

Ill in the 'Ville:
The Events and Culture during the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Kirksville, Missouri, as viewed
through Kirksville Newspapers

Robert Overmann
Truman State University
Department of English Honors Committee
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I. Background on the Pandemic and Beginnings in Kirksville, Missouri

March 4, 1918 – October 1, 1918

The first outbreak of the 1918 influenza in the United States began during early March at Camp Funston, a U.S. Army training camp at Fort Riley, Kansas — less than 300 miles from Kirksville, Missouri.¹ U.S. soldiers Dean Nilson, Ernest Elliot, John Bottom, and others suspected of carrying the disease from Haskell County, Kansas, arrived at Funston between February 28, 1918 and March 2, 1918; the disease found its footing among soldiers at Funston, and the camp hospital received its first cases March 4, 1918. Throughout the next three weeks, 1,100 troops at Funston were hospitalized due to the illness.²

Epidemiologists have found no mention or signs of localized outbreaks of the 1918 influenza in the U.S. before the Funston outbreak; the only previous appearances of the disease had been minor flare-ups in France during the previous winter, "but they did not seem to spread and behaved like endemic, not epidemic, disease."³ The first outbreak of unusual severity outside the United States occurred in Brest, France, during early April 1918. Brest — a common disembarking point for U.S. troops during the war — proved a dangerous petri dish from which "the disease did spread, and quickly, in concentric circles."⁴

Influenza stormed Europe during the summer of 1918, breaking out in Paris and throughout Italy in late April.⁵ Soldiers were especially vulnerable due to the close quarters and relatively unhygienic conditions: during May, the British First Army reported 36,473 hospital admissions due to the epidemic.⁶ Ten percent of British soldiers in France — 200,825 out of two

¹ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 169.

² Ibid.

³ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 170.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

million — were unable to report for duty, "even in the midst of desperate combat," between June 1 and August 1.⁷ Likewise, the German Army was heavily affected: German Commander Erich von Ludendorff even blamed influenza for the failure of Germany's Michael offensive.⁸

Although the disease gained its foothold in spring 1918 just a few hundred miles from Kirksville, it traveled around the world before returning to the United States' heartland. The influenza had all but disappeared from mainland Europe by August 10, when the British command declared the epidemic over.⁹ However the pandemic was just getting started in the United States: during early August, a ship bound for New York from France was so severely affected that it remained in Halifax until "enough crew members were well enough to proceed to New York."¹⁰ Ship traffic from Europe to the U.S. eastern seaboard continued to spread embers of influenza into the tinderbox that was the U.S.'s port cities.

U.S. Army camps proved to be the true breeding grounds for influenza. A soldier from the 42nd Infantry at Camp Devens, near Boston, Massachusetts, reported to the Devens army hospital September 7.¹¹ He was diagnosed with meningitis because his symptoms "did not resemble those of influenza." The next day, twelve of his comrades were also falsely diagnosed with meningitis. The ensuing storm of influenza at Camp Devens was described by an army report: "Stated briefly, the influenza ... occurred as an explosion."¹² By September 22, 19.6 percent of Camp Devens was listed on sick duty, and almost 75 percent of those soldiers were hospitalized; 1,543 soldiers at Devens were reported ill in the span of a day.¹³ Influenza ravaged

⁷ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 171.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 174.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 186.

¹² Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 187.

¹³ Ibid.

U.S. Armed Forces camps throughout the northeast, then traveled south along the coast and traveled inland during late September.¹⁴

The alarm would not be raised in Kirksville until October 1, 1918. Although no more than two deaths due to influenza had occurred in Adair County, Missouri during September 1918,¹⁵ the following was printed on the front page of the October 1 *Kirksville Daily Express*:

County Health Physician L. J. Conner has received the following letter in regard to steps to be taken to prevent the spread of Spanish Influenza:

28 September 1918.

'Dear Doctor: The appearance of Influenza throughout the country and the deaths resulting therefrom, create a source of danger to the public health and to the welfare of the Nation. Every effort is being made to prevent contagion among the troops and the public must take every precaution to prevent its spread by which the many civilians entering the service will carry the disease into the camps. An emergency exists and you are hereby requested to treat Influenza as a contagious disease, to observe proper precautions for quarantine and fumigation and in case of death therefrom, not allow public funerals or open caskets, in accordance with Section 6655 R. S. 1909.'¹⁶

The order must have been puzzling, if not shocking to the residents of Kirksville. The strongly worded proclamation came at a time when Kirksville had been relatively untouched by the disease. Because local newspapers were, at the time, the chief disseminators of public information, it is unlikely many Kirksville residents had read any authoritative accounts of the pandemic thus far; anecdotal or hearsay news of the pandemic likely would have been their only

¹⁴ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 194.

¹⁵ Overmann, Robert, "Influenza Deaths in Adair County, Missouri, 1918-1919."

¹⁶ "Orders Strict Quarantine on Influenza Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 1, 1918, 1.

exposure to it. The proclamation foreshadowed the sickness and death that would ravage Kirksville for the remainder of 1918.

Kirksville newspapers printed closing orders and obituaries for the city and county, but also played host to a rich array of other influenza-related content in fall 1918 — they continued to occupy their traditional roles as conveyors of varied information, solicitations, and proclamations in the wake of the pandemic. Kirksville's newspapers during the pandemic in 1918 — including the *Kirksville Daily Express*, *Kirksville Normal School Index*, and *Kirksville Journal* — served as public fora that reflected the pandemic's impact on Kirksville's culture. They were the primary disseminators of public information about the pandemic in Kirksville, and reflected the diverse interests of Kirksville's public and various institutions in the disease, including commercializing, trivializing, magnifying, and proselytizing about the disease's causes, effects, and impacts — sometimes all on a single page.

II. The First Outbreak of Influenza

*October 2, 1918 – October 27, 1918*¹⁷

The second printed mention of the 1918 pandemic came October 2, 1918, only one day after the first. Printed on the *Daily Express*'s front page that day was a reassurance from City Health Officer Edward S. Quinn. Kirksville medical authorities likely realized the panic the first proclamation might incite, and Quinn voiced reassurances via the October 2 *Daily Express*:

City Health Officer Quinn stated today that there are no cases of Spanish Influenza in Kirksville, so far as he can ascertain,¹⁸ and urged the people not to be unduly alarmed. Under instructions from the State Board of Health a close watch is being kept, and if any case develops here measures will be taken to prevent a spread of the epidemic. Dr. Quinn is particularly interested in the influenza, not only as a health officer, but as a parent. His son, Rays, now at the Great Lakes Navel Training station, is just recovering from a two-weeks' siege with the influenza, and was still in the hospital when he wrote a letter which was received yesterday.¹⁹

The letter makes clear that people ought "not to be unduly alarmed," because public health officials claimed to be prepared to prevent the spread of the pandemic, but officials did not provide details to the public about *how* prevention would be operationalized, or even *what*

¹⁷ These dates are chosen for this section because October 2, 1918 is the date of the first mention of the pandemic in Kirksville's newspaper by a Kirksville representative in response to the pandemic. The October 1 mention was only a reprinted letter from the state of Missouri. See: "No Influenza Cases Here Now, Says Dr. Quinn," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 2, 1918, 1.

The first set of closing orders was lifted October 25; although there were still isolated cases of influenza throughout the city, the abolition of the first closing orders is a symbolic end to Kirksville's first wave of influenza. See: "Health Board Has Lifted Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1.

¹⁸ It is unclear whether the potential cases of influenza in Adair County before October 1 were pneumonia cases unrelated to the influenza pandemic, whether Quinn was simply unaware of previous deaths, or whether Quinn chose to lie to the public to reassure them of their safety. This is suspicious because of the significant degree of infection discussed in the October 10 *Daily Express*.

¹⁹ "No Influenza Cases Here Now, Says Dr. Quinn," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 2, 1918, 1.

the preventative measures might be. Quinn's assertion that he was interested in the influenza as a parent reminds readers that Quinn also has personal stake in preventing the influenza's spread. But, this seems like a ploy by Quinn to reassure worried readers without providing actual evidence that the city was prepared. Quinn's reassuring letter was just that — an empty reassurance to a city with no operational plan to mitigate the influenza pandemic.²⁰

The pandemic in Kirksville spiraled quickly out of control. Exactly one week later, the *Daily Express* reported October 9 that Missouri Gov. Frederick Dozier Gardner was drafting a proclamation that mandated "the closing of places of public gatherings state wide in the fight against influenza."²¹ This was accompanied, in the same story, by a report that the Kirksville Health Board would institute the city's first official actions against the disease:

At the meeting last night the Health Board decided that it is best to quarantine all cases of influenza and requests physicians to report all cases, that proper measures may be taken to prevent further spread of the disease. The public is requested to co-operate with the Board of Health by avoiding public gatherings as much as possible and upon any illness resembling the gripp [sic], call their family physician and thus avoid the necessity of having to close the schools, picture shows, and churches.²²

Although the Governor had not yet released an official direction to close places of public gatherings, the Kirksville Health Board was stirred to action by his words. With the quarantine notice, the Board initiated a struggle that would continue throughout the pandemic in Kirksville — the struggle between private citizens and the city administration over individuals' bodies. The city sought to restrict individuals' autonomy enough to quash the pandemic while incurring

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "Governor Ordering Ban on Public Gatherings," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 9, 1918, 1.

²² Ibid.

minimum resentment from citizens who would be told where and when they could or couldn't congregate. Autonomy of the body was the necessary currency of pandemic-era Kirksville — sick bodies could spread disease, but the restraint of the city's healthy bodies could cause resentment about overly-oppressive containment tactics.

Kirksville's administrators still hesitated to say what other "proper measures may be taken to prevent further spread of the disease," beyond the quarantine measure.²³ As of October 9, the quarantine applied only to the homes of those stricken by the disease; the Health Board hoped this would quell the pandemic without public closing orders,¹⁶ though these proved necessary well before the pandemic's end in early 1919.

The Board of Health realized many of these institutions might need to close by the pandemic's end to prevent the disease from spreading farther. Consider the individuals appointed to the committee:

The committee appointed by M. D. Campbell, chairman of the Adair County Chapter of Red Cross, met at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon to formulate plans for the prevention of Spanish influenza in Kirksville. [Prominent history] Prof. E. M. Violette of the Normal School, Prof. Russell of the High School, S. W. Derby, [owner] of the Shoe Factory, and Charles Miller, of the Big Creek Coal Company, were appointed to do what they could to prevent the disease spreading in the various institutions which they represent."²⁴

Representatives from Kirksville's most significant institutions were appointed to the committee, presumably because they were influential enough — as the city's major employers — for the public to heed their word, and because they had the largest stake in the pandemic in terms

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid

of bodies — workers were required for productivity during the pandemic, but the abundance of bodies in close contact increased the chances for workers' exposure to the pandemic. Their nominations to the committee indicates the Health Board recognized these institutions probably would have to take action against the influenza pandemic for the Board's efforts to be effective, and the ensuing closing orders were the Board's tools of choice.

When the *Daily Express* announced the city's first official actions to control the pandemic in Kirksville October 9, it also printed reports of the influenza pandemic across the state. Reports about influenza in other Missouri cities are listed *before* reports about the Board of Health's actions in Kirksville of quarantining homes of the sick that same day, as if to say, "Don't be too upset, conditions are much worse elsewhere in the state."

It was reported in the *Daily Express* on October 9 that "Spanish Influenza has stricken one-seventh of Springfield, [Missouri's,] population" and "the eighth day of the epidemic here brought the total number of cases to 5,000. There have been 49 deaths."²⁵ The *Daily Express* also reported, in the same story, that "All schools and public places have been closed in Mexico, [Missouri,] in an effort to stop the spread of Spanish influenza in this city."²⁶ Likewise, it is reported that "All schools, theatres, and other places of public gatherings have been closed in Columbia,[Missouri,] on account of Spanish influenza. There are 120 cases there. So far there have not been any deaths."²⁷

In each case, the description of the pandemic in other Missouri cities is far grimmer than the news about the pandemic's impact in Kirksville as of October 9: Kirksville residents were requested only to "avoid public gatherings as much as possible... [to] avoid the necessity of

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

having to close the schools, picture shows, and churches."²⁸ The *Daily Express's* comments seem to be an effort to inform residents of the pandemic throughout the state, with a subtle agenda of avoiding a panic amongst readers and keeping them under control.

The *Kirksville Normal School Index* printed its first mention of the pandemic on October 9. A weekly newspaper published Wednesdays when the Kirksville State Normal School was in session, the *Index* wrote an editorial advising students of what they ought to do to avoid spreading the pandemic amongst the Normal School:

The Spanish Influenza has spread all over the East and altho it has not much hold here yet, every precaution must be taken to prevent its getting started. Especially in large crowds the greatest care must be taken. All students should try to keep themselves in the best of condition in order to be able to throw off the disease. The throat and the head should be kept cleared out with a gargle of warm salt water. Anyone who has a cold should see a doctor at once. There are 88,000 cases of influenza in the army camps at present and there have been 1877 deaths. So let us be on our guard.²⁹

By this time, Normal School students were taking note of the pandemic; they feared its spread throughout Kirksville and the Normal School. The editorial does offer operational advice on how to "prevent [the pandemic] getting started" at the Normal School, though the advice that they keep "the throat and the head...cleared... with a gargle of warm salt water" seems to be largely palliative — gargling with salt water treats a symptom rather than a cause of the disease. However, the *Index's* advice did imply students were responsible for the care of their own

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "Your Health," *The Kirksville Normal School Index*, October 9, 1918, 5. The following day's *Daily Express* report seems to conflict with the *Index's* story here, though only implicitly. The *Daily Express* reports that 45 students were already sickened by the pandemic the next day, October 10, 1918.

bodies: that each of us "ought to be on our guard." At this point, there was no mention of closing the school.

On October 10, Harry Allen,³⁰ 29, owner of the Davidson Shoe Store on the south side of Kirksville's downtown, was the first person specifically named in the pages of a Kirksville newspaper as being ill with the influenza.³¹ His untimely next "first" in the story of Kirksville and the pandemic came the next day in the October 11 *Daily Express* as the first death by influenza in Kirksville.³² It was the only death reported by all three newspapers — the October 16 *Index*³³ and the October 17 *Kirksville Journal*³⁴ also memorialized Allen and discussed his death.

³⁰ Allen was quite the prominent citizen of Kirksville, and much is known about him from these newspaper accounts. See: "Harry Allen Dies as Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Journal*, October 17, 1918, 1.

Allen had been a resident of Kirksville for ten to twelve years, and his mother had graduated from the American School of Osteopathy and practiced osteopathic medicine in Joplin, Missouri; Allen had attended the Kirksville Normal School and purchased the Davidson store upon his graduation. His wife, Louise Rickard, had also attended the Kirksville Normal School. Rickard was from Memphis, Missouri, and she and Allen had two children, one who died in infancy. The other was born a few hours after Allen's funeral.

Full text of Allen's obituary by the *Daily Express*:

Harry E. Allen, one of the well-known young businessmen of this city, died last night at his home, 101 North High Street, following a brief illness with pneumonia. He was 29 years old. Although it was known yesterday afternoon that his condition was serious, the news of his death was a profound shock to the citizens of this city today and has cast a gloom over his friends and acquaintances. He was confined to his home a few days last week with the influenza, but was able to be at his store Saturday and Monday, although it [sic] the time he did not feel well. The deceased had been a resident of this city for ten or twelve years, coming to Kirksville with his mother who was graduated from the A.S.O. and is now practicing in Joplin. During her residence here Harry attended the Normal School and clerked in the Davidson shoe store which he purchased several years ago. He was born in La Belle, Mo. On Sept. 29 1889, and previous to coming to Kirksville lived in Canton. He was a past master of Kirksville Lodge No. 105 A.F. & A.M. He was married to Miss Louise Rickard at the home of her parents in Memphis, Mo. On August 22, 1912. They became acquainted while she was a student in the Normal School. Besides his wife and mother he is survived by a brother, Alfred Allen, and one sister, Miss Hazel Allen, who is married and lives in Portland, Ore. His mother is expected to arrive this afternoon on the Wabash train and then the funeral arrangements will be made. It was stated this morning that there would not be a public funeral. "Harry" as most of the people in the town knew him, was a splendid young fellow with fine principles of honest and fair-dealing, and with the courage of his convictions. He has a host of friends all over the county who will extend their sympathy to the young wife who is herself in a serious state of health. Harry was a charter member of the Kirksville Rotary Club and the first member of that organization to pass away."

See: "Harry E. Allen Dies as Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 3.

³¹ News Brief, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 10, 1918, 3.

³² "Harry E. Allen Dies as Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 3.

³³ "School Closes for One Week," *Kirksville Normal School Index*. October 16, 1918, 4.

³⁴ "Harry Allen Dies as Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Journal*, October 17, 1918, 1.

Allen's death was among only a few influenza deaths that were reported at length by the Kirksville newspapers; Allen shared several key features with these other deceased. Though upwards of 100 Adair County residents likely died during the pandemic,³⁵ only a few select cases are discussed beyond the deaths' facts. The newspapers tended to dote on these deaths because of the white-collar, commercial significance of the deceased.

To contrast Allen's death announcements, the last death recorded by the Kirksville newspapers due to the pandemic was that of Shade Epperson. Epperson was a janitor at the American School of Osteopathy and died during January 1919, three and a half months after Allen. The entire text of Epperson's obituary is as follows:

Shadt [sic] Epperson, aged 63 years, a janitor at the A.S.O. died last night at his house, 501 West Dodson street, of pneumonia. Several weeks ago he had an attack of influenza and suffered a relapse. The funeral will be held in the Davis & Wilson chapel tomorrow afternoon with burial in Highland Park Cemetery.³⁶

Epperson's family is not mentioned, nor are any details about his character noted. In fact, nothing about his life is discussed other than his occupation and the details of his death. Epperson was a janitor at the A.S.O. and undoubtedly made countless connections with Kirksville residents during his life, but his obituary feels rushed, cheap, and impersonal. However, Allen was a well-off, youthful businessman, and the newspapers' coverage of Allen's death betrays their concern for Kirksville's commercial enterprises over humanitarian concerns.

The October 10 announcement of Allen's illness coincided with an approximation of the number of ill and a plea by Kirksville's newspapers for greater cooperation with Health Board regulations.. The October 10 *Daily Express* estimated: "There probably are 300 cases of Spanish

³⁵ Overmann, Robert, "Influenza Deaths in Adair County, Missouri, 1918-1919."

