The Freedom to Smoke

TOBACCO CONSUMPTION AND IDENTITY

JARRETT RUDY

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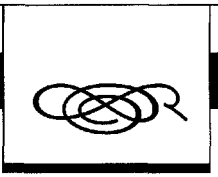

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great support in all my endeavours. My grandma, Doris Rudy, has always been an enthusiastic supporter of my work and my intellectual and political journeys. She is an avid newspaper "clipper," and the fact that newspapers are one of the key sources for this book is, I think, no coincidence. My two great-aunts, Helen and Ethel Rudy, both of whom have passed away, were my family's first historians. The stories they told reveal a humanism and a passion for the concerns of "ordinary" people that personify the kind of historian and person I want to be. Finally, my parents, Bob and Joan Rudy, have encouraged me in many ways that it is difficult to sum up in a few lines. They celebrated my successes and sent care packages of chocolate-covered coffee beans and cigars when the thesis was not going well and it seemed as if it would never end. I love them greatly, and the book never would have been completed without their support. It is to my parents that I dedicate this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Archives de l'Archéché de Montréal
ANQ-M	Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal
AO	Archives of Ontario
AVM	Archives de la Ville de Montréal
ATCC	American Tobacco Company of Canada
BNQ	Bibliothèque nationale du Québec
CCC	Commons Commission on the Cigarette
CCTJ	*Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal*
CMA	Canadian Manufacturers Association
CMIU	Cigar Makers' International Union
CMOJ	*Cigar Makers' Official Journal*
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
IT	Imperial Tobacco Company
MSR	Montreal Street Railway Company
MTLC	Montreal Trades and Labor Council
MUA	McGill University Archives
MUL	McGill University Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections Division
NA	National Archives of Canada (now Library and Archives Canada)
RCLT	Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic
RCPS	Royal Commission on Price Spreads
RCRLC	Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital
RCTT	Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade in Canada
UQAM	Université du Québec à Montréal
WCTU	Woman's Christian Temperance Union

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The Freedom to Smoke

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INTRODUCTION

IN MUCH OF THE WORLD THE RISE OF THE CIGARETTE BEGAN in the late nineteenth century. Montreal, the subject of this book, provides an intriguing example of this process. In 1888 the Davis family, prominent Montreal cigar manufacturers, licensed the Bonsack cigarette machine from its American inventors. Thus began the mass production of cigarettes in Canada. Like other industrial inventions in the period, the Bonsack revolutionized cigarette production, replacing people with machines and increasing output a hundredfold.[1] Seven years later the Davis cigarette business was purchased by James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company. The American Tobacco Company of Canada (ATCC), with the eldest Davis son, Mortimer, at its head, dominated cigarette sales. It spent vast amounts on advertising, and by 1914, seventeen times more cigarettes were being sold in Canada; Montreal probably followed this trend.[2]

Although this increase was impressive, in Montreal the pipe remained far more popular than the cigarette until the late 1920s, and despite the fact that no laws forbade them from smoking, most women did not light up until after the Second World War. The production and advertising transformations tell us little about who smoked or the cultural and social roles of smoking rituals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This book attempts to do so. It uncovers the dominant and non-dominant meanings of smoking in the city and how they related to

class, racial and gender identities, and social relations and how these meanings changed over time. It links the meanings of smoking in Montreal to understandings of smoking in the Western world, while at the same time outlining the specificities of the Montreal example. Until 1950, when the first studies linking the cigarette to lung cancer were published, controversies around smoking were predominantly about how people used tobacco to construct their identities. Smoking provided almost an infinity of gestures for each smoker, and for the most part these gestures were made with an awareness of how they would be understood. Choices of smoking products, the decision to smoke, where one smoked, and, most broadly, "the freedom to smoke" were governed by conventions of etiquette and taste, what can collectively be called prescriptions. For the most part, these prescriptions set out what was respectable "masculine" and "feminine" activity, with the smoker's reputation on the line.

This study also tells us much about liberalism. The particular configuration of these prescriptions was rooted in time and place and gave smoking a political role; they reflected and served to legitimize beliefs about inclusion, exclusion, and hierarchy that were at the core of liberalism. Quebec historians have a long tradition of studying liberalism as part of the broader field of the history of ideas. However, these studies have, for the most part, concentrated on the political and economic ideology of politicians as they battled Quebec's ultramontane religious leadership. This tradition of intellectual history has found renewed popularity, as can be seen through Yvan Lamonde's *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec* and the new history-of-ideas journal *Mens*.[3]

My own preoccupations are different. Since the 1970s, social historians have sought to understand the popular classes: how they lived their lives and the power relations that shaped their experiences. With the development of cultural history in the 1980s and 1990s, they have tried "to identify the meanings in circulation in earlier periods, to specify the discourses, conventions and signifying practices by which meanings are fixed, norms 'agreed' and truth defined."[4] Increasingly, historians and others have shown the importance of these signifying practices in structuring everyday life.[5] Within this perspective, in separate studies Jean-Marie Fecteau and Ian McKay have put forward a far more expansive notion of liberalism. Liberalism, they argue, is much larger than the ideologies of "combat" discussed by historians of ideas. It is "something akin to a secular religion or a totalizing philosophy ... [rather than]... an easily manipulated set of political ideas." Fundamentally, liberalism

puts the "individual" at the centre of how society is organized and gives him or her a more important status than other units such as "society" or "community." Individuals have "liberties," such as freedom of the press, freedom of contract, the freedom to sell their labour, and the all-important right to own property. They are equal to the point that they can exercise their liberties without impinging on the liberties of others.

Yet liberalism goes further than to outline what an individual has the right to do; it sets out a number of historically contingent values that define who this "individual" is. The "individual" of nineteenth-century liberalism was only partially related to the concept of a "living human being." Nineteenth-century liberalism defined the individual as a "rational" and "self-possessed" person. Rationality and self-possession were not unique to liberalism; they did, however, gain new pertinence as liberalism became dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century. These ideals were built on gender, class, and racial norms that served as criteria which bestowed on a person the rights and freedoms of a liberal individual. Women, workers, and numerous ethnic groups were often disqualified from this definition of the "individual," thus furnishing the rationale for their political and economic disenfranchisement.[6] Liberal ideals structured the ritual of smoking: from the purchase of tobacco, to who was to smoke, to how one was supposed to smoke, to where one smoked. Up until the First World War, these prescriptions served to normalize the exclusion of women from the definition of the liberal individual and to justify the subordination of the poor and ethnic minorities. And yet even while these prescriptions were at their height, an emergent group of beliefs began to recast notions of respectable smoking around less-hierarchical product choices and more inclusive notions of who could respectably smoke. The challenge these changes posed was not only part of a transition from bourgeois to mass consumption; it was also part of the transformation of the liberal order in the first half of the twentieth century.[7]

The relationship between liberalism and smoking prescriptions is most clear concerning gender. Nineteenth-century notions of respectable smoking dictated that women were not supposed to smoke. The rationale went to the heart of liberal definitions of the individual – women did not possess the power of self-control. Their health, their safety, and the safety of others, as well as the role for which women were most valued, that of reproduction, were all at stake. Nor did women have the capacity to be rational economic actors and choose a quality tobacco. Only men were respectable smokers. In fact, this period was

the height of the relationship between respectable masculinities and smoking. Male smokers saw themselves as having self-control and as being connoisseurs. Smoking brought men of different backgrounds together. It gave odour and visible shape to spaces socially constructed as male. Women who entered such space not only risked infusing their clothes with its smell; they put their respectability into question. As the immediate pre-First World War period saw increasing challenges from women's groups who demanded citizenship rights, smoking was more and more used as a ritual to exclude women from the public sphere and fuller rights. Yet even during this period when smoking by women was culturally outlawed, an emergent group of women appropriated the liberal symbolism of the ritual to challenge the limits that separate-spheres ideology placed on female citizenship and demanded the "right" to smoke. Greater acceptance of women smoking occurred after the war as they gained more citizenship rights and increasingly worked in public places.

Though the concepts were often inseparable, class and gender related differently to notions of the liberal individual. Once again, smoking provides insights. In the late nineteenth century, tobacco was inexpensive enough that almost all men could smoke, regardless of class. However, not all men could afford to smoke highly esteemed tobacco, and the value placed on the tobacco reflected on the character of the smoker. The symbolic consequences of smoking poorly regarded tobacco worked differently for the rich and the poor. A wealthy man could smoke a low-quality tobacco and in the end still be rich, whereas for a poor man to smoke an inferior tobacco was seen as a reflection of his character and a cause of his class position. Similarly, there were considerable material barriers to following the gender prescriptions of space around smoking. Not everyone could provide a separate space for male smokers, and the consequences of being unable to segregate the sexes by smoking reflected on the character of the smoker and any women present. Yet men could demonstrate their class by exhibiting self-control in public situations and refraining from smoking when in the presence of women. Self-control also became a class issue since the amount of time a man could spend smoking was limited by his job, making it difficult for him to live up to the ideal of the leisurely, self-controlled smoker. Conversely, working-class poverty could be blamed on a man's excessive smoking. These prescriptions about smoking served to normalize material inequalities as the fault or choice of the individual, rather than as precipitated by structural problems within the economy

or the inequalities of class. This configuration of class and gender in the ideal of the autonomous male smoker was undermined before and during the First World War by the patriotic promotion of the cigarette, a mass-produced product that did not recognize previous hierarchies of value, and later by the increasing acceptability of female smokers.

People of diverse cultural backgrounds were judged on their ability to abide by these liberal prescriptions for smoking. Smokers who were racially "othered" included not only people from foreign lands such as the Philippines and eastern Europe, but also Natives and Quebec farmers. In this era of mass migration to Montreal, complaints about questionable smoking habits were symbolic of larger anxieties about the racial constitution of the nation. Transgressions were offered as proof of inferiority and unworthiness of citizenship. While female smoking was frowned upon in turn-of-the-century Montreal, women smokers in earlier times had not been stigmatized; nor were they elsewhere in the world. When women smokers arrived in Montreal, the fact that they smoked played a role in constructions of female barbarity. The hierarchies of tobacco used to judge the character of smokers were also culturally specific and partly based on racial and gender ideologies naturalized through the structures of the market. Smokers who had formed their tastes elsewhere risked being labelled "tasteless."

Non-dominant symbolic systems also used smoking to create identities. Indeed, though French Canadian tobacco was disdained by the dominant hierarchies of taste, it was used symbolically to assert a rural vision of the French Canadian nation. Prostitutes and dandies used smoking to create feminine and masculine identities outside the dominant norms. From a radically different point of view, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was established in Montreal in 1883, contested the dominant notion that smoking was a symbol of respectable masculinity. Its members saw smoking as a threat to the race and nation, and their beliefs in social gospel theology pushed them to organize the first campaigns for age-restriction laws and the prohibition of cigarettes. From the second half of the 1920s, the Roman Catholic Church opposed women smoking because the ritual symbolically asserted a view of women's role in society that diverged from church doctrines of maternalism.

The failure of these anti-smoking campaigns, especially in Montreal, underlines the fact that smoking, more than any other consuming ritual, held particularly liberal symbolism even as liberalism was transformed. Indeed, the tension between liberal preoccupations with

self-possession and rationality, on the one hand, and smoking's addictive nature, on the other, makes the ritual a particularly useful and potent symbol of liberal values. Political theorist Anthony Arblaster argues that according to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberal views, the rational individual "is not the one who merely *uses* reason to guide and assist his desires. He is the man who through reason liberates himself from the tyranny of appetite and desire."[8] Even in this period there was an awareness of tobacco's "tyranny of appetite and desire," but its seemingly benign effects in comparison to alcohol or drugs meant it constituted a surmountable, though not insignificant, risk and thus a particularly meaningful demonstration of self-control.[9]

Montreal in this era provides a fascinating case study of the interaction of liberalism, the construction of identity, and social relations because of its divided and rapidly shifting social and cultural landscape. The city was the industrial capital of Canada and boasted the most economically powerful bourgeoisie in the country. Both these characteristics suggest particularly fruitful explorations into the diverse workings of class in relation to liberal prescriptions and into how the ritual was transformed by industrial capitalism. Being the major Canadian metropolis of the period also meant that Montreal had important women's groups, allowing for a more extensive analysis of opinion on gender and smoking. The city's division between two principal language groups provides a unique opportunity to explore the nature of social relations between francophones and anglophones outside the sphere of formal politics. As well, immigration marked Montreal's urban landscape in several ways. Massive numbers of foreigners arrived in the city during the period, and whether they stayed or not, their presence received comment. These often derogatory remarks reveal more about the racial views of those already in Montreal than about the "civility" of the newcomers. Similarly, the influx of rural French Canadians who migrated to Montreal did not escape the condescending eye of both anglophone and francophone Montrealers. Religious affiliations in the city were also greatly divided, between Roman Catholics and Protestants as well as among Protestant denominations.[10]

In addition, a study of Montreal is uncommonly valuable because it was the centre of the Canadian tobacco industry during this period. In 1888, pipe tobacco was a much more important industry than cigarettes. Shortly after the ATCC was set up, it proceeded to break into the pipe tobacco market, which to that point had been monopolized by Montreal's other "tobacco king," Sir William Macdonald. Part of the

ATCC's challenge to Macdonald's stranglehold on the market was through the use of mass advertising to convince Macdonald smokers to switch to an ATCC brand. The empires that Mortimer Davis (in 1908 the ATCC became Imperial Tobacco of Canada) and William Macdonald built dominate the Canadian cigarette and pipe markets to this day. The cigar industry was different. While the technological innovations used in the cigarette and pipe tobacco industries required large investments of capital, before the First World War few new technologies were introduced in the cigar industry, keeping it relatively free of monopoly. Instead, cigar manufacturers faced off against cigar makers over changes in work process and reduced wages. After the First World War, cigar-rolling machines were introduced, and the industry went into a free fall, never to recover. All these issues of production, labour, distribution, and marketing were important to perceptions of quality and the availability of a smokers' favourite tobaccos.

Studying the cultural meanings and social uses of smoking is also important because of today's health concerns. Current research has shown that these too are framed by cultural issues. It demonstrates, for example, that the group most likely to take up smoking is young women who use tobacco as an appetite suppressant to control their weight. Among other reasons, smoking, for them, is a response to cultural ideals of the female body.[11] Other issues, such as social class, play a role in a person's decision to start smoking, though we know little about why this is the case. The social role and meanings of smoking differ from culture to culture, and within cultures, tobacco is smoked for different reasons, depending on the class, gender, age, and cultural heritage of the smoker. This symbolism plays a decisive part in an individual's decision to begin smoking, and successful campaigns to stop people from smoking must be sensitive to such cultural and social dimensions.

This study also contributes to the international historiography of smoking. Early histories of smoking were written by gentleman scholars such as Count Corti and G.L. Apperson, who produced global histories of their favourite habit. While these provide interesting anecdotes, they lack a rigorous analysis of the habit.[12] Recent studies approach the history of smoking more critically, primarily treating questions of agriculture, science, medicine, advertising, labour, business, and anti-smoking movements but only briefly discussing the cultural meanings of smoking.[13] A rare model for studying the history of smoking is Matthew Hilton's *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000*. Hilton's narrative to 1950 turns primarily around the relationship between product

choice and the construction of the smoker's identity. He argues that in the early twentieth century this relationship was transformed from a bourgeois-liberal ethic that valued individuality above all, especially in tobacco mixtures and cigars, to a technological rationality, an increasingly standardized mass-culture individuality, most fully embodied in the cigarette. I draw on these insights, but I expand the discussion in several areas, such as regional tastes and identity and the relationship between etiquette and power relations, themes that are lost in Hilton's broader national narrative.

A rich and diverse group of sources makes it possible to study changing ideas about smoking. Such a conclusion may not seem evident at first glance. Indeed, evidence that today would provide more precise information on what was being smoked and what it meant to smokers does not exist in the period. Polling, for example, is a relatively recent phenomenon that did not begin in Canada until the 1940s.[14] And because of today's tobacco wars, companies that may have done in-house research on their "markets" or had more precise production and distribution statistics are not willing to open their records to researchers. Some historians have used the federal government's records of tobacco taxes, or excise duties, to understand what Canadians smoked. Jan Rogozinski, for example, used Canadian excise figures to estimate consumption patterns in 1920. He found that cigarettes were far less important in the Canadian tobacco market than in the United States or Britain. The cigarette made up only 19 per cent of tobacco consumption, whereas pipe tobacco continued to dominate until the late 1920s.[15] Why this difference existed is a question beyond the scope of this book. For a study of one city, moreover, these statistics present additional challenges. There is no way to tell whether they were representative of Montreal smokers. Excise statistics exist for the city, but because the Canadian tobacco industry was based in Montreal and tobacco excised at the city's tobacco factories was consumed across the country, the statistics lack precision concerning tobacco consumption in Montreal. What is more, they do not take into account untaxed pipe tobacco sold in the city, which, I argue, constituted a significant quantity. Nor do they account for those smokers who rolled their own cigarettes. To make excise statistics even more imprecise as a measure of consumption, before 1920 chewing tobacco was included in statistics for pipe tobacco. (I was forced to exclude chewing tobacco and snuff from this study because of a paucity of sources.) Still, excise statistics are suggestive and can be weighed with other sources to get a sense, if not an accurate measurement, of consumption.

Numerous observers left evidence of what people were smoking and what meaning they and others assigned to tobacco consumption. My path into these sources began with reading through the Canadian tobacco industry's two principal trade journals, *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* and *Liqueurs et tabacs,* the trade journal of the Cigar Makers' International Union (*Cigar Makers' Official Journal*), and the numerous Montreal medical journals of the period. Not only do these publications provide insights into the workings of the industry and tobacco's medical status, but they also alerted me to public debates about smoking. The trail then led to government documents such as parliamentary debates and prime ministers' papers, as well as to institutional documents and newspapers. Most significant were the records of the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade (1902), the "Select Committee appointed to Inquire and Report as to the Expediency of Making Any Amendment to the Existing Laws for the Purpose of Remedying or Preventing Any Evils Arising from the Use of the Cigarette" (1914), and the Royal Commission on Price Spreads (1934). I then culled numerous diaries, letters, memoirs, etiquette guides, novels, poetry, cartoons in newspapers, paintings, and other cultural sources of the period to understand how smoking was used by their creators to build larger narratives. From time to time, it was necessary to venture outside Montreal to weigh the city's distinctive views toward tobacco, especially with regard to religious positions on smoking. Looking outside Montreal is also essential when we explore the state's involvement in regulating and taxing tobacco since, because of the nature of Canadian federalism, discussions about taxing and regulating tobacco in Montreal largely occurred in Quebec City or Ottawa. While most of these are middle-class sources and certainly offer less information on the smoking habits of the less powerful, a significant amount can be learned through middle-class descriptions of improper and unmanly smoking, providing class judgments are exposed as such, rather than portrayed as truths about what was good or bad conduct.

The Montreal bourgeoisie, like its British counterpart, constructed a specific set of liberal prescriptions around smoking. The first three chapters outline these notions, as well as underlining the material constraints of adhering to them. The first chapter argues that in the immediate pre-war period the belief that smoking was an exclusively male pastime reached its height. Liberal prescriptions around this male ritual played out spatially, inscribing social spaces with masculine identity. I trace the consequences of following these rules and breaking them and the roles of smoking in male sociability. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the

relationship between product choice and masculine identity. Men constructed themselves as connoisseurs of tobacco who could differentiate quality. Yet these hierarchies, I argue, were based as much on racial and gender stereotypes as on any intrinsic value within the tobacco itself. Chapter 2 uses a case study of the cigar to explore notions of connoisseurship, and chapter 3 demonstrates that these beliefs were not universally accepted. Bourgeois notions of quality tobacco frowned on traditional French Canadian tobacco, yet many French Canadians refused to accept these negative assessments. These two chapters underline cultural differences in notions of taste that would likely have been lost if this had been a countrywide study, as is the case in most smoking historiography.

Chapters 4 to 6 chronicle challenges to the liberal notions delineated in the first three chapters. Chapter 4 examines the first anti-smoking movement in Montreal and its efforts in provincial and federal anti-smoking campaigns. In addition to looking at the ideology of this movement, I examine the diverse reasons for its failure. The last two chapters document the more successful, though contested, challenges to nineteenth-century liberal notions of proper tobacco consumption. Through case studies of the banning and reinvention of French Canadian tobacco and the effects of industrial capitalism and the First World War on the meanings of the cigarette, chapter 5 centres on the transition to a new "mass-consumption" way in which tobacco was evaluated. Chapter 6 focuses on changing views toward women smokers, the meanings they gave their smoking rituals, the relationship between their views and changing gender ideologies, the promotion of the cigarette industry, and the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally, in the conclusion I reflect on the connection between consumption and the everyday construction of pre-welfare state liberalism and end with a discussion of "freedom to smoke" under the welfare state, taking into account new understandings of the relationship between smoking and health. While post-1950 research began to shift cultural views about smoking, the liberal beliefs around smoking persist, though in somewhat diminished form, to today. Indeed, the cultural history of smoking not only contributes to our understanding of diverse historical issues such as the process of identity formation, everyday power relations, and governance. It also provides key insights into people's persistence in smoking even in light of the habit's well-known dangers.

No 1

SEPARATING SPHERES

... gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceede [*sic*]; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts.* Further gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self.
Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" (1990)[1]

BETWEEN 1888 AND 1914, SMOKING IN MONTREAL WAS ALMOST exclusively a male activity. Moral reformers who opposed the practice rarely discussed female offenders, not because they thought women who smoked were less vice-ridden than men, but because they were not common. Others in the position to monitor women's behaviour have left revealing silences around smoking. No nurses in training at the Montreal Maternity Hospital were reprimanded for smoking, and patients at the same hospital were caught drinking alcohol but never smoking. Doctors who worked in Montreal's insane asylums noted an enormous gender gap in smoking among their patients: according to Dr Villeneuve of the Roman Catholic Longue Pointe Asylum, of all his four thousand female inmates between 1894 and 1914, only seven smoked; and Dr Burgess of the Protestant Verdun Asylum maintained that over a period of twenty-five years there was only one female smoker in his

asylum, while 50 per cent of the men smoked.[2] This gender exclusivity was not always the case in Quebec. Numerous rural women born in the first half of the nineteenth century took up pipe smoking, and later, in the 1920s, women who smoked cigarettes were not as detested as their counterparts at turn of the century.

The pre-war period marked the height of the association between smoking and masculine identities. This linkage was set within broadly shared standards of respectability and etiquette expressed not only through etiquette guides but also through fiction, poetry, cartoons, newspapers, and trade journals, so that smoking, like language more generally, gave meaning, as part of a "semiotics of everyday life."[3] To follow these rules of etiquette was viewed as proof of society's progress. Standards differed for men and women, and the "characters" of women who smoked were put into question. Their habit was seen as proof of moral weakness, a fault that could have consequences for a woman's social standing, her search for work, how she was seen by the courts, and the citizenship rights she was allowed.[4] These character assessments were often tied to a woman's race, providing the grounds for the social construction of race.

Not only were women not supposed smoke; they were not supposed to be in places where men smoked. According to correct etiquette, smoking provided a spatial boundary for the male sphere, following the prescriptive spatial metaphor of gendered spheres: women were associated with the private sphere of the home and family, while men were linked to public-sphere activities such as politics and business, making the male sphere anywhere outside those spaces specifically set aside for a woman's reproductive tasks. "Social space," as Mary P. Ryan puts it, "serves as a scaffolding upon which both gender distinctions and ... identity are constructed."[5] These constructions of space and identity not only embodied the unequal power relations between men and women, inequalities that women increasingly opposed publicly; they were also impossible to follow for all but the most materially secure.

Within the male public sphere there were also structures of respectability – ideals of masculinity – that held consequences for men who transgressed them.[6] Beginning to smoke was nothing less than a rite of passage to manhood. It was a ritual that could bring together men of diverse cultural backgrounds. Indeed, historians and social theorists have written that men were to be high-minded, demonstrating a liberal ideal of rational critical thought.[7] According to these codes of respectability, smoking symbolically evoked a tone of thoughtfulness

and made visible the boundaries of this male public sphere, and to adhere to these codes separating men and women was itself a public display of respectability. In mixed-class situations, for a man to forfeit his "right" to smoke in the public sphere when a woman was present was a mark of gentility and distinction. The relationship between gendered norms of respectability and class is complex. Historians have argued that separate-spheres ideology originated and was promoted most by the middle class; because of its costliness, it was difficult for the less wealthy to follow. Still, they have shown that working-class men and women also used separate-spheres prescriptions and those practices within their means to achieve levels of respect in their communities.[8] Such was the case with the etiquette of smoking in late nineteenth-century Montreal. An individual's ability to follow liberal prescriptions of smoking depended both on one's finances and on the cost of the particular smoking ritual.

WOMEN SMOKERS

In the late nineteenth century, etiquette dictated that respectable women did not smoke. The 1875–76 entries in the diary of Henriette Dessaulles, daughter of a notable rural Quebec family who certainly would have brought up their daughter according to the standards of *politesse* observed in Montreal, serve as an early reflection of these rules of etiquette. At fifteen she had a crush on a local boy who had gone to classical college – a boy she would eventually marry. Yet she was unsure of the seriousness of her interest in him, whether it was love or friendship, and decided it was only friendship. "The fact remains, though," she wrote, "that I would rather have been a boy, his best friend."[9] But the activities that boys shared were not acceptable for girls: "I can see Maurice. He is reading, and smoking as he reads. If at least I could smoke or swear! But I don't know how and it's not allowed."[10] For those who were not brought up in a family that explicitly taught girls these rules of etiquette, Madame Sauvalle's *Mille questions d'étiquette: Discutées, résolues et classées* could provide a young reader with what she considered an overdue lesson in etiquette.[11] This Montreal author of an etiquette guide offered Canadian readers a written codification of English, American, and French manners and a clear prohibition of women smoking. She frowned on "young women who venture from time to time to exhale a few puffs of smoke." While she acknowledged

that smoking cigarettes was widespread among Europe's elite women, this was clearly a case of aristocratic decadence that should not be tolerated by other classes: smoking "is in bad taste when one is not approaching the steps of a throne."[12] It was a useless passion that lacked elegance, clearly a value that Sauvalle considered important for women.

This standard of personal behaviour was part of a larger narrative of the progress of so-called civilization. According to this account, all women who smoked were denigrated, though in different ways, depending on their race and class. Failure to abide by this system of manners was used as evidence to explain why some races were considered inferior.[13] This process of giving social meanings to race through manners is demonstrated in an early debate about the smoking habits of rural French Canadians. In his *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* (1904), historian J.-Edmond Roy took issue with an American traveller who had written over a century earlier that "French Canadians ... never stop smoking. One would say that every man, woman and child has to have their pipe and tobacco pouch, and constantly using them." The traveller then claimed to have seen sixteen-year-old brunette French Canadian girls working in the fields and puffing clouds of smoke. Roy, in defence of French Canadian womanhood, responded that girls in Quebec did not smoke; so the traveller must have confused "the French of Canada with the descendants of the Iroquois, Hurons and Micmac."[14] According to Roy, Native women could smoke pipes because, in his view, they were primitive. For a woman to smoke was seen as uncivilized behaviour.

Using women's smoking to demonstrate their inferiority was often paired with a fascination with Native cultures. For example, a story in the Montreal middle-class weekly *L'Album universel* in 1905 featured an interview with an American missionary, Miss Ida Plummer, who worked in the new American possession, the Philippines. She was active among a tribe known as the Igorrots, who had been headhunters. The article tells of the tribe's marriage ceremonies and clothing, both the interviewer and Plummer commenting on the Igorrots' incivility. Pictured in the centre of the article is a young Igorrot woman smoking a pipe, part of the visual construction of the barbarity of the tribe (fig. 1.1). A second example comes from a Montreal *Star* article

1.1 Igorrot woman pictured in *L'Album universel* (1905)

in 1903 entitled "Greek Gypsies Picturesque, but not Very Desirable as Citizens of Dominion" and recounts the story of Gypsies arriving in Montreal after being refused entry into the United States. Since they had nowhere to go, they were housed in the immigrant quarters of Windsor Station in Montreal, where they came under the eye of the journalist as well as the station manager. The journalist commented on the Gypsy women's inability to live up to Canadian standards of gendered civility: "They are filthy and unkempt; the women almost savage in their abandon; their little ones half nourished and all evidently without a particle of respect for the ordinary laws of cleanliness and sanitation." In addition to their dirtiness and failure to take care of their children, both the men and the women were "inveterate cigarette smokers." The station manager, Mr Miller, was disgusted by what the author called "a most undesirable class of people with which to increase the population of Canada." Here again, part of the way the journalist was able to categorized these women as uncivilized was by depicting them smoking.[15]

The relationship between manners and progress is most explicitly seen through views of rural French Canadian women who smoked pipes. Numerous accounts exist of elderly women smoking pipes in the early twentieth century. For example, an article in the tobacconist trade journal *Liqueurs et tabacs* maintained that older residents of Vaudreuil could remember a family of seven – mother, father, two sons, and three daughters – from La Petite Côte who all smoked pipes. Older residents also told their grandchildren about a wedding procession in which both the bride and groom smoked pipes. All the descendants of the family smoked, and one daughter, who was pictured beside the article, at the age of seventy-eight, still enjoyed her pipe full of the ATCC's Red Cross Cut Tobacco.[16] These Quebec women were not alone in their love for the pipe. Historians elsewhere have noted that there was less condemnation of women smokers in Britain and the United States earlier in the century, especially in rural areas. Evidence from other Canadian provinces also suggests that some rural women born in the first half of the nineteenth century smoked the pipe.[17] In Montreal by the early twentieth century, these women were seen as part of French Canada's distant rural past. Dr L.J. Lemieux, the sometime sheriff of Montreal, physician, professor of the history of medicine at Université Laval, president of the Board of Censors for moving pictures, and organizer of the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court, gave one example of this position. He maintained that "we [in Quebec] have some of those old

people, but they are passing away now: they [women] are getting more civilized."[18]

Other white women who smoked were equated to those who most notoriously departed from these dominant, highly gendered standards of behaviour: prostitutes. When women were in public, etiquette dictated that they exert intense self-control over every movement of their bodies.[19] It was especially important not to draw attention to the internal workings of the body.[20] A woman smoking in public, a clear infraction of this last rule, could suggest that she broadly failed to discipline her sensuality and, ultimately, her sexuality. Dr Lemieux equated women smoking cigarettes with prostitution, claiming that 90 per cent of women in the Montreal women's jail smoked and many of these women were prostitutes, since "being prostitutes, they are degenerates and everything that is bad they take up."[21] It is possible, however, that prostitutes smoked cigarettes and wore particular clothes and makeup to declare themselves prostitutes. This interpretation might explain the striking difference in the numbers of female smokers in jail compared to the few in the asylums, as discussed earlier. As Mara L. Keire writes in her study of early twentieth-century perceptions of addiction, "For prostitutes, their revealing dress and cosmetics were literal advertisements of who they were and what they were selling ... [D]istinctive trademarks of short skirts, cigarettes, a slow saunter, and bold eye contact, were 'professional' signifiers."[22] This explanation is also suggested in a 1917 letter from Montreal poet Charles Gill to fellow poet and friend Louis-Joseph Doucet. Gill describes in detail a prostitute he frequented whose behaviour, according to him, was not what he saw as that of a "normal" prostitute. She did not go into the brothel until after 9:30 at night and never if it rained, and she refused half her potential clients. When outside in the city, she was honest, calm, and reserved, dressed simply, and wore no makeup. As well, "She doesn't smoke or drink," which Gill linked to prostitution.[23]

Class did not provide a safe haven from these judgments. Another group of women who smoked in Montreal before the First World War were a select number of "society women" who saw themselves as culturally linked to Europe. From the 1880s on, Montreal newspapers and reviews published stories about elite European women who smoked. In 1889 *Le Monde illustré* recounted a story first run in a royalist London newspaper about the Countess of Paris smoking a pipe as she walked around London. While Léon Ledieu, the author, could not verify the authenticity of the story, he commented in amazement, "Yes, a pipe, a

real pipe, a clay pipe, short and black, I would say [culottée!]"[24] Here, Ledieu plays on the potentially triple meaning of the word *culottée* as referring to the process of seasoning a pipe, cheeky or outrageous behaviour, and wearing pants. While stories of European society women circulated from time to time in the Montreal press, the extent to which Montreal society women smoked was rarely questioned. Immediately before the First World War, newspapers increasingly ran exposés on the smoking habits of the city's elite women. In 1914 a Montreal *Star* reporter interviewed numerous women who admitted that smoking was frequently seen in elite circles. The noted suffragette and McGill University biology professor Carrie Derick, for example, knew "many estimable and charitable women who smoke." Yet she disapproved of the habit among women, and others who spoke out in favour of women smoking would not admit to being smokers themselves. The *Star* reporter noted that "except where they were opposed to women smoking the majority [of society women] asked that they be not quoted ... [They] hesitate to come out publicly in favor of 'smokes for women.'"[25]

The reputations of even these elite female smokers could be put into question for smoking, though in a different way from rural women smokers or women smokers of other "races." Indeed, these society women were branded as irresponsible and careless smokers. In 1912 the Montreal *Herald* ran the headline "Lady's Cigarette Caused One Fire at Windsor Hotel: Fair Smokers Are Careless, and Window Blaze Was Result." Two fires had broken out at the hotel in one week and "gave rise to sinister rumors." One of the fires, the management countered, was started by a woman's cigarette: "It is alleged that the ladies are very careless about their cigarette ends. They often choose, for instance, to deposit them on the edge of the ventilators right in the open draft." The fire had caught on a curtain and then destroyed the woodwork around the window.[26] Whether female smoking was the cause of the fires is unknown, but the hotel management used the cultural image of careless women smokers as a cover-up. In a similar way, Bettina Bradbury has written, factory owners used the stereotype of women being naturally careless to explain girls injured while working in factories, especially when doing work that was previously considered male.[27] In the case of the Windsor Hotel fires, the Montreal Fire Department was never called; so no investigation was ever undertaken.[28] What is more, there were few stories in the news about men being dangerous smokers, and they clearly began many fires by smoking. In the same year as the Windsor incident, for example, the Montreal Fire Department

responded to four fires caused by smoking on tramways alone, spaces that historians have recognized as being dominated by men.[29]

Working class women may in fact have been more diligent than their middle-class sisters about observing the custom of women not smoking. After all, if the price of respectability was abstaining from smoking, this was a symbol of respectability that even the poorest could display. Testimony at the "Select Committee Appointed to Inquire and Report as to the Expediency of Making Any Amendment to the Existing Laws for the Purpose of Remedying or Peventing Any Evils Arising from the Use of the Cigarette" (popularly known as the Commons Commission on the Cigarette, 1914) and the follow-up stories all make clear that it was always elite women who were picking up the cigarette. Working-class women, according to some, emphatically were not. Rose Henderson, a probation officer with the Montreal Juvenile Court and long-time activist among women's and labour groups, testified that working-class women "are not the class of people among whom the mothers are smokers" because they could not afford tobacco.[30] As late as 1919, while on a trip to Europe, Montreal union leader Gustav Francq was scandalized by the number of women workers who smoked, implying that smoking among respectable working-class women was a rarity.[31] Novelist J.G. Simes, however, suggests otherwise. In her short story "Munitions!" (1919), set in a Montreal munitions factory, the female workers both smoked and chewed tobacco.[32] Few further conclusions can be made about the smoking habits of Montreal's working-class women before the war, given their relative invisibility in most contemporary sources.

