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## The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in Santa Cruz County, California

by Greg Gardner



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The influenza epidemic of 1918/1919 was the greatest medical emergency of modern human history. More people died from influenza between thirty and fifty million—than during all of World War I. No location on the planet was spared, from Europe to the United States to Pacific islands to Eskimo villages in the arctic. Nor did the influenza virus respect social barriers; King Alfonso XIII of Spain nearly died from the flu. The epidemic severely impacted society: slowing government functions, shutting down businesses, and disrupting social interaction. The effect of the influenza epidemic varied from one place to another.

The city of Santa Cruz was spared the worst ravages of the epidemic, but Watsonville was hit hard; almost one percent of its population died. However, in both locales, people were the heroes and heroines: they donated money and goods, cared for family and friends, and volunteered in their communities.

Historians and epidemiologists are still debating the origins of this strain of the influenza virus. There has been speculation that the virus originated at an army camp in Kansas. There is

also the belief the virus started in France. Another theory suggests that China was the source for the virus.<sup>1</sup> But, wherever the flu originated, it spread quickly across the planet. The influenza epidemic struck in three waves: the first in early 1918, the second at the end of 1918, and the third in early 1919.<sup>2</sup> People who contracted the flu during the first wave were more likely to have developed an immunity to the deadlier second and third waves. A unique characteristic of this epidemic was that many healthy, younger people contracted the flu and a large number died, in contrast to other outbreaks of the flu that primarily affected the very young or the very old.

In the United States, the second wave of the influenza epidemic started in August 1918 in Boston. By mid-September, the flu had spread throughout the country along transportation routes. The U.S. Public Health Service was quickly overwhelmed; they were unable to respond to all of the requests for assistance because many doctors and nurses were busy with the war effort. In addition, due to the large number of cases, the local health departments were unable to keep pace with the flu.

In California, the influenza struck hardest in Los Angeles, but rural communities in California were not spared. By October 18, 1918, almost the entire population of Needles had the flu, over four hundred people—thirteen of whom died.<sup>3</sup> In Watsonville on October 10, 1918, there were only ten reported cases of the flu; by November 9, the number of reported cases exploded to seven hundred seventeen.<sup>4</sup> The disease persisted until the spring of 1919.

No. OF DEATHS <sup>5</sup>	SANTA CRUZ	BOULDER CREEK & FELTON	WATSON -VILLE
<b>OCT 1918</b>	2	1	4
<b>NOV 1918</b>	5	3	24
<b>DEC 1918</b>	5	0	4
<b>JAN 1919</b>	6	1	5
<b>FEB 1919</b>	1	1	3
	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>40</b>

The first recorded death from influenza in Santa Cruz County was Loula Jones on October 14, 1918.<sup>6</sup> But, she was not the first Santa Cruz resident to die from influenza; Grace Baldwin, Santa Cruz socialite and teacher, contracted the flu during a trip to New England and Eastern Canada and died on October 12, 1918 in North Abington, Massachusetts.<sup>7</sup>

The influenza epidemic did not strike evenly across Santa Cruz County; although the cities of Santa Cruz and Watsonville were only eighteen miles apart, over twice as many people died in Watsonville. People of all walks of life caught the flu: apple-packing-house workers, farmers, housewives, and business owners.

The simple explanation may be that Santa Cruz was more isolated than Watsonville. The network of paved roads into Santa Cruz was limited; the first paved portion of the Santa Cruz Highway (from Santa Cruz to Glenwood) was just being opened. On the other hand, Watsonville was open for travel to and from Salinas and Monterey.

In 1918, the *Santa Cruz Evening News* voiced the feeling that the borders to Santa Cruz County should be closed. In an editorial on October 22,

the newspaper stated, “If San Jose and Salinas people would ‘play in their own backyards’ during this little flurry we’d be better off.”<sup>8</sup> On October 25, the editor was even more direct—he proposed that travel into Santa Cruz be curtailed.<sup>9</sup> By December, the *Evening News* was turning on neighbors in the county “we suppose we should hold visitors from Watsonville responsible for bringing the influenza here and giving it a fresh start.”<sup>10</sup>

These views did not stop “refugees” from San Francisco, Oakland, and other cities from temporarily moving to their summer cottages in Brookdale to escape the epidemic, among them, Dorothy Barnhardt from San Francisco, the Kooser family from San Jose, the Maurer’s from Alameda, and Kate Cousins from Oakland.<sup>11</sup>

However, Santa Cruz’s location alone does not explain why the residents of this city were spared the ravages of the epidemic; there were other more isolated communities that were harder hit. In Chico around November 5, 1918, the undertakers were unable to conduct business—the supply of caskets being exhausted.<sup>12</sup>

