

Spanish Influenza in 1918: The Year St. Paul Found The 'Wolf' at Its Door Page 19

Spring, 2005

Volume 40, Number 1

# The Force that Shaped Neighborhoods 1890–1953: Sixty-three Years of Streetcars And Millions of Dollars in Investments

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**Selby Tunnel**. A Selby-Lake car on its way downtown emerges from the east portal of the Selby Tunnel. Built to relieve the grade on Selby Hill and replace an awkward cable-counterweight system, the tunnel cost \$366,000 when it opened in 1907. The west portal of the tunnel on Selby has been covered over and sealed. The east portal is still visible, albeit in considerably deteriorated condition. Minnesota Transportation Museum Collection.

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THE MISSION STATEMENT OF THE RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS IN JULY 2003:

The Ramsey County Historical Society shall discover, collect, preserve and interpret the history of the county for the general public, recreate the historical context in which we live and work, and make available the historical resources of the county. The Society's major responsibility is its stewardship over this history.

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# A Message from the Editorial Board

The completion of the light rail line between the infant of America and in the metropolitan within the past year and the possible construction of additional light rail in the metropolitan of the attractor are Without indulging in either The completion of the light rail line between the Mall of America and downtown Minneapolis area have encouraged considerable discussion of the streetcar era. Without indulging in either nostalgia or finger pointing, transportation historian John W. Diers takes us through the complex history of the electric streetcar system in St. Paul in our Spring issue. His account is based on wide research into the predecessor systems, the economic pluses and minuses of streetcars, the human side of streetcar employment, and the ever-present competition from automobiles after

The Spring issue also includes an intriguing look at the effect of Spanish influenza on the city of St. Paul in 1918, a time when there was a world-wide influenza pandemic. Susan Dowd, a devoted researcher of old newspapers, shows us how St. Paul dealt with this deadly disease and survived far better than many other cities of that time. This issue of our magazine also includes another in our ongoing series, "Growing Up in St. Paul," with a delightful piece by historian James Bell that recalls his boyhood on Hague Avenue and Fry Street in the first half of the last century. Lastly, Steve Trimble supplies a look at St. Paul history through the eyes of four contemporary novelists who use St. Paul as the backdrop for their fiction. These novelists have steeped themselves in local history and used it to enliven and enrich their stories of the human condition.

John M. Lindley, Chair, Editorial Board

# The Spanish Influenza in St. Paul in 1918, The Year the City Found the 'Wolf' at Its Door

# Susan Dowd

In the early fall of 1918, World War I, "The Great War," still raged on in Europe. Newspapers everywhere sizzled with war news, page after page of it. But with the Second Battle of the Marne in France late in the summer, a turning point had passed. The tide had turned for good. Allied troops now began their steady advance that would soon lead to Germany's ultimate defeat.

In September of 1918 the St. Paul Pioneer Press overflowed with good news at last: General Pershing's victory over the Germans in Lorraine; President Wilson's order for striking machinists to go back to work; and actress Sarah Bernhardt's appearance at the Orpheum Theater. A sense of hope and optimism filled the city. The Great War's end was in sight, and life was about to return to normal.

The people of St. Paul never imagined that a wolf had just arrived on their city's doorstep.

The "wolf" was influenza, called "Spanish Influenza" despite the fact that it probably originated in Canton, China. Nonetheless, when a large number of Spaniards died of influenza in May of 1918, the name stuck. Later, as the disease spread, the six syllables of "Spanish Influenza" were just too many; it became known simply as "the grip."

One author, quoting Herman Melville, described the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918 with dark humor. "The study of the history of influenza has persuaded me that the malady is one of God's cleverest tricks, one of the best of those 'sly, good-natured hits, and jolly punches in the side bestowed by the unseen and unaccountable old joker.' The Deity, jaded with omnipotence, seems to have posed Himself a paradoxical problem: just how deadly a disease can I create that humans

will barely notice? His answer to His challenge was influenza."

While it began with a whimper, the influenza epidemic of 1918 became the most lethal the world has ever known. According to John M. Barry, author of a recent book on the subject, The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History, the Spanish flu that menaced St. Paul caused the death of about 50 million people worldwide. The spread of the disease has been termed "pandemic," rather than an "epidemic" because it occurred over a wide geographic area and affected a high proportion of the world's population.

