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## **HALYCHYNA AND THE FIRST CHOLERA EPIDEMIC**

The paper deals with the events and consequences of the first cholera epidemic in Halychyna in the first half of the 19th century, when the area was still part of the Habsburg Empire. The aim is to present and properly evaluate the events of the first cholera epidemic in Halychyna, which played an important role in the history of Ukraine and the whole of Europe, but which has so far received little attention.

The paper examines the events of the first cholera epidemic, the measures taken against it, the structure of the defense, and the social consequences of the epidemic. The research was based on a number of unpublished archival sources and literature on the topic. The Kingdom of Hungary, which also belonged to the Habsburg Empire, was the first country to join the fight against the epidemic as an area adjacent to Halychyna, so the archival data of Transcarpathia and Hungary contain an abundance of the relevant source material. The history of the epidemic was studied in the earliest times by such renowned researchers, as August Hirsch, Heinrich Haeser, Nottidge Charles Macnamara, and Georg Sticker. But there are also excellent contemporary works on the subject, such as the research by Richard S. Ross III or Irene Poczka, which provide important resources for this research.

The cholera epidemic first reached this part of Europe in the late 1830s. With the spread of the disease, almost everyone blamed the Russian troops that came to quell the Polish uprising. The Viennese court acted as a supporter of the Russian Tsar in the system of the Holy Alliance, which caused a significant wave of protest among the Hungarian nobility, who sympathized with the Poles. Although the Habsburg Empire's defense against the epidemic was considered the strictest in all of Europe, the disease still made its way into the territory of the empire from Russia and took its first victims in Halychyna. After the plague, it was the largest epidemic in all of Europe. Its tragic consequences are well illustrated by the fact that nearly a quarter of a million people became ill in Halychyna and almost half of them (almost a hundred thousand) died of the disease.

**Keywords:** Halychyna, cholera epidemic, Polish uprising, epidemiological measures, border closures, quarantine stations.

The homeland of cholera disease is India. At the mouth of the Ganges, in Bengal, it has been taking its victims since ancient times. From 1807, it devastated all of Bengal

in a short time and wreaked havoc like never before<sup>1</sup>. Before the 19th century, cholera was rare outside India.

Cholera is an infection of the gastrointestinal tract caused by a bacterium called «vibrio cholerae», which can get into the body mainly through infected drinking water. It was discovered by Robert Koch in 1884. Although there have been descriptions of the course of the disease, we had no knowledge of how to cure it. The name probably comes from Hippocrates, who linked the symptoms of sudden, severe vomiting and diarrhea to the disease and recorded a cholera case in Athens as early as the fifth century BC<sup>2</sup>.

As part of the Habsburg Empire, in 1831, the borders of Halychyna were devastated by the cholera epidemic, a disease native to India, for the first time in history. Halychyna, as a geopolitical entity, was established in 1772 under the name of the Kingdom of Halychyna and Lodomeria, with the formation of the easternmost crown region of the Habsburg Monarchy (later the Habsburg Empire). The capital of the province was Lemberg (today Lviv). It existed until 1918, until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Halychyna's borders have changed over the years. In 1795, during the third division of Poland, Western Halychyna (also known as New Halychyna) was created, which included the districts of Krakow, Lublin, Chełm, and, in 1803 it was united with Halychyna. Halychyna, including the district of Zamość, was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1809. Later, Western Halychyna only mentioned the area west of Jarosław through the area around Krakow. The regions of Tarnopol (Ternopil) belonged to the original formation of Halychyna, but in 1809 they were ceded to the Russian Empire. At the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), Austria regained these regions. In 1815, Krakow was granted the status of a free city (the free city of Krakow), and it remained so until the Polish uprising of 1846 when it was annexed to Halychyna as the Grand Duchy of Krakow. Bukovyna was officially annexed to the Austrian Empire in 1775 as part of Halychyna. In 1849, Bukovyna became a separate Austrian crown province, with Czernowitz (Chernivtsi) as its capital.

**Cholera as a pandemic.** The first cholera pandemic occurred in 1817–1823<sup>3</sup>. During this, the infection reached the borders of Europe in Russia<sup>4</sup>. It was also widespread in Astrakhan, on the eastern border, where a total of 392 patients and 205 deaths were registered<sup>5</sup>. Probably it was not the measures of the Russian authorities that stopped the spread of the epidemic, but the extremely cold winter of 1823–1824<sup>6</sup>. Austrian and

<sup>1</sup> Különlenyomat a Természettudományi Közlöny 1931. számából. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1931. P. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sticker G. Abhandlungen aus der Seuchengeschichte und Seuchenlehre. 1912. Band II: Die Cholera. P. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Macnamara N. Ch. A history of Asiatic cholera. London, 1876. P. 46; Hirsch A. Handbook of geographical and historical pathology. London, 1883. P. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Haeser H. Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der epidemischen Krankheiten. Jena, 1882. Bd. 3: Geschichte der epidemischen Krankheiten. P. 896.