The number of people who died directly from influenza does not tell the full impact of this epidemic. Other deaths can be attributed to the indirect effect of influenza. In Turlock, on October 31, 1918, Lou Ben, delirious from influenza, killed his wife and four children and then committed suicide.<sup>13</sup> On November 8, in Marysville, Carl Wurst in an attempt to cure himself took a mega-dose of quinine, resulting in a ruling of death by accidental poisoning.<sup>14</sup> James Gunterman, being treated at the Watsonville Red Cross Hospital, the evening of November 14, 1918, ran away from the hospital, fell in the river, and was too weak to climb to the top of the riverbank.<sup>15</sup> The coroner’s inquest ruled James Gunterman died from exposure.

Other victims of the epidemic literally died from exhaustion; for example, Father Fisher of Holy Cross Church ministered to the community and did not take time to care for himself; he died on December 3, 1918.<sup>16</sup> Many survivors were affected by the epidemic for years to come.<sup>17</sup> In

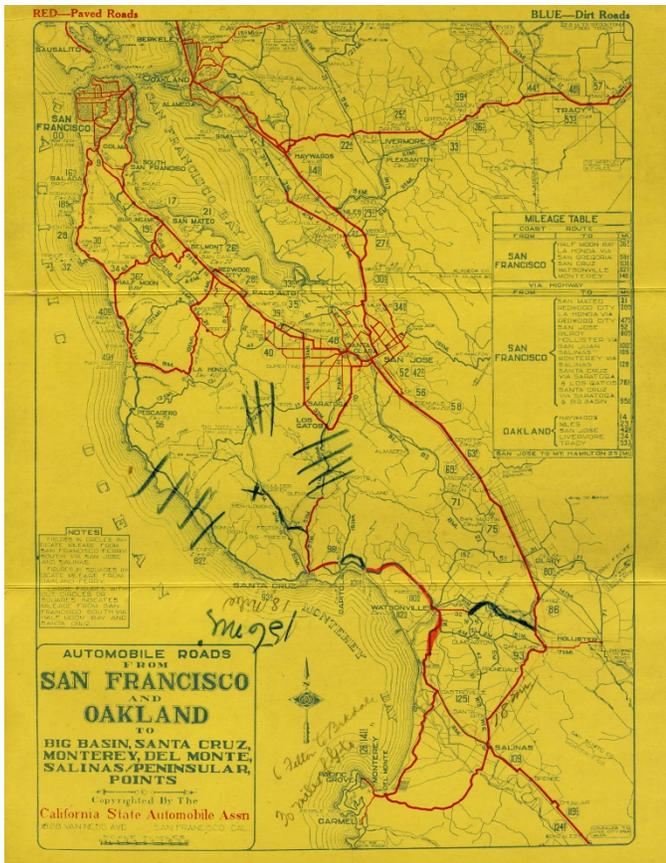


Figure 2: Map of roads in the San Francisco Bay Area. Red lines are paved roads. Blue lines are unpaved roads. (Circa 1920, Courtesy of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History, Ruth Baldwin Collection)

Santa Cruz County alone, several young children lost parents: in Watsonville Evelyn, age three, lost her father Thomas Shaughnessy,<sup>18</sup> while in Santa Cruz, Mrs. Asunto Vagioli died, leaving behind a five year old son.<sup>19</sup>

People were desperate for any remedy to prevent or cure the influenza. On November 5, 1918, the *Evening Pajaronian* printed an article stating ‘pimentos’ were a sure preventative for the flu. On December 11, 1918, the *Santa Cruz Evening News* extolled the virtues of a sure fire Chinese remedy: boil a chicken, feathers, and all, and then bathe the patient with the broth and feathers.<sup>20</sup> Other recommended cures were chest plasters made from a dozen fried onions, or a tea made from a handful of chopped garlic and

whiskey.<sup>21</sup> Another supposed influenza remedy was to soak a cotton ball with three drops of chloroform, insert the cotton ball in the mouth, and breathe slowly to help relieve chest congestion.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, many people believe “a little is good, so a lot is better.” One man, Carl Tull of Santa Cruz, discovered that a lot is not necessarily better; he was found in his room by Will Steiner on October 24, 1918, almost dead from an overdose of chloroform.<sup>23</sup>

Businesses took advantage of the epidemic in an attempt to boost sales. An advertisement for *The Arcade* promoted its winter coats by stating that it was “Quite necessary to keep warm these days, as a preventative of influenza.”<sup>24</sup> The Hocum Brothers advertised their wood stoves with, “Don’t catch a cold and run chances of taking the influenza, when we can prevent it with a good stove.”<sup>25</sup> The myriad of remedies that were proposed during this crisis illustrate how gullible people can be.