³⁶ "Shade Epperson, Aged 63, Dies of Pneumonia," *Kirksville Daily Express*, January 7, 1919, 3.

influenza in Kirksville today and possibly will be more before the end of the week, unless the people of the city co-operate more with the Health Board."³⁷

The disease, while evidently not as virulent in Kirksville as in other Missouri cities, still had sickened an estimated 300 Kirksville residents by October 10. This indicates that an estimated 300 cases had cropped up since October 2, when Quinn reported there were no cases within the city.³⁸ It also is possible that Quinn minimized the pandemic's impact during his first announcement to avoid a panic, or he inflated the October 10 estimate to incite fear, and thus cooperation with the Board.

Members of the Health Board and *Daily Express* feared the spreading pandemic, and tried to convey to citizens the importance that they heed the Board's vague orders:

Dr. Quinn and [Earl] Laughlin of the Health Board stated this afternoon that if the physicians of the city and the people at large do not co-operate better with the Health Board, it will be necessary for the board to close the schools, picture shows, churches, and all places of public gathering.

The symptoms of the epidemic are widely known now and the Health Board states that cases should be reported at once by the attending physicians, so that the house can be quarantined and the spread of the disease prevented as much as possible.

The members of the Health Board believe that people are just thoughtless in the matter, as the average person would far rather stay indoors a few days than to spread a disease which is proving fatal in many communities.³⁹

³⁷ "Health Board Asking for More Cooperation," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 10, 1918, 1, 3.

³⁸ "No Influenza Cases Here Now, Says Dr. Quinn," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 2, 1918, 1.

³⁹ Ibid.

The Health Board still failed to provide concrete medical advice, and offered itself as little more than a monitor of the situation. The Board both pleaded with the Kirksville residents for greater cooperation and threatened residents with the ostensible consequences of not following the Board's orders — if citizens would not stay indoors whenever possible, the Board would exert control over their bodies with closing orders. The *Daily Express* blamed "thoughtless" citizens, not the disease itself, for the pandemic's spread. The *Daily Express* also alienated the city's residents with an elitist tone, and allied itself with the Board, not the "uncooperative and thoughtless" residents.

The October 10 *Daily Express* story made the first mention of the illness in children in Kirksville's newspapers: "In the High School only two cases were known of today, and both of these girls who were immediately sent home. One of the students, who was from Novelty, Missouri, died at her Novelty home Monday night."⁴⁰ The story also noted 45 cases among the Normal School students, though "the majority of these were light cases, only a few proving serious."⁴¹ At this point, the city's youth seemed relatively unaffected.

Kirksville residents began following the Board's recommendations, as Kirksville newspapers reported October 11 that public gatherings were being voluntarily postponed or canceled. The Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Church, in the *Daily Express*, reported they had canceled their October 10 meeting and it was "postponed indefinitely on account of the epidemic of Spanish Influenza."⁴² Likewise, the *Daily Express* announced October 11 that Kirksville and Shelbina High Schools voluntarily had postponed the following day's football

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Social Events," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 4.

game.⁴³ As of October 11, the city's residents were largely self-regulating; though the Health Board had been vocal, no closing orders had been issued.

The city's problems controlling the growing influenza pandemic were compounded by a hyper-awareness of the disease's existence and a simultaneous lack of awareness about prevention and treatment of the disease. The *Daily Express* reported October 11 that more precautions would be taken against the disease than during the previous weeks "when many persons had the influenza and did not know it."⁴⁴ In the same story, the *Daily Express* claims "one of the most serious situations is the large number of false reports which such an epidemic brings out... rumors were circulated on the streets all day of several deaths, in some instances where the person named was not even confined to bed."⁴⁵ The *Daily Express's* comments show the influenza was the topic on everyone's minds; word had spread quickly of Allen's death just the day before.⁴⁶ The *Daily Express's* story evidences the general public's paranoia, which even led to over-reporting of the disease.

Although the Health Board had not issued a closing order for the A.S.O., Dr. George A. Still, great nephew of Andrew Taylor Still⁴⁷ and Surgeon-In-Chief at the American School of Osteopathy, moved to restrict visiting bodies to the A.S.O. According to Still in the October 11 *Daily Express*, there were no cases in the A.S.O. Hospital or Women's Hospital as of then, and "no visitors will be permitted from now on, until the epidemic is over... hoping that all people

⁴³ "Football Game Announced for Tomorrow Postponed," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 6.

⁴⁴ "Vigorous Steps to Halt Spread of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 1-2. This story also claims that "up to press time today there had been only one death in Kirksville as an after-effect of the influenza." I doubt the veracity of the *Daily Express's* claim. The *Daily Express* reported on less than half of the deaths in Adair County during the pandemic, and I found deaths previous to this date through my analysis of the death certificates.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Allen actually died the day previously, October 10. However, the October 10 paper was printed in the morning, whereas Allen died that night. "Harry E. Allen Dies as Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 3.

⁴⁷ Andrew Taylor Still (1828-1917) was the founder of osteopathic medicine and the American School of Osteopathy in Kirksville. He was an abolitionist, author, physician, surgeon, Kansas state politician, American Civil War veteran, and inventor.

See: "Andrew Taylor Still." *A. T. Still University*. November 12, 2014. <http://www.atsu.edu/museum/ats/>

wishing to visit the hospital will realize the justice of this apparently rigid rule."⁴⁸ Still did not shut off the hospital's services to the Kirksville area, making clear, "people who want an osteopathic doctor will be supplied if possible."⁴⁹

Still was torn between his mission as a medical professional to treat the sick, and his duty to protect his current patients. More practical concerns also probably influenced Still's decision: the A.S.O. was a for-profit institution and Still did not want to miss the opportunity for profit. Still's words are apologetic, even patriarchal, and hint at his assumption that residents did not know what was best for them in the midst of the pandemic and Still did know. Still, however, was a medical doctor and his comments rested on his scientific credentials — Still's remarks come off as less aloof than the *Daily Express's*.

Ten days after the city of Kirksville received its quarantine order on October 1,⁵⁰ the *Daily Express* reported October 11 that Adair County judges instructed County Health Physician L. J. Conner to place signs bearing the word "Influenza" at all homes with infected individuals outside of the city of Kirksville.⁵¹ These signs were distributed to the county's health officers, to be placed on a home when a physician was called for a case of suspected influenza. The placards served the dual purpose of denoting quarantined residents and raising awareness of the illness in the countryside amongst yet unaffected rural residents whose knowledge about the pandemic likely was sparse and incomplete. The quarantine notices advertised the spread of the pandemic, but also advertised to rural residents that medical professionals were reacting.

⁴⁸ "Notice," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 3. Still did allow "real sick patients to be seen once a day by an immediate relative, providing the relative [was] not under quarantine."

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ I strongly suspect placarding of Kirksville homes that contained a case of influenza began about October 1 when the Kirksville Board of Health voted to quarantine all cases. See "Governor Ordering Ban on Public Gatherings," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 9, 1918, 1.

⁵¹ "Influenza Out in County to Be Quarantined," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 6.

Kirksville school district superintendent Charles Banks weighed in on the question of whether or not the city's schools ought to be closed in the October 11 *Daily Express*. Banks said he did not think the schools would close at the present time, and any, "pupil observed in school with a bad cold... [would be] sent home with instructions to remain there until he is cured."⁵² To the public, a "bad cold" was synonymous with influenza; the misunderstanding still remains today, as people often use the term "flu" and "cold" interchangeably. Banks' words show the lack of available scientific knowledge about the disease among Kirksville's institutions.

The Red Cross, at a meeting the previous afternoon, concurred with Kirk, and "decided [it was] best to keep the schools in operation for the present. It was pointed out that the school children would be allowed to run at large on the streets and possibly undergo more exposure than if in the school room."⁵³ The logic of this is dubitable, and things evidently did not go "as planned," since the October 12 *Daily Express* reported Kirksville High School closed that day "because of the Spanish influenza."⁵⁴ The High School's Parent-Teacher Circle, to be held the following Monday, also was "postponed indefinitely on account of the influenza epidemic."⁵⁵

Following on the heels of Kirksville's High School shutting its doors, the Health Board, City Commission, and acting Kirksville mayor J.D. Bondurant, Sr. decided October 12 to severely limit the autonomy of all the city's bodies, healthy and sick by closing all "schools, churches, places of amusement or where there are more than twenty persons congregated together, beginning at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning and continuing until further notice."⁵⁶ The drastic closing order came only ten days after the city's first public address of the pandemic in

⁵² News Brief, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 2.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ "High School Did Not 'Keep School' Today," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 4. This is a Saturday, and I do not believe this to be an error. The *Index*, in its Wednesday, October 18, 1918 issue printed that the "High School did not start classes on its six day schedule last week as had been planned, on account of the numerous cases of Spanish Influenza."

⁵⁵ "Social Events," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 5.

⁵⁶ "Health Board Issues Closing Order Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 1.

the newspapers. The *Daily Express* followed the proclamation with its own editorial, urging the public to follow the orders of the Health Board and Commission:

The city officials have been watching the progress of the epidemic for several days and in view of its continued spread among the inhabitants of this city it was deemed best to close everything down for a few days at least. The situation here is not alarming, although there are a large number of cases, but if allowed to go unheeded, it would no doubt lead to a serious epidemic. The citizens of this city are urged to assist the health officers in stamping out the disease in every possible way.⁵⁷

The *Daily Express's* editorial highlights the newspaper's competing goals — Kirksville's institutions sought to minimize the disease to avoid a panic, but also to impress the seriousness of the disease upon the citizens. The *Daily Express's* position was disorganized and incoherent: the situation was termed "not alarming," but the newspaper also admitted there were "a large number of cases." Most conspicuously absent was any mention of the pandemic as a deadly force; the *Daily Express* reported Allen dead just two days prior, and it undoubtedly was on citizens' minds. The pandemic would not go quietly, and the city hardly would be closed for "a few days."

At least two prominent Kirksville residents openly disagreed with the Board's closing order — one being John R. Kirk, President of the Kirksville State Normal School. Kirk thought "the commissioners and health officers should reconsider their order as quickly as possible and not cause any undue alarm over the situation which is improving rapidly."⁵⁸ Kirk did not comply with the closing order, claiming Kirksville's Mayor, Health Board, and City Commissioners did

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid

not have the authority to compel Kirk to close the Normal School — whether he would close the Normal School "depend[ed] on the opinion of the Attorney General of Missouri."⁵⁹ Kirk claimed the time for action had passed, but "a week ago it would have been a wise measure."

Contradictorily, Kirk also claimed the Normal School students were becoming ill "by the dozens," but assured the public that with "proper care and precautions... the disease was abating rapidly."⁶⁰

Kirk's announcement that "the disease was abating rapidly" seems counterfactual, especially considering that closing orders continued to be issued as the outbreak progressed. The announcement that he would not comply with the closing order marked the beginning of an enduring power struggle between Kirk and the city's officials — though the city was facing a public health crisis, Kirk was more concerned about his particular institution rather than what would be best for the city's residents. The *Daily Express* two days prior reported that only a few cases of influenza at the Normal School were serious. Now, Kirk reported "dozens" of students ill: this avoided offering a concrete number of cases, but gave the impression that Kirk's institution was suffering, too. Kirks' announcement broke the so far "united front" that the city's leaders had presented to the public through the city's newspapers. Kirk sought solidarity with the city's institutions for purposes of garnering public sympathy, but rejected it when it required he play his part in defeating the outbreak.

The quarantine's second detractor was superintendent Banks, who had ordered Kirksville High School to be closed before an official quarantine was issued. Banks said he agreed with Kirk that it was "unwise to close the schools, being of the opinion that the pupils were better off

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

in the school rooms."⁶¹ Banks' stopped short of Kirk's audacious rejection of the city officials' orders.

The *Daily Express*, which had allied itself with the Health Board and Mayor's positions thus far, followed Banks' comments with a tongue-in-cheek rebuttal to Kirk's rogue defiance of the Board and Banks' concurrence with Kirk. The *Daily Express* claimed a majority of the towns in the state had "taken actions similar to that taken by Kirksville," and that "the majority of persons afflicted with the disease are recovering nicely where the proper precautions are being taken and the doctor's orders are being carried out."⁶² The *Daily Express*'s words drew lines in the sand — if proper precautions were *not* taken in Kirksville, the city's recovery from the disease would be slowed or reversed. The *Daily Express*'s words were biting, implying Kirks' defiance would render him responsible for the pandemic's worsening.

The *Daily Express*'s social column suffered, reporting the showing of the comedic propaganda film "To Hell with the Kaiser" was no longer scheduled for its October 14 showing at the Princess Theater.⁶³ Likewise, the Parent-Teacher Circle was cancelled for that evening.⁶⁴ The October 14 *Daily Express* reported the closing of the Gem Theater,⁶⁵ and the cancelling of meetings of American Red Cross workers.⁶⁶ Kirk's Normal School stood conspicuously open during a time when even unnecessary Red Cross functions were cancelled and the picture houses in town denied moviegoers access to war propaganda.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ "'To Hell With the Kaiser' Will Not Be Shown Monday," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 4.

⁶⁴ "Social Events," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 5. Also contained in this issue is an interesting report by County Health Officer Conner that the first case of influenza was diagnosed that day in Adair County beyond the borders of Kirksville. He claimed it was the "only case reported from the ruray [sic] districts." Conner said he did not believe it would spread into the countryside.

I seriously doubt the influenza had not already spread into the countryside around Kirksville because there were hundreds, if not thousands, of cases in Kirksville at this point. The more likely explanation to Conner's claim is that rural people were less able to afford healthcare and lived outside of Kirksville, and thus were less likely to contact a physician. See: "One Case of Influenza Reported in County," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 6.

⁶⁵ Advertisement, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 14, 1918, 2.

⁶⁶ News Brief, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 14, 1918, 1.

Then, the first outbreak in Kirksville abated even more quickly than it had overrun the city. City Health Officer Quinn commented in the October 14 *Daily Express*, "The influenza situation has improved greatly since Saturday and is now well in hand."⁶⁷ Quinn seemed confident there would "not be any more fatal cases if the person afflicted will take the proper care and obey instructions given by their physician."⁶⁸ Perhaps hinting at the commonly subsequent pneumonia that many influenza patients caught and died of, Quinn declared the pandemic's danger stemmed from people's "refusing to remain indoors and getting out too quickly after apparent recovery."⁶⁹ Though Quinn also might have had an agenda, his position as a public health officer confers credibility to the astonishing (and perhaps false) claim that the disease was "well in hand." The announcement came just two days after the Health Board closed the city down two days prior, save for Kirk's Normal School. Quinn likely misjudged the situation, as it was later recognized by the *Daily Express*⁷⁰ and the Health Board⁷¹ that the closing order during the initial outbreak was lifted too soon; Kirksville's Health officer's assertion that the pandemic was "well in hand" likely contributed to an early easing of the closing order.

The October 14 *Daily Express* also discussed the beginnings of Normal School President Kirk's acquiescence to the closing order, though Kirk had held out until the city's health officer had declared the outbreak all but over:

This morning the A.S.O. and [Kirksville] public schools did not convene but the Normal School assembled as usual for a few minutes. After making assignments

⁶⁷ "Influenza Is Losing Out in This City," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 14, 1918, 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ "Health Board Has Lifted Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1.

⁷¹ "Health Board Places Ban on Ward Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 9, 1918, 1.

for the next lesson, however, school was dismissed for 24 hours, in order that the general situation may be reviewed and the closing order possibly revoked.⁷²

Kirk, who was yet unwilling to bow to the Health Board, continued to raise challenges to the quarantine order. In the October 14 *Daily Express*, he noted that the order placed the Normal School in a predicament:

President John R. Kirk stated this morning that the Normal School was a law abiding body and did not want to do anything contrary to law and order, but he thought the school was placed in a peculiar situation at the present time owing to the S.A.T.C. [Student Army Training Corps]⁷³ students. The school is under government contract to feed and instruct the 161 students belonging to that organization and Dr. Kirk said he did not see how they could fail to live up to their contract [by closing the school in compliance with the quarantine]. He said the influenza situation was very much improved at the school and he did not think there was any cause for alarm.⁷⁴

Kirk's argument does not acknowledge that the University of Missouri-Columbia, just 90 miles south of Kirksville, had accepted the city of Columbia's quarantine and was providing for S.A.T.C. soldiers there. The Kirksville State Normal School's own newspaper, the *Index*, printed that the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri had closed on October 9, almost a week before, because of the pandemic: "The University [of Missouri] has been quarantined and only student army training corps men and teachers are allowed on it."⁷⁵ The University of Missouri had a far larger commitment than the Kirksville State Normal School did — the University of

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ This is the World War I equivalent of an R.O.T.C. program.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ "M.U. Closed," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, October 16, 1918, 6.

Missouri's S.A.T.C. program contained 2,000 students,⁷⁶ yet they complied with Columbia's closing order while also meeting their contract to provide for the S.A.T.C. students. In light of the University of Missouri-Columbia's compliance with Columbia's closing order, Kirk was not unable to close the Normal School, but rather unwilling to cede control of his institution.

At an October 15 meeting between President Kirk, acting Kirksville Mayor Bondurant, City Health Officer Quinn, and Earl Laughlin, member of the city Board of Health, the men reached a consensus to shutter the Normal School for the sake of public health. The October 15 *Daily Express* wrote, "The men discussed the influenza situation and while it was conceded that the epidemic was under control it was thought best to keep all of the schools and amusement places closed until further notice."⁷⁷ This conspicuously passive construction likely was cobbled together because the *Daily Express* did not wish to more clearly enumerate the disagreement between the men, as to do so would have been to uncouthly highlight discord amongst the city's leadership. It is only hinted at later in the piece:

Dr. Kirk made a good argument for permission to keep the Normal School open. He pointed out that the disease was abating there; that the students would go home if school was closed down and in this way those affected would spread the disease to their homes and others would contract the disease in making the trip. He said he would abide by the decision of the Board and close down for the remainder of the week at least.⁷⁸

Kirk's agreement did not put an end to his obstinacy about not wanting to close the Normal School. Although Kirk had bowed to political pressures, he continued to list reasons why the Normal School should not be closed down. To appease Kirk, the men agreed to hold another

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷ "Normal School to be Closed For One Week," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 15, 1918, 4.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

meeting the following Monday to reevaluate the situation and the closing order as it pertained to the schools.⁷⁹

Although the Normal School was closed, an *Index* issue was published October 16. The issue asserts that there were "no serious cases of influenza and but few new ones in light form of the disease." To prevent new cases, the *Index* recommended that students "take precaution; avoid lying or sitting on the ground; keep the feet dry and head cool; get back to work next Monday."⁸⁰

Although the *Index* reported the Normal School being consistently less affected by the pandemic than the town in general, they, too, were swept up in the hysteria surrounding the influenza. They tried to assist with eradicating the pandemic by offering medical advice. However, the *Index's* suggestion is quackery at its finest, even more so than their prior suggestion that the flu could be driven off by gargling salt water. Neither the *Index* nor the *Daily Express* refrained from touting medical advice; unfortunately, they likely confused residents further about the proper treatments for influenza.