<sup>5</sup> Высокочков Л. В., Шелаева А. А. Холерная пандемия 1830–1831 гг. в Российской империи по воспоминаниям и письмам, газетным заметкам, текстам административных указов и другим личным и официальным источникам. *Studia Historica Gedanensisa*. 2021. Т. XII. P. 262.

<sup>6</sup> Pollitzer R. Cholera studies. History of Disease. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*. 1954. Vol. 10 (3). P. 429–430.

Hungarian doctors could know about the end of the pandemic, as they did not separate the new wave of epidemics in Orenburg in 1829 from the first one<sup>7</sup>.

There were many differing views on the outbreak of the second pandemic. Many thought it was a resurgence of the epidemic that had previously appeared in Astrakhan. It appeared in the territory of Orenburg as early as 1829, while in the former it did not appear until 1830. In China, there was again a strong wave of infection from India in 1826, which also reached Beijing and swept across the Great Wall to Mongolia and then reached Moscow. Macnamara traced it back to the starting point of Bengal, where in 1826 there were still strong signs of the disease<sup>8</sup>, the whole Ganges valley was covered by the epidemic. It invaded the Punjab region in 1827 and raged in Afghanistan in 1829, then spread to Persia. Along the caravan routes, it was able to reach the region of Orenburg, where the epidemic broke out at the end of August 1829, from where it began to spread to Europe<sup>9</sup>. Then it covered the valleys of the Volga and its tributaries, as well as the tributaries of the Caspian Sea. It extended north to the Urals, south and west to the territory of the Cossacks, and Novgorod. From there it moved west, spreading to the Don and Dnipro regions, erupting in Kyiv and the Russian provinces of Podillia and Volyn. At that time it was very close to the hereditary provinces of Austria, Halychyna and Bukovyna, the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania<sup>10</sup>.

At the beginning of 1830, the spread of the epidemic in the Orenburg area came to a temporary halt and then began to spread again to much of Europe in the spring. Although the authorities made every possible effort to repress it by means of cordons and other strict quarantine measures, it had already reached Moscow by the autumn of 1830.

In the fight against the epidemic, the biggest difference of opinion at the time was about the nature of the disease. The most significant question was whether and to what extent is cholera an infectious disease. The fight against the epidemic was determined by the fact that the exact nature of the disease and how to treat it were not known.

On the instructions of the Royal Hungarian Council of Hungarian Governors, Mihály Lenhossék, the Hungarian national chief physician, convened the medical faculty of the University of Pest on December 23, 1830, and a joint opinion on cholera was formulated. Among the main findings was that cholera is an infectious disease that can be spread through human contact, air, animals, and certain objects. This feature of the disease was pronounced much earlier than it was by doctors in Vienna, France, and England<sup>11</sup>. However, the imperial court instead accepted the finding of Viennese doctors that the disease was not contagious.

Two camps developed within the medical community, one according to which the disease is contagious (contagionist) due to the transmission of the disease from one person to another, and the other claimed the disease is caused indirectly by air, water, spoiled food (anticontagionist)<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Rigler G. Az 1831.-i első kolera betörésének története. Kolozsvár, 1915. P. 4–5.

<sup>8</sup> Macnamara, N. Ch. A history of Asiatic cholera... P. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Pollitzer, R. Cholera studies. History of Disease... P. 431–432.

<sup>10</sup> Rigler G. Az 1831.-i első kolera betörésének története... P. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Rigler G. A magyar orvosok véleménye és gyógyításmódja az 1831.-i (első) cholera alkalmával. *Orvosi Hetilap*. 1911. 55. évf. 49. sz. P. 898.

<sup>12</sup> Kiss L. Diskurzus a kolera ragályosságáról az Orvosi Társban – hatása a Semmelweis-tan elfogadására. *Orvosi Hetilap*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2020. 161. évfolyam. N 36. P. 1534.

The first opinion was supported in the Russian Empire mainly by the St. Petersburg authorities and doctors, while the latter was accepted without exception by all almost local Moscow doctors and residents<sup>13</sup>. The first detailed reports of cholera outbreaks were registered in Russia, and in Orenburg, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Astrakhan it became clear that cholera simply could not be integrated into existing views and the division of known diseases. The Russian government, led by Tsar Nicholas, in Moscow, like the Prussian government, assumed that cholera could spread from person to person or through objects, and therefore ordered the setting up of cordons, barriers, and quarantine stations. However, an upheaval ensued in St. Petersburg when the cholera epidemic hit the city in 1829. In particular, liberal intellectuals and doctors in St. Petersburg criticized the measures, which seemed to contradict the practical experience of the disease. They had knowledge of the symptoms and course of the disease, but not of the cause or treatment<sup>14</sup>.

