

“Three Augustinian Clerics Die”:

Navigating Villanova’s Experience During a Global Pandemic

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History

Three headstones stand in the second row of the Augustinian Community Cemetery on Villanova University’s campus overlooking Lancaster Avenue. They belong to three students, who were actively enrolled in the Villanova seminary in 1918 to become members of the Augustinian Order. Hidden in plain sight, as over the years a total of one hundred ninety graves filled this Augustinian-only cemetery, their stories blended in with their fellow Augustinians. Today, students walk past the cemetery to get from class to class, potentially stopping to look at each headstone, all identical: white marble grave markers with black text and a cross top center. These present-day Villanovans are unaware that these three headstones belong to once Villanova students, Gilbert Klunk, John Dorgan, and Albert Starr, who met their untimely death up the hill at Corr Hall, a student dormitory built originally to house the Augustinian seminary. These three men were the only people to die on campus during the 1918 influenza epidemic. Buried at the Augustinian plot to the right of St. Thomas of Villanova’s Church, their stories reveal how a network of small, tightly woven communities existing within Villanova College’s campus navigated the 1918 influenza epidemic.

Some notable Augustinians buried on campus include past educators, professors, and presidents, such as Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, Rev. John Fedigan, and Rev. Francis Driscoll, whose names may be recognizable since they continue to designate academic buildings and residential dormitories on Villanova’s campus. Most of those buried around the three students

share characteristics of their life's journey, including traveling to other provinces in the United States to teach and spread the Augustinian belief. To the right of the three students lies Rev. Nicholas Murphy, O.S.A., who enrolled in Villanova's seminary in 1868, professed his simple and solemn vows in 1874 and 1877 respectively.¹ To the left of the three is Rev. Daniel Murphy, O.S.A., who entered Villanova in 1907 and professed his simple vows in 1908.² Both of these men lived into their sixties, a common occurrence in the Augustinian cemetery that underscores just how anomalous the student graves are.

Augustinian roots in the United States started in spring of 1796, when Reverend Matthew Carr, O.S.A. came to Philadelphia from Dublin, Ireland.³ Five decades later, the sole three Philadelphian Augustinians traveled twelve miles west of the city to Belle-Air mansion, owned by John Rudolph.⁴ Following Rudolph's death, the Augustinians purchased the 197 acres for \$18,000 to create what would be Villanova College.⁵ The Augustinians received the property title in January of 1842 and began operating as an established religious institution for young men and boys in 1843, after Pope Gregory XVI gave permission to create a "novice-house."⁶ In 1848, Villanova officially opened a seminary program to train men for the Augustinian Order.⁷ The campus originally used only the former Belle-Air mansion (now known as St. Rita's Hall), but went on to build a chapel in 1844, Alumni Hall in 1848, St. Thomas's church in 1883, Tolentine Hall in 1899, and Corr Hall, a seminary facility, in 1912.⁸ It was during this period of developments that the original Augustinian cemetery was moved from its original location of where Tolentine Hall stands today to in between St. Rita's Hall and Austin Hall.⁹ In addition, this period at Villanova College experienced a consistent growth in the number of students, as historian David Contosta wrote that these numbers "went from 38 in the fall of 1898, to 76 in

1905, to 132 in 1914... by 1914 the college enrollment was more than twice that of the [boys preparatory] academy (132 to 56).”¹⁰

By 1918, Villanova’s campus included a seminary, a preparatory academy for boys, and a college for lay people. Villanova College’s 75th Catalogue for the 1918-1919 academic year offers the best record of the campus’s administration prior to the epidemic striking the campus. The catalogue lists three hundred and eight students enrolled at Villanova College in 1918.¹¹ This number, more than double what Contosta reports for the total enrollment in 1914, is almost certainly the total number of students enrolled in the college, seminary, and academy. This is likely because this list features the names and home states of the three seminary students that would end up not making it past October of that year: John F. Dorgan, Massachusetts; Gilbert F. Klunk, Pennsylvania; and Albert W. Starr, Colorado.¹² The 1918 school year was expected to be a relatively normal year for the college, with some expected modifications due to the United States’ involvement in World War I.

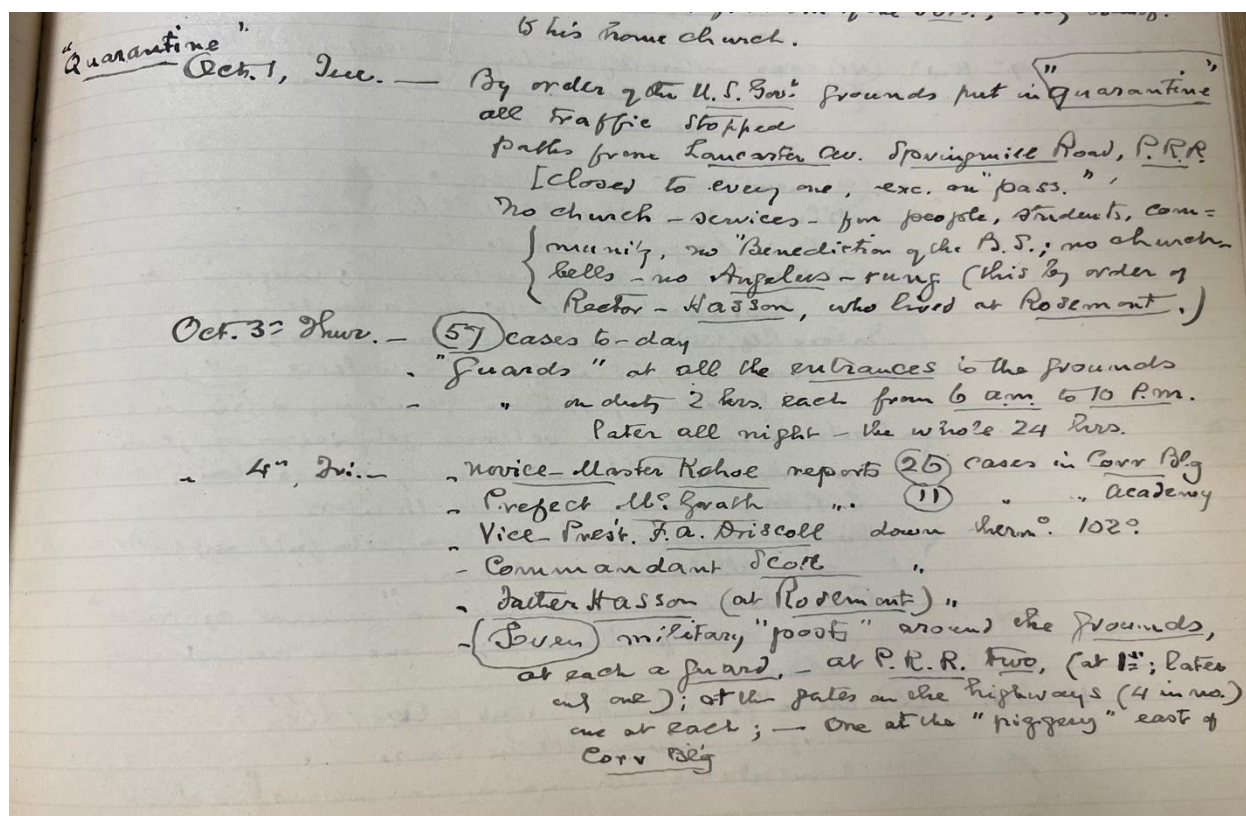
One of these changes regarding World War I was the establishment of the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) at Villanova in September of 1918. Due to concern about young men enlisting and being drafted, the Villanova administration allowed for a unit of the SATC to join the college to save the enrollment numbers. Created by the U.S. War Department to prepare for the war in Europe, the SATC was established in many colleges and universities for men to “simultaneously take college courses and train for the military.”¹³ On September 15, 1918, there was a recorded 185 enrolled students into the Villanova unit of the SATC.¹⁴ With new developments like the SATC, Villanova College was prepared to operate as a patriotic institution eager to have another great academic year.

