
*The Spanish
Influenza Pandemic
of 1918–1919*

*Perspectives from the
Iberian Peninsula and the Americas*

EDITED BY MARÍA-ISABEL PORRAS-GALLO
AND RYAN A. DAVIS

 UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER PRESS



Copyright © 2014 by the Editors and Contributors

All rights reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published 2014

University of Rochester Press
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
www.urpress.com
and Boydell & Brewer Limited
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-496-3
ISSN: 1526-2715

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918–1919 : perspectives from the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas / edited by María-Isabel Porrás-Gallo and Ryan A. Davis. p. ; cm. — (Rochester studies in medical history; ISSN 1526-2715 ; v. 30)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-58046-496-3 (hardcover : alk. paper)

I. Porrás Gallo, M. Isabel (María Isabel), editor. II. Davis, Ryan A., editor.
III. Series: Rochester studies in medical history. 1526-2715

[DNLM: 1. Influenza Pandemic, 1918-1919—history—Portugal. 2. Influenza Pandemic, 1918-1919—history—South America. 3. Influenza Pandemic, 1918-1919—history—Spain. 4. History, 20th Century—Portugal. 5. History, 20th Century—South America. 6. History, 20th Century—Spain. 7. Influenza A Virus, H1N1 Subtype—Portugal. 8. Influenza A Virus, H1N1 Subtype—South America. 9. Influenza A Virus, H1N1 Subtype—Spain. 10. Influenza, Human—history—Portugal. 11. Influenza, Human—history—South America. 12. Influenza, Human—history—Spain. WC 515]
RA644.I6
614.5.1809041—dc23
2014029792

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.
Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Ricardo Jorge and the Construction of a Medico-Sanitary Public Discourse

Portugal and International Scientific Networks

MARIA DE FÁTIMA NUNES

Despite the impact of the *peste pneumónica*—the Portuguese term for the Spanish flu—on Portuguese society, the memory of the pandemic in Portuguese historiography and in public opinion circles has been sparse, with the exception of family oral history and specific social contexts that have kept the tragedy alive (e.g., the death of the painter Amadeu de Sousa Cardoso or the death of the young Francisco Marto, one of the witnesses of the religious occurrence of 1917 known as the “Fátima miracle”).¹ Only recently have scholars begun to offer a more systematic picture of the pandemic experience in Portugal. Paulo Girão and João José Cúcio Frada compare the extension and consequences of the pandemic in the Algarve region (in southern Portugal) and Leiria (in western Portugal), respectively, with the pandemic experience on the international scene.² Sobral and colleagues of the Institute of Social Sciences at Lisbon University (ICS) have recently published a collection of interdisciplinary essays on the history of the *peste pneumónica* that deal with such matters as development, demographic consequences, medical discourses, images, attitudes, and representations of the pandemic event.³ In adducing a broad sample of primary materials—including national and local newspapers, municipal archives, the medical press, and creative literature—not only does this recent scholarship elucidate our understanding of the Spanish flu in Portugal, but much of it invariably points to the central role of Ricardo Jorge, the country’s preeminent public health official at the time in his capacity as *director geral da saúde* (director general of health).⁴

1872

Born in Oporto in 1858, Jorge studied medicine there, ultimately receiving his degree from the Escola Médico Cirúrgica (School of Medicine and Surgery), which, unlike the traditional Medical Faculty of Coimbra, was famous for its modern scientific training.⁵ After presenting his graduate dissertation on neurology, Jorge became professor at the Escola Médico Cirúrgica of Oporto in 1880 and went to Strasbourg and Paris—where he attended Jean-Martin Charcot's lectures—for further medical training. While abroad, his professional contact with Louis Pasteur proved a turning point in his scientific pursuits. In 1884 he began a lecture series titled *Higiene Social Aplicada à Nação Portuguesa* (Social Hygiene Applied to the Portuguese Nation), thus launching a professional phase in which his primary focus was hygiene.⁶ In 1895 Jorge became professor of *Higiene e Medicina Legal* (Hygiene and Forensic Medicine) at the Escola Médico Cirúrgica of Oporto. Four years later, in 1899, he played an important role as hygienist during the bubonic plague that frightened the city and the entire Iberian Peninsula.⁷

At the turn of the century, Jorge helped found the Instituto Central de Higiene (Central Institute for Hygiene), a state department inspired by the German models with the aim of promoting the development of hygiene and public health in a scientific way. The institute would later be reorganized after the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic in 1910.⁸ Jorge also belonged to Petrus Nonius—a Portuguese group for the history of science.⁹ In 1934 he formed part of the organizing committee for the history of the International Congress of the History of Science, which took place in the three largest cities of Portugal: Oporto, Coimbra, and Lisbon.¹⁰ His many publications evince a wide-ranging interest in a number of fields, including public hygiene, history of medicine, and literary criticism.¹¹ Alongside his brilliant career in systematizing public health in Portugal, he maintained a program of intensive scientific activity that won him national and international recognition as an epidemiologist and a hygienist.¹² His national stature is reflected in his position as a member of the Faculty of Medicine at Lisbon University, a post from which he retired in 1929. Jorge also represented the Portuguese public health institutions at foreign missions during later decades of the monarchy (1899–1910), the First Republic (1912–26), and the dictatorship of the New State (Estado Novo) (1926–39).¹³

Before the influenza pandemic struck in 1918, Jorge had already acquired significant epidemiological experience in the 1894 cholera epidemic in Lisbon and the 1899 bubonic plague epidemic in Oporto.¹⁴ In addition, he had edited (in French) a study of the impact of malaria in continental Portugal. By 1918 Jorge occupied the position of director of the Conselho Superior de Higiene (High Council for Hygiene), renamed the Direcção Geral de Saúde Pública (Directorate General of Public Health).

