Newfoundland and Labrador Studies

A Ghostly Aside
Reviewing and Remembering the "Forgotten" 1918-1919 Spanish Flu Pandemic in Newfoundland and Labrador

Ryan R. Chafe

Volume 38, Number 1, 2023

Disasters, Pandemics and Crises in Newfoundland and Labrador: Past, Present and Future

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1115685ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1115685ar

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

Faculty of Arts, Memorial University

ISSN

1719-1726 (print)
1715-1430 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Chafe, R. (2023). A Ghostly Aside: Reviewing and Remembering the "Forgotten" 1918-1919 Spanish Flu Pandemic in Newfoundland and Labrador. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, *38*(1), 1–56. https://doi.org/10.7202/1115685ar

Article abstract

The current COVID-19 crisis emphasizes that pandemics are both biomedical phenomena and significant multifaceted historical events. The 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic, known as the "Spanish Flu," was estimated to have killed between fifty to one hundred million people, yet historians like Alfred Crosby labelled the Spanish Flu a "forgotten" pandemic because of its absence from contemporary and academic writing. Memory of the pandemic has recently received academic attention in Pandemic Re-Awakenings (2022) though memories of thepandemic in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) were not explored in that work. This paper examines the memory of Spanish Flu in NL using both "global" and "local" perspectives and argues for the importance of applying globally recognized academic theory, methodology, and examples to local perspectives and experiences. During an era fixated on remembrance, the pandemic dead were concealed by the Great War, except members of the community who fit into heroic narratives. Without utilitarian value, the memory of the Spanish Flu was "forgotten,"an active and passive process that downplayed its impact on human society. Memory of the Spanish Flu persisted in private form and influenced the world through public health policy changes and as a precedent-setting event to be viewed in grim anticipation of future pandemics.

ARTICLE

A Ghostly Aside: Reviewing and Remembering the "Forgotten" 1918–1919 Spanish Flu Pandemic in Newfoundland *and* Labrador

Ryan R. Chafe

Abstract

The current COVID-19 crisis emphasizes that pandemics are both biomedical phenomena and significant multifaceted historical events. The 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic, known as the "Spanish Flu," was estimated to have killed between fifty to one hundred million people, yet historians like Alfred Crosby labelled the Spanish Flu a "forgotten" pandemic because of its absence from contemporary and academic writing. Memory of the pandemic has recently received academic attention in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings* (2022) though memories of the pandemic in Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) were not explored in that work. This paper examines the memory of Spanish Flu in NL using both "global" and "local" perspectives and argues for the importance of applying globally recognized academic theory, methodology, and examples to local perspectives and experiences. During an era fixated on remembrance, the pandemic dead were concealed by the Great War, except members of the community who fit into heroic narratives. Without utilitarian value, the memory of the Spanish Flu was "forgotten," an active and passive process that downplayed its impact on human

society. Memory of the Spanish Flu persisted in private form and influenced the world through public health policy changes and as a precedent-setting event to be viewed in grim anticipation of future pandemics.

Introduction

In 1918, during the last months of the First World War, the pandemic known as the "Spanish Flu" circulated throughout the world.[1] Proliferating through person-to-person contact, the infection from the Spanish Flu presented like a cold, with a cough and stuffed nose that gradually progressed to an ache that pervaded every joint and muscle, a high fever, and overwhelming fatigue.[2] Serious cases developed a violent bloody cough, intense headaches, profuse nosebleeds, vomiting, diarrhoea, high fever, and delirium.[3] Terminal cases experienced cyanosis, a symptom of deoxygenizing where fingers, hands, and faces turned a blue-black colour.[4] Death could come quickly to those infected. Someone could be fine in the morning, get sick, and be dead by the evening.[5] Death was frequently caused by a secondary infection of pneumonia, as bacteria entered the lungs and turned them into sacks of fluid that drowned the sufferer.[6] It was a painful and disturbing way to die, and for those present to witness its effects unfold, it was a horror that haunted them for the rest of their lives.[7] The first wave of the Spanish Flu was in early 1918; the second, more virulent wave came in the autumn of 1918; and the third in the winter of 1919.[8] Modern estimates of the Spanish Flu's death toll are between fifty and one hundred million people,[9] with estimates of the pandemic's morbidity between five hundred million and one billion people.[10]

In 1918, Newfoundland was a colonial member of the British Empire disproportionately affected by infectious diseases. During the early part of the twentieth century, NL suffered from the highest mortality rate from tuberculosis in North America, where until 1947 it was the leading cause of death.[11] Between 1914 and 1919, pulmonary tuberculosis killed 3,216 Newfoundlanders, or 643 people on average

per year. Unlike tuberculosis, there is no definitive death toll for the Spanish Flu in NL, and assembling this data requires aligning statistical puzzle pieces. An educated guess about the Spanish Flu's death toll can be made based on the information available, by combining statistics reporting influenza and pneumonia deaths (the common co-morbidity for Spanish Flu victims) and recognizing excess deaths — deaths that exceeded the annual average — explained by the pandemic circumstances of 1918/1919.

According to statistics in a report for the 1923 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, between 1914 and 1917 influenza killed an average of 39 people per year and pneumonia killed an average of 154 people per year.[12] During the two years of the Spanish Flu, influenza killed 1382 people and pneumonia killed 547 people.[13] If the base numbers in the years before the Spanish Flu pandemic reflect influenza's typical morbidity, then influenza killed an excess of 704 people in 1918 and 600 people in 1919, a total of 1304 excess deaths for this time.[14] If the same methodology is applied to pneumonia, from the average deaths in 1914–1917 compared to the pandemic, there is a combined excess of 239 people.[15] If these excess deaths are accepted as due to the Spanish Flu pandemic, there is a total of 1543 excess deaths from a population of approximately 260,000, or a mortality rate of 5.9 deaths per 1,000 people.[16] The true death toll of the Spanish Flu in NL will remain unknown as even if these numbers are figured out, it does not include the deaths of people who were weakened by the Spanish Flu, such as already sick individuals whose condition worsened as a result of the flu, or survivors who were "indirectly afflicted for the rest of their lives with the poor condition of health the flu left them."[17]

In 1918 almost half of all doctors in NL worked on the Avalon Peninsula, specifically in St. John's and Conception Bay. Elsewhere, in Newfoundland's outport communities, a name attributed to almost all coastal (mostly rural) communities outside St. John's,[18] people primarily depended on mobile, traveling doctors for medical aid. In Labrador, where environmental conditions were harsh and communities were spread out and isolated, medical care was scarce even in the best of times.

Some outport physicians were responsible for seven thousand people, while parts of the South Coast of Newfoundland, inhabited by six thousand people, did not have a nurse until 1920 and were without a doctor until Commission Government in the 1930s.[19] When the pandemic began, the sick in St. John's had an advantage in available physicians (thirty-three practising in the city at the time) with multiple facilities available for treatment centres, including the General and Fever Hospitals and the created space in the King George V Institute (also known as the Grenfell Hall/Institute).[20] Sir Wilfred Grenfell believed that the care of patients in facilities that could accommodate them and contain their disease was essential to the survival of the ill and prospective cases.[21] Grenfell claimed that mortality rates among flu victims decreased considerably with early medical aid. Basic nursing and attention for the sick, also known as "TLC" (tender loving care), was "the only truly effective treatment" against the Spanish Flu commonly used at this time.[22] Terry Bishop-Stirling notes: "Within families or in small communities, as the number of sick mounted, there were fewer healthy people to provide these basic needs."[23] When considering the virulence of the Spanish Flu, which infected medical practitioner and patient alike, it is no wonder that this TLC was in short supply during wartime, especially in remote locations with limited medical resources.

Varying availability of treatment could prove deadly for residents of communities lacking in medical staff and space to care for the ill. While St. John's was dealing with the disease through familiar methods, those outside of the capital city experienced the pandemic differently, both in outport Newfoundland and in Labrador. On the West Coast and Northern Peninsula, the International Grenfell Association (IGA) took care of the medical needs of the people living there.[24] The IGA ran hospitals at Battle Harbour, Indian Harbour, and St. Anthony, and supported a cottage hospital at Pilley's Island in Notre Dame Bay and a nursing station at Forteau.[25] The reality of this situation was that sixty-seven physicians were responsible for the lives of 210,000 people in over 1,300 communities spread out along a six-thousand-mile coastline.[26] This was a logistical nightmare. Letters and telegraphs requesting

aid from towns across NL were sent to Colonial Secretary W. W. Halfyard in the fall and winter of 1918–1919.[27] The Colonial Secretary tried to coordinate doctors through telegraphs and letters but the slow speed of communication made an already chaotic situation untenable. It became a task on its own to track down the very mobile outport doctors to even attempt to direct them to additional people that needed their attention in a timely manner.[28] It was time-consuming and ineffective, and ultimately many people in these outports did not get the attention or treatment necessary to survive because there were simply not enough available medically-trained hands (or spaces to nurse them).

In Labrador the situation was even more dire than on the island of Newfoundland, where government mail and freight ships were unable to enter frozen harbours from mid-November to late June.[29] The communities of Okak and Hebron in northern Labrador experienced a combined mortality rate of 71 percent from the Spanish Flu.[30] Requests were sent out to Colonial Secretary W. W. Halfyard and the government in St. John's for assistance, but this "assistance" did not come until June 1919, when the ice had melted and the pandemic in Labrador was over.[31] The relief response — a few men who brought "wood for coffins and wire to fence in graveyards"[32] — was met with criticism from Labradorians, who were outraged that help had come so late, and viewed this "relief" as an insult. Sir Wilfred Grenfell expressed that he believed the Newfoundland government had sent help for the dead rather than the living.[33] The public health situation in NL was not ubiquitous throughout the colony. During wartime there were even fewer doctors available than before, which further slowed the medical response to the Spanish Flu and allowed the pandemic to exploit a vulnerability in NL healthcare.[34]

In the recently published book analyzing the memory of the Spanish Flu, *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918-1919,* Guy Beiner wrote that although the Spanish Flu has been labelled a "forgotten pandemic," it was not condemned to total oblivion, and the tendency of modern scholarship to label it as

such is misleading because of the considerable variability in how the pandemic was subsequently both publicly disregarded and privately recalled. Beiner suggested instead that "the pandemic is best understood as a case of 'social forgetting', which can be defined as an oblique form of social remembrance sustained through tensions between public avoidance and the persistence of private, or local, recollections."[35] This is how it can be explained that memories of the pandemic in NL can be vividly recalled through the accounts of first-hand and second-hand sufferers, yet the lack of public recognition and academic attention compared to the First World War gives the false impression that it was a forgotten historical event. Weighed against the millions of lives lost and the billions of people affected afterwards, the impact of this pandemic appeared (deceptively) minimal. The pandemic occupied a position in the history of the twentieth century as an addendum of the Great War and existed in historical literature as an afterthought of 1918. This was the case in historical study of NL as well, where, as Anne Budgell wrote, "writers of Newfoundland and Labrador history, apparently like writers elsewhere, have paid little attention to the pandemic."[36] This lack of attention did not apply to survivors of the pandemic in Labrador, who remembered and recalled their experiences both privately, in diaries, and publicly, in publications like *Newfoundland Quarterly* and *Them Days*, and in interviews for Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham's documentary *The Last Days of Okak*.[37] The gap between public and private recollection and the tensions between experiences in the local epidemic amid the global Spanish Flu pandemic speaks to commonalities of remembrance elsewhere.

In this paper I will review what has been written about the Spanish Flu in NL and reflect on how it aligns with and differs from experiences elsewhere to deliberate on the meaning behind the "forgotten pandemic," particularly as it compares with the First World War. Because the Spanish Flu occurred *during* the First World War, I argue that it was in large part *because* of the Great War that it was able to spread and kill so prolifically. I will address the Spanish Flu in NL as both a distinct pandemic (in an era full of outbreaks of infectious diseases) and as a part of

the First World War through local sources and reflect on how the war affected the Spanish Flu's memory in scholarship. I will review the legacy of this pandemic and investigate its absence and presence in academic papers, popular literature, and public memory. In doing so, I will expand on an underrepresented part of NL's history at the end of the First World War and contribute to recent studies that have placed more emphasis on the impact of the Spanish Flu as a biomedical phenomenon and as a sub-topic in memory studies. In response to the approaches put forth in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*, I will reflect on how a study of memory of the Spanish Flu in NL has yet to be conducted and attempt to review and analyze the mnemonic side of the pandemic that has otherwise not received much attention.[38] In doing so, I hope to encourage further work on the memory history of the Spanish Flu pandemic in NL.