Western European states hoped Habsburgs' protective measures would halt the epidemic. However, the Habsburg government saw a real epidemic more in the spread of the revolutionary spirit. As a result, the Habsburg Empire's relations with Bavaria and Prussia deteriorated.

**A revolutionary wave in Europe.** A revolutionary wave swept across Europe in 1830. This immediately burdened the conservative powers of Europe, the Holy Alliance formed by Prussia, Russia and the Habsburg Empire. Tsar Nicholas was ready to take measures, but he was almost alone among the great powers. On November 29, 1830, a revolution broke out in Warsaw, where cadet school students occupied the governor's palace in Warsaw. Troops joining the uprising drove the Russian garrison out of the capital.

In 1830, cholera became increasingly widespread from the east through the Caucasus and then along navigable rivers to the rest of Russia, paralyzing trade and transport. In November, Tsar Nicholas tried to force his troops into war to attack France if necessary, summoning the Lithuanian Third and Fifth Corps. The two units were in the eastern provinces (now southern Ukraine) and Kursk infected with cholera. The troops were then deployed to the western borders of Russia, to the Guberniums of Podillia and Volyn. These were group movements that also spread cholera to the Polish army in the spring. Poland took advantage of its relations with revolutionary France, and the Polish cause also sparked sympathy in the East Prussian provinces. Poles living in Prussia and Prussian liberal intellectual and business groups sympathized with the Polish cause. Later, Poland used Prussia's strict cholera quarantine policy to gain international sympathy for its own cause, which was for political gain rather than to protect its citizens<sup>15</sup>. Prussian officials were concerned about the impact of the uprising on the recently acquired Polish provinces that were already part of Prussia. In response to the threat, the Prussian king mobilized four corps and, in early December 1830, ordered them into the territory of Posen (Poznan). The king informed the other European countries that these were precautionary measures to secure the Polish provinces.

On January 25, 1831, the Polish Sejm ordered the dethronement of the Romanovs. Conservatives were also forced to line up for the freedom struggle. A coalition government

<sup>13</sup> Poczka I. Die Cholera als diskursives Ereignis 1829–1892. *Die Regierung der Gesundheit – Fragmente einer Genealogie liberaler Gouvernamentalität*. Bielefeld, 2017. P. 223.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. P. 224.

<sup>15</sup> S. Ross III, R. Contagion in Prussia, 1831. *The Cholera Epidemic and the Threat of the Polish Uprising*. North Carolina, 2015. P. 40.

was formed under the leadership of Prince Adam Czartoryski. A new commander-in-chief was appointed to the army, which completely displaced local Russian forces from the country, but the success did not last<sup>16</sup>. On February 7, 1831, the Russian government sent a Russian army of 79,000 in response to the Polish uprising, and the Polish diet declared war. One of the main reasons for the westward spread of cholera was the infiltration of Polish territory by Russian troops<sup>17</sup>. In Halychyna, a part of the Habsburg Empire, the situation became serious only after the appearance of Polish and Russian military contingents<sup>18</sup>. The first case of cholera among Poles was identified after the Battle of Iganja on April 10, 1831, and occurred among soldiers.

**Epidemic Control of the Habsburg Empire – Generale Normativum.** Vienna took important measures in Halychyna at the beginning of the epidemics at the border of the empire. The basis for the control of the epidemics was the Generale Normativum, published in 1770 and supplemented several times, which was based on the experience of previous epidemic control procedures, mainly that of the plague. The provision was issued during the reign of Maria Theresa and its language was Latin. József Ferenc Hollosi Skollanics, who was a Hungarian doctor, is considered to be the author of the General Health Regulations.

The provision was supplemented several times, but the most important elements were the creation of physical cordons and lock lines, the isolation of the sick from the healthy, and the arrest of traffickers (establishment of customs stations). The success of this was determined not only by the central decisions but also by the way in which they were observed and implemented locally. The Austrian cordon was based on a military border that originated in the early 1600s. Originally created to protect the territories occupied by the Austrian emperor from Turkish attacks, it eventually became a health institution that protected Europe from the plague. Initially, border posts and patrols were set up in the Habsburg Empire. They were also ordered to shoot at all crossings, small stations and larger quarantine stations against the residents. The Austrian quarantine stations smoked and cleaned goods and served as checkpoints and crossings for travelers. This was based on three «alert phases» with a corresponding quarantine period of twenty-four to forty-eight days. From 1785 onwards, the new regulations shortened the period of quarantine, so that quarantine was lifted at normal times, and during the plague, the quarantine was reduced to twenty-eight days. The Austrian plague lockdown patent, although amended in 1827, remained essentially unchanged from the 1770s. There is no doubt that the Austrian system was appreciated even by the French. Napoleon himself was convinced that the system should be preserved in its entirety.

