

An Intimate Pandemic

Creating community histories of the 1918–19 influenza pandemic



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The year 2019 marks the centenary of the arrival of the pneumonic influenza pandemic – often known as the ‘Spanish flu’ – on Australian shores. This guide has been prepared by the Royal Australian Historical Society to assist and encourage local history and family history groups, plus local studies librarians and public historians, to investigate this significant historical moment. Coming at the end of World War I, the pandemic infected approximately a third of Australia’s population through 1919, causing up to 15,000 deaths. The disease touched almost every community, causing illness, disruption and bereavement, but also led to profound moments of charity, courage and community spirit.

This guide does not provide a history of the pandemic in Australia. Rather, it has been created to assist you in delving into local, state and national collections to prepare your own projects to commemorate the centenary. It suggests archival documents that can be drawn upon and sites to consider visiting in building a fuller picture of the local impact of the 1919 crisis. An extensive annotated bibliography of period, historical and medical accounts of the pandemic is also provided at the end of the document.

The following guides to researching and writing history are recommended as starting points:

- Ann Curthoys and Ann McGrath. *How to Write History That People Want to Read* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009).
- Rosalie Triolo, Helen Doyle, and Katya Johanson. *Writing and Publishing Local History: a Guide for First-Time Authors and Historical Societies* (Melbourne: Royal Historical Society of Victoria, 2017).

<https://www.history.org.au/Writing%20and%20Publishing%20Local%20History.html>

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Sponsors

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Front cover: Volunteer workers at ‘The Manse’ emergency hospital in Bega during the 1919 pneumonic influenza epidemic, State Library of New South Wales, At Work and Play – 02387.

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National Archives of Australia

<http://naa.gov.au/collection/search/index.aspx>

The National Archives of Australia hold records primarily related to national issues and the powers of the Commonwealth Government.

Quarantine was one of the first powers to be handed over by the States (the former colonies) to the Commonwealth after Federation in 1901. *An Act Relating to Quarantine* (1908) gave the new federal government responsibility for deciding which infectious diseases should be quarantined and where quarantine areas should be established. From 1910 the former State facilities began to be taken over by the Federal Quarantine Service (later the Commonwealth Quarantine Service). It was – at least in theory – meant to coordinate with State health bodies to control the entry and spread of infectious diseases in Australia.

However, both before World War I and during the pneumonic influenza pandemic, disputes over quarantine policy prompted frequent political and administrative clashes between the Commonwealth and State Governments. Nevertheless, the perceived effectiveness of the Commonwealth Quarantine Service in managing the 1918–19 influenza pandemic was a major prompt for the formation of the Commonwealth Department of Health in 1921. Established in 1916, the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories also produced and distributed large quantities of serum for inoculation against pneumonic influenza over 1918–19.

Another major Commonwealth responsibility was defence. In particular, from 1914 the recruitment and movement of the Australian Imperial Force was supplemented by medical hospitals, the Australian Army Medical Corps, the Australian Army Nursing Service and the Royal Australian Navy Medical Service. Furthermore, the return of personnel to Australia – either for medical reasons or following demobilisation – entailed Commonwealth control of hospital ships and troop transports. The Repatriation Department (later the Department of Veterans' Affairs) took on long-term medical care and pensions for service-related health problems. Note that many records held in the Australian War Memorial appear in the National Archives of Australia catalogue, but are not available for digitisation and can only be accessed by visiting the War Memorial in Canberra.

The relevant holdings are vast, and only a proportion have been digitised and placed online. However, some important series with key examples relevant to New South Wales are listed below. Web links are given where the files are freely available online.

Series A2: Correspondence files for the Prime Minister's Department

These files include many international reports, and also address important issues of national regulations, preventive inoculation, plus border control and movement across state boundaries.

- 1919/482 PART 1 Influenza epidemic. Border regulations, 1918–1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=48606>
- 1919/482 PART 2 Spanish influenza: conference at Melbourne. Precautionary measures, 1918–1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=48607>

- 1919/887 PART 2 Influenza epidemic misc. papers unregistered. Relation of influenza to quarantine of ships, 1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=8679>
- 1919/953 PART 2 Influenza – New South Wales, 1918–1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=48703>
- 1919/1302 Influenza epidemic Commonwealth regulations, 1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=48779>
- 1920/1006 Spanish influenza – miscellaneous, 1919–1920
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=8158314>

Series CP103/11: Correspondence files for the Prime Minister's Department

As above, including many files related to quarantine of individual ships.

- 425 [Influenza Epidemic. Control of interstate traffic between New South Wales and Queensland], 1919
- 428 [Influenza Epidemic. Restrictions on interstate passengers], 1919
- 432 [Influenza. Miscellaneous correspondence], 1919
<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/scripts/AutoSearch.asp?O=I&Number=449936>

Series A2487: Repatriation Department and Repatriation Commission

These include staffing issues and relief for returned service personnel.

- 1919/2022 [Closing of Sydney office due to influenza epidemic], 1919
- 1919/2104 [Sustenance to returned men suffering from epidemic influenza], 1919

Series MP367/1: Department of Defence correspondence

These files include many relating to military hospitals and the welfare of soldiers upon return to Australia, as well as prisoner of war camps. Note that the original records are held in Melbourne.

- 500/7/197 Out-Patients No 4 AGH, 1919
- 527/21/493 Instructions on pneumonic influenza, 1918
- 527/21/1077 Clinical notes on pneumonic influenza epidemic, 1919
- 567/7/4467 Liverpool Concentration Camp. Arrangements for influenza outbreak, 1918–1919

Series B2455: Australian Imperial Force personnel files

Containing the military service records of soldiers, many include illness and death reports. These files are best searched on an individual name basis, and the full series is available online. For more information: <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/service-records/army-wwi.aspx>

Series B4717: Permanent Military Forces and Army Militia Personnel dossiers

Containing the military service records of soldiers, including those who served before or after World War I, plus nurses. These files are best searched on an individual name basis, but note that only

approximately 20% of names are currently on the catalogue. Contact the National Reference Service if you can't find the record you want: <http://reftracker.naa.gov.au/reft100.aspx?key=01GenRef>

Series MT574/1: Royal Australian Navy personnel files

These are best searched on an individual name basis, but do include illness and death reports. The full series is available online. For more information, see:

<http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/defence/service-records/navy.aspx>

Series MT1487/1: Australian personnel serving in non-Australian units

These are best searched on an individual name basis, but do include illness and death reports. The full series is available online through the National Archives 'record search' function.

Series MT1384/1: Troopship passenger rolls

These may contain details of illnesses aboard troopships, and are best searched by the name of the ship. Note that the original records are held in Melbourne.

See also:

- Australian War Memorial
- State Library of New South Wales



Troopships and coastal vessels moored off North Head Quarantine Station during the 1919 influenza pandemic, National Archives of Australia, Series C1134 Control 2/27.