The first section of this essay will briefly detail the historiography of the Spanish Flu in NL. This is followed by a comparative overview of how the pandemic has been remembered elsewhere using the examples of memory history conducted in India, Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and South Africa. As I address each source in this evaluation, I will remark upon relevant information as it pertains to NL and provide an overview of the work of scholars Alfred Crosby, David Arnold, Daniel Flecknoe, Jeremy Youde, Guy Beiner, and David A. Davis who have informed the theory and methodology of this paper. These scholars asked why it was that the Spanish Flu was *not* remembered, and in the case of Beiner, how it *was* remembered, particularly relative to its absence from the cultural consciousness of 1918/1919 compared to its current academic position as a thriving area of scholarship. I will explore what interest in this field means for the ongoing study of the Spanish Flu in NL and how the implications of the "forgotten pandemic" still resonate in scholarship of the Spanish Flu today.

I found that memories of the Spanish Flu pandemic in NL gravitated around heroic figures — those who fought in the pandemic as volunteers, nurses, doctors, and soldiers during the First World War. There was a bias towards people of action, and heroic narratives were

weaved around these actions. Daniel Flecknoe believed that the focus on heroic narrative is part of the reason that the First World War overshadowed the Spanish Flu, because "it appears that the First World War, with all of its heroic, tragic, and stirring tales of world-changing but most importantly *human* agency, has always been much closer to the kind of narrative that we want to tell about ourselves, and of 20th century history."[39] As I will later outline, heroic narratives appear at the center of Spanish Flu memories in NL and elsewhere, and reflect the wartime context of the pandemic and natural cravings to elevate exceptional individuals and their experiences. Throughout the paper, heroic figures such as Nurse Ethel Dickinson in Newfoundland and Reverend Henry Gordon in Labrador will repeatedly appear at the center of recollections of the pandemic in NL as lights shining in the dark; what emerges is that it is not the pandemic that is forgotten, but the individual tales of suffering, the faces and names of those who have died and become statistics among the millions of unknown dead.[40] This is a commentary about what people consciously (and unconsciously) deemed worthy of remembrance.[41]

Historiography: What has been written about the Spanish Flu in NL?

Historical research on NL's experience with the Spanish Flu has been minimal prior to the twenty-first century. Because NL was not a part of Canada at the time of the First World War, it has been easily pushed aside when considering the pandemic on a national scale.[42] This was also the case with material contemporary to the Spanish Flu. Although the pandemic was a daily topic in newspapers in 1918,[43] it seldom appeared as a topic of interest in memoirs or published journals documenting this period where, like elsewhere, people were more preoccupied with the Great War than the "Great Flu."[44] The notable exception to this trend in Labrador was Reverend Henry Gordon's journal, *A Winter in Labrador*, a description of Rev. Gordon's harrowing experience dealing with (and suffering from) the Spanish Flu in Labrador.[45]

Following its publication, *A Winter in Labrador* became a central narrative made to represent the whole Labrador-during-flu experience. Rev. Gordon's actions in *A Winter in Labrador* depict him as a man of action, as someone who weathered the pandemic, fought for the sake of others, and survived, and he seamlessly fit into the hero-making tradition of that era. Replication of heroic narratives such as that of Rev. Gordon's efforts in Cartwright were given priority over the demoralizing death found elsewhere in the account, and this was the case in both popular histories and academic studies.[46]

When NL appeared in Canadian works about the Spanish Flu pandemic, it had a minimal presence. Eileen Pettigrew's *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918* provides a short but detailed account of the Spanish Flu across Canada, from NL to British Columbia. Pettigrew's sources included newspapers, government reports, and two hundred interviews she conducted across Canada about people's memory of the Spanish Flu. In the longest chapter of the book, "East to West, North to South," Pettigrew outlined each province's Spanish Flu experiences, beginning with NL. Of the ten pages about NL, only a page and a half described Newfoundland, while the rest of the section is concentrated solely on Labrador and Rev. Gordon's experiences.[47] Much of *A Silent Enemy* emphasized the individual tales of heroics of people who fought the Spanish Flu across Canada, and Pettigrew's portrait of Rev. Gordon's struggles followed this tendency observed elsewhere towards recognizing notable heroes of the pandemic.[48] Newfoundland's experiences with the Spanish Flu outside of these instances are not addressed by Pettigrew. In *The Silent Enemy,* St. John's, Newfoundland was important merely as the port from which Spanish Flu first arrived in NL. After that was established, Pettigrew focused on Labrador and ignored Newfoundland.[49] This trend of "one or the other" of Newfoundland *or* Labrador has continued in individual articles.

There was no monograph about the Spanish Flu in NL until 2018 with the release of Anne Budgell's *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919*.[50] Historical-based research on the

NL Spanish Flu pandemic was pioneered by Lisa Sattenspiel, Craig T. Palmer, and Chris Cassidy, who broke ground with their 2007 article "Boats, Trains, and Immunity: The Spread of the Spanish Flu on the Island of Newfoundland," which tracked the transportation networks across Newfoundland in 1918/1919 and found linkages between these networks and the spread of the Spanish Flu during the different waves of infection. In the following seventeen years, Sattenspiel authored and co-authored almost all the academic articles about the Spanish Flu in NL that I have found.[51] Spearheaded by Sattenspiel, this small group of scholars produced the bulk of scholarship on the Spanish Flu in NL which has helped establish an academic foothold for the pandemic in this province.[52] The contribution of these scholars can be observed in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings* as well. Labrador is mentioned twice throughout *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*: once in direct reference to Lisa Sattenspiel and Svenn-Erik Mamelund's comparative demographic study of Alaska and Labrador,[53] and then in reference to Budgell's *We All Expected to Die,* describing the horrors faced by the Inuit of Labrador.[54] Although it at least merited mentioning, Labrador was not the focus of any chapter in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*.[55] As I will briefly illustrate with some examples, the scholarly tendency to focus on either Newfoundland *or* Labrador is not uncommon in research about the Spanish Flu in NL.[56]

In their article "Boats, Trains, and Immunity," Lisa Sattenspiel, Craig T. Palmer, and Chris Cassidy stated that deaths from Labrador were omitted from their analysis because "it was clear that there was significant under-enumeration in the provincial records, not only of deaths from influenza and pneumonia, but also of deaths from all other causes."[57] This logic was later echoed in the article "Sex-and-age-based differences in mortality during the 1918 influenza pandemic on the island of Newfoundland," in which Taylor Paskoff and Lisa Sattenspiel acknowledged that the mortality rates of the Spanish Flu were far worse in Labrador than in Newfoundland,[58] but for the purposes of their study chose to focus solely on Newfoundland because of "insufficient data for deaths in Labrador."[59] In a paper with Svenn-Erik Mamelund,

referenced above, Sattenspiel studied Labrador's Spanish Flu experiences and high mortality rates and compared them with Alaska. Because Labrador's indigenous people were the focus of the paper, Newfoundland was not addressed in detail. The academic trend here involves limiting the scope of study to an examination of either Newfoundland *or* Labrador, while the other part of NL is dismissed as a source of analysis.[60] This can be to the paper's benefit, as limiting the scope demographically also serves to uncomplicate analysis, especially in a case where records are fragmented or otherwise unreliable, and in this case conditions between Labrador and St. John's/outport Newfoundland were so different. However, I think this limiting is unfortunate, as restricting study to Newfoundland *or* Labrador separates the two-part province into analyses which divide instead of unite NL and undermine the significance and influence either half has on the other.

Although Anne Budgell's *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919* focused primarily on Labrador, it also provided ongoing, multi-chapter length information on the spread of the Spanish Flu throughout Newfoundland in addition to and supporting her following of the Flu's spread throughout Labrador. Budgell emphasized Newfoundland's role as the origin of the Spanish Flu's transfer from ship to population, the response from the press and public in St. John's, and the official and unofficial statements from the Newfoundland government about the pandemic.[61] Budgell's work stressed the irresponsibility and inadequate response to the pandemic in Labrador by the Government in St. John's: a righteous fury fueled by scores of dead versus an indifferent government response in both press and personal correspondence. Through her consistent emphasis of the Spanish Flu in both Newfoundland *and* Labrador, and as a side effect of being the *only* monograph written about the Spanish Flu in NL (as of May 2024), *We All Expected to Die* has a level of detail that has not been replicated thus far but which will hopefully mark the beginning of a trend towards expanded analysis in the future. Though Labrador was the focus of *We All Expected to Die,* Newfoundland was not neglected.

Why has scholarship focused on either Newfoundland *or* Labrador? The difference appears to be based around the individual purposes of these papers. More people lived in Newfoundland and therefore a higher number of people died there from the Spanish Flu, but mortality rates were much higher in Labrador. Papers which analyzed the path of influenza from one community to another or those that brought attention to community and demographic statistics would naturally favour studying Newfoundland, where records of deaths and ship movements are more easily accessible and reliable.[62] This choice makes sense considering that account after account of the Spanish Flu experience in Labrador emphasized the chaos in which bodies were buried beneath frosted ground and ice according to practicality and convenience instead of order. Records of the dead were not a priority when the needs of the living, many of them helpless children, still needed to be met. The high mortality rate in Labrador emphasized issues of disproportionate suffering during the Spanish Flu comparable to situations elsewhere in the world, such as Alaska and India. Scholars writing about high mortality rates (or who focus on places that also had high Spanish Flu mortality rates) are attracted to Labrador and its story of community ruin instead of Newfoundland, where more people died but the pandemic was demographically less significant.[63]

During the Spanish Flu pandemic, suffering was felt around the world. As Sattenspiel and Mamelund's oft-cited comparative study of Alaska and Labrador suggests, comparing like situations can illuminate trends of the pandemic which link disparate communities that experienced similar circumstances which otherwise might go undetected. This idea is especially crucial in NL's case because there has been much more written about experiences of the Spanish Flu outside of NL than within. This analysis will use both outside data and local literature to help illuminate aspects of the pandemic in NL that have yet to be entirely explored, and in doing so will contemplate what these outside situations say about the memory of the Spanish Flu pandemic in NL: how it has been remembered and "forgotten."

Memory of the "Forgotten" Pandemic

Academic interest in the Spanish Flu as a "forgotten" pandemic was sparked by Alfred Crosby's *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*.[64] Crosby speculated that there are several reasons for this "lapse" in memory, firstly that "lethal epidemics were not as unexpected and therefore not as impressive in 1918 as they would be today," as that period was a time when "terrific epidemics of typhoid, yellow fever, diphtheria, cholera etc. were well within living memory."[65] In 1918, infectious diseases were commonplace to daily life in NL. It is likely that this affected the ability of people to remember the Spanish Flu pandemic as a particularly noteworthy event; it was just one of many outbreaks of infectious diseases that wreaked havoc in NL in the early twentieth century. Another reason Crosby suggested that the Spanish Flu became "forgotten" is that the visible demographic effect of many young adults (aged between 20–40) dying of the Spanish Flu was undermined and concealed by its presence during the First World War, an already particularly deadly period for young adults.[66] They were the primary group that lost their lives during the war, both in combat *and* to the Spanish Flu.[67] The presence of the Great War overwhelmed the Spanish Flu pandemic as a historical event to be remembered and concealed its demographic impact.[68]

Crosby described how despite its worldwide presence, the Spanish Flu pandemic was an underreported event with people on the home front, soldiers on the battlefield, and even with physicians.[69] Crosby thought that the fact that the Spanish Flu did not attract attention was unsurprising because it primarily killed young adults and not the famous figures of the world who caught the disease. To emphasize this point, Crosby noted how the Spanish Flu "killed the daughter of General Edwards of the 26th Division of the AEF, but not the General. It killed a daughter and son of Senator Albert B. Fall, but not the Senator."[70] The Spanish Flu was a personal tragedy for families around the world, but it did not have a notable famous figure attached to it to help recall the disease. Although, famous figures did

get infected; Franklin D. Roosevelt, age thirty-six, returned from France with Spanish Flu and double pneumonia, recovered, and eventually became President of the United States.[71] In NL's case, Joseph R. Smallwood, then a seventeen-year-old reporter for *The Evening Telegram*, was described in the 18 October 1918 issue to be "confined to his home with a severe attack of influenza."[72] The future first premier of Newfoundland, who would one day help bring NL into Confederation with Canada, almost died from the Spanish Flu as a teenager.[73] If Smallwood had died then, he would not have had the chance to become a historical figure. For the young men and women who died of the Spanish Flu, this was their unfortunate fate: their lives were lost before they could become an identifiable, memorable victim — somebody that the public could know and remember, and therefore, according to Crosby, the pandemic passed without worldly attention.