The Austrian imperial court declared a strict blockade along the Russian border when the threat of cholera arose. In Russia, the provinces of Astrakhan, Stavropol, Orenburg, Saratov and Kherson were also severely affected by the epidemic. From September 15, 1830, to March 1831, 8,798 people became ill and 4,846 died of cholera. Outbreaks developed in the south-western part of Russia in the Bessarabian region, in the provinces of Podillia, Volyn and Kyiv, and in Moscow. After February 14, 1831, deaths continued

<sup>16</sup> Palotás E. *Az orosz birodalom. 19. századi egyetemes történelem 1789–1914. Európa és az Európán kívüli országok* / szerk.: V. Sándor. Budapest, 2011. P. 387.

<sup>17</sup> Tilkovszky L. *Az 1831. évi parasztfelkelés*. Budapest, 1955. P. 42.

<sup>18</sup> Horváth Gy. *A pesti kolera-lázadás 1831-ben. Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* / szerk.: N. K-B. Jusztin. Budapest, 1943. P. 219.

to decline and no deaths were reported for several days. The last new case occurred on March 22, 1831. The epidemic in Moscow ended on March 29, 1831. A total of 1830 provinces in Russia were affected by the epidemic in 1830, with an estimated 68,091 people becoming ill and 37,595 dying from the disease<sup>19</sup>. The last cordon was dissolved on April 6, 1831. However, the debate over the infectious nature of cholera remained intense in Russia. An official opinion in Russia, which included the position of the medical council of the Russian Interior Ministry, determined cholera to be contagious<sup>20</sup>.

Tsar Nicholas ordered that the matter of the infectious nature of the disease be decided definitively. About forty government doctors from St. Petersburg, as well as doctors representing the Austrian, Prussian, and English governments, were present. The last reconciliation took place on June 17, 1831. Most of the doctors who appeared voted for the infectious nature<sup>21</sup>.

The Austrian emperor traveled to Moscow in October 1830 to see for himself the situation caused by the threat of cholera and the fulfillment of protection against the epidemic. At that time, Moscow was surrounded by a military cordon in a circle, and could only be entered and exited in four places, and temporary quarantine stations were set up at each of them<sup>22</sup>. On November 2, the emperor ordered to establish a special committee of members of the Court Chancellery, the Royal Hungarian and Royal Transylvanian Court Chancellery, the Court Military Council, and the Vienna Medical Faculty, and requested them to consult on the disease and propose targeted control procedures<sup>23</sup>.

The Austrian Chancellor Metternich had already indicated in his report to the emperor of 5 December 1830 that Russian troops would arrive in reaction to the Polish uprising, for which a reinforcement would have to be sent to Halychyna. The success of the uprising did not prove to be lasting, and, in February 1831, a counterattack by the tsarist armies began<sup>24</sup>.

Those arriving from Halychyna, later, from any endangered area, already infected with the disease, were taken to designated (quarantine, contumacia) houses. In individuals who experienced the onset of the disease, contact with others was isolated and prohibited<sup>25</sup>. Travelers were detained for ten or twenty days, depending on where they came from, guarded by guards and it was strictly forbidden to violate the ordered waiting time<sup>26</sup>. Efforts were made to establish these points along major routes. The layout of the designated houses was designed according to a defined structure everywhere.

In the villages, in central places where there were a significant number of diseased or suspected cholera patients, they were transported to separate hospitals or buildings designed for this purpose. The buildings were guarded by guards and they could not leave the institution until they had completed the appropriate waiting period. Travelers

<sup>19</sup> Высокочков Л. В., Шелаева А. А. Холерная пандемия 1830–1831 гг. в Российской империи... P. 262.

<sup>20</sup> S. Ross III, R. Contagion in Prussia, 1831... P. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. P. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Hazai s Külföldi Tudósítások. (November 7, 1830) 37. sz. P. 291; Lukács Á. Az 1831–32. évi magyarországi kolerajárvány néhány jellegzetessége. *Orvostörténeti közlemények*. 12. évf. 40. sz. P. 75.

<sup>23</sup> Hazai s Külföldi Tudósítások. (November 13, 1830) 39. sz. P. 305–306.

<sup>24</sup> Palotás E. Az orosz birodalom... P. 387.