This position made him the foremost representative of the Portuguese state in matters of public health when the pandemic reached the country.¹⁵ Given Jorge's stature, it comes as no surprise that he has been the subject of numerous biographical studies, all of which highlight his contributions to the history of medicine. Nevertheless, his biographers pay little attention to his role during the flu epidemic, a fact that may stem from Jorge's relatively modest contribution to Spanish flu scholarship. He wrote only three texts on the subject, between June 1918 and March 1919.¹⁶ These essays, however, are important sources for understanding Portugal's experience with the Spanish flu pandemic. Moreover, it was his actions during the influenza pandemic that garnered him greater national and international prestige as a hygienist. The present chapter thus seeks to fill this critical void by elucidating the construction of a medicosanitary public discourse around the pandemic in Portugal. In doing so, I pay particular attention to the role Jorge played in establishing scientific connections between Portugal and other countries, especially in his capacity as the nation's representative to the Health Division of the League of Nations.¹⁷

The Beginning of the 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic and the Memory of Past Plagues

The Spanish flu showed the first signs of having struck the Portuguese population in early June 1918. After the second pandemic wave, between September and November of the same year, Jorge adopted the name of *influenza pneumónica* for the new variety of flu that was seriously affecting the lungs and respiratory tract.¹⁸ Adding to the long list of historical epidemics, the pneumónica resuscitated the myth of the devastating public calamity associated with the plague in both the popular imagination and in scientific and political circles. In June 1918 the Portuguese government communicated to a number of its civil, military, religious, and municipal authorities throughout the country the preventive measures the population should take during the final months of summer and during the upcoming winter season. Jorge, in his position as *director geral da saúde*, stated that this was the moment to “demonstrate the scholarship of the history of medicine, of the history of the plagues and [their] respective impact in Europe—since the final stages of the Middle Ages” and that the outbreak of pandemic influenza, like these earlier plagues “must be faced down.”¹⁹ In other words, he encouraged people to bear up bravely against the casualties of the pandemic, adopting the motto of “daily hygiene,” an important argument in the context of pandemic influenza. From Jorge's point of view, not only was pulmonary flu valuable for laboratory experiments, but it also provided an ideal opportunity to determine the role the state should play in the twentieth

century in regard to legislation and public health institutions in helping the population to "face down" its own plagues.²⁰

Furthermore, Portuguese collective memory immediately evoked images of the more recent medical and sanitary conditions of the late nineteenth-century plagues (e.g., the bubonic plague in Porto, 1899), which were viewed as uncontrollable scourges. The temporal proximity of these plagues may explain why the Portuguese called the Spanish flu *peste pneumónica*. These uncontrollable scourges raged over Portugal at a time when Jorge worked for the municipal sanitation department. Adding to the dark mood of the epidemic was the death of bacteriologist Câmara Pestana (1863-98), founder of the Real Instituto Bacteriológico (Royal Bacteriology Institute), following an autopsy carried out on a plague victim. Pestana, Jorge's friend and colleague, was asked to assist with bacteriological tests and the urgent implementation of sanitation measures.²¹ His passing was a blow to the scientific cause of public health and undoubtedly had a profound impact on Jorge's professional and public work for the rest of his life.

As noted earlier, Jorge took a keen interest in public understanding of the history of plagues and epidemics. After first learning about the cholera epidemic of 1894 in Oporto (the Lisbon plague) and the bubonic plague of 1899 in the Douro riverside zone of Oporto, he took meticulous notes on the disease as part of a report submitted to the sanitation authorities of the municipality of Oporto. The report provided a new urban and hygienist vision of that part of Oporto, dismissed medieval-style fears, suggested policies for public and urban hygiene, and called for improved standards of living for the population—a basic condition for the prevention of epidemic outbreaks, which always propagate faster in areas of social poverty and hunger.²² In general, Jorge sought to pinpoint in his medical reports the political, economic, military, and sometimes-ideological circumstances that contributed to the progress of a particular disease. A collection of scientific papers published together with the sanitation authorities shows that hygienists, scientists, and public health professionals all viewed the epidemic as a sobering phenomenon on a global scale.²³

In addition to the Lisbon plague, it is worth noting Jorge's French-language report on the malaria outbreak of 1906 and his publications on the history of medicine and public health, particularly those in which he praises Francisco Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1703), a doctor from the European Enlightenment period, whose *Tratado da conservação dos povos* (Treaty on the conservation of peoples' health) was published in Paris in 1756.²⁴ In this treaty Sanches puts forward the new idea that the state should take preventive measures to improve "peoples' health" as a means of defending the well-being of society as a whole and of the states of enlightened philanthropic absolutism.²⁵ Jorge's ideas on the state's role in the organization and protection of public health reveal Sanches's

influence on him and, more precisely, the prevalence of social hygiene at the time of the 1918 influenza pandemic.