The nature of the Spanish Flu as a fast-spreading disease that also killed quickly encouraged forgetfulness in the societies that were affected by it. Crosby remarked that "the disease moved too fast, arrived, flourished, and was gone before it had any but ephemeral effects on the economy and before many people had time to fully realize just how great was the danger."[74] Unlike more visible diseases like smallpox or polio, or a lingering disease like tuberculosis which kept patients in hospitals sometimes for years at a time, the Spanish Flu did not have a visible presence in hospitals after the pandemic was over.[75] The Spanish Flu infected people in large numbers in 1918 and 1919, killed them quickly, and then was gone by the 1920s, leaving only survivors, their memories, and the graves of the dead to mark that it had even happened at all. In the years following the pandemic, the Spanish Flu did not leave a powerful tradition in literature, was undervalued in histories of the First World War, and escaped the eye of historians until the past fifty years.

Throughout "Death and the Modern Empire: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India," David Arnold highlighted how even though the Spanish Flu killed twelve million people in India, it was a forgotten pandemic that left behind a scarce historiography with many gaps.[76]

Arnold explained these gaps, in part, by the political nature of remembrance and believed that this lack of utility encouraged forgetfulness. Arnold explained that the Spanish Flu in India "was not, from the perspective of the colonial state and its medical establishment, an episode of which they could be proud or which they could readily incorporate into a narrative of progress."[77] Because the Spanish Flu in India did not offer an instructive lesson, it was not commemorated in public forums, and the death of millions was pushed into the background of history. Therefore, Arnold suggested that the Spanish Flu was intentionally forgotten like an unpleasant memory. In a similar vein, Daniel Flecknoe described how, elsewhere, the medical community's failure to combat the Spanish Flu effectively halted medicine's progressive movement over previously ungovernable infections, and he described how scientists and doctors were forced to "[come] down to earth with an ego-jolting thump when confronted by a worldwide plague, which the science of the time was powerless to either understand or treat."[78] During a time when human science was "mastering nature," rather than dwell on the collective failure of the medical community, it was much more convenient to categorize the Spanish Flu, if it was to be categorized at all, as an "isolated throwback that could be safely stricken from the record."[79] The painful memories were pushed aside as exceptional cases, allowing for progressivist ideas of medicine and medical development to stay intact.

Despite the resulting social, spatial, governmental, and health problems following mass death, Arnold explained that in India the Spanish Flu had become "forgotten history" and that the lack of commemoration of this important period was not surprising because in India "the time of war was also concurrently a time of famine, and almost from the outset influenza was described as 'really a disease of hunger and exhaustion.'"[80] Twelve million dead civilians during a time of war when people were otherwise starving and living in poverty did not inspire the kind of fond memories one would want to remember, or evoke patriotism for a nation and government that had failed to protect them.[81] Outside of personal remembrances, the systems in place which upheld government and medical structures and also documented and maintained archives

were "unable to cope with such a comprehensive onslaught on [their] war-weary services and fragile infrastructure. . . Too many people were overworked, sick, or on their deathbeds, to have the time or energy to record what was happening."[82] As a result of this combination of factors, Arnold lamented that we now only have "a very fragmentary impression of the twelve million lives lost and the millions more whose existence was shattered or destroyed by the epidemic."[83] In this absence of records, the Spanish Flu in India became a forgotten pandemic.

India's struggles with the Spanish Flu bring Labrador's experiences to mind. While India was the nation with the most deaths from the Spanish Flu that we know of (twelve million deaths from a population of approximately 250 million people),[84] the communities of Okak and Hebron experienced a combined mortality rate of 71 percent (killing at least 207 people of a population of 263 in Okak and 140 of a population of 222 in Hebron), distinguishing them among the highest mortality rates of Spanish Flu in the world.[85] In Labrador, after decades of relative silence, periodic attempts were made to talk with survivors of the Spanish Flu about their experiences in interviews published (and republished) in *Them Days*. These interviews documented the hardships of people who lost family members, friends, and their entire community to the pandemic.[86] The human resource available to interview in the 1970s is not available now, fifty years later, so these first-hand interviews have become particularly precious. In 1985, Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham produced the documentary *The Last Days of Okak*, interviewing survivors of the Spanish Flu from Okak about their experiences — a still raw, painful subject for them even after almost seven decades. Like the *Them Days* interviews, without this historical production these oral histories would have been lost to time.[87] In Newfoundland, outside of accounts from newspapers contemporary to the Spanish Flu, I have not been able to find adequate records of civilian experience, and nothing that compares to something like Rev. Gordon's *A Winter in Labrador,* or which recalls the personal experiences found in *Them Days* or *The Last Days of Okak*. The absence of recorded memory was a problematic, peculiar aspect of the Spanish

Flu around the world and in NL. Through highlighting the reasons for how it has been "forgotten" and why this is, I hope to emphasize how the Spanish Flu was simultaneously "forgotten" *and* remembered.

A pandemic like the Spanish Flu complicated individual interpretation because it was beyond the actions of individuals; it was a calamity that swept across nations and communities regardless of human (and medical) action to prevent it.[88] People were infected by the Spanish Flu indiscriminately, regardless of nation or background, and its survivors lived through a combination of luck, caution, and the generosity of others. The pandemic, with all its confusion and chaos, dealt a collective trauma to the world, disrupting the stabilizing factors of society and individual memory.[89] David A. Davis described how the absence of this pandemic in collective memory "suggests a double loss, both the loss of the victims and the loss of survivors' group identity. Without a collective memory to connect the survivors to one another, experiences of the pandemic became isolated and individualized."[90] Individualized memory easily fragmented and became difficult to place in a greater narrative, which made finding meaning difficult. Through examining NL's mnemonic response to the Spanish Flu pandemic in direct comparison to the rest of the world, I will display how NL's acts of remembrance compared with trends of remembrance of the Spanish Flu elsewhere. I find that, like elsewhere, memories of the pandemic fixated on heroes and heroic narratives, and in this way echo wartime commemoration focused on individual human actions, both a sign of the era the pandemic took place in and a comment on who (and what) was worthy of being remembered.

Heroic Tales: Remembering the Pandemic through Commemoration and Heroism

In the Afterword of *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*, Astrid Erll described how the memory of the Spanish Flu persisted through individuals, even though it was outside the "conspicuous registers of memory culture" and lacked the key forms of modern memory that have evolved in the

Western world, namely that "there are virtually no public monuments, museums, or commemorative ceremonies. . . [that] there is no strong historiographic tradition, no ongoing investment in national commemorative memory and little evidence of travelling memory."[91] Nancy K. Bristow concurred with this idea, suggesting that while the public may have forgot, "individuals and families remembered," creating the common phenomenon of "tension between public silence and private remembering."[92] These tensions help explain the persistence of narratives like Rev. Gordon's *A Winter in Labrador* and the telling and retelling of Ethel Dickinson's story as representative of Newfoundland's struggles with the Spanish Flu. Through exploring several local and global examples of the pandemic memory with this tendency towards heroic remembrance in mind, I will emphasize the importance of mythmaking and the elevation of exceptional individuals during the memorialization of traumatic events like the Spanish Flu pandemic.

The December 1920 issue of *Newfoundland Quarterly* recalled how, on 26 October 1920, a public memorial to volunteer nurse Ethel Dickinson was erected in St. John's.[93] Dickinson died while nursing the sick at the Grenfell Institute in St. John's. In addition to a specific dedication to Dickinson, the memorial was constructed "in honour also of those who nursed with her in the imminent shadow of death."[94] The memorial was funded primarily through donations from people around Newfoundland who felt grateful for what Dickinson and her fellow nurses had done for them while they and their family members were ill. It was erected out of a sense of gratefulness and grief and became a centerpiece of mourning for those who died in the battle against the Spanish Flu. Just as war memorials were created following the First World War, this memorial to nurses was made to commemorate and to remember. The prevalence of this memory will be evident in the following local sources, where Ethel Dickinson is recalled as one of the only consistent names in discussion about the pandemic in Newfoundland.[95]

In 1924, James Murphy published an ambitious pamphlet called *A Century of Events in Newfoundland: 1824–1924*. Murphy's stated

purpose was to concisely provide an authentic record of events for the public.[96] There was no mention in the entries for 1918 or 1919 of the Spanish Flu in NL despite its presence in the daily papers for months throughout 1918. The entry for 1920 noted that a monument to Ethel Dickinson was "unveiled at Cavendish Square, October 26th." Murphy's entry does not mention what Dickinson died of, or *why* she received a monument.[97] The Spanish Flu did not have a place in *A Century of Events in Newfoundland,* but Dickinson's memorial, in memory of her death from the Spanish Flu, did. Why was the Spanish Flu not memorialized in this work, and why was this common for writers of NL history and elsewhere?[98]

In his 1992 paper "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," Dr. W. David Parsons recalled the spread of the Spanish Flu through the ranks of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment (RNR) using data from military records and casualty reports in newspapers. Dr. Parsons described the Spanish Flu's spread from Europe to Newfoundland, its appearance in St. John's newspapers, and public health measures to control the spread, like the closing of public gathering places and how this led to an extended leave for the RNR that he believed "probably helped spread the epidemic even further [as] one can find deaths of soldiers occurring all over the Island."[99] In his evaluation, soldiers from Europe brought the disease back to Newfoundland and interacted with soldiers and civilians who then went home and spread the Spanish Flu to various communities. Dr. Parsons speculated that the Spanish Flu was responsible for most pneumonia deaths from this year and also many of the tuberculosis deaths.[100]

Reflecting on the memory of the Spanish Flu, Dr. Parsons noted that despite the millions of deaths the pandemic caused around the world, "it is strange that there is very little mention of the Flu Epidemic in the Military literature." Dr. Parsons continued: "The Influenza Epidemic had a tremendous impact at the time, but was soon forgotten, except for so many bereaved families."[101] Like Alfred Crosby and Daniel Flecknoe, Dr. Parsons believed that the length and horrors of the war overshadowed the Spanish Flu in memory. He deduced that

the people who died in the man-made destruction of the Great War were remembered in many histories and commentaries, with monuments visible in nearly every city and town, while, meanwhile, "the silent killer of the Spanish Lady, a more sinister killer against which little could be done, is all but forgotten."[102] Recalling what was remembered about the Spanish Flu in NL, Dr. Parsons described Ethel Dickinson's history and death in brief detail and noted that now her monument is "the most prominent memorial to the Flu Epidemic" in Newfoundland.[103] In his evaluation of the Spanish Flu pandemic, Dr. Parsons prioritized documenting the RNR and the transmission of the Spanish Flu to Newfoundland, and only mentioned Labrador as the source of several hundred deaths from influenza in 1919.[104]

Stephen M. Nolan's *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador* was written to "unveil the mysteries of our health care past and reveal them to audiences of today."[105] Nolan described the development of NL's health care and dedicated three pages to the Spanish Flu.[106] Like Eileen Pettigrew and others writing tangentially about the Spanish Flu in NL, Nolan primarily described the pandemic through its heroes, quoting from the diary written by Rev. Gordon who witnessed the Spanish Flu in Cartwright, Labrador and the story of Ethel Dickinson who represented medical care in Newfoundland. In this way, Rev. Gordon's anecdotes and Ethel Dickinson's experiences became representative of the Spanish Flu experience for the rest of NL. This makes some sense in Rev. Gordon's case, since his diary is a primary source that describes real-life, first-hand witnessed horror, and contains harrowing descriptions of human suffering, but the environmental and isolated circumstances and experiences in Labrador were its own, while Newfoundland, especially in St. John's and outport Newfoundland, experienced very different conditions. Because Ethel Dickinson died nursing the ill, she was commemorated, unlike the many who died elsewhere in graves without indication of their illness.[107]