THE RITUALS OF MANHOOD

By the end of the nineteenth century, respectable smoking was only possible for men. Many likened it to a ritual that symbolized a boy's transition to manhood. Boys, it was expected, would try to emulate their fathers. The Montreal *Gazette*, for example, in 1893 stated, "Ordinary parents of ordinary boys, remembering their own youth, and the temptations boys are subjected to, sometimes by desire to imitate their elders, sometimes by a spirit of foolish bravado" and smoke.[33] The WCTU recognized this view of smoking as a rite of passage as one of the principal reasons why boys begin to smoke, writing in its *Catéchisme de tempérance*, "Many young boys start to smoke because they will look

like men."[34] In counselling boys not to take up smoking until they were adults, the Canadian Boy Scouts, of whom there were a significant number in Montreal in the early twentieth century, recognized peer pressure and attempts to look like "a great man" as the primary reasons boys endangered their bodies by taking up smoking.[35]

These attempts at coming of age were often doomed to failure because of the harsh effects of smoking on the physically immature boy. It was believed that the strength of the tobacco acted as a natural guard against boys smoking until they were men. In a 1893 sermon the Reverend W.H. Warriner, a Congregationalist minister in Montreal, described the "first experiences of the smoker ... the faintness, dizziness, nausea and vomiting."[36] Similarly, boys smoking their father's tobacco and getting sick were described in Marc Legrand's poem "Les petits fumeurs," published in 1907 in the Montreal women's journal *Le Journal de Françoise*:

> Au lieu d'apprendre leurs leçons
> Fumaient quatre petits garçons,
> Sur le bureau de leur papa,
> Ils avaient trouvé du tabac
>
> Chacun n'ayant pas de papier,
> Avait découpé son cahier,
> L'un se brûle avec un charbon,
> Et dit: "Fumer, c'est vraiment bon!"
>
> Le second prend un fier maintien,
> Et dit: "Ma foi, ça va très bien!
> Avec des larmes dans les yeux, L'autre dit: "c'est délicieux!"
> Le plus petit, crachant, toussant,
> Dit: "je suis un homme à présent!"
> Le soir, ils se mirent au lit,
> Grelottants et le front pâli.
>
> On les soigna longtemps,
> Ils redevinrent bien portants.
> Ils furent sages désormais:
> Ils ne fumènt plus jamais.[37]

(Instead of doing their schoolwork, four boys smoke, using pieces of their workbooks and tobacco found on their father's desk. They continue to claim that they are finally real men and enjoy the tobacco, even though they get sicker and sicker, first having tears in their eyes, then spitting and coughing, and progressively becoming paler and paler. In the end they are so sick that they have to be put to bed. The boys eventually recover, but the poet remarks that they will never smoke again.) Apart from this natural barrier, fathers were to decide if their boys had become men. Quebec MP and nationalist Armand Lavergne, for example, argued that "if a father should see that the smoking of cigarettes does not harm his son," the young man be allowed to smoke.[38]

Medical understandings of tobacco reinforced the belief that smoking was an exclusively male coming-of-age ritual. Indeed, there was a medical consensus on the dangers of boys smoking before their bodies were strong enough. Montreal doctors, including some of the leading figures of the medical profession in the country, spoke out against boys smoking. Dr William Osler, the internationally renowned pathologist who began his career at McGill, opposed smoking by youth.[39] Similarly, Professor Foucher, an ophthalmologist at the Montreal campus of Université Laval medical faculty, observed that most child smokers "are pale, small, crazy, dyspeptic and their dirty yellow skin reflects the miserable state of their health." He concluded, "I ordered my young college student to abstain from smoking if he really hopes to obtain good grades."[40]

Reinforcing the cultural belief in smoking as a rite of passage to manhood, the medical consensus held that moderate smoking by adult men was safe. The issue was individual self-control in the face of addiction. While most of the medical historiography of smoking has gone to great lengths to uncover whether or not doctors saw tobacco as a cause of disease or a curative, it has overlooked the fact that most doctors considered it safe for adult men to smoke, if they did so with restraint.[41] Montreal medical journals published articles claiming tobacco to be both a curative and a cause of disease.[42] To be dangerous, tobacco had to be abused, and to be a cure, it had to be smoked in moderation. Smoking was seen as helpful for victims of tuberculosis. An 1896 article in *L'Union médicale du Canada* reported the findings of Dr Jankau, a German pathologist, who argued that tobacco was useful to people in the early stages of tuberculosis. According to Jankau, while excessive consumption could burn the stomach, tobacco disinfected the mouth, depressed the "genital functions," and acted as a sedative on the central

nervous system. For this last reason he maintained that smoking a pipe often prevented attacks of "nervous asthma."[43] Tobacco was clearly helpful only if used in moderation.

Other articles enumerated the cases where tobacco was helpful or dangerous, all of them noting that moderate smoking was safe. In 1909 *L'Union médicale du Canada* republished an article about tobacco consumption with an editorial commentary in the footnotes: "Here is a good article which will be useful to Canadians, great smokers." The article enumerated the numerous health problems associated with the abuse of tobacco, from "tobacco heart" to "smoker's cancer" (lip cancer), to memory loss and abortion. The author, a Dr Marc, also listed a few examples where tobacco was helpful, especially in the areas of constipation and digestion, "if smoked in small doses."[44] He concluded by saying that "the question, therefore, is not clear-cut."[45] Professor Foucher discussed the effects of smoking on the respiratory pathways. Aware of "all the bad that it can produce," he did not want to approve of smoking, prescribe it as a medication, and then watch his patient fall into "immoderate use." On the other hand, he did not want to condemn it, a habit that his patients frequently cherished, and fall into "the exaggeration of absolute abstention." He thus set out rules to healthy smoking: "the irritating and toxic effect of tobacco depends on the manner in which it is used ... in other words, you must smoke moderately, slowly and weak tobacco."[46]

Some influential doctors downplayed the dangers of adult smoking while maintaining a doctrine of moderation. For example, in his monumental *Principles and Practice of Medicine,* used to train generations of doctors, Osler dismissed "tobacco heart," writing, "Cardiac pain without evidence of arterio-sclerosis or valvular disease is not of much moment."[47] By the eighth edition of the same book, "tobacco heart" was not even listed.[48] Osler, a moderate smoker himself, claimed elsewhere that he rarely saw cases of tobacco heart and that he had never heard of a fatal instance of it. Osler maintained that the cigarette "in moderation ... soothes physical irritability and mental and moral strabismus."[49] During a cigarette prohibition debate in 1903, Dr T.G. Roddick, professor of clinical surgery at McGill, founder of the Canadian Medical Association, and member of Parliament, told the House of Commons that after a child is finished growing, "we cannot declare, as medical men, that very much harm follows" from smoking.[50] There were some doctors who completely opposed smoking, "medical irregulars" such as the American John Harvey Kellogg, for example. But in Montreal he

was cited only by the WCTU and was at best a marginal influence on doctors and potential smokers.[51] Indeed, there is little doubt that most medical authorities concluded that moderate tobacco consumption by grown men was perfectly healthy.

Popularly, many believed that abuse of tobacco, on the other hand, led to a complete loss of self-control or insanity. The Montreal *Herald* carried a story that a "Cigarette Crazed Boy" from the recently annexed town of Saint-Henri had attempted suicide after smoking twelve packs of cigarettes (probably packages of ten cigarettes each) on New Year's Day.[52] In a similar vein, *La Presse*'s reporter for a murder case in Saint-Sauveur was so fascinated by the accused murderer's incessant cigarette smoking that he questioned whether the accused's lawyer would make the argument that he was not responsible for his act because of his abuse of tobacco.[53] Few medical doctors, however, were willing to establish causation between smoking and insanity. In 1914 Dr Burgess reported that in his asylum three cases of insanity over the previous twenty years were "assigned as the abuse of tobacco." He maintained, however, that these were the assessments of the patient's friends, and the doctors at the hospital had no way of knowing the real causes of the insanity. For his part, he was convinced that tobacco was not the real reason.[54] Dr Villeneuve maintained that five patients in his asylum were there because of "addiction to the excessive use of cigarettes." Yet he thought it was more likely that the real cause of their insanity was inherited. All five had a "pre-disposition to insanity," and thus cigarettes were not the cause.[55]

Doctors' belief in moderation can be explored in greater detail by looking at their case files. McGill otolaryngologist H.S. Birkett, for example, frequently saw patients with ailments caused by smoking, though in my sample I found no woman before the First World War who admitted to him that she smoked.[56] Habitually, he asked his patients how much they smoked and then often instructed them to "moderate" their tobacco consumption. It is from Birkett's assessments of how much tobacco was too much that we can deduce some idea of what moderation meant. His instructions varied considerably from patient to patient, to the point of contradiction, much depending on the condition of the individual patient. These varying assessments of excess and moderation were given for pipe, cigarette, and cigar smokers. For example, most pipe-smoking patients who admitted to smoking one pound or more of tobacco a month were usually told to cut down or moderate their consumption.[57] For cigarette smokers, the upper end of

moderation was between ten and twelve cigarettes a day.[58] Fewer cigar smokers are mentioned in the Birkett case files, with five cigars being considered excessive.[59]

According to doctors, gender in particular played a role in assessing an individual's ability to smoke moderately, and thus a woman's ability to safely perform this ritual of masculinity. Sociologist Mariana Valverde has written that alcoholism, the disease on which doctors modelled their studies of addictive substances such as tobacco, was seen as a disease of the will, and women were viewed as being more susceptible to abuse because they had inherently less willpower.[60] The idea that women were biologically prone to excess has been well studied by historians looking at subjects that range from the medical history of hysteria to stereotypes of women shopping to women activists in the Commune in Paris in the 1870s.[61] Their lack of self-control and tendency to excess were also characteristics deemed feminine by some Canadian anti-feminists when arguing that giving the vote to women was dangerous.[62] And as with alcohol, doctors saw women as more susceptible to abusing tobacco because of their apparently weaker wills. Montreal socialite Lady Williams-Taylor explained the views of her doctor on moderation as follows: "My private physician in London, who is the best there is, advised me to smoke – but in moderation. He said that if women would smoke three cigarettes a day, one after each meal, that 'nerves' as a disease would practically disappear." She concluded, however, that women are prone to excess, as a result of which smoking becomes dangerous. This belief that women were likely to smoke excessively was shared by others outside the medical profession. Lady Julia Drummond, for example, advised that women should perhaps avoid the habit because they were "often prone to excess."[63]

One reason why doctors did not condemn smoking was that it was part of the ritual of their becoming "medical men." This was true in both of Montreal's medical schools. These were bastions of male culture; women were admitted to the McGill medical school only in 1917 and to the Université de Montréal in 1924.[64] In these buildings, medical students could smoke almost anywhere. At McGill, limits were put on smoking only in 1907 after the medical faculty building was destroyed in a fire.[65] At Université Laval in Montreal, which would become the Université de Montréal in 1920, the smoking regulations for the medical faculty were part of the gendering of space in the faculty. Smoking was explicitly banned in the dispensary and the waiting room of the maternity hospice, two places where women worked, while in the

"Regulations concerning the Anatomy Amphitheatre and the Dissection Room," noise was forbidden but smoking was not.[66] The epicentre of this male smoking space was the dissecting room. The McGill *University Gazette*, for example, jokingly compared the anatomy room to a smoking room where one could also dissect.[67] Generally, in anatomy classes students smoked to "disguise the odors of putrification."[68] At the McGill medical school, John F. Todd complained, "I am spending about six hours a day in the dissecting room. My clothes, even my undershirt, (when I take it off at night, you can almost wring the odour from it) are so thoroughly permeated with the smell, that it is only on two days, Friday and Sunday, that I attempt to rid myself of it."[69] An article in a Montreal medical journal maintained that smoking "is so indulged in the dissecting room it is apt to persist after their studies," and the strong smell of tobacco smoke risked making women and children who were sick even sicker; non-smoking "gentlemen" should thus avoid hiring smoking doctors.[70]

According to contemporaries, the ritual of smoking while dissecting was one of the traditions that made the profession unsuitable for women. The McGill *University Gazette*, for example, commented on the University of Geneva allowing women into the male sphere of medical school. Finding the idea ridiculous, the paper painted the following picture: "It is not an uncommon sight for a Russian student (female) to be found working away in the 'Anatomie' with a lighted cigarette in her mouth." These female students' respectability was questioned in the article when it noted that they were mainly from eastern Europe, were not respected in Geneva, and never amounted to much.[71] Part of the way this meaning was evoked was by showing these female doctors undergoing the same rites of passage as male doctors, though in slightly feminized form with the specification of the cigarette.

Just as smoking in the anatomy room brought individual medical students into a collective, the medical profession, so smoking among physically mature men brought individuals together into a community of interests. This collective, like the democratic polity of the late nineteenth century, was exclusively male. Smoking created gender solidarities that bridged cultural boundaries. As anthropologist Marcel Mauss has argued, passing on gifts can be a "bond of alliance and commonality" when it may otherwise seem that none appears.[72] An example comes from a moment of generosity shared between Montreal journalist Jules Fournier and Police Chief McCarthy after Fournier was charged with publishing a defamatory article. McCarthy was taking Fournier to

prison, and during the trip he offered the journalist a cigarette. In his memoirs, the gift of a cigarette led Fournier to declare McCarthy polite on all counts, despite the fact that the police chief was in a conflicting relationship with Fournier.[73]

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Within this male community of smokers, "lighting up" set the tone for high-minded discussion. Cultural journals and newspapers included regular columns headed "while smoking," which focused on issues of civil society, their titles suggesting the lofty subjects to come. One such case was the "En fumant" column of *Le Monde illustré*, which discussed, for example, the secret ballot in Canadian elections or "the despotism and barbarism of aristocrats from all the Russias."[74] Similarly, authors of fiction used smoking to evoke the same high-minded masculinity. In one instance, Quebec doctor Ernest Choquette describes in a short story, published in Montreal at the turn of the century, the reunion of a group of doctors, the old friends coming from long distances and discussing their first cases. He sets the stage for this storytelling by depicting a post-dinner scene: "On the table, there were open bottles of cognac, decanters of Dutch gin, small carafes of wine, cigars, cigarettes, and glasses."[75] Working-class writers adopted this same high-minded smoking ethic. In the Montreal working-class newspaper *The Echo*, one political economy columnist used an after-dinner scene around a rooming-house kitchen table to discuss tariffs and working-class consumption: "When the table had been cleared, the two young men sat over their tobacco, the captain, as before, smoking his cigar, the painter his pipe – and discussed the day's events." The author's argument then played out in their words.[76] In a more macabre sense, Montreal poet Émile Nelligan anthropomorphized tobacco, making it his companion while questioning his very existence in the poem "Roundel to My Pipe":

> With feet warm on the fender-sill,
> Before a Bock, let's dream, my pipe,
> Smoke-dreams of a congenial type,
> This Winter eve, together still.
>
> Since heaven holds me in its gripe
> (Have I not suffered enough ill?)

With feet upon the fender-sill
Before a bock, let's dream, my pipe.

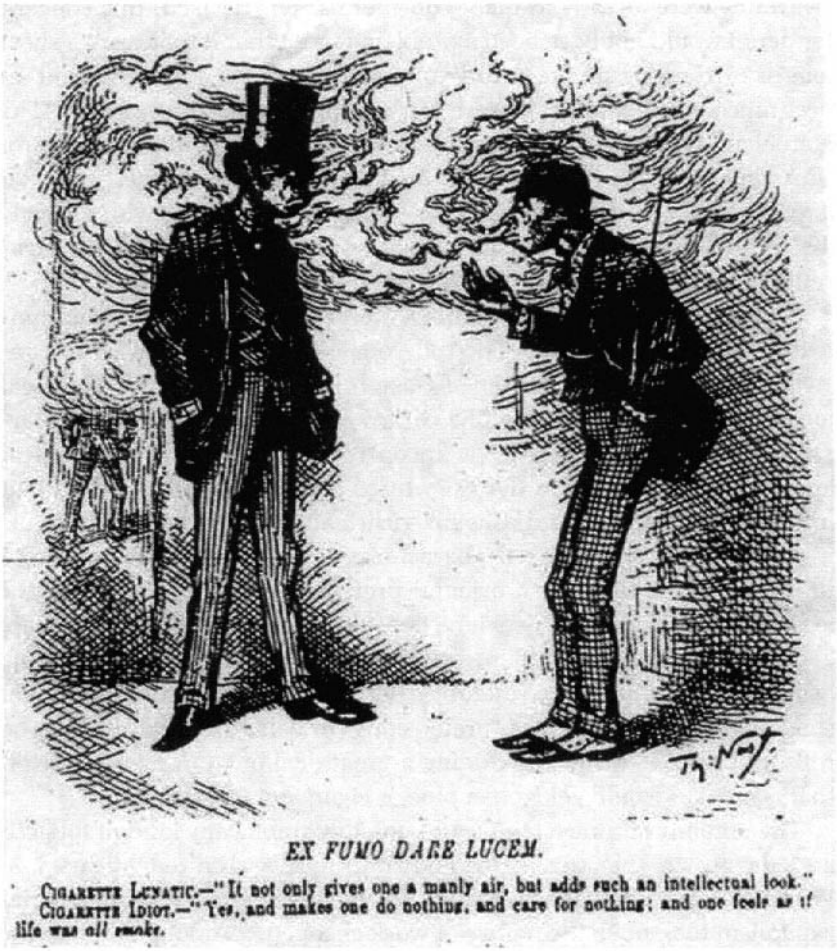
Soon death, whose coming now is ripe,
will haul me far from out this hell
To the one which Satan runs so well.
We'll smoke in that place, too, my pipe,
With feet warm on the fender-sill.[77]

Smoking sets the tone for Nelligan's contemplation of death. His move from what he saw as hell on earth to hell is not made alone. It is worth noting that while both tobacco and beer (the Bock) have a physiological effect on the body, it is tobacco that Nelligan chooses to use as his companion, not his mug of beer, thus underlining tobacco's special cultural role in setting the tone for high-minded discussion.

In terms of this leisurely ideal, the cigarette smoker was the target of significant condescension since cigarettes took such a short amount of time to smoke in comparison to pipes or cigars. Indeed, the cigarette smoker's masculinity was put into question. For example, a cartoon in the middle-class Montreal weekly *Canadian Illustrated News* entitled "Ex fumo dare lucem" (fig. 1.2) presents two men, one a "Cigarette Lunatic," the other a "Cigarette Idiot," both of whom present opinions that the cartoonist finds absurd.[78] According to the cartoon, the cigarette is neither manly nor does it give "an intellectual look." It promotes apathy and "makes one do nothing," clearly not the productive leisure of a cigar or pipe. What is more, though the cartoon is not entirely clear, the colouring of the faces of the two men may also suggest a racial level to notions of proper connoisseurship.

Cigarette smoking was often linked to a youthful restlessness, not content to pass the time pensively smoking a cigar or pipe. In William Douw Lighthall's novel *The Young Seigneur*, the narrator is a member of a secret society called the Centre-Seekers, in which he and his young friends discuss important topics. One of his friends, described as a philistine, makes a youthful declaration that he enjoys himself most at his theatrical club, where "we have the prettiest girls and chummiest fellows in town ... There's philosophy in it too, by jove! I've done lots of philosophy by the smoke of the cigarette."[79] Lighthall, a noted anti-modern, relates the cigarette not only to youth but also to a lack of thoughtfulness – a criticism of the speed of cigarette smoking.

A cigarette smoker's masculinity was especially put into question if he rolled his own. Cultural sources suggest that the roll-your-own



1.2 From the *Canadian Illustrated News* (1882)

cigarette was linked to being a dandy. According to historian Leora Auslander, dandies "were men for whom living elegantly was essential. They dressed carefully, expensively, and distinctively. They furnished their apartments with like extravagance and attention. They also cultivated their bodies, disciplining their gestures, their gaits, and their stances. Some were heterosexual, some were homosexual. A few married, most did not ... all acted as if they were men of leisure."[80] Commentators used the image of rolling one's own cigarettes as a criticism that dandies lacked substance and were not willing to take on the responsibilities of breadwinning. Rolling a cigarette took a significant amount of time and suggested an interest in detail since hand-rolled

cigarettes were already available on the market. In itself, this concern for detail would not have been a problem except that it took such a short length of time to smoke a roll-your-own cigarette and produced an insignificant amount of pleasure for so much work. The cartoon, "The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker" (fig. 1.3) from the *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1879 demonstrates the case.[81] The cigarette smoker is portrayed as a dandy, dressed to extremes and sitting with severely disciplined posture. He makes extraordinary gestures to roll the cigarette, further conforming to Auslander's definition of a dandy.

Another example, this time from a literary source, sets the social context of the smoking dandy. The roll-your-own cigarette is used to construct the dandified character of Gaston in a short story by Montreal journalist and novelist Rodolphe Girard about a man who avoids marriage. Gaston is described as a "incontrovertible bachelor," a "cynical and stoic old boy" who in the story turns thirty, has a nightmare about marriage, gets drunk, and asks his girlfriend to marry him. Before his nightmare, however, Gaston's character is developed through his choice in furniture, "a divan with oriental pretensions, its long and straight legs like billiard queues," which he flops down on to take his fateful nap, and by his rolling and smoking of a cigarette.[82] He is a man of extreme leisure; even his furniture resembles billiard cues, more image than real since his furniture only has "pretensions" to being oriental. Finally, he rolls and smokes a cigarette, doing a great deal of work for less payoff than a smoker would get from a pipe or cigar, and falls asleep.

The amount of time a man could possibly smoke any kind of tobacco and devote to this sort of thoughtfulness was limited by his job. Working-class historians of Montreal have shown that as industrial capitalism took hold, the nature of work changed.[83] Among other shifts, work moved from the artisan's workshop to the factory, and workers lost a great deal of control over their time, which was strictly regimented by factory hours. As historian Alain Corbin has pointed out with regard to pre-industrial France, "The rhythm of work was easily adapted to a generous consumption of alcohol and tobacco."[84] By the end of the 1860s, Montreal cigar makers had lost their customary right to smoke on the job, and in the late 1880s, factory rules of conduct presented by a "Leather Dresser" to the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital prohibited smoking in the tannery.[85] While there were fire risks related to smoking on the job, this particular set of factory regulations had little to do with fire hazards. In fact, smoking was listed in the same line as singing and talking without per-

1.3 "The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker," *Canadian Illustrated News* (1879)

mission, and thus was clearly framed as a question of work discipline. François Lainé, the witness at the commission, maintained that he had seen these rules were enforced and that workers were fined twenty-five cents for breaking them.[86] Some companies provided a small amount of time and space for workers to smoke. Smoking was not allowed in the Grand Trunk Railway works in Pointe-Saint-Charles, for example, where in the early 1890s at least two thousand were employed, but the company set up a room 150 feet by 50 feet where men could eat and then, for fifteen minutes at the end of their lunch hour, could smoke.[87]

Spatially, smoking also demarcated the borders of a high-minded masculine public sphere. Separate-spheres ideology situated women's place in the private sphere, the family home, where she was the nurturer. Yet even here a woman's power was limited, and middle- and upper-class family homes were divided spatially into male and female spaces. The male areas – the library, study, billiards room, and smoking room – were often decorated with objects related to male public-sphere activities, such as books, maps, scientific equipment, and weapons. These rooms were complete with the accessories with which a man would do business and would also have greater access to the outside world. According to architectural historian Annmarie Adams, the more upper class the family, the more separated the smoking room was from the rest of the space inhabited by the family.[88] In the home, smoking inscribed in space the high-minded tone of the male public sphere. The after-dinner smoke was among the most well-known negotiations of gendered space in the home involving smoking. Women retired to a drawing-room or parlour, while the men withdrew to a library or smoking room. In the extreme form of this ritual a smoking jacket and hat were worn to protect a man's clothes from smoke, so that his wife would not smell it later. According to etiquette, this was not only a spatial move but involved a change in topics of conversation. Dinner conversation was to be light – no politics, business, or religion. After dinner, men and women segregated, and men could talk about these "serious" subjects and smoke.[89]

The ability to separate men and women and to create this kind of public sphere around the smoking room was highly dependent on economic prosperity. Journalist Robert de Roquebrune in his memoirs recalled that there was a smoking room in the house his family moved to on arriving in Montreal at the turn of the century. The family, however, was only moderately well-to-do, as much of the entire family's leisure, regardless of gender, was spent in the smoking room. Eventually, his parents decided the house was too big, and to make ends meet, they moved. The family found an apartment on Rue Saint-Denis which had a smaller room that his father declared the "most important room after the dining room," where the family gathered in the evenings and smoked, yet it did not have the status of a smoking room.[90]

Most Montreal homes did not have a smoking room or other room where men could retire for a smoke. Geographers Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson have calculated that the average dwelling in Montreal in 1901 had only four rooms: most likely two bedrooms, possibly a living

1.4 Wrigley's Spearment Gum advertisement, Montreal *Herald* (1912)

room, depending on the size of the family, and a kitchen.[91] With no space set aside to smoke, middle-class etiquette dictated that the home was supposed to be female space and non-smoking. Some advertisers played on this belief. In 1912 Wrigley's Spearmint Gum was advertised as having a more appropriate odour and taste than a cigar if a man was going home to see his family (fig. 1.4).[92] Tobacco companies also tried to sell their products by playing on the home as a female space, asserting that their products were so unobjectionable to women that etiquette could be broken. Montreal cigar manufacturer J.M. Fortier's ten-cent cigar, the Chamberlain, was advertised to have a "Perfumed Aroma," an attempt to curry favour with women.[93] Another tobacco advertisement alleged that if a man smoked Jacques Cartier tobacco, "your spouse will not longer object to your pipe."[94] Some men tried to claim that letting them smoke at home would be helpful in fighting the more dangerous vice, liquor. Dr Jacob Dubé, in a speech to the Montreal Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of Alcohol, addressed married women in the crowd by making a plea for men to be given "the privilege of smoking in

the house with his friends – and without fear of an aftermath of complaints that the smoke spoiled the curtains." According to Dubé, more important than the curtains was where a man would go if he was not allowed to smoke in the house – a tavern. And if a man had to go to a tavern to have a smoke, he would be exposed to more serious temptations, such as alcohol or other unnamed vices.[95]

Other commentators portrayed the spatial rules around smoking as a choice between marriage and tobacco. Men could be married either to a respectable woman or to tobacco, and when asked to choose, some chose tobacco. Poets were particularly active in expressing this renunciation of what was a domesticated masculinity. They anthropomorphized tobacco, making it a replacement for woman.[96] The most famous work in this genre is Rudyard Kipling's "The Betrothen," a poem that complains of the demands of being married and praises the simple pleasure of smoking, summing up with the line "And a woman is only a woman, but a good cigar is a Smoke."[97] Montreal journals reprinted similar poems, such as the poem "My Love," a parody of the poem by Robert Burns, "My Luve Is like a Red Red Rose," published in Montreal *Saturday Night*:

> My Love is like the red red rose
> That breathes the sweet perfume
> In my love all charms repose,
> And I, those charms consume.
>
> My love is no expensive wife,
> Tho' very dear she be;
> Three pence a day, upon my life,
> Is all she costeth me.
>
> Of flowers and jewels, bonnets and lace,
> She never feels the need;
> So flowers at her command I place,
> Save, only one poor weed.
>
> And yet not e'en the fairest girls
> Can with my love compare;
> Altho' she boasts no glossy curls,
> Not e'en one scrap of hair.

Thrice daily after every meal,
I press her to my lips;
And then as sweet a kiss I steal,
As been from lily lips.

May I all other earthly loves
from my remembrance wipe;
While loving one poor piece of clay,
My beautiful my - pipe. (By C.D.)[98]

The *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* even further sexualized this relationship between a man and his pipe, noting the "long days and nights of constant and close companionship you and your friend the pipe become as near akin as man and wife, indeed, a great deal nearer than some couples in these days." The sexual theme of the article is then heightened when it describes one encounter where "You pick the old pipe up some winter evening, and as you turn it over and around in your hand, preparing to filling [*sic*] it with the weed that brings the color to its cheeks."[99] While these examples show men choosing tobacco over domesticization, the very dichotomy of the choice underlines the interdiction of smoking in the private sphere.

According to liberal prescriptions of smoking, the ideal place to smoke was in a homosocial male environment. The *Canadian Illustrated News* expressed this ethic in an article promoting the growth of men's social clubs. These clubs allowed men to "meet together for their own improvement, or for the good of others, or to relax themselves from the cares and business of the day ... and ... smoke a friendly pipe."[100] Montreal tobacco companies frequently tapped into the association of high-minded leisure and smoking, often focusing on "back-to-nature" themes. Returning to nature, historians have told us, was an important theme in nineteenth-century middle- and working-class cultures, seen as an important antidote to industrialized city life.[101] For the summer of 1899, for example, J. Hirsch, Sons and Company launched a brand of tobacco called "the angler," aimed at "the summer resort trade."[102] In 1910 S. Davis and Sons advertised its domestic brand, "Perfection Cigar," by using two vacationing narratives: "With Song and Story an evening around the camp fire passes pleasantly, especially if there is a box of 'Davis Perfection' cigars"; and "It certainly makes an early fishing trip more enjoyable if you take along a goodly supply of this popular brand."[103] The Company also changed the packaging of its twenty-five-

cent cigars, "La Mencita," putting them in metal canisters to appeal to tourists and campers.[104]

Smoking made visible the borders of this high-minded male public sphere, which could otherwise be invisible. "Smokers," for example, were male-only social nights that were complete with other activities such as music, speeches, and drinks. Their link to tobacco was the only sign that they were male-only, unlike balls. Smokers were frequent in Montreal, often held in festive seasons, such as immediately prior to Christmas, and were commonly organized by francophone and anglophone men from all classes. They were part of an associational life that made up the public sphere in Montreal. In December 1900, for example, the bourgeois Montreal lacrosse club hosted a free smoker open to all – "a compliment to Lady Nicotine."[105] Similarly, in December 1907 *La Patrie* reported that numerous union leaders attended the Montreal bookbinders' union smoker held at St Joseph Hall, where there was music, singing, and speeches.[106]

Smoking played a part in demarcating politics as male. The powerful Liberal senator Laurent-Olivier David argued that women should not get the vote because the political sphere of public assemblies and political clubs was full of crude discussion, "in an atmosphere made vile by the tobacco smoke and alcohol!" In David's opinion, this was no place for a woman.[107] Indeed, some women saw the political arena in a similar light and were not interested in putting their reputations into question or being harassed by entering the male public sphere of politics. Andrée Claudel, the women's columnist at the Liberal weekly *Le Pays*, recounted a conversation among five elite French Canadian women who frequented a tea room in the afternoons. The women proclaimed that they were not interested in the vote because it would mean entering polling stations where men smoked: "Think of it, my dear, to go into these terrible 'polls' where men smoke and all the looks. Oh no, thank you!"[108] In this case, men smoking and their uninviting gaze constructed the political sphere as an uncomfortable space for these women.

Not surprisingly, smoking also helped to demarcate cigar stores as male space. These were centres of male culture for all classes. At the turn of the century, industry insiders estimated that there were two thousand tobacco and cigar stores in Montreal, a number that would increase to five thousand by 1934.[109] These stores were often associated with other male-oriented services such as barbershops and billiards rooms.[110] They also served as fronts for illegal male sporting culture activities such as gambling and lotteries. At the turn of the century, the

Montreal police frequently raided cigar-store gambling dens.[111] Indeed, cigar stores were particularly useful as fronts because few people would have questioned men entering such stores, as compared to less-gendered space.[112]

These fronts were far from the high-minded ideal of smoking promoted by men who followed late nineteenth-century codes of respectability in Montreal. The *CCTJ*, for example, condemned such places.[113] Many cigar-store owners attempted to turn their stores into high-minded male public spaces. Elite tobacconist A. Michaels, for example, put on a display of sketches of the Japanese land forces in action during the Russo-Japanese War, apparently attracting a crowd.[114] Another cigar-store owner installed a New York Stock Exchange "ticker" to attract a business clientele.[115] Yet another in the business district on St James Street offered "comfortable and well appointed lounging, smoking and writing rooms, together with the leading English, Canadian and American magazines and periodicals."[116] Cigar stores were to be "breeding places for all sorts of arguments and controversies on all sorts of subjects."[117] In fact, the *CCTJ* suggested that tobacconists open a smoking room at the back of their stores to let their patrons rest "for an odd half-hour."[118] The cigar store as a leisure space, however, was to be restricted on a class basis. "Naturally," wrote *Liqueurs et tabacs*, "it is not a question of admitting vagabonds into the well-run store," but there was no problem in allowing "society people ... to meet for a few moments, conversing over subjects that interest them" while smoking a good cigar.[119]

Despite tobacconists' interest in creating a centre for the respectable male public, every Christmas they tried to convince women to buy gifts for male relatives in their stores. The *CCTJ* suggested that tobacconists should offer to send a selection of a gentleman's cigars over to the house for the wife's perusal, so she would not have to suffer the indignity of entering a cigar store.[120] But barring this, the journal provided advice on some of the ways tobacconists could encourage women to come to their stores. These recommendations offer insights into the factors, in addition to smoking, that made cigar stores unfriendly spaces for women. For example, in 1908 the *CCTJ* suggested that cigar-store advertising should try to "convey assurance ... that the woman customer will be subject to absolutely no embarrassment or annoyance in entering the store." The article stated that though it should not be necessary to actually give these instructions, clerks were to be told not to stare "nor [to perform] any actions whatever, to denote that the customer is an

unusual one."[121] A few years later the same journal told a parable of good business practice concerning one tobacconist who had taken "pains" to acquire the patronage of women buying gifts for men. His advertisement sought to "make every lady who read the evening papers feel that it was perfectly proper and matter-of-fact that she should step in to the store and execute her commission."[122]

DEFERENCE AND SELF-CONTROL

Smoking was perfectly respectable in public spaces such as smokers, medical schools, political gatherings, and cigar stores, all places designated as homosocial male public space, and furthermore, it was one of "the mechanisms whereby that sphere was created and maintained as a masculine province."[123] Yet according to this etiquette of smoking, the male public sphere was not supposed to be an all-pervasive "smoking section." When women were present in public places where classes mixed, the etiquette of smoking was modified for social distinction. According to good manners, streets, as I have discussed earlier, were still considered male spaces, and women who frequented them risked their dignity. Without careful attention to comportment and dress, a woman on the street could be misunderstood to be a "street walker" or prostitute. Historian David Scobey has argued that the middle class flouted rules of gendered spheres to create gendered visions of order in the midst of industrial cities that they saw as hives of disorder. In these gentrified spaces, men and women walked publicly, exerting intense self-control over every movement of their bodies.[124] It was especially important, John Kasson adds, not to draw attention to the internal workings of the body.[125] Thus men chewing gum, eating, or smoking were frowned upon in these rarefied mixed-sex situations. Etiquette experts in Montreal denounced men smoking on streets when in the company of women. One guide told its readers that if a man meets a woman in the street, "he should sacrifice the cigar or cigarette he had begun, throw it away discretely and unostentatiously."[126] Similarly, *La Presse*'s etiquette columnist, when asked if a young man could smoke a cigar while escorting a woman on the street, answered in no uncertain terms: "No, that is not polite."[127]

The power dynamics of this kind of public display gave genteel woman a theoretical veto over public smoking. In the most bourgeois of settings, where there was less interaction of classes, a man could ask

1.5 From *Le Monde illustré* (1886)

permission to smoke in a woman's presence. Madame Sauvalle considered it "is almost superfluous to say that a man never lights a cigarette in front of a woman without asking her permission." She then went on to write that this would only be appropriate behaviour in the dining room of a hotel where there was no smoking room. There a man could discretely ask the women or have an orderly ask the women present at the table if the men could smoke.[128] Permission was not always forthcoming. The *CCTJ* told the story of a "smart young lady" who arrived at a railway carriage where three or four men were already present. One of them, "in the familiar style we know so well," took out a cigar and matchbox and asked, "I trust madam, that smoking is not disagreeable to you?" to which the woman responded, "Really, sir, (with the sweetest of smiles), I Can't tell, for as yet no gentleman has smoked in my presence."[129]

Not smoking while with a woman in public was nothing less than a performance of masculine respectability. This etiquette was acted out in the cartoon "Comment on arrive à prendre femme" (How one takes a wife) from *Le Monde illustré* in 1886 (fig. 1.5). It begins with the man at home with drinks on his table, enjoying a cigar. During a "healthy promenade," which includes smoking a cigar, he sees a woman. He continues to smoke his cigar until he resolves to talk to her. When he

decides to approach her, out of respect, the cigar disappears. Later we see his former life of cigars and drink put on the top shelf as he and the woman sit in a drawing-room. A year later a child enters the picture.[130] On one level, the cigar was a marker of the man's bachelorhood, and on another it was a demonstration of his gentility in throwing it away.

This vision of the respectable etiquette of smoking was often linked to class status. Such was clear in the outrage expressed by Ruth Cameron, the author of the Montreal *Herald*'s "Evening Chit-Chat" column: "That a man should not smoke when walking with a woman on the street is a rule that I suppose most men know, even if, knowing the right, they still occasionally pursue the wrong." Indeed, this rule was being flouted even by those who, according to Cameron, should have known better: "I stood in front of the finest hotel in this city the other day, and saw a man dressed in the extreme of fashion – tall silk hat and clothes of the very latest cut – hand a fine lady into a very magnificently appointed automobile with a very gracious and lordly manner, and then climb in and sit beside her chatting with her while a cigar tilted from the corner of his mouth."[131] For Cameron, class was about more than money. It was about having the cultural capital of understanding proper gender conduct in public. Breaking down this image, she recognized the man as being "upper class" since he was in front of the "finest" hotel, wore the "extreme of fashion," got into the automobile in a "lordly manner," and had a cigar in his mouth. The woman, according to this semiotic understanding of bourgeois heterosexuality, was a monument of self-control. She remained passive and allowed herself to be objectified as she was "handed" into the automobile. Smoking the cigar on the street while a woman was present was the only thing that did not fit the "class of man" within this vision of gender relations.