Not only did the epidemic come as a surprise to Villanova, but it shocked the entire world, creating an additional severe obstacle for nations fighting in World War I. Epidemiologists believe that the 1918 influenza virus, nicknamed the “Spanish flu” due to early press coverage in Spain, originated globally in Haskell County, Kansas.¹⁵ One of the first places to be infected was the nearby army base, Camp Funston, which held an average of 56,000 troops.¹⁶ From the early cases at Camp Funston in March of 1918, evidence suggests that the virus traveled via war ships headed to Europe, infecting a large percentage of troops. Symptoms of this influenza virus included not only standard flu indicators like headaches, body aches, fevers, and coughing, but also more aggressive reactions such as cyanosis, delirium, and bleeding from the nose, mouth, and ears.¹⁷ Describing the death toll of the 1918 outbreak, historian John Barry wrote that “when influenza kills, it usually kills through pneumonia.”¹⁸ The pneumonia could be caused either by the influenza virus or indirectly by weakening the body’s defense to allow secondary infection.¹⁹

The dangers of the epidemic unbeknownst to him, Rev. Thomas C. Middleton—former Villanova president from 1876 to 1878 and Board of Trustees Secretary—must have also seen the early months of the 1918 school year as unextraordinary. Recognized as the first librarian and archivist of Villanova due to his detailed accounts of daily activities and efforts of preservation, Middleton spent the last fifty eight years of his life at Villanova, from 1865 to his death in 1923.²⁰ In a journal entry right before the epidemic hit Villanova, Middleton documented that on Friday, September 27th, the meals for the monastery refectory were as follows: breakfast at 6:30 am, dinner 12:15pm, and supper 5:45pm.²¹

Just two days later, his journal entries changed drastically, including new vocabulary and depicting previously unseen circumstances. By that Sunday, the 29th of September, Middleton

recorded words in quotes and underlines such as “Epidemic,” “Flu” and “cases” numbering up to forty-three in the college.²² In the same entry Middleton notes other key details, like one physician and seven nurses arriving from Bryn Mawr Hospital to care for infected students. He continues, writing that “student (later) sent [to Bryn Mawr Hospital] (died later).”²³ Along with this news, Middleton adds a familiar fourth line to this day’s entry: “meals in College, Breakfast 6:30, Dinner 11:45, Supper 5:30.”²⁴ Whether Middleton anticipated the severity of the epidemic, his entry attests to the normalcy of the community, meaning that regardless of an extraordinary circumstance, the small-knit community still had to perform its day-to-day functions.

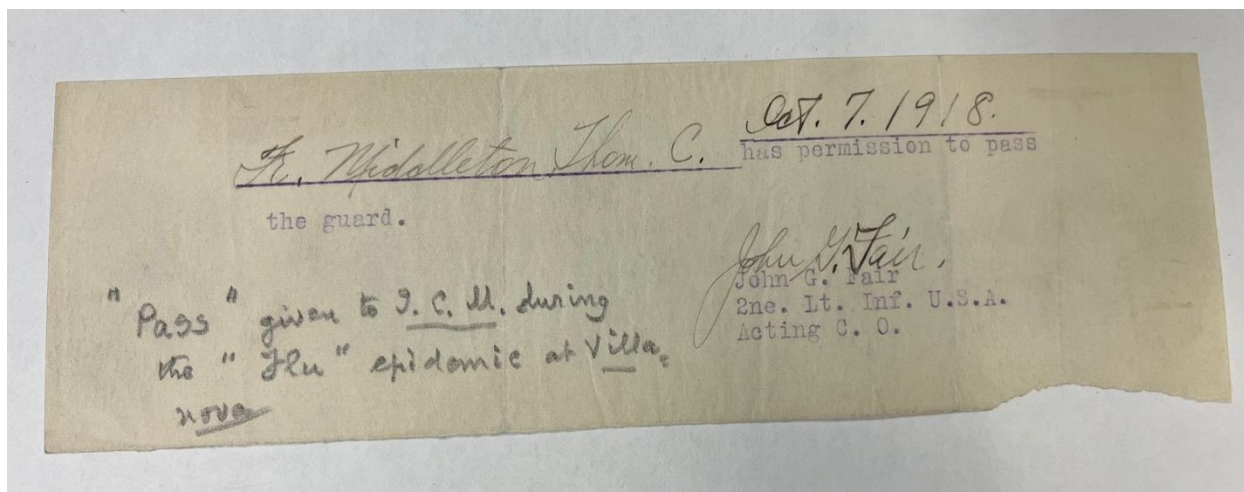


Middleton’s journal entries of the epidemic, October 1-4, 1918. Source: Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, “Journal.” October 1918. 901.2129 Middleton Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.

As news trickled in, it was not until the next day that anyone, including Middleton, found out which student was sent to the Hospital and died. Edward J. McElwee died at age nineteen in Bryn Mawr Hospital at 3:30 pm on September 30, 1918.²⁵ In Middleton’s journal, McElwee was

labeled as a “militarist,” likely due to the student’s engagement with the Student Army Training Corps; four days prior, Middleton’s entry involved him documenting the “militarists” medical exams.²⁶

McElwee’s death certificate designates pneumonia, contracted at the college, as the cause of death. Edward McElwee was not well known to many Villanovans; Originally from Wilmington, Delaware, he had been in the state of Pennsylvania for seven days, three of them spent entirely at Bryn Mawr Hospital.²⁷ *The Villanovan*, the college’s newspaper, remembered McElwee in the October 1918 issue writing, “we knew him, not so much from long acquaintance as from the nobility of his purpose. He came to us with the spirit of a soldier. Already disease had taken hold on his body, but his will was strong and courageous.”²⁸ On September 30th, Middleton recorded that McElwee had received all the sacraments and was buried at his home church.²⁹



Middleton’s Quarantine Pass, Oct. 7, 1918. Source: “Middleton Quarantine Pass,” October 1918. 901.2129 Middleton Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.