<sup>25</sup> Kiss Á. Az 1831. évi kolerajárvány Pest megyében. *Országos Orvostörténeti Könyvtár közleményei*. N 35. Budapest, 1965. P. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Державний архів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 674. Оп. 7. Спр. 85. Арк. 3.

were not allowed to be admitted to the houses and everyone had to present a passport. The records had to include a description of the person, the place of departure, and the areas through which they had traveled. These documents were checked at the border stations. At the borders of the fenced areas, the delivery of important mail was also a problem. The letters were subjected to a cleaning process, grabbed with pliers, perforated and placed in incense burners designed to remove pathogens. They were forwarded by correspondents at the borders<sup>27</sup>.

**The disease on the border of the Habsburg Empire.** As early as the end of 1830, medical experts were sent from Vienna to the events in Russia and Halychyna. Doctors reported the situation there, the spread of the epidemic, the nature of the disease.

According to a report from the Sibiu agent, who arrived from the Transylvanian Government on November 21, 1830, cholera broke out in the city of Nikolaev (Mykolaiv), where it was hoped that winter would stop its spread. According to a notification from the Government of Halychyna, cholera had also appeared in several villages in the Kyiv area and in Batta, on the left bank of the Dniester, on the border with Bessarabia<sup>28</sup>. After that, the news came quickly one after another. The governor of Rijeka was also informed on December 14 that cholera had already broken out in Odesa. On December 17, the Viennese court informed the provinces that the disease was rampant in several municipalities and Podillia. On December 20, news arrived through the Austrian consul in Odesa that doctors in Odesa did not consider the cases there to be epidemic (Eastern or Asian) cholera. The disease then began to subside in Hersonissos and Taganrog. On December 18, the agent from Sibiu reported that cholera had intensified in Batta, but no action had been taken against it until then. On December 24, according to reports from Bucharest, the outbreak also occurred in Chisinau, the capital of Bessarabia. The Bucharest-based doctor, therefore, set up quarantines along the Prut River to detain passengers from Bessarabia. Cholera was not yet present in Muntenia at that time. According to a notification from the Government of Halychyna to the Council of Governors on 28 December, cholera had spread not only in Odesa but also in the surrounding municipalities. However, the city was not shut down.

On December 18, cholera also appeared on the edge of the Ternopil border, in the town of Sataniv on the banks of the river Podhorce (Pidhirtsi), and other parts of the Podolsk Governorate. The Government of Halychyna and the mayor of the District of Tarnopol (Ternopol, Ternopil) issued a decree to prevent the disease from spreading to Halychyna<sup>29</sup>. Sataniv suffered a significant number of illnesses, claiming 12 to 15 deaths a day, and the outbreak in the Halychyna town of Kalaharówka (Kalaharivka). According to reports from Governor of Halychyna Ágost Lobkowitz, the disease spread to Halychyna and several patients had been registered since 28 December in the village of Kalaharowka, Ternopil District, near Sataniv<sup>30</sup>. The government of Halychyna took measures not only here, but also in the direction of Bessarabia and Bukovyna, to maintain contamination. To check this, guards were ordered at the border. The border of the

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<sup>27</sup> Rigler G. Az 1831.-i első kolera betörésének története... P. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. P. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Magyar Kurir. 45. évf. (January 14, 1831) 4. sz. P. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Rigler G. Az 1831.-i első kolera betörésének története... P. 9.

Kingdom of Hungary with Halychyna was closed on December 28, 1830<sup>31</sup>. On January 3, 1831, the Council of Governors sent two royal commissioners to the Halychyna and Transylvanian frontiers most threatened by the epidemic, acting with royal authority to order the most necessary precautionary measures.

According to the governor of Halychyna, the epidemic in Podillia and Volyn spread mainly in the city of Berdychiv, where it first appeared on 31 December. The population of Berdychiv had a lively relationship with the village of Brody, which made it necessary to close transportation between Halychyna and Russia through Brody, setting up a temporary station and sending eight doctors to and around Brody. On January 9, 1831, the lockdown took effect at Brody. In early January 1831, fifteen people died of the disease in the Russian village of Holenychev, near Sataniv, on the outskirts of Halychyna. As six patients died of cholera in the suburbs of the Halychyna Husiatyn, orders for «health and courage» were placed and the movement of goods and people from Russia was suspended.

It was decided in advance that if the disease would spread even further in Halychyna, a military cordon would be set up at the foot of the Carpathians, on the Halychyna side. The disease continued to spread in Bessarabia as well, with guards assigned to the Prut River line and all Moldavian crossings except Sculeni and Lipcani being closed. People from Russia were indiscriminately quarantined for 14 days. Five people from Husch (Huși) on the border with Bessarabia, were reported to have died in three weeks in a house outside the city. The house and the whole suburb were closed, but otherwise, Moldavia was in a relatively good situation<sup>32</sup>.

Roads were listed and closed at all border sections. In early January, there were reports of roadblocks, the establishment of checkpoints, the establishment of guards and the strengthening of crossing points in the counties. The side roads were blocked with trees so that no one could pass through. Permanent guards were set up on the roads leading to Halychyna<sup>33</sup>.