A curious, almost incomprehensible fact about Spanish Influenza is that while it killed millions upon millions of people in less than a year-more than any disease, war, or famine has ever killed in so short a period—it has never inspired awe. In fact, today it seems largely forgotten. But the fact remains that more American soldiers in World War I died of influenza than were killed in combat. It killed more people in twenty-four weeks than AIDS has killed in twenty-four years, more people in a year than the Black Death of the Middle Ages killed in a century.

Influenza is a viral disease, killing in one of two ways: either quickly with a violent viral pneumonia so damaging that it causes the lungs to appear burned; or slowly, by stripping the body of defenses, allowing slower-killing bacterial pneumonia to develop.

The influenza virus that struck every continent of the world in 1918 was a kind of "supervirus" unlike any that medicine had witnessed. Most of the victims who perished did not die from "flu" per se, but rather from the deadly forms of pneumonia that often accompanied it. And many of those who died did so with extraordinary ferocity and speed, for this was no

ordinary pneumonia. Early symptoms were typical of influenza: mucus membranes in the nose and throat became inflamed, as did the membrane that lines the eyelids. Victims suffered headache, body aches, fever, chills, exhaustion, and cough. But for many, the disease did not stop there. Patients described terrific pain that could be almost anywhere, extreme earaches, deep, throbbing headaches. And many began to bleed heavily—from the mouth, ears, eyes. As their lungs became unable to transfer oxygen to the blood, they turned a strange color, a condition called cyanosis. Their faces and sometimes their entire bodies became a dusky, leaden blue. Some victims turned so dark that rumors began to fly that the disease was not influenza, but the Black Death.

A doctor describing ill U.S. soldiers at Camp Devens, an overcrowded military compound in Ayers, Massachusetts, painted a horrifying picture: "These men start with what appears to be an ordinary attack of of La Grippe or Influenza and...two hours after admission they have the Mahogany spots over the cheek bones, and a few hours later you can see the Cyanosis extending from their ears and spreading all over the face, until it is hard to distinguish the coloured men from the white."

Far from manifesting itself as a single epidemic, this flu came in waves. The first, in the spring of 1918, was so mild that it was not even mentioned in an index of the 1918 volumes of the Journal of the American Medical Association. Influenza was not a reportable disease at that time. The only evidences of it were death certificates indicating deaths due to pneumonia. But this was 1918—before penicillin and sulfa drugs-and pneumonia was a common cause of death, particularly in the winter and spring.

However, the second wave, arriving in the autumn, would prove impossible to escape notice and deadlier than anyone could have imagined. This was the wolf that waited on St. Paul's doorstep and on the doorsteps of cities, towns and villages around the world. As American troops began their joyous autumn homecoming from the battlefields of Europe, flu followed them. On September 20, 1918 the Pioneer Press carried a small article noting the outbreak of influenza (5,000 cases and forty-three deaths) at Camp Devens. The following week's papers contained a few more mentions of influenza—what it was and how it appeared to be spreading westward.

\* \* \*

On Thursday, September 26th, 1918, the first cases were reported in Minnesota. A soldier returning from Camp Sheridan in Illinois brought it to Wells, Minnesota. A telegram to federal officials from H. M. Bracken, head of the State Board of Health, dated September 28, 1918 bore one sentence, "Severe influenza Faribault County, Wells Village 100 cases reported following return of soldier from cantonment. (Signed) Bracken." That same week the city of St. Paul had its first suspected case of Spanish influenza, a young man named Russell Pearo of 419 Blair Street. Still, no one seemed terribly concerned.

October 1 brought with it the first Minnesota death, Lt. Fred Scharf, a soldier at Fort Snelling. The civilian public, however, felt assured of their own safety because the disease was largely contained within the military ranks. The *Pioneer Press* writers' reports of Spanish Influenza in early October, however, appear confusing—good news one day, worrisome the next:

October 7, 1918—"Influenza On Wane" October 8, 1918—"Influenza Gains" October 9, 1918—"No Epidemic Yet"

But this was the point at which "the Grip" began to cross the divide between the military and civilian populations, and the situation was about to become all too clear.