Australian War Memorial

<https://www.awm.gov.au/>

The Australian War Memorial holds materials relevant to the nation's military units, personnel and both combat and humanitarian operations.

Although individual military service files are kept in the National Archives of Australia, the War Memorial owns numerous personal records, including diaries, letters, photographs, artworks and equipment. It also keeps official records related to military units, medical services, hospitals, troop transports and prisoner of war camps. Naturally the majority of these files were not arranged in relation to the pandemic, so much of the information relevant to influenza may require some digging.

Note that many records held in the Australian War Memorial appear in the National Archives of Australia catalogue, but are not available for digitisation and can only be accessed by visiting the War Memorial in Canberra.

Series AWM7: Troopship records, 1914–18 War

These records detail life on troopships, including sick parades, medical orders and deaths on board. They are organised by vessel and sailing date, rather than by individual personnel names.

Series AWM31: Troopship passenger lists, 1914–18 War

These comprise lists of personnel travelling on troop transports, including those returning to Australia over 1918–19. They are organised by name of vessel and sailing date, rather than by individual personnel names.

Series AWM25: Written records, 1914–18 War

This series of documents primarily captures the health of Australian Imperial Force personnel whilst serving overseas.

- 267/24 PART 1 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Influenza epidemic in the United Kingdom, June 1918 (Part 1 of 5), 1918
- 267/24 PART 2 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Influenza epidemic in the United Kingdom, June-August 1918 (Part 2 of 5), 1918
- 267/24 PART 3 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Influenza epidemic in the United Kingdom, October 1918 (Part 3 of 5), 1918
- 267/24 PART 4 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Influenza epidemic in the United Kingdom, November-December 1918 (Part 4 of 5), 1918
- 267/24 PART 5 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Influenza epidemic in the United Kingdom, February 1919 (Part 5 of 5), 1919
- 267/31 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Reports on influenza epidemic, symptoms, prevention, treatment and instructions regarding the use of influenza vaccine. Returns of cases of Influenza and its complications, 1918–1919

- 267/32 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] A comparative report on three epidemics of influenza occurring amongst Australian troops in England. June-July 1918, October-November 1918 and January-February 1919, 1918–1919
- 267/33 [Written records, 1914-18 War:] [Disease and Disabilities] Returns, Influenza, February 1918-1919. Chart showing number of cases admitted to Australian Base Depot Camp Hospital during the month of March 1919. Also number of cases evacuated to other hospitals during the month, 1918–1919

Series AWM32: Australian Army Medical Corps files

These records address the organisation and operation of military hospitals in Australia, including those located in prisoner of war camps.

- 9 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - General Hospitals - Garrison Hospital, Victoria Barracks, Sydney NSW, 1917–1919
- 10 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia – No.4 Australian General Hospital – Randwick NSW, 1916–1919
- 22 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Convalescent homes and Auxiliary Hospitals in 2nd Military District - No.12 Australian Auxiliary Hospital Blackheath, NSW, 1914–1919
- 26 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Convalescent homes and Auxiliary Hospitals in 2nd Military District - No.21 Australian Auxiliary Hospital Georges Heights, Mosman NSW, 1917–1919
- 31 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Special Hospitals - Infectious diseases - General file, 1915–19
- 67 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Camp hospitals and health of camps in 2nd Military District - Camp Hospital, Liverpool, New South Wales. [Camp Hospital], German Concentration Camp, Holdsworthy, [Holdsworthy] Heights Details Camp [see also No.21 AAH], 1916–1919
- 74 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Orthopaedic units and curative workshops - 2nd Military District - No.4 Australian General Hospital, Randwick, Sydney NSW, 1917–1919
- 78 [Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait collection) 1914-18 War:] AAMC units in Australia - Military patients in civil hospitals, 1906–1920

See also:

- National Archives of Australia



Influenza Emergency Worker badge issued in 1919, held in the Royal Australian Historical Society collection. Photo: Donna Newton, 2018.

State Archives and Records NSW

<https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/>

State Archives and Records holds many files related to the Colony and – after Federation in 1901 – the State of New South Wales. They also hold collections of selected local municipal and shire records, including many former councils which have disappeared through amalgamations since 1919.

Through the early decades of the twentieth century, healthcare services were not managed nationally, being provided instead by religious or charitable organisations, friendly societies, community groups, local councils or the State Government. The registration of healthcare providers such as nurses, pharmacists and doctors, for instance, was primarily managed at State level. Under the *Public Health Act 1896*, the Department of Public Health also played a major role in identifying and controlling infectious diseases within the State. In 1919 this Department also produced large quantities of a free influenza vaccine which was issued widely across both metropolitan and country areas.

In late January 1919 the New South Wales Government established an Influenza Administrative Committee, later renamed the Influenza Emergency Committee, assisted by a Metropolitan Influenza Administrative Committee and a Country Influenza Administrative Board. Although in 1919 New South Wales had little direct responsibility for hospitals, an important exception was the Coast Hospital (later Prince Henry Hospital) for infectious diseases. Many other hospitals later came under State control and thus their historical files may be held at State Archives and Records. While they were generally managed locally, some cemetery records are also retained at State Archives and Records.

Although New South Wales boasted many religious and private schools, State schools were administered by the Department of Education, which also controlled teachers, pupils and school health services. During the influenza emergency of 1919, all schools were closed both to limit the spread of infection and to serve as temporary hospitals. Male teachers were often placed in charge of these facilities, while female teachers were asked to act as temporary nurses. In fact, the State Government was a major employer, and many of its staff suffered from influenza or were exposed to it in their workplace. Whether working for the New South Wales Government Railways or the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, their experiences and compensation claims created numerous files. These may remain organised under each department, board or authority, or successor organisations.

The oversight and welfare of Indigenous people was also largely a State responsibility, especially via the New South Wales Board for the Protection of Aborigines which had significant powers under the *Aborigines Protection Act (1909)*.

Many businesses were directly affected by the State's emergency proclamation of 27 February 1919, intended to limit the spread of influenza. The passage of the New South Wales *Influenza Epidemic Relief Act* late in 1919 created the means of providing some compensation for financial loss. The extraordinary number of individuals and businesses lodging claims under this scheme led to a 'Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Claims Lodged Under the Provisions of the *Influenza Epidemic Relief Act, 1919*', tabled in the New South Wales Parliament in 1920 (see 'Published sources'). The three reports of this Royal Commission provide a snapshot of business hardships across the State in 1919.

Below are listed some overall guides to locating relevant records, plus several suggested series of records relevant to the influenza pandemic.

