention in which he pointed out that cholera is caused by immoral behavior, stating that 'whoever is attacked by cholera is to blame' (Gumpert Jr., 1831, p. 15). He moralized that the best means of preventing the disease was to live a modest life, avoid debauchery, colds, and fear, and also not eat fruit, lettuce, cucumbers, or sour milk. He recommended remedies preferred by Louise Radziwiłł née Hohenzollern. Nevertheless, she was not a doctor. These included tar and aromatic plasters as well as herbal preparations, which were harmful or worthless substances. If the disease did occur, Dr. Gumpert proposed other medications of Princess Louise: hot baths, herbal teas, grated horseradish compresses, powders with camphor, and bismuth salts (Gumpert Jr., 1831, pp. 20–21). Gumpert's brochure was distributed among the poorest residents of Poznań, but they were not provided with free medicines. In contrast, in the Jewish community, Gumpert's brochure was translated into Yiddish and distributed along with free herbal tea and the above-mentioned powders. Ritual purity and having one's own well in the upper part of the city brought good results. Giving up on obeying Prussian sanitary law, Jews contented themselves with maintaining their religious principles, which turned out to be effective protection against cholera. Only 37 Jews died of cholera in Poznań (Stasch, 1933, pp. 18–19).

In 1831, five cholera hospitals were organized. The Prussian Army adapted the buildings of the dissolved Carmelite and Bernardine convents into cholera hospitals, which locals referred to as "slaughterhouses". The results of treatment were really poor because doctors used the so-called English method, which involved bloodletting and the administration of the laxative calomel with the intoxicating and antispasmodic opium. This treatment increased electrolyte deficiency and hastened death. Some doctors invented their own methods of treating cholera. For example, Fliess recommended that patients hold a slice of lemon in their mouths, take aluminum salts with camphor, sugar and lemon balm infusion, and rub themselves with a highly irritating cantharidin tincture mixed with an aqueous solution of ammonia and camphor. For comparison, Jagielski gave the infected sorrel seeds in brandy and applied warm compresses made of camphor spirit mixed with turpentine, capsaicin tincture, and ammonia solution. His patients also drank kerosene and took steam baths (Hergt, 1831, pp. 56–61).

Treatment results were poor. In the only lazaret on the right bank of the River Warta, Rehfeld treated 98 patients, 65 of whom died (death rate 66.3%). In the main municipal cholera hospital, Hardegg, Jagielski, Suttinger, and Remak treated 158 patients, of whom 101 died (63.9%). Over time, a place was set aside in the building for servicemen infected with cholera. Of the 61 soldiers admitted, 29 died. In the cholera hospital in the St Marcin suburbs, 14 (77.8%) of the 18 patients died (it is not known who treated them). In the lazaret in the St Wojciech suburbs, Trusen treated 24 patients, of whom 19 (79.2%) died (Stasch, 1933, pp. 13–14). Moreover, in the cholera hospital in the Mycielski Garden, Huison treated 107 patients, of whom 68 died (the mortality rate was 63.6%). Better results were obtained in the lazaret for fortress workers, where Juncker and Cohen treated 58 patients, of whom 22 died (37.9%). Cholera even reached the prison, infecting 25 people, of whom 12 (48.0%) died (Stasch, 1933, pp. 43–44). No wonder locals hid infected relatives for fear of hospitalization. Therefore, Trusen had the worst treatment results, and Cohen and Juncker achieved the best (Gerstenberger, Stasch, 1936, p. 10). During subsequent cholera epidemics, doctors did not want to give up anti-choleric treatment, but they chose weaker drugs (Reynolds, 1868, p. 165). The Prussian original pattern of fighting cholera also consisted of: cordon sanitaire, quarantine stations, and epidemic cemeteries.