By October 11th, St. Paul officials realized that they might have a problem on

their hands. They drafted new regulations that governed the opening and closing of shops, offices, schools, churches, theaters, etc. with the intention of eliminating crowded buildings and streetcar congestion. These regulations, however, were not enforced, for there was still "no cause for alarm as regards the St. Paul civilian situation." The measures were merely precautionary. Nothing was closed.

Two days later, on October 13, 181 influenza cases had been reported in St. Paul:

- 24 children under age 5
- 43 children ages 5-18
- 73 adults ages 18-30
- 30 adults ages 30-40
- 11 adults over age 40

Twenty-four people had died:

- 4 children under age 2
- 10 adults
- 10 military personnel

The disease had suddenly and clearly moved into the general population.

At this early point in the epidemic, a seemingly unrelated event occurred that would ultimately impact the course and treatment of Spanish Influenza in St. Paul. A disastrous forest fire blazed in northern Minnesota near Cloquet, sending evacuees pouring into St. Paul, according to press reports. Accounts of the enormous fire and its tragic aftermath filled the front page of the *Pioneer Press* on October 14, 1918, displacing all the customary war news. Doctors and nurses were rushed to the fire-ravaged region to attend to influenza cases that had begun there, fearing that the crowded conditions created by thousands of refugees would cause influenza to flare up as quickly as the fire had ignited the forests. These were doctors and nurses who might otherwise be attending to victims of "the Grip" in St. Paul.

Despite these challenges, the *Pioneer Press* reported that influenza seemed less of a worry:

October 17—"Cities Shaking Grip"

October 20—Schools that had been closed in Minneapolis reopened (St. Paul had not yet closed schools)

October 22—"Conditions Improve"

# HEALTH ORDER

The Health Officer of the City of St. Paul having reported to the undersigned, Commissioner of Public Safety and Ex Officio Chief Health Officer of said City, that an epidemic of Influenza, a contagious disease, exists in the City and having recommended that the following measures are necessary to check the spread of such disease. Therefore, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the City Charter and the laws of the State and pursuant to the recommendation of the Health Officer of this City it is hereby ordered:

- int.—That all echemia public and private (except hoarding schools), public libraries, churches, theaters, moving picture houses, saloons, billiard and pool rooms, bowling alleys and all other places of amusement be kept closed.
- 2nd,—That all boarding schools, which slow tuber day pupils are hereby prohibited from receiving or teaching the latter during the continuance of this order.
- 3rd.—That all sods fountains and soft firink establishments are hereby pruhibited from serving beverages, ice gream or ices.
- 4th.—That all passenger devators in buildings of six stories or less (except those in Government buildings ossise operation.
- hth.—That all retail business establishments are prohibited from advertising sales to newspapers or otherwist.
- 6th.—That all indoor meetings or gatharings of people tocinding todge mootings, parties or dances, are hereby prohibited. This does not apply to meetings of war organizations.

This order shall be and remain in force and effect from date hereof until otherwise ordered by the Commissioner of Public Batety.

Disobediance of this order constitutes a misdemeasur and is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

Given at St. Paul, Minnesota, this Sixth day of November, 1918.

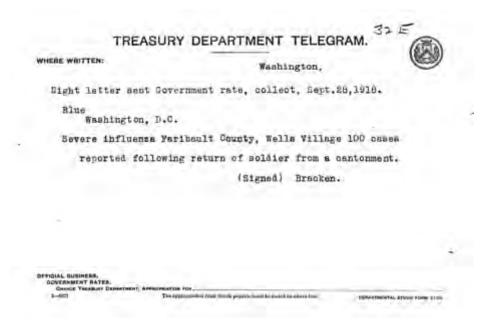
HENRY McCOLL,

But on October 26, 1918, Dr. Edwin Olander, a prominent St. Paul physician, died of influenza and pneumonia. He certainly contracted the disease from those he sought to heal. On that date, the Pioneer Press delivered the bad news that nearly 1,900 cases and fifty-nine deaths had occurred in St. Paul alone...and that was only one month after the first cases (in Wells) had been reported. People sat up and took notice.