The October 16 *Index* discusses the effect of the pandemic on those related to the school — Normal School professor Ed Wright was declared ill.⁸¹ Ray Hopewell, an alumnus of the Kirksville State Normal School, was announced dead in this *Index*. Hopewell was a 28-year-old Kirksville native who lived in La Plata, Missouri, and worked for Wells Fargo & Company after graduating from the Normal School.⁸² Hopewell's death is discussed at some length, like Allen's — Hopewell shared some significant similarities with Allen, most notably his gender, youth, and occupation in a white-collar industry.

⁷⁹ "School Closes for One Week," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, October 16, 1918, 4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ News Brief, *Kirksville Normal School Index*, October 16, 1918, 1.

⁸² "Ray Hopewell Died," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, October 16, 1918, 1.

The October 17 *Daily Express* reported Conner was instructed by U. S. Surgeon General Rupert Blue to give daily reports to Blue about the influenza situation in Adair County as part of Blue's national efforts to track the pandemic's progress across the United States.⁸³ Conner, in turn, requested that all physicians of the county issue a daily report to him so he could fulfill Blue's request, including "the number of cases he had treated, how many cases he has under his care, how many deaths have resulted from influenza and how many cases of influenza are now under quarantine."⁸⁴ The daily reports Blue requested ensured the influenza was in the forefront of the mind's of the city's health professionals. The *Daily Express*'s report seems unusually factual, without any of the emotionally-charged editorializing or faux medical advice of previous reports.

The Kirksville Board of Health hosted a meeting the evening of October 18 at which it decided not to repeal the closing order, "but to let it run indefinitely, which means that probably the schools, amusement places and other meetings will be closed for another week."⁸⁵ The October 19 *Daily Express* editorialized that "the general situation over the entire county seems to be much improved and few cases of the influenza are reported."⁸⁶ Contradictorily in the same story, Quinn stated there remained "a large number of cases in the city,"⁸⁷ an about-face from his October 14 claim that the influenza was abating rapidly and was well in-hand. Quinn might have seen the error of his premature October 14 claim and sought to err on the side of caution, declaring the pandemic a force still to be reckoned with.

Kirksville collectively held its breath, hoping one more week of the closing order would obliterate the disease from city. Since October 19 was a Saturday, the *Daily Express* clarified for

⁸³ "Daily Reports on Influenza to be Made," *Kirksville Daily Express*. October 17, 1918, 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ "Closing Order Here to Hold Over Next Week," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 19, 1918, 1.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Kirksville⁸⁸ that the quarantine "will not be lifted so that services can be held [tomorrow] in the different churches of the city."⁸⁹ Ministers of the Protestant Churches of the city, known as the Ministers Alliance, offered a solution:

We... do hereby call upon [the] people to have special worship in their homes. Let the Sunday School Lesson for the day be carefully prepared and were at all convenient reviewed in the family circle. ...let a morning worship hour be set aside for such a service; a scripture lesson can be read, a hymn sung, and a prayer offered. The least that might be done would be to repeat the Lord's Prayer in concert at the Breakfast Table. We urge that this Sabbath be made a day of special prayer. First, let us pray for our homes and churches, that they prosper, that this epidemic be staid throughout our city and our land.⁹⁰

The Protestant Ministers' advice is reasonable and humble. The organization avoided allying itself with either Kirk or the Board of Health about the closing orders — whether or not the ministers agreed with the closing order of the churches was not even discussed. The proposal encourages residents to make the best of the situation, regardless of occupation, class, sick, or healthy. The prayer is down-to-earth, an asking for protection against the pandemic — which everyone knew was killing citizens throughout the city — amongst homes and churches.

Perhaps the Ministers Alliance suggestion of coordinated prayer in the homes of Kirksville brought good fortune to Kirksville: the Health Board reported in the *Daily Express* October 21 that the pandemic continued to abate in Kirksville. However, the Board's optimism

⁸⁸ Kirksville's name translates from Scottish to "city of churches." "Kirk" is Scottish for "church." See: Hornby, Albert Sydney, Anthony Paul Cowie, and Jack Windsor Lewis, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 4th ed. [London: Oxford University Press, 1994], 688.

⁸⁹ "No Services at Churches Here Sunday," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 18, 1918, 4.

⁹⁰ Ibid. The second suggestion by the Minister's Alliance was to pray for the soldiers in the U.S. Armed Forces and that they achieve victory, and that they "may return to us stronger and truer men."

did not come without reservation — they feared "that carelessness may start the epidemic all over again."⁹¹ The Health Board wanted to make sure Kirksville's doctors were obeying orders, and followed their warning to the general population with a message specific to Kirksville's healthcare professionals: "The City Board of Health wishes to notify the doctors of the city that unless they report their cases of influenza to the City Board it will be necessary for the Board to report them to the State Board of Health."⁹² The Health Board asserted that doctors had so far been quite cooperative, but that "there are a few who have not [cooperated]."⁹³ The Board's threatening of the city's physicians seems unnecessarily confrontational: with hundreds or thousands of cases of influenza to deal with, it seems reasonable that the physicians might have forgotten to document and report occasional instances of the influenza if they were quickly called away to other cases after each visit with a stricken patient.

The Health Board was looking for scapegoats. Rather than recognizing little could be done to stop the pandemic elsewhere in the United States beyond allowing it to run its course, the Health Board saw Kirksville's citizens and medical professionals as being at fault for furthering the pandemic. The Board failed to blame the disease for its virulence, and instead saw malicious intent (or at least carelessness) among the city's physicians. The Board felt powerless against the pandemic, and instead sought to showcase their power against Kirksville's "uncooperative" physicians.

Almost vulgarly wishing that the Health Board soon would lift the restrictions on social gatherings, the *Daily Express's* society editor reported on the social stagnation of Kirksville during the ban in the October 19 issue:

⁹¹ "Influenza in Kirksville is on Downgrade," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 21, 1918, 4.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

Never in the history of the Social Column of the *Daily Express* has there been so little to report as there has been for the last ten days, due to the ban on public gatherings while the influenza epidemic lasts. There have been no picture show parties to report, no club meetings, no dances. ... While it makes it hard on the society editor it shows that people are doing their part to stamp out the epidemic. The most popular social functions these days are picnics. The weather is ideal for such affairs and there are no restrictions on small gatherings in the open.⁹⁴

Noting there were practically no social affairs to report, save "a party of picnickers [that] left town about eight o'clock this morning,"⁹⁵ the social editor almost grudgingly refrained that people *were* doing their part to fight the epidemic. The *Daily Express's* priorities here are repulsive: the Social Editor's complaint was a lack of content, not that the public's health was in jeopardy. The editor even tried to convince the residents to gather in "small gatherings in the open," ostensibly to provide content for the section. Although increased contact with other bodies could have resulted in further spread of the disease, it would have given the Society Editor stories for his section of the newspaper. Like Kirk, who held the Normal School's interests above those of Kirksville's residents, the *Daily Express's* concern was not for the influenza-stricken, but for the newspaper's circulation.

The next day, the *Daily Express* took the opportunity to remind the residents of Kirksville that things could be much worse. According to the October 22 edition, "while the influenza situation in this city continues to improve, such is not the case in other towns in this section [of Missouri]."⁹⁶ The *Daily Express* claimed there were three deaths in Chillicothe, Missouri, and

⁹⁴ "Social Events," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 21, 1918, 4.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ "Epidemic Lighter Here Than in Other Cities," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 22, 1918, 4.

two deaths in Macon, Missouri, due to the influenza the previous day.⁹⁷ This again was trailed by the admonishment "Kirksville can count herself as being lucky and it behooves all of the citizens to take precautions to prevent the further spread of the disease."⁹⁸ The *Daily Express's* words waffle between minimizing and magnifying the pandemic. The story highlighted the pandemic's ability to kill, but reminds residents that its worst effects are not being felt in Kirksville. This is accompanied by the ever-present vague advice to "take precautions," lest Kirksville suffer the same fate as the surrounding cities.

Because of the rapidly abating pandemic in Kirksville, it was unanimously decided by the Health Board at an October 25 meeting to abolish the public closing order, beginning 7 a.m. Sunday, October 27.⁹⁹ The ban, which affected "schools, churches, motion picture houses and public meetings of more than 20 persons," finally was to be lifted after two weeks.¹⁰⁰ It's clear that the drop in cases had not, however, assuaged the Health Board's fears. The Board issued a "sharp warning" to Kirksville residents that accompanied the news of the easing of the ban:

Continued co-operation must be given the Health Board by reporting cases for quarantine, or it may be necessary to again take strict action against meetings in churches, schools and theatres. The Health Board will not hesitate to again invoke the rule if influenza cases do not continue to decrease. Kirksville has been far more fortunate than most cities of its size, there having been only two deaths as a result. The Health Board has contributed largely to this condition and undoubtedly prevented a much wider spread of the epidemic.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ "Health Board Has Lifted Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ "Health Board Has Lifted Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1. This report states two deaths had occurred since the arrival of the pandemic. Harry Allen is one of the dead, but I was unable to discern who the other was. There are specific obituaries for two other people listed in the *Daily Express* up to this time: one was a man

The Normal School, the A.S.O, and the Kirksville public schools reopened starting Monday, October 28. The ban officially was lifted on theaters, but "by mutual consent the theaters have agreed to not hold any matinees until further notice."¹⁰² The Health Board reminded residents that it was only "by [their] help that the conditions [would] improve."¹⁰³ The Board's words painted citizens as a liability and a negative force in the fight against the pandemic; the *Daily Express* viewed themselves and the Board as foils to the citizens, playing the roles of heroes who ought to be commended for "prevent[ing] a much wider spread of the epidemic."¹⁰⁴

Kirksville residents breathed a collective sigh of relief at the symbolic end to the outbreak; they began to regroup and return to normal life, only to be blindsided by an even deadlier wave of the pandemic during November.

named Ray Hopewell who died in La Plata, Missouri and was previously a resident of Kirksville. The other was Orville Newton, son of Kirksville Judge George W. Newton who contracted the disease and died at Camp Funston, Kansas. It's unclear if the second death refers to one of these deaths reported that happened outside of Kirksville's borders, if there was a third death in Kirksville due to influenza, if one death simply went unreported by the newspapers, or whether the "two deaths" was a misprint.

¹⁰² "Health Board Notice," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

III. A Brief Intermission

*October 28, 1918 – November 5, 1918*¹⁰⁵

After the town's first closing order on account of the endemic influenza was lifted, a social, contact-riddled celebration was in order. Now that Kirksville's schools were back in session, the October 29 *Daily Express* reported the Kirksville High School football team was searching for a game to fill the void of one that would have been played with Green City High School from Green City, Missouri, during the first closing order.¹⁰⁶ The team looked to the Memphis High School team from Memphis, Missouri, as potential gridiron rivals.¹⁰⁷ The *Daily Express* also reported the Kirksville State Normal School was gearing up for a game, and, "a good team [was] being developed out of material secured from the S.A.T.C."¹⁰⁸ The football games were public showings of the town's most able bodies — they provided visual reassurance of the city's vitality to its residents.

With school back in session, superintendent Banks also sought to demonstrate the hardiness of the Kirksville public schools and assure parents that the pupils, their children, largely were unaffected. According to Banks, in the October 29 *Daily Express*, "the High School auditorium appeared to be as full of pupils as it did before the school was closed on account of influenza."¹⁰⁹ Banks acknowledged attendance was "not quite so good" in the ward schools,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ These dates are chosen for this section because October 28 is the day following the lifting of the first Board of Health ban on public gatherings, and November 5 is the beginning of the reinstitution of closing orders.

¹⁰⁶ "Football Work Resumed by Two Schools Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 29, 1918, 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ "Football Work Resumed by Two Schools Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 29, 1918, 1.

¹⁰⁹ "Influenza Has Little Effect on Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 29, 1918, 3.

¹¹⁰ "Ward [2]: division of a city, etc that elects and is represented by a councilor in local government." Ward schools were the city's public schools, referring in this case specifically to the city's elementary schools. See: Hornby, Albert Sydney, Anthony Paul Cowie, and Jack Windsor Lewis, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 4th ed. [London: Oxford University Press, 1994], 1435.

though "there were only about ten percent of the pupils absent... and it [was] thought that in a few more days practically all of them [would] be back in school."¹¹¹

The Normal School, like its elementary and secondary counterparts, also reported high attendance after the ban was lifted. President Kirk stated in the October 29 *Daily Express* that, "95 percent of the students were back in school after the two-weeks [sic] vacation," and noted it was "possible that a few of them did not receive word of the re-opening of the school until it was too late to get here the first day of this week."¹¹² Kirk, following the lead of Banks, was determined to paint the closing order he had opposed as frivolous, calling it a "two-weeks vacation," and noting the inconvenience of the closing order for the Normal School, since some students returned home and received word of the Board's lifting of the closing order too late to return to the Normal School in time for its reopening.

Banks and Kirk, both in word and action, downplayed the effect of the pandemic on the city, as if to ridicule the lengthy closing orders. Sports, and football in particular, are the past-time of a healthy, recovered community. By focusing on recreation immediately following the lifting of the closing order, Banks and Kirk made clear that their institutions had been ready for the lifting of the closing order well before, and no recuperation period was not necessary.

As the month neared a close, two women living on the same street, strangely, were reported dead on account of influenza by the October 30 *Daily Express* — one was identified as Mrs. William Erickson, 29 years old, and the other Mrs. Evan Bennett, 22 years old.¹¹³ Both were residents of South First street in Kirksville, and both were buried without a funeral on account of the communicable nature of the disease.¹¹⁴ Both were married, and both were

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ "Two Women Die in Third Ward of Pneumonia," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 30, 1918, 2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. This was common practice for victims of the influenza.

survived by children; in Bennett's case, all five children were also sickened by the influenza.¹¹⁵

The *Daily Express* commented on the deaths of these young, successful citizens (for females during the time period) because their stories were particularly tragic: both left a family behind.

Although the *Daily Express* was fulfilling their duty to notify their audience of deaths in the community, the lengthy coverage of the tragedies also sold newspapers.

November 5 saw a rekindling of influenza activity in Kirksville.¹¹⁶ W. E. Neil, mayor of Kirksville, made a proclamation that was printed in that day's *Daily Express* because the epidemic was "gaining a new start in the west part of town."¹¹⁷ Neil issued the following closing order:

The Board of Health has recommended that, until further notice, all places of public amusement, and the Willard School in the northwest part of the city, be closed, and that all unnecessary gatherings or meetings of the people be prohibited, from and after 6 p.m. of Tuesday, November 5th, 1918.

Now, Therefore, I. W. E. Neil mayor, hereby proclaim that from and after 6 o'clock p.m., of Tuesday the 5th day of November 1918, that all places of public amusement and the Willard School, be closed until further notice, and all people are respectfully requested to refrain from gathering in any unnecessary meetings or crowds at any place in the said city until further notice.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ However, the November 5 *Daily Express* story was not the first mention of the influenza pandemic in Kirksville's newspapers during November. The first mentions of influenza in the newspapers during November 1918 came in the form of two more death notices. The *Daily Express* reported on Alice Glaspie's death. Glaspie was 23, and died of pneumonia following influenza; she was buried the next day in Adair County's Yarrow cemetery. Edwin B. Reed's death was also announced in the same issue. Reed, 47, was a resident and retired business owner of Kirksville, but died in Kansas City November 2; the cause of death was pneumonia, which followed an illness with influenza. See: "Mrs. Glaspie Dies, Aged 23," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 2, 1918, 1. // "Edwin B. Reed Dies as a Result of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 2, 1918, 1.

¹¹⁷ "Picture Shows and Willard Schools Closed," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 5, 1918, 1, 3.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Neil's closing order was not quite a return to that of the two weeks in October, but it must have unnerved citizens who had read consistent reports that the report was all-but stamped out in Kirksville from Quinn, Conner, the mayor, and the newspapers themselves. Kirksville's theaters had been open only nine days since the previous closing order was lifted, and still refrained from showing matinees since the previous closing order was lifted October 27.¹¹⁹ The familiar refrain, asking citizens to avoid gathering in crowds in public places, signaled a resurgence of the pandemic in Kirksville.

¹¹⁹ "Health Board Notice," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 25, 1918, 1.

IV. The Second Outbreak of Influenza

*November 5, 1918 – December 6, 1918*¹²⁰

Thanks to the quarantines and constant placarding of houses required by Kirksville city ordinance, the pandemic had become a cumbersome financial burden, both for the city and for private businesses.

Coal mining, a prominent industry in the area, was showing strain in particular. The Big Creek Coal Company reported to the *Daily Express* that they "had been hit between the eyes by the Spanish Influenza the past few days," and their production had dropped from about 1600 tons of coal per day to 900 tons.¹²¹ At barely half of their regular production, the mine was considering the possibility of an enforced shutdown if things did not improve — a company official stated "more than a hundred miners are laid up with the influenza, nearly all the top men at both mines are sick, half the section crew which is building the new switch are laid up and all the train crew except the engineer is sick."¹²² The company was suffering "the worst...since it was started" on account of the pandemic.¹²³

The pandemic also had become rather costly for the city of Kirksville. Two members of the Health Board presented City Commissioners with bills totaling \$278 for placing quarantine

¹²⁰ These dates are chosen because November 5 is the beginning of the second round of closing orders. The mayor's proclamation November 5 proclamation reinstated the ban on public gatherings and the Willard School. See: "Picture Shows and Willard School Closed," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 5, 1918, 1, 3. Though the city's closing order on the grade school remained in force December 6, it was lifted at that point on the High School. The grade school closing order would not be lifted until December 23, but this seems like an excessive precaution and newspaper accounts report the influenza pandemic had all but dissipated by the December 6. See: "Health Board Has Lightened Influenza Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 6, 1918, 1.

¹²¹ "Influenza is Putting Crimp in Coal Mines," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 5, 1918, 1. Big Creek Coal Mine was not alone among the coal industry in suffering from the pandemic. According to Metropolitan Life Insurance, the virus killed an estimated 6.21 percent of all coal miners they insured between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. 3.26 percent of all industrial workers Metropolitan Life insured died, a rate "comparable to the worst rates in army camps." See: Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 362.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

cards on houses of the afflicted, then taking them down once the diseased had recuperated.¹²⁴

The bills were to be paid to health officers of the city, as a city ordinance paid officers \$1.50 each time they made a call to a place of contagious disease, as well as \$1.50 card when a card was posted or removed from the home of an influenza-stricken resident.¹²⁵

City Commissioners protested on two accounts: first, they claimed Health Board members were not entitled to compensation under the ordinance except for attending meetings of the Board,¹²⁶ and second, that "placing of the quarantine cards was a useless expense as very few persons seem to an [sic] attention to them."¹²⁷ Though the posting of quarantine signs was unpopular among the Commissioners, they admitted "the ordinance provides that it be done and the cards will be put up until the disease abates."¹²⁸ For these services, City Health Officer Quinn presented a bill for \$16, two other Board members presented a \$278 bill, and Dr. Laughlin presented a bill for \$156.¹²⁹ The sum total of the bills was \$450, or about \$7,088 adjusted for inflation. During this period of emergency, the city ought to have expected to incur some additional expenses.

