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“The Silent Killer of 1918:
The Devastating Effects of the 1918-1920 Spanish Influenza Pandemic in Western North
Carolina.”

By

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Abstract: The Spanish influenza pandemic is one that many historians have largely covered in research. However, with estimates between 50 to 100 million people dying worldwide, it is a pandemic that has become forgotten among today's public. With recent scholarship done on smaller regions, this thesis addresses the impact that this devastating illness had on the everyday life of the Western North Carolinian during the years of 1918-1920.

Ben's long thin body lay three-quarters covered by the bedding; its [sic] gaunt outline was bitterly twisted below the covers, in an attitude of struggle and torture. It seemed not to belong to him, it was somehow distorted and detached as if it belonged to a beheaded criminal. And the sallow yellow of his face had turned gray; out of this granite tint of death, lit by two red flags of fever, the stiff furze of a three-day beard was growing. The beard was somehow horrible; it recalled the corrupt vitality of hair, which can grow from a rotting corpse. And Ben's thin lips were lifted, in a constant grimace of torture and strangulation, above his white somehow dead-looking teeth, as inch by inch he gasped a thread of air into his lungs... it was monstrous, brutal.¹

This particular death scene is similar to one that many people in Western North Carolina had to endure between 1918 and 1920. Here the passing of Thomas Wolfe's youngest brother is relayed in Wolfe's autobiography as gruesome and agonizing. Many North Carolinians faced similar circumstances to those which Wolfe's family did; between the years of 1918-1920, 13,000 people died there after contracting Spanish influenza.²

As the influenza made its way into the western part of the state, it obstructed daily life. Public gatherings were deemed illegal, laws that often seemed irrational were enacted to protect civilians, and children's education was put on abrupt hold as schools closed. The impact that this silent killer had on life in this region was profoundly disruptive to the everyday life of North Carolinians. Despite the protection that the mountainous terrain provides for citizens residing in the western part of the state, the Spanish influenza was just as destructive to the routine life that the average Western North Carolinian lived as it was in other parts of the nation.

¹ Thomas Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel*, (New York: Scribner Classics, 1929), D. H. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville, Asheville, N.C. 573-574.

² David L. Cockrell, "'A Blessing in Disguise': The Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and North Carolina's Medical and Public Health Communities," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1996): 309-27, accessed October 28, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy177.nclive.org/stable/23521395>.

The topic of the Spanish influenza pandemic in a broader sense has been extensively wrote about by historians. However, there are a limited number of secondary sources that mention the state of North Carolina specifically during this pandemic, and none that focus on the western part of the state. Primarily made up of thirteen counties and including only one major city, Asheville, the effects of the Spanish influenza pandemic on everyday life in Western North Carolina is one that historians have largely ignored. By relying heavily upon newspapers and letters from the years of the Spanish influenza, this paper seeks to gain a better understanding of the disorder that the pandemic wreaked upon the everyday life in the region.

Overall the Spanish Influenza outbreak of 1918-1919 has been looked at a great deal by historians. As they have analyzed the larger picture of the outbreak, historians have focused on the nation as a whole, how larger cities were hit immensely by this pandemic, and the after effects of the influenza. However, many scholars have failed to look at the effect of the influenza on rural areas and heed their story. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* by Alfred W. Crosby ignited the public interest in the Spanish influenza outbreak with its contribution to the pandemic's significance in American history.³ Published in 1989, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* recounts the course of the outbreak and its impact specifically on American society. While this pandemic claimed more than 25 million lives worldwide, more than the deaths of World War I, Americans have largely forgotten the Spanish influenza outbreak of 1918-1920.

One question that many people have thought about this particular outbreak was the age groups which it affected and ultimately hit the hardest. Though the answer to this troubling question is still definitively unknown, John Barry, a renowned American historian, attempted to

³Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

answer this in 2004 in his book, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*.⁴ Barry asserts that Philadelphia was one of the hardest hit cities, and gives insight as to why this is one of the more notable cases when looking at this pandemic. Barry provides immense information about the lack of medical expertise, including medical treatment. *The Great Influenza* includes personal accounts as well. Barry presents the medical side of the pandemic, showing the transition of previously thought remedies such as fresh air and vapor rub could cure this flu, to present day information and breakthroughs in medical information such as the advancement in technology.

As Crosby had done, Nancy Bristow began to question why the pandemic is largely forgotten, in *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic*.⁵ Bristow explores the topic of the influenza outbreak, and why if it was such a significant milestone in our country's medical field and history, that it is a pandemic that is commonly forgotten. She focuses on patients and their families, friends, public health experts, and draws on their personal experiences to illustrate the complex interplay between social identity, cultural norms, memory, and the pandemic. Bristow believes the cultural amnesia of the influenza is a result of the age of progress. During this age of progress, the Americans were optimistic for the future and had such a high level of national pride. As a result of this optimism, citizens were reluctant to acknowledge this deadly plague that wiped out millions, especially after triumphing in such a tremendous war.

⁴ John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Viking, 2004).

⁵ Nancy K. Bristow, *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

The Great War was one reason that this pandemic had become largely forgotten, though it was also the reason it spread as quickly as it had. In the same year as Bristow, historian George Dehner insists World War I as the main cause of the spread of the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918.⁶ Dehner argues that the influenza spread as quickly as it did through contact with military personnel, and their interaction aided its transition to different countries. Dehner asserts that if the world had not been at war then the pandemic never would have reached the intensity that it did.

As the centennial year approaches, historians have begun switching gears to focus more on smaller towns that were affected, rather than the harder hit, metropolitan areas such as Philadelphia. Ana Martinez-Catsam examines the outbreak of the pandemic during 1918, and how people were affected in rural areas in the west such as Texas, in her article “The Spanish Influenza of 1918.” She looks at the response to the outbreak by the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS), public service announcements (PSAs) warning citizens to remain at home relayed through local newspapers, and how some local volunteers were attempting to make themselves as readily available as possible.⁷ Martinez- Catsams’ article is effective in looking at how small towns were affected in different parts of the nation, and see how the spread of information helped contain the sickness.

Other historians have begun to take different approaches to the study of the Spanish influenza pandemic and how it affected small towns. Maria-Isabel Porrás-Gallo and Ryan Davis

⁶ George Dehner, "The Forgotten Pandemic Remembered," in *Influenza: A Century of Science and Public Health Response*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 42-57, accessed October 29, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy177.nclive.org/stable/j.ctt6wrdfm.6>.