The 1918 influenza epidemic is noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, since there were no modern medicines to combat pneumonia and other complications of the disease, controlling it with quarantines seemed to be the only effective course of action. This was essentially how disease was controlled in the Middle Ages, yet this outbreak occurred in the twentieth century. Second, the United States did not have today's network of well-financed federal, state, and local public health departments to track the disease, so response to its spread was inefficient and slow. Third, science was still struggling to understand the cause of disease.

Bacteria were well understood in 1918, thanks to Louis Pasteur and others: but the study of viruses, the cause of this deadly plague, was in its infancy. In 1898, only twenty years before the Spanish flu struck, a Dutch botanist first realized that something smaller than bacteria could cause disease. He named this something "virus," a Latin word meaning "poison." But not until the 1930s, 40s, and 50s were viruses understood enough for vaccines to be developed. Today, getting a flu shot is such an ordinary occurrence that we seldom pause to think about it.

Spanish Influenza in 1918 was unusual when one looks at the pattern of deaths. Flu generally kills the very young and the very old; a graph of flu deaths in a typical outbreak resembles the letter U. But a graph of deaths from the complications of influenza in 1918 resembles a crude W. There is a spike in the twentythirty age group. Part of this spike can be explained by large numbers of soldiers who contracted flu and died at the end of World War I. But the same phenomenon occurred within the civilian popula-



A 1919 night letter alert sent to Wells, Minnesota. Other new items from St. Paul newspapers reflect the seriousness of the influenza threat. Minnesota Historical Society newspaper collection. Correspondence and news clippings used with this article are from the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections.

tion as well. Author John Barry blames these deaths on the immune system itself. Young adults, he explains, have the strongest immune system in the population and are thus generally the healthiest element of the population. In the case of this 1918 strain of influenza, however, that strength became a weakness. As their immune systems mounted massive responses to the virus, Barry theorized, the lungs of these young adults filled with fluid and debris, making it impossible for the exchange of oxygen to take place. The immune response ultimately proved fatal. The response is similar to a disease we know today as Acute Respiratory Distress Syndrome (ARDS). In fact, says Barry, doctors today looking at the pathology reports of lungs in 1918 would immediately designate the condition as ARDS.

On October 30, 1918 St. Paul saw a sudden upturn in cases. There were now over 3,000 persons reported ill and 1,946 households under quarantine. In the first days of November, St. Paul officials decided to open a free, 300-bed hospital that would be operated at the city's expense.

The idea for this hospital came from the St. Paul Citizens Influenza Committee, chaired by Louis W. Hill, son of railroad magnate James Jerome Hill. The Citizens Committee further advised that St. John's Hospital, on Dayton's Bluff, be turned over exclusively for the treatment of flu patients. This facility could offer 200 additional beds. The Committee also recommended that any citizen who wished to receive anti-pneumonia vaccine should be able to do so, regardless of his or her ability to pay for it. The Red Cross announced that it had made ready 50,000 face masks.

The mood that seemed almost complacent only two weeks earlier changed abruptly as fear set in. "In Heavens Name Do Something!" cried an editorial in the Sunday Pioneer Press on November 3. In it, the editors berated health authorities for failing to admit the seriousness of the situation, and they urged the Citizens Committee to take charge. That Committee, comprised of twenty-three members, would meet at 3:00 P.M. on the same afternoon to determine whether to close amusement places and prohibit public gatherings. A full-page newspaper notice from the Citizens Committee to

the citizens of St. Paul bore the headline, "Spanish Influenza Our New Enemy—Kill It!" and went on to list how the disease is spread, how it might be prevented, symptoms, and methods of treatment. The Society Section of the same day's paper contained an article about a group of Summit Avenue women, on their way to a tea, who wore chiffon veils as face masks. Included with the article were instructions for mask making.