The date October 1st in Middleton’s journal is preceded by the term “Quarantine,” underlined and in quotations. The day’s entry is filled with unexpected changes for Villanova, as

Middleton writes that the United States government had placed the area under quarantine, effectively stopping the routine traffic on Lancaster Ave, Spring Mill Road, and the “PRR,” likely the Paoli railroad line that runs north of main campus.³⁰ Traveling outside of campus now seemed impossible, as the reverend wrote that these paths and railroads were “closed to everyone, exc. on ‘pass.’”³¹ This “pass” referred to a slip of paper authorized by the U.S. army, given to few in order to leave campus. Bookmarked in between the two pages he used to document the epidemic, Rev. Middleton’s tissue-like thin paper pass dated October 7th, 1918 sits as an artifact reflecting the military-enforced management of the epidemic in midst of a global war.³²

Violations of quarantine could incur a severe penalty. Just over a mile down the road from Villanova College, Bryn Mawr College student Nathalie Gookin wrote to her mother in Chicago on September 30th that the students “can’t go on the other side of Montgomery Avenue, and any infraction of the rule will be punished by immediate suspension that of course means no Philadelphia and no bike.”³³ Unbeknownst to her, not being able to enter Philadelphia in the early part of October may have benefitted her and other students, as the city was also experiencing a high number of pneumonia cases.

In addition to the regional limitations on travel, Middleton’s October 1st entry also states that church services were suspended by order of a Rector named Hasson who lived in Rosemont.³⁴ Although church services were suspended on the 1st, members of the seminary and Augustinian communities were able to still use St. Thomas’s Church. In one day, the small, religious community of Villanova became isolated by restrictions of quarantine and suspension of church services, two disruptions to the activities imbedded in the everyday life of campus and the spiritual identity of the Augustinian clergy, faculty, and student body.

Middleton also mentioned the installation of “guards” who have been placed at all entrances to the college. These guards were initially on duty for two-hour increments from six in the morning to six in the evening but were later scheduled to work all hours of the day, an edit to the entry likely noted days after.³⁵ As of October 4th, there were seven military posts spanning across campus grounds.³⁶ Each post had one guard stationed, likely students from the SATC that were noted to have used wooden guns.³⁷

Despite all of these early interventions in efforts to mitigate the influenza’s spread, Villanova College and the city of Philadelphia twelve miles east had yet to encounter the worst of the epidemic. On the 28th of September, a day before Middleton documented the start of the flu epidemic at Villanova, Philadelphia carried out its fourth Liberty Loan Parade, with an estimated 200,000 people gathered to watch the twenty-three-block long parade.³⁸ The epidemic exploded in Philadelphia in the days following the parade, with over 635 new cases on October 1st alone, the same day Villanova entered quarantine and suspended church services.³⁹ According to historian Alfred Crosby, by the end of the first week in October, around seven hundred Philadelphians had died as a result of the influenza epidemic.⁴⁰ Philadelphia would become one of the worst affected U.S. cities, with an estimated total of about 12,000 deaths.⁴¹

Crosby writes that “the story of the pandemic in the cities is apt to be more dramatic than elsewhere.”⁴² But smaller communities were also devastated by the flu. An article in the *Ardmore Chronicle* from October 12th, 1918, stated that on October 1st, a small branch of the Red Cross, called “Mrs. Norton’s corps,” went to Villanova College for their first field experience. The article explained that upon their arrival, “no less than 80 cases awaited them and with only two trained nurses to direct them [the ladies] soon brought relief to this stricken district.”⁴³ This article illustrates the shock of these ladies from the local area, as they were unaware of the

number of Villanovans in need of aid. If the case number reported here is accurate, this would represent over twenty-five percent of the Villanova student body of 1918.

After reporting fifty-seven cases on October 3rd, Middleton created a second October 3rd entry following his October 5th entry. It stated that a college clerk named Miss Winifred Foley reported the number of cases in the college to actually be seventy.⁴⁴ A closer estimate to the eighty reported in the *Ardmore Chronicle*, this edit illustrates the chaotic environment caused by the flu, where administrators like Middleton tried to accurately assess the campus's condition.

The next day's entry is more telling. Middleton wrote that Kehoe, Director of Novices and Professed, reported twenty-six cases in the Corr building, likely all seminarians, and Prefect McGrath reported eleven cases in the boys academy.⁴⁵ Additionally, the reverend stated that Vice President Driscoll, Commandant Scott, and Father Hasson, the Rector at Rosemont, had 102-degree fevers. Regardless of religious or military affiliation with the college, or being an administrative figure or student, all areas of Villanova were susceptible to influenza.

The nearby community of Wayne was also suffering. An issue of *The Suburban* on October 4th, 1918, tells a similar story to that of Middleton's journal. An article, titled "Spanish Influenza: Disease Prevalent in This Section," reported the Radnor schools closing due to sickness among students and teachers, overworked local physicians working all hours of the day, Bryn Mawr Hospital being at full capacity, and a quick mention of Villanova College being "hit hard" as well.⁴⁶ The article also discusses the dangerous nature of this influenza virus. Victims, they report, "after being apparently on the road to recovery" from influenza "develop pneumonia, which in a large percentage of cases proves fatal."⁴⁷ Local newspapers such as this one captured emotions of fear and confusion, as members of this community tried to understand a disease that had disrupted their everyday life.

Middleton's daily entries reveal that the campus managed the influenza outbreak with a combination of spiritual and medical efforts. Rev. Thomas Middleton continued his detailed entries on Saturday October 5th where he wrote that eight nurses were on duty, all wearing "masks," another term he placed in quotation marks. In addition to noting that all classes were now suspended, he wrote that by order of the Prior provincial Nicholas Vasey the following prayers were to be said after meals in the chapel: "3 Our [Father], 3 Hail Marys with Prayer (as in the Ritual) vs. Plague."⁴⁸ Commandant Scott, the man noted to have a 102 degree fever the day before, cancelled all active quarantine passes and issued new ones, potentially as a way to control the number of people entering and leaving campus. Lastly, Middleton ends the day's notes by observing the community outside of campus, writing that "along the Main Line 'soup-houses' estab. even for the well-to-do; cooks, servants stricken."⁴⁹ In eight bulleted lines this entry addresses a number of problems and situations caused by the epidemic. Medical aid and mask-wearing practices, the spiritual fight against "the plague" from the Augustinian community, and the survival efforts of the regional community were all unprecedented and new realities faced by this greater Philadelphia area.