Nurses

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/nurses-guide>

Doctors

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/medical-practitioners-guide>

Pharmacists and chemists

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/pharmacists-and-chemists-guide>

Hospital buildings

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/hospital-buildings-guide>

Schools and teachers

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/school-records-guide>
- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/schools-and-related-records>

Aboriginal people

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/aboriginal-resources-overview-records>
- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/aboriginal-resources-guide-nsw-state-archives>

Local councils

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/local-government-research-guide>

Cemeteries and burials

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/collections-and-research/guides-and-indexes/cemeteries-burials-guide>

Series 20092: Register of Notification of Infectious Disease – Berrigan Shire Council

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/20092>

Series 20632: Register of prevention and notifications of infectious diseases – Municipality of Picton

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/20632>

Series 587: Minutes of proceedings – Board of Health

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/587>

Series 4831: Correspondence ("G") files – Department of Public Health

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/4831>

Series 4838: Salary registers – Department of Public Health

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/4838>

Series 4913: Register of government medical officers and vaccinators – Department of Public Health

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/4913>

Series 4920: Registers of complaints – Department of Public Health

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/4920>

Series 118: Distress Relief Fund, Pneumonic Influenza: food order and invoice book – Chief Secretary

- <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/1118>

NSW Parliament. Influenza Epidemic Relief, No.45, 1919.

- http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/num_act/iera1919n45252.pdf

Pneumonic Influenza — Claims Committee – Colonial Secretary, Special Bundles

- NRS 906 [5/5242.1, 5/5348.1]

See also:

- State Library of New South Wales
- Local council records



*Arrival at quarantine camp, Wallangarra, 7th May, 1919,
State Library of Victoria, H2016.356/1.*

State Library of New South Wales

<https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/>

The State Library of New South Wales collects material that documents life in New South Wales, from the earliest times to the present day. The intention is to create a collection that reflects the history of New South Wales in both Australian and international contexts.

The Library collects a broad and representative range of published and original material, including rare printed matter, ephemera, photographs, paintings, and personal letters and diaries originating in New South Wales, Australia and internationally. Under legal deposit, the Library receives material published in the State so as to preserve and make accessible the published record of New South Wales.

Some of the key collections relating to the 1918–19 Influenza pandemic are described below.

Red Cross NSW Division Archive 1914–2014

In 2014, to commemorate its centenary and as part of a national process termed a 'gift to the nation', the NSW Division of the Australian Red Cross donated its archive to the State Library of New South Wales. This archive contains the original records for the Voluntary Aid Detachments (VADs) who served on the 'home front' during World War I and through the influenza pandemic. An estimated 1200 VADS volunteered at relief depots, giving out masks, blankets, medicines, food and comfort.

MLMSS 9976 Australian Red Cross Society, New South Wales Division, Voluntary Aid Detachment records, 1914–2014

- Box 19 VAD Tribute re nursing during Spanish influenza epidemic, 1919: Kensington VAD
- Box 33 VAD VA certificates, assorted, 1939–79: miscellaneous certificates awarded to VAs, including Influenza Worker certificates

MLMSS 9995

- BOX 24 Assorted extracts from reports, 1914–1921: influenza 1918–1919, War Chest Farm Colony
- BOX 22 (Red Cross Archives control number Doc Box 022) Certificate: Influenza Worker, 1919. Jean Campbell

PXE 1692

- Vol.53, item 1: WW1 album (North Sydney VA) opening of Graythwaite, services there, 'flu epidemic & Anzac Buffet photos

Individual collections

MLMSS 10131 Condolence letters, cards and telegrams sent to Sydney and Elizabeth Butler on the occasion of the death of their teenaged son, Keith, from Spanish influenza, 1919.

614.49/2 Pneumonic-influenza/Municipality of Randwick. Leaflet of notifying residents of arrangements made for dealing with the influenza epidemic.

MLMSS 8814 Hogue family papers relating to Oliver Hogue, 1912–20. Australian soldier and author Major Oliver Hogue, better known as ‘Trooper Bluegum’, survived four years on the battlefields but died of influenza in London on 3 March 1919. The Library holds his books – among them *Trooper Bluegum at the Dardanelles* and the bestselling *Love Letters of an Anzac* – which have been digitised and can be read online. In July 1919, a family friend visited Hogue’s grave at Brookwood military cemetery in London and sent back a posy of flowers left by another mourner (which is part of this collection).

MLMSS 5648 Thomas A. Herbert diaries, photographs, newspaper cuttings, transcript and photocopies, 1919–88. Thomas Herbert was 15 years old in 1919 and wrote in his diary about the impact of the influenza pandemic on his school and small community in Paddington, Sydney.

PXE 1299 BOX 3, album 4 Jenkins family pictorial material and realia, c.1876–1950s. Views of Riley St Public School Inoculation Depot used in the influenza epidemic, 1919.

World War I diaries

The State Library has collected 324 original diaries by men and women who served in the First World War. These have been transcribed and can be searched and read online. Nineteen of the diaries mention ‘Spanish Influenza’. To access the collection: <https://www1.sl.nsw.gov.au/diaries/diarists>

Photographs

Some photographs are part of individual collections and some are part of large photographic collections, such as that of the Government Printing Office. Type ‘influenza’ into the search bar and then use the ‘Archival format’ filter on the right hand side to select ‘photographs’. See for example:

- Riley St. Depot, Cook Ward: Government Printing Office 1-13495
- Motor with staff for distributing food to invalids, Balmain: Government Printing Office 1-13507
- “The Manse”. Emergency Hospital Influenza Epidemic – Bega, NSW: At Work and Play – 02387

Published materials

The following are scarce examples of published works held at the State Library.

- T.I.Wallas and H.S. Bunting, *Some Vital Statistics of the Epidemic in New South Wales in 1919, Under State Medical Control: Supplement to Osteopathy’s Record in Epidemic Influenza* (Sydney: T.I. Wallas, 1920): 615.82/B
- Sydney Hospital, *Pneumonic-influenza Epidemic: General Information for the Citizens of New South Wales* (Sydney: Sydney Hospital, c.1919): Dixon Library, Drawer item 223
- Wade Oliver, *Spanish Influenza: All About It* (Melbourne: Specialty, Press, 1919): 616.203/O
- Robyn Arrowsmith, *A Danger Greater Than War: NSW and the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic* (Curtin: Australian Homeland Security Research Centre, 2007): 306.46109/1

See also:

- State Archives and Records NSW

Local council records

Municipal and shire councils were significant providers of health, sanitation and welfare services in the early part of the twentieth century, and often bore the brunt of the influenza pandemic.

Their records may be accessible at local council buildings, archives or libraries, but their extent and accessibility varies significantly throughout the state. Amalgamations have led to the destruction, culling or merging of many historical records related to councils that no longer exist.

The local studies librarian at your local library is the best person to ask what council records might remain, and whether they are held nearby. Council records may, for instance, be kept at the central or regional offices of State Archives and Records NSW. The Australian Society of Archivists also maintains the Directory of Archives in Australia, which includes details on some local council records: <https://directory.archivists.org.au/index.php/repository/browse>

Council records relevant to the impact of the pandemic include the following.