City health officers were a key component of the response to this epidemic. Dr. Adolph Nittler was the health officer for the City of Santa Cruz.<sup>26</sup> He graduated from the Oakland College of Medicine in 1909 and, in 1911, became the resident doctor for the Santa Cruz Portland Cement Company in Davenport. He was appointed to this position on August 28, 1917. In January and February of 1918 he led the fight against rabies within the city limits. His decisive action and apparent success in fighting rabies probably earned him credibility in the community for the upcoming crisis. After he left office in 1920, he worked on a pet project – the building of the Santa Cruz Hospital in Branciforte.

In November 1916, Dr. Aaron Bixby was elected health officer for the City of Watsonville.<sup>27</sup>

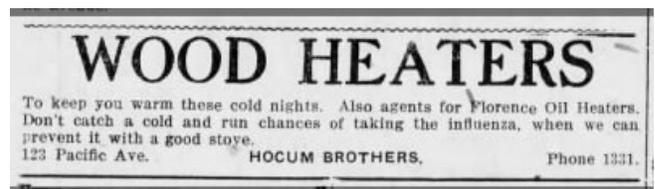


Figure 1: Advertisement for wood stove. (The *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 24, 1918, 5:1)

He graduated from the St. Louis American Medical College in 1877. He was a chair for the California Medical College in Oakland. He then moved to Watsonville, establishing a medical practice and investing in the city drug store. In 1905, he sold a lot in the plaza to the City of Watsonville for a new library building. He was also a medical examiner for the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. In 1920, Dr. Bixby instituted a vaccination program for school students.<sup>28</sup> From 1916 to 1918, there were no major medical crises that Dr. Bixby had to handle.<sup>29</sup> These two distinguished doctors were the main protagonists during the influenza epidemic.

One of the more visible deterrents for influenza was the gauze mask. The medical community was not united on the usefulness of these masks; some researchers argued that influenza was caused by a virus, which masks would not trap.<sup>30</sup> Early in the crisis, on October 26, 1918, Dr. Nittler and the local medical

community persuaded the Santa Cruz City Council to approve an ordinance requiring people to wear masks in public.<sup>31</sup>

In Watsonville, Dr. Bixby had a harder time convincing the politicians to pass a mask ordinance; not until November 6 was an ordinance passed in that city.<sup>32</sup> Even then, Dr. Bixby had to constantly defend the wearing of masks during the epidemic.<sup>33</sup>

After the ordinances were passed, the police and sheriff departments were on the lookout for people not wearing masks. In Watsonville, on November 13, John Pulich, S. Barson, and Paul Delong were cited and fined for failure to wear masks.<sup>34</sup> On November 15 in Santa Cruz, William Hamilton was sentenced to five days in the county jail for public intoxication and failure to wear a mask.<sup>35</sup> Albert Majors of Santa Cruz on November 4, started serving a thirty day jail sentence for refusing to wear his mask and failure to comply with the judge's order to purchase fifty dollars of War Savings Stamps in lieu of a fine.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 3: Group wearing Gauze Masks. (Courtesy of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History)



Figure 5 & 6: On the left is the Watsonville Auditorium, circa 1921. On the right is the Buddhist Temple in Watsonville, circa 1912. Both were used as emergency hospitals. (Courtesy of the Pajaro Valley Historical Association)

One problem was that these ordinances were flawed; they did not specify that the masks had to be worn over the mouth and nose. Two women were arrested and brought to the court of Police Judge Leonard but were released after successfully arguing their case. The Santa Cruz City Council passed a new ordinance on December 31, 1918, correcting this flaw.<sup>37</sup>

Probably the most important action taken by communities to fight the spread of influenza was the closing of public meeting establishments. On October 14 and 15, 1918, Dr. Nittler convinced religious leaders and movie theater owners to temporarily close their doors during the crisis.<sup>38</sup> The Red Cross Store voluntarily closed its doors. On October 12, the *Evening Pajaronian* urged the closing of “Public Gathering Places.” By October 16, Dr. Bixby swayed the Watsonville City Board of Health to close all public meeting places until further notice.<sup>39</sup>

One type of public gathering place noticeably absent from the closure list for both Santa Cruz and Watsonville was the saloon. Heavy pressure from the religious community, however, resulted in the closure of saloons at six o’clock on Sundays and then, finally, all day on Sunday.<sup>40</sup>

Many establishments took advantage of this closure to make building improvements and improve public relations. The Unique Theater in

Santa Cruz and the Santa Cruz Free Library renovated their buildings: they fumigated, cleaned carpets, painted the floors, and added new wallpaper.<sup>41</sup> They then advertised these improvements, building goodwill with the public. The Red Cross Store, in its reopening advertisement, highlighted the fine array of articles available, including doll sweaters, rabbits, and canaries.<sup>42</sup>

Other institutions used innovative methods to continue to operate during the closure. Monsignor Fisher of Holy Cross Church conducted open air masses on October 27. On December 7, Reverend Irving Bishop printed his sermon in the morning *Sentinel*.<sup>43</sup> Though the illness continued to spread, these closures probably slowed the spread of influenza in the community.