⁷ Ana Martinez-Catsam, “The Spanish Influenza of 1918,” *Journal of the West* 52, no. 1 (2013): 65-71, accessed October 28, 2016. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.wncln.wncln.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=31h&AN=95106633&site=ehost-live>

focused on this pandemic through the lens of class, religion, and even gender, bringing together different essays to create their collection, *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919: Perspectives from the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas*. The authors concur how there is little difference between the past pandemic and current flu outbreaks, that only more information is readily available.⁸ This allows historians to see the relevance between both present and past flu pandemics, and how social factors are still heavily influenced among situations such as the Spanish influenza pandemic.

The topic of the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-1920 cannot be looked at without taking note of David Cockrell and his article "'A Blessing in Disguise': The Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and North Carolina's Medical and Public Health Communities."⁹ Cockrell defends that although this pandemic killed over 13,000 North Carolinians, this sickness was actually a blessing in disguise. The after effects of the pandemic led officials to promote better healthcare for citizens along with health departments for each of the counties within the state. This illness pushed health care up to the front line of reforms, as other reforms such as women's suffrage and education were being delayed. Cockrell's article and his focus on rural areas in North Carolina allows historians to see how small towns were being affected from the Spanish flu, and how, even with the thousands of deaths, there were greater advancements achieved as a result.

As historians began to examine smaller towns that were hit by the influenza pandemic, rather than larger cities, Lynette Iezzoni follows in Crosby's footsteps in shedding light on this forgotten pandemic but switches her focus to rural areas. Iezzoni published *Influenza 1918: The Worst Epidemic in American History* to bring forth first hand accounts of the sickness in rural

⁸ María Isabel Porras Gallo and Ryan A. Davis, *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919: Perspectives from the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014).

⁹ Cockrell, "'A Blessing in Disguise.'"

areas.¹⁰ Crosby and Iezzoni agree that the American lifestyle was both carefree and proud as of early spring in 1918, and this attitude only hurt Americans as the outbreak hit. With the end of World War I in sight, American citizens believed themselves to be an indestructible nation. Iezzoni focuses on rural areas within North Carolina, including the two towns, Edenton and Goldsboro. As these smaller towns were hit with this illness, lifestyles were changed drastically. Schools began to close down temporarily, Saturday fresh markets were no longer taking place, and medical personnel had no means to address citizens' ailments. In an interview with Dan Tonkel, a North Carolinian who lived through the pandemic to witness the effects of the influenza, Tonkel indicates what it meant for small towns.¹¹ Iezzoni provides these personal accounts to show that though this hit nation wide, small towns were just as affected as these larger cities. Her breakthrough in this narrative illustrates that many people brushed off these towns as they were not a largely populated city.

In 2014, Elizabeth Outka wrote “‘Wood for the Coffins Ran Out’: Modernism and the Shadowed Afterlife of the Influenza Pandemic,” in which she tries to “analyze some of the reasons the flu appears to drop out of the history and literature of these regions and how it happened that our vision of modernism has been formed with so little reference to the pandemic.”¹² Outka emphasizes on how this pandemic shaped literary works across the nation after post-war/pandemic, addressing famous authors and how their works were shaped by the experience of the pandemic, “when the border between death and life was strangely blurred and

¹⁰ Lynette Iezzoni, *Influenza 1918: The Worst Epidemic in American History* (New York: TV Books, 1999).

¹¹ Iezzoni, *Influenza 1918*, 140.

¹² Elizabeth Outka, “‘Wood for the Coffins Ran Out’: Modernism and the Shadowed Afterlife of the Influenza Pandemic,” *Modernism/Modernity* 21, no. 4. (November 2014): 940.

the dead seemed to walk with the living.”¹³ Outka utilizes Thomas Wolfes’ own work to support her idea. Wolfes’ novel *Look Homeward, Angel* was shaped by the death of a close member of his family, his brother Ben.¹⁴ His life in Asheville, North Carolina is portrayed in his novel and he then shares how the city was altered by this illness during these years. Wolfe elucidates to his own experience with this unsettling death in his family and depictions of the gruesome effects of this disastrous virus. Outka relays this information to readers, showing that this sickness affected not just common folk, but everyone in the community, and how it then shaped modern literature.

In 1918, World War I was coming to an end, with many people returning home. With the mingling of people from many different backgrounds, the spread of the worst influenza outbreak began. By the end of this pandemic, it is believed that nearly 50 million people were killed from this outbreak worldwide, with over 600,000 of those deaths reported in the United States. The following description is of an Army camp reported by Vince Vaughn, a surgeon general from Camp Devens, near Boston, Massachusetts, was what the entire country was facing on a mass scale near the end of the Great War. “I saw hundreds of young stalwart men in uniform coming into the wards of the hospital. Every bed was full, yet others crowded in. The faces wore a bluish cast; a cough brought up blood-stained sputum. In the morning, the dead bodies are stacked about the morgue like cordwood.”¹⁵ The graphic description of death that the influenza had upon people would only continue to grow in a much larger scale as 1918 continued.

Larger cities were hit with this outbreak in a more critical way, whereas people in rural regions were still confronted, though not as dramatically as metropolitan areas. Western North

¹³ Outka, “Wood for the Coffins Ran Out,” *Modernism/Modernity*, 940.

¹⁴ Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel: A Story of the Buried Life*, 573-574.

¹⁵ Victor Vaughn and Scotti Cohn, *Disasters and Heroic Rescues of North Carolina* (Guilford, CT: Insiders' Guide, 2005), 83.

Carolina being one of those rural regions, still faced many problems that the cities did not, including a greater need for health care providers. It is important to look closely at this virus and its effect on the rural population. It allows us to see how far medical treatment has come, along with agencies such as the Public Health Services. It also allows us to see how rural populations were able to recover and prosper from such a second devastating event in less than a decade.