Jorge's interventions in the public domain took many forms: official reports submitted to national and international organizations, books, public conferences, participation in medical and public health publications, newspaper articles, and manuscripts on the history of medicine (with particular emphasis on the history of epidemics).²⁶ Given his remarkable activity in the areas of medical science, culture, and social intervention, as a public health authority it is both natural that he would figure prominently in scholarly inquiry into the 1918–19 flu epidemic in Portugal and striking that more such scholarship has not been done. Any understanding of the system of intervention in citizens' public and private lives with regard to public health and the first attempts at coordinated actions during the epidemic in Portugal must take into consideration the paramount figure of Ricardo Jorge.²⁷ Indeed, it is within this context that the general framework of the social welfare state begins to take shape, even if health and welfare institutions at the time of the pandemic were still a long ways from providing the universal care that would later characterize the welfare state.²⁸

Peste Pneumónica

Given his extensive work on epidemics at the national and international level and his position as *director geral da saúde*, Jorge was the authoritative source for information about the 1918–19 flu epidemic in Portugal.²⁹ From his perspective, the pneumónica became the test case for implementing sanitation policies and for improving international network strategies among the countries involved in World War I in the international health field, which was not yet established, in his opinion, on an institutional basis, notwithstanding the existence of the Office Internationale de Hygiène Publique in Paris since 1907 and the US-based International Sanitary Bureau since 1902.³⁰ The two major journalistic sources that communicated Jorge's knowledge about and understanding of the flu to the broader Portuguese society were *Diário de Notícias* and *O Seculo*.³¹ On September 25, 1918, *Diário de Notícias* published on its front page an official note on public health written by Jorge: "Epidemic. Pulmonary influenza."³² Jorge's name on the article gave the disease official weight, linking it to past plagues (e.g., the bubonic plague in Oporto) and more recent fevers (e.g., cholera and malaria) in which Jorge had played an important role in public intervention both through the implementation of legislative health measures and through public lectures, newspaper articles, and medical reviews.³³

Through his column in *Diário de Notícias*, Jorge publicized the official scientific view of the strange epidemic that *Diário* had been covering since

August 1918. Moreover, he also advocated practical prophylactic measures that citizens should follow individually and collectively on a daily basis to avoid contamination, including refraining from kissing when showing affection! According to Jorge, the idea of impeding the circulation of people and goods was outdated and out of step with the contagious reality of the flu outbreak, though he did recommend isolating infected flu patients.³⁴ The news—subject to the rules of the Conselho de Saúde Pública (Department of Public Health)—pursued a two-fold objective: provide information on pneumónica occurrences in the country and, above all, avoid public panic.³⁵ The epidemic was a relatively silent affair compared to the commotion created by the high-impact news arriving from the frontlines of World War I and the plight of the Corpo Expedicionário Português (Portuguese Expeditionary Force) in the summer of 1918 in France and Belgium.

In June 1918 Jorge presented a report to the Conselho de Saúde Pública on the aspects of disease prevention and prophylactic measures to be put forward by the Portuguese state, the entity responsible for the scientific evaluation of all measures to be implemented.³⁶ In his report he avoided using language that, in discussing charitable, philanthropic, and humanitarian assistance, would have been seen as incompatible with the separation between church and state, one of the important objectives of the movement that led to the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic in 1910.³⁷ Instead, Jorge sought primarily to draw attention to the role the state should play in times of epidemic threats by strengthening the incipient public health structures still under development during President Sidónio Pais's military republic (1917-18).

In June 1918 Jorge, on behalf of the Conselho Superior de Higiene, released a note stating that, according to news coming from London, the fever had spread to the battlefields and that a ship that had docked in Lisbon on July 5 was carrying the flu.³⁸ The note offered some concise advice and practical rules to be followed as the end of summer approached, including avoiding visiting those sick with the flu; abolishing the traditional forms of greetings (i.e., hugs and kisses), which were considered repugnant actions from a hygienic point of view; and, in cities, maintaining good and salubrious habits.

As a general rule, the framework of control and prevention shaped the news information published in *Diário de Notícias* and *O Século*. *Diário de Notícias* portrayed the geographic spread of the disease by providing a variety of information at the regional level, giving information on the number of patients in the various districts of the country. In June *Diário* sought to relieve psychological tension by publishing interviews with doctors, who gave the impression that the epidemic was under control. The availability of a special unit in Lisbon's Hospital do Rego for those infected with the flu was announced. During the months of June and July, *Diário de Notícias*

continued to reflect the impact and the application of the measures, recommendations, and official positions issued by the Conselho Superior de Higiene, which were recorded in Jorge's text of June 18, 1918. (As prophylactic measures, Jorge had recommended prohibiting fairs and processions and reducing attendance to mass and liturgy events.) It was not until September that news of the first victims of the peste pneumónica began to appear, as mentioned previously. With autumn temperatures dropping, the newspaper reported the spread of the epidemic from south to north and from Spain to the Atlantic coast, seeing as these were the two main entry points of the epidemic into Portugal.³⁹