These ideals of personal conduct and self-control when the sexes mixed dictated that some public spaces were hopelessly vice-ridden. An example of this failure to live up to these highly gendered bourgeois codes of conduct was the tavern. In Ernest Choquette's short story "Loulou," two individuals begin their moral decline in the tavern. First, Robert Renault, a boy from the country, comes to the city to go to medical school. After repeatedly refusing his fellow students' invitation to go "out on the town," he finally gives in. "Yet one night, in an atmosphere of cigarettes, burnt cognac, and Scotch that filled the *Aurore* salon, he felt himself melt imperceptibly into the same cloud as the rest, his scruples drifting; and he followed without thinking ... the others, gone in a caravan on a hell of a racket." To join the circle was to enter into the smoke,

and once he is in, Renault's scruples disappear like the smoke of the cigarettes. Yet the consequences of entering these taverns were more severe for a woman. The second person to morally fall is Loulou, a woman who is also out "on the town" with this group. Renault asks her why she does not leave, and she finishes his statement by saying, "To once again become respectable, right?"[132] While the narrative does not include any mention of her drinking or smoking, the fact that she is in such an environment puts her respectability into question. The mingling of the sexes here plays an important role, as does the alcohol and tobacco smoke. In contrast to this den of vice were drinking establishments that separated men and women. In 1893 the Lyceum Theatre, for example, had a separate section for men to smoke and drink without women, and its manager claimed to the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic that this was part of why it was respectable.[133]

One of the most controversial mingling of the sexes and classes in public at the turn of the century was on Montreal public transit. Indeed, the smoking controversies about Montreal tramways bring together the use of smoking as a boundary of a high-minded male public sphere, the material limitations to this etiquette, and its role as a performance of respectability. Tramways were exemplary, as Donald Davis and Barbara Lorenzkowski have argued, of how women were made to feel as if they were "intruders whenever they ventured into the public 'male' sphere of travel and commerce."[134] Traditionally, to accommodate female travellers, smoking was only permitted in the last four rows in each car.[135] Yet this restriction could barely have been seen as adequate to protect a woman's respectability. There was no partition between the smoking and non-smoking sections; so this symbolic border floated into the rest of the tramcar, bringing discomfort and leaving the strong suggestion on a woman's clothing that she too had been smoking.

The symbolic boundary between men and women on Montreal tramways was altered on 1 December 1901, when the Montreal Street Railway Company (MSR) banned smoking on the four rear seats during the winter.[136] There were several reasons for this change in smoking policy. Up to a point it was a response to the increased presence of middle-class women in public at the turn of the century, whether shopping or travelling to a job in Montreal's downtown offices. For women to do so respectably, men would have to stop smoking on the tramways. Beginning in 1897, the Western Union of the Montreal WCTU had begun a campaign to end smoking on the MSR, which saw results in 1901.[137] The Dominion WCTU, probably inspired by what it perceived as a victory

in Montreal, passed a resolution in late 1902 that pitted women as non-smokers with rights to clean air and space on the tramways against offending male smokers. The resolution read: "Whereas, women as well as men pay full fare on railway trains and street cars, boats, etc. and have a right to immunity from the poisonous atmosphere of tobacco, Resolved, That we demand consideration from all corporations who provide means of indulging this habit at the expense of discomfort to others."[138]

Yet there were other reasons apart from the WCTU campaign for the change in MSR policy. Abolishing the smoking section was also a solution to crowding problems on the tramway. The smoking section blocked the entrance of "pay-as-you-enter" cars, and passengers found it difficult to get on the tram. Many riders mistakenly allowed tramcars to pass them by because they had the impression that the cars were already full. In reality, they were half-empty and crowded only in the smoking section.[139] In fact, later in 1913, when Montreal City Council banned smoking completely on Montreal tramways, it was the hope of dealing with the overcrowding problem, not the rights of all riders to have fresh air, that was at issue.[140]

Despite the extensive problems of crowding, opposition to the MSR policy and the later City Council ban on smoking reduced the question to one of female intrusions into the male sphere. Indeed, particularly masculine opposition to these new rules quickly developed. In 1903 Montreal tobacconists, together with the licensed alcohol dealers of the city, organized an association and sent several delegations to the MSR to ask it to repeal its anti-smoking policy, but with little success.[141] They saw the issue as a female invasion of the male world. While arguing for new smoking cars to be constructed by the tramway company, their official organ, *Liqueurs et tabacs,* took advantage of the fact that the word for "company" in French *compagnie,* is feminine, observing that "in giving great satisfaction to the masses of the male population, she should improve her recipes."[142] Thus they suggested the double meaning that the company should improve its policy and that women should keep within the private sphere and try to improve their cooking. Journalists also made the issue a question of women trespassing in the male sphere. In November 1907, probably just after the summer smoking season ended, a *La Presse* editorial lashed out at the anti-smoking laws as discriminating against men. The editorialist wrote that if men were supposed to stop smoking to end the crowding on tramways, women who had hats "held on with pins over a foot long and wear their

umbrellas like a baby" with the ribs at the eye level of other passengers should not be allowed on.[143] This was indeed gender conflict, men wielding burning tobacco and women deploying hairpins and umbrellas, and the spoils were the gendering of space on Montreal public transit.

Men argued that the time they spent on the tramways was crucial smoking time since work discipline and etiquette already limited the amount of time a man could devote to smoking. When smoking was banned in 1913, a renewed campaign with a new tobacconist organization, the Montreal Tobacco and Cigar Retailers Protective Association, stepped up the efforts to allow smoking on public transit.[144] It circulated a petition, in French and English, opposing prohibition of smoking and asking the MSR either for special smoking cars as in Europe or "to take other practical means to permit passengers to smoke on the present cars."[145] The organization approached the Montreal Trades and Labor Council to support its initiative. When the council met on the question, members showed particular enthusiasm for the petition. Numerous speakers pointed out that "the working man" suffered most from the law, "as during the day time the only opportunity he often had for a smoke was when travelling back and forward from his work." This comment clearly played on working men's limited leisure time as well as on rules of etiquette stipulating that respectable men did not smoke at home. Delegate Fontaine called for smoking trailers to be put on tramways "to allow us to have our smoke without it interfering with non-smokers." The motion of support passed unanimously, and the labour council sent three delegates of support to City Council instead of the one that had been requested by the retailers' association.[146]

In the end, the class and gender alliance was impressive. The campaign concluded with a petition of 45,000 signatures presented to City Council by alderman and soon-to-be mayor Médéric Martin. The Montreal *Gazette* described the presentation of the massive petition as follows: "From behind a pile of petitions which littered his desk Ald. Martin arose in the City Council yesterday and made a plea for the smoking citizens of Montreal ... [He] called a messenger and had the pile of petitions conveyed to the more spacious desk of the city clerk." The clerk was then asked to send the requests to the MSR and to ask whether it would be possible to act on the council's proposals.[147] Yet after the petition was submitted, nothing seems to have changed, and smoking was still prohibited by the MSR.

Despite the controversy that enveloped the MSR rules regarding smoking, there is little evidence that they were followed.[148] Indeed, etiquette remained the key to separating smokers and non-smokers, allowing for the creation of male homosocial space on tramways. Smoking on tramcars offered a prime mixed-class opportunity for men to demonstrate respectability and to defer to women in public. At the same time as smoking was supposedly banned on Montreal tramways, Louis d'Ornano, editor of the Montreal middle-class weekly *L'Album universel,* recounted what he called "a moral tale" using the smoking section on the tramcar. D'Ornano began his moral tale by describing the smoking section on the car as a democratic polity, an inclusively male public sphere that he was not entirely comfortable with because of its mixed-class nature: "In the democratic overcrowding, the cigarette of the young man mixed its smoke with the Havana of the financier or the bourgeois, while the thick and acrid smoke of the worker hung over them all." This male space rocked to a stop to pick up a group of women, who tried to reach the traditional non-smoking section of the tramcar. They pushed through the smoking section, but as one of them tried to pay, a large worker smoking an enormous pipe twisted it in his mouth and the burning tobacco fell on her fur coat. According to d'Ornano, this was "a lady" who had "mastered her nerves enough to avoid a scene," thus conforming to norms of conduct for women in public. The worker, on the other hand, failed miserably at upholding these codes of public respectability. He could not control his appetites: he "pulled formidable drags from his pipe," and it was these "wild appetites" that forced him into his precarious existence, not his poor pay.[149] What is more, though the worker attempted to apologize to the woman, d'Ornano felt it was done with a bitterness and revolting cynicism that ultimately was rooted in his social class: "This man: gauche, brutal, uncouth as they come, the symbol of the imbeciles of humanity, at once too proud or too acerbic to bend before a wealthy woman." Indeed, the worker failed to defer to the woman, and the gesture showed that there would never be universal harmony because the poor had such contempt for their "social superiors." While the woman, according to d'Ornano, demonstrated her "breeding" through her impressive poise in not lashing out at the worker, he suggested that rather than use public transportation, a woman wearing such an expensive coat might think of avoiding possible damage by using a private car. Clearly, the message was that the public sphere was a dangerous place for respectable women, and these sorts of problems would not exist if women did not

try to enter male spaces. Finally, d'Ornano called on the "omnipotent" Montreal Street Railway Company to resolve the situation by operating smoking cars. The proposal would preserve male space to smoke, allow a woman to retain her dignity, and rely less on working-class men to follow etiquette.

The liberal prescriptions that linked masculinity with smoking were at their height in the years before the First World War, and they discouraged many women from smoking. Rural women in Quebec, who had smoked in the first half of the nineteenth century, were considered uncivilized, like female smokers of other "uncivilized races," and women in Montreal who smoked risked being viewed as prostitutes. Even middle-class women thought twice about admitting to smoking. For men, to smoke was a ritual of transition from boyhood to manhood and could bridge the gap between men of diverse cultural backgrounds. Smoking made visible the boundary of the male public sphere and played a role in defining respectable male behaviour. Respectable smoking invoked a leisurely and thoughtful state of mind in a homosocial environment. When women were present in this public sphere, to refrain from smoking became a mark of male gentility and self-control. Furthermore, both men and women could abstain from smoking and make public gestures of gentility, ensuring that respectability was affordable for many working-class people. Yet there were significant class barriers to following these structures of etiquette if a man decided to smoke. The hours he worked in an industrial workplace limited the time he could spend smoking in any kind of high-minded all-male atmosphere. What is more, the costly spatial demands of these prescriptive systems made it close to impossible for all but the most bourgeois to adhere to the ideals of smoking. Indeed, etiquette demonstrates one important avenue by which the ritual of smoking was used as a language, tied up in gender, class, and ethnic relations and liberal notions of the individual in late nineteenth-century Montreal.

No 2

BOURGEOIS CONNOISSEURSHIP AND THE CIGAR

The choice of goods continually creates certain patterns of discrimination, overlaying or reinforcing others. Goods, then, are the visible part of culture. They are arranged in vistas and hierarchies that can give play to the full range of discrimination of which the human mind is capable. The vistas are not fixed: nor are they randomly arranged in a kaleidoscope. Ultimately, their structures are anchored to human social purposes.
Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (1979)[1]

ETIQUETTE PRESCRIBED MANY OF THE RULES AROUND SMOKING – who could smoke; where they were to smoke; when, how much, and in what spirit. But apart from disapproving of cigarettes, these rules said little about what was to be smoked, and among smokers this was an important question. For many, what a man smoked was an expression of how he saw himself and how others interpreted his identity. Tobacco selection in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Montreal was extensive: diverse sizes and shapes of cigars originating around the world, from Indonesia to Trois-Rivières; pipe tobacco in loose shag, leaf, hands, or plugs, using flavoured, unflavoured, or homegrown tobacco; hand-mixed or machine-manufactured; cigarettes hand- or machine-rolled using tobacco from Turkey to South Carolina. Though all men were said to have the "right" to smoke, all tobaccos did not con-

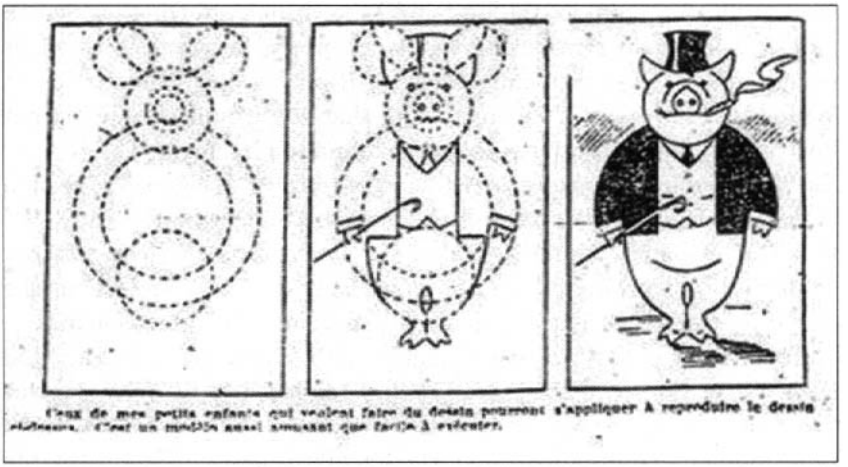
fer the same level of social prestige on their smokers. Tobacco products were organized hierarchically, and understanding this hierarchy was the foundation of connoisseurship. Connoisseurs were to be rational men – the antithesis of female shoppers, who were portrayed as irrational and even hysterical.[2] Among men, hierarchies of taste distanced gentlemen from the poor and the nouveaux riches and helped to differentiate the "civilized" from the "uncivilized" in the construction of racial ideologies.[3]

The cultural categories of tobacco connoisseurship were most clearly exemplified in the cigar. It was a symbol of wealth and power, and its smokers were criticized for their extravagance. The most expensive and most prized cigar was the Cuban. The St James Club, one of Montreal's elite men's clubs, imported Cuban cigars specially to satisfy its members, and the *CCTJ* declared: "The Havana cigar is admittedly the king of cigardom."[4] Cuban cigars were the most popular imported cigars, but their sales barely kept up with increases in Canada's population. Sales of their cheaper Canadian-made cousins, however, grew until the First World War, though they never reached the same level of popularity again.[5] According to connoisseurs, price was not a true mark of quality. Connoisseurs, manufacturers of Canadian-made cigars, their rollers, politicians, and government bureaucrats all had a clear idea of the values upon which this hierarchy was based. They pointed to the skilled labour of the cigar maker and the *terroir* of the tobacco as the cultural categories that accounted for the value of a cigar. These experts went further and attempted to explain what it was about skilled labour and *terroir* that made a superior cigar. Its quality was derived from cultural visions of race and gender, as well as from the learned skill of the worker and the natural qualities of a country's soil and climate. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Montreal these cultural categories were unstable because of the precariousness of Spanish imperial rule in Cuba, as well as the industrial transition and conflict around cigar-making. An exploration of the values upon which cigars were judged in the city offers a useful case study of how hierarchy was built into the liberal ritual of smoking. It also suggests a genealogy of the cultural categories on which this hierarchy of taste was based and the subsequent instability of the hierarchy immediately before the First World War.

CLASS, GENDER, AND CONNOISSEURSHIP

The cigar in turn-of the-twentieth-century Montreal was a symbol of masculine wealth and power. Cigar companies fostered this symbolism by naming their products after military heroes, political leaders, and American industrialists. Among Montreal cigar manufacturer J.M. Fortier's brands, for example, were mythic heroes such as Richard I and Alexander III and major American industrialists such as Vanderbilt.[6] One of the most popular cigars at the turn of the century was J. Hirsch, Sons and Company's Stonewall Jackson, and S. Davis and Sons frequently advertised its Nobleman cigar. Cartoons often criticized the misuse of wealth and power by portraying the rich as fat pigs and making them cigar smokers. In 1910 *La Presse* offered children a model from which they could learn how to draw the wealthy pig: the top hat, tie, and formal suit jacket along with the cigar completed the image of class (fig. 2.1).[7] Similarly, later that year in *La Presse*'s humour section, the cigar was prominent in the iconography of the upper-class man in "Contraste" to the poor shoeless man (fig. 2.2).[8] Finally, criticisms of wealth and power turned to American foreign policy in 1906 when *L'Album universel* reprinted a cartoon of a fat, cigar-smoking American man crushing Cuba (fig. 2.3).[9] Pre-First World War literature in Montreal also linked the cigar to the abuse of power. For example, in Jules-Paul Tardivel's 1895 novel *Pour la patrie* the villain, Montarval, sits and smokes a cigar, staring out the window as his father, close to death, tries and fails to be reconciled with him.[10] Tardivel uses the cigar to emphasize Montarval's selfishness – a man who spends this crucial time for his pleasure rather than caring for his father. In Hector Berthelot's *Les mystères de Montréal: Roman de mœurs*, the character Cléophas wakes up from a night of drunkenness to the smell of "a cigar with the most delicate of aromas." The smoker is the comte de Bouctouche, who wants to hire Cléophas to help him swindle an inheritance to which he no longer has any claim.[11]

The use of the cigar as a symbol of misused wealth was carried beyond cultural sources. The Reverend Herbert Symonds, vicar of Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal, criticized moral reformers who took aim at moving pictures. Noting that 90 per cent of moviegoers were working people, he compared them to those of his own class who organized bridge and poker games "with cigars and liquid refreshments." He remarked ironically that "we may incidentally deplore the frivolity of the masses who instead of saving something from their earnings spend



2.1 Drawing wealth: "Pour les dessinateurs," *La Presse* (1910)

2.2 The cigar as wealth: "Contraste," *La Presse* (1910)

2.3 The cigar as power: from *L'Album universel* (1906)

it all at the movies."[12] A gendered version of this criticism of luxury can be seen through discussions of turn-of the-century family budgets in Montreal. In 1900, when debate broke out in the Montreal *Star* about the cost of living, a railwayman's wife sent her budget to the paper. It included money for her husband's tobacco; she reasoned that this was an acceptable expense since he abstained from alcohol.[13] Her stance was criticized by a woman who signed as "an American"; she was aghast because the cost of the tobacco would make the wife's job of budgeting

more difficult. "Think of the husband," she wrote, "enjoying his Scotch and soda, even his cigar, at his wife's expense." The *Star* expressed its disagreement with the American's position by titling her letter "A Widow's Philosophy," thus suggesting that she would be putting her husband in the grave by not allowing him any pleasure.[14] The shift in the American's letter from a discussion of tobacco to cigars and Scotch and soda, when the woman who sent in the budget had already said that her husband did not drink, suggests that the American was not thinking of a working-class experience. This shift also underlines the extent to which the cigar was singled out as a morally dubious luxury.

These images of power and wealth highlight the cost of cigars and their association with the elite. Yet they ranged in price from two for five cents to more expensive ones that could cost a dollar each. Clearly, most smokers could afford only the cheapest cigars. What drew the association between cigars and elite smokers closer together was the ideology of connoisseurship. As with wine and champagne, connoisseurs learned how to evaluate a cigar through an expensive process of testing and information-gathering that amounted to a form of cultural class formation. Connoisseurship had much in common with the amateur ideology that drove sport in nineteenth-century Montreal. Today it is no accident that in French the word *connaisseur* is used almost interchangeably with *amateur*. Historian Alan Metcalfe has written that amateurism dictated that sport was more than a game; it "was a vehicle for demonstrating that a person was a gentleman."[15] As such, sports were to be played according to the spirit of their rules rather than by written rules. The spirit of the rules was never codified, giving "the system an exclusiveness that practically guaranteed that outsiders would be unable to gain access."[16] Like the disdain held for codified rules for sport, price tags were not judged to be "true" arbiters of a cigar's quality. Indeed, some in the cigar industry maintained that in the best cigar stores, prices should not be put on the boxes because true connoisseurs would know a good cigar.[17]

Cigar companies attempted to depict their customers as "men of taste" who would recognize quality. As well as using the names of political, business, and military leaders for their brands, the companies marketed brands such as Verdi and Walter Scott, evoking images of quality in music and literature.[18] In contrast, failures in connoisseurship reflected poorly on the manhood of the smoker and his claim to be middle or upper class. A Montreal *Herald* article in 1921, for example, looked back at the rivalry between Sir William Van Horne and Sir

Thomas Shaughnessy. Both were among the richest men in the country, but in the article the question of which was socially superior was based on a measure of connoisseurship. According to the account, when Van Horne did not want to talk to reporters, he would give them eight-inch black cigars made from Hudson Bay tobacco. The cigars were described as being "rank beyond description," and Van Horne attributed the idea of growing tobacco in the Hudson Bay area to Shaughnessy. When a connoisseur, the English author Sir Edwin Arnold, stayed with the Van Hornes, several reporters gathered to interview them.[19] Van Horne mischievously gave them all Hudson Bay cigars, and while they smoked, "the apartment became uninhabitable by any one save a Siwash or an Esquimau," the journalist derogatorily equating strong odours and a taste for bad cigars to Native peoples. Van Horne finally asked Arnold what he thought of the cigar, and Arnold responded that it was "the rankest, reekingest, deadenest, most odiferous, and most generally outrageous cigar I ever encountered in all my travels." Van Horne responsed that this was proof of Shaughnessy's poor taste: "I might have known it. Tom Shaughnessy likes 'em!"[20]

Connoisseurship was an acquired taste that shielded "men of culture" from the nouveaux riches. A good example of this sort of condescension is found in William Henry Drummond's poem "How Bateese Came Home." The poem is a version of the parable of the prodigal son that centres on the theme of French Canadians going to the United States to find their fortune. As part of Drummond's "habitant poems," it was enormously popular and frequently read publicly to great laugher.[21] The protagonist of the poem, Jean Bateese Trudeau, thinks himself too well educated to stay in Quebec and emigrates to the United States to make his fortune. After a prosperous first summer and then a year of failure, he is penniless and returns home hungry, where he is, of course, met and welcomed by his father. In the winter between these two summers, Bateese returns to Quebec as John B. Waterhole, and the narrator, a French Canadian man who speaks in broken English like many of the other French Canadians in Drummond's habitant poems, is impressed by Waterhole's new sense of connoisseurship:

> Den we invite heem come wit' us, "hotel du Canadaw"
> W'ere he was treat mos' ev'ry tam, but can't tak' w'isky blanc,
> He say dat's leetle strong for man jus' come off Central Fall
> An' "tabac Canayen" bedamme! He won't smoke dat at all!

But fancy drink lak "Collings John" de way he put it down
Was long tam since I don't see dat – I t'ink he' goin' drown!
An' fine cigar cos' five cent each, an mak' on Trois-Rivières
L'enfant! He smoke beeg pile of dem – for monee he don't care![22]

The relationship between the "tabac Canayen" and the five-cent cigar from Trois-Rivières reveals much about both Bateese and Drummond. Bateese condescends to the narrator by saying that the "tabac Canayen" is not worth smoking. Drummond, in turn, condescends to the narrator, who is portrayed as a "typical" French Canadian, by allowing the narrator to be impressed by the five-cent cigars from Trois-Rivières. Indeed, a five-cent cigar from Trois-Rivières could not be a good cigar, according to the worldly standards of the bourgeois connoisseur.[23]

Connoisseurs of cigars believed that women could not join their ranks. The best example of the belief that cigar connoisseurship was an exclusively male skill was observable each Christmas in tobacco trade journals and newspapers. According to these publications, one of the few times that women shopped for cigars was just before Christmas, when they bought presents for their husbands and brothers. Though they were stereotyped as consumers, the tobacconists did not believe that women could know how to buy a good cigar: "A woman who buys cigars for her husband is very much like a man who buys a hat or a dress for his wife."[24] The *CCTJ* abounded with jokes about the way in which women bought cigars. Underlying these jokes was a lack of respect for the way women purchased other goods. One such joke recounts a discussion between a husband and wife as to whether the "New Women" will smoke cigars. The husband maintains that if these women did smoke cigars, they would certainly die from smoking the cheapest bargain cigars, bought at $1.49 a box.[25] Similarly, the journal recounted a poem in which a husband takes desperate measures to deal with his Christmas cigars:

He stood alone upon the bridge alone, and the river flowed beneath;
"Now is my time," he fiercely hissed, between his clenched teeth.
A splash! The deed is done, and down there sinketh in the deep
That Christmas box of "nice" cigars, his wive had bought "so cheap."[26]

It was also believed that women bought cigars for the fancy box, not for the quality of the cigar: "No man, unless he be very callow, will buy a highly ornamental box of cigars," wrote the journal. Accordingly, the

only reason the trade in these items continued was because women continued to buy them with an eye to a new jewellery box. Men apparently preferred a plain cedar box of "a brand with which he is acquainted."[27]

This ideology of connoisseurship stated that women could not possess the proper knowledge to buy quality tobacco, cigarettes, or cigars. Following the same logic, the *CCTJ* wrote that tobacconists were ill-advised to hire women to work in their stores because they could not possibly understand the cigar trade. The journal maintained that women "have not, nor can they acquire, the knowledge necessary in advising the customer as to the merits of a cigar or brand of tobacco." This was not a problem for the connoisseur – "The man who knows exactly what he wants" – but for others who needed advice, a woman clerk would not do.[28] A subsequent article explained that the tobacconist at a hotel in Chicago had hired a female clerk, and business went up. While she had a good knowledge of the trade, the real secret to the increased business was attributed to her "immaculate neatness," a skill that women were seen to possess.[29]

SKILLED LABOUR

According to cigar connoisseurs, women could not be connoisseurs because a significant portion of a cigar's value was derived from the male-dominated cigar-rolling process. The most skilled cigar makers used few tools to roll a cigar from start to finish. They began by choosing, blending, and shaping the filler tobacco into a "bunch," which was then rolled into a binder leaf. The last stage involved rolling the wrapper leaf around the bound filler. There can be little question of the link between skilled labour and the taste of a cigar. Patricia Cooper, the historian of American cigar makers, poses the relationship between skill and taste as a question of the cigar maker's ability to shape the filler: "A wrong twist in the leaf or too many leaves crossed at one place created blockades for smoke and flavor which the experienced smoker could detect. All the taste had to reach the smoker and the 'draw' had to be smooth and complete. A cigar packed too loosely allowed too much hot air to pass through too quickly, 'like a chimney with too much draft.' The smoke had to travel at just the right pace so that the smoker had only to puff and not pull on the cigar, but not too quickly so as to be harsh or burning."[30] Increasingly, different grades of cigars were made with work processes that were seen as undermining the craft. The

2.4 Advertising workmanship: Nobleman advertisement, Montreal *Gazette* (1910)

cigars most vulnerable to deskilling were five-cent cigars. These were nothing short of an institution, and their price could not be raised; so manufacturers introduced moulds and teams of women or children to reduce costs. With mould and group work, the speed of production could be increased, and highly paid journeymen cigar makers replaced with poorly paid children and women.[31]

Using this kind of labour, however, meant that the theme of "skilled labour" was more difficult to employ honestly in advertising. Companies who used skilled labour frequently mentioned it in their advertising, believing that a good cigar relied heavily on its labour. This was not just the rhetoric of pro-union cigar manufacturers. One of Montreal's most anti-union cigar manufacturers, S. Davis and Sons, frequently stressed the importance of its cigar makers in its advertisements (fig. 2.4).[32] Cigar manufacturers elsewhere took more extreme measures to advertise the skill of their cigar makers. One manufacturer in Ottawa, with the consent of the Cigar Makers' International Union (CMIU), put cigar makers on display in its front window as they worked.

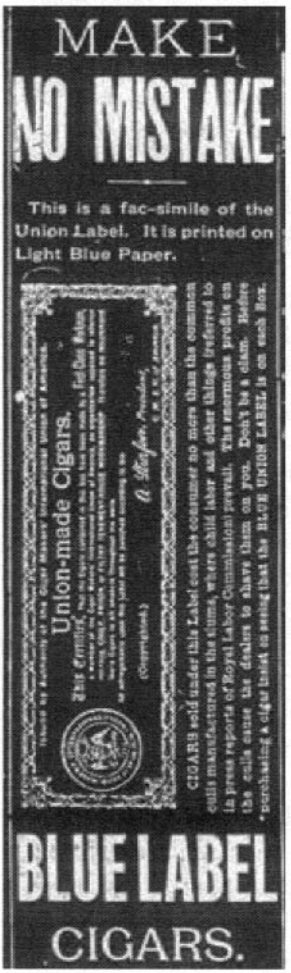
Though the spectacle of these "human advertisements" was opposed by the two Montreal locals of the CMIU, they were overruled by the international head office. In fact, the Ottawa spectacle was not an isolated incident. Brenner Brothers, a cigar firm in London, Ontario, exhibited Cuban cigar makers at the Western Fair, and Keith Walden reports that Cuban cigar makers were put on display at the 1891 Toronto Industrial Exhibition. The practice underlines the cultural importance that skilled labour held in selling cigars.[33]

Cigar manufacturers were undermining the process by which these skills were learned, however, making it difficult to guarantee the quality of the cigar. The skill in making a good cigar was supposed to be acquired during a three-year apprenticeship.[34] Agreements in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries set out a set of responsibilities between master and apprentice: in exchange for the apprentice's labour, he received little or no pay but was to be fed, sheltered, clothed, and taught a craft.[35] As Bettina Bradbury has written, by the 1880s, as a result of the move from artisan's shop to industrial factory, this apprenticeship system had already broken down, and many cigar makers who had completed their apprenticeship were not able to make a full cigar.[36] Six months after finishing his apprenticeship, journeyman cigar maker Edmond Gauthier testified at the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital that he could only roll a cigar by mould, not by hand, and then admitted that he did not know his trade.[37] Because the industry's reputation relied so heavily on skill, to the extent that the value of the product was partly dependant on it, this breakdown in the apprenticeship system was critical. One manufacturer, for example, writing anonymously in the *CCTJ,* admitted that cigar manufacturers used the apprenticeship system to cut labour costs rather than to train competent cigar makers. In his view, "a cigarmaker never learns the theory of cigar building ... [and] we are turning out goods, that, if accepted by the public, cannot be altogether satisfactory to ourselves, nor representative of cigar perfection." His solution was to open cigar-making schools.[38]

Another solution that would allow the public to continue to have faith in the cultural value of skilled labour, this one presented by unionized cigar makers, was to regulate the number of apprentices in each factory so that the system would not be abused. The CMIU attempted to do so through its "Blue Label." A cigar-manufacturing company could use the union label if it agreed to a scale of wages per thousand cigars, hired only union cigar makers and packers in the factory, and limited

the use of apprentices. In 1900, for example, the Montreal unions attempted to regulate apprentices in four unionized cigar factories by going on strike to demand that only five apprentices be used in any Blue Label factory.[39] In exchange for accepting union demands, the union allowed the cigar manufacturer to put the Blue Label on his cigars, vouching for both their quality and the conditions under which they were made.

The notions of skill represented in the Blue Label also reflected racial and gender prejudices in the trade. Though cigar making was seemingly something that could be learned through apprenticeship, unionized cigar makers maintained that not everyone could be a cigar maker. Male cigar makers argued that the skill of making a good cigar could not be learned properly by women or certain non-white men. Cooper has shown that skill in the cigar-making trade was constructed on the basis of a "white male working-class culture." And while gender exclusion was reflected in the use of the CMIU label since women were not made to feel welcome in the union and were discriminated against, racism was even more overtly displayed. In fact, after the label was adopted by the CMIU in 1880, the fine print of a 1890 example printed in the Montreal union journal, *The Echo*, (fig. 2.5) read: "This certifies that the Cigars contained in this box have been made by a First-Class Workman, a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, an organization opposed to inferior rate-shop, COOLY, PRISON, or FILTHY TENEMENT-HOUSE WORKMANSHIP. Therefore we recommend these Cigars to all smokers throughout the world."[40]



2.5 Blue label, *The Echo* (1890)

By 1910 the label had changed, ridding itself of references to "Coolies" and all words after "organization" and replacing them with "devoted to the advancement of

the MORAL, MATERIAL and INTELLECTUAL WELFARE OF THE CRAFT."[41] Still, some claimed the history of racial exclusion as part of the label's "noble history." In 1910 the worker's column in *La Patrie* gave a brief account of the union label, tracing its origins to Gilded Age San Francisco cigar makers. Behind its development, the article pointed out, lay the Burlingame Treaty, concluded with China on 28 July 1868. This treaty allowed Chinese immigrants to enter the United States, and by 1878, 4,000 were employed in the San Francisco cigar trade. At the same time, only 500 white cigar makers were employed. According to the article, by 1881 the situation had deteriorated, to the point where there were only 179 white cigar makers and 8,500 Chinese cigar makers, and the effects of "the work of these yellow people" were disastrous since they worked for between thirty and sixty cents per day. Finally, in 1874 a local of the cigar makers' union adopted a white label "to distinguish the products of white labour from the products of yellow labour." In 1876 the movement became more widespread, and the Pacific Coast Cigar Makers Association was formed. Fifty manufacturers who employed only white cigar makers joined in the association's label campaign. The use of the label then became general among cigar makers and other unionists, who competed with "*des jaunes*" and non-unionists of any colour.[42] Henri Bourdon, the author of the article, could have distanced the earlier blatantly racist history of the label from that of the 1910 label (which was more ambiguous about race), but clearly he felt that the label's attitude would not hurt, and might even help, the Blue Label's promotion.

The label's promotion in Montreal generally called for class and gender, rather than racial, solidarity. As an 1890 article in *The Echo* suggested, "All men having the interest of the working people at heart will ask for UNION MADE CIGARS."[43] The main promoters of union-made cigars were the Montreal locals of the CMIU and the Montreal Trades and Labor Council (MTLC), where the CMIU was powerful. In the 1880s the Montreal locals of the CMIU gained new life, though significant campaigns to promote the label did not begin until the 1890s.[44] The Montreal locals publicized Blue Label cigars in their newspapers, at meetings of their locals, through short animations, by label exhibitions, during Labour Day parades, and by asking consumers to boycott other goods. In 1908 the secretary of the label committee of the MTLC, C.R. Salmon, spoke in support of union labels at early Montreal cinema halls such as the Readoscope and the Duluthoscope. While he spoke, an animation of a union label, sometimes the cigar makers' label and

sometimes another, would appear on the screen, almost like a precursor of a television commercial.[45]

Another method by which union cigar makers promoted their label and the goods that carried it was through exhibitions. The 1910 label exhibition took place over two days, beginning on Saturday afternoon, when factory work ended for many, and continuing on through Sunday afternoon. Despite the sweltering heat, the exhibition attracted an estimated fifteen hundred visitors.[46] Union labels were displayed prominently, companies that used union labour showed their goods, and speeches were given on the co-operative movement and the importance of unions. Union-made cigars were awarded as prizes during the exhibition's festivities. Cigar makers played an important part in its organization. Benjamin Drolet, president of the CMIU Local 58, at that time the only local in Montreal, was both a speaker and a member of the organizing committee.[47]

In addition to promoting union-label goods, the Label Committee arranged for boycotts of non-union cigars. In January 1898 the MTLC came to an agreement with the Steve Brodie Theatrical Company that stipulated the company would no longer advertise for what the MTLC called the "General Arthur scab cigar." In exchange, the company would receive a hundred Blue Label cigars as well as a union advertisement.[48] Later that same year a committee of the MTLC interviewed the lessee of St Helen's Island Park, asking him to sell only union cigars.[49] Similarly, Adolphe Gariepy, a Montrealer and the third vice-president of the CMIU, moved a successful motion at the MTLC in August 1907 to boycott "Papa" and "Romeo and Juliette" cigars because the factory at which they were being produced was on strike.[50] The cigar makers' union also used national boycotts through its journal. In 1899, after Montreal cigar manufacturer J.M. Fortier, "the largest scab manufacturer in Canada," had two labour journalists and five cigar makers arrested for libel, Local 58 called for a boycott of Fortier goods, listing all his brand names in the *CMOJ*.[51] How effective these tactics were is not clear. The *CMOJ* claimed that the public responded well to label promotions and boycotts. It pointed to an example of one cigar manufacturer, Villeneuve and Company, which in 1899 returned to the union label after repudiating it three years earlier. Gariepy claimed that the company had come back to the union because its sales were down and the cigar manufacturer had been reduced from 125 hands to 3. Immediately after union labour was engaged, according to Gariepy, the company hired 25 men, for him proof that the label was popular.[52]

This promotion of the Blue Label as a symbol of the value of the cigar was carried out against a backdrop of opposition in Parliament. In response to a number of cases of Blue Label counterfeiting, as well as use of the label without union permission, the CMIU attempted to register it as a trade mark.[53] In the past, the union had successfully litigated to protect its claim on the label. But in the 1890s there was growing concern within the union after defeats in U.S. courts, and the CMIU concluded that its position would be stronger if the label was registered in Canadian law.[54] As it stood, however, the Trade Marks and Industrial Designs Act allowed only individuals or corporations to register trade marks, and trade unions did not fit either of these categories. Between 1897 and 1905 the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress sought an amendment to the Trade Marks and Industrial Designs Act that would permit unions to register labels as trade marks and to prosecute counterfeiters.