While \$450 was no small amount of money, the city's woes seem overblown and misplaced. Placing signs denoting infectious disease at a home hardly seems a "useless expense," and \$450 (or \$7,088 adjusted for inflation) seems too little to bankrupt a city. The Board again seems out of touch with the concerns of Kirksville's citizenry. Rather than continuing to work for the public health at any cost and worrying about recouping costs later, the Commissioners quibbled about a paltry amount paid to those who were doing the actual legwork of controlling

¹²⁴ "Epidemic is Expensive for City Council," *Kirksville Daily Express*. November 5, 1918, 2.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ It was stated that "it is this part of the ordinance that is to be looked up." I could not find any resolution, whether the bill was paid or not.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

the pandemic. Kirksville's residents likely would not have viewed the expenses involved with posting quarantine notices as "useless" expenses. The Commissioners, like many of the City's other institutions before them, were concerned more with the immediate interests of their organization than the city's collective interest in avoiding unnecessary death and illness from a spreading pandemic.

The news industry had suffered with the coal industry and the City. The *Daily Express* reported on November 6 that they had been "shorthanded for some weeks"¹³⁰ and asked "readers and advertisers to be as indulgent as possible under the circumstances." The *Daily Express* found themselves in the uncomfortable position of asking for readers' understanding during the pandemic after previously talking down to them.

The *Index*, for its part, was unable to publish during the closing order; the newspaper did not publish its scheduled October 22 and October 29 issues.¹³¹ The newspaper apologized on that account to readers in Kirksville and abroad¹³² in an editorial:

We were sorry not to be able to publish the *Index* on Oct. 22 and Oct. 29, but inasmuch as school was closed, because of the epidemic, the activity of the school paper was also muzzled. We have resumed, for the best way to resume is to resume, — and this week, thanks to the editorial shears and other faithful assistants, have tried to give you your money's worth. Our editor-in-chief [Florence Baker]¹³³ has been moping about, lonesome and forlorn, quarantined in her home, in a struggle with

¹³⁰ "Sickness Badly Hampers the Daily Express," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 6, 1918, 4.

¹³¹ "Editorial Note, *Kirksville State Normal School Index*, 6 November 1918, 4.

¹³² Letters contained within the *Index* indicate that it was read by Kirksville State Normal School students fighting abroad in Europe during this time, referenced by "Over There" in the *Index*'s editorial.

¹³³ The *Index* editor-in-chief's name is known from "Local Happenings," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, November 6, 1919, 4. She recovers by the midst of the second outbreak. See: Editorial Note. *Kirksville State Normal School Index*, November 13, 1918, 4.

influenza. In the meantime we have done our best. We trust that our readers in camp and "Over There" will get this number and will understand the delay.¹³⁴

The *Index*, whose editor-in-chief's apology for not publishing issues seems more earnest than the editorial published the same day by the *Daily Express*, which had been affected only by being shorthanded. Perhaps *Index* employees saw the pandemic a bit more seriously because they had been unable to publish during the previous two weeks, or perhaps the newspaper was invoking pity for the "faithful assistants [who] have tried to give you your money's worth" or the "editor-in-chief [who] has been moping about, lonesome and forlorn."¹³⁵

In the same issue, the *Index* offered an update on the state of influenza in Adair. Conner reported that four deaths had occurred in the county out of 412 reported cases of influenza "within the last few weeks."¹³⁶ Quinn, published in the *Index*, asserted that this was a "low death rate for the large number of cases of the disease." He thought the period of "great danger" had passed for Adair County, but only if residents continued to obey quarantines and closing orders.¹³⁷ Quinn's analysis quickly was countered by the Health Board, and the pandemic's "great danger" hardly was passed.

By November 9, a resurgence of the pandemic officially had begun. The second outbreak would, throughout the next month or so, cripple the city worse than the first had. The *Daily Express* announced:

Confronted with an influenza situation which they deem more serious than it was

October 12, when the first ban was put on, the Kirksville Health Board today

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ "4 Deaths in 422 influenza Cases in County," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 6, 1918, 8. It's not clear exactly what period "the last few weeks" refers to, but this is still a good metric to judge the pandemic on up to early November.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

amplified its order issued November 5, by including ward schools¹³⁸ in the list of assemblages prohibited. Sunday schools are also included this time, but church services are not classed as undesirable as yet. Members of the Health Board stated this afternoon that they consider the situation worse today than it was in October and that strict measures are necessary, particularly concerning children.¹³⁹

The Health Board had realized the danger ahead of the reemerging pandemic, and was not exaggerating — the pandemic was deadlier, more virulent, and longer-lasting during its second outbreak. The November 9 *Daily Express* story also discussed a shift in the affected demographic of the disease:

When the epidemic first reached Kirksville it appeared that children were not susceptible to the germ. It was confined almost entirely to grownups and mostly those between 20 and 50 years of age. Just now, however, children are taking the influenza rapidly and the closing of the schools is necessary.¹⁴⁰

It is not known why children had begun to be more affected by the disease when they previously were less affected. The *Daily Express* commented that no action had been taken to close the Normal School, the A.S.O., or the high school because "it seems that the present increase in the number of cases is among children for the most part," and "the A.S.O. and Normal School appear to be free from the epidemic."¹⁴¹ The *Daily Express's* analysis seems to

¹³⁸ The November 5 announcement just included one Ward School, the Willard School. See "Picture Shows and Willard Schools Closed," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 5, 1918, 1, 3.

¹³⁹ "Health Board Places Ban on Ward Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*. November 9, 1918, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

match evidence from the death certificate records,¹⁴² and is corroborated by anecdotal evidence from each newspaper of regular child mortalities.

The Health Board saw the writing on the wall, as detailed by the *Daily Express* on November 9: this second outbreak had the potential to become significantly more widespread than the first because children tend to have poorer hygiene than adults, and tend to be in closer contact with one another than adults do. The Board implored Kirksville residents to cooperate so the town need not return to a state of complete shutdown.

The Health Board is again making a plea for co-operation from the people and from physicians so that more drastic rules will not have to be laid down. They ask that people do everything possible to avoid spreading the disease, instead of taking the position that they will go just as far as the rules will allow them... If this cooperation is given the Board of Health believes that the present restriction on picture shows, ward schools, Sunday schools, and assemblages of more than twenty persons will suffice to control the situation. If it does not control it, the Health Board has the power to close everything in Kirksville tight as a drum, including stores offices and everything else. ... It is now up to the people of the city to help stamp out the epidemic by reporting cases of influenza and by observing all quarantine rules.¹⁴³

The Health Board's comments fell somewhere between a plea and a threat, as before. The Board's panicked instructions scapegoat Kirksville's citizens and highlight a new distrust and displeasure with the city's citizens. The Board's remarks assume the residents *actively* would

¹⁴² Though I analyzed the Adair County death certificates (1918-19) by both age and month of death, I only looked at the aggregate data rather than associating specific deaths with specific months. However, I did notice significantly more children's deaths during the pandemic's second outbreak in Kirksville.

¹⁴³ "Health Board Places Ban on Ward Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 9, 1918, 1.

disobey orders, or at least disobey the spirit of the closing orders while obeying the letter, by "go[ing] just as far as the rules will allow them."¹⁴⁴ Previously, it seems the Board assumed most citizens would obey orders and only a few unthinking outliers needed to be deterred.¹⁴⁵ The Board's orders also imply a strange assumption that many residents are unafraid of catching the influenza (or at least not as afraid as they are of the town being shut down), as the Board doesn't threaten readers with the danger to their health, rather with seizing control over their autonomy by "clos[ing] everything in Kirksville tight as a drum." Again, the Board's instructions fail to concretely tell residents *how* to combat the disease, whether infected or not — they stop at requesting "people do everything possible" to not further the pandemic.¹⁴⁶ The next few days' deaths, recorded by the *Daily Express*, underscored the panic that had stricken Kirksville.¹⁴⁷

A very limited celebration was in order in Kirksville on November 11. The actual signing of the armistice¹⁴⁸ was addressed briefly by acting mayor J. D. Bondurant, Sr., who issued a proclamation: "Let us celebrate the good news from France by decorating our homes and places of business. On account of the influenza epidemic I urge that no crowds assemble, and that in the excitement of the moment the public health be not forgotten."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ See: "No Influenza Cases Here Now, Says Dr. Quinn," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 2, 1918, 1.

¹⁴⁶ "Health Board Places Ban on Ward Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 9, 1918, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Following the *Daily Express*'s printing of the Health Board's comments November 9, the newspapers' next reports about the influenza came November 11 when the *Daily Express* reported four more deaths during the 48 hours since November 9. The list included Kirksville resident Earl Cleveland Kent, 30, who died at his home at 1016 South Wabash Avenue; Kent's son, Leslie Robert Kent, 3 months; Cecil Burgess, 2 years; and Robert Schell, 26, who had worked at the American Express Company and previously the International Shoe Factory in Kirksville. Two adults had died, but so had two very young children — the youngest so far. The November 12 *Daily Express* added another child's death to that sorrowful list. Death struck the same family for a third time in three days — Cleve Pearl, 3, the brother of Leslie Robert Kent and son of Earl Cleveland Kent, died the evening of November 11. See: "Influenza Claims Many Victims," *Kirksville Journal*, November 14, 1918, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Because of a false report of an armistice by Roy Howard, President of the United Press Association, the *Kirksville Daily Express* erroneously announced the end of World War I four days early, on November 7, 1918. See: "Peace! Huns Quit," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 7, 1918, 1.

¹⁴⁹ "Proclamation," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 11, 1918, 1.

Bondurant recognized the people's need to celebrate after an armistice to the terrible war was signed, but his suggestion to decorate homes and businesses was a sad, inadequate replacement for the parades and parties that ought to have happened that day in Kirksville. Bondurant concretely enumerates his instructions: simply that people do not gather, and that they do not let their excitement get the better of them, because excitement tends to cause socializing. The proclamation was a reminder that the pandemic had cost not just lives and money, but also was taking a toll on the city's spirits.

The next day, the Health Board contacted the *Daily Express* to inform them of new actions to prevent the second outbreak's spread and to update the public about the progression of the disease. According to the *Daily Express* on November 12, there were presently 600 cases in Kirksville; 170 students were absent from Kirksville High School that day, and only three cases were reported at the Normal School.¹⁵⁰ Owing to the large number of cases, the Board ordered the High School closed until further notice — all the public schools in Kirksville were again closed.¹⁵¹ City Health Officer Quinn appeared more irritated with residents than before in his comments to the *Daily Express*:

You can't make it too strong... in telling the people that we are being forced into the strongest sort of action unless they quit having their parties and meetings; unless they notify the members of the board promptly when any member of the household has the influenza, and unless their physicians notify the board.¹⁵²

Quinn tried to impress upon the public and the city's physicians that the need for them to obey the closing and quarantine orders was urgent; according to Quinn, the public and physicians effectively were forcing the strong actions by the Health Board by not cooperating. Quinn

¹⁵⁰ "Health Board Threatens To Go To The Limit," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 12, 1918, 1, 6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

separated himself from the blameworthy citizens (according to Quinn), who "would not quit having *their* parties and meetings."¹⁵³ Quinn's words highlight the ongoing tug-of-war between the city's administration and its residents over the bodies, the vessels of disease, that populated the city — some residents fought to retain control, while the Board sought to limit autonomy in the name of public health.

If Quinn was frustrated, the Health Board was furious with Kirksville's citizens in the same November 12 *Daily Express* story. The Board essentially threatens citizens with martial law, which Kirksville Mayor W. E. Neil later implemented:

The Health Board has the power to close every business place in town if it decides to do so; it can keep people off the streets; it can order people not to leave town by train, conveyance or on foot. In fact, it can impose upon a city or town a double-riveted lid which county and city officers would be compelled to enforce. It is this tremendous power which the Board threatens to invoke unless there is a speedy change in the attitude of the people generally toward the influenza epidemic.¹⁵⁴

With wartime's end in such recent memory, the Board's threats are militaristic and seek to brandish the institution's power and authority. The Board invokes multiple threats to the residents. Still oddly assuming Kirksville's citizens were not sufficiently motivated by the pandemic's threat to the health of themselves and their families, the Board threatened them with losing their motility to travel about Kirksville. The Board threatened the complete loss of freedom to travel from one's home, which could have raised the pandemic's casualty count — residents without phones would have been prohibited from fetching a physician, and drugstores

¹⁵³ Ibid. My italics.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

and grocery stores would not have been open to transact purchases of essentials, like medicines and food. The Board blamed the raging pandemic not on the disease's innate virulence, but on citizens' "attitude" problems. The Board viewed citizens as a hindrance; if they could not be corralled by pleas, the Board thought they must be controlled physically by police enforcement.

Some good news was relayed by the November 12 *Daily Express* story, however: The A.S.O. senior students were to give up their studies to "help out until the epidemic is over." This came on the heels of a report that Kirksville's physicians were "being rushed to death and unable to handle the calls made upon them."¹⁵⁵ The senior osteopathic students had "unanimously voted to offer their services to those suffering from influenza,"¹⁵⁶ and would provide much-needed support for the city's physicians in fighting the pandemic. The students would be allowed to assist the city's physicians under three conditions: that they do so under the supervision of the members of the A.S.O. faculty, that they give treatments without charge for those unable to pay, and that they not accept any case under the care of another other physician in the community.¹⁵⁷ The A.S.O. set up a hotline — residents could call number 68 to report an influenza case to the A.S.O. faculty and senior students.¹⁵⁸

The A.S.O.'s response here highlights one of the few positive outcomes of the pandemic for Kirksville, and for the post-pandemic world: the pandemic was a proving-ground for osteopathic health professionals.¹⁵⁹ The A.S.O. students' volunteerism did Kirksville and their

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ "A.S.O. Seniors Volunteer for Community Aid," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 12, 1918, 6.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Osteopathic physicians were asked to compile data about their successes in treating the 1918 influenza. 2,445 D.O. physicians sent in an osteopathic survey, and of 110,122 cases treated by osteopathic doctors, the death rate was 0.25 percent. For pneumonia, the death rate was 10 percent out of 6,256 cases. Conversely, allopathic statistics place the death rate of treated influenza cases at 6 percent, and from 25 to 68 percent rate of death in pneumonia cases. Allopathic mortality rates were forty times higher than those of patients treated by osteopathy. While no sample size is offered by the source for the allopathic data, and self-reported data is not considered highly reliable, the information did lend greater credibility to the osteopathic profession.

profession a great favor: it undoubtedly saved lives and contributed to a greater acceptance of osteopathy throughout the world. Still a for-profit institution, the A.S.O. easily could have chosen to treat only patients that could afford their medical services: with the town swept by disease and fear, there would have been no shortage of paying clients. The A S.O.'s willingness to treat those who could not pay meant the school's administrators were concerned about more than their pocketbooks.

The next day, November 13, Kirksville Mayor W. E. Neil and the Health Board increased the quarantine's reach farther. Neil's closing order was the most stringent yet: the order stipulated the closing of all of Kirksville non-essential places of business and places of public gathering: The Normal School, the A. S. O, all of the city's schools, the International Shoe Factory, places of worship, and theaters were closed until further notice. Remaining businesses, such as drug stores, were to close no later than 7 p.m. so as to limit the time individuals could spend in close proximity within them.

Neil's order closed with an especially noteworthy provision that had been foreshadowed by the Board's November 12 threats:¹⁶⁰ Neil "instruct[ed] the marshal and all policemen to see that crowds do not assemble in any place in the city, and to disperse all assemblages of persons on the streets or elsewhere."¹⁶¹ The provision amounted almost to an imposition of martial law. Neil saw the city in a state of emergency: the pandemic was spreading, and he felt the Health Board's orders were not being obeyed stringently enough. Because the public would not willingly avoid congregating, Neil ordered Kirksville's police force to disperse the bodies by

See: Warner, Georgia Walter, *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle*, [Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992], 96.

¹⁶⁰ See: "Health Board Threatens To Go To The Limit," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 12, 1918, 1, 6.

¹⁶¹ "Proclamation!" *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 13, 1918, 1.

force. The order seems desperate, but in light of the numerous deaths of the city's children and residents,¹⁶² Neil's desperation to halt the pandemic is understandable.

For the fourth day in a row, the Health Board's actions were recorded in the *Daily Express*. At a November 14 meeting, the Health Board discussed "certain features of the influenza order."¹⁶³ Two portions of the previous day's proclamation were amended: first, drug stores were allowed to do business past 7 p.m. in the event someone needed to fill a prescription, though they were allowed open only as long as it took to fill the prescription; second, the Normal School Attorney M. D. Campbell succeeded in convincing the Board to allow the Normal School students to vote on whether the school ought to be closed, ostensibly because there were relatively few cases at the Normal School.¹⁶⁴

The Normal School students voted on the proposition at an assembly the morning of November 14, and "although [the proposition to keep the school open but require everyone to wear masks] carried, it was plain to see not a great many of the students were in favor of the plan."¹⁶⁵ In particular, S.A.T.C. students objected strongly, and the Normal School's administration agreed "that there will not be any more sessions of the school until the ban is

¹⁶² Neil's strict closing orders were joined in the November 13 *Daily Express* by a death notice of a prominent Kirksville resident and Normal School graduate — Ola McKasson, 23. McKasson taught at the Willard School on the west side of Kirksville due to an attack of influenza. She was a graduate of Kirksville High School, and a lifelong resident of Kirksville. On the heels of McKasson's death, the November 14 *Daily Express* reported three more casualties of the disease in town: Strother Edwards, no age given, a Shoe Factory employee; Steven Susick, 2; and Young You, no age given, a Chinese immigrant and one of the proprietors of Hand Laundry on South Franklin Street. See: "Miss M'Kasson, Teacher, Dies of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 13, 1918, 1. It is unknown why the spellings of McKasson's name differed in the body copy and the story's headline. "McKasson" is the spelling noted by her death certificate. The apostrophe might have been used to save space in the headline.

¹⁶³ "Health Board Extends Order for Closing," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 14, 1918, 6.