The measures put forward by Jorge in his official note of September 25, 1918, were published repeatedly during the months of October and November in official statements and informative articles. The goal was to contain public opinion in order to avoid generalized social panic and to educate the population—collectively and individually—in certain sanitary habits and routines, including isolating oneself and avoiding social contact or public gatherings.⁴⁰ Although these measures were justifiable for medical and sanitary reasons, they also proved useful as tools for political power. As noted in the introduction to this volume and in chapter 4, the context of 1918 Portugal was one of great political, social, and economic agitation, as witnessed not only by the presidential dictatorship of Sidónio Pais but also by Portugal's participation in World War I, notably with the defeat in April 1918 of the Corpo Expedicionário Português in the fields of La Lys. Portuguese authorities thus had little interest in provoking popular unrest in these circumstances, and the public health measures they advocated served these ends. Jorge's reputation as a man of science with the knowledge and tools to help authorities in this regard may explain why he was able to survive under such different political regimes. But despite official efforts to calm the general population, the distribution of ration coupons as well as the rise in the price of food was followed by various cases of social unrest in Aveiro, Coimbra, Évora, and Lisbon. The general sentiment was that Sidonismo, the military phase of the First Republic, had run its course and it was time for political change.⁴¹

As in other areas of the world, the month of October saw the most amount of news coverage of the peste pneumónica. *O Século*, for example, published numerous front-page stories, official statements by the Direcção Geral de Saúde Pública (Directorate General of Public Health), and information about prophylactic measures.⁴² Certain businesses such as the *Perfumaria da Moda* (a perfumery) and the *Farmácia Estácio* (a pharmacy) saw the flu as a means to advertise their cosmetic and pharmaceutical products. In general, newspapers sought to avoid panic, reassuring their readers with phrases such as “the epidemic is dying down” and “authorities are successfully

63

combating the epidemic and providing assistance to those affected by it" and with news titles such as "Combating the Epidemic: Providing Assistance to Those Affected by the Epidemic" or "Sanitary Measures Have Proven Successful."⁴⁸ Similarly, some reports linked the official control of the situation to naming the flu *pneumónica* influenza.⁴⁴ A number of different stories about the geographic spread of the disease provide an update of the situation in the various locations hit by the epidemic. On November 6 the front page of *O Século* reads, "the aftermath; the epidemics; numbers keep going down; assisting those affected by the epidemic; assistance and necessary actions; measures taken."⁴⁸

By mid-November increased news coverage of the end of World War I and the arrival of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps at the Cais das Colunas in Lisbon signaled a shift in public attention away from the epidemic. Although newspapers continued to report on topics such as the assistance provided to flu victims by the Red Cross, the White Cross, and the Portuguese State, the epidemic had faded from the front page.⁴⁶ The attempted assassination of the president of the republic, Sidónio Pais, on December 5, 1918, and his death ten days later, marked the symbolic end of news coverage of the epidemic. Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the flu epidemic and World War I, Jorge would continue to play an important role in Portuguese public health affairs, representing the country's public health institutions at many international institutions as a spokesperson on matters concerning theoretical and practical know-how on epidemics and plagues.⁴⁷ Despite the political import of his work, especially given the positions he held, his status as *primarily* a scientist may have insulated him from the intense criticism faced by the political regimes under which he served.

Ricardo Jorge's Alter Ego

Under the pseudonym of Dr. Mirandela, Jorge published a series of articles that addressed certain measures taken by Spain in response to the epidemic, including the closing of its border with Portugal.⁴⁸ These articles provide important insights into his thinking on public health at the time of the epidemic. Essentially, Jorge criticized Spain's public health policy for its ignorance of "proper scientific sanitary prophylactic measures towards the epidemic."⁴⁹ According to Dr. Mirandela, this constituted evidence that Spain was considerably outdated in what regarded the international norms in public health.⁵⁰ These were acute criticisms covering both public health issues as well as the political context of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in light of the war; issues Jorge would later make reference to in an international forum as part of the Sanitary Committee of the League of Nations (Commission Sanitaire des Pays Alliés) in 1919.⁵¹

In an article titled "Diplomatic Problems: Spain Has Closed Its Borders after Creating the 'Sanitary Passport,'" Dr. Mirandela criticized "Spain's Wall of China," in other words, the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire* along the Spanish-Portuguese border to impede the circulation of people between the neighboring states. His rhetoric is sharp and blunt:

The wall that Spain built around Portugal, thus imposing a sanitary blockade, not only prevents the Portuguese from crossing the immediate border into Spain but also from getting to the Pyrenees. . . . These are ridiculous and vexatious sanitation policies that treat the Portuguese like infected and leprous animals. . . . Even if we concede that our neighbors are entitled to defend themselves from us on a controversial whim, will their defense mean complete isolation, without a door or an escape hatch? Where has one seen such actions since the Middle Ages? What times are these in which we live? In 1844 when Portugal sought to protect itself from the eradication of cholera from Spain, it resorted to the system of the *cordon sanitaire*, anachronistic even then. . . . It seems Spain's only goal is to cut us off from France, where cholera is allegedly spreading. Who knows what concerns—other than those related to public health—are involved in this sanitary comedy, where hygiene is but a mask with holes and a game of dominos.⁵²

By preventing the Portuguese from getting to the Pyrenees, Spain effectively and symbolically cut its neighbors off from the border to a cultivated, civilized Europe, mentor for the ideal of progress in public health institutions in general. One consequence of Spain's efforts was that it negatively impacted Portugal's participation in Spain's first National Medical Conference, making it difficult for Portuguese scientists and public health experts to attend and engage their counterparts in scientific dialogue.