Bryn Mawr student Nathalie Gookin's feelings also shed light on a developing sense of vulnerability. She wrote to her mother on that same Saturday that "I don't see how anyone can avoid getting the influenza, because one moment you're with a person who's quite well and the next moment she has it."⁵⁰ Writing to her mother that twenty definite cases of influenza had been reported in Bryn Mawr college's infirmary, Nathalie explains that even after limiting her daily schedule to her regular classes, she doesn't "believe it's possible for anyone to escape getting it, just consider that in less than a week there are over twenty cases."⁵¹ Nathalie's letters are crucial

to understanding the community's response to the epidemic, as her language and observations reflect how vulnerable these people felt.

In the following few days, Villanova continued to implement more mandates in efforts to stifle the epidemic's spread on campus. The 6th of October's only journal entry noted that the church was closed, no longer available to anyone, and its doors locked.⁵² On the 7th, Middleton updated a few developments, reporting that the guard posts around campus had increased from six to twenty-four. Four more postulants, a term meaning people in the first stages of becoming members of a religious order, were sent to Corr Building the same day.⁵³

The 7th of October also included the first notation of one of the three seminary students that died at Villanova, Gilbert Klunk. Already, Klunk's first mentioning is dire, as Middleton writes that "novice Klunk anointed by the Prior (J. B. Leonard)."⁵⁴ The Anointing of the Sick is a Catholic sacrament in which one nearing death is blessed in hopes that they might be physically healed, but more importantly spiritually healed, as this is at most times given when death is almost certain.⁵⁵

Despite being remembered through Middleton's journal as a victim of the flu, Klunk spent his life first as a son, brother, and student. Gilbert Francis Klunk was born in McSherrystown, Pennsylvania on January 12, 1894 to Francis Klunk, a carpenter, and his wife Emma Detrich.⁵⁶ Prior to enrolling in Villanova's preparatory academy, Klunk worked as a grocery clerk.⁵⁷ One of seven children, Klunk and three of his sisters chose a life of piety, as sisters Estella, Leona and Ada all entered the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Chestnut Hill in Philadelphia.⁵⁸ He spent three years at the academy, studying a wide variety of subjects including Latin, Greek, English, history, religion, geometry, and zoology.⁵⁹ A tall, slender man with brown eyes and brown hair, Gilbert Klunk enrolled in Villanova's seminary at

age 24 as a novice on June 15, 1918 in hopes of becoming a member of the Augustinian community.⁶⁰

Although caregivers and Middleton himself believed death was imminent for him, Gilbert was able to profess his vows and officially enter the Augustinian Order. On the 8th of October, Middleton wrote that Klunk was professed by Prior J. B. Leonard.⁶¹ In the Augustinian Order, enrolling in the seminary initiated the start of the Novitiate year, and at the end of this first year, a novice would declare his “simple vows,” deeming him “professed” and thus an official “Brother” of the Augustinian Order.⁶² Despite it being four months since Klunk enrolled, the circumstance of the influenza epidemic and Klunk’s grim outlook compelled the Villanova Augustinian community to allow him to be professed so that he would die as a member of the Order. Within the Augustinian Order, in a circumstance in which a novice is in danger of death, the novice is invited to profess their vows.⁶³ This exception demonstrates the community’s continuation of this rare procedure as the Order allows dedicated and devoted novices like Gilbert to become members in their final days.

The seminary’s tight-knit nature is likely the reasoning as to why the epidemic struck it the hardest. On October 8th, six Sisters of St. Joseph were at Corr building to help care for the sick, with three always on duty.⁶⁴ Middleton reported that in addition to six more postulants being sent there, there were thirty-four infected clerics in Corr that evening.⁶⁵ The case numbers did not improve. Middleton recorded forty-one cases in total, thirty-five of them clerics and six of them postulants. In contrast, Middleton noted only five cases in the College, signifying that the seminary, was experiencing the worst of the epidemic on campus.⁶⁶ Novices, the professed, and priests all lived together at Corr Hall and took their meals at the refectory in the monastery,

resulting in a large portion of the day being spent with one another in small spaces—an optimal breeding ground for the influenza virus.⁶⁷

After recording the addition of nine more cases to Corr, Middleton wrote on October 10th that “Klunk just died this 1:30 pm.”⁶⁸ His parents, brother John and two sisters of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Francis and Aida, were present at his death bed in Corr Hall.⁶⁹ On his death certificate, the cause of death is labeled “influenzal pneumonia.”⁷⁰ The youngest son in the family and third youngest overall, Gilbert was survived by six of his siblings, who all lived into adulthood.⁷¹ A local newspaper, *The Evening Sun* in Hanover issued a long obituary, titled “Takes Priest Vows on his Death Bed: Gilbert F. Klunk, McSherrystown, Admitted to Catholic Order Under Sad Circumstances—Is Influenza Victim.”⁷² The article detailed his life at Villanova academy and seminary, as well as the uncommon decision to be professed on his deathbed. Receiving his simple vows also seemed to allow Gilbert to be buried in the Augustinian Community Cemetery on Villanova’s campus, as only members of the Augustinian Order who spent time at Villanova were buried there.

On October 10th, Middleton foreshadowed the death of a second seminary student. Following the sentence regarding Klunk’s death, the next line reads “Cleric Dorgan near death.”⁷³ John Francis Dorgan was born on October 17th, 1893 in Lawrence, Massachusetts to a machinist named John A. Dorgan and his wife Mary Kerins.⁷⁴ Prior to entering the Villanova Novitiate on June 23rd, 1916,⁷⁵ John attended the Villanova academy for two years where he studied English, Latin, Greek, mathematics, history, physics, and religion.⁷⁶ After a full year and one day, Dorgan took his simple vows and was professed on June 24th, 1917, officially becoming a brother of the Augustinian Order.⁷⁷ With a tall, medium build and gray eyes and light hair, Dorgan was 25 years old when he started the academic year in the fall of 1918.⁷⁸

Middleton also reported on the 10th of October, below the updates on both Klunk and Dorgan, that there were fifty-nine cases in Corr, with thirty-four ill on the first floor and twenty-nine labeled “convalescent” and recovering on the second floor. Built with fifty rooms for clerics and four rooms for priests, Corr Hall was intended to hold a maximum of fifty students and four priests, a number that would be surpassed by another twenty students at the height of the epidemic.⁷⁹ Still, the seminary bore the brunt of the epidemic, as the reverend mentioned only two cases in the College and four in the Academy, bringing Villanova’s total cases to sixty-five.⁸⁰