Parliamentarians' anti-union views doomed the amendment. In 1897, 1899, and 1901 it was defeated in the House of Commons, while in 1898 and 1905 the amendment reached the Senate but was defeated there. The bill had powerful enemies who were influential in Parliament. The Montreal secretary of the Canadian Manufacturers Association (CMA) expressed concerns about the bill to the Parliamentary Committee of the CMA, and the association sent a delegation to lobby the Senate Committee on Banking and Commerce.[55] In fact, the CMA itself took credit at its 1901 convention for the bill's defeat and claimed to be instrumental in its demise in 1903.[56] In Parliament, debate usually amounted to an attack on working peoples' right to organize as well as accusations of union corruption. Occasionally, however, MPs addressed the relationship between labour and value. Two positions on the bill became clear. On 10 May 1898 Senator James Dever, a Saint John merchant, rose in support of the bill. Declaring himself to be a "man of commerce," Dever argued that it was an issue of consumer democracy. If union goods were truly better than non-union goods, as he believed, they would be bought. If, on the other hand, the union products were inferior, the consumer would not buy them. Boycotts were of secondary importance because organized labour was not a large concern in Canada.[57]

The counter-argument was upheld consistently by the former prime minister and leader of the opposition in the Senate, Mackenzie Bowell. He maintained that the bill was "vicious in principle" because the union label was not a guarantee of quality. Instead, he argued, products were

the output of companies not of workers. The label would allow trade unions to put this mistaken principle into action through a boycott.[58] The *CCTJ* went further, maintaining that truly skilled cigar makers were consistently in demand in Canada and therefore would always be well paid. A union card, it argued, was not proof of "superior ability" but, rather, "too often the badge of arrogant incompetence," as those who lacked skill were the only cigar makers who needed a union. Therefore, according to the journal, the union label was a mark of an inferior product rather than a superior one. If the quality of cigars was to improve, cigar makers would have to practise at night and improve their skills.[59]

CUBA

The second criterion for a good cigar, even one that was made in Canada, was that the tobacco had to be grown in Cuba. The 1910 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britanica* explained, "The superiority of Cuban tobaccos in flavour and aroma, especially for cigar fillers, has long been recognized, but exactly to what conditions these qualities are due is not fully known." There were several theories as to why Cuban tobacco was superior. One argued that the "aroma and other good qualities" of Cuban tobacco were caused by bacteria and that they could actually be extracted from Cuban tobacco and put into poorer tobacco to increase its value.[60] The bacterial theory, however, was not universally accepted. The *CCTJ* mocked it, writing that it was invented by German scientists who would "try to change cabbage into Cuban."[61] Similarly, *Liqueurs et tabacs* took a sarcastic position: "Therefore we should hasten to import Cuban microbes and cultivate them, acclimatize them; they can 'Havanize' our tobacco, these charming microbes."[62]

A more accepted theory to explain the superior quality of Cuban tobacco posited that it was a question of *terroir*. As with grapes used to make champagne and French wine, it was the experience of the cultivator and his relationship to the soil and climate that determined the quality of the tobacco leaf.[63] The *Encyclopaedia Britanica* noted that very slight changes in climatic conditions could drastically affect the quality of the tobacco and that "ordinary meteorological records are of little use in determining the suitability or not of a region for a particular kind of leaf: this essential point must be determined by experience."[64] Articles in the *CCTJ* fell in line with this view that it was the long-established relationship between the knowledge of the farmer, the quality of the

land, and the climate that garnered Cuban tobacco its reputation. In 1901 the journal told a story of two American men who bought a farm in the best tobacco-growing region of Cuba, Pinar del Río. They planted their tobacco fields, the plants came up, and in their opinion, they were on their way to "a bumper" crop. Their neighbours, experienced in the ways of the soils and climate, told them they were making mistakes, but the Americans did not heed the advice. When it came time to be examined for sale, their crumbling tobacco had no buyers. Next year, the journal wrote, the Americans "will follow the advice of their neighbors." While Cuban growers did not "themselves know how to describe their ways of analyzing the exceptional qualities of soil, atmosphere and moisture which gave the Vuelta Abajo leaf its primacy," they did know how to treat the leaf and get the best return.[65] The key was not only climate and soil conditions but knowledge.

Tobacco experts believed that this intelligence could not be possessed by all people. Lines were drawn on the basis of race. Canadian tobacco farmer and expert Louis V. Labelle's well-circulated 1898 tobacco-improvement pamphlet maintained that race was also crucial in understanding who could grow good tobacco. Using Mexico as an example, he explained that a country could have the natural advantages of climate and soil and still not produce good tobacco: "For many years, Mexican tobacco was considered very inferior because its growth was left in the hands of ignorant peons who, through carelessness and incredible ignorance, wasted nature's work." According to Labelle, Mexican tobacco improved quickly once French colonists arrived and gave the crop the care it needed. This racial inability to grow tobacco "properly" existed in other places; Labelle listed Central America, most countries on the Gulf of Mexico, the Antilles, Brazil, and Indonesia – in fact, in most countries, except Cuba and parts of the United States.[66]

The *Encyclopaedia Britanica* was explicit about the racial origins of those who possessed "proper" knowledge about growing tobacco. When it analyzed valuable tobacco grown on the Indonesian island of Sumatra that was used as a wrapper because of its colouring, the encyclopaedia assessed its value based partly on the quality of the island's soil and climate but "perhaps to an even greater degree to the care taken at every stage of its cultivation and preparation. The work is done by Chinese coolies under European – chiefly Dutch – supervision."[67] This time intelligent management was equated with Europeans. The encyclopaedia explained Cuban superiority by stating that even during the slave period, tobacco had been a "white man's" crop, "for it requires intelligent

labour and intensive care."[68] In fact, tobacco in Cuba was far from being a white man's crop. As Cuban historian Fernando Ortiz has shown, it had been a crop of Native peoples before Europeans arrived and then of black slaves before Europeans began farming it.[69]

"Cuban" as a cultural category, even when built on these racial categories, was less stable than most commentators suggested. Numerous sources regularly claimed that Cuban tobacco had declined in quality. In January 1898 the *CCTJ* reported that "the insurgents" in the Spanish-American War had destroyed 600,000 tobacco plants in the Pinar del Río and Santa Clara districts, and two months later the same journal reported that the quality of Cuban cigars had dropped.[70] Over ten years later the *Encyclopaedia Britanica* made similar claims that the decline had actually occurred long before the Spanish-American War. It asserted strongly that during the Ten Years' War in Cuba (1868–78) much of the best tobacco had been destroyed. The fields had then been replanted using Mexican and American seeds. And while there were considerable attempts to destroy this tobacco after the war, the encyclopaedia claimed, "'Cuban tobacco' does not mean to-day, as a commercial fact, what the words imply, for the original *Nicotiana Tabacum*, variety *havanensis*, can probably be found pure to-day only in the out-of-the-way corners of Pinar del Rio."[71]

While the quality of Cuban tobacco probably fluctuated, the suggestion of tobacco being Cuban was more important than the actual quality of the tobacco. In Montreal between 1897 and 1908 a Cuban cigar could be recognized by the Canadian revenue stamp on its box. All cigar and tobacco products were stamped by revenue officials, certifying that the excise had been paid, and excise rates differed according to the origins of the product: a blue stamp for cigars from Cuba, Manila, or China; a black stamp for cigars made with Cuban tobacco in Canada; a pink stamp for cigars made from tobacco from other countries; and a green stamp for Canadian tobacco.[72] Many smokers and tobacco industry experts who influenced smokers' opinions interpreted these stamps as guarantors of quality rather than simply as excise categories. Early in 1905, for example, the *CCTJ* published an editorial noting that the government had actually developed the stamp system to protect consumers from fraudulent tobacco.[73] Similarly, in 1908, when the different coloured stamps were abolished, the primary concern among members of Parliament was that consumers would no longer have any idea of the quality of their tobacco. On these grounds, one tobacconist in Toronto even threatened to collect the signatures of

concerned smokers on a petition opposing the abolition of the stamp system.[74]

In the debates about the abolition of the coloured excise stamps, cigar manufacturers argued that "Cuban" was not a stable cultural category or sign of quality. One cigar manufacturer contended in the Montreal *Herald* that the label only defined the tax division through country of origin, and there was no guarantee that all tobacco from that country would be of equal quality. The same manufacturer pointed out that there could be a difference of up to fourteen dollars between Cuban cigars of the same stamp and weight, and cigar manufacturers themselves were known to go to Cuba to choose their own leaf because quality varied. Others attacked cigars made in Canada with Cuban tobacco. J.M. Fortier claimed that the excise stamps were not marks of quality and that the black stamp only meant that the finished cigars had been taxed at the rate of cigars made with Cuban leaf. These black-stamp cigars may also have included Canadian tobacco. He noted that Inland Revenue had recorded 99,000 pounds of Canadian tobacco entering factories that only manufactured products with a black stamp.[75] What he was suggesting was that cigar manufacturers were substituting cheaper tobacco for the more expensive Cuban and using the black stamp to maintain the appearance of being Cuban, even if it meant that they were taxed at a higher rate.

The appearance of being Cuban was a priority for cigar manufacturers. Not only was this achieved through manipulating the revenue stamps, but manufacturers also used advertising to link their products to the myth of Cuban superiority. Through advertising, they evoked a sense of "Cubanicity" that could be attached to any cigar to raise its value.[76] The *CCTJ* observed that what was important in a cigar was not its origins but its perceived origins. The journal remarked that it was "curious ... that factories all over the world still stick to Spanish words and traditions in branding and labelling their output. If a Rhode Island cigar-maker wishes to say that his box is something really uncommonly fine he marks it 'Deliciosos.'" The advertising expert-come-semiotician continued by arguing that the Cubanicity of the cigar was also stressed through the colours of the ribbons that tied the cigars together – either red or yellow, the colours of the Spanish flag. The author, writing during the Spanish-American War, underscored the symbolic importance of the colours, quipping: "When Cuba has become Americanized, red, white and blue ribbons may make their appearance in cigar boxes, but that sign of the times has not yet been observed."[77] In Montreal L.O. Grothé's

brand, the Boston, is a good example. The cigar ring (label around the cigar) was red, yellow, and gold, the colours evoking the cigar's Cubanicity, even though it was made in Montreal and named after an American city.[78]

Few firms worked as hard to cater to the connoisseur's preference for Cubanicity as the Montreal firm Granda Hermanos y Cia. The partnership between Frank Granda and Nathan Michaels was formed on 1 July 1900, and various versions of the company continued well into the 1940s.[79] The firm pioneered the production of the "authentic" Cuban cigar – made in Canada.[80] Michaels owned several cigar stores in Montreal and was from an important Montreal tobacco family. His father had founded the Stonewall Jackson Cigar Factory, a long-standing concern in Montreal, and both his brothers owned cigar stores that dealt in expensive tobacco goods.[81] Along with of his brothers, Granda had learned the cigar-making trade during his childhood in Cuba and had worked in New York and then in Montreal.[82] And while both partners were experienced in the tobacco business, only the Spanish proprietor's name was kept to capture the cachet of Cubanicity. In its first month Granda Hermanos y Cia sold 23,100 cigars. Sales soon skyrocketed, and in June 1901 it sold 172,575 cigars. The company then had to move to a larger factory since it had oversold by 350,000 cigars and needed new production space.[83]

Granda Hermanos y Cia and the Canadian-made Cuban cigar industry that followed it resulted from three factors.[84] First, it represented an attempt by manufacturers to profit from the higher tariffs on imported Cuban cigars imposed by the Laurier government in 1897. Second, the Spanish-American War resulted in the arrival in Montreal of a few Cuban and Spanish cigar makers fleeing hostility in the United States.[85] They immediately found work, and when the war ended and Cuban tobacco leaf was once again widely available, the third factor came into play: belief in Cuban tobacco's superiority. For Montreal cigar entrepreneurs to persuade the public that an authentic Cuban cigar could be made in Montreal, they had to appeal to the criteria for the best cigars set out by connoisseurs: the origins of the tobacco and skilled labour.

Granda Hermanos y Cia trumpeted the authenticity of its Cuban tobacco by reporting regularly to the *CCTJ* about Frank Granda's buying trips to Cuba, where he personally selected the leaf used in the firm's cigars.[86] By 1902 the company had added a stockholder in Cuba who acted as a resident buyer in order that its "leaf tobacco interests on that island consequently received the closest attention."[87] It also used adver-

tising to pander to the male connoisseur's desire to legitimize his consumption through knowledge of the process of cigar making as well as to calm fears about the effects of industrial capitalist transformation. The company mounted displays in cigar-store windows of "the leaf in all its phases, from the tobacco plant in bloom to the goods ready for rolling."[88] According to Keith Walden, decoration of store windows was probably at its height in this era, a public-education strategy designed to alleviate anxieties about changing work processes and products associated with industrial capitalism.[89] Granda Hermanos y Cia sought to authenticate its cigars by displaying evidence that even though they were rolled in Montreal, the cigars were manufactured with the same Cuban tobacco and were of the same quality as those made in Cuba.

While acquiring Cuban tobacco was easier after the Spanish-American War, skilled labour was far more complicated to find. Other Canadian companies in addition to Granda Hermanos y Cia insisted on having an all-Cuban or Spanish workforce to produce authentic Cuban cigars. Here the CMIU's claim that not all races were equally skilled returned to haunt it since Cubans and Spaniards were believed to be superior to any other cigar makers in the world, including francophone and anglophone members of the Montreal locals of the union.[90] For Montreal connoisseurs, the image of the Cuban cigar maker was of a craftsman with greater innate skill than a Canadian worker, yet it was never clear why the Cuban cigar maker was superior. The author of the column "Men and Things" in the Montreal *Herald* maintained that Cuban cigar makers "are far above the average workers in intelligence." He attributed this intelligence to the tradition of having a reader in the cigar-making factory. Yet he maintained that the manipulation of the leaves was largely "mechanical."[91] A second connoisseur more intimately linked to the Canadian industry wrote in his exposé of the Cuban cigar industry that the "cigarmakers are the usual Bohemian lot" who seemed to come and go as they pleased in a liberty that was unheard of in Canadian cigar factories. This was an image of the artist, rather than of the factory worker, and while artists may have had faults, there was no question that "they are all expert cigar rollers." According to this informant, a further difference between the two workforces was that Cuban cigar makers were exclusively male, unlike in Canada, where women were employed in larger numbers.[92] Still, these explanations did not answer the question of why Cubans were broadly regarded as the most skilled of cigar rollers, and observers put forward no others. The fact that many believed the best cigars came from Cuba probably

led to the racial stereotype that Cubans were biologically superior cigar makers.

There is evidence that Cuban cigar makers in Montreal also fancied themselves more skilled than their Canadian cpunterparts. The *CCTJ* reported in 1903 that during a strike at Granda Hermanos y Cia, the Spanish and Cuban cigar makers attempted to have the Canadian union cigar makers fired because the Canadians' work, they claimed, is "inferior to their own."[93] Similarly, in 1910 *La Presse* reported that Cuban workers at S. Davis and Sons had gone on strike because they refused to work with Canadians or Americans.[94] At issue was the method of rolling the cigar. The grade of cigars made by the Spanish and Cuban cigar makers in Montreal required special skills, a technique known as "Spanish Hand Work." It differed from "German Hand Work," the method used by most CMIU cigar makers in Montreal, on several counts. First of all, it employed "long filler" instead of the short filler found in most ten-cent cigars. The use of this longer filler allowed the skilled roller to forego the binder leaf. Further, the Spanish method of packing the cigars differed from the German method; in the latter the cigars were split into only three or four different colours, while Spanish sorters could get up to seventy-five different shades out of one factory's output.[95]

The numerous shades and sizes of cigars was important for elite connoisseurs. Matthew Hilton has argued that the bourgeois connoisseur's choice of tobacco or cigar was a declaration of independence and individuality.[96] Similarly, sixty years earlier Fernando Ortiz wrote that the particular size and shape of the cigar, the *vitola*, "is an outward manifestation of the *vitola* of the smoker."[97] In the *CCTJ*, however, authors said little about the *vitola* and maintained that there was a woeful lack of interest in this terminology in the Montreal trade and among the city's smokers.[98] Still, Granda Hermanos y Cia sought to play on what limited elite sense of individualization and self-expression existed among smokers in the city (and wherever their products were sold) by offering an enormous number of *vitolas*. As well as images of tobacco in its raw state, the company's window displays exhibited all the cigars it made, from the smallest, "the feminine" Senorita, to the largest, Grandas Selecto.[99]

Industry observers noted that Granda Hermanos y Cia's advertising was extensive in comparison with other cigar advertising and was the largest of its time.[100] Not surprisingly, it was based on the company's output being "equal to anything made on the Island of Cuba at a very

much lower price than the imported." Typically, almost all its brands had Spanish names.[101] To push its claim of authenticity even further, in April 1902 the company announced that it would offer $500 to anyone who could tell the difference between one of its cigars and a high-quality Cuban import. Several Montreal tobacconists took up the challenge. M.H. Parkinson and M. Hinforn, for example, were only able to tell the difference 44 per cent of the time.[102] The contest results, as well as solicited commentaries from the contestants, were printed in the industry trade journals to promote the Granda Hermanos y Cia brands among tobacconists.[103]

The Cuban and Spanish cigar makers clearly understood the importance of claims of authenticity to the company's sales and corporate image. They had their own union, the Federación de las uniones de Habano en los Estados Unidos y Canada, separate from the CMIU, and offered their own union label as a further claim of authenticity to manufacturers who would agree to their conditions.[104] Their strategies during strikes also reflected the cultural weight their labour held. In early 1903, shortly after Frank Granda left the company, the Cuban workers went on strike.[105] In a powerful move, they circulated a memo to businesses and the media claiming that Granda Hermanos y Cia was now using non-Cuban labour. The *CCTJ* called the episode "about the worst piece of labor history that has ever come under our notice." Furthermore, the journal told other Canadian cigar manufacturers that those dealing with Canadian cigar makers were sleeping in a veritable "bed of roses" compared with Spanish labour. Indeed, the claims were seen as a vicious attack on the reputation of the company, and in the final agreement, which apparently came quickly after the memo was circulated and published in the Montreal press, the Cuban cigar makers had to issue another circular to the local business community and the press denying their previous statements.[106] The episode highlights the cultural significance of racialized labour in the construction of a cigar's value. Both business and labour believed that connoisseurs of cigars would demand not only authentic Cuban tobacco but also authentic Cuban labour if these cigars were to be sold at a high price.

Granda Hermanos y Cia had attempted to respond to a bourgeois notion of taste that saw skilled labour and *terroir* as the criteria of a cigar's quality. To understand these qualities was the mark of class- and gender-specific connoisseurship, a construction of "men of taste" that legitimized male consumption and gave hierarchy to the liberal ritual of smoking. Yet this "rational" hierarchy of tobacco products was based on

culturally constructed categories that depended on notions of race and gender as much as on work process, soil, or climate. The value that skilled labour brought to a cigar was being undermined by industrial capitalism, personified in cigar manufacturers who used apprentices as cheap labour and others who asserted that products were not made by workers but by manufacturers. Similarly, it is not clear whether Cuban tobacco continued to be of the same quality it had been before the Ten Years' and the Spanish-American Wars. But regardless of the quality or authenticity of Cuban tobacco, the image of Cuban quality could be evoked through excise stamps, Spanish brand names, and the colours of the Spanish flag. It was these notions of skilled labour and the *terroir* of the tobacco – the structures of bourgeois connoisseurship – that elevated the cigar as a symbol of wealth and to the height of prestige among tobacco products.

No 3

CONFLICTS IN CONNOISSEURSHIP: DEBASING *LE TABAC CANADIEN*

Here is the origin of the lasting images of one another evolved in our societies, images which, with alterations in vocabulary and form, have continued in use up to our time. In our view, your emphasis went chiefly to business and progress; you saw us as stick-in-the-muds, prisoners of our ignorance and archaic customs ... Your ideal of progress was nourished by the contempt you felt for the negative example for which we provided the symbol. Our own uneasy uniqueness at last found its repose in traditionalism: what you saw as inferiority we made into a virtue.
Fernand Dumont, "A Letter to My English-Speaking Friends" (1974)[1]

THE HIERARCHY OF TASTE THAT SOUGHT TO CREATE A SOCIAL hierarchy of smokers was used to assess the quality of other tobacco products which were far more popular than the cigar. In late nineteenth-century Montreal, bourgeois connoisseurs were most disgusted by French Canadian homegrown pipe tobacco. Not everyone agreed with this judgment, however. Rural French Canadians had long grown tobacco for their own consumption as well as for sale on local markets. This tobacco, largely because of its accessory role in the habitant economy, often did not have a standard taste and was particularly strong. Still, rural French Canadian smokers had grown accustomed to it, and along with the clay pipe, *le tabac canadien* came to hold national symbolism. Such was especially the case when French Canadians migrated

to Montreal and were confronted with industrially produced tobaccos that tasted and smelled different from their own tobacco.[2] Until the 1940s, this tobacco was widely available in the city, but these newcomers found that their national symbol had different meanings in Montreal. Their clay pipes had come to represent poverty, and their tobacco, the smell of rural backwardness. Bourgeois connoisseurs applied the label of inferiority to *le tabac canadien,* using the same cultural categories they employed to judge the cigar. French Canadian *terroir,* in particular – "intelligent" labour, climate, and soil – was singled out as inappropriate for growing tobacco. In addition to highlighting notions of taste that competed with those promoted by bourgeois connoisseurs, this chapter demonstrates how one system of meaning can become culturally dominant over another. The hierarchy of taste used by bourgeois connoisseurs for social distinction was promoted in two ways. First, to insult the smokers of *le tabac canadien,* bourgeois connoisseurs not only claimed these smokers were uncivilized, but they appealed to racial prejudices and linked habitants to Natives, who, they claimed, grew inferior tobacco. What is striking here is that these connoisseurs were not only anglophones; some French Canadians joined in the criticism of *le tabac canadian.* The key division among francophones was not merely the question of whether French Canada was to have a rural or an urban identity. Also at issue was the nature of French Canadian agricultural practices and their integration into larger networks of capitalist exchange.[3] The second way in which the tastes of bourgeois connoisseurs became hegemonic was through the tobacco industry itself. Sir William Macdonald, the monopolistic entrepreneur who dominated the pipe tobacco industry until the mid-1890s, was a firm believer in these dominant norms governing taste and used only imported tobacco in his products. His systems of distribution and production served as powerful mechanisms to promote Canada-wide tastes and to overwhelm local tastes such as *le tabac canadien.*

PIPES AND *LA PATRIE*

In late nineteenth-century Montreal three kinds of pipes dominated: the clay, the meerschaum, and the briar.[4] Archaeologists have analyzed these pipes, primarily on a socio-economic level. They have concentrated on the clay pipe and have hypothesized that it had long been the staple of Montreal smokers, though it was losing favour to the cigarette

3.1 "En roulant ma boule," *La Presse* (1914)

and the briar pipe by the turn of the twentieth century. This hypothesis is corroborated by the *CCTJ*, which maintained in 1912, "The day of the clay pipe has gone, probably never to return."[5] While clay pipes may have been less popular by then, they still carried significant class symbolism. They were cheap: *CCTJ* quoted them at one cent each that year.[6] Their disadvantage was they were also fragile. Archaeologists have also asserted that the clay pipe remained in use in impoverished areas.[7] Literary evidence such as the character Roland in a 1912 short story by Rodolphe Girard also links the clay pipe to poverty, demonstrating that this symbolism obtained outside the tobacco industry. Financially ruined, Roland pawns his "aristocrat's pipe," which his sister gave him, and is reduced to smoking a clay one.[8]

Clay pipes were judged partly by the length of their stems, and their healthiness was questioned. In 1882 the *Canadian Illustrated News*, in its column "The Family Physician," spoke of the dangers of boys smoking, especially with "dirty short pipes."[9] Dr Foucher went into greater depth on the question of the length of the pipe stem in an article in *L'Union médicale du Canada*: "The irritating effect of the heat differs in each case according to the length of the pipe's stem, a non-conductor of heat, or if the heat arrives directly, without mitigation, to the surface of the mucous membrane."[10] This view was rooted in the humoral theories of the Greek physician Galen and situated the pipe within questions of heat and bodily fluids.[11] Foucher therefore also suggested the use of cigar and cigarette holders to avoid the health risk. Class underlay this medical issue since clay pipes with longer stems, the longest known as church wardens, were extremely fragile and probably best for smoking at home, rather than on a break from work or on travel to and from

3.2 Meerschaum pipe
(Robert Rudy Collection)

work. The moral questionability of the short-stemmed pipe can be seen in the weekly cartoon "La Débauche" in *La Presse* (fig. 3.1).[12] La Débauche, who is dressed in the tradition of the habitant, is always up to some mischief, and even when not smoking, constantly has his short-stemmed clay pipe in his mouth. These ethnic clichés were not always appreciated. *Le Journal de Françoise*, for example, reprinted a complaint in *Le Courrier de Montmagny* that "La Débauche" would give foreigners a bad impression of French Canadians.[13]

Matthew Hilton has posited that there may have been a great variety of clay pipes, and the same type of individualistic representation that occurred through the bourgeois choice in pipe may have also occurred among working-class clay-pipe smokers.[14] Indeed, two clay pipes held by Montreal's McCord Museum, one with fleur-de-lys and thistle images moulded into the clay and another with a crown and anchor, support Hilton's thesis.[15] The diversity of decorative moulds for clay pipes found in the course of archaeology digs at Place-Royale in Quebec City give weight to Hilton's argument as regards Quebec. Indeed, writing about methods of fabricating clay pipes in Canada, archaeologists Mario Savard and Pierre Drouin show that decorative pipes were common by the mid-nineteenth century.[16] Further conclusions about the specific meanings that working-class people gave to their pipes are impossible because of the paucity of sources. Still, there is little doubt that the clay pipe played a significant role in Montreal's working-class cultural life. Several Montreal unions, for example, gave them out to their members at parties.[17]

Among the more valuable pipes, the meerschaum was probably the most expensive and most esteemed among Montrealers (fig. 3.2).[16]

Meerschaum pipes were carved out of magnesium silicate imported from Greece and were usually fitted with an amber mouthpiece. Their status is clear from the prize list for the 1890 Montreal Labour Day picnic. The winner of the 120-yard sack race received a meerschaum pipe, while the second-place prize was a box of Sohmer union-made cigars. Meerschaum pipes were also first prizes in the quarter-mile running race, the shot put, and the 100-yard pipe race.[19] The value of the meerschaum is affirmed in literary sources such as Hector Berthelot's *Les mystères de Montréal: Roman de mœurs,* where the rich comte de Bouctouche, whom we met in the previous chapter smoking a good cigar, is also described as smoking a meerschaum pipe.[20] More popular than the meerschaum was the briar pipe. Numerous articles in the *CCTJ* claimed that the briar was almost universally smoked.[21] Made from the root of the thorny briar bush, it was more durable and expensive than the clay pipe but less costly than the meerschaum. Briar pipes were also more respectable than clay pipes, one of the most popular brands of tobacco in Canada being named after the briar. The popularity of the briar pipe is also suggested by the fact that one shape was named "The Canadian."[22]

The clay pipe remained powerfully symbolic. For example, Ontario businessman and federal minister of customs William Paterson smoked a "common clay pipe," which was understood by the press to be a declaration of his popular roots and simple tastes.[23] In French Canada, the clay pipe evoked nationalist imagery. In nineteenth-century Quebec art, the clay pipe, along with the *ceinture flechée* and the *tuque,* was an essential part of the visual construction of the habitant; Henri Julien's *Un vieux de '37* (fig. 3.3), an image painted in late nineteenth-century Montreal, and made famous in the 1970s by the Front de libération du Québec, is the most notorious example.[24] In the early twentieth century, the clay pipe travelled beyond the artist's canvas and circulated in politics as a symbol of French Canadian nationalism. The most prominent nationalist of the day, Henri Bourassa, smoked

3.3 Un vieux de "37," *Henri Julien Album*

3.4 Henri Bourassa smoking a pipe, from *Hommage à Henri Bourassa*

a clay pipe as a way of associating himself with his French Canadian rural roots, even posing for photographs smoking his pipe (fig. 3.4).[25] Indeed, Bourassa was a noted smoker of the short clay, with six in front of him at his *Le Devoir* desk.[26] His visual statement was understood by those who saw him smoking the clay pipe. Lionel Groulx, for example, understood the symbolism of Bourassa's pipe, commenting that he recalled seeing Bourassa in a Montreal presbytery smoking "the democratic clay pipe."[27] Another observer remembered Bourassa smoking his short clay pipe on a Rimouski stage in 1907 while waiting to give a speech. Though he was billed to speak after fellow nationalists Olivar Asselin and Armand Lavergne, Bourassa's nationalist oratory began with his smoking his pipe while the others spoke.[28]

THE TASTE OF *LA PATRIE* AND *DU VARGEUX*

In addition to a particular pipe chosen by the smoker, the particular tobacco smoked was a declaration of class, ethnicity, and nation. *Le tabac canadien* was symbolic of rural French Canada, and in literature it was often presented as synonymous with the smell of *la patrie.* In 1897 William Henry Drummond wrote of two voyageurs coming home for Christmas:

> And while each backwoods troubadour is greeted with huzza
> Slowly the homely incense of "tabac Canayen"
> Rises and sheds its perfume like flowers of Araby
> O'er all the true-born loyal Enfants de la Patrie.[29]

Similarly, in his memoirs of the pre–First World War period, journalist Robert de Rocquebrune recalled listening to his father tell the family's history while smoking *le tabac canadien*: "In my memory, these old family tales are somehow fragrant with the odour of the Canadian

tobacco he smoked in his stubby clay pipe. The past seemed to float for an instant beneath the rafters before evaporating in a bluish haze."[30] In 1905 *La Presse* assigned *le tabac canadian* a significant role in a feature on distinctively French Canadian cultural practices. During the traditional *veillée d'hiver,* French Canadians visited families and friends in the winter, jigging to the violin, playing cards, and flirting. During the evening, when the women retired to one room and, as *La Presse* reported, "recounted their pains and joys," the men sat in another, smoking their pipes and discussing "the merits and the qualities of their tobacco in comparing their experiments."[31] While the role of smoking in separating men and women was not unique to rural French Canadians, the tobacco they smoked was.

Smoking *le tabac canadien* could be a declaration of allegiance to French Canada. An article by Léon Ledieu in *Le Monde illustré* provides two such examples. Shortly after the 1891 elections, Ledieu wrote that he had overheard a French Canadian farmer talking about the smoking habits of the minister elected in his constituency: "I saw our minister. I thought he was someone who set himself apart from us. I saw him smoke French Canadian tobacco." The habitant thought that his minister was the type to present himself as better than the rest of the population, but seeing him smoke *le tabac canadien* made the countryman reassess the character of the politician. The choice of smoking tobacco, while a personal act by the politician, was taken as a public declaration that he belonged to the habitant's community. For his part, urban editor Ledieu used the story to associate himself with rural French Canadians, the same community as the farmer and the ideological home of the French Canadian nation during this period. To make sure that there was no misunderstanding, he declared that *le tabac canadien* was not a mark of inferiority, noting that he himself smoked it – when it was of good quality.[32]

Most commentators believed that rural French Canadians preferred homegrown tobacco to other types. In Louis-Joseph Doucet's collection of short stories *Contes du vieux temps: ça et là,* the author goes on a search for Quebec's rural past. He travels ten leagues from Montreal on the North Shore of the St Lawrence River to find an informant, an old man who could recount French Canada's "true" past. To win over the old man and bridge the rural-urban and age differences between the two, Doucet offers some tobacco that he had brought from the city. The old man politely tells Doucet to keep his tobacco because "il ne vaut pas le mien." Doucet's tobacco is, according to the old man *du vargeux,* or

weak.[33] There can be little doubt that *le tabac canadien* had a strong smell and flavour. It was usually made up of a number of different kinds of leaf tobacco, particularly Canelle, Petit Rouge, and Big Havana. These were all strong tobaccos; Canelle, for example, earned its name from the similarity of the smell of its smoke to the odour of burning cinnamon.[34] The use of tobacco here must be understood in the context of Doucet's narrative intent. He is evoking a very specific rural past. The farmer who smoked his own tobacco, which was stronger tasting than industrially produced tobacco, is key to evoking a heartier rural past.

Certainly, there is an element of anti-modernism in these examples, yet others less interested in evoking a romantic French Canadian past also argued that French Canadian men had a distinct taste for *le tabac canadien*.[35] Sir William Macdonald, the "tobacco king of Canada," told the 1902 Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade in Canada, "Those who are accustomed to Canadian tobacco in this Province like it. They have been brought up upon it to a large extent, and it is satisfactory to them."[36] Joseph Picard, of the Rock City Tobacco Company, maintained that in some districts of Quebec unrefined leaf tobacco was popular and that its consumption ate into the amount of industrially manufactured tobacco sold.[37] And in 1908 tobacco expert Louis V. Labelle told a somewhat shocked Commons Commission on Canadian Tobacco Products that many rural Quebec smokers preferred their *tabac canadien* to industrially produced tobacco, what a committee member termed as "good" tobacco.[36]

Analyzing how much homegrown tobacco was consumed in Quebec is difficult. Excise statistics, for example, included little Canadian tobacco because before the First World War, taxes were applied only when tobacco entered factories, and Canadian tobacco was rarely used in factories. Occasionally, certain gaps between the rough excise statistics and census statistics can tell part of the story. For example, in 1872, 55,000 pounds of Canadian tobacco was returned for excise in Quebec, whereas just the year before, when the census was taken, 1,195,345 pounds were reported to have been grown. The amount of Canadian tobacco that entered factories in Quebec declined to a low of 10 pounds in 1875. This gap led Montreal tobacconist David H. Ferguson to complain that only one-fourth to one-fifth off 1 per cent of all tobacco grown in Quebec, which he estimated to be between 4 and 5 million pounds, was taxed. Ferguson may have been exaggerating, considering that he was calling for protection against this "homegrown" competition.[39] Indeed, the 1881 census reported 2,356,581 pounds of tobacco grown in Quebec,

well under Ferguson's 4 to 5 million pounds.[40] Yet if tobacco farmers did not wish to have their crops excised, they may not have reported their entire output to census officials.[41] Other contemporary observers complained about the amount of homegrown tobacco that was being sold without being excised. In 1899 there was enough Canadian loose leaf tobacco on the market for the Dominion Cigar Manufacturers' Association to call on the Canadian government to make it illegal.[42] J.M. Fortier told the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that 4 million pounds of Canadian tobacco were sold without duties being paid, on markets around Quebec, and in 1908 Felix Charlan, head of the Tobacco Division of the federal Department of Agriculture, told the Commons Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization that he estimated 2.5 million pounds of Quebec tobacco never entered excise and were sold directly to consumers in markets around the province.[43] Indeed, there is ample evidence that huge amounts of Canadian tobacco were being smoked without ever entering factories or being recorded in excise statistics.

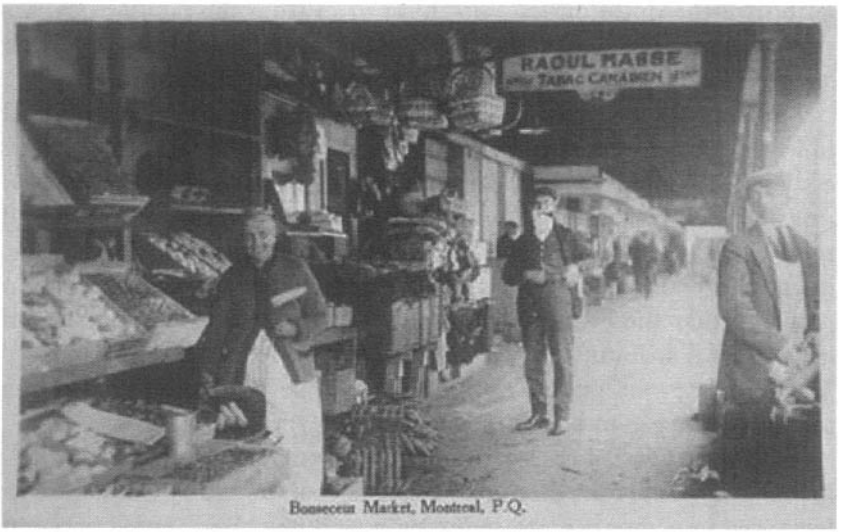
Homegrown tobacco in Quebec developed out of the habitant tradition of raising small amounts for household consumption and surpluses being sold on local markets. By the early twentieth century two regions north and southeast of Montreal were considered tobacco centres. The northern belt was made up of Montcalm, L'Assomption, Joliette, and Deux Montagnes; the southern belt was in the Yamaska Valley.[44] Despite these concentrations, according to a pamphlet written by William Saunders, director of experimental farms for the federal government, Quebec farmers grew no more than a few acres of tobacco on their land, while another tobacco-improvement pamphleteer gave instructions for both field and garden.[45] Even in 1934 notary Ernest Forest, from the northern tobacco region of Quebec, maintained that farms in his region averaged a hundred acres, with only ten acres used for tobacco.[46]

Tobacco cultivation began in mid-April, when seeds were planted in a sheltered location.[47] The plants were transplanted to a well-drained garden or field in early June. About two months after being transplanted, they were "topped"; with the top leaves and flowers pinched off, the lower leaves became thicker and heavier. A week to ten days later, small shoots appear in the axil (the point between the leaf and the stalk) of the plant. These shoots were "suckered" (removed), and the plants were harvested shortly thereafter. In Quebec the leaves were dried by open-air curing (as opposed to fire-cured or flue-cured, which is the method by which present-day cigarette tobacco is cured) in an attic or barn.