Given that border closings were "ridiculous and vexatious health practices" from a scientific and epidemiological perspective, Jorge concluded that Spain's actions were motivated more by political and ideological reasons than by a concern for prophylaxis. In 1917 the First Constitutional Republic of Portugal was interrupted by the military dictatorship of Sidónio Pais (1872–1918), an avid Germanophile. His political leanings complicated the state of Portuguese international relations, since the country had begun World War I on the side of the Allies. Spain, perhaps in an effort to maintain its precarious neutrality during the war, and fearing a sort of political contagion from Portugal, opted to close its border with its neighbor. After the war Jorge was selected to represent Portugal on the Sanitary Committee of the League of Nations. It was in this capacity that in March 1919 he accused German scientists and hygienists of encouraging Spain to adopt its isolationist policy vis-à-vis Portugal and thereby using the peste pneumónica as a political weapon at the end of the war: "Exploiting the panic of the flu, the pro-Germanic Spanish press successfully took the most pompous measures

65
against those arriving from Allied countries, this, of course, by doing violence to the opinions and advice of Spanish hygienists and, despite their [the hygienists'] protests, rendering them justice. One has reached the extreme point of maintaining the Portuguese border closed and of prohibiting all transit by way of a *cordon sanitaire*, which thus isolates us from overland contact with Europe."⁵³

Ricardo Jorge and the Aftermath of the Peste Pneumónica

After the outbreak of the peste pneumónica, Jorge's diplomatic service at the League of Nations as a representative of the Portuguese state enhanced his professional and scientific career.⁵⁴ In this capacity, and at the request of the Allied Council, he prepared a report, *La Grippe* for the council's international convention. In addition to reviewing information about past flu and other epidemics, the brief thirty-five-page report presented a new idea: "a specific vaccine is the only prophylactic hope to prevent a contagion of this type."⁵⁵ In this, Jorge was in agreement with his counterparts elsewhere, such as Manuel Martín Salazar, Spain's director general of health at the time.⁵⁶

After World War I and the influenza pandemic, Western states began to invest more heavily in the domains of health and public hygiene, adopting measures to stimulate social well-being, which was increasingly considered the most effective measure against epidemics. Although Jorge's epidemiological experience began as early as the Oporto outbreak of plague, it was the peste pneumónica that gave him greater international visibility as well as a specific forum for expressing his views on matters of public health: the Division of Health of the League of Nations. After the New State period of 1926, Jorge worked to legitimate the new political power and promote the idea of security in national and international public circles. Moreover, his publications and articles, written over the decades of the twenties and thirties, right up to the moment of his passing away (July 29, 1939), together with the extremely rich documentation that can be found at the Espólio da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Ricardo Jorge Archive, Archives of Portuguese Culture, National Library of Portugal), evidence the scope of both his geographic travels through Europe, the United States, and Latin America and, by extension, his professional stature.⁵⁷ Through his professional labors, he consistently connected Portuguese public health to the broader network of health and public hygiene as it was then developing in the West.

As the vast bibliography written about him attests, Ricardo Jorge led a life filled with public and scientific activities until the day he died. Although his biographers have largely overlooked his involvement in the peste pneumónica, the epidemic provided him with an opportunity not only to

engage in scientific observation and experimentation but also to consider the role the state should play in the twentieth century in terms of legislation and public health institutions, an idea that was dominant at the time in Europe. The epidemic experience was also crucial to his growing international prestige as a hygienist. In addition to authoring a report on the epidemic to the Commission Sanitaire des Pays Alliés in March 1919, he also accepted a position in the Health Division of the League of Nations.⁵⁸ Although he lived through three radically different political regimes—the monarchy, the First Republic and the New State—he never ceased working to establish an international network of contacts.

Indeed, as a scientific authority who also occupied positions of political authority, Ricardo Jorge became a key figure in mediating between cutting-edge science and the political efforts to apply that science to the improvement of Portuguese society. In many ways he stands at a historical threshold. Prior to the epidemic, health care was hardly an integrated, statewide program (see chapter 9). In such a setting, individuals such as Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, and, at least in Portugal, Ricardo Jorge, loomed large on the social landscape as somewhat heroic figures. Paul de Kruif immortalized the heroic persona of some of them in his international bestseller, *Microbe Hunters*, published only a few years after the influenza pandemic. After the pandemic, however, it was national and international institutions as much as individual scientists that would grow in prominence; for if the Spanish flu pandemic had revealed anything, it was the inadequacies of public health systems throughout the world. What the case of Ricardo Jorge allows us to see is the crucial role those towering figures of science—and the scientific networks they established—played in the slow but steady transition to what we call today the modern welfare state.

Notes

1. On the thirteenth day of the month for six consecutive months beginning in May 1917, the Virgin Mary allegedly appeared to Francisco Marto, his sister, Jacinta Marto, and their cousin, Lúcia dos Santos, in Fátima, Portugal. The apparitions garnered notoriety because of certain prophetic and eschatological elements, including intimations of a coming world war. More details on the “Fátima miracle” can be found in chapter 4 of this volume.