Register of notification of infectious diseases

Prompted by the New South Wales *Public Health Act* 1896, from 1898 local councils were required to maintain a register of all reported cases of notifiable infectious diseases within their boundaries. This register included the doctor's name, the patient's name, age and address, plus their source of milk, school (if relevant) and sanitary arrangements. Owing to the scale of the influenza pandemic, not all cases were reported or recorded, but the registers (and any associated documentation) remain a significant source of local information, including private and emergency hospitals in the local area.

Minutes of council meetings

Minutes of meetings can be scoured for references to (pneumonic) influenza, inhalation chambers, inoculation or vaccination, hospitals, food and welfare depots, and council staff illnesses or deaths.

Annual reports

The council or the mayor may have published annual reports for 1919, which can provide information on the local impact and responses to the pandemic.

Committee and officers' reports

While some councils had a dedicated health and sanitation committee, others employed one or more sanitary and/or health officers. Their regular reports could include notifiable infectious disease cases, along with temporary health facilities and preparations for dealing with the influenza pandemic. The town clerk's reports may also include relevant details of the local response to the flu emergency.

Cash books and ledgers

Financial records can offer details of council expenditure on disinfectants, inhalation chambers, medical comforts, insurance for employees and payments to emergency workers, including Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) personnel.

Local facility records

Council records may include details of facilities and services called upon during the pandemic, including private and cottage hospitals, doctors and pharmacists, benevolent societies and charities.

Council correspondence files

Correspondence files include letters, circulars, posters, forms and maps received by the town clerk from the general public, organisations, other councils and government departments. The records may also include copies of the town clerk's reply, giving a sense of the wider involvement of both official bodies and the local community in the council's activities.

See also:

- State Archives and Records NSW

YEAR		NOTIFICATION AND PREVENTION OF INFECTIOUS DISEASE					
Date of Report	Date of Receipt of Report	Name of Legally-qualified Medical Practitioner notifying	Patient's Name	Sex	Age	Disease	Address of Premises at which Patient is
1. 1. 19	3. 4. 19	Clayton	David O'Rourke	m	19	Scarlatina	101 Prince Alfred
31. 3. 19	3. 4. 19	V. G. Fraser	Albert Hannah	m	29	Scarlatina	11 Manlyville Rd
3. 4. 19	3. 4. 19	H. W. Fraser	George Gibson	m	27	Scarlatina	101 Prince Alfred

**City of Marrickville, Register of Notification of Infectious diseases, 1898–1930,
Inner West Council Archives, A95/23. Photos: Peter Hobbins, 2018.**

Local resources

There are many local collections and services that might assist in your research task. Although they vary enormously from place to place, the local studies librarian at your local or regional library is well placed to suggest ideas. Your local historical society, museum or family history society may also offer suggestions, and could hold relevant collections themselves. They might even become partners, venues or promoters for your publications, exhibitions or events!

Libraries and local studies collections

Many public libraries hold not only books on local history, but local studies collections. These may include originals or copies of historical documents, publications and images, from newspaper cuttings to burial registers or photograph albums. These collections could also include oral history recordings – possibly with transcripts or notes on the contents – and written reminiscences of the local area. Early recordings from the 1970s and 1980s may be worth revisiting for living memories of the pandemic. Many libraries also provide free access to important online research tools such as genealogy websites.

Local history and family history societies

The range of possible materials held by local and family history societies is vast, but undoubtedly their most valuable resource is their members. Visit their website, contact them or drop by for a meeting to ask for guidance on local collections, sites and stories. Some of the research materials you might find include original documents and records, photographs and artworks, resident listings and headstone transcripts, artefacts or a library. The society's publications may also include relevant content, including newsletters, journals, booklets and books.

Good places to track down local groups are the Federation of Australian Historical Societies, <https://www.history.org.au/Historical%20societies.html> and the Australian Federation of Family History Organisations, <http://affho.org/about/membership/members/>

Museums

In addition to documents and photographs, museums may hold preserved items relevant to the influenza pandemic, including blankets and medical comforts, or outfits and badges worn by emergency workers. They could also hold presentation items such as testimonials, plaques or engraved metalware noting individual or community service during the crisis.

Hospitals and healthcare facilities

Some hospitals and healthcare facilities may hold historical files, either within their general records system or as part of a dedicated archive or museum. These may include files created by earlier facilities or services, potentially comprising admissions registers, patient files, medical case books, visitor books, pharmacy and equipment registers, management records, official correspondence, charity or fundraising documentation, plus architectural plans, photographs, artefacts and historical notes. Although the influenza pandemic occurred a century ago, which should minimise concerns over

patient privacy, there may be access conditions limiting what information such facilities are willing or able to provide to researchers unless they are directly related to individual victims.

Undertakers and cemeteries

Sadly a significant impact of the pandemic was an increase in the death rate through 1919, including victims of all ages and pregnancies that ended tragically when the mother caught influenza. Well-established undertakers, funeral directors and monumental masons may hold historical records for the period, including information on the cost of burial services, plus monuments such as headstones. Cemeteries or their administering body – such as religious organisations or the local council – may retain records of burials, including bequests or instructions for managing the grave site.

Religious organisations

Religious orders and their congregations played a significant part in caring for the sick and providing relief during the pandemic. As the risk of catching influenza during religious services was acknowledged in 1919, many had to be cancelled or held in alternative venues, including outdoors. Records held by such organisations could entail sermons or services (including funerals), registers of home visits, alms and comforts distributed, accounts for fundraising drives, parish council (or equivalent) minutes, or parish newsletters documenting the congregation's activities during the crisis.

Schools

The risk of children spreading influenza led to widespread closure of state, private and denominational schools for several months in 1919. Many buildings were taken over as emergency hospitals or depots, with teachers serving in coordinating or nursing roles. Records held on site might include attendance rolls, school magazines, artworks or photographs.

Newspapers

The National Library of Australia has digitised many local and regional newspapers at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/?q=> However, this digital collection is far from complete. Local newspaper offices may hold back copies of their publication (and any predecessors), as well as historical reference files and photograph collections.

Shops and markets

You never know what might turn up at your local antique shop, op shop, garage sale, swap meet or second-hand market! Certificates, concert programmes, pharmacy ledgers, funeral services, cards of thanks or sympathy, photographs, badges or even the odd doctor's bag could be waiting for you ...

See also:

- State Archives and Records NSW
- Local council records
- Local sites

Local sites

Places were important to the spread, control and local responses to the influenza pandemic. Visiting sites that survive – even if altered over the intervening century – can serve two important purposes. First, a sense of ‘being there’ may help interpret historical accounts, maps and images. Second, there may be local markers or monuments to the pandemic that can provide information about its community impact and memories. If there are no markers, perhaps your project might propose one!