Covering a limited population with sanitary measures

Cholera attacked the city again in 1837. In accordance with the new Prussian sanitary regulations introduced two years earlier, Flottwell established a new sanitary commission, with the police director as chairman. Poznań was divided into 12 districts, each supervised by a doctor and a commissioner selected from among the city's residents – an innovation at the time. German doctors still believed that cholera was caused by miasmas 'due to the abuse of women, alcoholic beverages, colds, and the use of certain foods (especially unripe fruit)'. Their preventive recommendations were not much different from the earlier ones and were intended for wealthy people rather than the proletariat: exercising, moderate intellectual work, peace, red wine, and avoiding plant-based foods, except rice (Gerstenberger & Stasch, 1936, pp. 11, 15–16).

In 1837, only three cholera hospitals were organized. The largest of them was entrusted to Ludwik Gąsiorowski (1807–1863), who followed the treatment ideas of doctors in Rostock and introduced compresses and dousing with cold water and an ammonia solution to treat patients with cholera. Another Polish doctor, Karol Marcinkowski (1800–1846), introduced some innovations into anti-choleric therapy. He recommended drinking seltzer water, which is rich in sodium chloride

and other mineral compounds, and applying a white-hot iron to the spinal area in cases with poor prognosis (Gerstenberger & Stasch, 1936, p. 24). His mixture of opium-saffron, valerian and bitter tinctures, and peppermint oil was apparently effective and was still administered in 1852 (Kupke, 1853, p. 25). The epidemic took a greater toll of death among Poles than among Germans and Jews, thereby increasing the German population's numerical advantage over the Polish population. Among those who died of cholera were 6.9% Catholics (almost all were Poles), 3.46% Protestants (with a few exceptions being Germans and naturalized Jews), and 236 out of 6,828 Jews, that is, 3.46% of their community (Gerstenberger & Stasch, 1936, p. 29). Moreover, 135 soldiers, mostly Poles, died (Samter, 1866, p. 289). The reason for the greater susceptibility of the Polish population to severe cholera was attributed to their poverty, malnutrition, and poor housing conditions (Trzeciakowscy, 1987, p. 228).

In 1848, an anti-Polish policy was intensified. The three-month-long epidemic swept through the entire city, but the supreme president of the Province of Posen, Karl Moritz von Beurmann (1802–1870), ignored its severity (Cohen et al., 1849, pp. 10–11). The number of cholera hospitals was reduced to two for civilians and one for the garrison. The burden of responsibility for the city cholera hospital rested with Rehfeld, and for the garrison cholera hospital with Wernicke. Both doctors treated 597 infected people (each of them with an average of 388.5), including private patients (Cohen et al., 1849, p. 18). There are no reliable statistics summarizing the course of the epidemic in 1848. According to J. Samter, Poznań had a population of approximately 44,800 in 1848. About 2,400 people became infected, of whom 1,007 died, including 545 men and 462 women, that is, 2.25% of the city's population. The fatalities included 598 Catholics, 233 Evangelicals, 41 Jews, and 135 soldiers from the local garrison (Samter, 1886, pp. 289–292). According to a more reliable report published by 16 Poznań doctors, 1,339 people died of cholera, which was 3% of the population. In comparison with 1837, private patients were treated with some modifications, such as the oral administration of morphine acetate and ether, as well as drinking black coffee, and rubbing table salt into the body (Cohen et al., 1849, p. 12).

The last collective activity of the Poznań tri-ethnic doctors was a meteorological observation aimed at explaining the essence of choleric miasma. They carried out their observations under the supervision of Philipp Spiller (1800–1879), a renowned European naturalist and philosopher of cosmogony who taught at a Catholic junior high school in Poznań. Doctors measured precipitation, air pressure, and wind directions to identify combinations that caused cholera, but reached no conclusions (Cohen et al., 1849, pp. 31–36).

In 1852, a new cholera epidemic broke out in Poznań, which had 44,039 residents. Compared with 1848, there was a visible decline in the population (-2.1%), largely as a result of the previous epidemic (Urząd, 1926, p. 24). The supreme president was Franz August Eichmann (1793–1879), a royalist official who avoided confrontation with the Polish population and clearly did not respect the sanitary law. Overall, 2,751 people were infected with cholera, of whom 1,556 died (the mortality rate was 56.6%). For the first time, it became apparent that cholera was not a disease of the proletariat, bricklayers, diggers, and skippers, as the Germans believed, since aristocrats, judges, clerks, doctors, and pharmacists also fell victim to the disease (Samter, 1886, p. 296). A cholera department was established in the municipal hospital, where the infected were treated by a young and inexperienced graduate of medicine, Oskar Kupke. He admitted 615 patients, of whom 326 (53%) died, including 154 men and 172 women. He also made meteorological observations (Kupke, 1853, pp. 10–12, 24–26).