The influenza first made its appearance in Western North Carolina's papers on September 26, 1918. In a small column in Transylvania County's local paper, *The Brevard News*, the County Health Officer C. W. Hunt, begins with "Another important matter requiring instant attention, Spanish Influenza or 'Grippe,' has appeared recently in many sections of the county and threatens to become an epidemic." Officer Hunt requests that anyone who is showing signs of the influenza to report to him their ailments, and thanks citizens for their cooperation during this time.¹⁶ From this small article we can see how influenza was not as present in Western North Carolina as it was in other parts of the state, with only a small warning issued about it possibly becoming an epidemic. In Wilmington, in the eastern part of the state nearly a week earlier, influenza was reported as spreading rapidly. Officials had already began to warn townspeople of the dangers, and reported that many people who had contracted the virus were working in the shipyards.¹⁷ Having one hundred new cases reported in one evening alone, the influenza now had nearly 150 citizens of Wilmington in a matter of few days.

¹⁶ C.W. Hunt, letter to the editor, *Brevard News*, September 26, 1918, accessed November 22, 2016, www.newspapers.com.

¹⁷ "Influenza Epidemic is Spreading Fast," *Wilmington Morning Star*, September 21, 1918, accessed February 21, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

Nearly a week after this first article, public notices of the influenza began to emerge in other counties in the western part of the state. Early in the first week of October, *Lenoir Topic*¹⁸ of Caldwell County and *News-Herald*¹⁹ of Burke County, all present local cases of the influenza being present. Written in small columns, these brief articles give insight as to the lack of concern that many people residing in this area had for this outbreak, going virtually unregarded.

This second wave of the influenza in the United States, the first being in the mid-west in Spring of 1918, went widely unnoticed in newspapers, though largely contracted by many locals in these smaller counties.²⁰ As the influenza pandemic began to emerge in the western part of the state, citizens were not required to report contagious diseases to the State Board of Health. Consequently, there are no exact numbers as to how many people died from the Spanish influenza pandemic, only approximations. As the telephone was a luxury that only the upper-class citizens had, many people relied on newspapers for their source of information. “Less than a month ago Spanish influenza was not known in this country.”²¹ The lack of technology in 1918 presented many problems when the influenza made its arrival earlier that Spring. While the influenza had been present in the United States for nearly seven months, many citizens in Western North Carolina had no knowledge of it being prevalent. The lack of communication between county and government officials, along with citizens, would only prove to lead to an even more disastrous outbreak than anticipated.

¹⁸ “Two Caldwell Men Die From Spanish Influenza,” *Lenoir Topic*, October 4, 1918, accessed February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

¹⁹ “The Epidemic of Grippe, or Spanish Flu,” *News-Herald*, October 3, 1918, accessed February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

²⁰ Cockrell, 310.

²¹ “Spanish Influenza Prevalent-Several Deaths,” *Alamance Gleaner*, October 3, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

The North Carolina Governor at the time, Thomas Bickett, had no means to reach the entire North Carolina population besides a front page news article. With time constraints, Governor Bickett knew this was not possible. On October 3, 1918 a statement compiled by the State Board of Health was released to the press.²² To warn North Carolinians of the dangers of the Spanish influenza, Governor Bickett relied on “North Carolina's Council of Defense (NCCD), an organization designed to reach into every nook and cranny of the state to maximize war mobilization.”²³ This organization was used during the World War as a way of warning citizens, yet Governor Bickett utilized it for other means. Following the health board press release, he reissued the same warning to every county in North Carolina. County managers received the NCCD telegram, and began to take action in prevention of the spreading influenza, county officials distributed health bulletins to the public containing information about the influenza such as how to prevent the contraction of the virus, and what to do if one became ill.²⁴

The flu spread exponentially however, and newspapers began relaying information on closings of schools and community affairs at an alarming rate in the fall of 1918. On October 5, 1918, an article covering nearly a quarter of the front page the *Asheville Citizen* read “Nearly eight thousand cases of influenza in North Carolina at present time says the State Board of Health- W.S. Rankin Issues An Appeal to All Cities and Towns in North Carolina and Urges People to Exercise Precautionary Methods--- Advises That All Public Meetings Be Abandoned

²² Cockrell, 313.

²³ Cockrell, 313.

²⁴ “On Fighting Influenza,” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*, October 24, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

and Churches and Schools Be Closed.”²⁵ The North Carolina State Board of Health was first created in 1877, but by the time of the arrival of Spanish influenza, only a few counties had established local branches.²⁶ This soon became a large problem in the attempt to treat citizens of rural populations for the Spanish influenza.

Many local authorities in Western North Carolina were already enacting such advisories against public gatherings for their communities, such as in Hendersonville. On October 8, 1918, the *Hendersonville Visitor* made it known that county officials were “closing all places of worship in order to help check Spanish influenza.” This decree also included “schools, churches and other places for public gatherings... by order of the State Board of Health, the order being effective in Hendersonville last Saturday (October 5, 1918)... It was reported that there were 8,000 cases in North Carolina last Friday.”²⁷ This disrupted daily life in the western part of the state. North Carolina is a part of the “Bible Belt,” in which the average person attends religious functions more frequently than compared to the rest of the nation; this was still applicable during the years of the Spanish influenza pandemic. Robert Mason recalled the interruption that the influenza had on his hometown, “Church services were suspended for three weeks under a State Board of Health regulation banning public assemblies, including schools.”²⁸ The presence of the influenza intervened in not only religion for many people, but also other everyday activities such as work or school.

²⁵ “Eight thousand cases of influenza in North Carolina at present time says the State Board of Health,” *Asheville Citizens*, October 5, 1918, accessed November 22, 2016, www.newspapers.com.

²⁶ Cockrell, 311.

²⁷ “Public Gathering Places Closed to Check Influenza,” *Hendersonville Visitor*, October 8, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

²⁸ Robert Mason et al., “Surviving the Blue Killer, 1918,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring 1998, accessed February 23, 2017, <http://www.vqronline.org/essay/surviving-blue-killer-1918>.

Deaths from this particular strain of influenza, H5N1, were not typical of previous influenza mortality. As a virus such as the influenza spreads, the age of mortality among those who contract the virus is typically infants and older generations. “Influenza death-vs-age charts are usually U-shaped curves (very young and very old die); the 1918 flu had a W shape with high death rate among 15-34 year olds.”²⁹ Crosby defends this assertion to be a result of the “ever mutating influenza” as it worked simultaneously with bacteria, creating “a form of highly contagious disease to which a large percentage of the human race was susceptible.”³⁰ This strange “W” pattern as noted by scholars is an effect of immunoresponse. “Autopsies of 1918 flu victims often revealed fluid-filled lungs severely damaged by hemorrhaging due to a massive immunoresponse, or a stronger immune response found in younger generations.”³¹ Newspapers across the western region noted these strange deaths, and relayed this information back to citizens. Though the influenza killed people of all ages, the vast majority of the deaths included younger generations between ten and thirty-five years of age. This is one reason many historians are perplexed by this influenza strain in particular.