Communities stepped forward to provide care to its citizenry. The local Red Cross first attempted to provide home care to people with the flu, but the Red Cross Committee of Watsonville quickly saw the need to establish an emergency hospital. By October 30, 1918, an emergency hospital was in operation at the Watsonville Auditorium. At least one hundred-forty-six patients were treated there during the month of November. Every patient was billed two dollars per day for their care. Although many



Figure 4: Hackley Hall in Santa Cruz converted to an emergency hospital during the epidemic. (Courtesy of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History)

patients were poor or did not have family who could care for them, they were only expected to pay if financially capable. In December, the Japanese community converted the Buddhist Temple into an emergency hospital.

Santa Cruz did not at first need an emergency hospital but, on December 7, Hackley Hall on Center Street was converted into an emergency hospital.<sup>44</sup> These temporary hospitals were primarily staffed with volunteers. In Watsonville, almost one hundred volunteers provided nursing services at the auditorium; many others donated blankets and bedding, prepared wood for the stoves and heating, cooked food for the patients and staff at the hospital, or cooked food at home and brought it to the hospital. Due to the large number of patients, the Watsonville volunteers were working with little rest and were soon exhausted.

Some of the volunteers, like Miss Josefita Stitt, cared for patients night and day and, as a result, she herself was taken ill with influenza on November 7, 1918.<sup>45</sup> The Red Cross and the local newspapers urged more people to volunteer.<sup>46</sup>

Fortunately, more volunteers from local communities came forward and helped to relieve some of the pressure. During a Santa Cruz Nurses Association meeting on December 3, Miss Waters and Miss Liles reported on their work at the Watsonville Red Cross Hospital.<sup>47</sup> These men and women who cared for friends and family,

provided home nursing assistance, and tended the sick at the emergency hospitals were the unsung heroes and heroines.

The influenza epidemic overshadowed normal life in Santa Cruz and Watsonville. November 1918, was election time across the country; media and political candidates complained about the low voter turnout.<sup>48</sup> Even so, despite their anxiety about influenza, almost sixty-five percent of the registered voters in Santa Cruz and fifty percent in Watsonville cast their ballots.

The Santa Cruz fishing industry had to hang up their nets; because so many fishermen were laid low with the flu, there were not enough healthy men available to take the fishing boats out to sea.<sup>49</sup> The Stagnaros, Oliveiras, and Canepas were some of the Italian and Portuguese fishing families dealing with the flu.

Influenza also afflicted the local Catholic orphanages; at the St. Francis School in Watsonville, one hundred twenty boys caught the flu, two of whom died. At the Holy Cross School in Santa Cruz, eighty-one girls were sick with the flu.<sup>50</sup>

The epidemic even affected newspaper deliveries; the *Santa Cruz Evening News* had recently expanded home delivery service to Capitola and Soquel, but in December this service was suspended because the carriers were sick.<sup>51</sup> In January 1919, for the first time, the electric car service between Santa Cruz and Capitola had to reduce the number of their daily runs.<sup>52</sup>

During the epidemic, society almost ground to a halt. From October 25 to November 7, 1918, no marriage licenses were issued by the county; George Warren and Elizabeth Fowler were married by Justice of the Peace Hauck on November 7—the first wedding ceremony conducted “en masque” in Santa Cruz.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 6: Cartoon. (The *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 4, 1918, 5:1)

People have an uncanny ability to laugh, even in the darkest of times, and Santa Cruzans maintained their humor during this crisis. Cartoons were a popular medium to both poke fun at and express the feelings of people in the community. People were panicking—reacting to anything that might hint at them having the flu. They hated wearing the gauze masks, which were uncomfortable, sweaty, and smelly. But, they wore them to do their part to stop the epidemic. They wanted to vent their frustrations on those in the community who were not doing their part. A favorite nursery rhyme was reworded to talk about a fear greater than the fear of spiders.

Little Miss Muffet sat on a tuffet  
 The tuffet was covered with dew;  
 Along came a spider and sat down beside her  
 And both got the Spanish flu<sup>54</sup>

As Ralph Waldo Emerson stated, “When it’s darkest, Men see the stars.”