Prussia's desire for hegemony in the German Confederation reached its apogee in 1866. Austria then provoked a military conflict involving various German states, allowing the Prussian army to demonstrate its strength. The Austro-Prussian War, which was de facto a Prussian-German war, involved thousands of Polish soldiers who were forcibly conscripted into the Prussian army in May. Thousands of Poles were also forced to serve in the Austrian army. Approximately 140,000 Poles participated in the fratricidal battles fought in the name of Prussia's or Austria's imperial interests (Motty, 1866, p. 1). In July, a second conscription of Poles into the Prussian army was carried out, and a war tax was imposed on the Polish population in the Poznań Province (Żychliński, 1866b, p. 4). It was so unfair that Johann Metzig, a German military doctor, proposed to establish a Polish university in Poznań to compensate the Polish population for the loss of thousands of their compatriots who had died in Prussian service (Żychliński, 1866d, p. 2).

In 1866, from June to October, the passing of Prussian troops and conveyances of Austrian prisoners-of-war through Poznań kept the cholera epidemic going. With each new transportation of soldiers, new cholera patients arrived. Quartered in private houses in Poznań and nearby villages, Prussian soldiers had many opportunities to infect others with cholera. The garrison cholera hospital was overcrowded. For example, on 5 September, there were 54 patients in the garrison cholera hospital and 14 in the city cholera lazaret (Żychliński, 1866c, p. 4). The Berlin government was more interested in the route of the triumphal march of Prussian troops through Poznań than in the course of the cholera epidemic in the city (Żychliński, 1866s, p. 4). In mid-June, a new municipal sanitary commission, under the leadership of the Chief of Police Baarensprung, announced in the German-lan-

guage daily 'Posener Zeitung' that cholera spread through air miasmas, while susceptibility to the disease depended on dietary errors (i.e., eating cucumbers, lettuce, boiled eggs, fatty meat, and cheese), as well as carousing, promiscuity, and all kinds of intemperance. The commission recommended pouring iron sulphate solution into toilets, although this advice was misguided because it is not a disinfectant. It also advised residents to keep opium tincture at home and take it as soon as the first symptoms appeared. Prussian officials did not send any information about cholera cases to the only Polish-language daily newspaper, 'Dziennik Poznański'. Its editor-in-chief, Teodor Żychliński (1830–1909), had to translate information from 'Posener Zeitung' into Polish to publish (Żychliński, 1866a, p. 4).

The only city cholera hospital was managed by Teofil Matecki (1810–1886), who prepared a Polish-language leaflet on how to prevent cholera (Anonymous, 1866, p. 2). In early July, his post was taken by Teofil Kaczorowski (1830–1889), another Polish doctor, who administered castor oil orally and turpentine with quinine sulphate in the form of rectal enemas. Among his 490 hospitalized patients treated in this way, 90 men (44.1%) and 129 women (44.7%) died, which was an excellent result at the time. However, in the garrison cholera hospital, where the patients were better nourished soldiers, only one-third of the infected died (Kaczorowski, 1872, pp. 16–17, 31). In total, in 1866, 3% of the Catholic and Protestant populations (in other European cities, not more than 2%) and 0.33% of the Jewish population died (Samter, 1886, pp. 300–302). Focused on striving for hegemony, Prussia neglected measures to prevent the cholera epidemic in Poznań.