The previous day's mention of the influenza in the *Daily Express* is not referenced in the body of this essay, but it deserves note here because it details residents' philanthropy and cooperation with another aid organization: "The members of the A.Z. Club yesterday notified their local Red Cross officials of their willingness to make beef broth to be distributed by the Red Cross where families are in need of nourishing food because of sickness, and cannot obtain it through lack of help or funds."

See: "A.Z. Club to Give Broth to the Sick," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 14, 1918, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

lifted."¹⁶⁶ The Normal School that had so adamantly opposed closing during the first pandemic was much more weary the second time around. Although Campbell did succeed, unlike Kirk, in rebutting the Health Board insofar as securing an agreement to be bound by the students' vote on the issue, Normal School students had taken heed of the mayor's threat of action against any congregating groups. Little more than two weeks after the school was reopened on October 29, it was shut down once again.

The newspapers editorialized on the city's difficulty controlling the pandemic. The *Kirksville Journal* commented on November 14, "Spanish Influenza is all we hear around Adair... The 'Flu' is sweeping the county."¹⁶⁷ The *Daily Express's* editorial is more jarring: "There are families right here today where the father lies dead on a bed, the mother is sick, and three sick little children are getting along the best they can."¹⁶⁸ Almost an acknowledgment of being beaten, the newspapers' editorials were a sharp departure from previous assurances that the influenza was under control as long as civilians cooperated with Health Board orders. In particular, the *Daily Express's* editorial is shocking: the image of the family dying, too weak to help one another, is dystopian and fear-inducing, and it forces readers to place themselves in the role of a member of the sickened and dying family.

The *Daily Express* did discuss a proposed solution, one which had been followed "in other cities... and a splendid amount of work had been done."¹⁶⁹ The proposal was the opening of an emergency hospital which could provide care for community members unable to afford it otherwise.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ "Adair Notes," *Kirksville Journal*, November 14, 1918, 6.

¹⁶⁸ "Kirksville Needs Hospital for Sufferers," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 14, 1918, 6.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

It is unclear whether the *Daily Express's* words were the causal influence for the following day's preparations for Kirksville's Emergency Hospital, or whether they were simply emphasizing a suggestion made elsewhere. In either case, the A.S.O. and the Red Cross moved the following day to make the November 15 *Daily Express's* emergency hospital suggestion a reality — it was decided an A.S.O. fraternity's house would be used, the Theta Psi house.¹⁷⁰ The Red Cross decided to use the remainder of their Gauze Fund to meet initial expenses of furnishing it to function as a hospital, though it already contained 10 beds and had central heat.¹⁷¹ Dr. George Still chose Dr. Tom Ashlock to head the hospital; Ashlock had been educated at the A.S.O. and remained on staff after the completion of an internship at the A.S.O. Hospital. Still picked Cora Gottreau, R.N., also from the A.S.O., as head nurse. In less than 24 hours, the 17-bed hospital was fully operational.¹⁷² The hospital opened November 16 and was open exactly one month, until December 16: it cared for thirty-six patients, 19 of which had concurrent pneumonia.¹⁷³ Only one fatality — a child — was reported among those treated at the Emergency Hospital.¹⁷⁴

The Emergency Hospital represents an enormous sacrifice by the city to deal with its indigent ill. The Theta Psi fraternity, Chas Milbank,¹⁷⁵ the A.S.O., the Red Cross and many others made in-kind and financial contributions so the city was able to take care of those who

¹⁷⁰ "Emergency Hospital is Established Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 15, 1918, 1. Also known as the Milbank House, it was located at 201 South Franklin Street. Today, the Greek Corner Gyros restaurant is located here.

It is unknown whether or not the Health Board or some other entity had proposed the Emergency Hospital first. I was only able to find the proposal of the Emergency Hospital by the *Daily Express*, but the lack of evidence that other institutions did not first come up with the idea does not mean they might not have.

If the *Daily Express's* proposal was, indeed, the first and/or only proposal of the Emergency Hospital, it's an example of the city's newspapers directly impacting Kirksville's public health policy.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Warner, Georgia Walter, *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle*, [Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992], 95-6.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Milbank was the owner of the Theta Psi fraternity house. See: Warner, Georgia Walter, *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle*, [Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992], 95-6.

might otherwise have died on the streets or alone during the pandemic. The story of the Emergency Hospital is one of the most uplifting stories of the pandemic in Kirksville, and is a much more serious commitment than the A.S.O. had made before. The A.S.O. already had offered the services of their senior class, but students would not have been on the school's payroll. When Still chose some of his high-ranking employees to work in the hospital, he chose to pay his own employees to serve the needs of Kirksville, regardless of patients' abilities to pay — a remarkable step for a for-profit institution.

A Thanksgiving-themed hour of home worship was observed in Kirksville on November 16, as reported by the day's *Daily Express*. The Ministers Alliance recommended residents offer "special prayer of Thanksgiving because of the armistice which has been agreed unto and which is now effective... We also suggest special appeals that this epidemic be staid and the lives of our people be preserved. We remember especially the many homes under affliction."¹⁷⁶

The Ministers Alliance's suggestion sounds like more of a doomsday prayer than a Thanksgiving prayer: the ministers did not speak in terms of individual lives, but as if "our people" were at risk, implying the Kirksville public's well-being was at stake. The Alliance's use of the pronoun "our" implies a collective responsibility of the community to care for its sick. The prescription of an armistice prayer before a prayer for those affected by the influenza in Kirksville shows that concern about the war still took precedence over that of the pandemic.

The community pooled their efforts further November 18 to help stop the spread of the second outbreak. Volunteers, led by the Civic Department of the Sojourners Club and the Child Welfare Department of the Council of National Defense, began a public health campaign with the placing of posters in store windows. The organizations decided that when Kirksville's schools reopened, "the posters will be placed in every school and live talks given and discussions held

¹⁷⁶ "Sabbath Services," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 16, 1918, 6.

under the discretion of Kirksville's community nurse."¹⁷⁷ The *Daily Express* offered its approval of the club's work and encouraged everyone to volunteer their time or finances to fight the pandemic, asserting, "Let us all pull together for a stronger and healthier Kirksville."¹⁷⁸

Rev. C.C. Cunningham and the Summers Livery Barn also pitched in to assist the community in combating the pandemic. Cunningham donated a horse to Mrs. Reed,¹⁷⁹ Kirksville's community nurse, while Summers¹⁸⁰ donated a buggy to match; Summers also agreed to stable the horse, and to furnish a man to deliver the horse and buggy to Reed whenever she wished.¹⁸¹ The Red Cross paid for the horse's feed. Up to this point, Reed "had to depend on "jitneys"¹⁸² and often when she needed one the most they were busy carrying other passengers and could not respond at once," the November 19 *Daily Express* reported.¹⁸³

Meanwhile, the Emergency Hospital was doing its part to care for the community by offering free services to those who could not pay. As reported by the *Daily Express*, the Hospital had 14 patients at 2 p.m. November 19.¹⁸⁴ The hospital even served those who were not residents of Kirksville: one was from Novinger, an elderly woman from a household that had seven influenza cases. Another, David Shaver, 78, was a veteran of the Civil War.¹⁸⁵ Dr. Tom Ashlock, the head doctor, looked to reassure the public that the hospital had "a few serious cases, but there have been no deaths [so far]," and quiet a rumor "going around about deaths [at the hospital]."¹⁸⁶ The hospital had had "so many offers of supplies... that it [was] in good running shape," but the *Daily Express* hinted "since the sugar [ban] has been lifted a bit of homemade candy would not

¹⁷⁷ "Campaign On To Create Public Health Sentiment," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 18, 1918, 2.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ I could not find what Reed's first name was.

¹⁸⁰ I could not find what Summers' first name was.

¹⁸¹ "Community Nurse Now Has Buggy to Use," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918, 3.

¹⁸² "Jitney" is an archaic slang for a bus or vehicle that carries passengers for a low fare.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ "14 Patients at the Emergency Hospital Now," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918, 3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

be found amiss by the hospital staff... It probably wouldn't be good for the patients, but the nurses have good appetites."¹⁸⁷

The *Daily Express's* solicitation of confections is unexpected and comical: perhaps the *Daily Express* printed it to feel they were contributing to the Emergency Hospital effort, or perhaps an Emergency Hospital staff member had conveyed a desire for chocolate to the *Daily Express*. The hospital staffs' (or *Daily Express's*) unnecessary concern with a lack of candy in such a dire time of death and disease humanizes the pandemic for those who can only study it a century later. The request was a harmless preying upon the city's philanthropic atmosphere during the second outbreak, and illustrates the city's "donate whatever is needed" mentality. The call for candies is a lighthearted tonal shift from the remainder of the article about the Emergency Hospital.

During this outpouring of community charity, the City of Kirksville quickly was running out of funds to maintain the quarantines. The *Daily Express* reported on November 19 the City Commissioners, at the previous evening's Commission meeting, passed a ruling to reduce expenses incurred by paying health officers to post and remove quarantine cards.¹⁸⁸ The ruling revised the city ordinance so it was the attending physician's duty (rather than the Health Board's) to post the quarantine notice at the doorway of the influenza sufferer's home.¹⁸⁹ The city agreed to furnish the cards, but that would "be the only expense of the quarantine;" the city did not pay doctors for this service. Physicians also were required to report the "location, kind, and character," of the illness directly to the Health Board whenever a sign was posted.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ "City Goes Out of Quarantine Card Business," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918 6.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

The Commission's ruling is understandable, though unfortunate for the city's health officers, because the service likely was financially straining for the city. November 19 was the "high water mark" for estimates of influenza cases throughout the city, ironically reported in that day's *Daily Express* story, titled "Relief From Influenza Ban Expected Soon." It was estimated "probably three or four thousand" cases were in Kirksville, though it was admitted "there seems to be no way to determine the exact number of cases."¹⁹¹ One death had been reported within the last 24 hours.¹⁹² Paying Health Board personnel to placard thousands of houses with quarantine notices quickly would have become expensive.

The cost-saving measure of calling physicians to post the cards caused dissension amongst the Board: as reported in the November 20 *Daily Express*, one Board member stated the city had made a mistake, as "a physician should not be expected to do his work without pay."¹⁹³ Mayor Neil responded that "Health Officer[s] [were] paid a sufficient salary without being allowed \$1.50 for posting the notices."¹⁹⁴ Neil noted health officers were compensated "\$100 per year as salary, \$2 for each regular meeting, and \$1 for each call meeting, and \$1.50 for each trip made on a tour of inspection," and he thought the "physicians of the city [would] be glad to cooperate."¹⁹⁵

Neil foreshadowed the November 20 Board decision on November 19 when he conveyed to the *Daily Express* that "if the epidemic is sufficiently improved by the end of the last of the week the ban will be lifted."¹⁹⁶ Neil attributed this to a general compliance with the quarantine and closing orders, that "the only people seen on the square at night are those going to and from

¹⁹¹ "Relief From Influenza Ban Expected Soon," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918, 1.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ "Ban Lifted On Two Schools and Factory," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 20, 1918, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ "Relief From Influenza Ban Expected Soon," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918, 1.

trains, and there are not many people out at night."¹⁹⁷ He optimistically thought the worst part of the outbreak was over and hoped that "next week...things will be restored to normal course."¹⁹⁸ Neil's tone is noticeably softer than during his November 13 proclamation a week prior when he saw citizen disobedience as the problem and stated the city's police would be dispersing crowds throughout the city. Neil's confidence about the waning pandemic seems genuine, but guarded.

The Board of Health was even more optimistic than Neil about the disease's decline. At a November 20 Health Board meeting, the Board decided to begin drawing down the influenza ban. Effective 6 a.m. Monday, November 25, the influenza ban would be lifted on the Normal School, the A.S.O., and the Shoe Factory; other provisions of the ban were to remain the same.¹⁹⁹ Mayor Neil attended the meeting and opposed the Board's action: he believed that "the ban should remain on another week... and a re-opening of the schools and the shoe factory [would] tend to spread the disease again."²⁰⁰ The Board did bow to Neil's request that the high school not reopen.²⁰¹ Considering the events following the November 20 meeting, the ban's drawdown seems premature.

Other institutions in Kirksville did not see a lessening of the pandemic just yet.

The *Daily Express* reported it was caught off guard, having "thought that the majority of its troubles due to influenza among its employees had been safely passed, but... the carrier boys are entertaining the epidemic with surprising unanimity."²⁰² Out of the newspaper's 12 paperboys, five were sick with the influenza.²⁰³ The *Daily Express* carrier to the southwest part of the city was ill, as were three substitutes for his route.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ "Ban Lifted On Two Schools and Factory," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 20, 1918, 1.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² "Carriers Dropping Out with Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 20, 1918, 6.

²⁰³ Ibid.

The Emergency Hospital, too, saw a high point of influenza activity on November 20. Ashlock, head of the Emergency Hospital, reported 16 patients and "room for just one more," though, "possibly another [could] be squeezed in if the need is great."²⁰⁴ The previous night, Ashlock had moved out of his own sleeping quarters to make space for a woman and her 13-year-old daughter who were ill. However, the woman refused, worrying "her little son would get lonesome if left with the kind-hearted neighbors who volunteered to keep him."²⁰⁵

Ashlock was one of the town's real heroes during the pandemic in Kirksville: he served as head doctor at an institution that housed patients with a deadly, infectious disease. Ashlock even lived there because his work kept him busy around the clock, and then volunteered his sleeping quarters for two potential patients after the hospital was otherwise full.

The November 21 newspapers reported more families in Kirksville were torn by the pandemic: The McKasson family, of which influenza victim Ola McKasson had belonged, also lost Mrs. T.J. McKasson to the disease. T.J. was sickened by the influenza "shortly after the death of her oldest daughter, Ola."²⁰⁶ The story somberly noted it was "thought that grief for this daughter was partly responsible for her failure to regain her strength."²⁰⁷ The Babb family lost Sarah Babb, 6 — the first, and only, death at the Emergency Hospital. Babb's father and brothers also were patients at the Emergency Hospital, and her mother was sick at their house.²⁰⁸

However, by November 22, Kirksville's institutions had begun a return to normalcy on account of decreased influenza activity. Kirksville's Big Creek mining company reported a "constant increase in the number of men returning to work."²⁰⁹ During the previous weeks,²¹⁰ the

²⁰⁴ "16 Patients at Emergency Hospital Now," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 20, 1918, 6.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ "Mrs. McKasson Dies of Influenza," *Kirksville Journal*, November 21, 1918, 1.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ "Sarah Babb, Aged 6, Dies of Pneumonia," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 21, 1918, 3.

²⁰⁹ "Full Force at the Big Creek Mines Monday," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 22, 1918, 1.

²¹⁰ I do not know an exact date that the mines were closed down.

Big Creek mines were shut down because of the pandemic; now the company expected "full force...on the job in a few days."²¹¹

Although the Emergency Hospital reported its twentieth case the following day, on November 23, they too saw a drop in influenza activity. The patient was the three-year-old son of Kirksville resident Lillie McDaniels, who also was at the hospital, along with a two-month-old baby.²¹² Ashlock reported, like a caring patriarch, to the *Daily Express* "all the other patients are getting along nicely and several more will be discharged within a few days."²¹³

Kirksville, as of November 23, could see the light at the end of the tunnel of the pandemic. As if to reinforce the words of Big Creek officials and Dr. Ashlock, Quinn made a statement that day to the *Daily Express* about the pandemic's decline:

...the influenza situation in Kirksville is greatly improved... [and] other physicians of the city state in their opinion the epidemic is subsiding and with proper precautions it will be exterminated with the exception of occasional cases which will bob up all winter.²¹⁴

Neil was more cautious than Quinn, though. Understandably afraid of a third outbreak, Neil thought "it necessary to keep everything closed for another week."²¹⁵ Superintendent Banks thought Neil's suggestion a good one, but hoped to have Kirksville's public schools reopen by Monday, December 2. An adjustment to the school week for the high school was agreed on by the Health Board, to be implemented after the school opened, as "the closing of the schools has greatly hampered the work of teachers... and it will be necessary to keep the high school going

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² "20th Patient Received at New Hospital," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 23, 1918, 1.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ "Flu Conditions in Kirksville Much Improved," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 23, 1918, 1.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

on Saturdays in an endeavor to catch up."²¹⁶

Beginning Monday, November 25, the Normal School, the A.S.O., and the Shoe Factory were allowed to open due to the fading pandemic, although the Health Board did not lift the ban on "places of amusement."²¹⁷ This might be because places of amusement, such as theaters and soda fountains, were frequented by children, who were especially affected by the influenza during the second pandemic; people at these places tended to be in particularly close proximity to one another, and could exchange the virus via shared food and drink.

As Thanksgiving neared, the *Daily Express* reported on November 27 the pandemic was "on the wane in Kirksville," and that families were convening for dinner parties.²¹⁸ The newspaper encouraged families to "rejoice together," and declared "only sickness in the family would prevent [families] from getting together."²¹⁹ Although families had not been able to celebrate an end to the Great War together, the pandemic had abated enough by Thanksgiving that people actually were encouraged to congregate — a first since the pandemic's beginning in early October.

Just after Thanksgiving that year, the Board of Health decreed November 30 in the *Daily Express* the closing order affecting schools, churches, and places of amusement would remain in force for at least another week.²²⁰ The Board ostensibly had learned from their experience with the first outbreak in Kirksville; the Health Board "felt that the [first] ban was lifted too soon," and was not taking any chances.²²¹ This meant there would not be church services held Sunday, December 1, public schools would not open Monday, December 2, and Kirksville businesses

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ "School Opens Again," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, November 27, 1918, 7.

²¹⁸ "Social Events," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 27, 1918, 6.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ "Another Week of Influenza Ban, is Decree," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 30, 1918, 1.

²²¹ "Health Board Places Ban on Ward Schools," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 9, 1918, 1.

would continue to close at 7 p.m. each evening.²²² The Board declared cases of influenza in Kirksville were "not so numerous and can be properly cared for."²²³ The Health Board sought to reassure the public that its decision was in their best interests, as "raising of the ban here at this time would only result in it being put on again next week or about the time [of] the Christmas rush."²²⁴ Kirksville residents sat tight and waited for the pandemic to abate further.

Though the Normal School had reopened, things hardly were back to pre-pandemic norms. The December 4 *Index* reported the Normal School's operations during the end of the pandemic.

The Normal School, although not under the ban, is complying as far as possible with the wishes of the Health Board: Assembly periods are very short and are held only on Monday, Wednesday, Friday. As far as possible everyone sits with at least one seat between him and his neighbor. No new cases have developed among students and the attendance is quite pleasing.²²⁵

Represented by the *Index*'s editorial, the student body sought to prove their willingness to cooperate with the Health Board, perhaps with Kirk's spars with the Health Board in mind. The Normal School now was going out of its way to follow the Board's wishes to the letter, though they no longer were under the ban.