When describing Newfoundland, Nolan, like others, explored the Island's flu pandemic through the tragedy surrounding Ethel Dickin-

son, one of "the people struck down by the deadly contagion. . . afflicted only because of [her] admirable desire to help people."[108] Nolan detailed Dickinson's actions at the Grenfell Institute as if they took place on a battlefield mid-combat, writing: "On both sides of her, dedicated nurses fell ill to the terrible disease and had to be carried away from the bedside, but Ethel Dickinson fought to save the lives of others. She went without food or sleep until at last she herself succumbed to the flu and shortly afterwards died."[109] Nolan concluded by noting the legacy Ethel Dickinson left behind in the monument erected by the people of Newfoundland in her honour:

> The courage of brave Nurse Ethel Dickinson is a strong reminder to all that bravery comes in all sorts of sizes and forms. Nurse Dickinson devoted herself to her patients and paid the ultimate price for her dedication. Her memory deserves to be celebrated. The monument which rests on Cavendish Square is not merely a monument to one individual but to the spirit of courage and devotion to duty to humanity that resides within us all.[110]

Nolan distinguished Rev. Gordon and Ethel Dickinson as heroic figures worthy to be admired and revered, and by describing Dickinson as if she was a participant on a battlefield, he elevated her to the level of a brave soldier fighting in war and dying after giving her all. He judged that her memory deserved to be remembered through the Cavendish Square monument and that her life was worth celebrating because of the heroism she displayed and the example she set for future Newfoundlanders. Though thousands died of the Spanish Flu in NL and many more had been sick, it is these two people who recur in popular recollections as symbolic, heroic figures that embody something greater than most individuals.

In *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland*, Paul O'Neill devoted a page and a half to the Spanish Flu. The Spanish Flu figured in his narrative about the city of St. John's as one of many epidemic

diseases that struck the capital city in the twentieth century and as a peculiarity of the war that resulted in the closure of public gathering places and interfered with peace celebrations.[111] Though his evaluation of the pandemic was minimal, O'Neill made note of Ethel Dickinson, who died after devoting herself "wholeheartedly to serving the sick in the wards, often going without food and sleep. She tended hundreds until she caught the disease and died."[112] O'Neill described the inscriptions on Ethel Dickinson's monument in Cavendish Square and ceased talking about the Spanish Flu in Newfoundland.[113] The Spanish Flu in Labrador did not appear in this work focused on St. John's, and only Dickinson and her monument received notable detail.

Like Nolan and O'Neill, Joyce Nevitt devoted a portion of *White Caps and Black Bands: Nursing in Newfoundland to 1934* to the Spanish Flu, making special note about how Ethel Dickinson distinguished herself in this local theater of war. Nevitt described the end of the war directly alongside the virulence of the Spanish Flu, and interpreted the impact of Ethel Dickinson's death on the people in St. John's, writing:

> On October 26, 1918, the headline of *The Evening News* read: 'Unconditional Surrender,' and in the same paper a report was published of the death of Ethel Dickinson, V.A.D., the only nurse known to have given her life in caring for the victims of the epidemic at the Grenfell Hall. . . So great was the affection in which she was held by all who knew her, that a monument was erected to her memory which was officially unveiled on October 26, 1920, the second anniversary of her death.[114]

Much of Nevitt's book discusses the role of nursing in Newfoundland, so it is understandable that she would have a particular interest in Dickinson, who distinguished herself in this conflict by nursing admirably in dangerous conditions and dying in the line of duty.

Though the subject matter of these works vary from a history of the RNR to a history of health care in Newfoundland, a history of the

city of St. John's, and a history of nursing, they each discuss the Spanish Flu and illustrate how the pandemic is remembered and how this memory is expressed — primarily through hero creation and as didactic examples for the public. What stands out is how they each independently describe the pandemic by citing the same people and using similar, wartime, patriotic language. All of these works refer to Ethel Dickinson and her nursing under the shadow of the Spanish Flu, praise her courage despite the imminent danger of the pandemic, mourn her premature death, and mention the monument dedicated to her at Cavendish Square.[115] Ethel Dickinson embodied the heroic spirit of many others like her who looked after the sick despite mortal danger and in the process became the primary face of the fight against the Spanish Flu in Newfoundland, and is the only one I have found with a dedicated monument. Labrador is mentioned in two of the four works as a source of population devastation, and the work that goes into the most detail on Labrador is Nolan's, which brings attention to Rev. Gordon and his heroic struggles surviving and helping the people in Cartwright. I do not think these commonalities are a coincidence, and instead suggest that they speak to what people generally *want* to remember about traumatic times — the good amongst a lot of bad. Though they were not as widespread as monuments created for soldiers, memorials dedicated to nurses and doctors during the Spanish Flu pandemic were seen in multiple countries around the world, a detail scattered throughout *Pandemic Re-Awakenings* that emphasizes a link between pandemic memory and heroic commemoration that associates the Spanish Flu pandemic in NL with experiences like it elsewhere.

In his chapter about the silence of Spanish Flu survivors in South Africa, Howard Phillips described: "When the magnitude of the defeat that South Africa had suffered to 'Spanish' Flu was compared with its victory in the war against Germany, the former did not bear speaking about."[116] In South Africa the epidemic was referred to as "Black October," an event which was an "unmitigated disaster for government at all levels, for the medical profession, the army and all religions. . . [it]

offered no scope for valorisation in the way that deaths in the First World War did. . . there was no heroism to be found in death from 'Spanish' Flu."[117] The exception to the lack of public memorial or commemoration to the Spanish Flu was a memorial dedicated to nurses in Kimberley and a plaque commemoration for volunteer relief workers in Port Elizabeth.[118] Like elsewhere, in rare cases when the pandemic was publicly recognized, it was because of the heroism of individuals.[119]

In his examination about memory of the Spanish Flu in New Zealand, Geoffrey W. Rice described how in that country the Spanish Flu was "fairly quickly forgotten at the public or macro-level of government, institutions and memorials, [although] it remained alive within the private sphere of families and individuals who lost loved ones in the pandemic."[120] Rice warned that the collective memory of the pandemic was harmed by its proximity to the end of the First World War, to the point where some people that he interviewed "regarded the flu as part of the misery of the First World War" and had "shut the door" on their memories of the horror from that entire period in order to move on with their lives.[121] The gap in memory was not uniform, since the pandemic was a distinctly recalled event for the Māori of New Zealand. Rice described how the Māori recalled the pandemic with bitterness, as "yet another white man's disease unleashed on them without warning."[122] For the Māori, the pandemic marked a time of tremendous loss, and became a "memory-marker" in which births or other events relative to the pandemic were recalled as happening before or after the bad flu.[123] In comparing memorials to the Spanish Flu and the First World War, Rice observed that in New Zealand there was a "stark contrast to the hundreds of war memorials" in the mere "ten public reminders" related to the Spanish Flu in the country.[124] One such reminder unveiled in January 1923 was a memorial statue commemorating Dr. Margaret Cruickshank who died during the 1918 pandemic while serving the community of Waimate in South Canterbury. Dr. Cruickshank was described as "practically [giving] her life for the victims. . . [working] on when in a weakened condition. . . until she eventually succumbed to the disease."[125] The statue served as

a site of mourning and was created in recognition of the efforts of someone who gave her life in service to others. The posthumous heroic elevation of Dr. Cruickshank allowed survivors of that time to fit their pandemic tragedy into the familiar site of a hero in an era of heroic remembrance. The dedication for Dr. Cruickshank's memorial and its use of sacrificial, heroic language sounds eerily like the dedication for Ethel Dickinson in Newfoundland, even though they were separated by sixteen thousand kilometers, a fact that speaks to the universality of this commemorative urge and what the public of that era viewed worthy of commemoration.

Although memorials in the post-war period served the purpose of communal mourning, there are alternative explanations as to the purpose of these sites. The commemoration of the Cavendish Square memorial in St. John's aligns with Jeremy Youde's theories about the utility of sites of remembrance for the purpose of encouraging others to strive to a higher ideal.[126] The dedication for the memorial described its purpose to "[furnish] for centuries an incentive to those who shall live when we are forgotten to follow the example she [Dickinson] set, should cause arise."[127] The Cavendish Square memorial solidified Dickinson as a hero of the pandemic, while her death embodied a higher ideal of dying in sacrifice for others.[128] Dickinson's death was transformed into a didactic lesson of human kindness and selflessness, her story turned into a newspaper article, her example meant to inspire others to dedicate their lives to protecting their fellow Newfoundlanders in times of crisis. The article written in 1920 about her death, the war memorial dedication, and the pieces written by Nolan, O'Neill, and Nevitt frame Dickinson as a willing martyr who knew the risks of the pandemic but who accepted those risks for the good of others, "surrendering even her sweet life to those whom she nursed."[129] Like war memorials of its time, Dickinson's monument was transformed from merely a site of mourning to a site of inspiration for future Newfoundlanders to dedicate their lives to higher ideals in dangerous times. In that dedication, a voice was made to speak on behalf of the voiceless dead.[130]

It follows from Youde's explanation for this memorial that medical disasters are only recognized by the state when they can be used to strengthen the state or to teach a lesson. In this case, the Spanish Flu was otherwise a disaster unprevented by human intervention, which killed thousands in NL and millions around the world and then disappeared without ascribable meaning. Ascribing value to the heroic actions taken during this otherwise embarrassing and gruesome disaster changed the narrative from a bitter defeat to a hard-fought victory won by humans helping one another regardless of the negative health consequences. Ethel Dickinson's memorial and others of health care workers in New Zealand and South Africa were exceptional cases, but there are also records in NL of other volunteer health care workers being commended for their heroic actions in less prestigious ways. An *Evening Telegram* article from 25 October 1918 praised "Ptes. Payne and Dally [who] volunteered their services as orderlies at the [Grenfell] Institute yesterday, their offer being accepted with much gratitude." *The Evening Telegram* continued: "In our mind this conduct is more deserving of praise than a heroic act on the battlefield, which, after all, is performed in the heat of battle."[131] This statement stressed that there was an understood sense of danger and admiration for those that volunteered to help influenza sufferers, to the point that it was considered praiseworthy and virtuous for them to willingly put themselves in proximity to the Spanish Flu. The acclaim awarded for this action is exemplified through the memorial dedicated to Ethel Dickinson and those other nurses, doctors, and volunteers elsewhere who worked "in the imminent shadow of death."[132]

For the rest of the thousands who died of the Spanish Flu in NL without political fanfare or recognition, their deaths were not publicly memorialized. They were not commemorated because their deaths lacked utility and occurred during a time when death from disease was far from exceptional. There would be no public memorial for them.[133] Those that died during the pandemic had their deaths masked by its proximity to the Great War, both at the time through grave site construction and in memory and in recollections of how they died.

Through exploring this aspect of the pandemic in closer detail, I will illuminate how the pandemic's proximity to the First World War influenced the memory of the Spanish Flu in NL and elsewhere.

Under the Shadow of War: The Silence of the Spanish Flu After the First World War

In the Introduction to *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*, Guy Beiner wrote that the "protracted development" of scholarship around the Spanish Flu "stands in stark contrast to the central place of the Great War in modern history, and this marginalization also reflects the glaring disparity in the memorialisation of these contemporaneous historical episodes."[134] Memorialization of those who died from the Spanish Flu was problematized by its proximity to the First World War, where "soldiers who died of flu were [often] listed as military casualties. . . [where the] actual cause of death was often masked." Meanwhile, civilian deaths, especially those who died "unheroically" from disease, were excluded from histories of the war.[135] Though the Spanish Flu pandemic killed many more than those that died fighting in the war itself, Beiner wrote that "the memory of the millions who died from influenza was eclipsed by the national commemorative rituals that elevated the war dead into fallen heroes."[136] In the process, the pandemic dead were subsumed by their presence in relation to the Great War.