Civic buildings

Town halls or other assembly or community halls were regularly repurposed in 1919 as emergency depots, vaccination centres or inhalation chambers. They may still bear framed certificates, honour boards or recognition plaques to mark the service of local citizens and civic leaders in an hour of need.

Schools

Schools were often used as emergency hospitals or coordination centres. They might bear a marker or memorial to the dedication of local staff and residents, or to children who died during the pandemic.

Religious buildings

Churches, temples and convents served as coordination centres for relief operations and fundraising activities, as well as sites of devotion, thanks or mourning. There may be features or monuments in or on the building dedicated to those who died during the pandemic, or those who sought to save them.

Cemeteries

Visiting local cemeteries reveals not only who died in 1919, but how their passing was marked and remembered. Naturally, not all headstones or monuments have survived for a century, and it is worth remembering the significant social disruption of the times: grave markers may be simpler than usual or even absent. Conversely, the clustering of graves around families, occupations, denominations or age ranges may hint at how the disease spread locally. Look further afield, too: residents may have died in another area if they became ill while travelling, or if they were sent to a hospital away from home. Although it doesn't contain all known cemeteries, a good place to begin searching is the Australian Cemeteries Register, <https://austcemindex.com/?state=NSW> while individual graves or deaths by year can be searched on the free Find a Grave website, <https://www.findagrave.com/>

Monuments

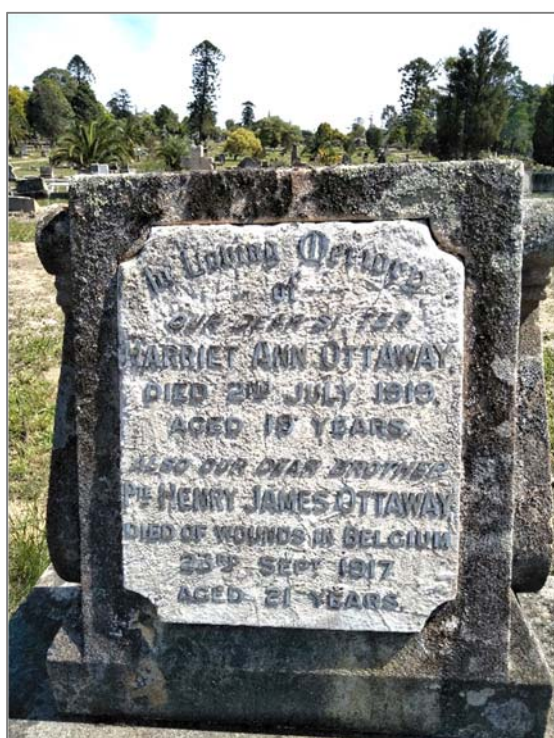
A surprising number of monuments bear some relation to the influenza pandemic, either directly associated with the disease or to wider social circumstances at the time. It is worth exploring local war memorials, drinking fountains, horse troughs, water pumps, arches, obelisks and similar features in case they were dedicated to victims or volunteers during the crisis. A good starting point is searching for ‘influenza’ on the Monument Australia website: <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/search>

Quarantine and temporary accommodation sites

Showgrounds, parks and open spaces were temporarily employed in 1919 as quarantine areas – especially along the state's borders. Sometimes they became locations for emergency accommodation, often using tents. There may be few material traces, but consider whether they were isolated or located close to residential homes or businesses.

See also:

- Local council records
- Local resources



Headstones of Harriet Ann Ottaway (d. 2 July 1919) and Frederick Ellis Green (d. 9 April 1919), victims of pneumonic influenza, Rookwood Cemetery. Photos: Peter Hobbins, 2018.

Carving left by Private Ralph Edwin Western Weaver aboard the troopship Medic, detained for pneumonic influenza at North Head Quarantine Station, 1918. Photo: Peter Hobbins, 2018.

Published sources

There are many published sources on the medical and social impact of the pneumonic influenza pandemic of 1918–19. The following selection suggests some publications released at the time, including websites where scanned copies of these documents can be downloaded, plus books and articles that analyse the pandemic in local and national historical context. Some of these items may be difficult to track down, so start by asking your local librarian for advice, or contact the State Library of New South Wales, <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/research-and-collections/ask-librarian>

Sources published at the time

Commonwealth Statistician. *The Official Year Book for the Commonwealth of Australia, Containing Authoritative Statistics for the Period 1901–1919 and Corrected Statistics for the Period 1788 to 1900* (Melbourne: Albert J. Mullett, 1920).

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1301.01920>

The Miscellaneous section of the Official Year Book for 1919 details the demographic statistics of the influenza epidemic. This work is useful for understanding death rates across the population.

Cumpston, J.H.L. *Influenza and Maritime Quarantine in Australia* (Melbourne: Albert J. Mullett, 1919).
<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-192064587/view?partId=nla.obj-192083405>

Written by the Director of Quarantine, this 1919 book outlined the success of Australia's maritime quarantine. It offers a contemporary understanding of the prevention methods used during the pandemic, and how medical and public health officials understood their effectiveness.

Director-General of Public Health, "Report on the Influenza Epidemic in New South Wales in 1919", in *Report of the Director-General of Public Health, New South Wales, for the Year Ended 31st December, 1919* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1920), 140–272.

<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/tep/83132>

This report written in the immediate aftermath of the epidemic documents a range of important factors in the spread and effects of the flu. It outlines who caught and died from the disease, the administrative measures used to control it, and the Department of Public Health's laboratory investigations. This document is useful for contemporary understandings of the disease.

Kessell, W.J. "Progress Report, Second Progress Report and Final Report of Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Claims Lodged Under the Provisions of the *Influenza Epidemic Relief Act, 1919*", in *New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, Second Session of the Twenty-Fifth Parliament*, Vol. 3. (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1920), 1037–1076.

This Royal Commission documents local businesses – including pubs, billiard saloons, private schools and picture palaces – that claimed compensation for revenue lost due to flu emergency measures. It provides useful information about what types of claims were recompensed and why. Further, it paints a picture of local suburbs and the types of businesses affected by the epidemic.

Oliver, Wade. *Spanish Influenza: All About It* (Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1919).

Although not necessarily an accurate medical summary, this text uses 'everyday language' to summarise the key symptoms, prevention techniques and health regulations. It is useful for understanding how health authorities educated the wider public about the flu epidemic.

Published historical accounts

Arrowsmith, Robyn. *A Danger Greater Than War: N.S.W. and the 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic* (Deakin: Australian Homeland Security Research Centre, 2007).

This book covers several groups that responded to the 1918–19 epidemic in Australia. It examines the government (at Commonwealth, State, and local levels), the medical profession, the church, and the press. A useful study for differing perspectives and reactions.

Bashford, Alison. *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Discusses ‘Spanish’ influenza in relation to the Australian 1908 *Quarantine Act* and the 1912 *Immigration Act*. It states that the development of Australian Commonwealth quarantine was a reaction to the 1918 influenza outbreak, among other factors. This discussion fits within a broader argument about the use of borders, such as quarantine, to create a defined nation.