As a result of its proximity to the city, Villanova had little chances of finding a casket for Gilbert as many of the nearby casket manufacturers were sold out due to Philadelphia’s dire need for them. Middleton ends the longest entry of his flu account with a disturbing bullet point, reading “Prior Leonard reports that no ‘funeral casket’ can be got for Klunk; none to be got any where.”⁸¹ Back east in Philadelphia, the week ending in October 12th almost quadrupled the 700 deaths the week prior, with 2,635 recorded deaths.⁸² Historian Alfred Crosby writes that as many as 500 bodies were waiting to be interred.⁸³ With coffin manufacturers and grave diggers falling behind, Crosby continued that, “at times the city morgue had as many as ten times as many bodies as coffins.”⁸⁴

The last entry in Middleton’s journal regarding the epidemic was made on Friday October 11th, 1918. It reads:

3 more ‘postulants’ sent to Corr Blg.
Dorgan given all the sacr.
Undertaker McConaghy can get us ‘casket.’⁸⁵

Like Klunk a few days before he died, Dorgan also received the Anointing of the Sick sacrament so that he could be physically and spiritually healed. Although Middleton does not

continue this journal entry for reasons unknown, the Augustinian obituary and Dorgan's headstone reveals that he died on the same day, October 11th, 1918. At the time of his death, he was just six days shy of his 26th birthday.⁸⁶ His death certificate reported his cause of death as "influenza pneumonia," like Gilbert.⁸⁷

The Catholic Standard and Times article titled "Three Augustinian Clerics Die" discusses the scene of the joint funeral held for Klunk and Dorgan:

The funeral services were held in the private chapel of the monastery of St. Thomas of Villanova, and were attended by many priests and friends, especially of the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, including Sister Agnella, who was unable to be present at the death of her brother. On the day following the death of Mr. Klunk, Mr. John F. Dorgan, O.S.A., of Lawrence, Mass, a professed cleric of the same order, succumbed to the fatal disease after a sickness lasting only a few days. Although [John's] agony was protracted and the pain intense, still he bore all with that patience and resignation worthy of a true follower of Christ. The time and place of his funeral presented a sad scene, for by his side lay the corpse of his friend and companion, Mr. Klunk.⁸⁸

The recognition of Dorgan's character during his battle with influenza is fascinating, as the obituary alludes that Dorgan may have experienced a more aggressive case yet remained solemn in his struggles. It is unknown if Klunk and Dorgan were friends and companions as the obituary suggests, however, it is likely due to the nature of the seminary that they knew each other. Both seminary students were buried in the Augustinian Community Cemetery on October 13th, 1918.⁸⁹

Middleton's entries regarding the 1918 influenza epidemic end on October 11th, 1918.⁹⁰ Apart from his journal, there remains a few notable pieces from the St. Joseph Sisters that connect the days after Klunk and Dorgan's death to Albert Starr's death on October 15th. Published in 1919 by Rev. Francis Tourscher, *Work of the Sisters During the Epidemic of Influenza, October, 1918* lists eight Sisters who aided the college's epidemic response: two from Mount St. Joseph's in Chestnut Hill, two from Our Mother of Consolation in Chestnut Hill, two

from St. Charles's Church in Philadelphia, and two from Our Mother of Sorrows in Philadelphia.⁹¹

With seven Sisters in Corr with the afflicted students and another in the academy, they aided the nurses and volunteer Red Cross ladies by doing activities such as making beds, cleaning rooms, washing bed sheets and cooking.⁹² A personal anecdote from one of the Sisters provides context to their aid at Villanova:

We arrived there on Sat, October 12th, and found that about thirty-six Novices were suffering from the disease. We found many ways of relieving them, preparing and acrrying (sic) their meals, making their beds comfortable, etc.; all were suffering intensely. Eight of our Sisters and about eight trained nurses were on duty night and day, and the young men who were not victims of the disease were victims, yes, willing victims, too, of the many odd jobs to be done. It was a pleasure to work in such an atmosphere where loyalty, devotion and charity reigned supreme. When the Sisters were leaving, only four were confined to bed, and they were on the fair road to recovery.⁹³

Reverend and student Albert J. W. Starr was likely one of many in Corr Hall who received care from the Sisters. Born on August 16, 1888 in Grand Junction, Colorado to Reuben Starr, a clerk, and his wife Alice Dickinson, Albert had spent almost ten years at Villanova. He enrolled in the preparatory academy for three years, studying what he wrote as “regular preparatory studies” which were likely similar subjects to the ones Klunk and Dorgan noted in their applications.⁹⁴ Being from two non-Catholic parents, Starr converted from Methodism to Catholicism and was baptized in his hometown when he was nineteen years old on May 2nd, 1908.⁹⁵ Entering the novitiate at Villanova on June 20th, 1912, Starr received his simple vows exactly one year later.⁹⁶ After studying theology for four years and completing a “pastoral year,” one in which the candidate works in a ministry,⁹⁷ Albert professed his solemn vows on June 23, 1916 and on May 16th, 1918, was ordained a Deacon in a ceremony at the Church of the Passionists in Newark, New Jersey.⁹⁸ A tall, slender, “regular ordained clergyman” with blue

eyes and black hair,⁹⁹ Albert would have continued to the final step of the Augustinian formation process, “complet[ing] his studies for the priesthood.”¹⁰⁰

Albert Starr was the last to die on Villanova’s campus as a result of the epidemic, succumbing to the disease on the morning of October 15th, 1918 at age thirty.¹⁰¹ Like Klunk and Dorgan, Starr’s cause of death was labeled “influenzan pneumonia.”¹⁰² His hometown newspaper *The Daily Sentinel* published an article titled, “Albert Starr Dead in East,” which detailed Starr as a “well known young man.”¹⁰³ At the end of the obituary, after reflecting on his religious achievements at Villanova, the last two sentences read, “Deceased is survived by his father, three sisters and a brother. The body will be returned to this city for burial.”¹⁰⁴ Seemingly insignificant, this article, published on the same day Starr had died at Villanova, reported that Albert’s body would be sent from Pennsylvania to Colorado for burial. This did not come to fruition; Albert Starr’s funeral took place three days later on October 18th at Villanova, where Reverend John Leonard led a Mass to celebrate Starr.¹⁰⁵ Following the Mass and a chanting of the Benedictus by students and priests, it is reported that Starr “was buried near his two companions in the private cemetery adjoining the monastery.”¹⁰⁶ It is likely that the distance from Villanova to Grand Junction was too much for either the Starr family or Albert’s body to be transported during a global pandemic.

Historian David Contosta briefly mentions that the influenza epidemic at Villanova ended in November of 1918, with a final total of one hundred seventy-three cases on campus.¹⁰⁷ Villanova’s experience shares a few patterns with the epidemic experience of Philadelphia. The weeks ending in October 12th, October 19th, and October 26th were the three worst weeks in death tolls for the city, with 2,635 deaths, 4,597 deaths, and 3,021 deaths respectively.¹⁰⁸ It is the first

two of these three weeks where the three seminary students died on campus, as well as the highest case numbers reported in Middleton's journal.