2. Paulo Girão, *A pneumonia no Algarve* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2003); João José Cício Frada, *A gripe pneumónica em Portugal continental 1918: Estudo socioeconómico e epidemiológico com particular análise do concelho de Leiria* (Lisbon: Sete Caminhos, 2005).

3. José Manuel Sobral, Maria Luisa Lima, Paula Castro, and Paulo Silveira e Sousa, *A Epidemia esquelética óhaves comparados sobre a pneumónica 1918–1919* (Lisbon: ICS, 2009). Chapter 4 of this volume also expands our knowledge of the epidemic experience in Portugal.

4. In the absence of a health minister, the director general of health was the maximum authority on all public health matters. The situation was the same in Portugal's Iberian neighbor, Spain.
5. After the proclamation of the republic in 1910 it was renamed Faculdade de Medicina da Universidade de Lisboa (Faculty of Medicine of the University of Lisbon).
6. Augusto Silva Travassos, "A higiene, um grande epidemiologista: Ricardo Jorge," *Jornal da Sociedade das Ciências Médicas* 111, no. 4 (1947): Fernando da Silva Correia, *A vida, a obra, o estilo, as lições e o prestígio de Ricardo Jorge* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Higiene Dr. Ricardo Jorge, 1960), 3, 189.
7. In Spain the bubonic plague epidemic stimulated the creation of the Instituto de Sueroterapia, Vacunación y Bacteriología de Alfonso XIII, later renamed Instituto Nacional de Higiene (National Institute of Hygiene) that same year. María-Isabel Porras-Gallo, "Antecedentes y creación del Instituto de Sueroterapia, Vacunación y Bacteriología de Alfonso XIII," *Dynamis* 18 (1998): 81–105.
8. Sobral, Lima, Castro, and Sousa, *Epidemia esquelada oltanas*, 70.
9. Augusto Firas, Marcial Rodrigues, and Maria de Fátima Nunes, *Filosofia e história da ciência em Portugal no século XX* (Lisbon: Casal de Cambra, Caleidoscópio, 2008).
10. Ricardo Jorge, "La médecine et les médecins dans l'expansion mondiale des portugais," in *Conférence faite le 2 octobre 1934 à l'Université de Coimbra, III Congrès International d'histoire des Sciences* (Lisbon: Tipografia Seara Nova, 1935), 1–15.
11. Some of Jorge's literary articles deal with the work of Camilo Castelo Branco (1825–90), his close friend and the most famous literary writer of Romanticism in Portugal.
12. José Manuel Sobral, Maria Luísa Lima, Paula Castro and Paulo Silveira e Sousa, *Epidemia esquelada oltanas*, 70.
13. On the chronology of Jorge's scientific endeavors in both national and international contexts, see Correia, *Vida*, 13–16. For more details, see chapter 4 of this volume.
14. Ricardo Jorge, *A peste bubónica no Porto, 1899. Seu descobrimento, primeiros trabalhos pelo medico municipal R. J.* (Porto: Repartição de Saúde e Higiene da Câmara do Porto, 1899); F. Jorge Alves, "Ricardo Jorge e a saúde pública em Portugal: Um apóstolo sanitário," *Arquivos de Medicina* 22, no. 2–3 (2008): 85–90.
15. Correia, *Vida*.
16. Ricardo Jorge, *A influenza e a febre dos hepatozas: Julho e Agosto de 1918* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1918); Jorge, *A influenza, nota incursão peninsular: Relatório apresentado ao Conselho Superior de Higiene na sessão de 18 de Junho de 1918* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1918); Jorge, *La grippe, préliminaire présenté à la Commission Sanitaire des Pays Alliés dans la session de Mars 1919* (Lisbon: Imprimerie Nationale, 1919).
17. An interesting book on this topic is Iris Borowy, *Coming to Terms with World Health: The League of Nations Organization, 1921–1946* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2009).
18. Jorge, *Grippe Frada, Grippe pneumónica*. Jorge's initial characterization of the disease first appeared in a French-language publication in Lisbon: "Deux vagues épidémiques d'influenza ont passé sur le Portugal. La première s'est fait sentir des premiers jours de juin à la mi-juillet 1918... Elle a été baptisée en raison de sa provenance immédiate, du nom de grippe espagnole. La seconde a sévi de la mi-août à la fin de novembre; épidémie secondaire, éstralo-automnale, de transmission plus lente,

hautement maligne et mortelle . . . elle a été nommée influenza pneumonique." (Two vague epidemics have entered Portugal. The effects of the first were felt from early June to mid-July. . . . This one has been dubbed the Spanish flu because of its immediate provenance. The second has raged from mid-August to the end of November; [this] second summer-autumnal epidemic, which spreads more slowly and is highly malignant and fatal, has been named pneumonic influenza.) Jorge, *Grippe*, 7.

19. Jorge, *Influenza, nova incursio peninsularis*, 8.

20. Manuel Martín Salazar, director general of health in Spain at that time, shared Jorge's point of view. María-Isabel Porras-Gallo, "Una ciudad en crisis: La epidemia de gripe de 1918-19 en Madrid" (PhD diss., Faculty of Medicine, Complutense University of Madrid, 1994), 373-94. More details on Manuel Martín Salazar and on Spain's situation figures in chapters 5 and 9 of this volume.