The deaths included primarily children and young adults, which are noted as being the most resilient to sickness on account of their immune systems being stronger than that of an elderly person. In *Western North Carolina Times*, Miss Ashleigh Ray, at only thirteen years was a victim of having an immunoresponse, where “pneumonia, following influenza, was the cause

²⁹ See Appendix A Figure 1. Chart indicates the age in which the Spanish influenza killed during the years of 1918-1920 (solid line) and previous influenzas (dotted line).

³⁰ Alfred Crosby, *Epidemic and Peace*, (1976): 217-221. Quoted in David L Cockrell, "A Blessing in Disguise": The Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and North Carolina's Medical and Public Health Communities," 310.

³¹ Jeffery K. Taubenberger and David M. Morens, “1918 Influenza: the Mother of All Pandemics,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 2006), accessed March 22, 2017. <https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/12/1/05-0979-f2>.

of her death.”³² Ruth Fulbright, age fourteen, and Mary Bolick, age eleven, were two examples of a similar situation in Waynesville, North Carolina.³³ As a result of affecting youth more so than typical illnesses, many schools were closed during the fall and winter outbreak of the influenza in Western North Carolina.

County officials believed with the closing of school, the influenza would not longer be able to spread. On October 5, 1918, *Asheville Citizen* was the first newspaper to publish an article on the closing of city schools.³⁴ Asheville was the first city in the western region of North Carolina to abruptly close public buildings. Other areas in this region at this time were only “urged” to close by the State Board of Health.³⁵ The closing of these areas for people to congregate was done in hopes to halt the spreading of this virus. Henderson County followed suit, and closed their public buildings beginning on October 8, 1918.³⁶ This took place for approximately twelve days in Henderson County. Local newspaper *Hendersonville Visitor* stated that “Public gatherings will be permitted on and after Sunday, Oct. 20.”³⁷ The concern of contracting the influenza heightened just over one hundred miles away as well. Watauga County was facing similar issues to Hendersonville, where they too began to ban public meetings.

³² Obituary for Ashleigh Ray, letter to the editor, *Western North Carolina Times*, February 14, 1919, accessed February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³³ “Sylva Smiles and Sorrows,” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*, November 7, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³⁴ “Churches, Schools and ‘Movies’ Ordered Closed,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 5, 1918, accessed February 9, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³⁵ “State Board of Health Urges Cities to Close Churches, Schools, etc.,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 5, 1918, accessed February 9, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³⁶ “Public Gathering Places Closed to Check Influenza,” *Hendersonville Visitor*, October 8, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³⁷ “Public Gathering Places Closed to Check Influenza,” *Hendersonville Visitor*, October 8, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

“SPANISH INFLUENZA is in Watauga, and all steps possible will be taken to avoid the spread of the disease,” declared *Watauga Democrat*. “Meetings of all sorts are forbidden, even Sunday School and church services are being called off... steps are being taken to discontinue the public schools of the county. The Training School will be put under quarantine... Avoid crowds of all kinds, is the slogan.”³⁸ The fear of developing influenza like symptoms continued throughout the fall. This fear only contradicted notions of this epidemic being “A new name for an old familiar disease—simply the same old grip that has swept over the world time and again.”³⁹

There was not a newspaper for Rutherfordton, North Carolina during the beginning of the pandemic in Western North Carolina. However, an article from *Forest City Courier* during 1920 shows how persistent the Spanish influenza was. “At a joint meeting of the town councilmen and the board of trustees of the Rutherfordton graded school...it was unanimously agreed to post pone [sic] opening the school for another week, or until February 16th.”⁴⁰ In other parts of the state, schools were closed for as long as six weeks while the influenza took its course on the public. In the town of Lenoir, located in Caldwell County, the Grandin school reopened Monday December 2, after having been closed for an extended period of time due to the influenza.⁴¹ As many more people contracted the influenza, the need for more temporary “hospitals” grew. On October 20, 1918, *Asheville Citizen* publicly announced that the local high school was readily available to help those in need. With the number of people quickly acquiring influenza, 218

³⁸ “SPANISH INFLUENZA,” *Watauga Democrat*, October 10, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

³⁹ “Spanish Influenza- A New Name for an Old Familiar Disease,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 18, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴⁰ “Cliffside Local News- Local Quarantine is Lifted,” *Forest City Courier*, February 12, 1920, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴¹ “Grandin News,” *Lenoir Topic*, December 7, 1918, accessed February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

cases were reported in one day alone (October 19th), “More Volunteer Workers [were] Badly Needed.”⁴² Being acknowledged in the local newspapers for only approximately three weeks, “The total number of cases of influenza reported since the epidemic started, or since about the first of October, now stands at 3,501.”⁴³ This number would continue to grow through the next few months, as Western North Carolina began their ascent into the winter months.

The impact of the influenza on public education can not be underestimated. As a result of school closings, there were rumors that teachers would not receive pay. In Eastern North Carolina, where the influenza struck the hardest, “...superintendents had indicated to the teachers that they would not receive pay during the time the schools were closed.”⁴⁴ During the years of the influenza pandemic in North Carolina, the state was already fighting to help improve their everyday lives. Reform movements were already taking place in rural areas of North Carolina, including a greater need for education and public health.⁴⁵ Teachers were fighting for an increase in pay, where “in 1915 the average salary of school teachers was below \$400.”⁴⁶ These rumors were soon “put to rest” as Dr. Joyner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction wrote a letter published in the newspaper for Waynesville, North Carolina:

Teachers in schools that have been closed on account of the epidemic of Spanish influenza are legally and morally entitled to draw their salaries under their contract for the time intervening between the closing of the schools and reopening

⁴² “Hospital is Ready For Sick in City,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 20, 1918, accessed February 9, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴³ “Hospital is Ready For Sick in City,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 20, 1918, accessed February 9, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴⁴ “Pay Teachers During Shut-Downs,” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*, October 24, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴⁵ Cockrell, 326.