Considering Philadelphia's final numbers after six months of the epidemic, there were a recorded 16,000 deaths and around 500,000 cases of influenza from the city with a population of 1.7 million.¹⁰⁹ Villanova college, on the other hand, recorded four deaths, including McElwee, and a total of 173 cases from a campus with a population of 368 people.¹¹⁰ Comparing percentages, the epidemic on Villanova's campus was slightly deadlier than Philadelphia, with a 1.1% death rate compared to Philadelphia's 0.9%.¹¹¹ In overall cases, Villanova's case rate is significantly higher than Philadelphia's, with 47% of people on campus contracting the virus compared to Philadelphia's 29.4%.¹¹² One explanation for Villanova's high case rate could be that a large majority of the college's population were members of the Augustinian community, who spent a lot of time together in the seminary and monastery.

Additionally, a pattern noted all across the globe revealed that the 1918 influenza virus affected not only the typical age ranges of below the age of five and above sixty-five associated with traditional "influenza," but also created a third peak in young adults aged twenty-five to thirty-four.¹¹³ Gilbert Klunk, aged twenty-four, John Dorgan, just days before his twenty-sixth birthday, and Albert Starr, aged thirty, fit into this peak, as well as the majority of Villanova's all male student body.

As the influenza epidemic subsided in the region, the campus's collective memory around these deaths became inconsistent. The short-term memory proved to be the most accurate, as the 1918 October issue of *The Villanovan* published an article reliving the epidemic. Titled "The Epidemic," the article begins:

Our progress at Villanova was impeded because of the outbreak of the influenza epidemic. Because of the care and tact with which the situation was

conducted, we suffered less than most of the colleges and camps. In all there were 173 cases; three of the men who fell victims to the disease in our midst died. There was one death due to previous illness. One Tolentine boy died after leaving the Academy.¹¹⁴

The article ends by listing each of the four students, along with their class year and brief summaries of their time spent at Villanova. This issue in the campus newspaper is one of few publications to name these students and remember Villanova's experience with the epidemic.

The campus newspaper's claims of Villanova having a better experience with the flu than other institutions nearby could be a reflection of how isolated the seminarian community on campus was in comparison to the college. The closest campus, Bryn Mawr College, reported 110 cases of influenza with zero deaths.¹¹⁵ In Philadelphia, St. Joseph's University had a similar outbreak to the one at Villanova, yet had zero student deaths.¹¹⁶ The University of Pennsylvania was affected less by the epidemic than the surrounding city, reporting one death from its law school and two nursing students who died while treating patients.¹¹⁷ Contrary to the October 1918 edition of *The Villanovan*, it seems that Villanova College was actually one of the worst hit colleges in the area.

In what would have been Klunk's graduation year, the first Villanova yearbook, called "Belle-Air" after the original mansion, was published in 1922. In the opening pages, the class of 1922 seniors dedicated one paragraph to their experience with the epidemic of their overall six-page reflection:

'22 will never forget the days of the 'flu.' Classes were suspended, and likewise all military formations, because all that were not actually sick were required for a thousand kinds of necessary detail work. Guard Duty (at the gates with wooden guns), K. P., and hospital duty alternated so rapidly that we sometimes wished the 'flu' might get us--just a little bit. Father Dean, Father Driscoll, and Lieutenant Scott were tireless in their attentions to the sick, and to all the mass of routine work connected with the establishment of a military post. The days they spent at the desk, and the nights they spent among the sick... Mainly on account of their unceasing vigilance, the efficient work of the doctors

and nurses, and the care that was taken to treat each case on the appearance of the first symptom, there was only one death from more than a hundred cases.¹¹⁸

This entry tells a different story when compared to the St. Joseph's Sisters or the campus newspaper article. It is clear that this "senior class" is likely made up of only members of the college, not the seminary, as their experience includes working as a guard or in the hospital. As noted in Middleton's journal, the college seemed to be the least affected by the epidemic, with case numbers remaining in the single digits. Another key difference in this retelling is the last sentence, which claims that only one death occurred. This singular death could be McElwee, as he was the only non-seminarian and college student, or it could mean Klunk, as he died before being known on campus as a professed member of the Augustinians. Either way, only indicating one death illustrates the various communities existing within the college's campus. It is possible that the senior class had not noticed the three new graves in the Augustinian plot next to St. Thomas's Church. Despite working on campus as guards and aiding the hospital staff, these men were unaware or choosing not to reflect on the effect influenza had on the seminary located just yards away.

A more recent publication of Villanova's history presents a third brief retelling of the epidemic. In a few sentences, Contosta provides an overview of the measures taken on campus, such as the quarantine, establishment of guard posts, and the nurses sent from Bryn Mawr Hospital. Contosta ends this epidemic recap with, "Before the epidemic was over in November, three Villanova students (all seminarians) died."¹¹⁹ Contosta groups these three seminary students as "others" through the usage of parentheticals, distinguishing this group from the regular student body while also failing to mention McElwee.

The final account was published from the Province of Saint Thomas of Villanova's magazine, *Augustinian*, in Fall of 2021. In an effort to remember the newly deceased

Augustinians from the COVID epidemic, the magazine included a two-page article about the three seminarian students who died of influenza in 1918. Providing brief details about their time spent on Villanova's campus, this article concludes remembering the seminarians, stating that "these three young religious lie in adjoining graves in the community cemetery just steps from the church on Villanova's campus."¹²⁰ The article also spotlights two other friars who died as a result of the 1918 epidemic. Friar Daniele Scalabrella, O.S.A., was aged 41 when he died of influenza on October, 15th, in Troy, New York after visiting Villanova for a retreat.¹²¹ Friar Daniel Fogarty, O.S.A., died in Andover, Massachusetts three days after on October 18th at age 31.¹²² Although this article is an effort to remember the lives lost in a prior epidemic, it is important to underscore that the reason lies in their own COVID experience. Without the reason of a recent epidemic to connect shared experiences, one could wonder how long these three graves would have remained unremembered.

These reflections of memory illustrate how this epidemic has been remembered. The influenza epidemic, despite its nation-wide 675,000 death toll, is largely forgotten in collective and national memories due to other factors, a main one being World War I.¹²³ Alfred Crosby writes that "nothing else-- no infection, no war, no famine-- has ever killed so many in as short a period. And yet it has never inspired awe, not in 1918 and not since, not among the citizens of any particular land and not among the citizens of the United States."¹²⁴ It appears that Villanova extends this statement, with little attempts to adequately remember this period and these students who still remain on campus.



The graves of Gilbert Klunk, John Dorgan, and Albert Starr at the Augustinian Community Cemetery, Villanova University. Source: Taken by author.