Following the briefing on the situation in Halychyna on 21 January, its complete closure was no longer considered appropriate. In Halychyna, the number of patients increased during January as well, but only in two districts, Chortkiv and Ternopil, with five cases in the former and four in the latter.

On January 24, 1831, a meeting was held in Lviv between the representatives of Hungary and Halychyna. On behalf of the Kingdom of Hungary, Antal Majláth, Councilor of the County Council and Chief Lieutenant of Zemplén County, Baron Zsigmond Perényi, Deputy Director of the Council of Governors, Alvizius Stutterheim, Councilor of the Government of Halychyna, chief physician, Wilhelm Reitzenheim, József Bobovszki, József Popper, provincial councilors were present.<sup>34</sup> The Hungarian royal commissioners asked them to inform the Halychyna side of all the measures taken to prevent the spread of the disease, and they would likewise hand over all the orders. Based on an order of 1770, the Hungarian royal commissioners ordered that twenty-eight days' quarantine be required in the second-degree temporary house and forty-two days in the third degree, which the Government of Halychyna was also notified about. It was objected by the Government that

<sup>31</sup> Tilkovszky L. Az 1831. évi parasztfelkelés... Ol. 43; Lukács Á. Az 1831–32. évi magyarországi kolerajárvány néhány jellegzetessége... P. 75.

<sup>32</sup> Hazai s Külföldi Tudósítások. (January 22, 1831) 7. sz. P. 49–50.

<sup>33</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 10. Оп. 2. Спр. 1390. Арк. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Там само. Арк. 14.



not the Plague Order of 1770 but the Order of 1785 was instead valid in this situation. On the Halychyna side, the quarantine period was set at only ten and twenty days respectively<sup>35</sup>.

At the Lviv meeting, a decision was made to drive cattle from Bukovyna to Hungary, and imports were possible with travel letters from the local government or district capitals. It was only possible to come through from a place that was proven to be free of the epidemic. The Kőrösmező (Yasinia) crossing to Bereg County was open to those arriving from Halychyna and Bukovyna. Strict control was set up everywhere for those arriving from Russia, it was only possible to enter through the lockdown point in Brody<sup>36</sup>. The border of Hungary had not yet been considered to be completely closed. Persons from Halychyna and goods originating from there were required to have a travel document and were admitted only if they had a certificate of origin and were free of cholera. According to the regulations issued by the government of Halychyna, the passports to be checked at the intermediate stations allowed persons coming from healthy places and their portals to enter and leave. At that time, travel letters from the Ternopil and Chortkiv districts could no longer be issued<sup>37</sup>.

Positive news came from Halychyna in February, with the wave of the epidemic going downwards and the number of new cases decreasing every day<sup>38</sup>. On February 22, it was said that the epidemic had ceased in the Tarnopol areas, and the closure of the premises had been lifted. In the Chortkiv District, the disease was still present in Husiatyn, Skala, Olhovczik, Sidorov (Sydoriv), Szidlove, Siekierzynce, Marczicka, Berezanka, Podpilipje (Pidpylypia), Turilce (Kudryntsi), Sapahow (Sapohiv), Zelene, Krynysya, Lanivtsi, Nervosiulki, Malynivka and Zalishchyky. The need for passports and the arrest of travelers who didn't have one remained in place<sup>39</sup>.

At the end of March, according to another Halychyna report, the epidemic began to spread again in the Chortkiv District, although it was described as a less contagious type. In the Tarnopol District, it had completely disappeared, and after twenty days of quarantine, travelers were free to go, so contact between the areas was restored. On March 29, the Viennese government lifted the Halychyna border lock. The decision may have been based not only on the stagnation of the spread of cholera but also on the fact that all the necessary regiments were needed to quell the uprisings in the Italian territories of the Habsburg Empire<sup>40</sup>.

On 5 April, there were no cases of the disease on Hungary's border with Halychyna, and trade had been limited from then on so that closer surveillance was no longer considered necessary, and the limitations involving significant additional costs were lifted<sup>41</sup>.

The closure, keeping the guards in the valleys at the expense of the population, came at a considerable cost. The population and the surrounding areas were informed when the roads to Halychyna were opened. It was ordered to the Thirty Customs of Verecke to continue their official correspondence in a general manner, as it had been before the

<sup>35</sup> Там само. Арк. 18.

<sup>36</sup> National Archives of Hungary (MNL OL). P 538. F. 42. 18. P. 245–246.

<sup>37</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 10. Оп. 2. Спр. 1390. Арк. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Там само. Арк. 45.

<sup>39</sup> MNL OL. P 538, F. tétel, 43. altétel, 21. csomó. P. 243.