21. Ricardo Jorge, *Sanamento do Porto relatório apresentado à Comissão Municipal de Sanamento* (Porto: Typographia de António José da Silva Teixeira, 1888); Jorge, *A epidemia de Lisboa de 1894: Impressões d'uma missão sanitária* (Porto: Typographia Occidental, 1895); Jorge, *Peste bubónica no Porto; Jorge, Demographia e hygiene na cidade do Porto*, vol. 1, *Clima, população, mortalidade, illustrado com quadros estatísticos, tabelas e gráficos, referentes ao Porto, Lisboa e Reino, e confrontos internacionais* (Porto: Repartição de Saúde e Hygiene da Câmara do Porto / Anuario do Serviço Municipal de Saúde e Hygiene da Cidade do Porto, 1899).

22. Alves, "Ricardo Jorge"; Ricardo Jorge, *Origens e desenvolvimento da população do Porto: Notas históricas e estatísticas* (Porto: Typographia Occidental, 1897); Jorge, *Peste bubónica no Porto; Jorge, Demographia e hygiene; Jorge, Sanidade em campanha confênças profereidas no acampamento de Tancoos e na Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, Julho e Agosto de 1916* (Lisbon, 1917).

23. Jorge, *Sanamento do Porto; Jorge, Epidemia de Lisboa; Jorge, Peste bubónica no Porto; Jorge, Demographia e hygiene*.

24. Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação da Saude dos portos, com hum appendix: Considerações sobre os terremotos com a noticia dos mais consideraveis, de que fas menção a Historia, e dos ultimos que se sentiram na Europa desde o 1 de Novembro 1755* (Paris: [No/Ed], 1756). Jorge published numerous studies in French: *Le typhus exanthématique à Porto 1917-1919: Communication faite au Comité International d'Hygiène d'Octobre 1919* (Lisbonne: Imprimerie Nationale, 1920); Jorge, *Mission médica de la Société des Nations: Caderno dactilografado*, 1922, file 38, box 24, E-18 Legacy; Ricardo Jorge Archive, Archives of Portuguese Culture, National Library of Portugal, Lisbon; Jorge, *Les pestilences et la Convention Sanitaire Internationale* (Lisbonne: Institut Central d'Hygiène, 1926); Jorge, *Les anciennes épidémies de peste en Europe, comparées aux épidémies modernes Instituto Central de Hygiene* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1932); Jorge, "Médecine et les Médecins"; Jorge, *La peste africaine: Rapport présenté au Comité Permanant de l'Office International d'Hygiène Publique* (Paris: Office International d'Hygiène Publique, 1935); Jorge, *Summa epidemiologica de la peste épidémies anciennes et modernes* (Paris: Office International d'Hygiène Publique [Extrait du Bulletin Mensuel de l'Office International d'Hygiène Publique], 1935); Jorge, "Les 'Rodentia' domestiques et sauvages dans l'Evolution séculaire et mondiale de la Peste." *Extrait des Comptes Rendus du XII congrès International de Zoologie: Lisbonne 1935* (Lisbon: Typografia Casa Portuguesa, 1937); Jorge, "Fiebre jaune," *Arquivos do Instituto de Hygiene Ricardo Jorge* (Lisbon, 1938).

25. Sanches, quoted in Luis de Pina, *Ricardo Jorge e Ribeiro Sanches: Dois homens duas épocas* (Lisbon: Médica, 1941).

26. For reports submitted to organizations, see Jorge, *Typhus exanthématique, Jorge, Mission médica, Jorge, Pestilences, Jorge, Peste africaine, Jorge, "Fèvre jaune."* An example of his public conferences is Jorge, *Sonidade em campanha*. For his works on the history of medicine, see Jorge, *Anciens épidémies*; Jorge, "Médecine et les médecins"; Jorge, *Summa epidemiologica*; and Jorge, "Rodentia."

27. Jorge was particularly active in international scientific meetings and in the actions of the Hygiene Institute in Lisbon, founded by him in 1899, which is now called the Ricardo Jorge National Institute of Health. Eduardo Coelho, *O Prof. Ricardo Jorge: Breve ensaio crítico seguido da resenha bibliográfica da sua obra* (Paris: Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand, 1929); Travassos, "Higiene."

28. George Rosen, *Uma história da Saúde Pública*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006).

29. Chapter 4 of this volume deals extensively with the Portuguese's experience of the Spanish influenza.

30. Jorge, *Grippe*. The Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 gave Allied countries the opportunity to begin organizing hygiene councils to have a common institutional basis to deal with epidemics, and Jorge was the Portuguese member of this committee.

31. Historians have widely used these periodical sources in their academic work, as they are valuable sources for issues related to the history of epidemics and their strategic role in the implementation of political concepts on public health. *Diário de Notícias* was founded in 1864 in Lisbon as a private enterprise based on the model of European professional newspapers. Many Portuguese intellectuals and scientific personalities regularly contributed to its pages. In Portugal it was the first newspaper to use news from agencies such as Havas and Reuters. *O Século*, founded in 1880 in Lisbon, presented itself as an alternative to the *Diário de Notícias*. The director had close ties to Masonic circles, and the newspaper followed the republican ideology linked to the Portuguese scientific circles.