These three graves, now in the second to last row of the cemetery, exist as an example of the lapses of collective memory and an illustration of how smaller communities are affected by global events. Although Pennsylvania faced over 60,000 deaths, with Philadelphia alone accounting for 12,000 of them, the deaths of Gilbert Klunk, John Dorgan, and Albert Starr demonstrate how a space labeled “ordinary,” like a college campus or the seminary within it, can be transformed by extraordinary experiences.¹²⁵ Using new medical terminology, enforcing a quarantine on an entire campus, accessing other communities for help and aid were all entirely new concepts to Villanova on the outbreak of the 1918 epidemic. Now, three headstones stand as a physical marker and reminder of a time of unfamiliarity, change, and fear as an entire network of communities—the seminary, the monastery, the administration, the student body—came together to figure out how to navigate a deadly epidemic.

Endnotes

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- ¹ When a novice professes his “simple vows,” he is professing his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and after the profession, he is deemed “professed” and becomes an official member of the order. After four years of religious instruction at a Theologate, a friar of at least 24 years of age professes his “solemn vows,” which professes his commitment to God, the Order, and the church. For additional information about the steps of the Augustinian Formation Process, see: Augustinian Vocations of North America, “Discover the 9 Steps of the Augustinian Formation Process,” <https://www.beafriar.org/post/discover-the-9-steps-of-the-augustinian-formation-process>. Information regarding Nicholas Murphy’s biography: “Nicholas J. Murphy, O.S.A.,” Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinians Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, <https://augustinian.org/nicholas-j-murphy-osa/>.
- ² “Daniel J. Murphy, O.S.A.,” Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinians Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, <https://augustinian.org/daniel-j-murphy-osa/>.
- ³ David R. Contosta, and Dennis J. Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992: American--Catholic--Augustinian* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 7.
- ⁴ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 8.
- ⁵ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 10.
- ⁶ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 10-13.
- ⁷ David R. Contosta, and Dennis J. Gallagher, *Villanova College to University: 150 Years of Augustinian Tradition and Promise 1842-1992* (Villanova, PA: Falvey Memorial Library, 1993). Online Exhibition. <https://historyrocks.library.villanova.edu/sesquicentennial-celebration-historical-exhibit>.
- ⁸ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*.
- ⁹ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 67.
- ¹⁰ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 74.
- ¹¹ Villanova College, *Seventy-fifth Catalogue of Villanova College: Villanova, Delaware County, Pa.: Conducted by the Augustinian Fathers for the Academic Year 1918-1919*, (s.l. : s.n, 1918), 4-5. <https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/vudl:190315?sid=145962570>.
- ¹² Villanova College, *Seventy-fifth Catalogue of Villanova*, 107, 109, 113.
- ¹³ “Student Army Training Corps,” From *Hopkins and the Great War*, Johns Hopkins University Library Online Exhibit, <https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/exhibits/show/hopkins-and-the-great-war/homewood-campus/experiences/student-army-training-corps>.
- ¹⁴ Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, “Journal.” October 1918. 901.2129 Middleton Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ¹⁵ For details regarding the development of “Spanish flu” nickname, see John Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Viking, 2005), 171. For more information about the origin of the 1918 influenza virus in Haskell County, see Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 92.
- ¹⁶ Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 92-95.
- ¹⁷ Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 224, 232-236.
- ¹⁸ Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 151-153.
- ¹⁹ Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 151-153.
- ²⁰ “Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A.,” Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinian Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, <https://augustinian.org/thomas-c-middleton-osa/>.
- ²¹ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ²² Middleton, “Journal.”
- ²³ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ²⁴ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ²⁵ “Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970.” Digital image s.v. “Edward Joseph McElwee.” *Ancestry.com*.
- ²⁶ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ²⁷ “Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970.” Digital image s.v. “Edward Joseph McElwee.” *Ancestry.com*.
- ²⁸ “Edward McElwee,” *The Villanovan* (Villanova, PA), October 1918, 32.
- ²⁹ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ³⁰ Middleton, “Journal.”

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- ³¹ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ³² “Middleton Quarantine Pass,” October 1918. 901.2129 Middleton Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ³³ “Letter,” September 30, 1918, Natalie Gookin papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, <https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/repositories/6/resources/1554>.
- ³⁴ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ³⁵ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ³⁶ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ³⁷ Villanova College, *Belle Air 1922 Yearbook*, Vol. 1, 1922, page 26. <https://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:191151#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-193%2C-250%2C3751%2C4972>.
- ³⁸ Alfred Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 72.
- ³⁹ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 73.
- ⁴⁰ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 74.
- ⁴¹ Mira Shetty and J. J. Ahern, “Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic,” PennLibraries University Archives & Records Center, <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/flu/>.
- ⁴² Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 66.
- ⁴³ This report differs from Middleton’s October 3rd entry in case numbers, where he reports 57 cases. Report: “Main Line Branch No. 1, Red Cross Gives Valiant Aid in Influenza Fight,” *Ardmore Chronicle (Ardmore, PA)*, October 12, 1918, *Digital Library at Villanova*. Accessed January 12, 2024. <https://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:397559#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=1217%2C-584%2C3241%2C4297>.
- ⁴⁴ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁴⁵ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁴⁶ “Spanish Influenza,” *The Suburban (Wayne Times Edition)*, October 4, 1918, *Digital Library at Villanova*. Accessed January 12, 2024. <https://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:624567#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=328%2C11%2C1309%2C1736>.
- ⁴⁷ “Spanish Influenza,” October 4, 1918.
- ⁴⁸ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁴⁹ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁵⁰ “Letter,” October 5, 1918, Natalie Gookin papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, <https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/repositories/6/resources/1554>.
- ⁵¹ “Letter,” October 5, 1918, Natalie Gookin papers.
- ⁵² Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁵³ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁵⁴ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁵⁵ United States Catholic Catechism for Adults, “Anointing of the Sick,” <https://www.usccb.org/prayer-and-worship/sacraments-and-sacramentals/anointing-of-the-sick>.
- ⁵⁶ “Application to Order of St Augustine,” n.d. 305.2112 Gilbert F. Klunk Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ⁵⁷ “Gilbert F. Klunk, O.S.A.,” Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinians Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, <https://augustinian.org/gilbert-f-klunk-osa/>.
- ⁵⁸ “Gilbert F. Klunk, O.S.A.”
- ⁵⁹ Application to Order of St Augustine,” Gilbert F. Klunk Augustinian Archive Personnel Files.
- ⁶⁰ “U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918,” Digital image s.v. “Gilbert F. Klunk.” *Ancestry.com*.
- ⁶¹ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁶² Augustinian Vocations of North America, “Discover the 9 Steps of the Augustinian Formation Process.”
- ⁶³ Father Michael Di Gregorio, O.S.A., “October 1918: A Memorable Month,” *Augustinian*, vol. 17, issue 3, Fall 2021, 5, <https://augustinian.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/FALL21-FINAL.pdf>.
- ⁶⁴ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁶⁵ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁶⁶ Middleton, “Journal.”
- ⁶⁷ Thomas F. Gilligan, O.S.A., “The History of St. Mary’s Hall,” *Tagastan*, vol. 10 no. 3 (June 1947), Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University, 116.