⁴⁶ “All County Schools Ordered Closed,” *Asheville Citizen*, January 31, 1920, accessed February 9, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

of the same. The living expenses of the teachers continue whether school keeps or closes. Their traveling expenses to and from home, in case they do not live in the community, are considerable. They are not responsible for the closing of the schools. Their salaries are meagre at best, and simple justice demands that they should be paid their regular salaries under their contract until the schools reopen. I am advised by the attorney general that this is the law and I am sure that it is in accordance with the Gospel. I trust, therefore, that all superintendents and boards of education and school trustees will see that the teachers are not allowed to suffer a cut in their salaries because of the closing of the schools on account of a dangerous and unavoidable epidemic.⁴⁷

As a result of schools closing statewide, summer classes were offered in some counties to allow students to catch up on any missed material during the late fall and early winter wave of the Spanish influenza.

In order to take care of children who dropped behind their classes because of influenza...Superintendent Harry Howell announces that a free [sic] summer school will be conducted during the vacation months. Reports... indicate that a great many of the cities of the state are finding it necessary to hold these summer sessions of school because the epidemic of influenza was very general and practically every system in the state was forced to close down.⁴⁸

This opportunity allowed children to continue their education as their schooling was placed on an abrupt halt as a result of the influenza's presence.

“We were thrilled about schools closing, but a few days later, my father said, ‘Son, I want you to go to work with me’...From then on, I went to work with him. We had to shut down the whole second floor of the store...Business was very, very sparse.”⁴⁹ During the early decades of the 20th century, small town businesses were the heart of America. As the influenza became

⁴⁷ Dr. J. Y. Jordan, letter to the editor, *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*, October 24, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴⁸ “Free Summer School,” *Asheville Citizen*, April 23, 1919, accessed January 27, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁴⁹ Iezzoni, 53.

more prominent in these rural areas, businesses were forced to take precaution against furthering the spread of the virus. They were required to limit the hours they were open and employees that worked to reduce the possibility of acquiring the influenza. As a result, citizens would not venture their way into towns unless necessary. Financially, this placed a strain on small family businesses.

Many upcoming businesses saw opportunity in the fear that people had developed from the spread of the influenza, and “cure alls” became more common during the years of the pandemic. Advertisements in local newspapers for Brame’s Vapomentha Salve,⁵⁰ Hill’s Bromide-Cascara Quinine,⁵¹ and Capudine⁵² all became popular Gripp and “Flu” relievers. Hill’s Bromide- Cascara Quinine warned citizens, “Look out for Spanish Influenza. At the first sign of a cold, take Hill’s Bromide- Cascara Quinine...relieves gripp in 3 days.”⁵³ These “cure alls” would promise a relief from the influenza, placing people's feelings of apprehensiveness at rest.

One “cure all” in particular gained its recognition as a result of the Spanish Influenza. Vicks Vaporub, created by Lunsford Richardson, was created in Selma, North Carolina.⁵⁴

As successful as the marketing campaign was, nothing sold Vicks VapoRub like the deadly Spanish flu outbreak that ravaged the nation in 1918 and 1919, killing hundreds of thousands of Americans. Loyal Vicks customers and new customers stocked up on the medicine to stave off or fight the disease. According to the

⁵⁰ *Marion Progress*, April 17, 1919, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵¹ *Brevard News*, March 14, 1919, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵² *Asheville Citizen*, May 9, 1919, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵³ *Brevard News*, March 14, 1919, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵⁴ Jimmy Tomlin, "The Story of Vicks VapoRub," *Our State: Celebrating North Carolina*, December 30, 2015, accessed February 6, 2017, <https://www.ourstate.com/lunsford-richardson/>.

company's history timeline, VapoRub sales skyrocketed from \$900,000 to \$2.9 million in a single year because of the pandemic.⁵⁵

Vicks Vaporub became such a widely used remedy, that *Asheville Citizen* ran an advertisement on the soon-to-be shortage of the medicine. "Danger of shortage if Supply is Not Conserved! On October 1st we had on hand at our Factory and in twenty warehouses scattered over the country, sufficient VapoRub to last us, we thought, until January 1st... Then this epidemic of Spanish Influenza hit us- and in the last 10 days this stock has vanished."⁵⁶ The advertisement goes on to show a list of how many orders they have placed in just a few days, and on Monday October 21, 1918 the company placed almost 78,000 dozens (936,000 jars). "Up to Saturday, October 19th, we have shipped for this month \$4,000,284.10, or over two million jars of VapoRub," the article claims, "Our normal output is about 4,000 dozen (48,000) per day."⁵⁷ This increase of demand for VapoRub placed a strain on businesses. Ironically, the creator himself, Lunsford Richardson, passed from the contraction of pneumonia in 1919.⁵⁸

Local drug stores placed advertisements in newspapers with the association of the Spanish influenza during the years of the pandemic, and for a few years after as well. Articles stating "Flu Scheduled to Return," ran in newspapers such as the *Asheville Citizen*.⁵⁹ Pharmacies placed ads on what to do if contracting the influenza. "Call your physician," after diagnosis

⁵⁵ Jimmy Tomlin, "The Story of Vicks VapoRub."

⁵⁶ "Danger of Shortage if Supply is Not Conserved!," *Asheville Citizen*, October 28, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵⁷ "Danger of Shortage if Supply is Not Conserved!," *Asheville Citizen*, October 28, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁵⁸ Tomlin, "The Story of Vicks VapoRub."

⁵⁹ "Flu Scheduled to Return," *Asheville Citizen*, October 24, 1919, accessed December 1, 2016, www.newspapers.com.

“remain quarantined,” and then “fill your prescription at Goode & Barbee,” these pharmacies would promote.⁶⁰ Businesses began to take advantage of people and their fear of the influenza, and in return, use it to their advantage after missing out on previous opportunities from closures during the pandemic.