Treatment of Spanish Influenza in 1918 was the subject of another article entirely. In a regular Pioneer Press column titled "Dr. Brady's Health Talks." the author addressed this very issue. Here were his recommendations:

- 1. Go at once to bed and remain there until well. Rest in bed conserves your vitality, and influenza is a dangerously prostrating or weakening disease. Obey this rule, and, when you get well you get well. Keep about and, when you are about well you will find you are still far from well, and that may be your condition for a long, long time.
- 2. Especially beware of any alleged cold or grip cure or of pain killing or fever reducing dopes-practically all of them depend on ACETANILIDE or PHENACETIN (Acetpheneticin) for their knockout effect. They kill pain all right, and pull down fever, but they seriously weaken the heart and the blood and hence are dangerous remedies in a disease which itself weakens the patient.
- 3. Comfortably dressed or covered in bed, get all the cold fresh air and sunlight the season affords.
- 4. Unless the bowels are naturally active, take one bottle of Solution of the Citrate of Magnesium, which your druggist will prepare on order. It may be taken in two or three doses, cold, at intervals of half
- 5. When you have influenza or any other acute illness with nose, throat, or bronchial symptoms, don't be a dog in the manger, be a human being. See that every one keeps outside your five-foot barrage. Always cover the nose and mouth with handkerchief when coughing or sneezing; in fact, one with such a disease is morally bound to wear constantly over nose and

Fight Spanish Influenza With Daily Disinfection Make a better fight against disease than it can make against you and yours Use Lysol daily to kill the germs that are in garbage always present sinks, drains and in dark, damp, sunless cutuers. During the Inflormer Epider Boil all eating stensils there is sickness to pour family weep Lyan) a in the bedpan all the time. Desinfect with

> mouth a mask of two or three layers or ordinary cheese-cloth or gauze, tied in place with tapes or strings over head and behind neck. Any discharge from nose or mouth or any material expectorated when coughing should be received in paper or cloth and at once burned, or in a receptacle containing a strong disinfectant such as chloride of lime in water, or some 5 per cent carbolic acid solution.

Foods recommended for the influenza patient included potato soup, apple puree, cocoa, milk toast, and soft custard. Citrus fruits were also advised. The U.S. Public Health Service cautioned that there was no cure for influenza and that products touted as "cures" could, in fact, be harmful. They advised patients to rely on "fresh air, nutritious food, plenty of water, cheerful surroundings, and good nursing."

On November 4, St. Paul shut down. "Influenza Lid To Go On City Today," was the headline on page one of the *Pioneer Press.* St. Paul schools, churches, places

of amusement, saloons and soda fountains were among the locations affected by the closing order. Dr. B. F. Simon, City Health Officer, opposed the ban, but he ordered the closings anyway. While Dr. Simon reported the official number of influenza cases in St. Paul as 3,589, other physicians' estimates ran much higher, as many as 10,000-12,000. Indeed, a few days later, the Citizens Committee discovered a huge failure to report influenza cases to the Health Department.

By November 5, 187 new St. Paul cases were reported, the highest ever in a single day. Over 2,200 homes were under quarantine, and the official case estimate was 3,826. Twenty-one more people were reported dead from pneumonia. On November 5, elevators were no longer permitted to operate.

November 6 brought more bad news: 205 new cases and twenty-twi new deaths. Dr. H. M. Bracken, head of the State Board of Health, stated that it was too late for prevention measures. Many families reported children lacking food in cases where both parents had fallen ill.

On November 7 the Pioneer Press ran a front page story announcing that citizen volunteers would visit the homes of influenza victims to determine who was in dire need. Children of ill parents would be temporarily housed at the Wilder Day Nursery. A central food kitchen would be established at Mechanic Arts High School from which food could be distributed to hungry families.

Heartbreaking tales appeared in the newspaper:

- A small page 1 story on November 9 titled "Parents Die; 3 Tots Ill" told the story of the Newman family of North St.. Paul. With both parents dead of pneumonia and three young siblings ill, the fourth Newman child was found caring for the remaining family members. The Citizens Committee sent medical aid.
- · A sad tale from November 21, called "Lone Soup Bone Cheers Seven Tots, But Future Looks Dark To Parents" related the story of an unnamed St. Paul family whose father was trying to keep working despite suffering from influenza. The family owed \$200 in mortgage payments, and the mother had only a soup bone with which to feed her seven children, all of whom were

recovering from influenza. No one had received any medical care because they could not pay for it.

Workers in St. Paul quickly felt the effects of the city-wide closings. Organized labor representatives and many business owners petitioned city officials on November 10 to re-open businesses. People needed work; they needed income. Officials refused, however. The epidemic still showed no signs of abating, and the ban would remain in effect until that changed. The Citizens Committee announced that they felt the epidemic was at its peak and would soon be declining.