This overshadowing was the case in the United States where soldiers who died from the Spanish Flu were buried beneath standard military gravestones, which Nancy K. Bristow described meant that "their deaths are remembered, but the epidemic is not."[137] A 1919 yearbook dedication from the University of Virginia made no distinction between its sixty-five war dead, even though eighteen of them died from the Spanish Flu. Bristow acknowledged that this trend to blend the war dead with those from the Spanish Flu was likely implemented in order to suggest that "epidemic deaths were no less honourable than those in battle," but commented that "the result was the obscuring of the epidemic."[138] Kandace Bogaert and Mark Osborne Humphries

discussed how the equivalence of war and pandemic dead occurred overseas with Canadian soldiers who died of the Spanish Flu, who were said to have given their lives nobly, "just as honourable as if [they] had died on the battlefield."[139] In the years after the war, the soldiers who died from the Spanish Flu had their grave markers replaced with Canada War Graves Commission tombstones, the same graves given to those who had died in battle, not differentiated because they had died of the Spanish Flu.[140] The equivalence of soldiers who died in battle and soldiers who died from the pandemic resulted in a blurring of lines between the war and the pandemic dead. In the process, the war masked the Spanish Flu; instead of being intentionally "forgotten" it was overwhelmed by the "greater crisis" under the Great War's long shadow, not out of malice, but as a way of supposedly elevating those deceased soldiers to a higher status from pandemic dead to war dead.[141]

This fact is also true in NL, where soldier death from the Spanish Flu was an obscured status that required investigation to uncover. In NL, the primary literature depicting the end of the Great War were reports and accounts from and about soldiers and their regiments, such as Richard Cramm's 1921 book *The First Five Hundred*.[142] The book's stated purpose was to briefly chronicle "the military operations of the heroic, fighting battalion that represented Newfoundland among the gallant and victorious troops of the British Empire in the greatest war of history."[143] Cramm emphasized the bravery and individual actions of these Newfoundland men at war, with a particular focus on the Blue Puttees.[144] The last two hundred pages of *The First Five Hundred* are devoted to individual service records of the Blue Puttees, accompanied by pictures. There was no mention here of the Spanish Flu, though a few of the men were reported to have died from pneumonia in October 1918. As pneumonia was a common complication and co-morbidity of the Spanish Flu, the soldiers listed to have died from pneumonia in October/November 1918 likely died because of the Spanish Flu. Nevertheless, Cramm does not note the Spanish Flu. Although more than a few members of the RNR contracted the Spanish Flu (as seen in *The Evening Telegram*), the material in Cramm's

work is insufficient to make this judgment.[145] However, further investigation using *The Evening Telegram* along with soldier military record data found at The Rooms answered this mystery. Though members of the RNR suffered and died from the Spanish Flu, it was not mentioned in popular work commemorating their service. In the process, the impact of the Spanish Flu on the Royal Newfoundland Regiment was downplayed in local history.[146]

A brief statement in *The Evening Telegram*'s "Casualty List" for 17 October 1918 described Sergeant Edward Joy as having died from "pneumonia." Included on this casualty list were six Newfoundland soldiers sick with "severe influenza," one suffering from "severe pneumonia," and another Newfoundland soldier pneumonia death.[147] Both *The Evening Telegram* and Cramm's succinct description of Sergeant Joy's death from pneumonia lacked detail and context; it did not explain how he got pneumonia or draw a line linking that infection with the Spanish Flu.[148] Sergeant Joy's military medical records filled in the final gaps of his story. These records described his reason for admittance to the hospital as "pneumonia following influenza" with death caused by resulting "cardiac failure" on 14 October 1918.[149] Without the availability of his medical records it would be unclear how Sergeant Joy contracted pneumonia or its explicit link to the Spanish Flu pandemic. This case proves that there was demonstrable death from the Spanish Flu in the Blue Puttees that was not noted in popular works about the RNR like *The First Five Hundred*. Likewise, the casualty lists in *The Evening Telegram* prove that Sergeant Joy was not alone among the RNR, who were similarly afflicted with the "prevailing malady" in 1918. In his 1992 paper investigating Spanish Flu in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Dr. W. David Parsons found evidence of at least 351 cases and 29 RNR deaths from the Spanish Flu.[150] In popular literature, deaths from the pandemic were recognized as casualties but were not remembered as being a direct result of the pandemic, resulting in a passive (though not deliberate) obfuscation of the cause of death of these soldiers, whose pandemic deaths, like elsewhere, were subsumed under the shadow of the Great War.

The lack of recognition (or mentioning) of the Spanish Flu in *The First Five Hundred* emphasizes the pandemic's historical silence in local popular literature of the First World War. Perhaps, as Youde has mentioned, it was simply narratively inconvenient to bring attention to the pandemic near the end of a book that just described four and a half years of war. It was also not an experience unique to being a soldier, as death from the pandemic was far from the sometimes-heroic violence on the battlefield, divorced from war as a tale of human action. The Spanish Flu had a phantasmic presence in the wartime accounts of the RNR as the unmentioned reason for soldier and civilian deaths and decisions near the end of the war. The historical silence of the pandemic in this literature, despite its importance and unspoken presence, is meaningful in later historical analysis of the pandemic as a site of memory. Jay Winter described how these historical silences should not be passed without note as they offer an important source of analysis when considering the logistics of memory and forgetting, noting: "These hidden shapes cannot simply be ignored because they are concealed at some moments and revealed at others. They must be examined as part of the cartography of recollection and remembrance."[151] Historical silences exist for reasons that reveal their own life history, while outside pressures, such as the re-emergence of a new pandemic, can abruptly reveal them. Winter continued: "Silence, like memory and forgetting, has a life history, and — when new pressures or circumstances emerge — can be transformed into its opposite in very rapid order."[152] These new pressures are periodic, flowing in and out of public relevance according to the pandemic circumstances at the time.

In a similar vein to Winter, Guy Beiner described how interest in memory of the Spanish Flu has multiplied as a result of the pandemic's 2018/2019 centennial and even more recently has been "boosted by the surge of new-found interest ignited by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, [which] has provided a new context for looking back at and exploring with greater sophistication the re-awakenings of the Great Flu."[153] Beiner argued that the Spanish Flu pandemic was a "lieu d'oubli, a site of social and cultural forgetting indiscernibly lodged

between memory and oblivion."[154] It was not "forgotten" but existed in the liminal space between there and obscurity. After almost a century of being supposedly "forgotten," recent decades have proven that the memory of the Spanish Flu in NL and elsewhere is not so easily lost to "oblivion," and has instead stubbornly carried on. Through describing how this "forgotten" label has stuck to the Spanish Flu, I will shed light on the progress made in the recent half-century towards "re-awakening" memories of the pandemic that continue in the present and emphasize how the "forgotten" pandemic has retained a steady presence in the Western world that defies the "forgotten" labelling. This is especially obvious when directly comparing the scholarship of the Spanish Flu pandemic in Western countries to China, where the pandemic retains its "forgotten" title due to a lack of adequate records and national interest.

Why is it still "Forgotten" and not Remembered?

While scholars like Youde, Davis, and Arnold analyzed the Spanish Flu as a "forgotten" pandemic, there is also a subset of scholars who are unconvinced that it (still) deserves the label of "forgotten." These scholars believe that the Spanish Flu has retained that "forgotten" title in the West undeservedly, despite an active, expanding scholarly community focused on the pandemic that continues to produce articles and monographs on the subject. This appears most strikingly in a comparison between countries like the United States, where the Spanish Flu was famously called "America's Forgotten Pandemic," and China, a place where Robert Peckham writes: "Ultimately, morbidity and mortality figures. . . are pure guess-work given the absence of sources."[155] Peckham analyzed the huge gaps in cultural memory and historical record of the Spanish Flu in China in direct comparison to the decades of scholarship following *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, whose title has served as a scholarly lightning rod which David Killingray referred to as a "bias towards the North American experience of a 'forgotten pandemic.'"[156] Peckham pushed back against the idea

that the Spanish Flu pandemic has been forgotten in the West, describing instead how the pandemic "became a cornerstone of preparedness planning and a spur to the establishment of the World Health Organization's (WHO's) influenza surveillance system in 1951. Meanwhile, academic scholarship and media commentaries on the 1918–19 pandemic have far exceeded those devoted to other historical diseases."[157] Compared to China, which has hardly acknowledged the Spanish Flu at all, the West's "forgotten" pandemic appears well-remembered. In China there is "little public memory of the 1918–19 Flu. . . and for the most part China remains peripheral in western histories of the pandemic, even in those that stress its global impact."[158] China's experiences and death toll during the Spanish Flu are "huge but unknown," while in the West, particularly in the United States, the Spanish Flu has been "incorporated into a collective narrative predicated on the need to remember the nation's tragedies."[159] The bizarre paradoxical state of the Spanish Flu in the West is that it has become "remembered as the pandemic that has been forgotten."[160]

The scholarship of Guy Beiner and the other contributors in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings* emphasizes that although historically the Spanish Flu has received questionably-sized scholarly attention — considering its demographic impact on the world — as it currently exists in academia and the public consciousness it is not "forgotten." Though the forgotten labelling is truer in some countries (such as India and China) than others, in general the pandemic has become a substantial area of study and has been that way for decades. This follows Beiner's idea of forgetting, that it "is not a linear process through which history is followed by memory and ultimately results in forgetting, but a complex relationship between the three, with ebbs and flows."[161] Though the Spanish Flu may not have featured prominently in art histories or literature in the mid-twentieth century, it has since etched out a niche of discoverable archival and academic interest that has been both reawakened and awaits re-awakening.[162] Beiner described how "historical remembrance is subject to revivals, in consequence of which social and cultural forgetting can recede, as memory

resurges in specific contexts" where recollections of the Spanish Flu "were kept alive often in muted and obfuscated forms that could re-enter into public consciousness in various contexts."[163] This idea of memory revival is key to understanding the surge of interest in the Spanish Flu whenever a new pandemic emerges, recently observable with COVID-19.[164] The Spanish Flu pandemic has come to embody a worst-case scenario, functioning as a kind of "pandemic prophecy" in which history is perceived as both a recollection of the past and anticipation of the future, looming as a warning of what could happen if a viral pandemic were to get out of hand.[165] The "forgotten" pandemic is periodically remembered for utilitarian purposes when pandemic events emerge, and fades into the background of history during times when other crises of the world take priority.

Conclusion: Re-Awakening of the Pandemic

For too long the Spanish Flu in Newfoundland and Labrador has suffered from relative historical inattention. This is regrettable because of the importance of the Spanish Flu as a precedent-setting pandemic. Recent analogues between COVID-19 and the Spanish Flu have highlighted key similarities between these two pandemics, including the spread of aerial infections, the use of masks, and the response from government and public health institutions (including quarantine measures and closures of public spaces). The desire for finding precedence has been brought up since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic and has led to a resurgence of interest in the Spanish Flu.[166] This interest goes directly against the "forgotten" labelling of the Spanish Flu as now more people than ever have come to know about the influenza outbreak from one hundred and six years ago. After this analysis, the reasons for that "forgotten" labelling have become clearer. In particular, the memory of the "forgotten" pandemic in NL fits mnemonic trends elsewhere which, when remembered, focused on heroism and myth-making, and other times was obscured by the presence of the war and the infectious disease context of 1918/1919.[167]

The overwhelming, looming presence of the Great War may have masked the Spanish Flu in the minds of those who experienced it. People might have been used to infectious diseases and not thought death from one was particularly distinguishable from another. Death from influenza was inglorious and celebrating it did not strengthen confidence in the state. For various reasons, the Spanish Flu pandemic occurred during a time when people memorialized the war dead to greater extents than ever before, but it has been "forgotten" in the cultural consciousness, the public memory of that era.[168] Even so, memory of the pandemic in NL was not forgotten. Though the public memory has been deceptively understated, private memory persisted. The voices recalling this deadly period have been quiet, but they can still be heard. Ida Milne found that memory of the Spanish Flu pandemic in Ireland evolved over time and has been guided by the emergence of new accessible information through online archives, digital records databases, and localized published material.[169] The material circumstances of modern history's accessibility and mnemonic triggers like the H1N1 virus and COVID-19 pandemic created the necessary conditions for a new social memory of the Spanish Flu at a community level. Milne wrote that in these circumstances "personal recollections and family stories are being re-storified, and a new collective or social memory is in the active process of construction."[170] Recent history has shown that there is a public interest in their stories.[171] Ongoing academic analyses of the pandemic, including multiple in this issue of the *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* journal, emphasize the ongoing relevance of the Spanish Flu in NL today. Over a century later, in the middle of another global pandemic no less, the Spanish Flu is a grim reminder of the deadliness and far-reaching ability of an invisible enemy.