Beddie, Francesca. *Putting Life Into Years: The Commonwealth’s Role in Australia’s Health Since 1901* (Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, 2001).

This text examines the Commonwealth’s role in health issues since federation. It is an overview study that focuses on context and social issues that provides a comprehensive account of events. It is useful for specific occurrences and details, including the pneumonic influenza crisis.

Blackwell, Bev. *Western Isolation: The Perth Experience of the 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic* (Deakin: Australian Homeland Security Research Centre, 2007).

A detailed examination of the impact of the flu pandemic on the city of Perth, providing an interesting comparison with experiences in eastern Australia.

Boughton, Clement R. *A Coast Chronicle: The History of the Prince Henry Hospital*, 2nd ed. (Waterloo: Knudsen Printing, 1981).

Examines the history of the Coast Hospital for infectious diseases at Little Bay, Sydney. It contains a brief overview of the global 1918 pandemic and its 1919 outbreak in Australia. It then details the role of the Coast Hospital during the period, outlining the logistics of transporting patients to the hospital and their housing in the wards. Inlaid black and white images complement this book.

Briscoe, Gordon. *Counting, Health and Identity: A History of Aboriginal Health and Demography in Western Australia and Queensland, 1900–1940* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2003).

Briscoe’s work focuses on Indigenous Australians’ experiences of health in the first half of the twentieth century. Using census data alongside other sources this piece is useful for understanding the treatment of Aboriginal Australians in Western Australia and Queensland, and their experiences of the influenza pandemic.

Brogan, A. H. *Committed to Saving Lives: A History of the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories* (South Yarra: Hyland House, 1990).

This book documents the history of the Commonwealth Serum Laboratory in Australia. It notes the importance of the vaccine program the Laboratory ran during the Spanish flu epidemic. It also notes how issues between the Commonwealth and State governments impacted on vaccinations and treatment.

Bullard, Steven, *In Their Time of Need: Australia's Overseas Emergency Relief Operations 1918–2006. The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations, Volume VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 61–77.

This book dedicates a chapter to the Australian military's first overseas emergency relief response, to combat pneumonic influenza in Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. It provides a brief overview of the pandemic worldwide before turning to focus on the HMAS *Encounter* and the Australian Army medical team in the Pacific Islands.

Camm, Jack. "The 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic: Its Spread and Patterns of Mortality in New South Wales during 1919." *Australian Historical Geography* 6 (1984): 13–25.

This piece highlights the geographical spread and mortality rates of the flu in New South Wales. It argues that the vast distances between population centres in Australia helped curb the spread of the virus. It also notes that capital cities had the highest percentage of deaths.

Caley, Peter, David J. Philp, and Kevin McCracken. "Quantifying Social Distancing Arising from Pandemic Influenza." *Journal of the Royal Society* 5, no. 23 (2008): 631–639.

This investigative piece argues that 'social distancing' – avoiding contact with infected individuals – decreased the spread of influenza in 1918–19. It matches periods of social distancing with documented drops in epidemic waves to convey the connection between the two. The authors use their findings to present possible prevention methods for future pandemics.

Cummins, C. J. *A History of Medical Administration in NSW, 1788–1973*, 2nd ed. (North Sydney: NSW Department of Health, 2003).

This lengthy report documents the history of the administration of health and medicine in New South Wales from colonisation to the 1970s. It is useful for understanding the history of medical organisation prior, during, and after the influenza pandemic.

Cumpston, J. H.L. *The Health of the People: A Study in Federalism* (Canberra: Roebuck Society, 1978).

Cumpston dedicates a full chapter to the 1918–19 influenza epidemic in this book on the history of health and medical organisation in Australia. It documents the decisions made at the Commonwealth conference on the outbreak, and the adoption of interstate, as well as maritime, quarantine. It conveys the confusion and disconnection between States and the Commonwealth.

Curby, Pauline. *Memories of the 1919 Influenza Pandemic* (Ryde: Ryde City Council, 1998).

A local history based on oral histories and council records. Includes many memories of the impact of the pandemic on the community, from wearing masks to funerals.

Curson, Peter. *Deadly Encounters: How Infectious Disease Helped Shape Australia* (Bury St Edmonds: Arena Books, 2015).

Curson's book dedicates a chapter to the 1919 influenza pandemic in New South Wales. It is a comprehensive and well-researched piece that places the State experience of the disease within a broader national and global context. The work examines both medical and popular approaches to the disease.

Curson, Peter and Kevin McCracken. "An Australian Perspective of the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic." *NSW Public Health Bulletin* 17, no. 7–8 (2006): 103–107.

This work tracks the social and demographic impacts of the pneumonic influenza in Australia. It gives weight to numerical and statistical data, aided by the use of graphs. The piece concludes with the lessons learned from the pandemic, and a clear link to issues still prevalent for contemporary approaches to disease epidemics.

De Garis, B. K. "An Incident at Fremantle." *Labour History* 10 (1966): 32–37.

Documents the role of 'Spanish' flu, among other factors, in the unrest among West Australian dock labourers from 1917–19. Relates the isolation of Western Australia from the rest of the nation, as the epidemic curtailed the importation of goods, transport of people, and communication via sea and land.

Duncan Foley, Jean. *In Quarantine: A History of Sydney's Quarantine Station, 1828–1984* (Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press, 1995).

A history of North Head Quarantine Station, Sydney. It discusses the 1918–19 influenza outbreak in the context of epidemics in the early twentieth century. The book relies on first-person accounts and testimonies, as well as images, to write a history of experience.

Evans, Shirley. *The Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19 in the Blue Mountains* (Springwood: Springwood Historical Society, 1998).

Drawn from local sources, this booklet outlines the impact of the pandemic on the Blue Mountains and the community's attempts to deal with the crisis.

Haines, Gregory. "The 1918–19 Flu Pandemic in Australia." *Pharmacy History Australia* (July 1998): 15.

This brief overview discusses the flu outbreak in New South Wales in relation to pharmacists. It also contains interesting notes on non-pharmaceutical preventions and quarantine locations.

Herda, Phyllis S. "Disease and the Colonial Narrative: The 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Western Polynesia." *New Zealand Journal of History* 34, no. 1 (2000): 133–144.

Explores the link between infectious disease and colonial control over indigenous populations. The journal article uses the 'Spanish' flu in Western Polynesia as a case study to highlight how medicine contributed to Western concepts of 'civilisation'.

Hobbins, Peter, Ursula K. Frederick and Anne Clarke. *Stories from the Sandstone: Quarantine Inscriptions from Australia's Immigrant Past* (Crows Nest: Arbon Publishing, 2016).