The influenza epidemic faded away by the end of February 1919. Even before the end of the epidemic, the media and the public were scrutinizing the response of city and county administrations. In Santa Cruz, the reported opinion of the city’s response to the crisis was positive, especially with respect to the quantity and type of information passed to the public.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, the media and public in Watsonville were extremely critical of Dr. Bixby and the city

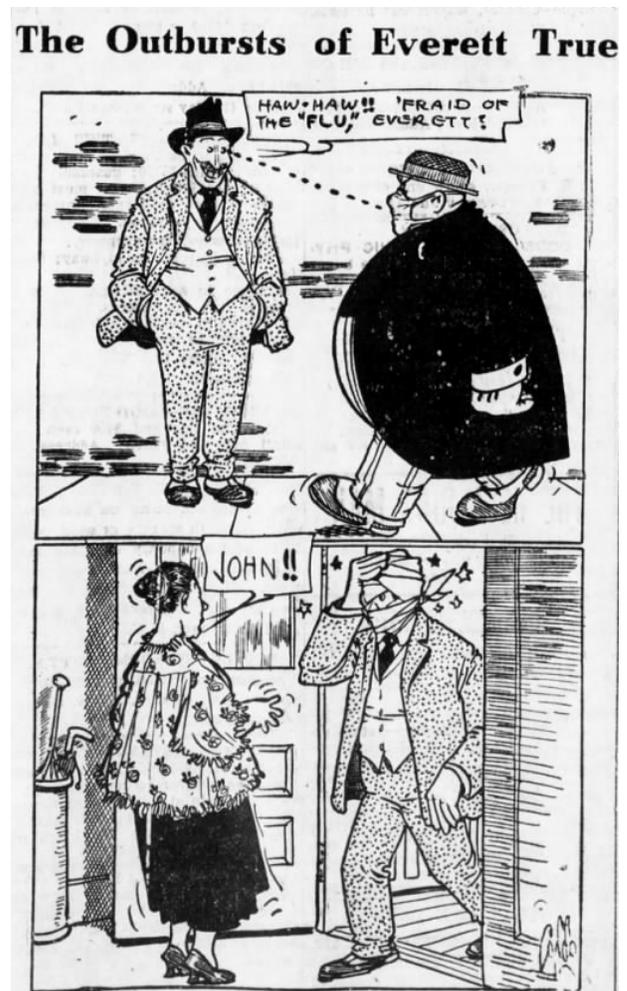


Figure 5: Cartoon. (The *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 16, 1918, 6:2)

health department.<sup>56</sup> On November 2, an *Evening Pajaronian* editorial stated:

Any statement as to conditions was still not forthcoming from the city health board so that the people must still be left in ignorance as to whether they may hope that the disease is passing or whether the worst is yet to come

—and there was worst yet to come.

In early November, Watsonville citizens depended on the notices from the Red Cross Hospital for information on status of the influenza epidemic. But, this information could be misleading as to the number of sick in the community, and the number of people who were dying. There were weekly reports from the Red Cross Hospital published in the *Pajaro Register*; these reports included the number of people who died, their names, and their race. Of the seventeen people who died at the Red Cross Hospital, eight were Japanese and six were Croatian; but these statistics were not representative of the entire community—only of those individuals who could not take care of themselves at home.

Timely and accurate information was critical for the community response to this medical crisis. Dr. Nittler and Dr. Bixby depended on reports submitted by nurses, doctors, hospitals and the Red Cross to determine what recommendations to make on the wearing of masks or meeting in public places. The public also needed information to determine what activities they could participate in and whether their services were needed.

The influenza epidemic in Santa Cruz County showed people at their best; they enthusiastically supported the war effort and simultaneously extended their hand to help neighbors. However, the epidemic also demonstrated people's tendency to forget traumatic events. Within a couple of years the American public had buried the memory of the influenza epidemic.

### About the Author

Greg Gardner was in the Air Force and has been a volunteer archivist for the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History since April 2013. He has a bachelor's degree in chemistry from San Jose State University, a master's degree in management from Webster University, and a master's degree in library science with a concentration in archives from San Jose State University. This paraphrased quote from Allen Weinstein, previously the Archivist of the United States, "For the Archivist, this role is a result of his obligation to preserve and assure timely and maximum access to our records in the evolving historic saga of the people." synthesizes Greg's belief in the role of archivists in society.