32. As noted, Jorge uses the name "Pneumonica influenza" in the 1919 report.

33. Jorge, *Peste bubónica no Porto*; Jorge, *Demographia e hygiene*; Jorge, *La Malarie en Portugal: Premiers résultats d'une enquête* (Lisbonne: Imprimerie "Casa Portuguesa," 1906).

34. Jorge, *Influenza, nova incursão peninsular*.

35. Newspapers regularly published official notes from departments such as Public Health. It was through this type of notes that newspapers communicated changes in the evolution of the epidemic. Authorities from many different countries expressed similar concerns about public panic. For example, see chapters 6 and 10 of this volume.

36. More details on the role of state are in chapters 4 and 9 of this volume.

37. In place of terms such as "charity assistance" and "philanthropic and humanitarian assistance," Jorge limited himself to hygienist and medical expressions. Thus he stated that people should have "fresh air, good hygiene, strict disinfection, [and] immunization practices." He also suggested that visiting flu patients "was not a good idea" and that "to avoid taking too many drugs is good for the flu patients and their budgets." Jorge, *Influenza, nova incursão peninsular*. See also Maria Fernanda Rollo

and Fernando Rosas, eds., *História da Primeira República Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2009). For the role of other paragonmental health organizations in Spain during the 1918 flu epidemic, see chapter 8 of this volume.

38. Jorge, *Influenza, nova incurção peninsular*. The ship, named the *Damerara*, was linked to the introduction of the pandemic in Brazil, as noted in chapters 2, 6, and 7 of this volume.

39. Girão, *Pneumónica no Algarve*; Frada, *Gripe pneumónica*.

40. On the effect of social panic in Brazil and Argentina, see chapters 6 and 10, respectively.

41. Rollo and Rosas, *Primeira República Portuguesa*; Armando Malheiro da Silva, *Sidónio e Sidonismo*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2006); Tom Gallagher, *A Twentieth-Century Interpretation of Portugal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

42. The Direcção Geral de Saúde Pública (Directorate General of Public Health), of which Jorge was a member, presided over public health in Portugal and was closely linked to the Conselho Superior de Higiene (High Council for Hygiene).

43. "In Lisbon," *O Século*, October 13, 1918; "Combating the Epidemic: Providing Assistance to Those Affected by the Epidemic" and "Sanitary Measures Have Proven Successful," both in *O Século*, October 20, 1918.

44. "Public Health. The Flu," *O Século*, October 28, 1918. Concerning the important relationship between naming and controlling a disease, see Charles E. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 258–318.

45. "The aftermath," *O Século*, November 6, 1918.

46. The Red Cross also played a key role during the pandemic in Brazil and Canada, as noted in chapters 2, 7, and 12 of this volume.

47. Jorge, *Grippe*; Jorge, *Typhus exanthématique*; Jorge, *Mission médica*; Jorge, *Pestilências*; Jorge, *Peste africana*; Jorge, "Fièvre jaune."

48. For Spain's perspective on closing the border, see Ryan A. Davis, *The 1918 Spanish Flu: Narrative and Cultural Identity in Spain* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

49. Signed by Dr. Mirandela, three of these articles are collected in file 1, box 5, E-18 Legacy, Ricardo Jorge Archive, Archives of Portuguese Culture, National Library of Portugal, Lisbon. The titles of the articles are "Isolated by Spain: I (The Current Epidemic)," October 19, 1918; "Isolated by Spain: II," October 21, 1918; and "Epidemic War in Spain," October 25, 1918.

50. As noted in the introduction to this volume and in chapters 5, 9, and 11, Jorge's claims of Spanish backwardness were not unfounded, though other countries also evinced similar backwardness in matters of science. For the case of Portugal, see Sobral, Lima, and Silveira e Sousa, chap. 4, in this volume.

51. Jorge, *Grippe*.

52. Dr. Mirandela [Ricardo Jorge], "Diplomatic Problems: Spain Has Closed Its Borders after Creating the 'Sanitary Passport,'" *Diário Notícias* October 21, 1918, 1–2, file 1, box 5, E-18 Legacy, Ricardo Jorge Archive, Archives of Portuguese Culture, National Library of Portugal, Lisbon.

53. Jorge, *Grippe*, 33. The original in French reads, "Exploitant la panique de la grippe, la presse pro-germanique espagnole réussit à faire prendre les mesures les

plus pompeuses contre les provenances des Pays alliés, cela, bien entendu, en faisant violence à l'opinion et aux conseils des hygiénistes d'Espagne, et malgré leurs protestations, rendons-leur justice. On en est arrivé à cette extrémité de maintenir les frontières portugaises fermées et d'interdire tout transit par un cordon sanitaire, nous isolant ainsi de l'Europe para la voie de terre."

54. Jorge, *Grippe*; Jorge, *Pestilencias*.

55. Jorge, *Grippe*, 35.

56. See Maria-Isabel Porras-Gallo, "Sueros y vacunas en la lucha contra la pandemia de gripe de 1918-1919 en España," *Asclepio* 60, no. 2 (2008): 261-88; and chapter 5 of this volume.

57. For the Espólio sources, see E-18 Legacy, Ricardo Jorge Archive, Archives of Portuguese Culture, National Library of Portugal, Lisbon; Correia, *Vida*; Travassos, "Higiene"; Coelho, *Prof. Ricardo Jorge*.

58. Jorge, *Grippe*.