Breakdown of the prussianization of the annexed territories of Poland

From 1793 onward, Polish landowners became increasingly impoverished because the Berlin government imposed various tributes, taxes, and contributions. Polish craftsmen lost markets for their products and had to close their workshops. In the Prussian Partition of Poland, the wealthy middle class disappeared, and as a result, families were not able to pay for their sons' university studies. It was no coincidence that the first Polish doctor in Poznań was Tomasz Huison (1790–1875) from the Austrian Partition of Poland. In 1813, he was among the first graduates of the medical faculty at the University of Berlin (Motty, 1999b, p. 405). The second was Józef Antoni Jagielski (1792–1865), the son of a Poznań merchant. Like Freter and Suttinger, he had apprenticeships at pharmacies in Poznań, Berlin, and Wrocław, where he also attended lectures in botany, chemistry, and physics that were required for Prussian approval. After completing, he got a job at a local chemical factory, which allowed him to save money for his medical studies in

Wrocław (Jagielski, 1820, pp. 42–44). He married a German woman, and when he settled in Poznań, the Prussians regarded him as half-German, so he was appointed a teacher of Polish female students at the local midwifery school. Over time, he became the principal of this school and assessor of the Medical Council. Jagielski did not shirk from providing selfless medical services at the orphanage and later at the teachers' seminary (Krakowiecka, 1960).

Marcinkowski, the son of an indigent innkeeper, completed his medical studies thanks to the support of Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, whose children he tutored. With a doctoral degree from the University of Berlin, he returned to his hometown, where he treated everyone in need, regardless of their faith, social status, or financial circumstances. He diagnosed cases of cholera while also identifying the social and economic problems affecting the Polish population. In 1841, Marcinkowski founded the Scientific Aid Society, which collected donations to support Polish youth studying abroad (Makowski, 1996, p. 62). An increasing number of doctors who had received scholarships from the Society began arriving in Poznań in the mid-nineteenth century. They graduated from the same universities as German and Jewish doctors and had a similar scope of knowledge. For example, Wiktoryn Kramarkiewicz (1815–1898), the son of a Poznań merchant, acquired extensive medical knowledge at the University of Wrocław. He participated in classes presenting the progress of the medical sciences, including psychology, experimental and pharmaceutical chemistry, medical methodology, fetal development, and the pathology of mental illnesses. He continued his studies in Berlin, where, among other subjects, he attended lectures on the history of pathology and medicine (Witczak, 2011, p. 100).

Polish doctors gathered around Marcinkowski perceived their patients, usually compatriots, in a social context. They saw that the diseases were caused by poverty, and their duty was to improve the economic conditions of the poorest. It is worth emphasizing that in the mid-19th century, the average age of Poznań's residents was only 22.78 (Trzeciakowscy, 1987, p. 232). Marcinkowski changed the mentality of the Poles in the Grand Duchy. They were involved in patriotic activities and became open to social modernization, while local Germans focused solely on accumulating personal wealth. For example, during his medical studies in Wrocław, Bogusław Palicki (1813–1868) established the Slavic Literary Society, a student organization that familiarized its members with the history of Poland and its culture. Only after half a century of activity did the Germans realize that the organization was preparing its members for patriotic activity in the partitioned Poland, and they therefore shut it down (Domosławski, 2010, p. 10). After

Marcinkowski's death, his idea of medical care connected with social work and economic initiatives was continued by other doctors.

During the epidemic of 1866, the Prussian city authorities established only one cholera hospital, placing it on the left bank, even though the center of the epidemic was in the city's right-bank districts. The rulers neglected to care for the districts inhabited by the poor, but the Polish elites already had the ability to self-organize and help themselves. Ladies from Polish charity organizations cared for the infected in the right-bank quarters of Poznań and alleviated the effects of the epidemic, but the death toll remained high. From June 16 to October 22, 6% of the residents died in the right-bank quarters of the city, where the density of the Polish poor was the highest, and 2% in the left-bank, where mainly the Germans and Jews lived (Wegener, 1903). While in 1864 Poznań had 53,383 residents, three years later the population was 53,392, as demographic growth was halted by the cholera epidemic and the Prussian-German War (Urząd, 1926, p. 24). The number of Poles began to increase after 1867, when the city authorities abolished fees for city rights, leading to an influx of inhabitants from nearby villages (Wegener, 1903, p. 30).