This award-winning book examines the history of North Head Quarantine Station, Sydney. It frames its discussion of social history and experience through the carved inscriptions found in the sandstone at the station. It employs a chronological structure and follows the stories of the individuals who experienced life, and sometimes death, in quarantine, including 1918–19.

Hyslop Anthea, 'A Plague on Whose House? Ballarat and the Spanish Influenza of 1919', in Harold Attwood and R.W. Home, eds., *Patients, Practitioners and Techniques: Second National Conference on Medicine and Health in Australia 1984* (Parkville: Medical History Unit and Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Melbourne, 1985), pp.195–215.

Focusing on the records of the Ballarat District Hospital and its locality, this chapter explores the impact of a global disease on a regional community.

Hyslop, Anthea. "A Question of Identity: J. H. L. Cumpston and Spanish Influenza, 1918–1919." *Australian Cultural History* 16 (1997): 60–76.

This article addresses Cumpston's role as the Director of the Federal Quarantine Service during the flu epidemic. It argues that the success of Australian maritime quarantine regulations made it harder to identify and control cases of influenza beyond the borders of quarantine. It also discusses the tension between federal and state control in organisation and responsibility for addressing the outbreak.

Hyslop, Anthea, "Insidious Immigrant: Spanish Influenza and Border Quarantine in Australia, 1919", in Suzanne Parry (ed.), *From Migration to Mining: Medicine and Health in Australian History* (Casuarina: Northern Territory University Press, 1998), 201–15.

This work documents the myriad issues that 'Spanish' flu sparked between Commonwealth and State governments. Hyslop focuses on border quarantine and how it shaped complicated negotiations between states.

Hyslop, Anthea, "Old Ways, New Means: Fighting Spanish Influenza in Australia, 1918–1919", in Linda Bryder and Derek A. Dow (eds.), *New Countries and Old Medicine: Proceedings of an International Conference on the History of Medicine and Health, Auckland, New Zealand, 1994* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995), 54–60.

This short piece considers the perspectives and practices of doctors in Australia during the influenza epidemic. It explores doctors' writings to form a picture of how they grappled with a new and unknown strain of an old, familiar disease.

Kako, Mayumi, Malinda Steenkamp, Philippa Rokkas, Olga Anikeevaa, and Paul Arbon. "Spanish influenza of 1918–19: The extent and spread in South Australia." *Australasian Epidemiologist* 22, no. 1 (2015): 48–54.

This paper examines the geographical and epidemiological aspects of the Spanish flu in South Australia. It draws on the official records of the South Australian Central Health Board and provides useful statistics.

Lewis, Milton James. *The People's Health: Public Health in Australia, 1788–1950* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003).

This book discusses the pandemic within the larger history of public health and sanitation. It explores the tension between commonwealth and state control of quarantine and preventive health measures. It is useful for understanding how policy impinges on the spread of disease.

Lewis, Milton J. "Public Health in Australia from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," in Milton J. Lewis and Kerrie L. MacPherson (eds.), *Public Health in Asia and the Pacific: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 222–249.

Explores the professionalisation of Australia's public health service, and the growth of federal health legislation. It provides context for policy choices made during the influenza pandemic, and the state of organised preventive medicine in Australia both before and after the epidemic.

McCracken, Kevin and Peter Curson. "Flu Downunder: A Demographic and Geographic Analysis of the 1919 Epidemic in Sydney, Australia," in Howard Phillips and David Killingray (eds.), *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003), 110–131.

An epidemiological study of the influenza outbreak in Sydney, 1919. It explores the severity and waves of the disease before turning to examine a demographic breakdown of how the flu spread and why. Relies on statistics, numerical data, graphs and knowledge of disease spread.

McLeod, Melissa A. *et al.* "Protective Effect of Maritime Quarantine in South Pacific Jurisdictions, 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic." *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 14, no. 3 (2008): 468–470.

This article uses the South Pacific islands as a case study to explore the effectiveness of maritime quarantine for island states in comparison to nations with land borders. It centres on border control and the different ways in which they can halt or advance infection.

McQueen, Humphrey. "The 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic in Australia, 1918–19," in Jill Roe (ed.), *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives, 1901–1975* (Stanmore: Cassell Australia, 1976), 131–147.

This book chapter branches across four major aspects of the 'Spanish' flu outbreak in Australia. This broad scope includes border and quarantine issues, effects for both nation and state governments, medical practice and understanding, and the wider psychological impacts of the epidemic on Australian people's outlook in the years after the First World War.

Rice, Geoffrey and Linda Bryder. *Black November: The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1988).

Follows the journey of the ship *Niagara* to frame a general history of the influenza pandemic in New Zealand. Uses both top-down and bottom-up approaches to discuss the social impact before turning to analyse possible origin points of the flu in New Zealand. A second edition of the book was published in 2005.

Rice, Geoffrey W. "Australia and New Zealand in the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic," in H. Attwood *et al.* (eds.). *New Perspectives on the History of Medicine: First National Conference of the Australian Society of the History of Medicine 1989* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne and the Australian Society of the History of Medicine, 1990), 67–74.

A comparative case study of Australia and New Zealand during the flu epidemic that seeks to understand the wider workings of global pandemics. Charts and graphs aid in mapping demographics and mortality statistics. Further, it briefly examines the difference between effects on Maori and European populations in New Zealand.

Rice, Geoffrey W. "Japan and New Zealand in the 1918 Influenza Pandemic: Comparative Perspectives on Official Responses and Crisis Management," in Howard Phillips and David Killingray (eds.), *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003), 73–85.

A comparative study of two differing island chains, Rice's work charts the impact of influenza on Japan and New Zealand. It considers material resources, central agencies, crisis management, medical prevention and treatment, unofficial responses, and effects on ethnic minorities.

Roddick, Judith A. "Delirium and Fever in the Antipodes: Nursing and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic in Dunedin Hospital, New Zealand." *Journal of Research in Nursing* 11, no. 4 (2006): 357–370.

An exploration of the impact of the 'Spanish' flu on nurses in New Zealand. This article conveys the ways in which the epidemic shaped the emergence of professionalised, innovative nursing knowledge and techniques.

Roe, Michael. "The Establishment of the Australian Department of Health: Its Background and Significance." *Historical Studies* 17, no. 67 (1976): 176–192.

Roe's journal article examines the foundation and subsequent history of the Australian Department of Health. It suggests that crisis fuels government action, and that the 'Spanish' flu epidemic spurred action from those in power to create official public health services.

Rolls, Eric. *Sojourners: The Epic Story of China's Centuries-Old Relationship with Australia: Flowers and the Wide Sea* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1992).

Sojourners examines the history of Chinese individuals and communities in Australia, including issues of disease, illness, immigration, racism, and migrant populations. Its attention to the flu falls under a broader examination of the effects of disease on the Chinese community and the wider cultural and social treatment of Chinese individuals during epidemics.