The story of the Spanish Flu is not merely a past issue. Almost every book I consulted while reading about the Spanish Flu emphasized that this was not an exceptional scenario, that a similar influenza pandemic could happen again with horrific results. Howard Phillips and David Killingray certainly thought so, prophesying that: "Influenza at some time will return in a virulent form and, unless medical science

can isolate the virus and produce an effective antidote, there will be no effective protection when it does strike."[172] Phillips and Killingray stressed that modern improvements in global transportation have greatly increased the likelihood that an infectious disease in any part of the world can be carried across the globe within a few hours. If a disease with comparable morbidity and mortality rates to the Spanish Flu were to mutate and spread, it would be far more catastrophic than before. This concept is not hard to grasp considering that the world population has quadrupled since 1918.[173] It would seem absurd to think of the years 2020–2024 without thinking of COVID-19. Yet, after living through a much deadlier pandemic, the world moved on from the Spanish Flu and it became a parenthetical note about the years 1918 and 1919, overshadowed by the colossal presence of the First World War in memories and histories of that era.

Pandemic events are inevitable in the future. Understanding the deeply complex biomedical event of the Spanish Flu in NL is a worthy study because lessons learned from these studies can be applied to future pandemic events in NL and elsewhere. Astrid Erll stated that it is up to historians to now "fulfill the important task of creating memory from an event's *traces* rather than from past *tradition*, which the witnessing generations by and large did not create."[174] If there is no tradition of memory, then it is up to historians to find the embers remaining of that memory and re-awaken its flame.[175] Similarly, Beiner described how the abundance of available material in the present day means that it is now possible to uncover the histories of how the pandemic was remembered, forgotten, and repeatedly rediscovered around the world in "personal, communal, medical, historiographical and cultural spheres."[176] This mnemonic-focused undertaking has not yet been completed in NL, but progress made in the past several years makes the future of pandemic study look optimistic. The work of Sattenspiel and her peers has continued to explore the Spanish Flu in NL and has kept the topic alive, and due to the work of Budgell and the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic there has never been a larger spotlight on the Spanish Flu in NL than there is presently. Work must

still be completed regarding the Newfoundland side of the pandemic, particularly in "outport" communities where publications were rarer and personal reminiscences were fragmented. The recent surge of interest in the Spanish Flu is encouraging and I am hopeful that further expeditions into the NL pandemic memory will follow. Though it may have been a "ghostly aside" of 1918, its status over the past several decades as a historical topic speaks to the great strides of recent scholarship's ability to listen to the quiet voices of the past.[177] In the process, that "forgotten" pandemic can be remembered, even decades after it has faded from living memory.

Notes

1 Throughout this paper I will primarily refer to the pandemic that is sometimes referred to as "the 1918/1919 Influenza Pandemic" as simply the "Spanish Flu." For the purpose of this paper, it should be understood that I am referring to this pandemic by its popular (and less cumbersome) name.

2 Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983), 16.

3 Guy Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 8.

4 Guy Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 8.

5 See *Them Days,* vol. 42, no. 3, 2018, 31.

6 Howard Phillips and David Killingray, eds., *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19: New Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 5.

7 See *Them Days* vol. 42, no. 4, 2018.

8 Anne Budgell, *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919* (St. John's, ISER Books, 2018), 2.

9 Daniel Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable: The 'Spanish Flu' Pandemic," in *The First World War and Health: Rethinking Resilience*, eds. Leo van Bergen and Eric Vermetten (Boston, USA: Leiden, Brill Publishing, 2020), 214.

10 Which at the time would mean over half the world's population was

infected with the disease. See: Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 5.

11 Edgar House, *Light at Last: Triumph over Tuberculosis 1900–1975, Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1st ed. (St. John's, Newfoundland: Jesperson Press, 1981), xii and 7.

12 Between 1914 and 1917, influenza killed 155 people [Influenza deaths — 1914: 15, 1915: 32, 1916: 67, 1917: 41] and pneumonia killed a total of 616 people [Pneumonia deaths — 1914: 147, 1915: 122, 1916: 144, 1917: 203]. From *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1923, 273. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/h_assembly/id/95854/rec/1

13 Alternatively, if we accept the presented data in the *Journal of the House of Assembly* as printed and simply combine the influenza and pneumonia deaths for 1918/1919, the number of dead Newfoundlanders from the Spanish Flu is 1,929 people from a population of 260,000, or a mortality rate of 7.4 deaths per 1,000 people. During the Spanish Flu, influenza killed 743 (1918) and 639 (1919), 1382 people, and pneumonia killed 336 (1918) and 211 (1919), or 547 people total. 1382 + 547 = 1929. From *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1923, 273. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/h_assembly/id/95854/rec/1

14 In the years following the flu, from 1920–1924, influenza killed a total of 413 people, an average of 83 deaths per year, and pneumonia killed a total of 990 people, an average of 198 deaths per year. From *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1925* (2nd Session), 1925, 584. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/h_assembly/id/99720

15 Pneumonia killed 336 in 1918, an excess of 182 people, and 211 in 1919, an excess of 57 people.

16 From *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1923, 273. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/h_assembly/id/95854/rec/1

17 Stephen M. Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador* (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Health and Community Services Archive and Museum, 2004), 116.

18 Jeff A. Webb, "Outports," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, 2000, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/outports.php

19 Terry Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care: Epidemics, Public

Health and Medical Care in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1918–1920," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 103, no. 2 (Fall, 2010): 48.

20 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 48.

21 J.T.H. Connor, Jennifer J. Connor, Monica G. Kidd, and Maria Matthews, "Conceptualizing Health Care in Rural and Remote Pre-Confederation Newfoundland as Ecosystem," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 30 (2015): 121.

22 Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable," 229.

23 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 48.

24 J.T.H. Connor, Jennifer J. Connor, Monica G. Kidd, and Maria Matthews, "Conceptualizing Health Care," 126.

25 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 48.

26 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 50.

27 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 49.

28 For further reading on this subject, The Rooms contains the records of the *Colonial Secretary* which document many of the exchanges between panicked residents in rural communities and the Colonial Secretary in St. John's. See: Spanish Influenza, Special Files, Spanish Influenza Series. Office of the Colonial Secretary fonds. GN 2.5, Sub-series GN 2.5.352 1918–1920. The Rooms, St. John's, NL.

29 For further reading on ice conditions in Labrador, see: Budgell, *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918–1919*, 33.

30 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918-1919*, 1.

31 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918-1919*, 153.

32 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 49.

33 Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 50.

34 Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable," 224.

35 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 33.

36 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 12. [For Budgell's analysis of this work see *We All Expected to Die*, pages 12-18.]

37 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 18. See also: *The Last Days of Okak*, directed by Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham (1985; Canada: National Film Board of Canada, 1985). https://www.nfb.ca/film/last_days_of_okak/

38 For further reflections on the memory of the Spanish Flu and its victims, see Anne Budgell, *We All Expected to Die* and Linda White, *Newfoundland Quarterly* 111, no. 2 (2018): 50-53.

39 Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable," 215.

40 This status is not necessarily permanent, as historical revivals and memory reawakenings from the emergence of old records and new technologies allow information thought lost to see the light of day once more.

41 David A. Davis, "The Forgotten Apocalypse: Katherine Anne Porter's 'Pale Horse, Pale Rider,' Traumatic Memory, and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918," *Southern Literary Journal* 43, no. 2 (2011): 61. https://doi.org/10.1353/slj.2011.0007. 61.

42 Mark Osborne Humphries, *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442686625.

43 "Spanish 'Flu'," *The Evening Telegram,* October 14, 1918, page 7, and *The Evening Telegram* issues until December 1918, where it became an infrequent topic until news about Labrador in January 1919, infrequent appearances in February 1919, and another comment on conditions in Labrador in March 1919.

44 Utz Thimm, "'When Two Crises Meet Each Other': Remembering 'Spanish' Flu in the Low Countries," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 151.

45 Henry Gordon, *A Winter in Labrador 1918–1919: Journal of the Rev. Henry Gordon, Cartwright Labrador* (New York: 1919).

46 David A. Davis, "The Forgotten Apocalypse," 61.

47 Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy*, 23-4.

48 Pettigrew devoted a full-page picture to Rev. Gordon, see: Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy*, 26.

49 Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy*, 23.

50 Anne Budgell, *We All Expected to Die.*

51 The primary exception to this is Terry Bishop-Stirling's 2010 article "Negotiating Health Care: Epidemics, Public Health and Medical Care in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1918–1920," which examined the NL government's response to the Spanish Flu in comparison to Smallpox epidemics between 1918 and 1920. Bishop-Stirling noted

that the government's pandemic response was rooted in nineteenth-century notions of limited state responsibility, where limited medical options in small communities left them vulnerable to pandemics. See: Terry Bishop-Stirling, "Negotiating Health Care," 47.

52 A list of these articles can be found in the bibliography. They include an analysis of mortality patterns in Newfoundland, two articles comparing the social and pandemic conditions on a community level between Labrador and Alaska, micro analyses of pandemic conditions on a community level in Newfoundland, a model structure analysis of Newfoundland communities, an analysis of sex-and-age based mortality differences in Newfoundland, an analysis of social patterns in Newfoundland communities and how they impacted pandemic spread, and most recently an investigation into the significance the Spanish Flu pandemic had on tuberculosis mortality in early-twentieth-century Newfoundland.

53 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 3.

54 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 46.

55 Though Canada did have its own chapter in the book, because of the methodology used for that topic, NL was left out of this discussion. For chapter, see: Kandace Bogaert and Mark Osborne Humphries, "'Remember Me to the Folks': Memory, the Great War and the 1918–9 Influenza Pandemic in Canada," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 152-168.

56 Newfoundland was excluded from discussions outside of a geographic description of Labrador as "part of the dominion of Newfoundland with a border disputed by Canada." See: Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 3.

57 Craig Palmer, Lisa Sattenspiel, and Chris Cassidy, "Boats, Trains and Immunity: The Spread of the Spanish Flu on the Island of Newfoundland," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22, no. 2 (2007): 481-2.

58 Taylor Paskoff, and Lisa Sattenspiel, "Sex- and Age-based Differences in Mortality during the 1918 Influenza Pandemic on the Island of Newfoundland," *American Journal of Human Biology* 31, no. 1 (2019): 5.

59 Paskoff and Sattenspiel, "Sex- and Age-based Differences in Mortality," 6.

60 I would like to stress that this is not at all a comment about the value or quality of any of the papers discussed here, but merely commentary on a trend that limits the focus to one half of Newfoundland and Labrador at a time.

61 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 156-157.

62 Palmer, Sattenspiel, and Cassidy, "Boats, Trains and Immunity," 481.

63 Lisa Sattenspiel and Svenn-Erik Mamelund, "Cocirculating Epidemics, Chronic Health Problems, and Social Conditions in Early 20th Century Labrador and Alaska," *Annals of Anthropological Practice* 36, no. 2 (2012): 402-21.

64 Originally published in 1976 under the title *Epidemic and Peace, 1918.*

65 Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 319.

66 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 1.

67 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 320.

68 From *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1923, 273. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/h_assembly/id/95854/rec/1

69 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 320.

70 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 322.

71 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 322.

72 "Personal," *The Evening Telegram*, October 18, 1918, page 9.

73 Dr. W. David Parsons also cited this event in "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment."

74 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 321.

75 Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 321.

76 David Arnold, "Death and the Modern Empire: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, XXIX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 181.

77 Arnold, "Death and the Modern Empire," 200.

78 Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable," 228.