In addition to the recovery of the Normal School students, the city of Kirksville also had largely recovered, thanks in part to Kirksville's community nurse Reed. In a story addressed to "the Mothers and Fathers of Kirksville," the *Daily Express* asserted on December 4,

²²² "Another Week of Influenza Ban, is Decree," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 30, 1918, 1.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ "Ban is Not to Be Lifted," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, December 4, 1918, 1. Although no new cases were reported amongst the Normal School students during this time, the *Index* makes clear that the pandemic was not going so quietly elsewhere. The *Index* reported that the pandemic was not fading in Columbia and that "the epidemic is raging there as bad [sic] as it was several weeks ago."

It would be hard to estimate the number of deaths that would have accrued from this terrible epidemic had it not been for the [community nurse, the] hand of mercy that did its work so quietly, so persistently, and so effectively at all times. When neighbors and relatives and friends were afraid to do so, when every member of a family was at their worst, and with no one to give them a bath, to change their beds, to see that they had fuel or to order food for them, then it was that this nurse proved herself a blessing.²²⁶

Reed, like Ashlock, was one of the story's heroes thanks to her medical contributions. During November, Reed made 461 house calls in Kirksville, according to the *Daily Express*.²²⁷ Some had required as much as twelve hours of care at once, according to the editorial, and Reed boldly was termed "the hand of mercy" and "the greatest mother in the world."²²⁸ Though the *Daily Express's* editorial verges on farcical in its praise of Reed, it rightly compliments Reed for her contributions toward eradicating the pandemic — the disease undoubtedly would have been far worse for Kirksville were Reed not there to make thousands of hours of house calls.

One week after the *Daily Express* announced on November 30 the closing order would remain in force for the public schools, the Health Board lifted the ban on the high school;²²⁹ the ban on the grade schools remained in force.²³⁰ As of December 6, there remained "few restrictions upon the normal life of the city."²³¹ The *Daily Express* claimed December 6 that Kirksville's quarantine rules were responsible for the city's relatively tame outbreaks of disease.

²²⁶ "Community Nurse Has Done Great Work," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 4, 1918, 6.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ The High School actually reopened December 9, even though the closing order was lifted December 6. The public schools of Milan, Missouri, opened this same day, though they had been closed for eight weeks due to the pandemic. See: "Local Happenings," *Kirksville Normal School Index*, December 11, 1918, 11.

²³⁰ "Health Board Has Lightened Influenza Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 6, 1918, 1.

²³¹ Ibid. Restrictions that still remained upon normal life of the city were: grade schools were closed, businesses were required to close before 7 p.m. each day and social congregation was prohibited.

Kirksville has had fewer cases of influenza than many smaller towns in this immediate vicinity, and few deaths as a result, because of the fact that intelligent measures were taken to combat the epidemic. It has been made more healthful to come to Kirksville on business than to go into a town where there were no quarantine rules.²³²

Data is not available on the influenza pandemic in other towns in Kirksville's vicinity, but the *Daily Express's* conclusion from their assessment again misses the mark. Though there still were isolated residents suffering and dying from the pandemic, the *Daily Express* attempted to use the town's success in combating the influenza pandemic as a selling point to entice more business to Kirksville. Perhaps the *Daily Express* was concerned with "rebooting" the city's economy after the quarantines and business closures, but it seems at least callous to follow a sentence about the amount of life lost in a pandemic with a business enticement.

²³² Ibid.

V. The Pandemic's End and Resolution

*December 6, 1918 – January 7, 1919*²³³

Kirksville residents returned to normal life slowly but surely, though the Health Board was weary of another pandemic outbreak. As such, the city's newspapers were silent²³⁴ on the topic of the influenza until December 10, when the *Daily Express* reported the Health Board decided to further relax restrictions on the city's residents. As of December 10, the Health Board lifted quarantine restrictions on businesses' operating hours: Kirksville businesses now could be open after 7 p.m.²³⁵ The Health Board hoped to accommodate "persons [who] arrive [in Kirksville] on the 9:30 o'clock O.K. trains [and] are unable to get a bite to eat."²³⁶ The Board did enact the provision that "no loafing be allowed in these places at night" in an effort to prohibit unnecessary public gathering.²³⁷

From their experience during the first outbreak, the Board rightfully was aware of the potential effects of lifting the ban too early — the continued inconvenience for the citizens of Kirksville was a small price to pay when lifting the ban too early could invite a third outbreak of the disease.

²³³ These dates are chosen because there was a substantial reduction in influenza-related newspaper stories after December 6 when the Health Board lifted the closing order on the city's high school. Grade schools were still closed, businesses were required to close before 7 p.m. each day and social congregation was prohibited. These restrictions probably remained in place because residents were fearful of a third outbreak, and did not have the ability to foresee that the pandemic would not reemerge after its decline during the latter end of the second outbreak. See: "Health Board Has Lightened Influenza Ban," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 6, 1918, 1.

January 7 is the last mention of the pandemic that I could find in the newspapers, so it serves as the end date for this period. Epperson's death is the last mention of the pandemic at least though February 1. I chose to stop searching the microfilm archives here, as it had been three weeks since the last newspaper entry, Epperson's death. I concede it is possible there were more entries past this date, but reporting on the pandemic's effect on the community and city seems to have passed by mid-to-late December 1918. It should be noted that an elevated influenza-related death rate could be seen through April 1919, though I suspect this to be due to post-influenza attacks of pneumonia in isolated cases. See: "Shade Epperson, Aged 63, Dies of Pneumonia," *Kirksville Daily Express*, January 7, 1919, 3.

²³⁴ Kirksville's newspapers did not write about the influenza pandemic from December 6-10 with the exception of December 9, but only to state that City Health Officer Quinn had called a Board of Health meeting to review the ban that would be lifted the following day. See "Kirksville Getting Over Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 9, 1918, 6.

²³⁵ "Night Ban on Restaurants is Lifted Today," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 10, 1918, 1.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

The *Daily Express* noted a "strange fact" about the influenza pandemic on December 10: "the scarcity of deaths among the colored people."²³⁸ City Health Officer Quinn said "he personally did not know of a colored person who had the 'flu,' but it was known there had been several cases."²³⁹ Likewise, in nearby Moberly, Missouri, and Chillicothe, Missouri, only one African-American was known to have died in each city from the pandemic.²⁴⁰ It was not known, according to the *Daily Express*, why African Americans were disproportionately unaffected by the disease.

By December 10, the *Daily Express* reported the influenza situation so much improved that the Emergency Hospital was on the verge of closing. Ashlock, the hospital's head doctor, was so confident that the pandemic was over he stated, "the epidemic has subsided and that only isolated cases will have the influenza from now on."²⁴¹ Ashlock reported four days had passed with no new admittances to the Emergency Hospital, and the hospital quickly would be shut down.²⁴²

²³⁸ "Few Influenza Cases Among Colored Folks," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 10, 1918, 3.

I noted this oddity in my analysis of the death certificates, as I counted a maximum of two African Americans who died of the pandemic in Kirksville during 1918-1919. This trend is also noted nationally by the National Institutes of Health:

The lack of accurate data collection during the public health crisis and the possibility that African American cases may have been underreported because of inadequate access to medical care make it difficult to conclude definitively whether the incidence of influenza was lower in African Americans during the epidemic. However, in 1918 the belief that influenza took a lesser toll on African Americans was widespread and strongly held. The black lay public, black physicians, and white public health officials all shared this conviction. Thus, it appears likely that the incidence of influenza was lower in African Americans. Several factors might explain this racial differential. Alfred W. Crosby argues that African Americans were more susceptible to Spanish influenza and that many contracted it during the milder spring epidemic and thus were immune during the more severe fall epidemic. But it can also be argued that black people were less susceptible to influenza during both waves of the epidemic. Segregation cannot be discounted as a factor. It may have functioned as a *de facto* quarantine that limited the exposure of African Americans to influenza. The reasons for the apparent racial disparity are not clear.

See: Gamble, Vanessa Northington, "'There Wasn't a Lot of Comfort in Those Days:' African Americans, Public Health, and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic," *Public Health Reports*, 2010; 125 (Supplement 3), 114-122.

<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2862340/>

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ "Emergency Hospital to Close Soon," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 10, 1918, 1.

²⁴² Ibid.

News about influenza in Kirksville became steadily less grim by December 12.²⁴³ The December 12 *Daily Express* grandiosely announced "The church bells will ring in Kirksville on Sunday morning for the first time in four weeks."²⁴⁴ The Health Board decided that day to remove the ban on churches, on the eighth-grade students and staff, and on businesses,²⁴⁵ with "the understanding that there would be no unnecessary congregating or crowding."²⁴⁶ The ban remained on the city's grade schools, churches, as well as "picture shows, dances, parties, or lodges."²⁴⁷

Following the reopening of Kirksville's churches was the closing of the Normal School, but this time not because of the influenza. Finally, after surviving two closing orders due to influenza and a major fire in Baldwin Hall, the Normal School closed its fall quarter December 17, as reported by the *Daily Express*.²⁴⁸ The *Daily Express* called it "one of the most interesting and long-to-be-remembered quarters in the history of the school," and the graduation ceremony was fittingly closed with a rendition of "A Perfect Day" by the Normal School's orchestra.²⁴⁹ The Normal School students must have been well aware that had the pandemic continued for just another month in Kirksville, the semester's graduation ceremony would not have been held. Perhaps this alone — the Normal School's ability to congregate to recognize the semester's achievements — made for the perfect day for many Normal School students.

²⁴³ This was not true in other areas of Missouri. The December 12 *Daily Express* also reported that 85 people died in St. Louis of the influenza during the preceding 24 hour period. 666 new cases were reported in St. Louis on December 11, and the grand total of cases in St. Louis up to this point was listed at 28,900, with a total of 1533 deaths due to influenza and 690 resulting from pneumonia. See: "85 More Die of Flu in St. Louis in 24 Hours," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 12, 1918, 2.

²⁴⁴ "Health Board Lifts Lid on All Except Kids," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 12, 1918, 1. Microfilm. The story notes that churches were also closed for two weeks on account of the first ban, for a total of six weeks.

²⁴⁵ Kirksville businesses had been operating under restricted hours for three weeks at this point. See: "Stories Will Remain Open This Evening," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 14, 1918, 5.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ "Normal School Ends a Unique Fall Session," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 17, 1918, 6.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

The last of the closing orders to be lifted on area schools was announced by the December 20 *Daily Express*. The Board of Health, which met that day, agreed to lift the ban on the city's grade schools and Practice School, effective December 23, but agreed with the School Board to not reopen the schools until December 30.²⁵⁰ One week after the announcement that the last school ban had been lifted, the Health Board "'cleaned the slate' as far as the ban on account of the influenza epidemic in Kirksville is concerned," according to the December 27 *Daily Express*.²⁵¹ The ban was removed from "Sunday school services, young peoples' meetings, lodges, picture shows, parties, and dances," and would go into effect the following morning, Sunday, December 28.²⁵²

The Health Board, moved by the fact that "few, if any cases of influenza [remained] in Kirksville," signaled that the city had returned to normalcy. Of the few cases remaining, one was Shade Epperson, 63, a janitor at the A.S.O. Epperson had had an attack of pneumonia "several weeks [prior]," and had suffered a relapse.²⁵³ His death was the last mention of the influenza pandemic in Kirksville by the newspapers.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ "Public Schools are to Reopen December 30th," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 20, 1918, 1.

²⁵¹ "Health Board Removes All Restrictions," *Kirksville Daily Express*, December 27, 1918, 1.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ "Shade Epperson, Aged 63, Dies of Pneumonia," *Kirksville Daily Express*, January 7, 1919, 3.

²⁵⁴ Epperson's death is the last mention of the pandemic at least through February 1. I chose to stop searching the microfilm archives here, as it had been three weeks since the last newspaper entry, Epperson's death. I concede it is possible there were more entries past this date, but reporting on the pandemic's effect on the community and city seems to have passed by mid-to-late December 1918. It should be noted that an elevated influenza-related death rate could be seen through April 1919, though I suspect this to be due to post-influenza attacks of pneumonia in isolated cases.

VI. Public Health Instructions

The first offering of influenza treatment and prevention advice to Kirksville residents in Kirksville newspapers was printed in the *Daily Express* on October 12. The *Daily Express* printed a lengthy statement by the Red Cross Committee. The Red Cross allied itself with the Health Board, pledging its cooperation with the Board and its assistance in combating the pandemic.²⁵⁵ The Red Cross statement made six assertions:

First, that we realize that we face a serious situation... Second, that we avoid undue alarm... Third, unnecessary visiting and visiting upon the sick should be discontinued... Fourth, that every family be urged to faithfully report any appearance of the disease in the home. That a family physician be called at the first suspicion... Fifth, that we recommend a strict adherence and enforcement of the health laws and ordinances. ...Sixth, we would call attention to the recommendations of Surgeon General Gorgas, of the United States Army, as follows:

- 1—Avoid necessary crowding; influenza is a crowd disease.
- 2—Smother your coughs and sneezes; others do not want the germs which you would throw away.
- 3—Your nose, not your mouth was made to breathe through; get the habit.
- 4—Remember the three C's—a clean mouth, a clean skin, and clean clothes.
- 5—Try to keep cool when you walk and warm when you ride and sleep.
- 6—Open the windows always at home at night; at the office when practicable.
- 7—Food will win the war if you give it a chance; help by choosing and chewing your food well.

²⁵⁵ "Statement Issued by the Red Cross Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 3.

8—Your fate may be in your own hands; wash your hands before eating.²⁵⁶

The Red Cross invoked every sympathy they could of the residents of Kirksville.

Invoking residents' nationalist sentiment born from the nation's involvement in World War I, the Red Cross declared that it ought to "become a matter of patriotic duty and pride" for the residents of Kirksville to follow the Health Board's recommendations; that we must be "like soldiers" in our vigilance against the disease; that "every religious, humanitarian, and patriotic motive combine to urge the community to do its utmost."²⁵⁷ Even subtleties in diction tied the influenza pandemic in Kirksville to the war abroad: the pandemic is referred to as a war that could be won through proper eating habits.

Much of the advice was probably useful in the city's fight against the disease, such as the recommendations that those sickened avoid crowds, wash their hands and cover their coughs and sneezes; other pieces of advice probably were less useful in limiting the disease's spread, but reflected citizens' obsession with avoiding the disease, such as the Red Cross's recommendation that residents ought to chew their food well and wear clean clothes.²⁵⁸

Professional advice about how to care for victims of influenza also was printed in the October 15 *Daily Express*. Kirksville's Community Nurse Reed offered her suggestions:

If you take influenza, send for a doctor, take a physic and go to bed. Collect all discharges from nose and mouth in papers, or rags and destroy by burning. Give liquid diet, sweet milk, buttermilk, and broths while the fever lasts. Drink plenty of water. If the fever runs high, give a tepid sponge bath. Remain in bed three or four days after the fever leaves, allowing a light diet of food. Keep your windows open all the time, avoid draughts for patient. When your doctor allows you to sit

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

up, do not stay up too long at first, and slowly and cautiously [sic] return to normal life, avoiding exertion. Complications come when you think the well [sic], due to an overworked heart from poisons which this disease has left in your body.

Reed's suggestions were fairly sound medical advice. Advising a patient to rest, consume plenty of fluids,²⁵⁹ and sanitize any contaminated items²⁶⁰ is the prevailing medical advice in present day for someone sickened by influenza. The rest of her advice focuses on palliative care and making the patient more comfortable: giving a sponge bath, and keeping windows open for fresh air.

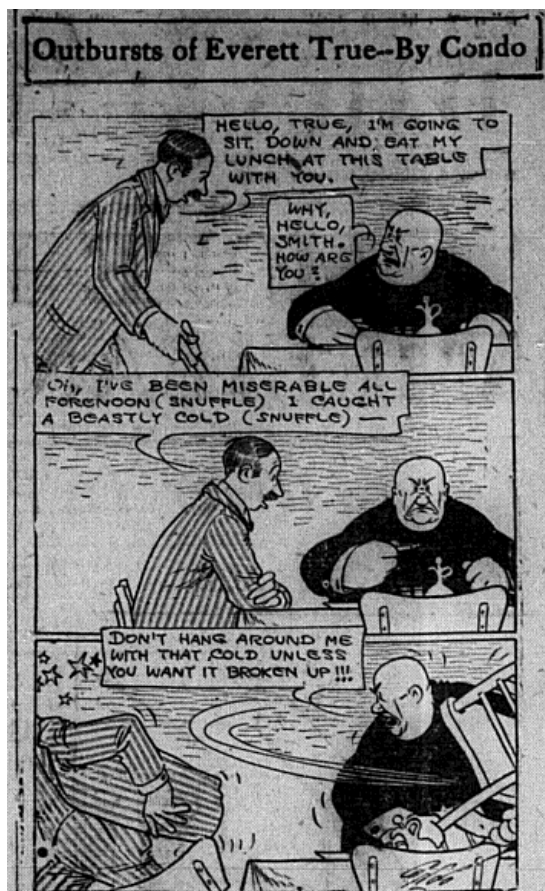
²⁵⁹ Mayo Clinic Staff, "Diseases and Conditions: Influenza (flu)." *Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research*, October 30, 2014. <http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/flu/basics/lifestyle-home-remedies/con-20035101>

²⁶⁰ Mayo Clinic Staff, "Diseases and Conditions: Influenza (flu)." *Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research*. October 30, 2014, <http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/flu/basics/prevention/con-20035101>

VII. Cartoons and Humor

Though the vast majority of editorial cartoons published in Kirksville newspapers at the time were related to The Great War, a few were inspired by the pandemic. The disease prompted two Kirksville cartoonists to create three works commenting on the influenza pandemic. All three were published by the *Daily Express*.