If farmers had the time, they transformed their tobacco into a number of consumable products. To make Canada Twist, Canadian Roll, or plug, the tobacco was tightly twisted into "hands" and then compressed in a tobacco press. This tobacco was often smoked by the farmer and his family, who often chopped their tobacco on a daily basis.[48] We can get an idea of the upper levels of this consumption through federal excise tax rules. The federal government's first serious attempt to tax this tobacco came in 1918 in an effort to finance the war. The new excise tax was eliminated after only five years, and thirty pounds of tobacco per year for each *male* member of the family was to be left untaxed.[49] This allowance probably still left a considerable surplus to be sold on local markets if put into the context of the medical evaluations cited in chapter 1, which stated that over one pound of tobacco per month was excessive.

The pretense that this tobacco was for home consumption is further exposed by the fact that much was sold in bales without being transformed. Demand was high; one manufacturer, writing in the late 1870s, stated that the popularity of this tobacco left little raw Canadian tobacco for industrial manufacturers.[50] This situation was not surprising since the retail price on local markets in 1910 could be as high as seventy-five cents to a dollar a pound, though this was almost certainly as high as prices rose for this commodity.[51] Farmers could easily sell it through intermediaries: one farmer reported that they could sell in their houses, "to the people passing by who purchased tobacco, either agents or the various companies that sent agents, or to the traders."[52]

With large numbers of rural French Canadians relocating to the city for factory work, the smell and taste of homegrown tobacco was increasingly transferred to Montreal.[53] It was obtainable in the city in a number of locations, though it was probably not as widely available as the tobacco produced in factories. Some farmers brought their tobacco directly to the city and sold it to tobacconists, as the following 1907 newspaper story suggests. Berri Street tobacconists Guertin and Bouchard purchased a bail from a farmer without inspecting their acquisition (suggesting that this type of transaction was a normal event). After the farmer had left, without giving his name or address, they unwrapped the tobacco to find a six-pound brick in the middle.[54] Loose or "free leaf" Canadian tobacco was also sold by small grocers through intermediaries. An 1876 federal special commission was told that every week during the winter, one Montreal firm was offered 150 barrels of homegrown tobacco weighing seventy-five pounds each.[55]



3.5 Selling *le tabac canadien* at Bonsecours Market

The use of intermediaries continued into the twentieth century. The Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade outlined the activities of tobacco intermediary G.N. Gervais. He bought tobacco from farmers, sometimes transforming it slightly into cut tobacco but also selling it as leaf. Gervais then hired Montreal tobacconist Philippe Roy to retail it in his store and to sell it door-to-door using a wagon that Gervais provided.[56] Both farmers and intermediaries sold Canadian tobacco at Montreal markets.[57] An angry Montreal tobacco manufacturer, Jacob Goldstein, submitted a plug of untaxed Canadian tobacco bought at Bonsecour Market as proof of the massive unregulated Canadian tobacco trade that competed unfairly with taxed manufacturers (fig. 3.5).[58]

Price was another reason why many in Montreal may have smoked *le tabac canadien*. J.M. Fortier, for example, claimed Canadian tobacco was sold at six or seven cents a pound in Bonsecours Market, much lower than the 1910 prices quoted above. By comparison, *Liqueurs et tabacs* listed the wholesale prices of the ATCC's pipe tobacco brands at sixty cents to $1.75 a pound.[59] Some Montrealers may even have grown it themselves. Bettina Bradbury has shown that some Montreal working-class families kept gardens, and a small amount of tobacco may have been grown there in the same fashion as it had been in small gardens in the country.[60] In 1914 *La Presse* responded to a question on how to "prevent worms for eating lettuce and tobacco plants." While the

author of the question may not have been from the city, *La Presse*'s readers were largely urban, and the decision to publish the question suggests that there was interest in tobacco growing in Montreal.[61]

Smoking *le tabac canadien* became part of social events in Montreal in which rural migrants participated. In January 1913, *La Presse's* workers' news column covered a carpenters' union installation ceremony in unusual detail. The event promised a speech and an "intimate and recreational party" with "songs, music, and other enjoyable distractions, including good Canadian tobacco." Two days later the *La Presse* column reported that the event had been a great success, with "the devoted organizers distributing pipes and tobacco as well as refreshments."[62] The event was not unique. Into the 1920s, other unions advertised free *tabac canadian* as one of the attractions at their meetings.[63]

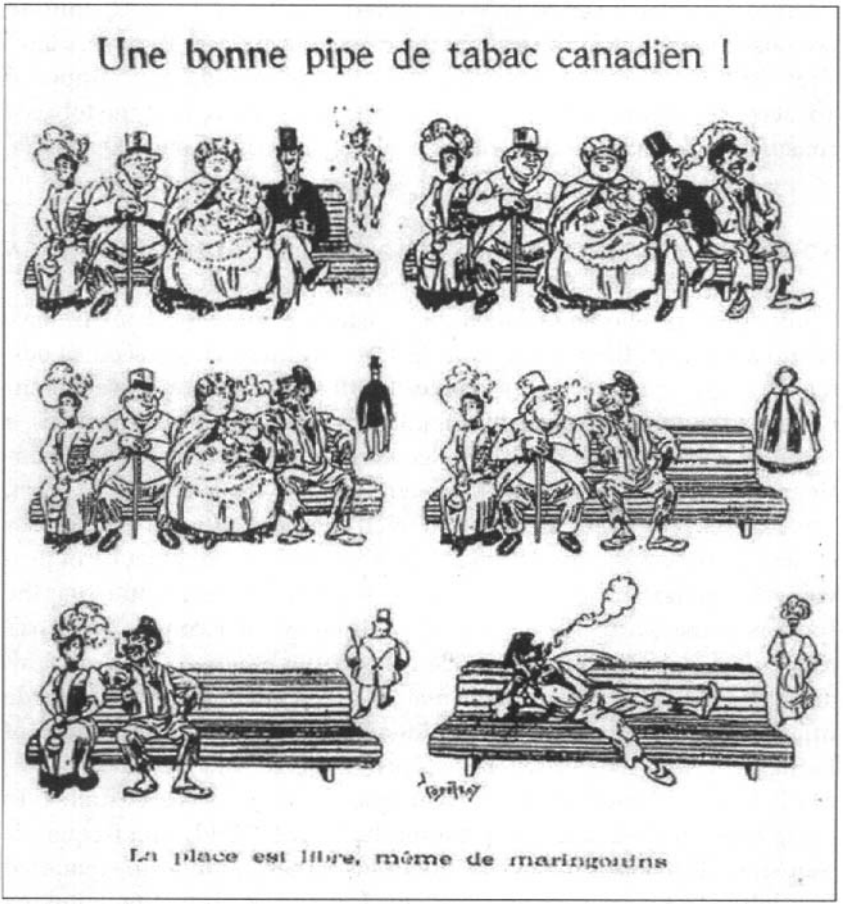
Le tabac canadien remained popular throughout the 1920s and following the onset of the economic depression of the 1930s. Because of its low price in comparison to industrially manufactured pipe tobacco, it was in greater demand. The federal Department of Agriculture's tobacco journal *The Lighter/Le briquet* claimed that French Canadian raw leaf tobacco was finding consumers across Canada.[64] Certainly, in Montreal there is evidence that it had become more available than ever. Rosaire Roch, the manager of a tobacco farmers' co-operative in the town of Saint-Jacques, testified at the Royal Commission on Price Spreads in 1934 that along one street alone the price of a pound of Quebec leaf tobacco could range from seven to fifty cents. He also maintained that thousands of people had become tobacco peddlers because of the Depression: "everybody who is practically out of work in Montreal is in the tobacco business," including farmers themselves.[65] Yet it was not only the unemployed who were taking advantage of the continued demand for homegrown tobacco. Numerous tobacco dealers serving the Montreal area had built up small empires supplying tobacconists with *le tabac canadien*. A good example is found in Charles Frenette of Saint-Charles and Bellechasse. Frenette had begun his business in 1902, handling 50,000 pounds his first year and increasing his volume to 950,000 by 1933. Typically, he bought ten-, twenty-five-, and fifty-pound bails of tobacco from farmers, steamed it, and put it in half-pound and one-pound bundles. In 1933 this process afforded him a tidy profit, since he bought his tobacco at between four and a half and seven cents a pound and sold 90 per cent of it to retailers at eleven and a half cents a pound. With large numbers of these sorts of big tobacco dealers operating in and around Montreal, one Department of Agriculture

tobacco expert conservatively estimated that there were 10 million pounds of Quebec leaf tobacco on the market in 1932.[66] Two years later Gray Miller, Mortimer Davis's successor as president of Imperial Tobacco, held that *le tabac canadien* made up 15 per cent of the tobacco consumed in Canada and probably double that proportion in Quebec.[67]

BOURGEOIS CONNOISSEURSHIP AND *LE TABAC CANADIEN*

While smokers who had formed their taste in rural Quebec might have been happy with their *tabac canadien*, it was increasingly seen as odious by those outside the province. In 1891 the federal government replaced the tobacco it usually supplied to northwest Native peoples, a Macdonald tobacco that both the government and Native people considered "standard" and was of foreign origin, with *le tabac canadien*. The Natives rejected it, and the unnamed company suffered a heavy loss on its books. A government official later warned of the difficulty of providing Canadian tobacco to Natives: "It is a fact beyond dispute that the Indians of the North West, when they purchase tobacco for themselves as a rule choose the highest grade sold by the Hudson Bay Company, and it would be a very difficult matter to get them to accept a grade inferior to the Department's standard."[68] Numerous members of Parliament from outside Quebec also commented that Canadian tobacco's flavour "is sometimes repugnant to a smoker who is accustomed to using the imported tobacco."[69] Similarly, John F. Todd, who frequently sent specially chosen tobacco home to his father in Ontario, recounted in a letter to his mother what he considered the disgusting smoking habits of rural French Canadians. Barnum and Bailey's circus had come to Montreal, and every "Canuck paysan and paysanne too, who could scrape together the 'necessary' took in the circus." He focused on one family "consisting of Papa, Maman, Bébé, two little girs [*sic*] and four boys, the eldest perhaps fifteen. Papa and the sons all smoked common, clay pipes, crammed full of vile smelling 'tabac rouge.'"[70]

Some French Canadians also criticized homegrown tobacco. An example appears in a cartoon in *L'Album universel* (fig. 3.6).[71] The cartoon links the strong smell of homegrown tobacco to the mores of a street person. Taken as a whole, the cartoon, "A Good Pipe of Canadian Tobacco," plays on respectability, with *le tabac canadien* giving the lounger the means of appropriating not only middle-class public space, symbolically evoked through the clothing of those seated, but also of



3.6 Middle-class francophone view of *le tabac canadien*, from *L'Album universel* (1906)

clearing the area of mosquitoes. Other French Canadians outside Montreal joined this cartoonist in frowning on the use of *le tabac canadien*. Journalist, translator, public servant, and historian Benjamin Sulte criticized French Canadians for the amount and type of tobacco they smoked, linking the quality to anxieties over urbanization and the future of the French Canadian people. According to Sulte, "These people smoke as much or more as other races. And they smoke a bad beating! bad tobacco!!" Not a fan of smoking, he was convinced that *le tabac canadien* was more dangerous than other tobacco. Until the end of the nineteenth century, French Canadian smokers had been saved from risk

because of their healthy rural lifestyles. But increasing urbanization brought new dangers: "In cities, the smoker is usually enclosed between four walls and is submitted, to his pleasure, to the debilitating grip of the fine wet particles that he breathes in the form of smoke." Smoking French Canadian tobacco now led to decadence and "degeneration," suggesting parallels with opium and the supposed decadence of the Chinese, as well as the lifestyles of the Romans before the decline of their empire. "You who smoke our national tobacco, what a sad tribute you pay to your nationality," Sulte lamented.[72]

Spokesmen for the tobacco industry were particularly critical of *le tabac canadien*. The *CCTJ*, concerned over the subsidized flight of cigar factories to suburban Montreal, maintained that "if it keeps at the present rate it will be only a few years when a cigar factory within the borders of any city will be as scarce as sweet smelling tobacco in a habitant's pipe."[73] In 1915 *Le Devoir* reported that Mayor Médéric Martin, the former cigar maker who had gone into business for himself, became a cigar manufacturer, and subsequently entered politics, eventually rising to become mayor of Montreal, disliked the smell of Canadian tobacco. In a meeting of the city's Bureau des commissaires, he ordered the workers in the room to stop smoking their pipes of what the Bourassa-edited *Devoir* admiringly called "de savoureux tabac 'canayen,'" with the 'canayen' underlining its populist taste. Scandal was evident since special dispensation was given to Commissioner Hébert to continue to smoke his "enormous Havana," which Martin considered a good cigar. One tax payer in attendance commented "half angrily, half laughing" that you had to bring thirty-cent cigars if you wanted to see the mayor.[74]

Even the idea of using homegrown tobacco in cigars scandalized some. The cigar industry's opinion about such cigars is found in the pages of the *CCTJ*. In 1898 the journal declared there was no "hope for the much maligned Canadian leaf cigar, which, with all its aromatic qualities, is still the peer of German filth." To a significant extent, such beliefs explain why few cigars were made with Canadian tobacco.[75] On the other side of the capital and labour divide, William V. Todd of Hamilton, third vice-president of the CMIU, believed that to use it in any union product would sully the good name of the union label. At the 1891 CMIU congress he declared that "cigars made from Canadian leaf are the vilest of the vile" and asked that the union label be denied to any cigar made from Canadian tobacco.[76] This low opinion of Canadian leaf cigars extended beyond those involved in the cigar industry. In 1912 the Montreal daily *La Patrie* wrote, "Canadian tobacco cannot rank with

that of Havana in the manufacture of cigars," though because of its strength, these cigars could play a role in knocking out cholera germs.[77]

For the most part, critics of *le tabac canadien* ranked Canadian homegrown tobacco according to the same system of bourgeois connoisseurship that exalted Cuban cigars. The only way in which pipe tobacco was judged differently from cigars was with regard to the skilled labour used to roll a cigar. The skill necessary to cut and mix tobacco did not weigh heavily in the evaluation of pipe tobacco. Matthew Hilton has found that British connoisseurs sought individualization by having their own personal mix of tobaccos to express their personality. In such a case, mixing required significant skill. Here, Montreal differs from the British case. There is little evidence of demand for special tobacco mixtures in the city. Advertisements suggest that only the most elite smokers may have sought out such mixes. For example, a 1907 advertisement for E.A. Gerth's smoking tobacco announced that it was made with imported tobacco "evenly blended, [with] precision and care."[78] The fact that Gerth, an elite tobacconist who sold expensive goods, offered the product and chose to advertise it in the *Gazette* implies that it was Montreal's economic elite who may have been interested in this type of tobacco.[79] If we extrapolate from what we know about the cigar makers' experience, a number of hypotheses are possible to explain why pipe tobacco workers were unsuccessful in asserting the value of their labour in the product they made. For cigar makers, the question of skill was central to their claims over their jobs as well as in the advertising by their bosses. The deskilling of cigar makers would be more comprehensive after 1920.[80] The deskilling of pipe tobacco workers and the mechanization of production occurred long before the period under study in this book, and by the turn of the twentieth century the tobacco workers' label could make fewer claims of their importance to the tobacco-making process than the cigar makers.[81] As well as questions of skill, when unionized pipe tobacco workers tried to promote their label, they were probably hamstrung by notions of the legitimacy of women in the workforce. By the 1890s the Montreal industry had a workforce of largely women and children, and claims that buying union-made tobacco (if unions had taken an interest in unionizing them) was promoting breadwinning employment, even if some of the workers, regardless of age or gender, were the breadwinners of their families, would probably have been ignored.[82] In any case, by the 1890s, skilled labour was less essential to the connoisseur's notion of good pipe tobacco.

More important than the skill of tobacco mixing and cutting was the question of *terroir*. To grow good pipe tobacco took "intelligent" labour as well as a suitable climate and reasonably good land. In this framework, all precursors to Anglo-Saxon industrial farming of tobacco were considered "uncivilized." Louis Lewis, for example, a tobacco buyer from New York who would soon establish a cigar factory in Montreal, reinterpreted the history of the plant in the *CCTJ* in 1898. He wrote, "When first discovered by the Spanish and Portuguese the plant was small, and in flavor 'poor and weak, and of a biting taste.'" It was "cultivated ... in the rude manner common to uncivilized races." Progress, he maintained, was slow for the next three hundred years, but in the last fifty years "its cultivation has been reduced to almost an exact science, and the quality of the leaf is in a great measure within the growers of the plant."[83]

In this version of tobacco history, the habitant and his product were associated with "uncivilized races" who practised pre-industrial and unscientific techniques. In short, *le tabac canadien* represented an outdated mode of production. An example of this reconstruction of tobacco history came from the federal government's tobacco expert, Felix Charlan. After explaining that tobacco probably originated in Central America, he said that it was given to the European discoverers of North American by the Natives. Tobacco was then "Revived by the Europeans who conquered the country step by step, it was only at a comparatively recent date, hardly more remote than half a century, that tobacco culture became really worth its name." He noted that between the time Europeans arrived and industry began, "part of the population, especially in Lower Canada (Quebec), gradually acquired the habit of using the indigenous plant, consumed in a rudimentary form ... and unfermented."[84] Habitant tobacco was put into the same category as that grown by Natives, and according to Charlan, it was of inferior quality. The resonance of this distaste for Native tobaccos can be found in numerous silences in the sources I have surveyed. Native peoples were absent from tobacco advertising in Montreal, and before the First World War the trade journal of the Montreal tobacco industry never spoke of the "cigar store Indian," even though it frequently discussed the decoration of cigar stores. Only in the 1920s did the *CCTJ* begin any kind of discussion of cigar store Indians, and then it was as part of a distant past. The journal claimed that "even in the oldest communities in trade by-ways, the wooden Indian sign has vanished," and by the 1930s, Earl Spafford, vice-president of sales and advertising at Imperial Tobacco,

considered the cigar store Indian an out-of-date form of advertising.[85] An American study by the New Deal Work Projects Administration found that in the United States the cigar store Indian was most frequently used in advertising between 1850 and 1880, confirming its absence in the period under study here, though the study did not go further to hypothesize why it had disappeared.[86]

Apart from its link to Native cultures, French Canadian homegrown tobacco was criticized on three counts. First, it was said not to be a pure breed of tobacco.[87] This criticism was linked to a broader trend in agricultural improvement for greater crop production. Historian E.A. Heaman has noted that habitant livestock was also criticized by improvers in the last half of the nineteenth century for being of mixed pedigree.[88] Second, others believed that the distinct smell and taste was due to homegrown tobacco's unsystematic drying and curing process. Within the habitant economy, tobacco was an accessory crop, with its production schedules set by the weather, the seasons, and the work schedules of other crops, not by the needs of the crop itself. As a result, the tobacco might be harvested too early or too late for the best results. Also, any preparation that had taken place before the sale to consumers could occur before drying and curing had finished. Thus, when Montreal tobacco manufacturer A.D. Porcheron wrote his tobacco-improvement manual, he counselled that unlike the dominant practice used since tobacco began to be grown in Quebec, it was not to be rolled until March, when the leaves "would have had enough time to get rid of their green odour and take the aroma that suits it."[89] Louis V. Labelle maintained that it was because of the curing methods employed by French Canadian farmers that *le tabac canadien* often had a nauseating odour.[90] The costs of some of the suggestions made in later improvement pamphlets were probably prohibitive. Some of these pamphlets called for the construction of entire new curing barns, even providing plans for the barns. If the tobacco was only being grown in small amounts as accessory production, this kind of investment did not make sense, especially as there was already a market for the product as it was. Thus radical changes in the curing and drying process were not likely to happen unless the place of tobacco in the habitant farm economy changed significantly.

While it is important to note that these criticisms of the drying and curing of tobacco and its impure breeding came from agricultural experts, who were probably also connoisseurs of the product, other consumers also had a sense of Canadian tobacco's "green odour." Indeed, it

was inadvertently institutionalized within the system of excise stamps. As the last chapter describes, the 1897 Inland Revenue Act dictated that each box of tobacco products have one of four different coloured stamps signifying the tobacco's rate of excise: in an unfortunate coincidence, the stamp used for Canadian tobacco was green.[91] Marking Canadian tobacco with the green stamp brought to mind images of poorly dried, green-tipped tobacco that would smell strongly when burned. The *CCTJ* even claimed that it had become a joke in comic opera, musical comedy, and vaudeville houses. Typically, the routine went as follows:

> Pat – I want a smoke – the worst sort.
> Mike – Why don't you smoke "Canada Green" then? It's the worst sort I ever tried.[92]

The third reason that Canadian homegrown tobacco was denigrated was on the basis of its *terroir*. This criticism was founded upon a comparison with the imported tobacco used by tobacco manufacturers. As I mentioned in the introduction, Canadian excise statistics provide only a partial picture of how much industrial tobacco was consumed in Montreal or Canada since the government took only production statistics city by city, rather than consumption statistics. Since Montreal provided most of the industrial tobacco to the rest of the country, these figures only give a national picture. A second problem with the use of these statistics for this study results from the fact that they grouped smoking and chewing tobacco together. Still, the numbers are useful as general indications of imported tobacco consumed. In 1895, 10,083,400 pounds of tobacco were excised in this category. The amount of tobacco processed in factories, almost all of which was grown outside Canada, increased to 10,538,183 pounds in 1900, 13,246,843 in 1905, 17,647,982 in 1910, and 21,694,110 in 1913, on the eve of the First World War. As with Canadian tobacco and tobacco grown for cigars, Canadian experts pointed to "intelligent" labour, climate, and soil as being the foundations of pipe tobacco's value. Quality pipe tobacco came from Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. Voicing this structure of connoisseurship, Louis Labelle maintained, "What really makes American products superior, from the industry's point of view, is the intelligence and care taken in growing and preparing them for the market."[93]

These values, by which connoisseurs rejected *le tabac canadien*, determined the pipe tobacco most Canadians smoked because of Sir William Macdonald's control of the tobacco industry. Macdonald had

established a foothold in the tobacco market during the American Civil War and by the 1880s was considered the largest pipe tobacco manufacturer in Canada, his primary brand being Brier pipe tobacco.[94] He controlled the market by price-setting through the Dominion Wholesale Grocers' Guild.[95] Competitors such as Tuckett's of Hamilton and two Montreal firms, Paegels and Ferguson and Porcheron, had difficulty competing with him since he regularly undercut his competitors, at times selling at a loss. He did so in 1893 and 1895 and shortly thereafter bought out two of his Montreal competitors.[96] Macdonald firmly believed that tobacco's value was established through the relationship between the "intelligent" labour of the farmer, the climate, and the soil: *terroir*. In 1902 he explained that he refused to use Canadian tobacco in his products, noting that he had briefly experimented with it in 1860, but consumers, especially in the western Canadian trade, disliked it.[97] Macdonald, although a non-smoker, was convinced that the climate and soil in Canada were not appropriate for growing tobacco; he told the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade, "They cannot change the climate or the soil of the country – you cannot grow oranges here, and you cannot grow figs."[98] Through his control of the market, most smokers outside Quebec would never have had the opportunity to try *le tabac canadien*. He had effectively made American-grown tobacco the standard industrial taste in Canada.

Macdonald based his ideas about what made good tobacco on a belief in *terroir*, which required "intelligent" labour, a good climate, and good soil. In his view, and those of many French Canadian and English Canadian connoisseurs, all three of these elements had to be present if tobacco was to be judged of good quality. Quebec *terroir* was found lacking. Montrealers who adhered to this system of connoisseurship "read" smokers of *le tabac canadien* as rude or backward. What is more, the clay pipe that was smoked by rural Quebecers was also seen as dirty and unrespectable. The fact that both cost very little served to reduce the diversity of cultural and social meanings of French Canadian smoking habits to one of poverty. This criterion for weighing the quality of tobacco was culture-specific. Many rural French Canadians preferred the strong taste of *le tabac canadien*, and many who had recently migrated to Montreal may have seen it as a national symbol, a link to their rural past and part of a French Canadian national identity that thrived in the first half of the twentieth century.

Nº4

UNMAKING MANLY SMOKES

Though I consider that women in the common walks of life are called to fulfil the duties of wives and mothers, by religion and reason, I cannot help lamenting that women of a superior cast have not a road open by which they can pursue more extensive plans of usefulness and independence. I may excite laughter, by dropping a hint, which I mean to pursue, some future time, for I really think that women ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed without having any direct share allowed them in the deliberations of government.
Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792)

THUS FAR I HAVE ARGUED THAT THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE the First World War marked the height of the association between masculinities and smoking. Respectable smoking was a ritual of, and set the boundary for, the liberal public sphere. Physically mature men were supposed to purchase their tobacco and to smoke with self-control and rationality, two fundamental principles of nineteenth-century liberal citizenship. Women, according to notions of smoking etiquette and tobacco connoisseurship, were biologically incapable of either. What is more, bourgeois connoisseurs created hierarchies of tobacco products along the lines of their beliefs regarding race and gender. These hierarchies were not universal. For example, French Canadians whose smoking tastes were formed in rural Quebec did not agree with dominant

judgments on taste. Still, these judgments were legitimized by the condescension of connoisseurs and by the power of tobacco entrepreneurs. This hierarchy of smoking products provided the basis for a social hierarchy of smokers. In sum, these dominant notions of respectable smoking reflected and perpetuated beliefs of inclusion, exclusion, and hierarchy that set the boundaries of the late nineteenth-century liberal public sphere.

Within this context, the Quebec Woman's Christian Temperance Union organized the province's first legislative and educational campaigns against smoking. Between 1892 and 1914 the WCTU played a prominent part in having numerous anti-smoking motions presented to the Quebec and federal legislatures. These motions ranged from proposals for age restrictions on purchasing and publicly smoking tobacco to calls for cigarette prohibition. Yet these anti-smoking campaigns were considered unsuccessful by most WCTU supporters and were particularly so in Quebec. At the turn of the twentieth century, when the targets of WCTU legislative efforts were moving from the provincial to the federal government, Quebec was one of only two provinces (the other was Manitoba) that did not legislate age restrictions for smokers. In 1914 the Quebec WCTU was the only provincial union to pull out of the Dominion WCTU cigarette prohibition campaign. What is more, support for these dominion and provincial anti-smoking campaigns was particularly weak in Montreal.

Despite these failures, the WCTU anti-smoking campaigns provide insights in at least three areas. First, they are a useful case study of women's public activities and the difficulties that faced women who sought to influence formal politics before female enfranchisement. Indeed, if, like Mary P. Ryan, we consider formal political representation in the nineteenth century a ritual of increasingly class-inclusive male power, then the WCTU was challenging fundamental assumptions underlying that ritual of male power. Its campaigns against smoking were not an opposition to the liberal order itself. Rather, these women were opposing the notion that smoking was a respectable ritual of the liberal order, a ritual that helped to make the liberal subject and the public sphere exclusively male. Discursively, WCTU members anchored their public campaigns in the private sphere, taking on the role of mothers concerned about what doctors considered to be the degenerative effect of smoking on boys.[1] More concretely, social gospel–inspired churches provided these women with an important platform through which to participate in the public sphere.

Secondly, the weakness of the Montreal WCTU's legislative anti-smoking campaigns serves to highlight some of the more controversial aspects of the social gospel before the First World War. The organization's anti-smoking position originated in a particularly gendered vision of social gospel Protestantism concerned about national racial degeneration.[2] Because the WCTU proposed infringement on individual rights – in the case of age restrictions, the rights of parents and, in the case of prohibition, of smokers and commerce – its call for the state to play a role in the moral formation of individuals was far more controversial than is suggested by much of Canadian social gospel historiography.[3] Thirdly, in Montreal a minority of people thought the state should play this role. While at least one historian has asserted that French Canadian opposition was at the root of the failure of the anti-smoking movement, few historians have sought out the reasons why French Canadians were antagonistic to this WCTU cause.[4] Many opposed state involvement in regulating their lives because of their Roman Catholicism, and the French language provided an insurmountable obstacle for the WCTU.[5] Still, in Montreal, the weakness of the anti-smoking movement was the result of more than just the opposition of French Canadians. Protestant denominations that were less influenced by the social gospel also opposed prohibition measures. In sum, by looking at the WCTU and its opponents, this chapter explores the distinctive and contradictory liberal alliance between cultural groups in Montreal and the extent to which the liberal order shifted as a result of collectivist demands for a new relationship between the liberal individual (man) and the state.

OPPOSING TOBACCO

The WCTU's preoccupation with smoking was part of a larger concern over national physical and mental degeneration.[6] For example, smoking was seen as endangering the nation's military ability by hindering the physical development of boys. The WCTU and its supporters pointed to the experience of other countries as cautionary tales. Its "Catechism of Temperance" cited a German law that forbade the sale of tobacco to minors (under sixteen years) because smoking prevented the growth of German youth into strong soldiers.[7] In the House of Commons, Robert Holmes quoted a British parliamentarian who alleged that the defeat of the Spanish in the Spanish-American War

and the French in the Franco-Prussian War "was easily traceable to the habit of cigarette smoking."[8] Another MP quoted an American doctor who claimed that three times as many recruits to the army during the Spanish-American War were rejected because they lacked "the vitality necessary to make a good soldier" than in the Civil War, the cause apparently being the cigarette.[9]

The WCTU pamphlet *Testimony Concerning the "Cigarette"* argued that smoking put the country's businesses at a disadvantage. It cited American businessmen who would not hire employees who smoked cigarettes and Montreal MLA Michael Hutchinson, who observed, "The boy who smokes Cigarettes is handicapped when seeking a situation. He must take second place every time; and rightly so."[10] Thus the nation's business would also be condemned to second place in a competitive market. Liberal ideals of self-control were front and centre in the mind of Montreal MP Robert Bickerdike when he noted during a debate in the House of Commons that "we are all agreed that the boy who is addicted to the cigarette habit cannot succeed in this country."[11]

According to the WCTU, smoking also contributed to the moral degeneration of the race and nation. It played a part in the construction of male delinquency; the WCTU claimed that smoking led to boys stealing tobacco or stealing money to buy tobacco.[12] They quoted the Reverend Elson I. Rexford of the High School of Montreal, who wrote that any group which worked "to discourage the use of tobacco by our boys is entitled to receive the active support of all who are interested in the development of good Canadian Citizenship."[13] Occasionally, this view was expressed in terms of race. The pro-temperance Montreal *Witness*, for example, editorialized, "How infinitely more should the country sacrifice a luxury which is degenerating our race!"[14]

While the language of the WCTU and its supporters was often secular, the social gospel urge to create heaven on earth was the force that propelled them to organize and oppose smoking.[15] Indeed, in terms of the total Protestant population in Montreal, a disproportionate portion of the WCTU's membership came from the Presbyterian, Methodist, and smaller social gospel–influenced churches. One of the few surviving Montreal WCTU membership lists breaks down the membership in 1888 by church: Presbyterians made up 44.8 per cent; Methodists, 24.9 per cent; Congregationalists, 9.6 per cent; and Baptists, 4.3 per cent. Anglicans, less influenced by the social gospel, made up 12.7 per cent of the membership. In comparison, the 1891 census enumerated Montreal's Protestant population at 45 per cent Anglican, 34 per cent Presby-

terian, 15.6 per cent Methodist, 3.5 per cent Baptist, and 2 per cent Congregationalist.[16]

The WCTU's criticisms of smoking were part of a female strand of the social gospel belief that stressed the role of women in reforming and protecting Canadian society. A key element of this reform agenda was altering male pastimes.[17] Indeed, WCTU literature frequently went beyond questions of children smoking to call for a reform of activities seen as masculine. In its "Catechism of Temperance," written to be read in schools and homes, the Montreal WCTU asserted that smoking was a waste of money and that it was especially harmful to the poor since it took bread off their tables.[18] The pamphlet maintained that smoking led men to drink and to enter vice-filled areas.[19] As I showed in chapter 1, the WCTU also campaigned against men smoking on tramways as an unfair control of space. And as the outrage of tramway smokers demonstrates, attacking smoking was not taken well by men. The Quebec anti-narcotics division superintendent remembered that in her first three years in the position, she had learned "to walk softly, act thoughtfully ... [and be] 'Wise as serpents and harmless as doves,' if any real good is to be accomplished."[20] Furthermore, she reported to her dominion counterpart that many members "hesitate in coming out openly on this question for fear of annoying some one."[21]

To reform men morally and protect the future of the nation, the WCTU began its campaign by attempting to prevent boys from smoking. As I have shown, doctors were unanimous in their belief that smoking was dangerous for boys, and WCTU members claimed that it was their duty as mothers to protect boys from tobacco. Yet even they seemed to be failing in this quest to prevent boys from participating in this dangerous rite of passage to manhood.[22] Their frustration is summed up in WCTU activist Annie L. Jack's poem "A Lesson Learned," which was printed in the Quebec WCTU's *Annual Report* for 1891:

> My boy learned to smoke,
> Who taught him the filthy act?
> And who will own at the judgement day
> In the teaching they took a part;
> I tried to keep him pure
> And clean as a boy should be,
> But in the world he fell so low
> And nothing can comfort me.

Is that the babe I've kissed?
O vile polluted breath,
And tainted blood with the poison weed,
That leads to a slow, sure death.
My bonnie, sweet-mouthed boy,
Tobacco stained to-day,
We need more strength in this hour of need.[23]

The WCTU promoted using the state to compensate for this failure on the part of parents. This approach differentiated believers in the social gospel from the evangelical Protestantism and revivalism that had developed in North America since the 1830s. Christians who adhered to early evangelical Protestantism saw the relationship between God and the individual as supreme.[24] In order for individuals to stop smoking, they had only to ask Christ for help, and they would lose their desire to smoke.[25] In Montreal this evangelical discourse circulated through the activities of the Salvation Army, which arrived in the city in the mid-1880s and notably, in 1893, took over the canteen of Joe Beef (Charles McKiernan) to use it as a men's hostel (certainly smoke-free, in striking contrast to its previous incarnation).[26] The chorus of a Salvation Army song provides a strong example of personal relationship between God and the believer:

Oh, yes, there is freedom,
And cleansing for you,
It matters not whether you smoke or chew,
If you will but come and bow,
At the Cross of Calvary now,
Jesus can set you free forever.[27]

According to the Canadian Salvation Army's historian R.G. Moyle, the Army never officially adopted a social gospel project that involved the state.[28] The extent to which Christian denominations officially supported WCTU anti-smoking motions varied according to how these motions proposed to use the state to limit individual freedoms. In the hope of saving the nation, social gospel–influenced denominations were not only willing to limit the right of parents to govern their children; they were also willing to limit the freedom of commercial exchange and prohibit the sale of cigarettes to adults.

The Methodist Church was the denomination most willing to take up the entire WCTU anti-smoking agenda. Not only did its Sunday schools

encourage their pupils to take the "Triple Pledge" against smoking, drinking, and swearing, but their churches held an annual "Cigarette Sunday." This was marked across Canada, with special lessons on the evils of smoking for children. In 1892 the Montreal Methodist Conference was the first citywide body to pass an anti-smoking motion.[29] The Methodists would continue to champion WCTU anti-smoking motions when these proposals moved from age restrictions on smoking to the prohibition of the cigarette. The Presbyterians demonstrated similar support. The Montreal *Presbyterian Recorder* published anti-tobacco articles that coincided with the Quebec WCTU's first tobacco age-restriction campaigns in 1892, and the church officially opposed smoking in 1908.[30] Four years later a Presbyterian and a Methodist minister accompanied the WCTU delegation that met with Prime Minister Robert Borden to call for the prohibition of the cigarette.[31]

While these groups suggest an elite bias, some WCTU supporters could also be found among the working class. They expressed their disapproval in the "fire and brimstone" language that historians have found to be typical of turn-of-the-century working-class revivalist denominations.[32] T.C. Vickers, a worker with the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in Montreal, wrote to Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1907, disappointed that Laurier had not introduced tobacco prohibition legislation. Vickers invoked the God-given collective right to fresh air. "[You] cannot walk the streets to Breathe the Beautiful fresh aire [*sic*] that a Loving God has made for us," he complained. "But some Dirty Smoker thinks he has a Perfect right to Polute [*sic*] it." Vickers encouraged Laurier to convert, "to come over on the Clean side." For him, it was not a matter of Laurier or his own opinion on tobacco but the Lord's, and this, he told Laurier, was written in the book of Revelations, chapter 9, verses 17 to 19.[33]

> And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.
>
> By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.
>
> For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, with them they do hurt.