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- ⁶⁸ Klunk's death is documented on his death certificate and obituaries as October 11th, 1918, however the journal and the headstone indicate it was on October 10th, 1918. See Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁶⁹ "Takes Priest Vows on His Death Bed," *The Evening Sun (Hanover, PA)*, October 11, 1918. *Newspapers.com*. Accessed February 1, 2024.
- ⁷⁰ "Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970." Digital image s.v. "Gilbert Francis Klunk." *Ancestry.com*.
- ⁷¹ "1900 United States Census, McSherrystown, Adams, Pennsylvania," Digital image, s.v. "Gilbert F. Klunk." *Ancestry.com*.
- ⁷² "Takes Priest Vows on His Death Bed," *The Evening Sun (Hanover, PA)*.
- ⁷³ Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁷⁴ "Application to Order of St Augustine," n.d. 305.2113 John F. Dorgan Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ⁷⁵ "John F. Dorgan," Note, n.d. 305.2113 John F. Dorgan Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ⁷⁶ "Application to Order of St Augustine," John F. Dorgan Augustinian Archive Personnel Files.
- ⁷⁷ "John F. Dorgan," Note, John F. Dorgan Augustinian Archive Personnel Files.
- ⁷⁸ "U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," Digital image s.v. "John F. Dorgan." *Ancestry.com*.
- ⁷⁹ Gilligan, O.S.A., "The History of St. Mary's Hall," 115-116.
- ⁸⁰ Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁸¹ Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁸² Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 60.
- ⁸³ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 82.
- ⁸⁴ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 82.
- ⁸⁵ Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁸⁶ "John F. Dorgan, O.S.A.," Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinians Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, Villanova University Augustinian Archives.
- ⁸⁷ "Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970." Digital image s.v. "John Francis Dorgan." <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30945930/john-francis-dorgan#view-photo=160998033>.
- ⁸⁸ "Three Augustinian Clerics Die," *The Catholic Standard and Times (Philadelphia, PA)*, October 26, 1918. *Catholic News Archive*. Accessed February 1, 2024. <https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=cst19181026-01.2.5&srpos=63&e=-----191-en-20--61-byDA-txt-txIN-villanova-ARTICLE---1918--->
- ⁸⁹ "Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970." Both Klunk and Dorgan.
- ⁹⁰ The unexplained end of Middleton's detailed entries is followed by an entry dated in 1915 of the heights of buildings around the college. Two blank pages follows, then on the third, Middleton wrote details regarding the 1919 commencement ceremony that occurred on June 19th, signifying that Middleton eventually returned to his status quo of marking down events of the college. See Middleton, "Journal."
- ⁹¹ Francis Edward Tourscher, *Work of the Sisters During the Epidemic of Influenza, October, 1918* (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Society, 1919), 49. <https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/vudl:229268?sid=146128515>
- ⁹² Francis Edward Tourscher, *Experiences of the Sisters of St. Joseph's Work at Villanova College During the Influenza Epidemic, October 1918*. 1919, *Digital Library at Villanova*. Accessed January 30, 2024. <https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/vudl:634046?sid=146055102>.
- ⁹³ Tourscher, *Experiences of the Sisters of St. Joseph's Work at Villanova College*.
- ⁹⁴ "Application to Order of St Augustine," n.d. 305.2115 Albert J. Starr Augustinian Archive Personnel Files, Augustinian Monastery Archives, Villanova University.
- ⁹⁵ "Albert J. Starr, O.S.A.," Augustinian Necrology, The Augustinians Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, <https://augustinian.org/albert-j-starr-osa/>.
- ⁹⁶ "Albert J. Starr, O.S.A."
- ⁹⁷ Augustinian Vocations of North America, "Discover the 9 Steps of the Augustinian Formation Process."
- ⁹⁸ "Albert J. Starr, O.S.A."
- ⁹⁹ "U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," Digital image s.v. "Albert W. Starr." *Ancestry.com*.
- ¹⁰⁰ "Albert Starr Dead in East." *The Daily Sentinel (Grand Junction, CO)*, October 15, 1918. *Newspapers.com*.
- ¹⁰¹ "Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970." Digital image s.v. "Albert Webb Starr," *Ancestry.com*.
- ¹⁰² "Pennsylvania, U.S., Death Certificates, 1906-1970." "Albert Webb Starr."
- ¹⁰³ "Albert Starr Dead in East." *The Daily Sentinel*.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Albert Starr Dead in East." *The Daily Sentinel*.
- ¹⁰⁵ "Three Augustinian Clerics Die," *The Catholic Standard and Times*.

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- ¹⁰⁶ “Three Augustinian Clerics Die,” *The Catholic Standard and Times*.
- ¹⁰⁷ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 82.
- ¹⁰⁸ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 60.
- ¹⁰⁹ Shetty and Ahern, “Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic.”
- ¹¹⁰ This is the author’s estimation from the catalogue records that lists students and faculty. See: Villanova College, *Seventy-fifth Catalogue of Villanova College: Villanova, Delaware County, Pa.: Conducted by the Augustinian Fathers for the Academic Year 1918-1919*, (s.l. : s.n, 1918).
- ¹¹¹ Calculation made by author as follows: Philadelphia: 16,000 deaths divided by 1.7 million population. Villanova: 4 deaths divided by 268 population for Villanova.
- ¹¹² Calculation made by author as follows: Philadelphia 500,000 cases divided by 1.7 million population. Villanova 173 cases divided by 368 population.
- ¹¹³ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 86.
- ¹¹⁴ “The Epidemic,” *The Villanovan (Villanova, PA)*. October 1918.
<https://digital.library.villanova.edu/Item/vudl:183963#?c=&m=&s=&cv=>
- ¹¹⁵ “Bryn Mawr College,” 1918 Influenza Escape Communities, University of Michigan Center for the History of Medicine, <https://chm.med.umich.edu/research/1918-influenza-escape-communities/bryn-mawr-college/>.
- ¹¹⁶ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 82.
- ¹¹⁷ Shetty and Ahern, “Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic.”
- ¹¹⁸ Villanova College, *Belle Air 1922 Yearbook*, 26.
- ¹¹⁹ Contosta and Gallagher, *Villanova University, 1842-1992*, 82.
- ¹²⁰ Di Gregorio, O.S.A., “October 1918: A Memorable Month,” 5.
- ¹²¹ Di Gregorio, O.S.A., “October 1918: A Memorable Month,” 6.
- ¹²² Di Gregorio, O.S.A., “October 1918: A Memorable Month,” 6.
- ¹²³ Shetty and Ahern, “Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic.”
- ¹²⁴ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 311.
- ¹²⁵ Shetty and Ahern, “Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic.”