Just as life appeared to be its bleakest, the most wonderful news was splashed across page 1 of the Pioneer Press on Monday, November 11—PEACE! The Great War was over, and an armistice had been signed. The next day's headline read, "Cup Of Victory Runs Over Here," describing the "carnival spirit" of the celebrations in St. Paul marking the war's end. Good news continued that week: on Thursday, November 14 the Citizens Committee recommended that the closing order be lifted, advising that this should happen over a period of several days rather than all at once. The next day, shows-vaudeville, movies, and burlesque—were back in business. Several days later, on Monday, November 18, city schools reopened.

When St. Paul celebrated Thanksgiving Day on Thursday, November 28, it did so with a huge parade celebrating "peace, prosperity, and future world democracy." No doubt the citizens celebrated the easing of influenza's deathly grip as well. Fifty thousand viewed the festivities, and 10,000 marched that day. Indeed, the good citizens of St. Paul believed themselves to be rid of influenza at last. Uplifting human interest stories appeared in the newspaper in early December, such as one titled, "Influenza Proof," the story of Barclay Clifford McCutcheon, an ambulance driver. McCutcheon, by his own estimation, carried "in his arms" an average of 100 flu victims each day, "wrapped in huge, warm blankets" but never contracted the disease. One

could almost hear the city's sigh of relief as fears eased.

That relief, however, was shortlived when the third wave of Spanish influenza struck. On December 10 the Pioneer Press reported "Influenza Gaining," noting sixty-eight new cases and twelve deaths. This wave was not totally unexpected, for other cities had reported the same phenomenon. The newspaper that day reported the total number of cases since the beginning of the epidemic at 7,275, probably a gross underestimate. Nearly 600 people had died of pneumonia by December 1, again probably a low figure. Dr. Simon advised people in light of this new surge of disease to avoid catching a cold and to take the same precautions advised before. December 11 and 13 saw more cases reported. On December 14 cafes and bars were ordered by Dr. Simon to begin sterilizing glasses and dishes and to eliminate roller towels.

There was talk of declaring a ban on meetings, but the order was never put into effect due to a lack of funds needed to enforce it. Thankfully, this third and final wave of influenza abated as quickly as it had flared. By Christmas, Spanish Influenza had all but disappeared from the pages of the *Pioneer Press*. While a few cases continued to appear in the first months of 1919, the danger was past. St. Paul ended the grim year of 1918 with more celebrations of troop returns and plans for Christmas and New Year's festivities. Spanish flu was all but forgotten.

When examining statistics of influenza cases and deaths in St. Paul in 1918, data vary according to the source consulted. Official cases numbered close to 10,000. On December 31, 1918, the Pioneer Press reported a total of 899 deaths in St. Paul in the last three months of 1918. The U.S. Bureau of Census, in a report titled Mortality Statistics, 1919, counted 908 deaths in St. Paul from influenza and pneumonia in the last four months of 1918 and 272 more deaths in the first six months of 1919. In general, about four out of every 1,000 people died of Spanish Influenza in St. Paul in



1918-19. Chicago's rate was quite similar; Louisville, K.Y. experienced a death rate of 8 per 1,000; and Pittsburgh, one of the hardest hit U.S. cities, reported 9.2 deaths per thousand. The most frightening fact of all is that most of these cases and deaths all occurred within about a twelve-week period.

As we fear anthrax, smallpox, and other contagious diseases we associate with terrorism, so the people of 1918 feared influenza. But a real difference is that those people experienced Spanish Influenza; they did not fear it as an abstract possibility. For in 1918 the world waged two "Great Wars": one against a human enemy that could be seen, and the other—the greater killer—against an invisible enemy that could only be dreaded.

Susan Dowd, a frequent contributor to Ramsey County History, wrote about the Liberty Bell coming to St. Paul a century ago for the winter 2004 issue of this magazine.



Another view of Wildwood Amusement Park on the south shore of White Bear Lake. This postcard view was mailed to Mrs. H. Freedland of Red Wing, Minn., on August 12, 1912. From historian Robert J. Stumm's postcard collection and used with his permission.



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