<b>PEOPLE WHO DIED FROM INFLUENZA OR PNEUMONIA IN SANTA CRUZ COUNTY</b>			
<b>NAME</b>	<b>PLACE OF DEATH</b>	<b>DATE OF DEATH</b>	<b>OCCUPATION</b>
Adams, Nellie	Santa Cruz	14 December 1918	Sales Lady
Angelich, Frank	Watsonville	4 November 1918	
Angelich, Millen	Watsonville	4 November 1918	
Alviso, Charlotte	Watsonville	17 January 1919	Housewife
Balovich, Johanna M.	Watsonville	20 October 1918	
Battinich, Mrs. Matea	Watsonville	2 February 1919	
Beecher, Grace F.	Santa Cruz	28 October 1918	Housewife
Bianio, Frank	Felton	31 October 1918	Farmer
Boyd, Mrs. Angus	Watsonville	11 November 1918	
Bronson, George	Boulder Creek	13 January 1919	
Cluck, John C.	Watsonville	28 November 1918	
Coleman, Marion	Watsonville	20 February 1919	
Coulson, John	Santa Cruz	18 November 1918	Farmer
Cox, Lillian	Santa Cruz	24 January 1919	Housewife
Gadaldi, Angelo	Santa Cruz	20 January 1919	Lumberman
Gerbich, Charles	Watsonville	1 January 1919	
Hoffman, Christian	Santa Cruz	17 November 1918	Real Estate
Howell, John A.	Santa Cruz	1 January 1919	Carpenter
Jones, Loula	Santa Cruz	14 October 1918	Store Clerk
Karhara, Mimi	Watsonville	18 November 1918	
Karnes, Neva	Watsonville	27 January 1919	Housewife
Kester, Harry C.	Watsonville	6 November 1918	
Knego, Antone	Watsonville	17 November 1918	
Larson, Cora	Watsonville	25 October 1918	Housewife
Lasich, Charles	Watsonville	21 November 1918	
Lettunich, Mrs. Nick	Watsonville	1 February 1919	
Maeda, K.	Watsonville	26 November 1918	
Martis, Joaquin	Watsonville	26 November 1918	
McElheron, Percy	Santa Cruz	17 December 1918	
Melani, V.	Santa Cruz	6 February 1919	
Mendoza, Manuel	Santa Cruz	8 November 1918	
Morgan, William H.	Santa Cruz	1 November 1918	Shipping Clerk
Narumiya, Shigeaki	Watsonville	22 November 1918	
Panelli, Peter	Santa Cruz	11 January 1919	
Pellegrini, Cesare	Santa Cruz	25 December 1918	Grocer/Liquor Dealer
Pundt, August	Santa Cruz	6 January 1919	Driver/Mechanic
Rask, Carl	Santa Cruz	3 December 1918	Lumberman
Rice, Florence	Santa Cruz	15 December 1918	
Richards, John A.	Watsonville	11 November 1918	Railroadman

Rodriguez, Gertrude	Watsonville	23 November 1918	
Rosovich, Louis	Watsonville	27 October 1918	
Ruditch, Andro	Watsonville	4 November 1918	
Santi, Artino	Felton	2 November 1918	Lime Kiln Operator
Savich, Mike	Watsonville	26 November 1918	
Shaughnessy, Thomas	Watsonville	10 January 1919	Cooper
Shepard, William	Boulder Creek	20 November 1918	Infant
Shinga, Nobuo	Watsonville	16 November 1918	
Silva, Joseph	Watsonville	9 December 1918	Railroadman
Skulich, John	Watsonville	7 November 1918	
Smith, Albert	Watsonville	18 December 1918	Carpenter
Smith, Marjorie	Watsonville	19 December 1918	Infant
Stark, William W.	Santa Cruz	4 January 1919	
Stevenson, Karl	Watsonville	20 November 1918	Sheet Metal Worker
Stokes, B.C.	Boulder Creek	9 February 1919	Rancher
Sullivan, Gertrude	Watsonville	28 December 1918	Housewife
Tauride, B.	Watsonville	13 November 1918	
Thompson, Goldie	Watsonville	23 January 1919	
Traubing, Mrs. Chas.	Watsonville	2 November 1918	
Turner, J.T.	Watsonville	4 November 1918	
Ucibhara, Mrs.	Watsonville	7 November 1918	
Vagioli, Sunta	Santa Cruz	16 November 1918	Housewife
Valle, John	Watsonville	3 November 1918	Contractor
Veiga, Alexandrino	Felton	5 November 1918	Lime Kiln Operator
Williamson, Alexander	Watsonville	29 October 1918	
Yamamoto, S.	Watsonville	17 November 1918	