<sup>40</sup> Gergely A. A magyar reformellenzék kialakulása és megszilárdulása (1830–1840). *Magyarország története 1790–1848*. 5/2. kötet. Főszerkesztő: Mérei Gyula. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. P. 674.

<sup>41</sup> MNL OL. P 538. F. 18, 42. P. 481.

epidemic. Hajdus assigned to surgeons were also recalled. From that time, they could also send travel letters to Ternopil and Chortkiv District. There were still patients in some places in the Chortkiv District, but they were tightly closed so that travelers and traders could not meet them. However, law enforcement continued to be vigilant until the epidemic threat was completely eliminated. Surveillance of the health of the population continued to be carried out, and checks on wanderers, travelers from foreign areas and the examination of their travel documents were continued. Those who did not have passports were forced to return to Halychyna<sup>42</sup>.

There was no significant number of cases in Halychyna in April and May. The safeguard measures had been revoked. In Russia, lockdowns and home quarantines had also been lifted. The Viennese Court sent an order that no special measures should be taken in the event of an illness, only the usual general provisions would come into force. Trade with Halychyna had been fully restored<sup>43</sup>.

**Another wave of the epidemic.** In May 1831, reports of illness were again received from Halychyna, which led to the re-establishment of the border lockdown on 29 May<sup>44</sup>. According to the report of the Government of Halychyna and the announcements of the Provincial Council, the disease occurred close to the Hungarian territories, in the District of Stryi<sup>45</sup>. The Joint Committee on Cholera had been convened on 1 June. According to the governor of Halychyna, the disease was present in Lemberg as well, and by royal decree, Halychyna was urgently isolated from Moravia, Silesia and Hungary. At that time, in a decree of the County Council, the Hungarian royal commissioners were again sent to the border on June 3, 1831. The governor of Halychyna was asked to keep the commissioners informed of developments urgently and directly<sup>46</sup>.

The suspect individuals from Halychyna were not allowed into the territory of Hungary, so the border routes were again closed and guards were appointed from the population. From the closure, similarly to the previous one, the Yasinia crossing point was opened until the immediate threat of the epidemic. Here, travelers could only travel with travel passes and could only come from a place where the epidemic had been proven not present and only if they had traveled through places free of it<sup>47</sup>.

In the parts of Transylvania, Hungary, Moravia and Silesia, close to Halychyna, health commissions had been set up. The Emperor entrusted the administration of these to central court security in Vienna, headed by Count Ignác Gyulai, President of the Court Military Council and a military officer, assisted by Count Ádám Reviczky, Chancellor of the Hungarian Royal Court<sup>48</sup>.

In June 1831, the disease appeared in Bukovyna and Moldavia as well, and then on the borders of Transylvania. The borders of Transylvania were thus closed from Moldova and Bukovyna. The disease reappeared in many parts of the Halychyna area and spread to Lemberg. The health commission appointed by the ruler in Halychyna, combined with the functions of the government headquarters and the military command,

<sup>42</sup> MNL OL. P 538. F. 18, 42. P. 489–490.

<sup>43</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 674. Оп. 12. Спр. 280. Арк. 2–3.

<sup>44</sup> Tilkovszky L. Az 1831. évi parasztfelkelés... P. 43.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. P. 43–44.

<sup>46</sup> Rigler G. Az 1831.-i első kolera betörésének története... P. 13.

<sup>47</sup> MNL OL. P 538. F. 19, 42. P. 19–26.

<sup>48</sup> Hazai s Külföldi Tudósítások. (June 11, 1831) 47. szám.

operated under the authority of Captain Stutterheim and was able to take measures in order to preserve health with full authority.

A significant number of cases had been registered and the epidemic spread locally in both the Stryi District and the city of Stryi, but a number of passports had been issued here. For this reason, it was decided that the crossing at Verecke would be stopped completely and no one would be allowed in, not even those who arrived with a valid passport. County residents could return to Halychyna after 21 days of quarantine. However, it was also decided to strengthen the guard. The border guards had to be located no more than five hundred fathoms apart, at wooden checkpoints hidden in the environment and covered with branches. A doubling of the guards inside the settlements was also ordered<sup>49</sup>.

Austria was locked out of the Kingdom of Hungary by guards and no one was allowed to pass through without quarantine. For the provision of food, rastellums had to be used, where vendors and shoppers from the confined space could gather and exchange produce and money without contact<sup>50</sup>.

The epidemic intensified in Halychyna to such an extent that on June 28, 1831, more than eighteen thousand cases were reported, including nearly seven thousand cholera deaths. The disease was spreading rapidly, with nearly thirty-seven thousand patients and more than thirteen thousand dead by July 8. The defense and limitations were then restarted with even greater intensity.