Thanks to a map of cholera deaths by Baarensprung in 1866, it was possible to learn that deaths were concentrated in areas where well water had been contaminated by an underground watercourse. It became clear that the city's right-bank district was surrounded by wet, swampy areas connected to the Bogdanka stream, into which sewage from the gutters flowed (Samter, 1886, pp. 298–303). In 1867, a water supply network was launched in Poznań, providing the population with access to safe drinking water. In 1873, cholera cases still occurred, but were few (Trzeciakowscy, 1987, p. 232).

Conclusions

The article presents how medical views on cholera and the Prussian sanitary law, rather than ensuring public health, served Prussia's political interests. The timeless issue of the relationship between ethnicity, social status, religious denomination, and access to medical care was pointed out. After 1793, the need for sanitary surveillance of the annexed territories of Poland was so urgent that the Prussian authorities entrusted its implementation to individuals lacking the necessary medical qualifications. For Prussia, taking advantage of legal provisions or circumventing them was a technique of exercising power. Knowledge was also treated instrumentally. Under the pretext of fighting the cholera epidemic, a cor-

don sanitaire was created around Poznań, which contributed to the defeat of the anti-Russian uprising in the Kingdom of Poland.

The Prussian authorities established German-language schools to facilitate the integration of the Poznań population into German society. The assimilation strategy worked in the case of local Germans and Jews, while Poles rejected the cultural order of Prussia. The apogee of their resistance was the anti-Prussian uprising of 1848, after which social ties between local Poles, Jews, and Germans definitely eroded.

The cholera epidemics provided the Prussians with the important argument that their racist policy is a civilizing mission toward the Poles. Because a higher percentage of Poles than Germans became infected with cholera and died in Poznań, the Prussian authorities considered the Poles to be an inferior race.

The nineteenth-century plagues strengthened the authority of doctors as new stakeholders in the public life of the Prussian province. Polish doctors constructed their cultural identity outside the framework set by the Prussians. The turning point came with the cholera epidemic of 1866. Then, the Berlin government followed the movements of Prussian troops and sought new recruits, neglecting the health needs of the conquered population. The increasing death toll from cholera resulted in the resistance of the Polish intelligentsia, especially doctors who, due to their contact with many patients, were predisposed to the role of social leaders.

References

1. Alvis, R. E. (2005). *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism: A Profile of an East-Central European City*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
2. [Anonymous]. (1844). *Wohnungs-Anzeiger für die Provinzial-Haupt Stadt Posen: für das Jahr 1844*, Posen: Busse.
3. [Anonymous]. (1862). *Posener Wohnungs-Anzeiger auf das Jahr 1862*. Posen: W. Decker.
4. [Anonymous]. (1866). Poznan 16 lipca, *Nadwiślanin 17*(81), 2.
5. [Anonymous]. (1871). *Adressbuch für die Stadt Posen 1872. Erster Theil: Wohnungs-Anzeiger; Zweiter Theil: Geschaefts-Handbuch*. Posen: W. Decker.
6. [Anonymous]. (1873). *Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office United States Army,* Vol. 1: *A-L*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
7. [Anonymous]. (1874). *Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office United States Army*. Vol. 2: *M-Z*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
8. [Anonymous]. (1879). *Adress- und Geschäfts-Handbuch der Stadt Posen*. Posen: W. Decker.
9. [Anonymous]. (1899). *Verzeichnis der Berliner Universitätsschriften, 1810–1885, nebst einem Anhang enthaltend die ausserordentlichen und ehrenpromotionen*. Berlin: Druck. von Hopfer.