Health officials deemed it necessary to intervene in the lives of small town Americans during the years of the pandemic. In Western North Carolina, laws were enacted to prevent the continuation of the influenza. Businesses were only allowed to be open for certain hours. In Asheville, “Nearly all places of business to close at 6 o’clock,” read an article. This law was to take place “each Saturday afternoon while the Spanish influenza epidemic is on until further notice.”⁶¹ This took effect for all businesses except those that were helping people with ailments, such as “drug stores for the sale of drugs and medicinal supplies only, restaurants for the serving of meals only, and garages for the sale of gasoline where out-door tanks are used.”⁶² This strained small town businesses financially while the pandemic continued to heighten.

People who were affected by the influenza, such as Edwin Wiley Grove, owner of the Grove Park Inn and the Grove Arcade, put a hold on business transactions. In a letter to Grove, his business partner, Mr A. H. Carrier made note of how prevalent the Spanish influenza was in Asheville. Along with members of his family, Carrier too contracted the Spanish influenza. “We are all well and little sickness in this section, but from the reports they are having considerable

⁶⁰ *Asheville Citizen*, October 7, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁶¹ “Saturday Closing Order is Passed,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 11, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁶² “Saturday Closing Order is Passed,” *Asheville Citizen*, October 11, 1918, accessed January 30, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

trouble in stamping out the Flu in Asheville.”⁶³ Later in April of 1919, Mr. Grove himself fell ill with the influenza. Apologizing for his late response to his business partner he wrote, “I am sorry to tell you that I was confined to my home for two weeks, and the mild form of influenza which I had seems to have left me in a very weakened condition, and I do not feel very much life talking business at this time.”⁶⁴ The presence of the influenza was nation wide. As there were three waves of the influenza during the years of 1918-1920, the second wave was the one that caused the most devastating effects on life here in the mountains. The influenza pandemic placed a hold on everyone’s everyday activities that came into contact with the sickness.

As officials continued to become more present in everyday operations, they realized that they were unable to shut-down small town life all together during the pandemic months by themselves. Instead, officials began to ask the community for help in preventing the spreading of the influenza. “If you will help the officers enforce [sic] the laws, it might mean the saving of life. Is it worth your while?” asked S. L. Pardue of North Wilkesboro.⁶⁵ Any citizens of this town that were “afflicted with Spanish Influenza or any other sickness which disable[d] him or her from doing their normal duties, to loaf about or appear on the public streets of the town...shall be subject to a penalty of \$5.00 for each and every offence.”⁶⁶ North Wilkesboro was not the only town reaching out to citizens for help. Brevard's County Health Officer, C. W. Hunt, posted an article as well, requested help from “the people and especially the doctors of our town and

⁶³A. H. Carrier to E.W. Grove, January 23, 1919, letter, Carrier/Grove Correspondences, 1919. MS131.001 D, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, North Carolina.

⁶⁴E.W. Grove to A. H. Carrier, April 25, 1919, letter, Carrier/Grove Correspondences, 1919. MS131.001 D, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, North Carolina.

⁶⁵S. L. Pardue, letter to the editor, *North Wilkesboro Hustler*, October 25, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁶⁶S. L. Pardue, letter to the editor, *North Wilkesboro Hustler*, October 25, 1918, accessed February 3, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

county to report to me promptly all cases of this new disease seen by them.”⁶⁷ In the town of Lenoir, people who had contracted the influenza, or even exposed to a sick person were subjected to a fine of twenty-five dollars if they were found on the streets.⁶⁸ These requests provided the opportunity of citizens to help their fellow townspeople in the prevention of spreading the influenza. In many cases, these requests and fines were found effective. As of October 18, 1918, *Lenoir Topic* declared that “there have been only a few cases [here] and the situation is well under control.”⁶⁹ This was one way that officials hoped would prevent the spreading of the influenza, along with quarantining.

During the years of the Spanish influenza pandemic, 1918-1920, the population in western counties of North Carolina were affected dramatically. With the second wave of the influenza being the most devastating of the three on the western part of the state, many officials intervened in the lives of citizens in hopes to control this worldwide pandemic. As a result, religion, education, and business in the daily lives of many western county citizens were interfered with such. Enacting laws that often seemed irrational, closing schools for an extended period of time, and quarantining citizens to their homes helped keep the rate of infected people down, yet could not protect everyone. Despite the seclusion that the mountainous terrain provided for Western North Carolinians, the influenza was just as prevalent and disruptive to the routine life of the citizens residing in these counties as it was elsewhere in the nation.

⁶⁷ C. W, Hunt, letter to the editor, *Brevard News*, September 26, 1918, accessed November 22, 2016, www.newspapers.com.

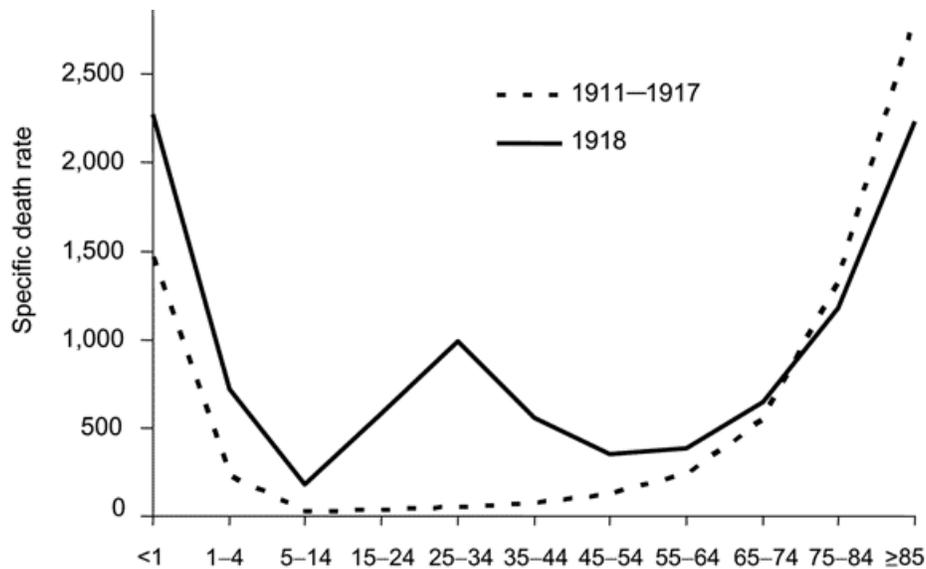
⁶⁸ “Influenza Is Well Under Control Here,” *Lenoir Topic*, October 18, 1918, February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

⁶⁹ “Influenza Is Well Under Control Here,” *Lenoir Topic*, October 18, 1918, February 22, 2017, www.newspapers.com.