79 Flecknoe, "Un-remembered but Unforgettable," 228-9.

80 Arnold, "Death and the Modern Empire," 192.

81 In his chapter within *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*, Arnold explained this point further: "Perhaps the single reason why influenza received less public attention than it might otherwise have done in 1918–19 was

because for many Indians the epidemic was not the primary issue. It was a symptom of a much wider social and economic malaise. Hunger, poverty and soaring commodity prices were what mattered most." See: David Arnold, "Representation and Remembrance: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 196.

82 Arnold, "Death and the Modern Empire," 195.

83 Arnold, "Death and the Modern Empire," 200.

84 Re: "India has the most deaths of Spanish Flu that we know of." In his chapter in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings*, Robert Peckham speculated that China could have this unfortunate distinction, but the number of dead from the Spanish Flu there are unknown. See: Robert Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown': China in the Memory of the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 258-274.

85 Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 1-2.

86 See *Them Days* vol. 42, no. 4, 2018.

87 *The Last Days of Okak*, directed by Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham. (1985; Canada: National Film Board of Canada, 1985). https://www.nfb.ca/film/last_days_of_okak/

88 David Arnold also made this natural disaster comparison: "Having little to offer in their own defence, public health officials were disposed to blame the devastating impact of the epidemic on. . . the sudden eruption of a crisis that lay, like some immense natural disaster, beyond the capacity of any state to control." Arnold, "Representation and Remembrance: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India," 195.

89 Davis, "The Forgotten Apocalypse," 56.

90 Davis, "The Forgotten Apocalypse," 60.

91 Astrid Erll, "The Great Flu and Modern Memory," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 374.

92 Nancy K. Bristow, "The Practices of Social Forgetting: Rewriting, Obscuring and Silencing the 1918 Influenza Epidemic in the United

States," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 334.

93 Although she died as a volunteer nurse, Ethel Dickinson, who was originally from St. John's, was educated as a teacher in Chicago and Ontario and returned to teach in St. John's. In 1914 she volunteered as a VAD Nurse overseas, returning to NL in 1918 where she would volunteer again at the King George V Institute (also known as the Grenfell Institute). For more information on Ethel Dickinson, see: Linda White, *Newfoundland Quarterly* 111, no. 2, (2018): 50-53.

94 *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920): 8. http://collections.mun.ca/PDFs/quarterly/NQ_Volume20_Number3.pdf

95 It is worth noting that while this is true for discussions of Newfoundland during the Spanish Flu, it usually does not apply to discussions involving Labrador. In several of these sources, Labrador does not get mentioned outside of brief commentary on the general severity of the flu there. When Labrador is mentioned, Rev. Gordon is brought up in the role of heroic witness.

96 James Murphy, *A Century of Events in Newfoundland: 1824-1924* (St. John's, NL: James Murphy, 1924), 1.

97 Murphy, *A Century of Events in Newfoundland*, 27.

98 See also an extensive list of Spanish Flu's scarcity in Newfoundland historical literature in: Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 12.

99 Dr. W. David Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," The Great War Primary Documents Archive, http://www.gwpda.org/medical/parsons.htm#f36

100 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," http://www.gwpda.org/medical/parsons.htm#f35

101 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment."

102 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," final paragraph.

103 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," second paragraph.

104 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," http://www.gwpda.org/medical/parsons.htm#f36

105 Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, ix.
106 Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, 115-118.
107 Bogaert and Humphries, "'Remember Me to the Folks,'" 159-160.
108 Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, 117.
109 Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, 118.
110 Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, 118.
111 Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove-St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2003), 243.
112 O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 243-244.
113 O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 243-244.
114 Joyce Nevitt, *White Caps and Black Bands: Nursing in Newfoundland to 1934* (St. John's, NL: Jesperson Press, 1978), 104.
115 See: Nolan, *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*, 118; O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 243-244; Nevitt, *White Caps and Black Bands*, 104; Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," paragraph 2.
116 Howard Phillips, "The Silence of the Survivors: Why Did Survivors of the 'Spanish' Flu in South Africa Not Talk about the Epidemic?," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 87-88.
117 Phillips, "The Silence of the Survivors," 88.
118 Phillips, "The Silence of the Survivors," 89.
119 Phillips, "The Silence of the Survivors," 90.
120 Geoffrey W. Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year': Remembering and Forgetting the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in New Zealand," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 169.
121 Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year,'" 170.
122 Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year,'" 170.
123 Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year,'" 171.
124 Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year,'" 178.
125 Rice, "'The Fell Plague of Last Year,'" 174.
126 Jeremy Youde, "Covering the Cough? Memory, Remembrance, and Influenza Amnesia," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 63, no. 3 (2017): 365.

127 *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920): 8.

128 The article on Ethel Dickinson's dedication in *Newfoundland Quarterly* states: "'Peace hath its victories, no less than war,' and it would be invidious to draw comparisons between the steady heroism of the nurse serving in these wards and the steadfast courage of the soldier fighting his country's battles in the field. There can exist no higher virtue than forgetfulness of self in the cause of others, for self-abnegation is the source and the essence of almost every other virtue; while on the other hand the basest vice is usually actuated by self-preferment at others' expense. When it is given to one willing to surrender life that others may live, the sacrifice borders on the divine. Such was the grace of Ethel Dickinson's noble death, such might it have been with any of her fellow-nurses." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920): 8.

129 *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920): 8.

130 Judging from her ubiquitous presence in popular histories describing the Spanish Flu, Dickinson became representative of higher ideals that connected with people, as not only a victim of the pandemic, but someone who during wartime had fought and died. See: Previous entries on Nevitt, Nolan, O'Neill, and Parsons.

131 "Spanish 'Flu'," *The Evening Telegram,* October 25, 1918, page 5.

132 *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920): 8.

133 Though a public memorial to the Spanish Flu dead in Labrador now exists in print. In Anne Budgell's *We All Expected to Die*, Budgell ended her book with a list of as many of the Spanish Flu dead in Labrador as she could find. This list serves as a print memorial, erected a century after the events took so many lives. For list, see: Budgell, *We All Expected to Die*, 288-305. This is a good example of how modern efforts using records to document and remember the pandemic dead can fill in historical gaps and give victims their names back.

134 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 24.

135 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 25.

136 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 26.

137 Bristow, "The Practices of Social Forgetting," 338.

138 Bristow, "The Practices of Social Forgetting," 339.

139 Bogaert and Humphries, "'Remember Me to the Folks,'" 159-160.

140 Bogaert and Humphries, "'Remember Me to the Folks,'" 163.

141 Davis, "The Forgotten Apocalypse," 61.

142 Richard Cramm, *The First Five Hundred: Being a Historical Sketch of the Military Operations of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in Gallipoli and on the Western Front during the Great War (1914–1918)* (Albany, New York: C.F. Williams & Son, 1921).

143 Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, preface/5.

144 "The Blue Puttees" was the name given to the First Five Hundred recruits of the RNR, who wore non-standard blue puttees (leg-wraps) "due to a shortage of khaki fabric on the island." To be a blue puttee was a source of honour as they were the first to sign up for the war. See: Jenny Higgins, "Recruiting the Newfoundland Regiment," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, revised April 2015, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/first-world-war/articles/recruiting-the-newfoundland-regiment.php

145 *The Evening Telegram* revealed the status of many sick servicemen during the time of the Spanish Flu. They tracked their entry into hospital, and reported the progression of their illness, and noted if they died. For example, see: "Spanish Influenza," *The Evening Telegram,* October 21, 1918, page 4.

146 In fact, the Spanish Flu had a big impact on the final months of the Blue Puttees, who arrived in St. John's on 4 August 1918 for what was (originally) supposed to be a month's leave. Instead, A.J. Stacey noted: "When we reported back in September; the flu was prevalent, and this prevented us from leaving. We never left as the war ended shortly afterwards." Because of the Spanish Flu, the Blue Puttees did not have to return to the war in Europe: the local epidemic helped them exit the war early. For further information, see: A.J. Stacey and Jean Edwards Stacey, *Memoirs of a Blue Puttee* (St. John's, NL: DRC Publishing, 2012), 237.

147 "Casualty List," *The Evening Telegram*, October 17, 1918, page 11.

148 Cramm, *The First Five Hundred*, 213.

149 The Military Service File of #502 Sergeant Edward Joy, Newfoundland Military Service Records (Great War) collection, GN 19, Reel 50, The Rooms, St. John's, NL. https://www.therooms.ca/sites/default/files/joy_edward_502_0.pdf

150 Parsons, "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment," http://www.gwpda.org/medical/parsons.htm#f68

151 Jay Winter, "Thinking about Silence," in *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and Jay Winter (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23.

152 Jay Winter, "Thinking about Silence," 5.

153 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 48.

154 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 27.

155 Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown,'" 263.

156 David Killingray, "Pandemic Death, Response and Memory in Non-European Societies," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 68.

157 Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown,'" 260.

158 Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown,'" 274.

159 Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown,'" 273.

160 Peckham, "'Huge but Unknown,'" 274.

161 Guy Beiner, "Rediscovering the Great Flu between Pre-Forgetting and Post-Forgetting," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 347.

162 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 40.

163 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 47.

164 Kaspar Staub and Joël Floris, "Down memory lane: Unprecedented strong public and scientific interest in the 'Spanish flu' 1918/1919 during the COVID-19 pandemic," *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses* 15, no. 2 (2020). John Wiley & Sons Ltd., https://doi.org/10.1111/ir v.12806

165 Beiner, "Rediscovering the Great Flu between Pre-Forgetting and Post-Forgetting," 359.

166 For a chart comparing recent search trends for the Spanish Flu during the COVID-19 pandemic and during previous recent pandemics, see: Staub and Floris, "Down memory lane."

167 On this subject, David A. Davis wrote: "The answer to the persistent question of absence may be that the virus was both amazingly horrendous and completely ordinary. It was an enormous collection of personal tragedies that collectively amounted to a global calamity. Perhaps, both because of its vast scale and its manifestation as a fairly

ordinary illness, the pandemic challenges forms of memory in ways that other traumatic experiences do not." Taken from Davis, 66.

168 Justin Fantauzzo, *The Other Wars: The Experience and Memory of the First World War in the Middle East and Macedonia*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 168.

169 This is also the case in NL as well, where thousands of records are now available on services like Memorial University's Digital Archives Initiative (DAI). "Memorial University of Newfoundland, Digital Archives Initiative," DAI, https://collections.mun.ca/

170 Ida Milne, "Changing Narratives of 'That' Pandemic: Re-Engaging with Oral Histories for the Centenary of the Great Flu in Ireland," in *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*, ed. Guy Beiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 119.

171 The publication of multiple works about the Spanish Flu including *Pandemic Re-Awakenings* (2022), *We All Expected to Die* (2018), as well as several local memoirs in the last several years displays a distinct interest both popularly and academically in memory of 1918/1919 and the Spanish Flu.

172 Phillips and Killingray, eds., *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19: New Perspectives*, 11.

173 Theresa Tam, Canada's chief public health officer, wrote about the dangers of future pandemics in a 2018 comment at the beginning of *We All Expected to Die* which feels prophetic six years later, in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic: "We cannot predict whether a pandemic of the same magnitude as 1918 will occur again. . . Time has not erased these health and social disparities, and if we are to be better prepared for the next pandemic, they are as important to address and plan for as are diagnostics, vaccines, and antiviral treatments." From Budgell, "Advance praise for We All Expected to Die," *We All Expected to Die*, inside cover page.

174 Astrid Erll, "The Great Flu and Modern Memory," 374.

175 Astrid Erll, "The Great Flu and Modern Memory," 374.

176 Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 48.

177 "Historian Francis Russell, who had been an eight-year-old boy at the time, noted: 'As I try to recall those autumn months, they are fragmented in my mind. I find myself with impressions of events as

sharp and vivid as if they happened last week, yet lacking a cohesive pattern — unless the heterogeneous memories cohere within the war itself', so that the influenza of 1918 became 'a ghostly aside, to be almost forgotten in the war's ending'. In this way the pandemic was both forgotten and remembered." Extract from "A Journal of the Plague" taken from Beiner, "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting," 33.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Archival:

The Military Service File of #502 Sergeant Edward Joy. Newfoundland Military Service Records (Great War) Collection, GN 19, Reel 50. The Rooms, St. John's, NL. https://www.therooms.ca/sites/default/files/joy_edward_502_0.pdf

Spanish Influenza, Special Files, Spanish Influenza Series. Office of the Colonial Secretary fonds. GN 2.5, Sub-series GN 2.5.352 1918–1920. The Rooms, St. John's, NL.