10. [Anonymous]. (2023a). *Ableben des Obermedizinalrats Dr. von Klein und Einrücken des Obermedizinalrats Dr. Schelling in die etatmässige vierte Ratstelle beim Medizinalkollegium*. <https://www.archivportal-d.de/item/WA35HFLUSVSA4GTWN3UNZCRPTK4F5N6H>, accessed: 10 March 2024.
11. [Anonymous]. (2023b). *Zur Geschichte des Campus Charité Mitte*. <https://www.charite.de/die_charite/campi/campus_charite_mitte/historie_des_campus_charite_mitte/>, accessed: 20 February 2024.
12. [Billings, J. S.]. (1885*). Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office United States Army*. (Vol. 6). Washington: Government Printing Office.
13. Callisen A. C. P. (1831). *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon der jetzt lebende Aertze, Wundärzte, Geburtshelfer, Apotheker, und Naturforscher aller gebildeten Voelker*. Band *Ei-F*. Copenhagen: Koenigl. Taubstummen Institute zu Schleswig.
14. Callisen, A. C. P. (1840). *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon der jetzt lebenden erfasser, Arzte, Wundärzte*. Band *F-Hir*. Copenhagen: Koenigl. Taubstummen Institute zu Schleswig.
15. Cohen van Baren, Flies, Freudenreich, Hantke, Herzog, Jaffe, Jagielski, Kramarkiewicz, Laube, Lehmann, Mayer, Neustadt, Ordelin, Rehfeld, Suttinger, Wernicke. (1849). *Bericht die Cholera in Posen im Jahre 1848*. Posen: E. S. Mittler.
16. Deutsche National-Comité zu Posen (1848). *Niemiecki komitet narodowy do polskiego komitetu narodowego.* [Proclamation]. Collections of the Library of the Society of Friends of Sciences in Poznań (Ref. 60386.IV), Poznań, Poland.
17. Dierbach, J. H. (1843). *Die Neusten Entdeckungen in der Materia Medica. Für praktische Arzte geordnet*, (Vol. 2). Heidelberg / Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Gross.
18. Domosławski, Z. (2010). Więzi medyczne Dolnego Śląska z Poznaniem i Wielkopolską w XIX stuleciu. *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, *72*(1), 19–21.
19. Efron, J. M. (2001). *Medicine and the German Jews: A History*. New Haven / New York: Yale University Press.
20. Freter, D. F. (1798). *De modis variis, quibus labium leporinum curatur*. Halle: Officina Batheana.
21. Gumpert, C., Jr. (1831). *O cholerze. Pismo troskliwej uwadze mieszkańców W. X. Poznańskiego poświęcone*. Poznań: W. Decker.
22. Gumpert, C. G., Sr. (1794). *Asclepiades Bithyni Fragmenta*. Vinariae.
23. Hantke, S. (1835). *Tussi convulsive*. Berlin: Typis Nietackienis.
24. Hardegg, H. (1832). *Über die asiatische Cholera: gedruckt auf Befehl der Königl. Würt. Central-Commission gegen die Cholera*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
25. Hergt, F. & J., Sommerschu, K. (1831). *Berichte über Cholera morbus*. Karlsruhe: Hofbuchhandlung von G. Braun.
26. Herzog, E. A. (1823). *De pathologia morbi quem vocant choream Sancti Viti*, Berolini: Formis Brueschckianis.
27. Hirsch A. (Ed.) (1888). *Biographisches Lexikon der Hervorragenden Aerzte aller Zeiten und Völker*. (Vol. 6), Wien / Leipzig: Urban – Schwarzenberg.
28. Jacobson, J. (1916). Dr. A. E. Wolff, erster südpreussischer Medizinalassessor in Posen. *Historische Monatsblätter für die Provinz Posen*, *17*(3), 31–38.
29. Jaffe, L. M. (1823). *De ornithorhyncho paradox*. Berolini: Typis Haynianis.