The first, published October 12 was titled "Outbursts of Everett True -- [sic] By Condo." ²⁶¹ The cartoon seeks to trivialize the pandemic with humor:



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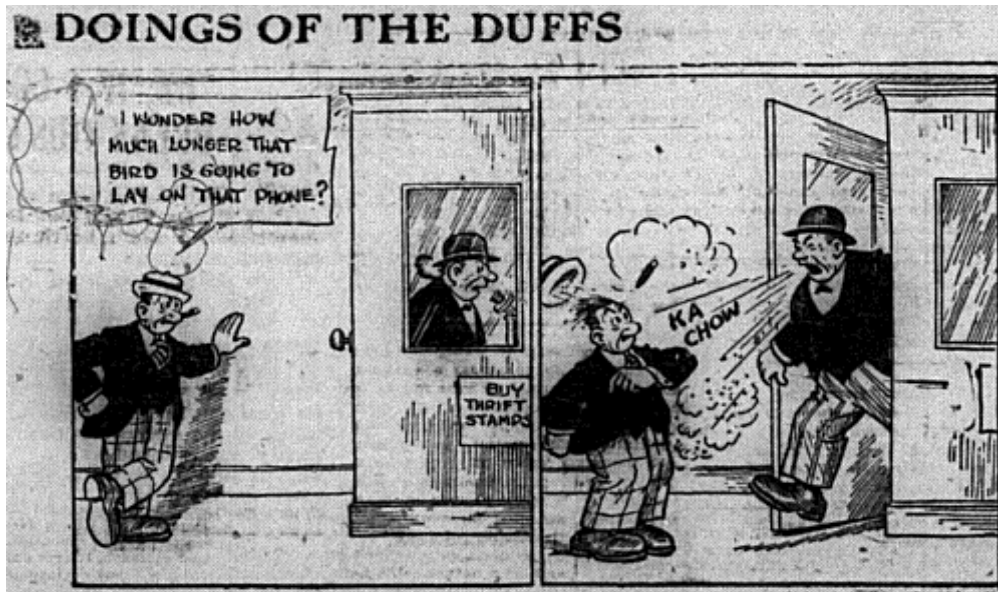
²⁶¹ I was unable to find more information on "Condo." It is unclear if this is a forename, surname, or a penname.

²⁶² "Outbursts of Everett True -- By Condo," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 12, 1918, 2.

Text: "Hello, True, I'm going to sit down and eat my lunch at this table with you. / Why, Hello, Smith. How are you? / Oh, I've been miserable all forenoon (snuffle). I caught a beastly cold (snuffle). -- / Don't hang around me with that cold unless you want it broken up!!!"

The cartoon, published at the height of the first wave of the pandemic in Kirksville, refers to it indirectly, calling it "a beastly cold." This misattribution of symptoms to a "cold" when the author meant "influenza" highlights the public's lack of scientific knowledge about the pandemic. Residents were not taught the medical specifics, or even the proper terminology for the disease — instead, the cartoon's aim is only to remind residents how to avoid the pandemic, which they so feared but did not understand. The cartoon uses slapstick violence to bring humor to the pandemic: the ailing individual is threatened by his healthy friend "Don't hang around me with that cold unless you want it broken up" — a double entendre encouraging the influenza-sickened man to not get too close.

The second cartoon, published October 28, the day after the ban on public gatherings was lifted, this "Doings of the Duffs" seeks to bring humor to the illness that had afflicted Kirksville for nearly a month with an illustration of a "sneeze battle."



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The cartoon also has a serious message, as it seeks to illustrate the widespread and airborne nature of the disease. It is implied that both of the individuals in the cartoon are sick with the influenza. A warning is woven into the cartoon by its text and image — as public health announcements at the time had emphasized, a sneeze was sufficient to spread the disease, and one was at risk during everyday activities like an encounter at the phone booth.

²⁶³ Allman, W. R, "Doings of the Duffs," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 28, 1918, 3.

Text: "I wonder how much longer that bird is going to lay on that phone? Ka Chow / KaChoo / And In Flew Enza!"

The third editorial cartoon was published November 11, another "Outbursts of Everett True -- By Condo."



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The cartoon again uses slapstick humor, involving a large man trapping a sneezing passerby inside of a box and then sitting on it to keep it shut. Similar to the previous two, the cartoon's message subtly promotes cooperation with the Health Board: a boy (barely visible at the bottom right corner of the second frame) obeys the older man who asks him to notify the authorities of an influenza case.

²⁶⁴ "Outbursts of Everett True -- By Condo," *Kirkville Daily Express*, November 11, 1918, 2.

Text: "A-Choo! A- Choo! / Hey sonny, run around to the Board of Health and tell them to send the fumigating squad. I've got one of those open sneezing "flu" spreaders under this box!! / Yes, Sir!"

VIII. Advertisements

Though many businesses were closed as a result of the pandemic, certain businesses — drug stores in particular — hoped to generate revenue on the backs of the diseased and those fearing disease.

The first advertisement seen in Kirksville's newspapers relating to the pandemic was published in the *Daily Express* on October 10:



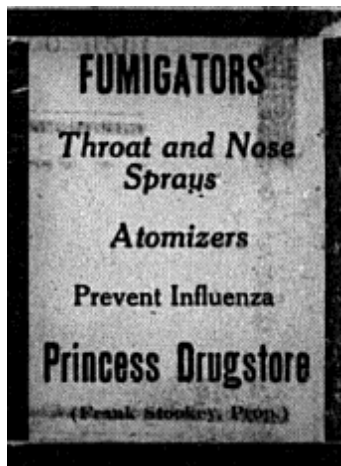
Frank Stookey, proprietor and pharmacist of the Princess Drug Store, saw opportunity in the scare. He promoted his business as the "sanitary" drug store, commanding the reader, "Get your drinks where sanitation is recognized as a basic requirement of good service to the public." Stookey highlighted his business' use of disposable packaging so patrons would not worry about contracting influenza from unclean dishware. The advertisement implies other businesses are

²⁶⁵ Advertisement, Kirksville *Daily Express*, October 10, 1918, 6.

Text: "To HELP CHECK SPANISH INFLUENZA / We have discarded during this epidemic all glasses at our fountain, and here after will serve only Individual Sanitary dishes and glasses. Our straws are sealed in tubes and our spoons are sterilized. Our fountain at present is the only one in Kirksville that has been [unreadable] the Sanitation Test. Patrons of our fountain are safe and have been safe in the past. Get your drinks where sanitation is recognized as a basic requirement of good service to the public. / Insist on Individual Sanitary Service. / PRINCESS DRUG STORE. Frank Stookey, Prop. / WE SERVE SANDWICHES, PIE, DOUGHNUTS, HOT DRINKS"

unsanitary, and one risks contracting influenza if they choose to patronize competitors' establishments.

The next day, Stookey placed another advertisement for his drug store in the *Daily Express*, this one not quite as conspicuous.



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The pandemic meant big business for the drug store. If readers already were not frequenting drug stores more often than before the pandemic, Stookey's advertisement put it at the forefront of their minds by informing that his store sold products that could "prevent influenza" — an impossible holy grail (before widespread immunization) residents must have had difficulty resisting.²⁶⁷

The *Daily Express* took note of the drug stores' successes at the hands of Kirksville's residents, and described the pandemic's effect on residents' spending habits: "The drug stores have been selling more atomizers and throat gargles and disinfecting solution that for many months, and people in general are going to try and keep from taking cold and protect their health as much as possible."²⁶⁸ Either Stookey's advertisements were effective in promoting sales of the

²⁶⁶ Advertisement, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 6.

Text: "FUMIGATORS / Throat and Nose Sprays / Atomizers / Prevent Influenza / Princess Drugstore / (Frank Stookey, Prop.)"

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ "Vigorous Steps to Halt Spread of Influenza," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 1-2.

products, or he merely was capitalizing on a rush that already was occurring for these health products that his advertisements said could prevent influenza.

The pandemic was an obvious opportunity for Kirksville's businesses to profit. Business owners harnessed fear as a powerful tool during the pandemic to harvest residents' pocketbooks — just as news of an impending storm can cause a city's residents to buy stores out of emergency supplies, Kirksville businesses knew people stocked supplies they might need in the event they became influenza victims, or for treating ill family members. These advertisements were a reminder by business owners that their stores sold what residents sought — the positive, reassuring sensation associated with being proactive against the illness, whether avoiding the disease or treating it.

Stookey again placed an ad with the *Daily Express* on October 22. Arguably, this was Stookey's most fearmongering advertisement yet.

INFLUENZA

Headache—aching bones—slight fever—sick all over— can't eat—

That's It- You are Taking the Influenza

When these symptoms appear, don't wait until you have to go to the hospital—see your doctor—bring your prescription or have your doctor send it to us.

PRINCESS DRUG STORE

H. F. STOOKEY, Proprietor
Graduate Pharmacist and Chemist.

Atomizers,
Asafetida,
Gargles, Etc., and
all kinds of disinfectants for the home.
Sick Room
Supplies.

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Now that Kirksville had been quarantined and citizens had read about the illness and death of fellow citizens, Stookey listed symptoms of the influenza, ("headache, aching bones, slight fever, sick all over, can't eat") — many of which also are symptoms of the common cold and other ailments — to scare readers into visiting his business. Stookey, who wasn't a medical doctor, gave advice verging on diagnostic: if the reader felt a headache, or a slight fever, Stookey

²⁶⁹ Advertisement, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 22, 1918, 4.

Text: "INFLUENZA / Headache – aching bones – slight fever – sick all over – can't eat – That's it — You are Taking the Influenza / When these symptoms appear, don't wait until you have to go to the hospital – see your doctor – bring your prescription or have your doctor send it to us. / PRINCESS DRUG STORE. / H. F. Stookey, Proprietor / Graduate Pharmacist and Chemist"

wanted them to believe they were "Taking the Influenza." Of course, the Princess Drug Store sold an array of sick room supplies, including disinfectants and gargles.

An advertisement for Harry Bamburg's The B&F Store, a clothing retailer in Kirksville, was printed by the *Daily Express* on October 11.

WAR AGAINST INFLUENZA!

DON'T wear too heavy a hat; don't wear one that is too light --We have all kinds.

DON'T wear too heavy underclothing; don't wear too light --We have all kinds.

DON'T wear too heavy hose; don't wear too light--We have all kinds.

DON'T wear too heavy overcoats; don't wear too light--We have all kinds.

DON'T wear too heavy a sweater; don't wear too light--We have all kinds.

DON'T wear too heavy a suit; don't wear too light--We have all kinds.

DON'T try and buy inferior goods because the price is lower; but pay a little more for your clothes and less for the doctor.

Facts Values Service

HARRY THE B&F STORE BAMBURG

We Treat You Right and all Alike

Though Bamburg's store sold clothing rather than drugs, he also saw the lucrative possibilities in residents' fear of contracting the influenza. Bamburg's advertisement illustrates the idea prevalent at the time that dressing improperly for the weather could lead to the

²⁷⁰Advertisement, *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 11, 1918, 6.

Text: "WAR AGAINST INFLUENZA! / DON'T wear too heavy a hat; don't wear one that is too light -- we have all kinds. / DON'T wear too heavy clothing; don't wear too light -- we have all kinds. / DON'T wear too heavy hose; don't wear too light -- We have all kinds. / DON'T wear too heavy overcoats; don't wear too light -- We have all kinds. DON'T wear too heavy a sweater; don't wear too light -- We have all kinds. DON'T wear too heavy a suit; don't wear too light -- We have all kinds. DON'T Try and buy inferior goods because the price is lower; but pay a little more for your clothes and less for the doctor. / Facts/ Value/ Service / Harry Bamburg/ The B & F Store / We Treat You Right and all Alike"

influenza. He gave advice about how to prevent oneself from catching influenza as a selling point for his garments. Bamburg's advertisement's title harkens to the Great War, and it attempts to tie citizens' patriotic sentiments about the nation's soldiers fighting in the war to Kirksville's more local "war" on influenza. The advertisement also begins each successive stanza with what *not* to do, leading residents to believe they were (or easily could have been) making poor clothing choices that could render them susceptible to illness. There are no criteria given about what constitutes a sweater (or other clothing item) that is "too heavy" or "too light." Instead, Bamburg allows the reader to wonder whether their sweater is "too heavy" or "too light." Considering how fearful Kirksville residents were of contracting the influenza, they would have tended toward believing their clothing was either "too heavy" or "too light" — Bamburg's advertisement implies their wardrobe choices could be the difference between surviving the pandemic and succumbing to the virus.

Appearing briefly after the October closing order was lifted, an advertisement posing as an editorial began appearing in the *Daily Express*. It was reprinted many times before the ultimate end of the pandemic, perhaps the most of any advertisement in the paper:

An olden enemy is with us again, and whether we fight a German or a germ we must put up a good fight, and not be afraid. The influenza runs a very brief course when the patient is careful, and if we keep the system in good condition and throw off the poisons which tend to accumulate within our bodies, we can escape the disease. Remember these three C's — a clean mouth, a clean skin and clean bowels. To carry off poisons from the system and keep the bowels loose, daily doses of a pleasant laxative should be taken. Such a one is made of May apple, leave of aloe, root of jalap, and called Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets. Hot lemonade

should be used freely if attacked by a cold and the patient should be put to bed after a hot mustard foot-bath. To prevent the attack of bronchitis or pneumonia and to control the pain, Anuric tablets should be obtained at the drug store, and one given every two hours, with lemonade. The Anuric tablets were first discovered by Dr. Pierce, and, as they flush the bladder and cleanse the kidneys, they carry away much of the poisons and the uric acid. It is important that broths, milk, buttermilk, ice cream and simple diet be given regularly to strengthen the system and increase the vital resistance. The fever is diminished by the use of Anuric tablets, but in addition the forehead, arms, and hands may be bathed with water (tepid) in which a tablespoon full of salaratus has been dissolved in a quart. After an attack of grip or pneumonia to build up and strengthen the system [sic]. Obtain at the drug store a good iron tonic, called "Irontic" Tablets, or that well known herbal tonic, Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery.²⁷¹

The advertisement is perhaps the best illustration of "quack medicine" during the pandemic in Kirksville. The advertisement uses multiple, subtle tactics to promote the sale of "Dr. Pierce's" various products — the advertisement first invokes patriotic sentiments by relating the fight against "germs" (though Influenza is a virus) to that against Germans in the Great War. Then, the advertisement lulls the reader into believing the influenza was easily treatable "when the patient is careful, and if we keep the system in good condition."²⁷² Readers were offered faux medical advice: "a clean mouth, a clean skin, and clean bowels" were the proper prevention for influenza.²⁷³ Of course, Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets could offer bowel cleansing; Anuric tablets could mitigate the pain and fever associated with influenza. Finally, the reader is invited to

²⁷¹ Smith, Lee H., "Health Talk: Spanish Influenza or Grip," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 29, 1918, 3.

²⁷² Ibid

²⁷³ Ibid.

purchase Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery or "Ironitic" Tablets to "strengthen the system."²⁷⁴ The company touted their products' natural ingredients, which it implied were holistically "good" for the body. For instance, Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Tablets, contain "May apple, leaves of aloe, and root of jalap."²⁷⁵ The covert sales pitch was offered with other quack advice such as "if attacked by a cold... the patient should be put to bed after a hot mustard foot-bath."²⁷⁶ The advice was not meant to actually solve any medical problem — to offer legitimate advice that did not lead to the sales of more product would be counterproductive to the advertiser's purpose.

A different kind of advertisement related to the pandemic was printed in the *Daily Express* on November 4. The advertisement didn't implore the reader to buy a product, but encouraged them to vote for Willard Evans, candidate for Adair County Clerk, in the 1918 General Election.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

I'VE GOT THE 'FLU'

AND CAN'T GET OUT TO SEE
ALL YOU FOLKS TOMORROW

**The Doctor Says it Won't do for
Me To Go Up Salt River Now!**

So be kind, when you are fixing up
your ballot tomorrow

I'll promise you I will make a good County Clerk if you'll
elect me to the office; and you won't regret it.

Willard E. Evans

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Evans hoped voters would commiserate with him, as they likely knew somebody who had been sickened by the influenza or had been sickened themselves. The advertisement portrays him as a man who followed his doctor's orders, something he thought very important to convey to voters with the bold, underlined text in the large font. Kirksville's newspapers sought to shame those ill with influenza who did not follow the Health Board's guidance and seek medical attention. The advertisement invokes pity, mentioning first and foremost Evans has the influenza, then reminding the voters to "be kind" to him. Evans hoped that his advertisement would drum up sympathy for him, particularly that of the working class. The ad uses colloquialisms to accomplish this purpose: "got the 'flu," "see you folks," "doctor says it won't do," "fixing up your

²⁷⁷ Advertisement, *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 4, 1918, 4.

Text: "I'VE GOT THE 'FLU' / AND CAN'T GET OUT TO SEE ALL YOU FOLKS TOMORROW / The Doctor Says It Won't do for Me To Go Up Salt River Now! / So be kind when you are fixing up your ballot tomorrow. / I'll promise you I will make a good County Clerk if you'll elect me to the office; and you won't regret it / Willard E. Evans"

ballot."²⁷⁸ The *Daily Express* reported working-collar industries, such as the Big Creek Coal Mine, were hit particularly hard by the pandemic, so perhaps Evans' advertisement struck a chord with the electorate.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ See: "Influenza is Putting Crimp in Coal Mines," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 5, 1918, 1.

IX. Conclusions

Although Kirksville fared better than many cities across the state of Missouri and across the country, even it, located in remote northeast Missouri, hardly was unscathed by the 1918 pandemic. The residents depended on Kirksville's periodicals — the *Kirksville Daily Express*, *Kirksville Journal*, and *Kirksville Normal School Index* — for up-to-date information about public health officials' analyses, quarantine information, the city's businesses, the impact of the pandemic on their fellow Kirksville residents, and information about the pandemic beyond Kirksville. These fora had their own agendas, as did the voices they played forum to, including the Health Board, the Normal School, the A.S.O., Kirksville businesses, the Big Creek Coal Mine, the Red Cross, and more. The voices of each of these institutions sometimes were untrustworthy, especially during the first outbreak when these institutions' leaders seemed to perceive the pandemic as an isolated problem and largely were governed by their self-interests.

The city's woes began October 1, 1918 when the *Daily Express* printed the ominous letter from the Missouri Board of Health to Adair County Physician Conner that the pandemic "create[d] a source of danger to the public health and to the welfare of the nation," and that, "an emergency exists" against which Conner was "hereby requested to treat Influenza as a contagious disease... [and] to observe proper precautions for quarantin[ing] the city of Kirksville."²⁸⁰ Though the ominous announcement must have come as a shock to residents of Kirksville, it foreshadowed two virulent, deadly outbreaks of illness for the city.

Exactly three months after the printing of Conner's letter, 58 to 106 people had died in Adair County,²⁸¹ representing 0.27 – 0.50 percent of Adair County's approximately 21,404

²⁸⁰ "Orders Strict Quarantine on Influenza Here," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 1, 1918, 1.

²⁸¹ Overmann, Robert, "Influenza Deaths in Adair County, Missouri, 1918-1919."

residents.²⁸² Though mentions of the influenza largely disappeared by January 1, 1919, deaths from the pandemic still occurred in significant quantity through April 1919, often as a result of secondary complications such as pneumonia.²⁸³ From the pandemic's outbreak in Adair County in 1918 until its resolution in 1919, somewhere between 84 and 157 residents of the county died;²⁸⁴ this represents 0.39 – 0.73 percent of Adair County's residents in 1920. Adair County's residents fared substantially better during the pandemic than many areas of the world, similarly to the United States as a whole, and anecdotally better than much of Missouri.