These opponents of smoking were linked by a shared commitment to the social gospel. It worked in their favour in places where social gospel

denominations made up a large percentage of the population. Indeed, in 1894 the Dominion WCTU reported that in Quebec the Eastern Township unions, where social gospel Protestants were more numerous, were taking the lead in the province's anti-tobacco campaign.[34] Montreal, however, was not fertile soil for the WCTU. In 1891, denominations heavily influenced by the social gospel made up only 13.1 per cent of the population, and this proportion was declining as the percentage of Roman Catholics rose.[35]

OPPOSING PROHIBITION

In Montreal, important newspapers opposed regulating the age of smokers, arguing that it was a case of the state usurping the rights of the parent. The Montreal *Gazette*, for example, contended that the state could not fulfill the responsibilities of a parent: "The chances are that the bill will not catch the boy. Attempts to substitute the statute book for the parental rod have not hitherto been terribly successful."[36] Later the paper linked banning children from theatres, curfew laws, and anti-cigarette laws with "an attempt to do by statute what can only be effectively done by home influence, by a father's or a mother's precept and advice."[37] *Le Canada*, the Montreal Liberal Party daily, editorialized in 1907 that in regards to the cigarette, "we must leave to parental authority, exercised directly or delegated to the professors and schoolmasters, the responsibility of taking measures to eradicate a vice that does not interest society, only the individual."[38] *La Patrie* invoked parents' rights over their children: "People have the right to be free in this matter, and in controling children, it's up to the parent."[39]

The dominant Christian churches in the city were also reticent about the state being used to police individual morality. On the surface, the Church of England (Anglican), the largest Protestant denomination in Montreal (10.8 per cent of population in 1891), and the Roman Catholic Church, the largest religious group in the city (73.2 per cent in 1891), held similar positions on tobacco.[40] The Anglicans gave limited support to the WCTU campaign against boys smoking but opposed prohibition. In 1899, when a motion opposing children smoking went to the floor of the Montreal Anglican archdiocese sessional meeting, there was great controversy. Dr D.L. Davidson, an Anglican of Methodist origins, declared that "no man had a right to foul God's fresh pure air with tobacco smoke," before making the following motion: "That this Synod

deplores the rapid extension and abuse of tobacco and cigarette smoking amongst all classes of the community and in particular amongst the Clergy of the Church, and amongst the young; and should express the hope that all members of the Church, Clerical, and Lay, may, by example and precept, do what they can to restrain the growing evil."[41] Perhaps purposefully, the resolution avoided any suggestion that the state take on the role of a parent. During the meeting some delegates openly mused about the influence of the social gospel within the Church of England. Dean Johnston of Montreal, for example, recounted that when he came to Canada in 1859, out of seventy clergymen in the synod, only twelve did not smoke. The same, he said, was true in 1899, yet there seemed to be "a remarkable setting-in" against smoking and even more so against intemperance. There was a growing "recognition on the part of the clergy that an indulgence in smoking and drinking was detrimental to the progress of Christian work."[42] In contrast to members of denominations heavily influenced by the social gospel, many important Anglicans would not support the prohibition of any tobacco product. Layman A.G.B. Chilton maintained that smoking fouled "God's Fresh pure air" only as much as onions did. Furthermore, the Reverend Mr Clayton, a clergyman from Bolton, did not believe "that the person who occasionally indulged in a glass of wine or a quiet smoke was cursed by the d——l and was on the road to h——l. He strongly discountenanced the abuse of liquor or tobacco, but did not believe that either were harmful if indulged in moderation."[43] J.I. Cooper, historian of the Anglican diocese of Montreal, has examined the diocese's attitudes to prohibition. He concludes, "Officially, Anglicanism did not go beyond enjoining moderation and insisting on individual responsibility."[44]

French Canadian Roman Catholics occasionally spoke out against children smoking, perhaps influenced by the nineteenth-century French anti-tobacco movement. In France the Association française contre l'abus du tabac (1868) and later the Société française contre l'abus du tabac (1877) were most active and had their largest memberships between the 1870s and 1890s, when they distributed anti-smoking pamphlets, called on parents and teachers to prevent their children from smoking, and demanded that the state pass a law against smoking in public by those under sixteen. Yet even at their height, according to historian Didier Nourrisson, these associations never constituted more than a small group of professional men.[45] Indirectly, they may have had some influence on Montreal francophones.[46] From the 1870s on, articles

written by their leaders show up in Montreal periodicals. In 1874 the *Union médicale du Canada* republished an article on smoking and health from *France médical - Bulletin générale de thérapeutique* written by M. Dujardin-Beaumetz, who in 1889 would preside over the Congrès international contre l'abus du tabac in Paris. In the article, Dujardin-Beaumetz reported, "A twenty-three-year-old woman arrived at Hôtel-Dieu [hospital] ... with symptoms of what was, without doubt, hysteria." She vomited uncontrollably, though she showed no other signs of pregnancy. The condition resisted all treatment for nearly two months until she was instructed to smoke one cigarette after each meal, following which the vomiting stopped almost immediately. When Dujardin-Beaumetz prematurely concluded the treatment, the vomiting began again. The article, departing from most Canadian anti-smoking opinion, concluded that this case supported an earlier publication which maintained that moderate smoking was useful in stopping vomiting during pregnancies.[47] More categorical in their opposition to smoking were the Association française contre l'abus du tabac presidents Drs E. Decroix and A. Blatin, whose anti-smoking articles were published in 1889 in *Le Manitoba*, a newspaper that Montrealers were certainly contributing articles to, though the extent of its readership in the city is unknown.[48]

Thematically, the broader French anti-smoking campaigns resonate with French Canadian anti-smoking sentiment. French campaigns sought to stop children smoking and were motivated by a concern over the racial degeneration of French society.[49] Similar concern echoes in late nineteenth-century Montreal. In 1887, for example, *Le Monde illustré* gave a prize for the best essay on the "Pernicious influence of tobacco on the future of the races." The contest attracted significant interest, receiving eighteen entries. It also engaged notable judges: Abbé Marcoux, the vice-rector of Université Laval, and writer Raphael Bellemar.[50] The theme of racial degeneration was also voiced in anti-smoking debates in the Quebec legislature. Conservative premier Louis-Olivier Taillon quoted from a journal of hygiene during debate over a 1893 bill to limit smoking by boys, noting that tobacco was harmful to all and thus especially to boys. Later, the future Liberal premier Félix-Gabriel Marchand supported prohibiting children from buying cigarettes, saying that "cigarette smoking led to the degeneration of the race."[51] This French influence may also explain why, in 1892, the archbishop of Quebec, Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, supported the Quebec WCTU's call for a ban on children smoking.

For the most part, the Roman Catholic Church in Montreal never defined smoking as a vice. While it was concerned about morality and especially children becoming "the receptacle of all vices," the lists of vices in the Montreal diocese's official declarations included blasphemy, debauchery, going to cabarets, and drunkenness – but never smoking.[52] It is striking that Roman Catholic priests and temperance organizations in Montreal confined themselves to concerns over alcohol abuse and occasionally gambling, never smoking.[53] Significantly, from 1905 to 1910 the most powerful temperance movement in Montreal, La Ligue antialcoolique, never expanded its interests to tobacco, and even its position on alcohol was for moderation, not prohibition. What is more, while campaigning for the "suppression" of alcohol, the Ligue sought to limit liquor licences; it did not call for prohibition.[54] The Montreal Irish Roman Catholic newspaper, the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, also supported a position of moderation rather than prohibition, and the editor of the *Journal de Françoise* called on the Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste to support age-limit legislation but oppose prohibition of the cigarette.[55] As with alcohol, it was only the *abuse* of tobacco that was a sin, while tobacco *consumption* fell within a conception of liberty to consume all things that God put on the earth.[56] Several Roman Catholic leaders opposed prohibition of alcohol on these grounds. In 1898 Canon P.-J. Saucier from Rimouski, for example, opposed prohibition because a "prohibition law would be an attack on natural liberty since it would ban lawful use of a good that God created."[57] In 1925, two French Canadian doctors echoed Saucier's argument in an article on the possible health hazards of tobacco, saying that man had the "liberty to use goods created for man! The very moderate use of tobacco is not a worry."[58]

While both Anglicans and Roman Catholics opposed prohibition as an incursion on individual rights, they arrived at this position by different paths. For many Anglicans, whether the question was prohibition of alcohol or tobacco or the excesses of capitalism, individual rights stood as a bulwark against "Romish" despotism. In the late nineteenth century, Anglican individualists came into conflict with social gospel believers who sought to improve the collective moral environment. And while there were several social gospel advocates among Anglicans in Montreal, proponents of individual responsibility and rights remained in control.[59]

In contrast to the Anglican position, the Roman Catholics' use of individual rights to oppose the prohibition of tobacco was part of the

Catholic response to what the church saw as increasing materialism. The opinions of *La Patrie* editor Joseph-Israël Tarte illustrate this position. Tarte, a non-smoking Montreal MP, leader of the Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of Alcohol, and devout Roman Catholic, contended that because moderate smoking and drinking were not health problems, prohibition was inappropriate. Furthermore, he argued, "Prohibition has not been very popular with us in Quebec ... [not] because we drink more than the people of other provinces, but because we believe in freedom."[60] Tarte's position as a leader of a temperance movement at the same time as he opposed prohibition may seem contradictory. In fact, it made sense within late nineteenth-century Roman Catholic doctrine on the relationship between the church, the state, and the moral formation of the individual. The Catholic Church opposed state interference in the moral formation of individuals. In the second half of the nineteenth century, as a challenge to increasingly popular secular and materialist views about the relationship between humanity and the world, Pope Leo XIII released a series of encyclicals to reassert the role of God and the church in these relations. Historians Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon have shown that the pope appropriated the language of the French Revolution, speaking broadly in terms of rights and liberties as well as the equality of individuals before God. The latter never implied social or material equality between individuals. Rather, freedom was the capacity to do right. Clerical authority was essential to this notion of liberty because it was the clergy who *taught* the individual how to make decisions.[61] At the heart of the Roman Catholic position was the belief that, through prohibition, the state was denying the church its role in building morally strong, self-governing individuals who would be able to enter a world where the state would not be the individual's only moral guide. *La Patrie*, for example, argued that to restrict personal freedoms was acceptable only in the worst scenarios, and the abuse neither of alcohol nor of tobacco was in this category of problems. What was worse, prohibition would deprive the individual of "the fruits that were assured from a reform inspired by moderation and likely to rally the support of all those of goodwill."[62]

The fact that the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, the two largest denominations in Montreal, did not view tobacco as a danger suggests that the WCTU's first task was to raise awareness. Here, the city's particular linguistic duality worked against the organization. While the WCTU did have a small French division, I have only found one WCTU anti-smoking pamphlet in French, and most of the organization's


THE STANDARD, MONTREAL, CANADA.

The Standard's Anti-Cigarette Roll of Honor for Canadian Children.

Exhibition of Arts

4.1 Montreal *Standard*'s anti-cigarette campaign (1907)

proselytizing was done in English. Much more pervasive were francophone newspaper editorials, such as those quoted above, which opposed both age restrictions on smokers and prohibition. Educational programs had to be a priority for WCTU members as well. J. MacL. Metcalfe, the Quebec anti-narcotics superintendent, reported in 1894 that after sending a letter to WCTU members with the opinions of nine "leading physicians and scientists as to the evil effects resulting from the use of tobacco," she received many replies that they had never given the subject much thought.[63] Again, in 1895, she complained that it was still difficult to find workers because the department was "anything but a popular one": some active WCTU members opposed its work and others remained silent. Until at least 1899, the Montreal Central Union

had never had an anti-narcotic superintendent, and this lack may have contributed to the Quebec WCTU's inability to muster support for a cigarette prohibition petition in 1902.[64] The executive of the Montreal WCTU worried that "[numerous] cities in Ontario have obtained more signatures than the whole of Quebec."[65]

Nevertheless, the Montreal WCTU sponsored educational events opposing tobacco. By 1896, its educational campaign in the city included anti-smoking lectures by physicians and WCTU members and the distribution of anti-smoking literature.[66] Over the next eighteen years, the various Montreal locals set up anti-cigarette and anti-tobacco leagues in conjunction with local Methodist churches. Unlike their American counterparts, intended for adults, the Montreal leagues were organized primarily for boys.[67] Among the earliest was the Westmount Anti-Cigarette Club, which by 1897 had forty members, about twelve of whom attended the club's bimonthly meetings.[68] By 1905 there were three more anti-cigarette leagues in Montreal, one with the Western Union and two large leagues, numbering 350 members, established by the Fairmount Union. The latter organized picnics and winter socials "to hold the boys together and ... [to give] new zeal," as well as to attract the interest of their parents.[69] Children who took "The Pledge" against smoking and joined the league had their pictures published as part of the Montreal *Standard*'s Anti-Cigarette Campaign (fig. 4.1).[70]

LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS

The Quebec WCTU's campaign to use the state to stop smoking began in 1892, and between 1893 and 1895 it had four bills presented to the Quebec legislature. Each would have made it illegal for children under fifteen to smoke in "any public street, road highway, or building" under the penalty of a $2 fine. Moreover, no adult could sell tobacco to anyone under eighteen without a written request from a parent or guardian.[71] These bills were part of a broader movement. In 1890 New Brunswick became the first Canadian province to set an age of majority for smokers.[72] A year later British Columbia passed a law prohibiting minors from buying or being given tobacco, and in the spring of 1892 both Nova Scotia and Ontario followed. Later, the North-West Territories (1896) and Prince Edward Island (1901) adopted comparable acts.[73] This was not a uniquely Canadian trend. In the same period similar proposals were considered in at least eight American state legislatures.[74]

The Quebec WCTU would never have the legislative success of its sister associations across Canada. I have demonstrated the resistance of the two largest religious groups in Montreal, the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, to controls on youth smoking, the demographic weakness in the city of supporters of the social gospel, the opposition of important newspapers such as the *Gazette* and *La Patrie* to state intervention, and the lack of enthusiasm for the project inside WCTU itself. Within this environment, the Quebec WCTU began its provincial campaign for age-restriction legislation. The campaign demonstrated numerous ways that women influenced the male public sphere. Indeed, in preparing the campaign, Quebec WCTU president Mary Sanderson corresponded with the Quebec and Montreal presbyteries, the Protestant Ministerial and Methodist Ministerial Associations of Montreal, the Royal Templars and Good Templars, and each MLA asking for their support.[75] Anti-narcotics superintendent J. MacL. Metcalfe wrote to WCTU county presidents across Quebec, urging them to lobby their MLAS, and each MLA was sent a pamphlet that detailed the harmful effects of tobacco.[76] The bill made it through the Legislative Assembly but died on the order paper in the Legislative Council.[77] Further efforts to legislate age restrictions failed to pass through the Legislative Assembly, convincing the Quebec WCTU of the futility of attempting to secure such legislation in the province.[78] The Quebec WCTU petitioned twice more after the turn of the century, but by 1907 it was opposing all attempts by the Dominion WCTU to move the fight back to the provincial level.[79]

While the WCTU faced legislative failures in provinces such as Quebec and Manitoba, elsewhere it succeeded in having age-restriction laws passed. Yet the laws were ineffective, and tougher measures were deemed necessary. MPS from Ontario and Nova Scotia, for example, claimed that anti-smoking laws in their provinces were dead letters.[80] Deciding that age-restriction legislation had proven "worthless," in 1899 the Dominion WCTU turned its attention to obtaining federal legislation that prohibited the manufacture, importation, and sale of cigarettes to all Canadians, a restriction of trade that fell under federal jurisdiction.[81] For the good of the country, it was argued, adult men would have to give up cigarettes. The Montreal *Witness* compared the prohibition of cigarettes to the banning of margarine. It was banned "for the sake of commerce," even though, as a cheap butter substitute, it would have nourished the "poor man."[82] MP M.K. Richardson called on members of the House to cast aside "that bugbear of interference with personal

liberty." Was self-sacrifice not, he asked, the most admired quality of the individual?[83]

In addition to pushing for prohibition rather than restrictions, the federal campaign differed from provincial campaigns by focusing on prohibition of the cigarette rather than of all tobacco products. The problem with singling out cigarettes in the 1890s was that few people smoked them. By the turn of the century, however, statistical evidence showed that cigarette smoking was on the rise. The WCTU, for example, quoted excise statistics showing a boom in cigarette sales from 76,000,000 in 1898 to 134,000,000 in 1902.[84] Cigarettes, the Union argued, were more dangerous than other tobacco products because the tobacco in them was milder than that used in cigars or pipes. The cigarette, the Dominion WCTU executive wrote to the *Witness*, "whets without satisfying the appetite" and was therefore more addictive. As well, the letter continued, cigarette smoke was more likely to be inhaled, with its poisonous nicotine drawn "into the infinitely delicate lung tissues."[85] The focus on the cigarette had a strategic advantage. Supporters of the WCTU claimed that the prohibition would have no effect on adult men since they would most certainly smoke other, more manly forms of tobacco. Reminding the House that there were other forms of tobacco that an individual could smoke, W.S. Maclaren noted in 1904 that "if gentlemen cannot forego the pleasure of smoking cigarettes for the purpose of helping the boys of this country, I am mistaken in the calibre of the men who occupy seats in this House."[86]

When the cigarette prohibition petition came before the House in April 1903, WCTU representatives were in the public gallery to watch the MPs.[87] Despite their lobbying, the WCTU was still an outsider to this political process, since none of its members sat in Parliament and women did not yet have suffrage rights. This gender inequality was pointed out by Mortimer Davis, who wrote to the minister of fisheries, reminding him of his long support for the Liberal Party and of the large number of male voters who would be upset if cigarettes were outlawed. According to Davis, 36,000 merchants and wholesalers opposed the bill, and their tobacco shops were a "rendez-vous, really, for store-keeper's customers, to hang around the store and discuss politics, etc., with their friends."[88]

In debates on smoking over the next five years, anti-prohibitionists in Parliament argued that prohibition was a female invasion of the male sphere of politics, an affront on individual (male) liberty, and a vicious attack on male leisure activities. Some members assailed the bills as evi-

dence of women interfering in affairs that they did not understand. Edmund Boyd Osler, a Toronto MP, rebuffed "my lady friends who are so interested in this matter" by stating that "there is more evil wrought among the youth of this country, by bad cooking than by the use of tobacco." Instead of lobbying, women should start teaching cooking courses to girls.[89] Prime Minister Laurier, in a more diplomatic tone, echoed Osler by suggesting that the women of the WCTU would be better off educating the public, thus not questioning male freedoms by pushing for prohibition legislation.[90]

Between 1903 and 1908 the WCTU succeeded in guiding four cigarette prohibition bills into Parliament, yet with the exception of one, all died "procedural deaths."[91] The watershed moment for the WCTU and its supporters came in 1908 when the Laurier government derailed the cigarette prohibition movement. After a bill was introduced calling for the prohibition of the importation, sale, and manufacture of cigarettes on 16 March that year, A.H. Clarke of South Essex, part of Ontario's tobacco belt, turned the tables on the WCTU and proposed an amendment.[92] Instead of cigarette prohibition, Clarke called for changes in the Criminal Code to stop minors from smoking all types of tobacco.[93] With the support of Laurier and other ministers, the amended bill, which placed restrictions on the sale of tobacco to anyone under the age of sixteen as well as banning smoking by those under sixteen, passed with a vote of 61 to 51.[94]

Taken at face value, the law seems like a victory for the WCTU. Yet this assessment must be questioned since some of the strongest supporters of cigarette prohibition, such as Robert Bickerdike, voted against the bill. What is more, we should remember that the WCTU itself had abandoned its campaigns for age restrictions because it had found these to be hollow victories. Seen in the context of the Montreal liberal order (and not coincidentally, Canadian liberal order), the law was a symbolic entry of the state into a domain previous considered the sole "jurisdiction" of parents. This was an acceptable compromise since it had some support, as I have shown, among Roman Catholics and Anglicans. It was certainly more acceptable than prohibition as it did not put the smoker's rights into question; but more importantly, it did not extinguish the right of the free exchange of commodities. The 1908 compromise demonstrated the hierarchy of rights, commercial over parental, within the Canadian liberal order.

That the victory of collective social reform over individual rights was symbolic rather than real became clear with the enforcement of this

law. Though the WCTU's supporters voted against the bill, the organization gave the new measures a period of grace to see if age regulations would be enforced any better than the provincial acts of the 1890s. While the WCTU was still active in anti-smoking educational campaigns and continued to call for prohibition of the cigarette, the act gave it a new focus: agitating for enforcement of the age-restriction law. Three of its significant activities were giving copies of the law to tobacco dealers, making sure they understood the law's provisions, and lobbying the police for its enforcement.[95]

In Montreal the "Act to Restrain the use of tobacco by the young" was sporadically enforced. In the first year there was only a single conviction. The following year there were 133 convictions, but in 1911 they dropped to 4.[96] If a child was caught with cigarettes, the offender was brought before a judge of the Recorder's Court or, after 1912, a judge of the newly created Juvenile Court. The culprit was usually reprimanded and a promise extracted not to smoke any more. The judge then pressed the accused to reveal the source of the cigarettes. If it was divulged, the judge looked for another witness to corroborate the evidence. Only after having corroboration would he proceed with prosecution of the dealer.[97] By February 1912 it was not clear if officers were actually enforcing the law or if people were even aware that it existed. Alderman Drummond had to go as far as to ask City Council if there was a law to restrain children from buying cigarettes in Montreal. The question wove its way though several levels of city officials and ended up with the chief lawyer for Montreal, who affirmed that indeed there was a law and all that was necessary for its enforcement was an order to enforce it from the chief of police.[98] Convictions rose to 25 in 1912 but dropped to 22 the following year. In 1914, after the Juvenile Court hired two special officers, the count rose to 82.

The difficulties of convicting tobacconists pushed the police to use entrapment to gather evidence.[99] Yet the consequences could be far from the intentions of those looking for better enforcement of the law. Montreal tobacconist James Stephen sold cigarettes to an eleven-year-old boy, only to be promptly charged by a special officer with selling tobacco to a minor. Realizing that the boy and the police officer were making the rounds of all local tobacconists, Stephen called his cousin, also a tobacconist, to alert him to the coming visitors. When the boy attempted to buy cigarettes at the cousin's tobacco store, he "was subject to a hearty thrashing" before the officer could intervene.[100]

By 1914, perhaps with hopes of finding a more sympathetic ear with the Conservative Party in power, the Dominion WCTU again prepared

for a campaign to prohibit the cigarette. However, the Quebec WCTU fell out of line with the dominion efforts. President Mary Sanderson asserted that anti-smoking legislation "had been, in her opinion, practically useless," and the provincial anti-narcotics superintendent argued that the tobacco prohibition campaign had received so many "turn downs" from the government that it would be better for members to spend their time, energy, and money on educational campaigns.[101] The Quebec withdrawal was symptomatic of the reticence of Quebecers to use the state to intrude on individual rights. Sharon Anne Cook, in her study of the Ontario WCTU during the same period, argues the organization was divided between supporters of progressive evangelism, most obvious in the federal and provincial hierarchies of the WCTU, who subscribed to social gospel beliefs in the collective cleansing of society, and a more traditional evangelicalism of local unions, which saw "salvation as being personal and experiential, rather than societal."[102] One of the dividing lines between the two positions was an interest in using the state in projects of moral regulation. In the case of the Quebec WCTU cigarette prohibition campaign, the two positions seem clear, the only difference from Cook's framework being that the provincial hierarchy took the traditional position, one that was more easily reconciled with liberal notions of freedom of the individual.

The Dominion WCTU's cigarette prohibition campaign continued, in spite of the absence of the Quebec division. But instead of letting the question go to a vote, the Conservative government diverted the issue to a Commons Commission on the Cigarette, which was to look into amending the 1908 age restrictions or suggest other ways that the "evils arising from the use of cigarettes" could be prevented.[103] The commission heard testimony from Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa "experts" on boys smoking, but no WCTU members were considered experts. Instead, officials linked to juvenile courts and reformatories, as well as insane asylums, gave testimony, six out of ten of them from Montreal. These reformers were interested in making tobacco age restrictions more effective, rather than invoking prohibition. The commission submitted two reports without making any recommendations for change, claiming that it had heard much theory but little empirical data.[104] In June 1914 the parliamentary session ended, and the commission never resumed its work. Concerns over tobacco were soon eclipsed by the First World War.

The WCTU social gospel activists were not successful in their efforts to make the label of "vice" stick to smoking. After lengthy legislative and educational campaigns, the Union could not convince Parliament that

the cigarette was so dangerous to the country that it would have to be prohibited. The age-restriction law it succeeded in having passed was not enforced and would be forgotten until the 1980s.[105] Part of the WCTU's failure to ensure that stronger legislation was passed may have been due to the fact that the organization had no members in Parliament. With the support of social gospel–influenced churches, the WCTU had not only pushed its cause into the male public sphere of formal politics, but it had also attacked an almost exclusively male habit, and in Parliament MPs expressed nothing short of anger for these women. In the end, the Montreal and Quebec WCTU was worn down by this legislative fight to stop smoking, preferring to retreat to educational campaigns and Bible studies.

There were other significant obstacles to the WCTU's collective social reform in Montreal. The dominance of Christian denominations that were less influenced by the social gospel, as well as the fact that most WCTU activism was carried out in English, made the movement weak. The Anglicans, for the most part, did not see tobacco as a vice and were not won over to the collectivist spirit that defined the social gospel. For them, the individual was still paramount in deciding one's own moral future. The Roman Catholic Church came to a similar position regarding the individual, but from a radically different theological route. As part of a response to growing materialism and secularism, the church reasserted itself in the everyday lives of Catholics by appropriating a language of individualism that did not imply equality of individuals on the earth but equality before God. The moral will of the individual was to be formed through church instruction, and freedom was his or her right to make morally sound decisions. To impose state regulation of smoking was to deny the individual's right to make a moral decision as well as to limit the church's role in Quebec society. The combination of the demographic weakness in Montreal of the most important promoters of the WCTU, its unilingual culture, and rejection, to a great extent, by the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches of state involvement in the moral training of individuals meant that dominant notions about smoking as a sign of respectable and mature masculinity were less successfully challenged by the WCTU in Quebec and Montreal than elsewhere in Canada. All the same, the Montreal WCTU anti-smoking campaigns provide insights into alliances, compromises, and hierarchies of rights within the Canadian liberal order.

No 5

MASS CONSUMPTION AND THE UNDERMINING OF LIBERAL PRESCRIPTIONS OF SMOKING

It was an era of profound identity crisis and transformation for a bourgeoisie whose traditional moral foundation crumbled under the very pressure of its own accumulations of wealth and comfort.
Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (1987), 10

AT THE SAME TIME AS THE WCTU WAS TRYING TO DISCREDIT THEM, liberal prescriptions of respectable smoking were being undermined more successfully by a new set of values. This new logic was driven by the production increases brought about by industrial capitalism and associated with mass consumption. Keith Walden has argued that industrial capitalism changed "not just the economic system and human relationships within it but also fundamental categories of cultural meaning."[1] Products that were costly became inexpensive with little explanation. Similarly, the values upon which a product's prices were based disappeared into the lights, colours, and spectacle of mass advertising. There was little that was "natural" about these transformations; nor did they go unquestioned. Indeed, the new cultural categories built around industrially produced products became hegemonic through a process of both conflict and consent. Uncovering the ways in which consent was shaped is key to understanding the popular acceptance not only of the new industrial order, but also changes in the way that liberalism dealt with hierarchy.[2]

In Montreal, tobacco underwent this industrial transformation of meaning in the first half of the twentieth century. This is the first of two chapters that follow this transformation. It explores the changes in tobacco hierarchies by focusing on two examples. First, Canadian tobacco, so reviled by bourgeois connoisseurs, was increasingly used for pipe tobacco made by the American Tobacco Company of Canada, allowing its smokers to escape social stigma. The federal government and the ATCC played primary roles in altering Canadian tobacco's symbolism through tariff changes, "improvement" schemes in the fields, and mass advertising. *Terroir* became less important when tobacco was judged. Rather, the standardization of mass production became essential, with the fields of Virginia and the Carolinas as models. Canadian tobacco could escape its stereotype because the farming practices of the habitant could be modified and local tastes standardized, provided that farmers were given the right incentives. And when they persisted in their traditional methods and smokers refused to adopt new standards of taste, the Canadian government used excise taxes to make it less profitable for dealers to sell free-leaf Canadian tobacco, quietly causing it to disappear at a time when, culturally, there may have been little incentive to maintain this essentially rural symbol.

A second example of this process of legitimation is the mass-produced cigarette. As the WCTU noticed, at the turn of the twentieth century, Montrealers were beginning to smoke more cigarettes. Cigarettes had a long history in Montreal. Before mass production, they were advertised using the same appeals to elite values as cigars and, to a point, pipe tobacco. Yet hand-rolled cigarettes were not popular and played only a marginal role in Montreal culture. Mass-produced cigarettes, on the other hand, had a dramatic impact. The ATCC used business structures and advertising to promote and capture the Canadian cigarette market. Its consignment system demonstrated that business structures could overcome its competitors' advertising. The company's own advertising did not appeal to the hierarchies of taste set out by bourgeois connoisseurs. Instead, it aimed to create a mass market. Despite the ATCC's dominance in the market, it was not able to fully control the ways in which these new cigarettes were understood. Ultimately, it was the association between cigarettes and First World War soldiers, largely promoted by newspapers, that made cigarettes "manly," giving them new legitimacy. The First World War has been seen by some as marking a trend away from "rugged masculinity" toward a "domestic masculinity." Others have seen this transition as more com-

plex and less optimistic.[3] The legitimation of the cigarette during the war speaks to this less optimistic view as issues of social distinction and symbols of contemplation became less important, though smoking as a symbol of male self-control flourished. After the war, competition between cigarette manufacturers increased, structuring consuming possibilities in this nascent mass consumer culture.[4] In the end, manufacturers captured the Second World War cigarettes for soldiers' campaigns as their biggest advertising campaign to that date.

These case studies underscore the new categories of culture surrounding tobacco under industrial capitalism – standardization, low price, vigour, and less "social distinction" through consumption – which transformed the nineteenth-century liberal ritual of smoking. The categories of culture that defined tobacco as "good" or "bad" and the speed and spirit in which it should be smoked were put in question. Within the process of inventing, shaping, and accepting these new cultural categories, newspapers, the tobacco industry, the state, and ultimately smokers were all involved in reshaping the hierarchies of taste into a new language of mass consumption which also reduced tobacco's role in creating social hierarchy in this more inclusive liberal order.

THE RETURN AND TRANSFORMATION OF *LE TABAC CANADIEN*

At the turn of the twentieth century, a sustained effort was made to revive Canadian tobacco as an industrial commodity. From 1897 on, the federal government played an important role in promoting this product through its tariff policy. As part of the second National Policy, the Laurier government applied high tariffs to foreign tobacco, affording significant protection to Canadian output.[5] The results of this policy were quickly seen. Canadian tobacco entering excise as pipe tobacco alone rose from 474,205 pounds in 1896 to 690,141.5 pounds in 1897 and 1,949,429 pounds in 1898, affording the government significant revenues.[6] Cultivation expanded in both Quebec and Ontario.[7] The federal government also tried to change the tobacco itself. In 1905 it hired French tobacco specialist Felix Charlan to study and make Canadian tobacco more abundant and palatable to manufacturers. Charlan set up the Tobacco Division of the Department of Agriculture to provide information and guidance to tobacco growers. Experiments were conducted on the fermentation of pipe and cigar tobacco, as well as on which varieties of tobacco gave the highest yield in Canadian climates. In 1909

three experimental stations were established: one in Essex County in Ontario, one in Montcalm in Quebec's northern tobacco growing region, and the third in Rouville in the southern belt. These experimental farms were to act as examples of new farming and curing methods and also as seed distributors.[8] Clearly, some farmers were eager to profit from the government protection of their crop by growing their tobacco to government standards. The Association des planteurs de tabac du district de Joliette, for example, wrote to Laurier asking for further instruction in drying and preparing tobacco for industrial purposes.[9]

The tariff encouraged manufacturers to use Canadian tobacco in their products. Not all manufacturers, however, were willing to use domestic tobacco, even if they could accrue significant profits from its sale. Most significant here was Sir William Macdonald, who held to his beliefs that good tobacco could not be grown in Canada. Indeed, at the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade he complained bitterly about the Laurier tariff, but he did not see switching to Canadian tobacco as an option. Nor did he see it as competition, since he thought it was inferior.[10] This kind of resistance to new trends in business was typical of Macdonald. He was a conservative entrepreneur who was not interested in the ways in which doing business had changed by the end of the nineteenth century. Examples are numerous of his conservatism: he installed a telephone and elevator at his office only in 1910; he never transformed his firm into a bureaucratic hierarchy like many businesses in the late nineteenth century, nor did he spend much on sales staff; his firm never manufactured cigarettes in his lifetime; he also did not advertise.[11] As well, Macdonald was extremely tenacious in his beliefs, even if they put his reputation at risk. When a court case resulted from the death of two girls in a fire that destroyed his tobacco factory in 1895, he appealed decision after decision until his application was eventually refused by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Britain and he was forced to pay $1,999 in damages to the parents of the girls. This was a paltry sum, especially for a man who, by February of 1898, was reported to have given $2,653,000 to McGill University alone. If he had paid the girls' parents earlier, he could have prevented the bad publicity that resulted from the court case.[12] His conviction that smokers valued his products because of the *terroir* of foreign tobacco, conditions he claimed could not be replicated in Canada, would be tested by the promotion of and changes in Canadian tobacco.

In contrast to Macdonald were the ATCC's efforts to modify and promote domestic tobacco. Like the federal government, the company

sought to instruct farmers on how to grow tobacco that could more readily be sold on the market for industrial use. It hired experts to visit and instruct tobacco farmers, and it set up model farm exhibitions at fairs and provided fertilizer for farmers. The ATCC and the federal government had some success in changing tobacco farming in Canada and the taste of its tobacco. If farmers followed their instructions, an industrial style of tobacco was clearly being grown. Success is reflected in the cultivation statistics quoted above. Quebec City's Joseph Picard, of the Rock City Tobacco Company, one of the few manufacturers who capitalized on the distinctive tastes of French Canadians and packaged Canadian leaf tobacco such as the strong brand Rose Quesnel, commented on the change in taste of this new industrial Canadian tobacco, now even being used in cigarettes: "Through a commercial ploy, where they [the ATCC] push foreign tobacco cigarettes behind their Canadian tobacco cigarettes, with the goal of taking the smokers' minds off, as much as possible, the acquired taste of Canadian tobacco."[13]

With the growth of industrial Canadian tobacco, the ATCC sought to control supply. It discouraged others from entering into competition for raw leaf. When the federal government attempted to open up a Belgian market for Canadian tobacco, the company sent a delegation to Ottawa to oppose these efforts.[14] It also tried to control supply through a system of exclusive wholesaling and retailing contracts it began to use with Canadian tobacco in 1901. According to the contracts, the retailer would get a rebate of five cents per pound of tobacco if he did not sell any Canadian tobacco products other than those offered by the ATCC. The contract system did not include imported smoking tobacco, thus not treading on the toes of Macdonald, who had, as one Quebec City tobacco manufacturer quipped, "means to defend himself."[15] This strategy shut other manufacturers out of the market. In 1904 Charles Lavoie, an organizer for the Tobacco Workers International Union, described what he mistakenly saw as a question of advertising but which was actually the effect of the contract on the availability of union-made smoking tobacco brands: "I find here, that by the effective advertisement of the American Tobacco Trust, they have also succeeded in keeping our union-labelled tobacco from being on sale in this city." The union-label tobacco was made with Canadian tobacco.[16]

Tobacco farmers feared that the dominance of the ATCC would allow the company to set the price of tobacco. Some maintained that the ATCC boycotted their tobacco because the farmers refused to sell exclusively to the company. Tobacco farmer Joseph Alcides Dupuis told the Royal

Commission on the Tobacco Trade that in 1900 the ATCC had called a meeting of tobacco farmers from Montcalm County and asked them to sell exclusively to the company. When the farmers refused, Dupuis maintained, the company suddenly bought very little tobacco from Montcalm Country growers.[17] Tobacco farmers feared that if the ATCC had a monopoly over all Canadian tobacco sales, they would only have one company to sell to and the ATCC would control prices.[18] As it was, many farmers felt the company and its subsidiary had too much control over the price of tobacco. When the federal government finally moved to question the legality of the contract system, numerous farmers wrote to Laurier in support of the move. Pierre Denis, a general store owner in Saint-Césaire, Quebec, wrote on behalf of tobacco farmers from his community to thank the prime minister, saying that the price of Canadian tobacco had increased by 25 to 30 per cent as a result of the threat of government action.[19]

In order to take advantage of this cheap Canadian tobacco, businesses had to find a way to overcome homegrown tobacco's bad reputation among consumers, though they also had an interest in maintaining that this improved commodity was a "work in progress." In contrast to the articles it published denigrating Canadian tobacco during the same period, in 1899 the *CCTJ* tried to promote Canadian tobacco on nationalist grounds, instructing wholesale and retail tobacconists to display their patriotism and speak out in favour of Canadian tobacco to their customers. The journal stated, "It is only paying our just debt to the land of our birth and livelihood," and argued that Canadian tobacco had advanced significantly in the previous year. These contradictory positions would at once keep prices low for raw leaf and allow for an appeal to consumers.