Sources: This table is a compilation of information extracted from the Burial Permits at the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History, The Genealogical Society of Santa Cruz County, *Santa Cruz County, California Burial Permits 1905-1930, Volumes 1 & 2*, and the obituaries from the *Santa Cruz Evening News* and the *Evening Pajaronian*.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Dan Vergano, “1918 Flu Pandemic That Killed 50 Million Originated in China, Historians Say,” *National Geographic*, January 23, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/01/140123-spanish-flu-1918-china-origins-pandemic-science-health/>
- <sup>2</sup> “The Great Pandemic,” *United States Department of Health and Human Services*, July 30, 2014, <http://www.flu.gov/pandemic/history/1918/>; “1918 Flu Pandemic,” *History, A&E Television Networks*, July 30, 2014, <http://www.history.com/topics/1918-flu-pandemic>; and “1918 flu pandemic,” *Wikipedia*, July 30, 2014, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_flu\\_pandemic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_flu_pandemic)
- <sup>3</sup> “400 Sick at Needles,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 18, 1918, 1:1.
- <sup>4</sup> “Total of 708 Cases in Pajaro Valley,” *Santa Cruz Evening News* (Santa Cruz, California), November 12, 1918, 5:6.
- <sup>5</sup> *Santa Cruz Evening News* Obituaries & *Evening Pajaronian* Obituaries; Burial Permits, Santa Cruz County Government Records, Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History; and The Genealogical Society of Santa Cruz County, *Santa Cruz County, California Burial Permits 1905-1930, Volumes 1 & 2* (Santa Cruz, CA: 2001).
- <sup>6</sup> “Miss Loula Jones is Called Away After Hard Fight,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 15, 1918, 1:1.
- <sup>7</sup> “Miss Grace Baldwin, Beloved Santa Cruz Woman is Dead,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 12, 1918, 8:3.
- <sup>8</sup> “Influenza Here and at Camp Lewis; Figures,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 22, 1918, 4:5.
- <sup>9</sup> “Influenza Cases Still Climbing; Stop Traveling,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 25, 1918, 1:3.
- <sup>10</sup> “Antics of the ‘Flu,’” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 11, 1918, 3:1.
- <sup>11</sup> “Refugees From Stricken Cities Flock to Their Cottages in Mountains,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 26, 1918, 2:3; and “Brookdale Colony is Safe,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 2, 1918, 2:3.
- <sup>12</sup> “9 Death in 24 Hours is Chico’s Latest,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 5, 1918, 1:5.
- <sup>13</sup> “Scared Crazy, He Murders His Family,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 1, 1918, 1:2.
- <sup>14</sup> “18 Grains Killed Him,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 9, 1918, 7:4.
- <sup>15</sup> “Died From Exposure,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 16, 1918, 3:3.
- <sup>16</sup> “Monsignor P.J. Fisher Pastor of Holy Cross Church Is Called To His Reward,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 3, 1918, 1:3.
- <sup>17</sup> “Influenza 1918-1919,” *Influenza in Butler County*, July 30, 2014, <http://influenza1918.weebly.com/flu-facts.html>
- <sup>18</sup> “Was Native of Santa Cruz,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 11, 1919, 1:2.
- <sup>19</sup> “Young Italian Matron Passes On,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 18, 1918, 8:3.
- <sup>20</sup> “Chinese Have Their Own Way to Cure ‘Flu’,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 11, 1918, 8:3.
- <sup>21</sup> “Recommended Cure For The Pneumonia,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 25, 1918, 1:4; and “A Certain Cure for Spanish Influenza,” *Evening Pajaronian*, October 29, 1918, 2:5.
- <sup>22</sup> “Remedy For Pneumonia,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 7, 1918, 4:3.
- <sup>23</sup> “Carl Tull’s Life Saved by Prompt Action; Found Dying from Chloroform,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 25, 1918, 4:3.
- <sup>24</sup> “The Arcade: Special Coat Values,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 19, 1918, 4:1.
- <sup>25</sup> “Wood Heaters,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 24, 1918, 5:1.
- <sup>26</sup> “Death Takes Dr. A.N. Nittler, Former City Health Officer,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 11, 1946, 1:4.
- <sup>27</sup> “How Dr. Bixby Made A Name For Himself,” Newspaper Clipping File, Biography B, Watsonville General to 1979, *Santa Cruz Public Library*.
- <sup>28</sup> “Vaccinating the Children,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, April 4, 1919, 8:5.
- <sup>29</sup> “How Dr. Bixby Made A Name For Himself,” Newspaper Clipping File, Biography B, Watsonville General to 1979, *Santa Cruz Public Library*.
- <sup>30</sup> “Masks and Medical Ethics,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 18, 1918, 3:1; “Not United on Masks,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 19, 1918, 3:1; and “Wear Masks, Knock Flu, Dr. Woods Hutchison Tells Santa Cruzans,” October 28, 1918, 1:1.
- <sup>31</sup> “Wear Masks Here Or Suffer Arrest, Is Council’s Order,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 26, 1918, 1:1.
- <sup>32</sup> “Maskless Apple City Discussed By The Council,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 5, 1918, 8:2; “Influenza Situation In Maskless City Serious, Says Watsonville Paper,” November 5, 1918, *Santa Cruz Evening News*, 8:3; “To Wear Masks In Watsonville; Situation Today,” November 6, 1918, *Santa Cruz Evening News*, 8:4; “Our Pie, Too,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 7, 1918, 3:1; “Masks Are Not A Necessity Yet, Says Dr. F.H. Koepke,” *Evening Pajaronian*, October 23, 1918, 4:3; and “Do Not Afflict Us With The Filthy Masks,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 4, 1918, 3:5.
- <sup>33</sup> “Dr. Bixby Defends The Wearing Of Masks,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 25, 1918, 3:2.
- <sup>34</sup> “Three Are Fined For Failure To Wear Gauze Masks,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 14, 1918, 3:4.