Newfoundland House of Assembly and Legislative Council Documents:

-Newfoundland. House of Assembly. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1920*. St. John's, NL, 1920. https://dai.mun.ca/PDFs/h_assembly/JournaloftheHouseofAssemblyofNewfoundland1920.pdf

-Newfoundland. House of Assembly. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1921*. 2nd Session. St. John's, NL, 1921. https://dai.mun.ca/PDFs/h_assembly/JournaloftheHouseofAssemblyofNewfoundland19212ndSession.pdf

-Newfoundland. House of Assembly. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1923*. 1st Session. St. John's, NL, 1923. https://dai.mun.ca/PDFs/h_asseMBly/JournaloftheHouseofAsseMBlyofNewfoundland19231stSession.pdf

-Newfoundland. House of Assembly. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1925*. 2nd Session. St. John's, NL, 1925. https://dai.mun.ca/PDFs/h_asseMBly/JournaloftheHouseofAsseMBlyofNewfoundland19252ndSession.pdf

Newspapers:

The Evening Telegram
- *The Evening Telegram*, September 30, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 14, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 16, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 17, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 18, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 19, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 23, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 24, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 25, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 26, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, October 29, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 6, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 8, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 11, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 12, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 13, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, November 29, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, December 2, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, December 4, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, December 13, 1918
- *The Evening Telegram*, January 7, 1919
- *The Evening Telegram*, January 18, 1919
- *The Evening Telegram*, January 20, 1919
- *The Evening Telegram*, February 3, 1919
- *The Evening Telegram*, March 26, 1919

The St. John's Daily Star
- *St. John's Daily Star*, October 4, 1918

Periodicals:

Fitzgerald, Conrad, ed. *San-Beams* (1946).

Newfoundland Quarterly
- *Newfoundland Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (December 1920). http://collections.mun.ca/PDFs/quarterly/NQ_Volume20_Number3.pdf

- *Newfoundland Quarterly* 103, no. 2 (Fall, 2010).
- *Newfoundland Quarterly* 111, no. 2 (2018).

Them Days

- *Them Days* 42, no. 3 (2018).
- *Them Days* 42, no. 4 (2018).

Memoirs and Diaries

Gordon, Henry. *A Winter in Labrador 1918–1919: Journal of the Rev. Henry Gordon, Cartwright, Labrador.* New York: 1919.

Stacey, A.J. and Jean Edwards Stacey. *Memoirs of a Blue Puttee*. St. John's, NL: DRC Publishing, 2012.

Secondary Sources:

Arnold, David. "Death and the Modern Empire: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India." In *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, XXIX. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2019: 181-200.

Arnold, David. "Representation and Remembrance: The 1918–19 Influenza Epidemic in India." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 187-198. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Beiner, Guy, ed. *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192843739.001.0001

Beiner, Guy. "The Great Flu between Remembering and Forgetting." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 1-48. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Beiner, Guy. "Rediscovering the Great Flu between Pre-Forgetting and Post-Forgetting." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918-1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 346-372. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Bishop-Stirling, Terry. "Negotiating Health Care: Epidemics, Public Health, and Medical Care in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1918–1920." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 103, no. 2 (2010): 47-54.

Bogaert, Kandace and Mark Osborne Humphries. "'Remember Me to the Folks': Memory, the Great War and the 1918–9 Influenza Pandemic in Canada." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 152-168. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Bristow, Nancy K. "The Practices of Social Forgetting: Rewriting, Obscuring and Silencing the 1918 Influenza Epidemic in the United States." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918-1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 333-345. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Budgell, Anne. *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918-1919*. St. John's, NL: ISER Books, 2018.

Budgell, Anne and Nigel Markham, dir. *The Last Days of Okak.* 1985; Canada: National Film Board of Canada, 1985. https://www.nfb.ca/film/last_days_of_okak/

Connor, J.T.H., Jennifer J. Connor, Monica G. Kidd, and Maria Matthews. "Conceptualizing Health Care in Rural and Remote Pre-Confederation Newfoundland as Ecosystem." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 30 (2015): 113-38.

Cramm, Richard. *The First Five Hundred: Being a Historical Sketch of the Military Operations of the Royal Newfoundland regiment in Gallipoli and on the Western Front during the Great War (1914-1918).* Albany, New York: C.F. Williams & Son, 1921.

Crosby, Alfred. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Davis, David A. "The Forgotten Apocalypse: Katherine Anne Porter's 'Pale Horse, Pale Rider,' Traumatic Memory, and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918." *Southern Literary Journal* 43, no. 2 (2011): 55–74. https://doi.org/10.1353/slj.2011.0007.

Dimka, Jessica, Carolyn Orbann, and Lisa Sattenspiel. "Applications of Agent-Based Modelling Techniques to Studies of Historical Epidemics: The 1918 Flu in Newfoundland and Labrador." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 25, no. 2 (2014): 265–96. https://doi.org/10.7202/1032848ar.

Dimka, Jessica, and Lisa Sattenspiel. "'We Didn't Get Much Schooling Because We Were Fishing All the Time': Potential Impacts of

Irregular School Attendance on the Spread of Epidemics." *American Journal of Human Biology* 34, no. 1 (2021): 1-14. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/ajhb.23578.

Doren, Taylor P., and Lisa Sattenspiel. "The 1918 Influenza Pandemic Did Not Accelerate Tuberculosis Mortality Decline in Early-20th Century Newfoundland: Investigating Historical and Social Explanations." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 176, no. 2 (2021): 179-91. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.24332.

Erll, Astrid. "The Great Flu and Modern Memory." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 373-376. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Fantauzzo, Justin and Robert L. Nelson. "A Most Unmanly War: British Military Masculinity in Macedonia, Mesopotamia and Palestine, 1914–18." *Gender & History* 28, no. 3 (Nov. 2016): 587-603.

Fantauzzo, Justin. *The Other Wars: The Experience and Memory of the First World War in the Middle East and Macedonia*. 1st ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Flecknoe, Daniel. "Un-remembered but Unforgettable: The 'Spanish Flu' Pandemic." In *The First World War and Health: Rethinking Resilience.* Edited by Leo van Bergen and Eric Vermetten, 214-238. Boston, USA: Leiden, Brill Publishing, 2020.

Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Hobbins, Peter. "'The Pneumonic Influenza is Just Part of My Life': Fostering Community Histories of the 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic in Australia." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 199-214. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

House, Edgar. *Light at Last: Triumph over Tuberculosis 1900–1975, Newfoundland and Labrador.* 1st ed. St. John's, Newfoundland: Jesperson Press, 1981.

Humphries, Mark Osborne. "The Horror at Home: The Canadian Military and the 'great' Influenza Pandemic of 1918." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 16 (2005): 235-260.

Humphries, Mark Osborne. *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto

Press, 2013. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442686625

Hynes, Samuel. *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War.* New York: Viking Books, 2003. PDF e-book.

Killingray, David. "Pandemic Death, Response and Memory in Non-European Societies." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 63-79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Mamelund, Svenn-Erik, Lisa Sattenspiel, and Jessica Dimka. "Influenza-Associated Mortality During the 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic in Alaska and Labrador: A Comparison." *Social Science History* 37, no. 2 (2013): 177-229. https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-2074420.

Mawdsley, Hannah. "Remembering the 'Forgotten' Pandemic: Richard Collier's Collection of Personal Testimonies." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 51-62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Mieszkowski, Łukasz. "The Overshadowing of the Memory of 'Spanish' Flu in Poland." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 123-135. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Milne, Ida. "Changing Narratives of 'That' Pandemic: Re-Engaging with Oral Histories for the Centenary of the Great Flu in Ireland." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 107-119. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Murphy, James. *A Century of Events in Newfoundland: 1824-1924.* James Murphy, 1924.

Nevitt, Joyce. *White Caps and Black Bands: Nursing in Newfoundland to 1934*. St. John's, NL: Jesperson Press, 1978.

Nolan, Stephen M. *A History of Health Care in Newfoundland & Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Health and Community Services Archive and Museum, 2004.

O'Neill, Paul. *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland.* Portugal Cove-St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2003.

Palmer, Craig, Lisa Sattenspiel, and Chris Cassidy. "Boats, Trains and Immunity: The Spread of the Spanish Flu on the Island of Newfoundland." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22, no. 2 (2007): 473-504.

Parsons, William David (W.D.). "The Newfoundland Medical Association

1924–1974." *Newfoundland and Labrador Medical Association Newsletter*, Fiftieth Anniversary Issue, vol. XVI, no. 3, special issue Part 1 (1974): 23-31. https://dai.mun.ca/PDFs/NMA_Newslel/094Newfoundland-MedicalAssociationNewsletterVolumeXVINo3SpecialIssuePart1.pdf

Parsons, William David (W.D.). "The Spanish Lady and the Newfoundland Regiment." Paper originally presented to St. John's Medical History Society in May 1992. Accessed on Great War Primary Documents Archive website: http://www.gwpda.org/medical/parsons.htm.

Paskoff, Taylor, and Lisa Sattenspiel. "Sex- and Age-based Differences in Mortality during the 1918 Influenza Pandemic on the Island of Newfoundland." *American Journal of Human Biology* 31, no. 1 (2019): 1-17.

Peckham, Robert. "'Huge but Unknown': China in the Memory of the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 258-274. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Pettigrew, Eileen. *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983.

Phillips, Howard and David Killingray. *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19: New Perspectives.* London: Routledge, 2003.

Phillips, Howard. "The Silence of the Survivors: Why Did Survivors of the 'Spanish' Flu in South Africa Not Talk about the Epidemic?" In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 80-91. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Rice, Geoffrey W. "'The Fell Plague of Last Year': Remembering and Forgetting the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in New Zealand." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 169-186. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Roper, Michael. "Re-Remembering the Soldier Hero: The Psychic and Social Construction of Memory in Personal Narratives of the Great War." *History Workshop Journal* 50, no.1 (2000): 181-204.

Sattenspiel, Lisa, and Svenn-Erik Mamelund. "Cocirculating Epidemics, Chronic Health Problems, and Social Conditions in Early 20th Century Labrador and Alaska." *Annals of Anthropological Practice* 36, no. 2 (2012): 402-21.

Sattenspiel, Lisa. "Regional Patterns of Mortality during the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Newfoundland." *Vaccine* 29, no. 2 (2011): 833-37.

Sattenspiel, Lisa, Jessica Dimka and Carolyn Orbann. "Using cultural, historical and epidemiological data to inform, calibrate, and verify model structures in agent-based simulations." *Mathematical Biosciences and Engineering* 16, no. 4 (2019): 3071-3093.

Schmidt, Dana M., and Lisa Sattenspiel. "The Second Epidemiologic Transition on the Brink: What We Can Learn from the Island of Newfoundland During the Early 20th Century." *American Journal of Human Biology* 29, no. 5 (2017): 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.22997.

Staub, Kaspar and Joël Floris. "Down memory lane: Unprecedented strong public and scientific interest in the 'Spanish flu' 1918/1919 during the COVID-19 pandemic." *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses* 15, no. 2 (2020). John Wiley & Sons Ltd., https://doi.org/10.1111/ir v.12806

Thimm, Utz. "'When Two Crises Meet Each Other': Remembering 'Spanish' Flu in the Low Countries.'" In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919.* Edited by Guy Beiner, 136-151. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

White, Linda. *Newfoundland Quarterly* 111, no. 2 (2018): 50-53.

Winter, Jay. "History, Memory and the Flu." In *Pandemic Re-Awakenings: The Forgotten and Unforgotten 'Spanish' Flu of 1918–1919*. Edited by Guy Beiner, xxv-xxviii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Winter, Jay. "Thinking about Silence." In *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by Efrat Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio and Jay Winter, 3-31. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Youde, Jeremy. "Covering the Cough? Memory, Remembrance, and Influenza Amnesia." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 63, no. 3 (2017): 357-68.