Both government and business sought to redefine the nature of Canadian tobacco. They stressed that Ontario was now growing a better crop, while Quebec produced "backwards tobacco." Thus *le tabac canadien*, rather than Canadian tobacco as a whole, was stigmatized. "The 'tabac' of the habitant certainly deserved the odium that clung to it for many years," the *CCTJ* explained in 1899, "but the leaf now harvested by our Western farmers is as far removed from this weed as is silk from sackcloth."[20] Similarly, Bernard G. Meyer, of the American tobacco dealers Meyer and Mendelsohn, targeted French Canadian farmers, saying: "The great obstacle is the lack of intelligent method on the part of the farmers. These are almost entirely French-Canadians who have no conception of the proper handling of tobacco."[21] For his part, the

federal government's tobacco expert Felix Charlan maintained that the tobacco farmers of Essex County in Ontario were "more enlightened or better advised ... and were carrying the tobacco industry for manufacturing purposes," whereas Quebec farmers both planted their tobacco too far apart, making the leaves too light, and harvested their tobacco too late, allowing for frost damage.[22] In fact, these claims that Ontario was the heartland of tobacco cultivation were somewhat premature. It was not until the 1921 census that Ontario overwhelmingly surpassed Quebec in tobacco cultivation, especially if we consider that Quebec farmers may have been under-reporting the amount of tobacco they grew.[23]

ATCC advertising campaigns also attempted to promote Canadian tobacco. In 1902 Mortimer Davis told the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that his company planned to create a demand for Canadian leaf tobacco. Through advertisements, it was intent on "educating him [the smoker] up to that."[24] At the same commission, the head of the ATCC's advertising division, O.S. Perrault, testified that the company's pipe tobacco division had spent $250,579 on advertising in the previous four years.[25] Later, in 1908, Davis maintained that his companies were largely responsible for the new-found acceptance of Canadian tobacco, partly brought about through a million dollars' worth of advertising.[26] Advertising, for the ATCC, was a way of erasing any reference to the origins of the tobacco used in certain products. As Joseph Picard explained in 1921 to a Canadian Manufacturers Association delegation in Quebec City, "For the last ten years ... manufacturers ... have been able to increase the consumption of tobacco by the consumer not knowing that it was Canadian."[27] Indeed, there were no references to the origins of the tobacco used in the ATCC's brands (fig. 5.1).[28] Rather, the company's main pipe tobacco brand, Empire, was advertised through its mass appeal, using the slogan "Its sale is big," as well as by setting this brand in opposition to the strong taste of *le tabac canadien*, claiming that Empire did not "bite the tongue."[29]

The ATCC and federal government efforts to change and promote Canadian tobacco were partially successful. Industrial Canadian tobacco, backed by ATCC advertising, was not only escaping the stigma of *le tabac canadien*; it was seriously reducing Macdonald's sales. One Montreal wholesale tobacconist, H.C. (Heliedore) Fortier, the brother of tobacco manufacturer J.M. Fortier, claimed that Macdonald's market share was half what it had been before the tariff.[30] Indeed, the tariff hit Macdonald hard and his tobaccos were more expensive than ATCC

5.1 Empire Smoking Tobacco advertisement (1900)

brands, partly because of the tariff and partly because he offered more profit for those who pushed his products.[31] By the war, he had been dethroned as "Tobacco King of Canada." In November 1917 the pipe-smoking preferences of Canadian troops at Shorncliffe, England, were polled, and Macdonald's plug tobacco came in third behind the Hudson's Bay Company's Imperial Mixture, popular in western Canada, and ATCC's Old Chum, which contained Canadian tobacco.[32]

At almost the same time as this poll was taken, the institutionalization of prejudice against Canadian tobacco lost its most powerful believer when Sir William Macdonald passed away. Within months, his successor, Walter Stewart, the son of Macdonald's former secretary David Stewart, began hiring travellers, advertising, manufacturing cigarettes, and using Canadian tobacco in Macdonald products. In a dramatic turnaround, by 1934, Macdonald tobacco was the second largest purchaser of Ontario tobacco. Its Zigzag pipe tobacco was made completely of Canadian tobacco, and its leading cigarette, British Consol, contained 25 per cent domestic leaf.[33]

After the war, the stigma on Canadian tobacco was also breaking down outside the country. In 1919, Canadian tobacco received preferential treatment in British tariff policy. Tariff barriers rose again in 1925 and once again in 1932, at which point this protection meant that 25 per cent of Ontario tobacco crops were exported to Britain.[34] Some British tobacco companies chose to treat Canadian tobacco as an exotic product, the Irish manufacturer Gallaher's going as far as mass-marketing a cigarette called "Canadian Club."[35] As a 1928 editorial in the Montreal *Herald* on the subject of the imperial preference tariffs put it,

"Canada has demonstrated that there is a lot of bosh and prejudice about tobacco. She has demonstrated that the idea that no tobacco of high grade can be grown in Canada is all bunk."[36]

Yet the editorial's enthusiasm about the reborn reputation of Canadian tobacco did not, for the most part, include Quebec tobacco. In spite of the fact that Canadian raw-leaf tobacco grown in Quebec was increasingly popular in the 1920s and 1930s (as discussed in chapter 3), its taste was still despised by powerful smokers. They contended that it was giving a bad reputation to industrially produced Quebec tobacco, and this reputation was denying Quebec leaf a chance in British markets. Granby tobacco manufacturer Colonel J. Bruce Payne argued in a letter to the Montreal *Herald* that continued legal exchange of raw-leaf tobacco "is responsible for the impression left upon strangers by the horrible stench of uncured tobacco when smoked – an impression that all Canadian leaf smells that way."[37]

This was not just an anglophone position. Rosaire Roch was also concerned about the reputation of Quebec tobacco being "based on that poor cheap tobacco," since it was his job at the Saint-Jacques Co-operative to promote the sale of the leaf.[38] Like important French Canadian farmers, the Quebec provincial government abandoned French Canadian tobacco through the improvement strategies of the Tobacco Branch of the provincial Department of Agriculture, established in the late 1920s. The Quebec Tobacco Branch was created to keep farmers on their land and protect the tradition of French Canadians as a rural people. Indeed, in announcing the reorganization of the ministry, the Quebec minister of agriculture, J.L. Perron, explained that farmers were "the strongest bulwark and the most certain assurance of the survival of our race in America." To defend this traditional model of French Canada, he continued, would require an abandonment of traditional agricultural practices: "a complete change in the methods of production and of marketing." Like the federal government's Tobacco Division and the ATCC/Imperial Tobacco, the Quebec Tobacco Branch promoted chemical fertilizers, pure lines of tobacco seed, and other forms of tobacco "improvement." Yet ideologically, these Quebec "improvers" differed in seeking to change the taste of locally produced tobacco in order to maintain the rural ideal of French Canadian society, with "race" being used by Perron in a far more cultural than strictly biological sense.[39]

More drastic measures beyond education were promoted by some to eradicate *le tabac canadien*. They argued that free-leaf tobacco's worse

sin was not its bad reputation but its competition with manufacturers. Imperial Tobacco's Gray Miller told the Royal Commission on Price Spreads in 1934 that the increase in sales of *le tabac canadien* was competing directly and unfairly with manufactured tobacco. Furthermore, he continued, it was to blame for the unhealthy prices that tobacco farmers were receiving for their products, as well as the low wages and workforce reductions that the commission was trying to understand. In Miller's words, because Canadian free-leaf tobacco was not taxed, for "the manufacturer to merchandise a much cheaper commodity he must reduce his costs all along the line, and likewise reduce in his purchases of leaf tobacco from the cultivators." This was nothing less than the great immoral business practice of "price cutting in its most vicious form," ruinous to business and opposed by most of the trade. According to Miller, the free-leaf trade had to be smashed by the federal government through an excise tariff on free leaf equal to that levied on manufactured tobacco. This sort of state involvement in the economy was only "normal," Miller held. "I am credibly informed that, of all countries in the civilized world so taxing tobacco for revenue purposes (possibly excluding China), Canada is the single exception" where domestic leaf was allowed to circulate untaxed.[40] Others, such as A.E. Picard, the vice-president for sales at Rock City Tobacco, and Rosaire Roch, also believed that the excise tax was necessary, counting on the state to end what they considered to be unfair competition.[41] The cultural consequences of the excise measures were clear to all around the table at the Royal Commission on Price Spreads when Oscar Boulanger, a Quebec MP and commission member, asked Roch, "They [French Canadian smokers] have been doing it all the time for hundreds of years, and you want them to change that habit and go in for smoking pipe tobacco or manufactured tobacco?" and Roch responded, "But you have to change with the times."[42]

"Changes with the times" were not natural, and Imperial Tobacco pushed to change Quebec smoking habits by lobbying the federal government to end the untaxed leaf trade. In late 1933, only months before Miller appeared at the royal commission, Imperial Tobacco tried to make it appear that Quebec tobacco farmers supported an excise duty of twenty cents a pound on Canadian leaf tobacco. Their agent in the northern tobacco belt paid farmers ten cents each to sign the petition and also promised them that Imperial would buy the rest of their crops if they signed. Indeed, this last proposition was tempting since during the depression, numerous tobacco farmers were left without buyers and

were forced to dispose of their crops at heartbreaking losses.[43] In response to the Imperial Tobacco petition, a counter-petition circulated in January 1934, signed not only by tobacco farmers and their municipal government representatives but also by some 4,240 Montreal tobacco merchants, who saw cheap Canadian leaf tobacco as important to their businesses.[44]

Until the Second World War the petitioners were successful in preventing Canadian raw-leaf tobacco from being excised.[45] But in 1940 a new tax of ten cents a pound was levied on it. The measure was protested by Quebec premier Adélard Godbout and the Union catholique des cultivateurs, among others, but to no avail. The federal government's response to the protests argued that Quebec raw leaf still had a significant advantage over manufactured tobacco, which was taxed at a much higher rate. In 1942 the excise rate was raised to twenty cents a pound. Canadian raw leaf tobacco continued to have a thrity-one-cent advantage over manufactured pipe tobacco, which was excised at fifty-one cents a pound. The new excise regulations had their most profound impact on raw-leaf tobacco retailers and wholesale dealers who were not farmers. Unlike farmers, who paid excise taxes on tobacco only when they sold directly to consumers, wholesale dealers and retailers of raw-leaf tobacco were treated like manufacturers and had to pay excise on all tobacco they bought from farmers. As excise increased on raw-leaf tobacco, a dealer had to invest larger and larger sums before seeing any returns.[46]

According to MP C.E. Ferland, whose riding, Joliette-L'Assomption, was part of the Quebec tobacco belt north of Montreal, these new excise taxes were driving small dealers out of business or to discontinue carrying raw-leaf tobacco because it was too much trouble in comparison to carrying only manufactured tobacco, upon which the excise had already been paid by the manufacturer. Others agreed with Ferland that these federal measures were ending the free-leaf trade. The Quebec minister of agriculture's annual report for 1941–42 noted the efficacy of the new excise taxes: "A very strict regulation regarding the raw leaf trade, recently made by the Ottawa Government has given the finishing stroke to the cultivation of good Quebec pipe tobacco."[47] Ultimately, these excise measures put to an end the ability of Quebec tobacco farmers to distribute their tobacco to dealers in Montreal and other urban areas.[48]

In contrast to the reinvention of Canadian tobacco, successfully marketing mass-produced cigarettes presented a whole different set of challenges for government and especially for business. Cigarettes had long been professionally rolled in Montreal. At least one high-end Montreal tobacconist, J. Rattray, had rolled them since the 1870s, not long after they had been introduced into northern Europe and the United States, where they were smoked by the urban elites.[49] And even after mass-production technologies had succeeded in making cigarettes cheaper, hand-rolled cigarettes made with imported tobacco continued to be sold to the element in the population who had more money to spend and valued imported tobacco and skilled labour as a sign of class distinction. Prices on these cigarettes ranged from the ATCC Yildiz cigarettes, which were marketed "to true cigarette connoisseurs" at ten for twenty-five cents, to the five-cent Egyptian cigarettes sold in CPR dining cars at the turn of the century to the "Smokerettes," which sold for ten cents.[50]

Cigarette manufacturers attempted to make these cigarettes more "masculine" than roll-your-owns by marketing them to appeal to the values of bourgeois connoisseurship that had been built around cigars. Advertisements trumpeted the fact that the tobacco was foreign and that the cigarettes were rolled by skilled workers. For these cigarettes, the most popular sort of tobacco was Turkish, used to make "Egyptian" cigarettes, yet Virginian was also used and advertised, as were mixtures of the two.[51] For many cigarette companies, the fact that skilled workmen rolled their cigarettes was important to their marketing. The ATCC, for example, advertised that the tobacco in its Mogul brand of cigarette received "as much attention as is given to a delicate infant."[52] This probably was a company pitch to legitimize the female labour that may have been used for this cigarette. The advertising for Egyptian cigarettes, which were some times called "Oriental cigarettes," invoked images of imperial dominance. These were not images of battles or brute force but of leisure or more vague imagery, such as a lone Bedouin in a desert associated with the Near East.[53] These were visions of power, like those described by Edward Said and Anne McClintock, which presented a geography known in Western countries as the edge of empire. A certainty and fascination with the "barbarity" of those dominated was important to the process and depth of domination. While knowledge of the quality of products of empire and the power to take them was part

of this imperial domination, so was an illicit desire to experience "pleasures" forbidden in "civilized" countries and the very markers of barbarity. Such was the promise of "Oriental" cigarettes.[54]

As with other tobacco products, the values by which these cigarettes were theoretically to be weighed – essentially skilled labour and the origins of the tobacco – were supposed to be understandable only to men. Any other reason for buying cigarettes was illegitimate. To this end, the *CCTJ* wrote that another "feminine influence" in the tobacco trade was the cigarette insert. These inserts – little pieces of silk ribbon, enamelled buttons, engraved pictures, or pieces of embossed leather – were placed inside the wrapper of a package of mechanically rolled cigarettes. According to the *CCTJ*, they were popular with women and children, who pressed men to buy certain brands with inserts so that the women could use them for decorating sofa pillows, wall panels, and hatbands. Men would never buy cigarettes just for the insert. They bought a brand for its quality, their ability to know a good brand being a mark of their masculinity.[55]

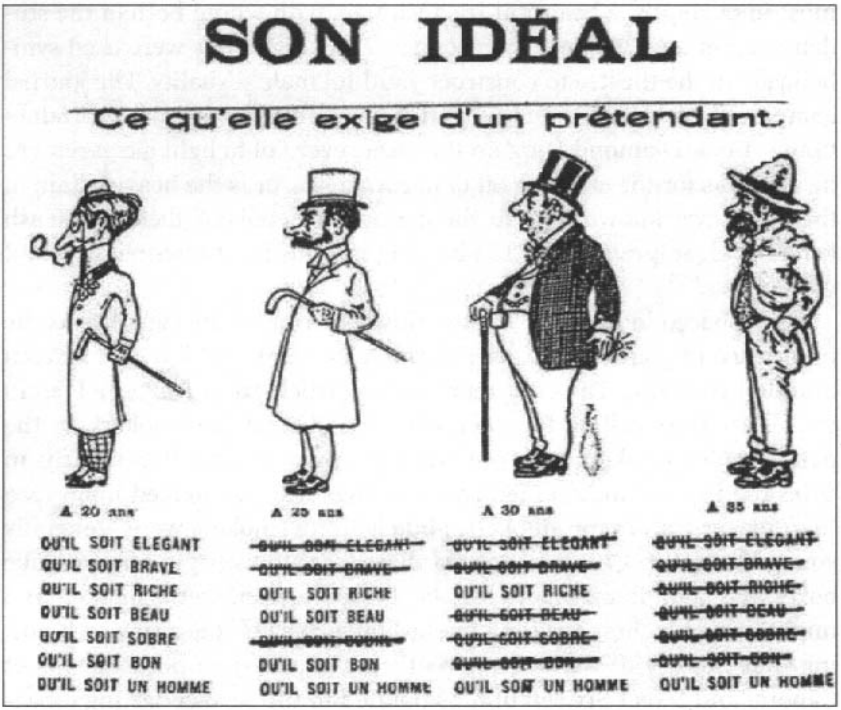
The new mass-produced cigarettes were manufactured using the Bonsack cigarette machine. Invented in 1881, this machine revolutionized the cigarette industry. Briefly, it drastically reduced the individual production cost of each cigarette. Instead of individual workers rolling cigarettes, tobacco was fed into the Bonsack, increasing the speed of production, and though more money had to be sunk into production equipment, costs were reduced to one-sixth of pre-Bonsack cigarette production days.[56] Hand-rolling had been slow and costly. The *CCTJ* offered an estimation of the savings resulting from the new technology: "When cigarettes were made by hand a smart girl could manipulate six pounds of tobacco in a ten-hour day, and roll 2,000 cigarettes. Then came the invention of the cigarette-making machine, which a single operative manages with ease. In a day it makes 200,000 cigarettes, thus saving the wages of ninety-nine girls – a sum of very nearly $15,000."[57]

Indeed, like mass-produced pipe tobacco, the cigarette was inexpensive, part of the reduction in costs resulting from the deskilling of cigarette rollers and the introduction of the Bonsack. In 1895, two of the D. Ritchie and Company's most popular brands, the Majestic and the Athlete, sold twenty for fifteen cents.[58] By 1914 prices had only slightly risen, with the ATCC's leading brands, Derby and Sweet Caporals, selling at six for five cents and ten for ten cents, respectively. Numerous dealers broke open packages, offering them for a penny a piece; with Derby cigarettes, they either made an extra cent per package or smoked the extra

cigarette themselves.[59] The low price of the mass-produced cigarette meant that, unlike with the cigar or the Egyptian cigarette, few smokers could be excluded from smoking because of the price. Cigarette sales increased significantly before the First World War as a result of the rising sales of these cheap mass-produced cigarettes. In 1895, when the ATCC was established, 85,994,000 cigarettes were manufactured in Canada. By 1903 that number had more than doubled to 176,435,240, and it would double again five years later, to 384,591,744 cigarettes.[60] By the First World War, 1,166,023,170 cigarettes were manufactured.[61] These figures work out to a jump from twenty-three cigarettes per person in 1901 to eighty-one cigarettes per person at the time of the next census in 1911.[62]

Much of the increase in popularity of the cigarette resulted from changing associations between speed and masculinity in industrial Montreal. The fact that cigarettes were quick to smoke was becoming an attraction rather than a sign of unmanliness, as it had been in the eyes of bourgeois connoisseurs. Historian Stephen Kern has argued that between 1890 and 1918 the desire for speed in transportation and industry spilled over into a greater desire for speed in leisure, as evidenced in music and film.[63] The speed with which the cigarette could be smoked appealed to this same desire. The cigarette industry promoted cigarettes, capitalizing on the short amount of time it took to smoke in comparison to other forms of tobacco. An editorial note in the *CCTJ*, for example, pointed out to its readers: "The cigarette is such a convenient form of smoking that it commends itself alike to old and young, and specially so to those people who may not have the time or the inclination for the longer smoke of a cigar or pipe."[64] Similarly, Bernard Baron, a British cigarette manufacturer, declared in the pages of the *CCTJ* that the cigarette was more appropriate for workers who only had time to take short breaks: "This is an industrial age. Working persons often come out for a few moments. They do not have time to smoke a pipe, but they can always have a few whiffs of a cigarette. In the case of a pipe they have to fill it and it cannot be extinguished in the same way that the lighted end of a cigarette can be snipped off."[65] Finally, the ATCC advertised the convenience and time-saving properties of the cigarette: "Did you ever have trouble in cleaning and getting your pipe going? You can avoid all that trouble, with SWEET CAPORAL CIGARETTES."[66]

And while bourgeois connoisseurs had portrayed cigarette smokers as unmanly because of the short time it took to smoke a cigarette, it was also portrayed as a sign of youthful vigour. *La Presse*'s cartoon "Son



5.2 "Son idéal," *La Presse* (1910)

idéal" (fig. 5.2), for example, portrays the kinds of men a woman could expect to marry as they aged. The first man, clearly younger than the rest, as well as having numerous other fine qualities, smokes a cigarette and is a far cry from the last man, who has, according to the cartoon, few worthwhile qualities and smokes an old clay pipe.[67] The cigarette was part of the way readers were to ascertain that the man was young. It was often used to build an image of youthful male sexuality. In Ernest Choquette's collection of short stories, different forms of tobacco appear at various times. In one story, after dinner a group of older doctors discussed their first cases while smoking cigars. This image contrasts with the cigarettes in another of his short stories, centred around two students at Université Laval. The narrator described a friend of his from school who was studying to become a notary. The most significant weakness that distracted this friend from his studies was women. In one scene, the two students stand together looking out on the city from Dufferin Terrace, "cigarette between their lips," watching the boats in the harbour, the carts in the streets, children playing in courtyards, and

most importantly, a beautiful Irish woman, with whom both of the students fall in love.[68] The *CCTJ* recognized that cigarettes were used symbolically in the theatre to construct youthful male sexuality. The journal compared the use of the cigar and the cigarette in theatrical productions: "Does 'Diamond Dicy' on the stage, ever fail to light a cigarette as he bargains for the carrying off of fair Angelica, or is the heavy villain in the novel ever known to omit the important details of 'flicking the ash from his cigar' preparatory to plunging into his most abysmal depth of wickedness."[69]

The tobacco industry promoted this depiction of the cigarette as the preference of youth. For example, the ATCC marketed a Sweet Sixteen brand of cigarette. The *CCTJ* reprinted an article from *Harper's Weekly* in August 1898 calling for tolerance toward cigarette smokers on the part of older smokers who preferred the pipe or cigar.[70] Similarly, in 1905 the journal maintained that the cigarette was looked upon as a "toy" by cigar and pipe smokers, and cigarette smokers were "generally young."[71] And in 1913 it suggested that cigar stores begin offering juke boxes and soda fountains to attract the younger cigarette smoker who might bring his "best girl for a modest quencher."[72] It is also worth noting that the use of the word "sweet" in the names of both the Sweet Caporal and Sweet Sixteen brands pointed to the weaker-tasting tobacco used in the cigarette, in comparison to the cigar and pipe tobaccos, especially *le tabac canadien.* Indeed, cigarette tobacco probably made it easier to begin smoking.

CONTROLLING THE CIGARETTE

While the tobacco industry sought to legitimize the cigarette by giving it new associations, some companies' advertisements were more powerful than others. After 1912 the ATCC. under its new name Imperial Tobacco, was the only company whose advertisements could have any significant effect on consumers, especially regarding sales. This power came from the company's system of controlling retailers. At the turn of twentieth century the ATCC's cigarette consignment system effectively protected its brands from competition and made its advertising the most important in the industry. Pioneered among cigarette manufacturers by the ATCC's parent company in the United States, these contracts gave the retailer or wholesaler a 6 per cent profit if he sold only ATCC brands. If the consignee chose to break the agreement, the profit

would drop to 2 per cent. The consignment agreements not only shut out competition; they also gave the ATCC the right to determine the number of cigarettes and the brands that retailers and wholesalers would be offered. Consignees were then to make reports to the company as to the number of cigarettes and which brands were sold. They could not resell to other retailers or wholesalers unless the company gave permission. This requirement effectively allowed the ATCC to monitor its sales and make better decisions as to which brands to promote. The company also reserved the right to stop consigning goods to the retailer or to pay him (they were almost men) only 2 per cent for consignment if the contract was broken.[73]

The consignment agreements were policed by company officials. If tobacconists were seen retailing cigarettes of other companies, they lost their 6 per cent reduction and even their ATCC cigarettes. One example was the case of Montreal tobacconist Phillipe Roy. By 1902 he could no longer get ATCC cigarettes after he was spotted by a company representative displaying a competitor's cigarettes, which he had bought at an auction.[74] ATCC officials were able to enforce the agreements through a number on each package of cigarettes that could be linked to the consignee who originally bought them. If the cigarettes were resold by a retailer to another retailer outside the agreement, the original retailer could be held responsible.[75] Bernard Goldstein, formerly the owner of the American Cigarette Company, was himself blacklisted by the ATCC when the number on the bottom of a cigarette package that he had sold to Charles Gratton, a wholesaler who did not have an agreement with the company, was tracked by a company representative.[76] According to one witness at the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade, Montreal's largest wholesalers were all under contract with the ATCC. This situation forced other Montreal cigarette companies to establish their own wholesalers, something that could be expensive and drive up prices.[77]

The best example of the impact of the consignment system on the market was an attempt by cigar manufacturer J.M. Fortier to branch out into cigarettes. In 1894 he began producing the cigarette brands Creme de la Creme, Parisian, Royal, Lafayette, and Imperial, and business looked promising.[78] In July 1895 he sold 390,000 cigarettes; in August, 536,000; and in October, 787,500. Then the ATCC contract went into place, and sales declined to 302,500 in November and 391,000 in December of that year.[79] By 1898, even Fortier's own brother, H.C., did not sell J.M. Fortier's cigarettes because he had signed the consignment agreement.[80] Fortier did not accept this monopoly lying down. In 1896

and 1897 he took the ATCC to court for conspiracy of trade, and in 1902 he successfully petitioned the federal government to call a royal commission to inquire into an "alleged tobacco combine." In fact, the royal commission found that Fortier was right and that trade was being inhibited, but it decided that it did not have the power to end the contract system. That would have to be done by Parliament, but Parliament never went further than to threaten to end the consignment system.[81]

The system closed the door on many of the ATCC's competitors and made the company's cigarette advertising the most important advertising discourse on cigarettes in Montreal and the rest of Canada during the period. Competitors who may have sought to use advertising discourses that differed from that of the ATCC found that they did not work, not because the advertisements held little resonance with smokers but because there was no way for a smoker to follow through on the desires such advertisments roused. Joseph Picard, for example, complained to the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that the contract system severely restricted the measures he could take to sell his goods, singling out the uselessness of advertising: "advertising has no effect ... We would create a demand for our goods from the merchants, but we could not get our goods into the hands of the consumer."[82] Numerous Montreal tobacconists told the royal commission that there was demand for brands other than those produced by the ATCC, but that the financial benefits of the consignment contract made them not worth filling. Abraham Michaels, brother of Granda y Hermanos owner Nathan Michaels, an elite tobacconist at the corner of McGill and Notre Dame Streets, received requests every day for Hamilton cigarette manufacturer George Tuckett's brand, Karnac. Karnacs were sold at the same price and in direct competition with the ATCC's Sweet Caporal cigarettes, but because of Michaels's consignment agreement with ATCC, he could not sell them.[83]

The ATCC, for its part, poured enormous energies and money into advertising. The company did most of its own advertising, rather than leaving it to tobacconists. Large businesses, as Keith Walden has written, bypassed a "conservative or uncooperative merchant to create popular awareness of products and to bring consumer pressure to bear."[84] Between October 1895 and October 1902, the ATCC spent $267,961.49 on cigarette advertising.[85] It advertised in newspapers, cigar store windows, fairs, trade shows, and electric billboard signs. For the most part, the ATCC advertisements combined repetition of an image with other novelties both to attract attention and to make the cigarette more ordi-

nary. The company consistently used the same image for its primary brand, Sweet Caporal – a woman dressed as a soldier – advertising in most newspapers from the most popular, *La Presse* and the Montreal *Star*, to the Liberal *Le Canada* to the nationalist and anti-Semitic *Le Nationaliste,* to the women's journal *La Journal de Françoise* (the last will be discussed in the next chapter).[86]

While newspaper advertising was important, it was only one way the ATCC promoted its brands. The company had booths at numerous fairs where it gave out free samples of its popular brands. One example was the "grocers' show" in Montreal, where the ATCC gave out Sweet Caporal cigarettes as well as its more expensive Egyptian brands, Yildiz Magnums and Murad, bringing great crowds.[87] The booth also had other attractions. The searching urban gaze of the turn-of-the-century consumer was also interested in people, and race and gender often played important roles in attracting the white middle-class eye.[88] The ATCC used this fascination with race, in particular, by hiring an African Canadian man, whom the industry called a "mascot," named "Professor Brown." Frequently Professor Brown appeared at trade and industrial exhibitions, becoming part of the ATCC delegation if not part of the display itself, to heighten the excitement at the company's booth.[89] Professor Brown, whom the *CCTJ* described as "dusky, but dignified," also was seen around Montreal in 1901 driving an automobile promoting ATCC brands.[90] Both Professor Brown and the automobile would probably have attracted attention in turn-of-the-century Montreal.[91]

The use of the automobile illustrates the ATCC's proclivity to use new technologies to attract the attention of potential smokers. The company was particularly effective in using electric signs in high traffic areas. For example, by 1902 there was an electric sign proclaiming, "Smoke Sweet Caporal Cigarettes," at the corner of Sainte-Catherine and Saint-Laurent.[92] In 1913 another electric sign advertised Sweet Caporal cigarettes at the corner of St James and Windsor Streets, certainly a busy spot since it was near both the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) terminus and Windsor Station.[93] Even when not using electricity, the ATCC chose places that guaranteed a captive audience. The company put up a huge Sweet Caporal sign in neighbouring Pointe-Claire next to the CPR and Grand Trunk Railway tracks, which was difficult for passengers to miss.[94]

The most important venue for ATCC advertising was in window displays. The company hired artists to decorate several of its clients' windows around Montreal. These displays did much to legitimize the changes in marketing and products that came with industrial capitalism

5.3 "Une flanerie du soir," *Liqueurs et tabacs* (1902)

and, in the case of the cigarette, to make them more acceptable as ways to smoke tobacco. An example is Louis Fortier's Eden Cigar Store display on Boulevard Saint-Laurent (fig. 5.3). What immediately attracts the eye in the centre of the display is a boat decorated with Sweet Caporal cigarette boxes arriving at a port that is constructed with Sweet Caporal cigarette boxes. The "Sweet Caporal Girl" can also be seen in the background. The repetition of the logo was important in making newer products more familiar, as well as in invoking the theme of abundance. The boat coming into port also underlines the idea that the cigarette can be part of traditional commercial and imperial activities, particularly of Britain. Finally, the artist has foregrounded the Sweet Caporal advertising with cigar boxes, cigars not being sold by the ATCC, linking traditional smoking habits with the new cigarette.[95]

The ATCC also promoted its cigarettes and other products such as pipe and chewing tobacco through "premiums" included in each package. Smokers collected coupons or "tags" and turned them in to the ATCC premiums department in Montreal for particularly manly rewards such as wristwatches, guns, and tents.[96] The popularity of the "coupon habit" was reflected through its penetration into popular culture, as demonstrated by a cartoon in the Montreal *Star* (fig. 5.4). The cartoon provides little explanation of the coupon scheme, suggesting that it would be broadly understood.[97] The launch of the ATCC premiums department was made into a popular spectacle, with the company put-

5.4 "The Coupon Habit," Montreal *Star* (1910)

ting on display the smallest man in the world. The same attention to display of "exotic" human bodies as the ATCC had used with Professor Brown once again attracted an enormous crowd.[98]

Perhaps the cigarette's most controversial promotion was the cigarette card campaign. In 1904 the National Council of Women's committee on objectionable printed material appealed to the mayor of Montreal to prohibit the display of cigarette pictures "offensive to public morals."[99] Indeed, during the Commons Commission on the Cigarette in 1914, Owen Dawson, clerk of the Juvenile Court in Montreal, claimed that these picture cards enticed little boys to buy cigarettes. What was worse, when asked if they were lewd, he responded, "More or less, and suggestive."[100]

These ATCC promotions and advertisements made it increasingly costly for retailers to not enter into the consignment agreements. According to Montreal tobacconists, the barrage of company advertising influenced smokers to buy ATCC brands. In 1896 Emmanuel Balasco, for example, maintained that ATCC brands were the "best known brands ... in the world," and therefore, if one had a tobacco store, it was necessary to keep these brands.[101] Similarly, Montreal tobacconists William L. Ross and Theotime Valiquette both felt they had to carry ATCC cigarettes because there was such a demand.[102]

While the ATCC was powerful, it was not wholly successful in assuring the public of the mass-produced cigarette's virtues. Cigarettes were

singled out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as being more dangerous than other forms of tobacco. In Canada and the United States these rumours were rampant and dated back at least to the 1870s.[103] American government tests exonerated the cigarette of these charges in 1892, while in Canada the Department of Inland Revenue cleared the cigarette of such accusations in 1908.[104] Historian Ian Tyrrell has sought to explain similar allegations against the cigarette in Australia by arguing, with little proof, that these rumours were evidence of the effectiveness of that country's anti-cigarette movement.[105]

For Canada, and particularly Montreal, Tyrrell's explanation does not hold water. Certainly, it is true that these rumours did appear from time to time in temperance literature circulating in the city. For example, the WCTU's "Catechism of Temperance" stated that cigarettes contained "opium, tonca beans which contain deadly poison ... rum and numerous other harmful drugs."[106] In her "president's address" at the 1892 Quebec WCTU annual meeting, Mary Sanderson linked these allegations to fears about foreigners. In trying to motivate her membership to campaign against the cigarette, she invoked the "fearful condition of 40,000,000 of Chinese, who are slaves to the opium pipe, with its attendant evils," as being "surely sufficient to alarm us as to the probable consequences of the use of the deadly cigarette, which is said to contain opium."[107] Indeed, according to historian Cassandra Tate, before the First World War cigarettes were linked to American prejudices about foreigners. Such may have been the case in Canada also. With early cigarettes known as "Egyptian" or "Oriental," made with Turkish tobacco, and advertised using images of the Near East, it would not be difficult to link views of "dirty foreigners" and stereotypes of the "Oriental" with tobacco and opium habits.

In 1903 the WCTU changed its position on additives in cigarettes in response to an ATCC attempt to deny the validity of these rumours. During the WCTU's anti-cigarette campaign that year, tobacco companies ran two-page advertisements carrying the results of medical studies that vindicated the cigarette from charges of impurity, making the not-too-subtle argument that cigarettes were not harmful.[108] Appeals to the purity of products were not out of the ordinary for advertising at the time, though this was an early example of medical discourse being used by cigarette companies.[109] The ATCC frequently used the quotation, "The most pure form in which tobocco can be smoked," from the British medical journal the *Lancet*, to advertise its Sweet Caporal cigarettes.[110] The WCTU was outraged by the claim of the cigarette's healthi-

ness, and the women wrote to the Montreal *Witness* to argue that additives were not the reason they were opposing the cigarette. Dominion WCTU president Annie O. Rutherford, corresponding secretary Annie M. Bascom, and dominion anti-narcotics superintendent Jennie Waters wrote: "Be it understood here and now that the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union is bringing no charge of adulteration against the cigarette. They are not basing their complaint upon the make-up of cigarette wrappers, or the kind of flavorings or tinctures used in their manufacture. Their quarrel is with the cigarette as a cigarette." As I have shown in the last chapter, the WCTU leadership believed that the dangers of the cigarette lay in the moral and physical effects of inhaling cigarette smoke rather than in additives.[111]

Tyrrell's conclusion is even less tenable when we consider the widespread nature of these rumours. In 1914 *La Patrie* ran an editorial maintaining that there was a popular consensus on the fact that cigarettes contained additives: "As to cigarettes, it is generally agreed that they are condemned because they contain morphine, or opium, or other narcotic substances," yet the editorial did not promote cigarette prohibition.[112] The allegations were also spread by physicians. In 1920 Romeo R. Boucher, in a *Union médicale du Canada* article, reported that cigarettes contain "arsenic, creosote, opium, saltpetre, 'tonca flavoring,' traces of rum and numerous other materials." He considered these substances, in combination with the nicotine, harmful, but when they were consumed in moderation, there was less danger.[113] The popular nature of these rumours suggests that they were less the result of early claims by the WCTU than about the new popularity of the cigarette and its addictive nature. Considering the WCTU's marginal status among francophones, the fact that these examples are all in French also implies that the rumours were not the result of its success but because of broader concerns about the visible effects of the cigarette.

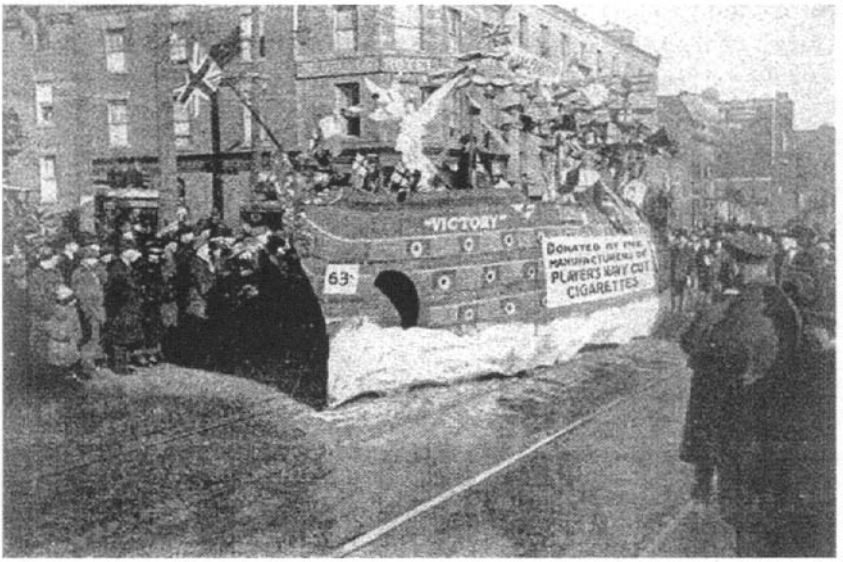
Indeed, there were other allegations against the cigarette that suggest the root of the rumours was a popular response to the cigarette's new industrial qualities. Owen Dawson told the Commons Commission on the Cigarette that he believed the cheaper kinds of cigarettes were made of "guttersnipes" or the leftover tobacco from used cigarettes. John Bradford of the Montreal YMCA told Dawson that he had seen boys in the United States getting paid fifty cents to collect cigarette butts from the streets. The butts would then be ground up and put into cheap cigarettes.[114] Even some of the American innovators behind the Bonsack cigarette machine, which had revolutionized cigarette production, worried

that hand-rolling was so important to the cigarette consumer there would be a strong reaction to machine-made cigarettes.[115] If the cigarette was suddenly cheaper than it had been, what was the reason? No information was given on packages or in advertising explaining why. Indeed, by not appealing to bourgeois values of connoisseurship, the ATCC left its cigarettes open to such questions.