<sup>35</sup> “Doffed Mask; Five Days,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 15, 1918, 4:3.

<sup>36</sup> “Starts Serving Thirty Day Sentence Today,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 4, 1918, 8:3.

<sup>37</sup> “New Ordinance Tells ‘Where’ Mask Shall Be Worn,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 31, 1918, 8:2.

<sup>38</sup> “Theaters To Close As A Precautionary Measure; No Epidemic Here, Says Nittler,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 14, 1918, 8:3; and “Nittler Asks All Churches To Close,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 15, 1918, 1:5.

<sup>39</sup> “Should Close Public Gathering Places,” *Evening Pajaronian*, October 11, 1918, 1:5; and “All Public Meeting Places To Be Closed,” *Evening Pajaronian*, October 17, 1918, 5:4.

<sup>40</sup> “Saloons to Close Sundays; Other Restrictions to Head Flu Off; Is Better Here,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 1, 1918, 8:3; “Want Saloons Closed Also,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 26, 1918, 8:5; “Ministers Urge Council To Close Saloons; Health Officer Gets The Buck,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 29, 1918, 8:3; and “Saloons Opened For Thanksgiving – The Churches Are Closed,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 27, 1918, 2:5.

<sup>41</sup> “Unique Theater Will Be Much Improved,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, October 22, 1918, 8:1; and “Public Library Will Reopen With The Schools House-Cleaning Goes On,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 9, 1918, 4:3.

<sup>42</sup> “Red Cross Shop Reopens Tomorrow,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 20, 1918, 4:5.

<sup>43</sup> “Ministers Kept In Touch With Their Congregations,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 9, 1918, 2:2.

<sup>44</sup> “Hackley Hall Opens As Influenza Hospital; Flu Situation Is No Worse,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 7, 1918, 8:3.

<sup>45</sup> “Helps Others To Get Well; Now Down Herself,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 9, 1918, 6:4.

<sup>46</sup> “Work Increasing At Red Cross Hospital; Women Overworked,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 8, 1918, 1:4; “Help And More Help Wanted At Hospital,” *Evening Pajaronian*, November 15, 1918, 1:5; “Santa Cruz Must Provide Nurses For Watsonville,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 14, 1918, 8:2; and “Untitled Article,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 15, 1918, 3:1.

<sup>47</sup> *Santa Cruz District Nurses Association Ledger Book*, December 3, 1918, p. 135, C.S.N.A. Ledger Book Collection, Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History.

<sup>48</sup> “The General Election in Santa Cruz County,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 6, 1918, 1:5.

<sup>49</sup> “Untitled Article,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 10, 1918, 3:2; and “Drag Nets Laid Aside; Fisherman Victims of ‘Flu,’” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 18, 1918, 4:4.

<sup>50</sup> “48 Cases Of Influenza At Holy Cross School,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 17, 1919, 1:3; and “‘Flu’ Normal in City; 18 More Cases at School,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 18, 1919, 4:1.

<sup>51</sup> “To Subscribers in Capitola, Soquel,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 26, 1918, 1:2.

<sup>52</sup> “‘Flu’ Disturbs Car Service,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, January 23, 1919, 1:2.

<sup>53</sup> “Houck Officiates at Mask Wedding,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 7, 1918, 4:4.

<sup>54</sup> “A New Version,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 16, 1918, 3:4.

<sup>55</sup> “Doings of the City Council,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, November 26, 1918, 8:2; “This Is Indeed A Favored Spot,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, February 7, 1919, 3:1; “Santa Cruz Healthy Spot Says Expert,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, February 6, 1919, 1:4; and “Health,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, July 10, 1919, 6:3.

<sup>56</sup> “A Protest Against The Way The Epidemics Are Handled,” *Evening Pajaronian*, January 9, 1919, 4:4; and “Mr. Kruger Replies To Health Officer Bixby,” *Evening Pajaronian*, December 23, 1918, 2:2.