The lifting of the closure of the frontier of Halychyna and the restoration of free movement and trade took place on 9 September 1831. The supervision required to resolve the conflicts resulting from the closure, as well as to resolve all other problems and to deliver salt and food to the population, was no longer necessary and it was recalled.

In Halychyna on 24 August, there were 158,627 people with cholera in 1,642 localities, 86,385 were healed, 6,1310 died and 11,012 were under medical treatment. As of August 31, in 1843 localities there were 182062 patients, of whom 100835 were cured, 710146 died, and 11081 were still ill<sup>51</sup>. The period of quarantine between Hungary and Halychyna had only been determined in ten days<sup>52</sup>. No lockdown stations had been set up either in Transylvania or Halychyna<sup>53</sup>.

A royal order dated October 8 liberalized free trade with Poland, Moldova, Wallachia, and Italy, Bessarabia, and Krakow. The dividing lines had been removed and free movement between the country and the neighboring provinces of Austria had been restored. The defense line between Transylvania and Bukovyna was maintained until further notice. The quarantine time here was determined to be 5 days. On November 7, 1831, according to the information of the Hungarian treasurer Fidél Pálffy, the counties bordering Halychyna took a measure for the travelers and their travel letters arriving in Hungary, according to which its course had returned to the pre-epidemic status<sup>54</sup>.

In Halychyna, 255,774 of the nearly 4,5 million inhabitants became ill, 96081 of whom died of the disease. Mortality in Halychyna was 2,16, as opposed to the European

<sup>49</sup> Держархів Закарпатської обл. Ф. 10. Оп. 2. Спр. 1390. Арк. 67–68.

<sup>50</sup> The National Archives of Hungary, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County (MNL SZSZBML). IV.A.501. Vol. 132. P. 32.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. P. 122.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. P. 128–132.

<sup>53</sup> MNL OL. P. 538, F. 21, 42. P. 262–268.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. P. 538. F. 21., 42. P. 204.

and Hungarian (2,8) data, the epidemic was somewhat milder here. Of the 6,415 municipalities in Halychyna, 3608 were affected by the epidemic, which is about 56 % of the localities<sup>55</sup>. Compared to the population, we have an impact rate of 71 %, so the epidemic was more raging in larger settlements, and small settlements further away from transport hubs had avoided the introduction of infection more than busy and large settlements. All in all, despite the enormous loss, the epidemic here was somewhat milder than in other areas of the Habsburg Empire.

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<sup>55</sup> Lukács Á. Az 1831–32. évi magyarországi kolerajárvány néhány jellegzetessége. P. 88.

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## ГАЛИЧИНА ТА ПЕРША ЕПІДЕМІЯ ХОЛЕРИ

Розглянуто події і наслідки першої епідемії холери в Галичині у першій половині XIX ст., коли ця територія ще була частиною імперії Габсбургів. Метою обрано представлення та належну оцінку подій першої епідемії холери в Галичині, яка відіграла важливу роль в історії України й усієї Європи, але якій досі приділено мало уваги.

Простежено події першої епідемії холери, заходи, спрямовані проти неї, структуру захисту та її соціальні наслідки. Дослідження обґрунтовано неопублікованими архівними джерелами та літературою з цієї теми. Зазначено, що Угорське королівство, яке також належало до імперії Габсбургів, було першою країною, котра приєдналася до боротьби з епідемією як прилегла до Галичини територія, тому архівні дані Закарпаття та Угорщини містять велику кількість відповідного матеріалу. Встановлено, що історію епідемії від початку вивчали такі відомі дослідники, як Август Гірш, Генріх Гезер, Нотгідж Чарльз Макнамара, Георг Стікер, а також написано прекрасні сучасні роботи, як-от праці Річарда С. Росса III або Ірен Почка, які надають важливі ресурси для цього дослідження.

Зазначено, що епідемія холери вперше досягла цієї частини Європи наприкінці 1830-х років і в поширенні хвороби майже всі звинувачували російські війська, які прийшли придушити польське повстання. Відомо, що віденський двір виступав прихильником російського царя в системі Священного союзу, що спричинило значну хвилю протесту серед угорської знаті, яка симпатизувала полякам. Констатовано, що хоча захист імперії Габсбургів від епідемії вважався найсуворішим у Європі, хвороба все ж проникла на територію імперії з Росії і забрала перші жертви саме в Галичині; після чуми це була найбільша епідемія у всій Європі. Зазначено, що її трагічні наслідки добре ілюструє той факт, що в Галичині захворіло майже чверть мільйона людей і майже половина з них (до 100 тис.) померла.

**Ключові слова:** Галичина, епідемія холери, польське повстання, епідеміологічні заходи, закриття кордонів, карантинні станції.