Sea Power Centre – Australia. "The RAN and the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic." *Semaphore* 6 (2006): 1–2.

This brief article outlines Australia's first overseas relief operation, which occurred during the pneumonic influenza pandemic. It documents the Royal Australian Navy's involvement in the mission and provides a useful example of the armed forces' response to the epidemic.

Shanks, G. Dennis. *et al.* "Mortality Risk Factors during the 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic in the Australian Army." *The Journal of Infectious Diseases* 201, no. 12 (2010): 1880–1889.

A scientific study of mortality statistics in Australian Imperial Force servicemen. It concludes that soldiers most at risk of contracting and dying from pneumonic influenza were those who had only been at the front for a short time, and had not been exposed to similar disease outbreaks.

Shanks, G. Dennis *et al.* "Determinants of Mortality in Naval Units during the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic." *Lancet Infectious Diseases* 11, no. 10 (2011): 793–799.

This medical article concentrates on the difference between the first and second strains of the 'Spanish' flu epidemic by examining infection rates and mortality among British, Australian, American, and Japanese naval personnel. It argues that infection with the first strain protected against death from the second strain.

Shanks, G. Dennis, Tracy Hussell, and John F. Brundage. "Epidemiological Isolation Causing Variable Mortality in Island Populations during the 1918–1920 Influenza Pandemic." *Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses* 6 (2012): 417.

This journal article uses islands as a case study to examine infection and disease spread among island populations during the 1918–19 flu epidemic. It also compares military and civilian mortality rates based on historical death records.

Taksa, Lucy. "'The Masked Disease: Oral History, Memory and the Influenza Pandemic 1918–19,'" in Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds.), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 77–91.

This edited collection chapter delves into oral history methodology and explores the importance of lived experience and memory through interviews about the pneumonic influenza epidemic in Australia. It provides a useful 'history from below', focusing on narratives and personal stories to illustrate its claims.

Taylor, Richard. "History of Public Health in Pacific Island Countries," in Milton J. Lewis and Kerrie L. MacPherson (eds.), *Public Health in Asia and the Pacific: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 276–307.

This piece surveys the population health issues across the Pacific Islands and examines the public health responses to major diseases including the 1918–19 flu epidemic. Taylor places the epidemic within the lengthy history of health in the Pacific.

Welch, J. H. *Hell to Health: The History of Quarantine at Port Phillip Heads, 1852–1966* (Sorrento: Nepean Historical Society, 1969).

A history of Point Nepean Quarantine Station that provides a broad and thorough discussion of issues of disease on board incoming vessels and within the station itself. It discusses influenza within a broader exploration of quarantine history.

Wilson, Nick *et al.* "Age-Specific Mortality during the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic and Possible Relationship to the 1889–92 Influenza Pandemic." *Journal of Infectious Diseases* 210, no. 6 (2014): 993–995.

An epidemiological survey of the mortality statistics in Australia and New Zealand during the 1918–19 epidemic. It compares rates with the 1889–92 influenza pandemic and draws conclusions about disease patterns.

Wilson, Nick *et al.* "Remembering the 1918 Influenza Pandemic: National Survey of Memorials and Scope for Enhancing Educational Value around Pandemic Preparedness." *New Zealand Medical Journal* 130, no. 1465 (2017): 53–70.

This investigative piece locates influenza pandemic memorials in New Zealand. It notes the lack of physical sites of remembrance in comparison to war memorials and argues that greater visibility of past outbreaks may provide impetus for better protection measures in the future.

Woodgate, K. "The Spanish 'Flu Epidemic," in *Voices from a Vanishing Australia: Recollections of the Way Things Used To Be* (Sydney: ABC Books, 1988), 44–47.

A brief account that recalls a child's experience of the pandemic in Cooma, including the deaths of those close to her, being quarantined in her own home and the kindness of the many volunteers who kept the town running through the crisis.

Wyndham, Diana. "Misdiagnosis or Miscarriage of Justice? Dr. Norman Haire and the 1919 Influenza Epidemic at Newcastle Hospital." *Health and History* 2, no. 1 (2000): 3–26.

An examination of the scandal at Newcastle Hospital surrounding Dr Norman Haire's tenure as the hospital's medical superintendent. Wyndham analyses the different perspectives around the death of a sailor, allegedly from pneumonic influenza, while in the hospital.

Youde, Jeremy. "Covering the Cough? Memory, Remembrance, and Influenza Amnesia." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 63, no. 3 (2017): 357–368.

This article examines the politics of memory in relation to forgetting the 'Spanish' flu. Youde suggests that the very fact that the pandemic was so global, and posed such a challenge to State and Commonwealth Governments, meant that it was not formally commemorated.

General background works

Collier, Richard. *The Plague of the Spanish Lady: October 1918 to January 1919* (London: Macmillan, 1974).

This classic text draws on the first-hand accounts of 1708 pneumonic influenza survivors who corresponded with the author. Drawing on experiences from all over the world, Collier provides a work that documents a wealth of cultural understandings and practices in medicine.

Honigsbaum, Mark. "The 'Forgotten' Pandemic: Flu, Trauma and Modern Memory," in *A History of the Great Influenza Pandemics: Death, Panic and Hysteria, 1830–1920* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, 2013), 207–226.

This chapter deals with the wider issues of history and memory tied to the flu epidemic. It explores the concepts of trauma and forgetting, and the place these concepts held in society through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Kolata, Gina. *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

This book places the 1918–19 flu epidemic within the longer history of the influenza virus. Kolata, a renowned *New York Times* science reporter, documents the details of the 1918 pandemic. She also traces the numerous scientists who have investigated the origins of the virus.

Phillips, Howard and David Killingray. "Introduction," in Howard Phillips and David Killingray (eds.), *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1–25.

This introduction of an edited collection offers a new perspective on the significance of epidemics as harbingers of change. The authors examine historical accounts of the 1918–19 flu epidemic, arguing that histories of the epidemic change over time.

Phillips, Howard. "The Recent Wave of 'Spanish' Flu Historiography." *Social History of Medicine* 27, no. 4 (2014): 789–808.

This journal article examines the so-called 'second-wave historiography' of the Spanish flu, which roughly spanned 1999–2014. Phillips suggests how a new style of historical account may develop in relation to the centenary of the pandemic over 2018–19.

Quinn, Tom. *Flu: A Social History of Influenza* (London: New Holland, 2008).

This book documents the long history of viruses with particular emphasis on the flu. It dedicates a chapter to the 1918–19 pneumonic influenza pandemic. It uses personal accounts to tie together a range of themes from differing contexts, including causes of disease and medical responses.

Spinney, Laura. *Pale Rider: The Spanish Flu of 1918 and How it Changed the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2017).

Taking a global approach, and considering the many nations whose pandemic stories have often been overlooked, this book argues that the influenza changed not only societies, but their politics and the world that emerged after World War I.





Notes