Though a 1927 American Medical Association study placed the worldwide death toll at about 21 million, later revisions consistently have been higher.²⁸⁵ In the 1940s, an Australian virologist and Nobel laureate estimated the pandemic's worldwide death toll at 50 to 100 million.²⁸⁶ The world's population was 1.8 billion in 1918, and experts estimate that up to 5.5 percent of humans died worldwide.²⁸⁷ In the United States, the pandemic killed more than five times more Americans than had died in World War I.²⁸⁸ 675,000 Americans from a population of 105 million died before the pandemic's ouster, or about 0.64 percent of the U.S. population.²⁸⁹ This fits within Adair County's mortality rate confidence interval, so Adair's death rate was

²⁸² U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 49—"Area and Population of Counties or Equivalent Divisions: 1850 to 1920." *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920* [Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1922], 114. Note: figures from this census were taken approximately 1 year after the pandemic. The 1920 census is the best approximation available of Adair County, Missouri's population in 1918-1919.

²⁸³ Overmann, Robert, "Influenza Deaths in Adair County, Missouri, 1918-1919."

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 397.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid. Localized mortality rates vary widely. In American Samoa, "not a single person died of the influenza," while Western Samoa had one of the highest local mortality rates in the world: "On September 30 1918, its population was 38,302, before the steamer *Talune* brought the disease to the island. A few months later, the population was 29,802. Twenty-two percent of the population died."

See: Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* [New York: Viking Press, 2004], 364.

²⁸⁸ As a point of comparison, the Congressional Research Services calculates 116,516 Americans died in World War I during 1917-1918. This is less than 1/5 of those that died by the 1918 influenza pandemic in just a few months. See: Leland, Anne, Mari-Jana Oboroceanu, *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*, Congressional Research Service, 2010. <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL32492.pdf>

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

similar to the national average, though the countrywide mortality rate is substantially closer to the Adair County mortality rate confidence interval's upper limit than it is the lower limit.

Anecdotally, Kirksville fared comparatively well to the rest of Missouri.²⁹⁰ By the third week of October, the city of St. Louis reported 3,765 influenza cases and 90 deaths. 558 cases and 13 deaths were reported on October 16 alone in St. Louis.²⁹¹ The city of St. Louis' reaction was much the same as it was in Kirksville — "all theaters, schools, pool halls, cabarets, lodges, and dance halls were closed or discontinued until further notice."²⁹² Similarly, Mayor James Boggs of Columbia, Missouri, prohibited his city's residents from "meeting in places of amusement, schools, or churches," and the University of Missouri was quarantined.²⁹³ In Kansas City, the October 17 *Kansas City Star* announced "A Drastic Ban Is On," and all "theaters, schools, and churches were closed." Gatherings of more than twenty people were banned, including "dances, parties, weddings, and funerals."²⁹⁴ Kansas City banned "entertainment in hotels, bars and restaurants" and Kansas City officials "insisted all elevators and streetcars be sterilized daily; telephone booths were to be sterilized twice a day."²⁹⁵ Kansas City, less than 150 miles from Kirksville, was "struck especially hard by the pandemic, becoming one of the worst hit areas in the country."²⁹⁶

²⁹⁰ I could not find any specific statistics about mortality rates in Missouri or selected Missouri cities. To find a mortality rate and perform a quantitative comparison, I likely would have to analyze thousands more death certificates.

²⁹¹ "Missouri / The Great Pandemic: The United States in 1918-1919," United States Department of Health and Human Services, n.d., Accessed September 12, 2014.

http://www.flu.gov/pandemic/history/1918/your_state/southwest/missouri/index.html

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

Though it is not known how many Kirksville residents were sickened by the pandemic in total,²⁹⁷ an estimated "three or four thousand" residents were sickened by the disease on November 19.²⁹⁸ This was the highest estimate offered by the newspapers. Even if a Kirksville resident was not sickened by the pandemic, he or she undoubtedly knew those who were. With as many as 157 residents of Adair having died by the pandemic's end, it's also likely each resident knew somebody who had died from the pandemic.

The widespread illness and death bred fear amongst the city's residents. This fear first was discouraged by Kirksville's public health officials and newspapers — the October 2 *Daily Express* futilely urged residents "not to be unduly alarmed."²⁹⁹ Once it was clear that the public feared the pandemic, officials and the newspapers then turned to this fear as a tool to battle the endemic influenza. Just six days later, October 8, the *Daily Express* printed the dire cautions of the Health Board: "There probably are 300 cases of Spanish influenza in Kirksville today and possibly there will be more before the end of the week, unless the people of the city co-operate more with the Health Board."³⁰⁰ These cautions became more accusatory and draconian as the pandemic wore on. During the second outbreak, City Physician Quinn stated November 12 in the *Daily Express* that "conditions [were] worse... in Kirksville than they ever have been," and the "Health Board has the power to close every business in town if it decides to... [and] the Board threatens to invoke [its powers] unless there is a speedy change of the people generally toward the influenza epidemic."³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ I could not find an estimate how many total residents were sickened by the pandemic, and it seems that one would be extremely hard to come by since many of the sickened undoubtedly did not report to a physician. I did find reports of how many were sickened *at a given point*, but not a sum total. It would be impossible to estimate a sum total without knowing significantly more information about the pandemic's progression and rates of infection.

²⁹⁸ "Relief From Influenza Ban Expected Soon," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 19, 1918, 1.

²⁹⁹ "No Influenza Cases Here Now, Says Dr. Quinn," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 2, 1918, 1.

³⁰⁰ "Health Board Asking for More Cooperation," *Kirksville Daily Express*, October 10, 1918, 1, 3.

³⁰¹ "Health Board Threatens To Go To The Limit," *Kirksville Daily Express*, November 12, 1918, 1, 6.

Cartoons, printed in the city's newspapers, drove this message home to Kirksville's residents. While they sought to make light of the pandemic and bring humor to the situation, they also quietly furthered residents' fears, depicting the unaffected coming into close contact with the diseased. The unaffected were portrayed heroically for bringing these cases to the attention of the city's public officials.

The newspapers often took an aloof tone toward residents, and consistently sided with the Health Board in their editorials. They faithfully reported closing orders, the weapons of choice of Kirksville's Health Board against the pandemic, while at the same time printing advertisements by businesses that used fear to encourage residents to frequent the city's businesses. Products tied to the influenza ranged from throat gargles to hats; these businesses placed morally questionable advertisements in the city's newspapers throughout the pandemic. As the pandemic wore on, especially during the second outbreak, advertisements became increasingly common; unfortunately, many of the advertisers placed advertisements that were both morally and medically questionable, with some advertisements offering medical diagnostic advice and others claiming the disease could be cured with pills or gargles.

In the end, every major institution of Kirksville was restricted or shuttered by the pandemic: Kirksville's public schools, the Kirksville Normal School, the American School of Osteopathy, Kirksville businesses, the Big Creek Coal Mine, and the International Shoe Factory. Public gatherings were restricted, unnecessary socialization was prohibited, and club meetings were put on hiatus for weeks or months.

For all of the fear and threats conveyed by the city's newspapers, the story of endemic influenza in Kirksville also is one of public good-will toward fellow man. The American School of Osteopathy was dismissed during November 1918 so the school's two upper classes could

volunteer to make house calls under doctors' supervision.³⁰² The city opened an Emergency Hospital for indigent patients November 15, and the A.S.O.'s Dr. Tom Ashlock oversaw the institution as head doctor. The for-profit A.S.O. offered both its students and faculty to combat the pandemic, and even sought out indigent patients for the A.S.O.-staffed Emergency Hospital; the Red Cross and Kirksville public donated much needed supplies.³⁰³ The world took notice of osteopathy's success in treating the influenza pandemic: evidence suggests osteopaths were significantly more effective treating the disease than their allopathic counterparts.³⁰⁴

Thanks to the efforts of Kirksville's residents, philanthropists, medical school, businesses, and Health Board, the pandemic was all but eradicated by the New Year in 1919. The pandemic could have been far worse for Kirksville if not for the actions of the Health Board and Kirksville's residents. The city's newspapers served as narrators, if sometimes unreliable ones, of the influenza in Kirksville, offering day-by-day accounts of the endemic influenza during fall 1918. These public fora harbored accounts by residents, businesses, and public officials evidencing the public's fear and public officials' threats, but also of kindness toward one another and charity for the public good. The newspapers freely offered well-intentioned, if sometimes inaccurate, advice about how to combat the raging pandemic. However, the Red Cross and Community Nurse Reed were easily the most reliable sources of medical advice of the voices printed within the city's newspapers during late 1918. The city's newspapers saw Kirksville through the pandemic's deadliest days, and served a vital role in minimizing the death and destruction the disease wrought on the city during fall and winter of 1918.

³⁰² Warner, Georgia Walter, *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle*, [Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992], 95-96.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid. This source claims the death rate of influenza treated by osteopathic doctors was a mere 0.25 percent, and only 10 percent of those cases complicated by pneumonia ended in death. To contrast, statistics compiled by allopathic physicians were much higher. According to the source, the death rate for influenza patients treated by allopathic physicians was six percent, and up to 68 percent of patients with concurrent pneumonia died under an allopathic physician's care.

Appendix 2: Annotated Bibliography

Barry, John M. *The Great Influenza*. New York: Viking Press, 2004. Print.

Barry's *The Great Influenza* offers a comprehensive look at the pandemic's origins, spread, and impact across the United States. Barry's work was useful in discussing the pandemic's context beyond Adair County, Missouri. I use the source specifically to discuss where the pandemic began relative to its arrival in Kirksville, Missouri.

Search Terms: N/A

Method of Location: General Collection, Pickler Memorial Library

U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 49 — Area and Population of Counties or Equivalent Divisions: 1850 to 1920." *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*

[Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1922], 114. E-book.

The U.S. Department of Commerce compiles census data for each county in the United States every 10 years. I accessed census data for Adair County, Missouri in 1920 for the purpose of estimating what percentage of the county died by the pandemic. Census data in 1918 is unavailable because the census is conducted every ten years; thus, this is the best approximation of the county's population in 1918.

Search Terms: "Adair County Census"

Method of Location: books.google.com

Kirksville Daily Express (Kirksville, Mo.) 1 Oct. 1918 – 7 Jan. 1919. Microfilm.

The *Kirksville Daily Express* is a daily newspaper published in Kirksville, Missouri, with an audience of Kirksville and Adair County, Missouri. The *Daily Express* is the most commonly cited reference in the paper, and offers details about the pandemic in the form of advertisements, personal accounts, numeric details such as financial costs, medical advice, closing orders, personal stories, and more. Specifically referenced stories are noted via footnotes in the paper.

Search Terms: N/A

Method of Location: Microfilm Archives, Pickler Memorial Library

Kirksville Journal (Kirksville, Mo.) 1 Oct. 1918 – 21 Nov. 1919. Microfilm.

The *Kirksville Journal* was a weekly newspaper published in Kirksville, Missouri, with an audience of Kirksville and Adair County, Missouri. The *Journal* printed public-interest, features-style pieces in addition to news stories. The *Journal* is cited significantly less frequently than the *Daily Express* and is a supporting primary source. I reference personal accounts of the pandemic, as well as reports on the pandemic's progress through various Kirksville institutions. Specifically referenced stories are noted via footnotes in the paper.

Search Terms: N/A

Method of Location: Microfilm Archives, Pickler Memorial Library

Kirksville Normal School Index (Kirksville, Mo.) 9 Oct. 1918 – 11 Dec. 1918. Microfilm.

The *Kirksville Normal School Index* was a weekly student-produced newspaper by the students of the Kirksville State Normal School. Its audience was the Kirksville State Normal School and Kirksville, Missouri. It was the predecessor to the *Truman State Index* newspaper that currently is published by students at Truman State University. The *Index* is a supporting primary source, and is referenced considerably less frequently than the *Daily Express* to discuss the pandemic's impact. The *Index* offers details about the pandemic in Kirksville with a focus on the pandemic's impact on the *Kirksville State Normal School*. The source is used to reference specific persons who were sickened or died, to discuss the reaction by the Kirksville State Normal School, as well as supplement news items found in the *Daily Express*. Specifically referenced stories are noted via footnotes in the paper.

Search Terms: N/A

Method of Location: Microfilm Archives, Pickler Memorial Library

Knobler, Stacey. *The Threat of Pandemic Influenza: Are We Ready?: Workshop Summary*.

[Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005]. Accessed September 12, 2014.

<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK22156>.

This secondary source discusses common misdiagnoses of the influenza pandemic during 1918. When speculating whether an individual died of the influenza pandemic, this source helped determine my methodology of offering a high and low estimate of deaths in Kirksville from the influenza pandemic. The high estimate will include those whose listed cause of death is of cholera, typhoid, dengue fever, and pneumonia in addition to influenza. The low estimate will not include these other diagnoses.

Search Terms: "Misdiagnoses 1918 flu pandemic"

Method of Location: Google

"Leland, Anne, Mari-Jana Oboroceanu. *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*. Congressional Research Service, 2010. Accessed October 30, 2014.

<http://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL32492.pdf>.

This secondary source describes American casualties by conflict from the American Revolutionary War through Operation Iraqi Freedom using tabular data. I use it to compare casualties from World War I to the 1918 influenza pandemic.

Search Terms: "American War Statistics Lists"

Method of Location: Google

Mayo Clinic Staff. "Diseases and Conditions: Influenza (flu)." *Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research*. Accessed October 30, 2014.

<http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/flu/basics/lifestyle-home-remedies/con-20035101>.

<http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/flu/basics/prevention/con-20035101>.

The Mayo Clinic is a leading medical educational and research institution. The article describes the causes, symptoms, complications, common remedies of influenza in proper terms for both laymen and medical doctors. I use the source to discuss the contemporarily accepted treatments and preventative tactics for controlling influenza.

Search Terms: Influenza symptoms treatments

Method of Location: Google

"Missouri Death Certificates, 1910 – 1963." *Missouri Digital Heritage : Death Records Certificates*. Missouri Office of the Secretary of State, 2014. Accessed September 12, 2014. sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/deathcertificates.

This primary source lists all death certificates issued by the State of Missouri from 1910 through 1963. As the database is searchable by county, I examined the death certificates from January 1918-December 1919 from Adair County. I did a demographic analysis of the certificates and reported the number and percentage of those dead from the influenza outbreak in Adair.

Search Terms: "Missouri secretary of state death certificates"

Method of Location: Google

"Missouri / The Great Pandemic: The United States in 1918-1919." United States Department of Health and Human Services, n.d. Accessed September 12, 2014.

http://www.flu.gov/pandemic/history/1918/your_state/southwest/missouri/index.html.

This secondary source contextualizes the influenza outbreak to Missouri. Kansas City and St. Louis are the primary focal points of the article. I use it to give my audience a brief understanding of the pandemic in Missouri beyond the bounds of Kirksville and Adair County.

Search Terms: "Spanish Influenza 1918"

Search Engine: Google

Overmann, Robert. "Influenza Deaths in Adair County, Missouri, 1918-1919."

<http://boboovermann.wix.com/home#!research/c1pkh>.

This spreadsheet is attached to the paper and can be found at the above listed URL address, and was completed to give the reader a better idea of who died in Adair County of the pandemic. It is compiled from death certificates digitized by the Missouri Secretary of State's Office for Adair County in 1918-1919, located online at sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/deathcertificates. The spreadsheet offers a breakdown of influenza related deaths in the county by demographics, such as age, sex, race, occupation, etc. It offers a low estimate and a high estimate of the dead, with associated

explanations and citations for why the criteria for each estimate was chosen. It is quoted in passing in the paper's body.

Search Terms: N/A

Method of Location: Compiled from death certificates at sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/deathcertificates

Warner, Georgia Walter. *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle* [Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992]. Print.

Warner's *The First School of Osteopathic Medicine: A Chronicle* discusses the beginnings of the American School of Osteopathy and its founding in 1892, as well as the history of its founder, Dr. Andrew Taylor Still. It is used as a supporting source to provide the reader with information about how the Emergency Hospital, set up during the pandemic in 1918, served indigent patients. This source supplements reports from the Kirksville periodicals about the Emergency Hospital during this time.

Search Terms: Suggestion by Dr. Cole Woodcox

Method of Location: General Collection, Pickler Memorial Library

Appendix 3: Author's Note

It is almost surreal that this project is over.

I feel a great sense of accomplishment: I finished what I set out to do, with the exception that I did not comb through A.T.S.U.'s records for discussion of the 1918 pandemic. I knew this was going to be a big project, but my entire college career I'd never felt like my research was original.

Yes, my previous research activities were certainly educational experiences for me, but I had never conducted the sort of research that requires more than just pouring over academic databases, checking out books, and Googling. I do realize that discussion and analysis of previous research is also necessary; in a very informal sense, I suppose I had been taking the position of the peer reviewer. But, I felt like my previous research experiences did not really bring any new information to light about the topics I was researching. I ached to discover something for myself, to study something which had not been studied before (or at least study something which had only been cursorily studied before).

I learned a lot from this project, and not just about the city I live in and pandemic illness 100 years ago. Multiple times throughout my process I became frantic — I worried that my mentor and professor, Dr. Woodcox, might not accept the project because of its length; I worried the project would devolve into an incoherent mess; I worried that my methodology had its flaws; I worried that a final edit would not be clean enough to meet professional standards; most often, I worried that I simply would not finish the project. I do not care that I did far beyond what the project required because this project quickly became not just about the history of my city, but about questions of my abilities to finish what I started and ability to conceptualize the project in its final form when I sometimes felt like I had no idea what I was doing.

I sacrificed sleep, time with friends, coursework for my other classes, and free time during the semester's breaks. I can happily report that it was worth it, although I will be much more cautious about the limits of my time before engaging in a project like this again.

If I had to do anything different, it would be that I would have planned the project out on paper, multiple times, in its entirety before engaging in it. Perhaps that's rosy retrospection... the project undoubtedly would have morphed as I completed it regardless of what I planned for.

I appreciate the contributions of my wordsmith friends Conor Gearin, Emily Battmer, and Andrea Trierweiler for helping me edit the project through its drafts. They all had their own obligations to complete throughout the semester, but graciously assisted me with my project. They believed in my ability to finish, and gave me wonderful advice throughout.

I thank Dr. Woodcox for never telling me to abandon the project, even when I was stressed and questioning my own abilities. He only encouraged me and helped me better formulate my own plans and ideas about the project. I thank him for reading the project in its entirety, because this project was a great struggle, a great joy, and — I feel — a great success.