30. Jagielski, J. A. (1820). *De Fistulis urinariis adiecta huius morbi historia*, Berolini: Formis Brueschckianis.
31. Kaczorowski T. (1872). Bericht über die Cholera-Epidemie des Jahres 1866 in Posen. *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift 9*(2), 15–18.
32. Kiec, O. (2001). *Protestantyzm w Poznańskiem 1815–1918*. Warszawa: Semper.
33. Kieniewicz, S. (1983). *Historia Polski 1795-1918*. Warszawa: PWN.
34. Kocój, H. (2001). *Prusy i Niemcy wobec powstania listopadowego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
35. Koren, N. (1973). *Jewish Physicians, A Biographical Index*. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press.
36. Köstlin, O. (2024). Nekrologe von Prof. Dr. O. vorgetragen, pp. 61–64. <https://www.zobodat.at/biografien/Hardegg_Hermann_Friedrich_von_Jh-Ver-vaterl-Naturkunde-Wuerttemberg_11.pdf>, accessed: 21 February 2024.
37. Krakowiecka, L. (1960). Józef Antoni Jagielski, lekarz poznański (19 II 1792–21 XII 1865). *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, *23*(2), 181–196.
38. Kupke, O. (1853). *De cholera Posnaniensi anni 1852*. Berolini: Fratrum Schlesinger.
39. Leviseur, C. J. (1848). *Nauce i uspokojeniu współobywateli pod względem cholery*. Berlin / Poznań: E. Mittler.
40. Liczbińska, G. (2021). Spatial and Social Inequalities in the Face of Death: Pilot Research on Cholera Epidemics in Poznań of the Second Half of the 19th Century. *Historical Social Research, Supplement, 33*, 37–55. <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.suppl.33.2021.37-53>, accessed: 10 November 2025.
41. Lippmann, N. (1833). *Veterum opinions de insania*. Berolini: Typis Nietackianis.
42. Lubierska, J. (2021). „Azjatycka pani szalejąca w Poznaniu". Epidemie cholery w życiu XIX-wiecznego miasta w dokumentach kościelnych, relacjach pamiętnikarskich i prasie codziennej. In P. Matusik (Ed.) *Poznań morowy* (pp. 122–147). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie Posnania/Kronika Miasta Poznania.
43. Luft, E. D. (2015). *The Jews of Posen Province in the Nineteenth Century. A Selective Source Book, Research Guide, and Supplement to the Naturalized Jews of the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1834 and 1835*. Washington, DC. <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/472066/edition/381538/content>, accessed: 05 March 2024.
44. Łukasiewicz, D. (2015). Z dziejów polityki sanitarnej pod pruskim zaborem 1772–1807. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, *122*(2), 269–301.
45. Magowska, A. (2024). Epidemia cholery w 1866 r. w Poznaniu i jego okolicach. *Medycyna Nowożytna*, *30*(2), 43–70.
46. Makowski, K. A. (1996). Gdy na ulicach Poznania, obok polskiego, powszechnie rozbrzmiewał język niemiecki i żydowski. Niemcy i Żydzi w Poznaniu w latach 1815–1848. *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, *64*(3), 48–65.
47. Molik, W. (1989). *Polskie peregrynacje uniwersyteckie do Niemiec 1871–1914*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
48. Motty, M. (1983). *Listy Wojtusia z Zawad. De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis. Felietony z lat 1865-1867*. Warszawa, Instytut Wydawniczy PAX.
49. Motty, M. (1999a). *Przechadzki po mieście*, (Vol. 1). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie.
50. Motty, M. (1999b). *Przechadzki po mieście*, (Vol. 2). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie.