Annotated Bibliography:

Appendix A

Figure 1



Jeffery K. Taubenberger and David M. Morens, “1918 Influenza: the Mother of All Pandemics,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 2006). Fig. 2, accessed March 22, 2017. <https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/12/1/05-0979-f2>

This chart allows historians to see the age group in which the influenza and the after onset of pneumonia caused the most loss of life (solid line). Different from previous influenza strains (dotted line), the Spanish influenza attacked the most resilient age groups (5-35 years). This chart gives insight to the age groups that the Spanish influenza was most destructive on. This in return, forced many schools to become closed which then had many other effects on the public.

Primary Sources

“Influenza Epidemic is Spreading Fast.” *Wilmington Morning Star*. September 21, 1918. Accessed February 21, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9080582/wilmington_nc/.

“Spanish Influenza Prevalent-Several Deaths.” *Alamance Gleaner*. October 3, 1918. Accessed January 30, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657333/deaths_not_typical/.

“The Epidemic of Grippe, or Spanish Flu.” *News-Herald*. October 3, 1918. Accessed February 22, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9874557/the_newsherald/.

“Two Caldwell Men Die From Spanish Influenza.” *Lenoir Topic*. October 4, 1918. Accessed February 22, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9103261/young_deaths/.

“Churches, Schools and ‘Movies’ Ordered Closed.” *Asheville Citizen*. October 5, 1918. Accessed February 9, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8842163/closingcommunity_life/.

“Eight thousand cases of influenza in North Carolina at present time says the State Board of Health.” *Asheville Citizens*. October 5, 1918. Accessed November 22, 2016.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7554912/spanish_influenza_result_of_returning/.

“State Board of Health Urges Cities to Close Churches, Schools, etc..” *Asheville Citizen*. October 5, 1918. Accessed February 9, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8842163/closingcommunity_life/.

Asheville Citizen. October 7, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8728466/business_propganda/.

“Public Gathering Places Closed to Check Influenza.” *Hendersonville Visitor*. October 8, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657629/community_life/.

“SPANISH INFLUENZA.” *Watauga Democrat*. October 10, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8728532/community_closings/.

“Saturday Closing Order is Passed.” *Asheville Citizen*. October 11, 1918. Accessed January 30, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657084/buiness_closings_government/.

“Influenza Is Well Under Control Here.” *Lenoir Topic*. October 18, 1918. February 22, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9103363/government_ordinance/.

“Spanish Influenza- A New Name for an Old Familiar Disease.” *Asheville Citizen*. October 18, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7555010/attitude/>.

“Hospital is Ready For Sick in City.” *Asheville Citizen*. October 20, 1918. Accessed February 9, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8842214/asheville_schoolsinfluenza/.

“On Fighting Influenza.” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*. October 24, 1918. Accessed January 30, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657432/the_carolina_mountaineer_and/.

“Pay Teachers During Shut-Downs.” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*. October 24, 1918. Accessed January 30, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657463/teachers_pay_during_influenza/.

“Danger of Shortage if Supply is Not Conserved!” *Asheville Citizen*. October 28, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7614142/vapo_rub_business_propoganda/.

“Sylva Smiles and Sorrows.” *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*. November 7, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657521/deaths_not_typical/.

“Grandin News.” *Lenoir Topic*. December 7, 1918. Accessed February 22, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9103469/school_closings/.

Brevard News. March 14, 1919. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657210/business_propoganda/.

Marion Progress. April 17, 1919. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8559144/business_propoganda/.

“Free Summer School.” *Asheville Citizen*. April 23, 1919. Accessed January 27, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8595740/school_closings/.

Asheville Citizen. May 9, 1919. Accessed February 3, 2017. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8559251/businesspropoganda/>.

“Flu Scheduled to Return.” *Asheville Citizen*. October 24, 1919. Accessed December 1, 2016. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7681457/asheville_citizenimes/.

“All County Schools Ordered Closed.” *Asheville Citizen*. January 31, 1920. Accessed February 9, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8842089/teachers_pay/.

“Cliffside Local News- Local Quarantine is Lifted.” *Forest City Courier*. February 12, 1920. Accessed February 3, 2017. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8728795/church/>.

Obituary for Ashleigh Ray. Letter to the editor. *Western North Carolina Times*. February 14, 1919. Accessed February 22, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9103550/the_western_north_carolina_times/.

Hunt, C.W. Letter to the editor. *Brevard News*. September 26, 1918. Accessed November 22, 2016, <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7555552/governmentordinances/>

Jordan, J. Y. Letter to the editor. *Carolina Mountaineer and Waynesville Courier*. October 24, 1918. Accessed January 30, 2017.

https://www.newspapers.com/clip/8657463/teachers_pay_during_influenza/.

Pardue, S. L. Letter to the editor. *North Wilkesboro Hustler*. October 25, 1918. Accessed February 3, 2017. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/7636304/government_ordinances/.

Obtained from [newspapers.com](http://www.newspapers.com), all of these articles are crucial in constructing this thesis. These clippings give a first hand account on how life was disrupted for the average Western North Carolinian. From businesses closings, to obituaries and advertisements, these newspapers allow historians to see primary sources in a much more closer way. By using these accounts, I am better able to understand the effects that the influenza plagued everyday life in this region.

Carrier, A. H. to E.W. Grove. January 23, 1919. Letter. Carrier/Grove Correspondences, 1919. MS131.001 D, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, North Carolina.

Grove, E.W. to A. H. Carrier. April 25, 1919. Letter. Carrier/Grove Correspondences, 1919. MS131.001 D, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, North Carolina.

These letters provide a first hand account on how the influenza placed a halt on business transactions during the years of the influenza pandemic. Between the two messengers, historians can gain a better understanding on how life in not only Asheville, but nationwide, were affected by the pandemic.

Mason, Robert, Siva Vaidhyanathan, Amanda Petrusich, Ryan Bradley, Laura Kolbe, and Jane Alison. "Surviving the Blue Killer, 1918." *Virginia Quarterly Review Online*. Spring 1998. Accessed February 23, 2017. <http://www.vqronline.org/essay/surviving-blue-killer-1918>.