51. Neustadt, L. (1826). *Brevis Disquisitio nosologico-pathologica de Abcessu frygido scrofuloso*. Berolini: Typis Godofr. Card. Nauckii.
52. Pauly, A. (1874). *Bibliographie des Sciences Médicales. Bibliographie – Biographie – Histoire – Épidémies – Topographies – Endemies*. Paris: Libraire Tres.
53. Prűmers, R. (1915). Verein der Posener Kriegsfreiwilligen 1813–15. *Historische Monatsblätter fűr die Provinz Posen*, *16*(7), 97–110.
54. Rehfeld, E. L. (1837). *De gastro- et enteromalacia infantum, adiecta morbi historia*. Berolini: Typis Friedlaenderianis.
55. Reynolds, J. R. (1868). *A System of Medicine*. (Vol. 1): *General Diseases*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co.
56. Riharz, M. (2022). *German Jews and Universities 1678–1848*, (J. Bagchee, Trans.). Rochester: Camden House.
57. Ross III, R. S. (2015). *Contagion in Prussia, 1831: The Cholera Epidemic and the Threat of the Polish Uprising.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
58. Samter, J. (1886). Die Geschichte der Cholera-Epidemien in der Stadt Posen (1831–1873). *Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*, *1*(2), 283–312.
59. Saur, K. G. (2011). *Franz Joseph Hergt*. In R. Vierhaus (Ed.) Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie Online. De Gruyter. <https://www.degruyter.com/database/DBE/entry/dbe.4–3514/html>, accessed: 13 February 2024.
60. Schneider, F. H. C. (1821). *De fungo haematode*. Berolini: Formis Feisterianis.
61. Schwarz, D. R. (2017). *Between Jewish Posen and Scholarly Berlin. The Life and Letters of Philipp Jaffe*. Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter.
62. Skrobacki, A., & Völker, A. (1980). Lekarz olsztyński Joachim Kornalewski i jego rozprawa o kołtunie z 1897 roku. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie 24*(2), 155–167.
63. Stasch, R. (1933). *Epidemia cholery azjatyckiej w Poznaniu w 1831 roku*. Poznań: A. Wrzosek.
64. Suttinger, K. F. B. (1809). *De angina polyposa*, Lipsiae: Officina Wertheri.
65. Trusen, J. P. (1826). *De Struma*. Vratislavia: Typis Kupferianis.
66. Trzeciakowscy, M. L. (1987). *W dziewiętnastowiecznym Poznaniu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
67. Ureña Valerio, L. A. (2019). Colonial Fantasies, *Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
68. Urząd Statystyczny m. Poznania (1926). *Rocznik statystyczny stoł. Miasta Poznania za lata 1922–1924*. Poznań: Drukarnia Robotników Chrześcijańskich Tow. Akc.
69. Wegener, L. (1903). *Der wirtschaftliche Kampf der Deutschen mit den Polen um die Provinz Posen: eine Studie*. Posen: Verlag von Joseph Jolowicz.
70. Wilhelmy, P. (1989). *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)*. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter.
71. Witczak, W. (2011). Lekarz Działyńskich, dr Michał Nieszczotta (1815–1870). *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, *28*(1), 99–114.
72. Witkowski, R. (2009). Spis dorosłych Żydów mieszkających w Poznaniu sporządzony 26 marca 1832 r. *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, *18*(1), 25–41.
73. [Żychliński T.]. (1866a). Wiadomości miejscowe i potoczne. *Dziennik Poznański*, *8*(145), 4.

74. [Żychliński T.]. (1866b). Wiadomości miejscowe i potoczne. *Dziennik Poznański 8*(146), 4.
75. [Żychliński T.]. (1866c). Wiadomości miejscowe i potoczne. *Dziennik Poznański*, *8*(201), 4.
76. [Żychliński T.]. (1866d). Prusy. *Dziennik Poznański*, *8*(211), 2.

SAŽETAK

U članku se prikazuje povijest epidemija kolere u Poznańu da bi se objasnilo kako su i s kakvim rezultatima pruske vlasti koristile medicinsko znanje i praksu da bi kontrolirale nenjemačko stanovništvo na anektiranim područjima Poljske u razdoblju od 1831. do 1866. godine. Studija dokazuje problematičnu prirodu pripisivanja sklonosti koleri Poljacima kao nižoj i inferiornoj rasi, što su pruske vlasti činile kako bi opravdale svoju rasističku politiku prema njima. Istraženo je i kako je berlinska vlada tretirala židovsku populaciju u osvojenim poljskim zemljama. Studija naglašava povezanost između etničke pripadnosti, društvenog statusa, religijskog određenja, unutarnje politike i pristupa medicinskoj skrbi. Predstavljeni su profili poljskih, židovskih i njemačkih liječnika koji su prakticirali u Poznańu tijekom toga razdoblja jer su epidemije u 19. stoljeću ojačale njihov autoritet kao novih dionika u javnom životu u pruskoj provinciji. Studija se temelji na izvještajima, doktorskim disertacijama (koje su bile rijetke jer su otisnute u malom broju), biografskim rječnicima iz 19. stoljeća i bibliografijama. Sekundarna literatura, posebno iz međuratnog razdoblja, također je bila korisna.

***Ključne riječi**: epidemije kolere, povijest Poljske, Pruska, multietničnost, rasizam*