This recollection helps to strengthen my paper when looking at the closing of schools and businesses. Mason was a survivor of the influenza pandemic here in North Carolina. This memoir adds value to this thesis as it gives a voice to recall the pandemic and the toll it took on family life here in North Carolina.

Wolfe, Thomas. *Look Homeward, Angel*. Scribner Classics, 1929. D. H. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville, Asheville, N.C.

This novel, although fiction, provides insightful information on the city of Asheville during the years of the pandemic. Based on a true story, Thomas Wolfe relays his life in this novel to provide a detailed response to the Spanish influenza and how it affected life here in the mountains, specifically the city of Asheville.

Secondary Sources

Barry, John M. *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*. (New York: Viking, 2004).

John Barry writes about many scientists who became famous through their breakthroughs with the Spanish influenza, including Dr. Paul Lewis, a member of one of the very first generation of American medical scientists. This monograph has immense information about early thoughts on this illness, including medical treatment and the discoveries, how the body responded to it (in medical pictures), and has personal accounts in it as well.

Bristow, Nancy K. *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Bristow explores the topic of the influenza outbreak, and why if it was such a significant milestone in our country, that it is such a topic that is forgotten about in the public school system. She focuses on patients and their families, friends, public health experts, and draws on their experiences to shed light on the complex interplay between social identity, cultural norms, memory, and the epidemic. This narrative included many primary sources that pertain to the general topic of the Spanish influenza outbreak, including government documents, letters, memoirs, newspapers, etc.

Cockrell David L. "'A Blessing in Disguise': The Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and North Carolina's Medical and Public Health Communities." *The North Carolina Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1996): 309-27. Accessed October 28, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy177.nclive.org/stable/23521395>.

Cockrell believes that although this pandemic killed over 13,000 North Carolinians, this sickness was actually a blessing in disguise, as it led to better healthcare for citizens along with health departments for each of the counties within the state. This illness pushed health care up to the front line of reforms, as other reforms such as women's suffrage and education were being delayed. This will allow me to see how North Carolina

was being affected from the Spanish flu, and how, even with the thousands of deaths, there was something good that came out of it.

Crosby, Alfred W. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

More than 25 million lives worldwide were claimed during the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, more than World War I casualties. Crosby recounts the course of this epidemic between August 1918 and March of 1919, measures its impact on American society, and talks of why this epidemic is one that is largely forgotten in America's mind.

Dehner, George. "The Forgotten Pandemic Remembered." In *Influenza: A Century of Science and Public Health Response*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 42-57. Accessed October 29, 2016.

<http://www.jstor.org.proxy177.nclive.org/stable/j.ctt6wrdfm.6>.

Dehner states how the illness, Spanish Influenza, got its name without even originating in Spain. After making his claim, he goes on to describe how it actually originated in the United States during the latter months of World War I. The sickness spread as quickly as it did through contact with military personnel, and the interaction between countries aided its transition across the world to different countries. Dehner believes that if the world had never been at war with each other, that this epidemic never would have reached its potential that it did.

Iezzoni, Lynette. *Influenza 1918: The Worst Epidemic in American History*. (New York: TV Books, 1999).

Iezzoni uses personal accounts to retail this epidemic from the beginning stages of the flu (as early as spring of 1918) to the end, how it mutated and spread from animals (from pigs to humans), and the entertainment side of the epidemic including rumors of what many people believed to be biological warfare. Iezzoni focuses not only on larger cities, but also rural areas such as Macon, Georgia and Goldsboro, North Carolina. This gives greater insight to what people were experiencing in their personal lives through their accounts, and allows me to see their thought process on the subject.

Martinez-Catsam, Ana. "The Spanish Influenza of 1918." *Journal of the West* 52, no. 1 (2013): 65-71. Accessed October 28, 2016. <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.wncln.wncln.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=31h&AN=95106633&site=ehost-live>.

This examines the outbreak of the pandemic during 1918, and how people were affected in rural areas out west, such as Texas. It also looks at the response to the outbreak by the

agency the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS), information about the epidemic and public service announcements (PSAs) relayed in the newspaper, and how some local humanitarians, like Olga Kohlberg, were attempting to make themselves as readily available as possible. This will be useful to see how other small towns areas were affected, though in different parts of the state, and see what different information was being used to help contain the sickness in different parts of the U.S.

Outka, Elizabeth. "Wood for the Coffins Ran Out": Modernism and the Shadowed Afterlife of the Influenza Pandemic." *Modernism/Modernity* 21, no. 4. (November 2014).

This article examines the relationship between the Spanish influenza outbreak, World War I, and modernism. There are literary depictions of death, traumatic experiences, and grieving. There are also excerpts from famous writers during the time, including Thomas Wolfe who was affected the by traumatic event.

Porras Gallo, María Isabel and Ryan A. Davis. *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919: Perspectives from the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas*. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014).

These essays talk about the less spoken topics that were influenced by the Spanish influenza outbreak including class, gender, and even religion. The authors relate the Spanish flu outbreak to current flu outbreaks and how there is little difference between the times, only more information is available nowadays. This lets me see the relevance between present day and the past flu pandemic, and how social factors are still influenced heavily among situations such as this.

Tomlin, Jimmy. "The Story of Vicks VapoRub." *Our State: Celebrating North Carolina*. December 30, 2015. Accessed February 6, 2017. <https://www.ourstate.com/lunsford-richardson/>.

This short articles gives more information on Vicks Vaporub, a product that became well known through the pandemic. As a result of the influenza, businesses took advantage of people's fears of contracting the influenza, and claimed their product would cure every ailment that a person may have. VapoRub in particular became such a high demand product that the company faced shortage supply during the years of the influenza pandemic.

Vaughn, Victor and Scotti Cohn. *Disasters and Heroic Rescues of North Carolina*. (Guilford, CT: Insiders' Guide, 2005).

With a brief mention of the Spanish influenza pandemic within Vaughns book allows historians to see how the Spanish influenza pandemic had upon life here in North

Carolina. This gives information on how people dealt with the effects of the influenza. Within the book, it gives a brief description of military camps with a quote from military personnel on what camp life was like during these few years.

Timeline:

https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?source=1nhYEAe_WfN2DXkNGMha_rZDt-YzG4ko4iakY6vthyuE&font=Default&lang=en&initial_zoom=2&height=650