WAR AND THE CIGARETTE

More than any other factor, the First World War legitimized the cigarette. Cigarette smoking became linked to patriotism, and industry leaders distinguished themselves as patriotic. Sir Mortimer Davis was viewed by many as the leading philanthropist in Jewish Montreal and was called upon to speak for the Jewish community at the charity established to support soldiers' families: the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[116] He helped to fund the Canadian Automobile Machine Gun Brigade[117] and outfitted and equipped a six-man motorcycle corps that was linked to a corps of engineers in the 2nd Canadian Contingent. The six men had been recruited from Imperial's staff, and half their salary was to be paid by the company.[118] The tobacco industry promoted and contributed large sums to the Victory Loans program (fig. 5.5): Imperial alone gave $1 million, while the Tobacco Products Corporation of Canada contributed $25,000, Benson and Hedges of Canada $20,000, Philip Morris of Canada $25,000, and H.C. Fortier $5,000.[119]

Not surprisingly, these companies also donated tobacco to the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Imperial Tobacco's gift of 500,000 cigarettes to the Montreal *Gazette*'s Tobacco Fund during the war is only one of many examples. It had been a long-standing tradition for tobacco companies to donate their products to soldiers. During the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, S. Davis and Sons sent cigars to soldiers fighting Louis Riel's forces, and William Macdonald donated tobacco in the Boer War.[120] During the First World War, tobacco companies went even further to promote their products. New militarist brands were advanced. Rock City pushed its King George's Navy smoking tobacco, and Tuckett advertised its Army Navy cigarettes with new vigour. Imperial Tobacco began pushing its Player's brand, which to this day has never lost its militaristic look. Many tobacconists in Montreal opened their store windows to patriotic displays. In 1914 Abraham Michaels set up a multigraph machine in the window of his tobacco store, printing eight



5.5 Victory Loans parade, *CCTJ* (1917)

to ten thousand bulletins on the latest war news in just two weeks. Of course, on the back of each bulletin were advertisements for his tobacco store and the brands it sold.[121] Later, in 1918, E.A. Gerth promoted food conservation in his St Catherine Street window, in a display that the *CCTJ* considered "vastly different from the ordinary cigar window," but which seemed to be "pulling" all the same.[122]

These machinations of "big" and "little" tobacco were only partly responsible for the cigarette's new patriotic clothing. Newspapers, at least as much as tobacco industrialists, were successful in linking tobacco and patriotism. With their own political agendas and, no doubt, hopes of increased circulation, the Montreal newspapers *La Presse* and the *Gazette* launched tobacco charities to provide tobacco in all its forms to soldiers. *La Presse*'s charity was the first to be established, in November of 1914. It was part of the newspaper's broad support for the war. As the city's largest daily and the largest francophone newspaper in North America, *La Presse* was the most important secular agency in francophone Montreal to support the war.

The "Œuvre du tabac," or tobacco charity, was announced in an editorial which made clear the paper's enthusiasm for the Allied cause, described as nothing short of a "sacred cause of rights, liberty and civilization." This position represented a liberal world view. The paper did

not mention going to war to protect the moral beliefs of the Catholic Church or the traditions of French Canadians. Certainly, these reasons probably were understood within the editorialist's and the readers' view of what was important to protect, but it was the rights and liberties of this kind of civilization that were sacred. Why was tobacco necessary in a war to defend "civilization"? According to the editorial, smoking was an act that established man's superiority over the animals: "Man is the only being that smokes." *La Presse*'s description of how a civilized man smoked evoked tobacco's liberal symbolism. Tobacco helped soldiers retain their self-control. "It is scientifically established that the moderate use of tobacco is beneficial," the editorial maintained, never questioning whether soldiers would be able to moderate their smoking. It soothed their nerves in the trenches, distracted them from sadness, and made it possible for them to face dangers. By exciting their imaginations and giving them "a clarity of ideas," it allowed soldiers to retain their high-mindedness. "Such is the strong effect of tobacco on the civilized man."[123]

While the Œuvre du tabac involved businesses and the state, what is most striking is how the public was courted to enter this ritual of wartime patriotism. *La Presse* asked the public to donate cigars, packages of cigarettes, and tobacco, as well as pipes and other smoking sundries to the Allied cause. Donors were instructed not to give loose cigarettes, tobacco, or clay pipes since these items were too fragile to arrive intact in Europe. Donations were to be made anywhere tobacco was sold: at *tabagies*, hotels, restaurants, bookstores, or bars. These retailers were asked to cut out a small sign published in the newspaper, which read, "A little tobacco, please, for our poor soldiers," and paste it on a box where donations could be left (fig. 5.6). Staff from *La Presse* collected the tobacco, itemized it, and delivered it to the basement of Genin, Trudeau, manufacturers and importers of tobacco sundries. The federal government waved export duties, and the French government paid for its transportation to Le Havre, where it was to be taken to the director of health services to be distributed.[124]

The effectiveness of the Œuvre as a mechanism to create popular support for the War was heightened by the fact that *La Presse* regularly published the names of donors. Not surprisingly, groups linked to the tobacco industry were particularly generous, Genin, Trudeau and Company began the campaign by giving five hundred briar pipes.[125] Later, the head of the company, J.R. Genin, and tobacco manufacturer J.M. Fortier gave 100,000 cigarettes, and L.O. Grothé donated 2,000 pack-

5.6 Œuvre du tabac, *La Presse* (1914)

ages of pipe tobacco.[126] The fund also had popular support. The stonecutters' union gave ten dollars to the fund in honour of several of its members who had left or were leaving shortly for army duty.[127] The employees of the Precious Blood Monastery in the Montreal suburb of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce sent fifteen pounds of leaf tobacco, and the employees of the Montreal Tramways Company gave $100 in pipes and pipe tobacco.[128] Nor were all the donors men. A Madame Guertin of 706 Marie-Anne East, whom *La Presse* called "a patriotic woman," donated an impressive amount and variety of tobaccos, including two pounds of chopped tobacco, 2 packages of Old Chum pipe tobacco, Chamberlain cigars, six packs of Bouquet cigarettes, and twelve assorted pipes.[129]

The ideological function of the Œuvre became even more clear as *La Presse* accepted all gifts, even when they contravened the instructions set out by the paper. Indeed, despite the fact that it had been made clear

that unpackaged tobacco was not to be donated, *le tabac canadien* became a popular gift. Such was especially the case after a letter from *La Presse*'s London correspondent wrote that the tobacco in England was "expensive and poor ... bad for our men used to *le tabac canadien.*"[130] Days later La Cie générale d'arbitrage gave twenty-five pounds of *tabac canadien,* and a priest from Sainte-Thérèse sent a box of Canadian leaf tobacco that he had not had time to put in order.[131] Since there were few French Canadian soldiers among the earliest Canadian troops to arrive in Europe, one must wonder what the French, English, and Belgians thought of the *tabac canadien* when it arrived just before Christmas.

By February 1915, shortly before the departure of a second shipment of tobacco, new donations had slowed to a trickle. While no official explanation was given, diminishing francophone enthusiasm for the war likely caused the demise of the Œuvre du tabac, and rather than trying to fill a third shipment and failing, *La Presse* let the campaign quietly pass away.[132] The Œuvre demonstrates more than failing enthusiasm for the war, however. It also provides a window into francophone smoking tastes. Cigarettes were still far from the most popular smoke among francophones in Montreal or Quebec, and the lists of donors make it clear that they were far from the most popular gift to the soldiers. The Genin-Fortier gift described above represented the largest number of cigarettes given to the fund. Briar pipes and tobacco were far more popular.

The Montreal *Gazette* Tobacco Fund (established on 27 March 1915) was much more effective in linking the cigarette to patriotism. While there is little doubt that the paper shared *La Presse*'s concern for civilization, the *Gazette* also linked a nascent Canadian nationalist agenda to its fund. *Gazette* readers were told that English "Tommies" received seventy to a hundred cigarettes a week, as well as "a goodly supply of tobacco." English newspapers supplied much of their needs, and it was up to Canadians to help furnish the tobacco needs of the Canadian troops. It seemed like such a small contribution, the *Gazette* proclaimed, when "Our boys are giving their lives; all they ask of us is something to smoke."[133] The fund was more effective in promoting cigarettes because it offered few choices to its donors. It asked for money rather than direct donations of tobacco: twenty-five cents bought a parcel of fifty cigarettes and four ounces of pipe tobacco with matches; a dollar bought fifty cigarettes and four ounces of pipe tobacco with the addition of a briar pipe, a rubber-lined tobacco pouch, and a tinder

lighter.[134] By the time it wound up its operations at the end of 1918, the fund had collected $193,403.22, which paid for 25 million cigarettes, 500,000 packages of smoking tobacco, 550,000 packages of chewing tobacco, 125,000 plugs of smoking tobacco, 6,674 pipes, and 4,122 pouches and lighters.[135]

The *Gazette* Tobacco Fund encouraged an exchange between Montreal soldiers and their families and friends. Like other tobacco charities in Britain and Canada, the newspaper included a return postcard, which would be sent back to the donor by the recipient, thus confirming the delivery. It also provided an opportunity for communications, however brief, with friends and loved ones, which was especially important as the war dragged on. The *Gazette* frequently published excerpts from these letters and as well as their delivery time both to promote the fund and to encourage donors not to be discouraged that donations had been lost in the mail or worse.[136] For many soldiers, the link that the Tobacco Fund created between the front and home became a further reminder of home when the fund began sending Canadian brands of cigarettes rather than contracting a British manufacturer to provide British brands. After receiving complaints, the *Gazette* contracted Imperial Tobacco to produce Sweet Caporals and Old Chum tobacco for the fund. The change prompted one letter to comment that the tobacco that he and his friends had previously received had been labelled "made specially for the troops," and this was seen as a mark of inferior tobacco by Canadian soldiers. The current packages included tobacco that was "a pleasure such as we have been used to at home."[137]

Yet this was a new mass-produced, standardized taste that did not suit everyone. Indeed, the tobacco charities limited tastes of tobacco, particularly for French Canadians, who had difficulty getting *tabac canadien*. Montrealer Georges Vanier, an early volunteer in the francophone Royal 22nd Regiment and a future governor general, wrote to his mother in 1916 that at Christmas he should have had her send "Papa's 'Rouge Quesnel' which was most popular with my men. It was quite some time since any had enjoyed any 'R.Q.'"[138] Similarly, elite tastes were also unsatisfied. The Montreal-born Agar Adamson, a volunteer with the gentlemanly Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, complained to his wife that his soldiers were well provided for, except for the lack of Egyptian cigarettes, which were preferred to "the cheaper ones" sent out by the Montreal societies.[139]

As with *La Presse*'s Œuvre, the *Gazette* fund published donation lists. These were frequently lengthy, taking up a full page and a half of

newsprint. Both elite and working-class men subscribed to the fund. Brewing and banking magnate F.W. Molson gave fifty dollars. E.W. Beatty, general counsel for and future president of the CPR, gave twenty-five dollars.[140] A man at the Board of Trade collected from his friends every month, and both *Gazette* employees and Imperial Tobacco employees were part of a "shilling-a-week fund," donating twenty-five cents weekly for cigarettes.[141] Workers elsewhere, not so linked to the newspaper or the tobacco industry, also gave. Employees at the CPR's Angus Shops donated, as did those of the Dominion Oil Cloth Company.[142] In fact, the fund's only salaried employee was a woman who promoted donations among factory employees.[143] Yet the lists of donors make it clear that the fund was mainly supported by anglophones, a reflection both of the *Gazette*'s readership and of the general lack of enthusiasm for the war among francophones. Certainly, there were those, such as J.H. Labelle and H. St. Cyr of the Royal Insurance Company, who gave two dollars each or A. Gingras, P. Trudel, and N. Laport, of Montreal's Police Station No.10, who gave twenty-five cents apiece, but for the most part anglophone names dominate the lists.[144]

Women were especially encouraged to give, and special collecting cards were printed so they could canvas their neighbourhoods and workplaces.[145] Judging from the results printed weekly in the *Gazette*, this plan was enormously successful. Women collected and gave extensively to the fund. Elite women in Montreal donated, both individually and in groups: Mrs Huntley Drummond gave twenty-five dollars, Lady Van Horne a hundred, Lady Hingston five, Lady Hickson twenty, while the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society made monthly donations.[146] Support among women crossed classes: The "Women of Room 344, CPR" made twenty-five or fifty-cent donations, the women of the Bell Telephone Company gave between ten cents and a dollar each, as did the female employees of the James Muir Company in de Maisonneuve.[147]

Not everyone was in favour of the new confluence of smoking and patriotism. The Dominion WCTU was particularly concerned on two grounds that were heatedly aired in its national monthly. First, members continued to argue that smoking was morally and physically dangerous to all, including soldiers. To send tobacco as a gift and imbue it with such patriotism was simply wrong. It left soldiers in a hopeless position, "with gas poison hurled upon them from the enemy's side and tobacco poison thrust upon them from the side of their mistaken friends – fusilades [*sic*] of poison, both alike deadly in their effects."[148] Their second concern was that some WCTU members, which one corre-

spondent called "our best women" – women who had recently worked to prohibit the cigarette – were now working to provide soldiers with cigarettes.[149] It was reported that some WCTU members had threatened to resign if the organization continued to vocally oppose sending tobacco to soldiers.[150] The dominion anti-narcotics superintendent, Jennie Waters, responded intransigently that "our own ranks could stand some weeding, and any local union who has a president or officer guilty of the atrocious crime of contributing to the tobacco fund should in your Superintendent's estimation, be requested to resign."[151]

This rigid position placed Montreal WCTU members between a rock and a hard place. The anti-cigarette campaigns had never been very popular among members in the city. What is more, the *Gazette* Tobacco Fund donor lists made it clear that many more women supported the fund than were WCTU members. It must have been disturbing for WCTU members to see that the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society had donated or that the B.A. Sewing Club had given a dollar or that a group calling itself a "Mother's Union" had given.[152] The split within the Montreal WCTU could be seen more clearly in the eighty-dollar donation of the Ladies Aid Society of the St Andrew's Prebyterian Church.[153] As the previous chapter demonstrates, Presbyterians made up the largest group of women likely to be involved in the Montreal WCTU; so the position of the dominion anti-narcotics superintendent must have provoked heated discussions within the Montreal Union. Furthermore, to oppose the Tobacco Fund risked being labelled unpatriotic, if not worse.

In the winter of 1916 Montreal's Hochelaga County WCTU waded into the controversy. The wording of its resolution stands as both an example of the political savvy of these women and the success of the tobacco funds in instilling the cigarette with patriotism:

> Resolved, – That there is nothing too good for the soldiers of Canada who are fighting to preserve liberty, justice and honor, but that there are many things too bad for him, among these being cigarettes, the recognized physical effects of which are the weakening of the heart, the injuring of the eyes and throat, the poisoning of the nervous system, the weakening of stamina, and the lowering of efficiency.
>
> This meeting, therefore, earnestly appeals to all friends of our soldiers to contribute only such gifts to them as will tend to make the soldiers better men and the men better soldiers.[154]

The resolution skilfully takes a positive stand, calling on the group's friends and members to give to patriotic funds but avoid those sending cigarettes. By stating that "there is nothing too good for the soldiers of Canada," the resolution appropriates Sam Hughes's description of the *Gazette* Tobacco Fund.[155] It also points directly to the cigarette rather than to all tobacco products, just as the 1903 cigarette prohibition campaign had, here suggesting that, of all tobacco products, it was the cigarette whose meaning was changing most.

Soldiers were particularly hostile to the WCTU's opposition to tobacco charities. The thoughts of Cyrus MacMillan, an English professor and eventual dean of arts and sciences at McGill University who served in the First World War, stand as an example. After seeing a mangled victim of an enemy shell soothed by a cigarette, MacMillan lashed out in a letter to his brother: "Let not the W.C.T.U. dare talk to me about the 'evil of the cigarette habit.' For I have seen!" He then cited Christ's statement to his disciples about the blessings brought upon those who are generous even with "a cup of cold water" to his representatives: "The 'cup of cold water in my name' is not always a 'cup of cold water' out here. It may be a cigarette; and I know well what Jesus would do! Oh no, let the W.C.T.U. not talk to me!"[156] Smoking was part of the culture of the soldier. From recruitment on, soldiers were expected to smoke.[157] Cigarettes and tobacco were included in rations.[158] For those who needed more than the gifts sent from home, tobacco products were widely available: cheaply at the YMCA and Knights of Columbus canteens and huts and frequently for free from chaplains and, for the wounded, from the Red Cross.[159] Most of those who had abstained before the war probably took up the habit.[160] When Canadian soldiers at Bramshott, England, were surveyed in 1917 to find out their needs in tobacco, only 5 to 8 per cent were abstainers.[161] Agar Adamson felt it worthwhile to mention in a letter to his wife a rare occasion when he had met a non-smoking soldier.[162]

In peacetime, smoking had been a ritual of liberal citizenship. Yet one thing had significantly changed. The ideal of slow, leisurely smoking was put aside as not conforming with the soldier's duties. This change favoured the cigarette. It required little attention after it was lit, unlike the cigar or pipe. It also fit easily into a uniform pocket, and no special equipment was needed to smoke it. Other liberal characteristics remained. Between soldiers, giving tobacco helped to create an esprit de corps. From time to time, officers arranged for tobacco to be sent from home for their men, as was the case with Georges Vanier,

cited above. But the most important thing that smoking symbolized was self-control. The First World War put enormous strains on the mental and physical health of Canadian soldiers: the coherence and very existence of the "self" was threatened by either death or complete mental breakdown after a soldier lived through the horrors of the trenches.[163] Smoking, particularly the cigarette, at times may have been the only way a soldier could link to his previous self, even for a fleeting moment. He could find strength to carry on in what must have felt like a hopeless situation. MacMillan's story told above is only one of many where wounded soldiers were soothed through smoking. In fact, the Canadian Medical Corps used cigarettes as sedatives when morphine was not available.[164] Others used cigarettes to keep themselves mentally together. One Canadian officer wrote of being bombarded for six and a half hours at Ypres in 1915: "That day I smoked eighty cigarettes – I don't know what I should have done without them."[165] Canon Frederick George Scott, popular with Montrealers at the front, was said to say "his prayers at night and [he then] smokes himself to sleep," retaining a coherent self with the help of prayer and tobacco.[166] This experience of war, some believed, would create a new and stronger man with greater self-control. "Men will smoke more after the war," Cyrus MacMillan explained to his sister in a 1918 letter; "they may indeed take a drink with their meals; they may even swear a bit on occasion ... but the majority of them will be 'men.'" They would no long "tolerate injustice nor hypocrisy nor 'fakirism' in any form; they will be straight forward."[167]

Into the 1920s the belief was widespread that the cigarette had played an important role in the Allied victory. One letter to the Montreal *Herald* from a man of Scottish background outraged over claims that the Americans had won the war, argued that "it was the bagpipe and the cigarette that won the Great War – not the United States Army."[168] And while it was not until the late 1920s that cigarette consumption surpassed pipe tobacco, it was the First World War that gave the cigarette a new legitimacy as a "manly smoke."[169] Indeed, tobacco industry insiders believed such to be the case. For example, early in the Second World War, Stanislaw Picard of Rock City Tobacco told a meeting at the Montreal Polytechnical School that the First World War had "established the popularity of cigarette Smoking."[170]

With the cigarette in a new patriotic guise after the war, competition for the smoker's allegiance was heightened. Imperial's pre-war advertising tactics became more ruthless in the 1920s and 1930s, continuing to shape the brands available to smokers. As I discussed earlier in the chapter, following the death of Sir William Macdonald, his successor quickly began advertising and manufacturing cigarettes. While his charge is impossible to verify, H.C. Fortier claimed in 1932 that it was Macdonald's new advertising campaigns that had reduced Imperial's control of the market from 90 per cent to 70.[171] This decline was even more significant when we consider that Imperial had taken over Tuckett Tobacco in 1930 but had still lost its market share.

Imperial's advertising still included newspapers, magazines, trade journals, coupons that now came in the form of collectable poker hands, sponsorship of radio programs, and outdoor signs.[172] When other cigarette companies found advertising space, Imperial went to great lengths to take it away. For example, when the Grothé Company was contacted by a wholesaler who offered advertising space on his new delivery truck, an Imperial representative told the wholesaler that this would have negative consequences on his relationship with Imperial. In the end, Imperial advertising was painted on the truck.[173] In a more brazen gesture, in 1934 A.A. Grothé complained that four of his company's roadside signs in Laval-sur-le-lac, just north of Montreal, were taken down and replaced by Imperial signs. What irked Grothé more than anything was that these signs were near his family's summer residence.[174]

As with the consignment agreements, this advertising practice was part of a larger retailing strategy to control the market. In the 1920s control was in some cases exercised through direct ownership. The renown United Cigar Store chain was slow to be officially established in Montreal. Before the First World War the name in Canada was not controlled by Imperial but by Toronto tobacconist W.B. Reid. Imperial therefore ran several tobacco stores in Montreal under the name Service Tobacco Shops. By the 1920s, however, Reid was forced out and the Service Tobacco Shops were renamed United Cigar Stores.[175] By the early 1930s there were six United Cigar Stores in locations around Montreal that other tobacconists in the city considered prime.[176] Not surprisingly, the brands of Imperial's competitors were not sold in these stores.[177]

Imperial's control over retailing spread beyond the tobacco stores it owned. When a retailer sold Imperial products, he was required to sell

at a set price. If the company caught a retailer cutting prices, the tobacconist would not be able to order Imperial products again. As with the consignment agreements, being blacklisted by Imperial and not being able to sell the most popular tobaccos and cigarettes on the market was considered a blow by most tobacconists. They complained to the Royal Commission on Price Spreads that this practice was abusive. H.C. Fortier, by this time a Macdonald tobacco distributor, pointed to the example of the Nuway Tobacco Shops Limited at Peel and St Catherine which was blacklisted for giving Macdonald products to the unemployed. Max Ratner of U. Ratner Wholesale Tobacco and Confectionery at 39 St Louis Square claimed that his blacklisting was unjustified and all he wanted was "simple British fair play and justice."[178] Despite these complaints, most tobacconists opposed price cutting, seeing price wars as ruinous, and for this reason Imperial was viewed by some as a stabilizing force in the tobacco industry.[179]

The company used two lists to control the products sold and advertising in tobacco stores. Retailers on the first list, three-quarters of those who retailed Imperial Tobacco products in Canada, dealt with a wholesaler, and on a 25-cent package of cigarettes, the tobacconist made 3.3 cents in profit. The second list of retailers dealt directly with Imperial and were treated as wholesalers, which meant they stood to make an extra 2.2 cents per package. For obvious reasons tobacconists desperately wanted to get on this second list, but there was a price. Earl Spafford explained: "in return for the privilege of buying direct, we expect co-operation ... We expect counter advertising. We expect to be able to put a window bill up on his window. We expect to trim his window periodically, and perhaps put a sign on the outside of the building."[180]

In Montreal, as elsewhere in Canada, Imperial used the buying-direct list aggressively to ensure that its advertising was dominant in these tobacco stores. Hundreds of letters were presented to the Royal Commission on Price Spreads to document this practice, whether it was from the proprietor of Atlas Lunch and Soda, who was afraid to give any window space to other tobacco manufacturers under threat of having to pay more for cigarettes, or from P. Vincent, owner of the *tabagie* at 76 Sainte-Catherine East, who was told by an Imperial Tobacco commercial traveller that he was not allowed to advertise competing products.[181] The direct retail list also gave Imperial leverage to make competitors' products disappear from store shelves. H.C. Fortier gave evidence that Macdonald products were frequently hidden from the

public by Imperial representatives, and on 1 November 1930 Peter Dragonos, the proprietor of the Boulevard Ice Cream Parlor on Saint-Denis, was told by an Imperial representative to remove the Benson and Hedges cigarettes from his counter, which he did.[182] By 1934 Earl Spafford testified that Imperial had an advertising staff of 139 people, most of whom were specialists in window dressing, and the previous year they had dressed some 75,000 windows across Canada. He also admitted that the company, through pressure on retailers, controlled 70 per cent of the retail window space in Canada.[183]

A striking example of how the Imperial list system and the advent of the United Cigar Stores affected consumer choice came from someone not linked to the tobacco industry through a letter from V.A. Linnel to H.H. Stevens, the chairman of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads. Linnel worked for the Montreal Tramway Company, in the office of the engineer of maintenance of ways and structures, and was attentively following the daily press coverage of the commission. A lover of the Royal York brand of cigarettes, considering them "the best available at the price," Linnel decided to hold an inquiry of his own. He visited several tobacconists, inquiring as to their popularity, and was told that retailers were being put under pressure by Imperial representatives not to stock Royal Yorks; they were made in Toronto by a small independent cigarette firm named the H.R. Gerrie Company. Rumours were also circulating that it was dangerous to deal with H.R. Gerrie because the company was bankrupt. Linnel's inquest continued to the United Cigar Stores, where, not surprisingly, he found that Royal Yorks were not available. Still, he took his search one step further and called the United Cigar Store head office, at which point he was told, rather shortly, "We do not carry them, you know that as well as I do." In the end, he concluded that, in the case of independent tobacconists, Royal Yorks were not stocked because of fear of Imperial and that, in the case of the United Cigar Stores, because of their ownership, "it is not surprising that such independent brands are not stocked."[184]

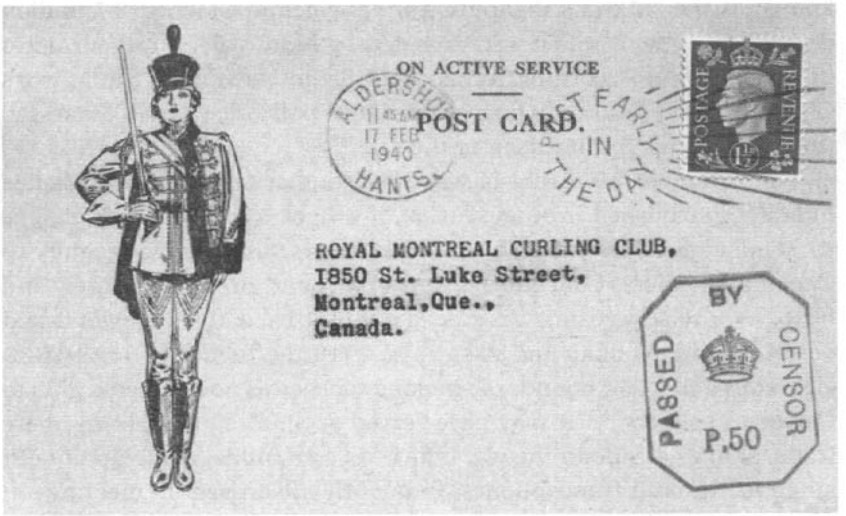
In the Second World War, Imperial extended its advertising to control the soldiers' tobacco programs. Numerous tobacco charities operated in and around Montreal. The Overseas League Tobacco and Hamper Fund, while headquartered in Toronto, had some presence in the city through the post office. The king and the lieutenant-governors of six provinces were patrons. In 1943 alone the league sent 73 million cigarettes, including 500 to each Canadian prisoner of war.[185] The Montreal suburb of Verdun had its own generous tobacco charity, popularly

known as the "Mayor's Cigarette Fund," which dispatched 3.7 million cigarettes (some of which were donated by Montrealers) to Verdunites during the war. According to historian Serge Durflinger, the Mayor's Cigarette Fund, "more than any other local patriotic charity, expressed the community's commitment to the war."[186]

The principal Montreal-based tobacco charity was the Buckshee Fund.[187] Established in August 1940, it sought to collect small change to send cigarettes, tobacco, chocolate bars, and chewing gum to Canadian soldiers. Collection boxes were found in offices, stores, and factories, and advertising was placed in Montreal daily newspapers and on radio stations CKAC and CFCF[188] In 1943 the fund sent 15,549,000 cigarettes and 1,050 pounds of smoking tobacco as non-directed gifts to Canadian soldiers.[189] It may have served as an attempt to bring more francophones onside in the war effort. Its committee, made up of both anglophones and francophones, frequently advertised its meetings in *La Presse.* In fact, the newspaper gave the fund significant coverage. In March 1942, for example, an article recounted a recent shipment by the fund, which sent 30,000 cigarettes to three French Canadian regiments overseas and 10,000 to a tank regiment primarily made up of French Canadians.[190]

Yet, unlike the First World War, when newspapers took charge of the tobacco charities, by federal government decree the tobacco industry was responsible for sending cigarettes to soldiers during the Second World War.[191] All charity orders went to cigarette companies, and the companies then sent tobacco to the troops. As in the First World War, receipt cards were placed in all packages, yet during the Second, these had a large tobacco advertisement and then in smaller writing, the name of the charity or person who had sent the cigarettes or tobacco (fig. 5.7). The most frequently advertised brands in Montreal were Black Cat, Winchester, and Sweet Caporal cigarettes from Imperial Tobacco and British Consol, Menthols, and Exports, as well as Brier pipe tobacco, all from Macdonald.[192] In all advertisements, cigarette brands dominated, while pipe tobacco and rolling tobacco were part of the smaller print, suggesting their secondary importance.

Both the cigarette and Canadian-grown tobacco went through significant changes in symbolic association during the first half of the twentieth century. The Canadian and Quebec governments, as well as the ATCC, promoted the industrial transformation of domestic tobacco in the fields, and tobacco farmers found a ready, but monopolized market. They did what bourgeois connoisseurs said could not be done: they



5.7 Royal Montreal Curling Club, Cigarette card from Second World War, *front* (Silvermore Collection)

5.8 Royal Montreal Curling Club, Cigarette card from Second World War, *back* (Silvermore Collection)

The SWEET CAPS received by you with this card were sent by Imperial Tobacco Company of Canada, Limited as a gift from the person whose name appears on the reverse side.

Please acknowledge receipt by mailing this card.

These SWEET CAPS are sent you with the compliments of the ROYAL MONTREAL CURLING CLUB. Return of this card will prove receipt and encourage members to provide further supplies. Feb. 16-40

This is to acknowledge the receipt of 300 Sweet Caporal Cigarettes, received today. They are most acceptable, and I tender my most sincere thanks for same to the Royal Montreal Curling Club.

Sincerely Yours.

D.76071 L/Cpl. Johnson. C.J.
Royal Montreal Regt.
C.M.G.J. C.A.S.F

erased the stigma of smoking Canadian tobacco. But in the end, this was no longer the *tabac canadien* that had traditionally been smoked by the habitant. It had been standardized, losing its regional distinctiveness, and the federal government, pushed by tobacco industrialists, succeeded in marginalizing the French Canadian homegrown product.

In the case of the cigarette, industrial transformations in the factory had immense consequences for how cigarettes would be understood. Like cigars and, to an lesser extent, pipe tobacco, the cigarette had been judged within the cultural categories of bourgeois connoisseurs, yet its diminutive size and the length of time it took to smoke made it less manly. With the introduction of the Bonsack machine, cigarettes became less expensive and less about social distinction – and therefore more democratic in their mass appeal. Their cultural symbolism as somewhat less than manly was transformed by new beliefs about speed and masculinity into a positive symbol of youthful, masculine vigour. Largely through patriotic newspaper campaigns, these beliefs became dominant during the First World War, when the cigarette's role in enhancing self-control may have been amplified. After the war, competition was heightened to the point that the Second World War soldiers' cigarette funds became advertisements for the tobacco industry. In addition to cheap cigarettes becoming more acceptable, more popular, and in the end, levelling other social and national distinctions in a mass market, another democratization was occurring: women were picking up the cigarette. This is the subject of the next chapter.

No. 6

A RITUAL TRANSFORMED: RESPECTABLE WOMEN SMOKERS

IN 1943 MAX SPIZER, OWNER OF SPIZER'S TOBACCO AND STATIONERY on Decarie Boulevard in the Montreal suburb of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, reminisced about the major changes in the tobacconist trade over the previous fifty years. For him, the greatest innovation had been the increasing acceptance of women smokers in society, which meant he worked to gain a whole new clientele. Before the First World War, the few women who came into his store, entered only when it was almost empty and then asked for cigarettes in a whisper. In the twenties and thirties, as women smoking became less taboo, Spizer transformed his male space into one more welcoming to women. He began to sell stationery, installed a soda fountain, and, like some department stores that catered to a female clientele, added a lending library. By the early forties, Spizer remarked proudly, "the girls run in here and buy their daily package while waiting for the street car to come along to take them to work."[1] Spizer's observations had much in common with those of his contemporaries, who also remarked on the changes in the tobacco trade and the transformation of smoking rituals. As well, they are supported by the first survey of women's smoking habits in the city, undertaken in 1947, which found that 49 per cent of Montreal women who answered the questionnaire admitted to smoking. The survey also revealed peculiarities that Spizer's reminiscence do not capture: there was a gap

between anglophone and francophone women. Nearly 58 per cent of anglophone women compared to only 40 per cent of francophone women admitted to smoking.[2]

Both Spizer's observations and these survey results demonstrate the central point of this chapter: nineteenth-century liberal smoking etiquette was undermined by mass consumption, not only on questions about *what* tobacco was respectable but also about *who* could be a respectable smoker. Internationally, scholars have debated *how* it became acceptable for women to smoke. Two opposing views dominate the literature. Following the lead of advertising executive Edward Bernays and historian David Halberstam, Canadian historian Cheryl Krasnick Warsh has recently argued that cigarette advertising made smoking acceptable for women in North America.[3] The opposing view, advanced in varying degrees by sociologist Michael Schudson and historians Matthew Hilton in Britain, Cassandra Tate in the United States, and Ian Tyrrell in Australia, holds that women were not simply hoodwinked by advertisers. These scholars argue that women began to smoke as a symbolic assertion of sexual equality and that advertisers followed their lead. Changes in smoking etiquette, they contend, occurred as part of a larger transformation in gender roles.[4]

This chapter builds on this second perspective. These were years of significant debate about gender and of changes in women's citizenship rights in Quebec, as elsewhere. The largely middle-class women of the women's movement contested their exclusion from higher education, careers, and politics. Their writing, public speaking, and very involvement in politics reshaped understandings about women's place in public. In the multicultural city of Montreal, women's claims to citizenship both united and divided francophone and anglophone women, as different visions of nation and identity fractured early unity.[5] Transformations in smoking etiquette cannot be disentangled from the broader changes in gender relations or the interrelated questions about identity, citizenship, access to public space, and liberal governance that they raised.

The relationship between conflicting systems of smoking etiquette and transforming liberal ideology during this period can be divided into four elements. First, the roots of this new discourse on smoking are found in the years immediately before the First World War. As we saw in chapter 1, during this period female smoking was culturally outlawed. Yet an emergent group of women appropriated the liberal symbolism of smoking to challenge the limits that separate-spheres ideology

placed on female citizenship and to demand the "right" to smoke. Cigarette companies were only too eager to follow their lead. Still, women rarely admitted publicly to smoking, and advertisers seldom unambiguously advertised to them. The second factor marks a public change in personal comportment, with the First World War providing the watershed in the history of female smoking. Greater acceptance of women smoking occurred after the war as women gained more citizenship rights and more frequently worked and smoked in public places. This new tolerance of the smoking woman was reflected and promoted by etiquette specialists, more open advertising to women, and positive images of female movie stars smoking. What women would smoke was also hotly debated within the tobacco industry. The potential profit from selling expensive "feminine" forms of tobacco and tobacco sundries had the added benefit of redrawing gender boundaries, creating distinctly male and female tobacco rituals. While this potential may have put dollar signs in the eyes of tobacconists and allowed men to smoke calmly, certain of their ritual, women had other priorities in making their tobacco choices.

The growing acceptability of smoking women following the First World War raised new issues about the gendering of public space, a third element in the changing relationship between etiquette and ideology. As I have argued, in the late nineteenth century, much of the etiquette of smoking followed the prescriptive spatial metaphor of gendered spheres. If middle-class and elite women smoked, they did so in private and out of sight. Men smoked "in public." While changes in smoking etiquette, particularly new spaces where women smoked, may be read as a barometer of the broader female challenge to their exclusion from the public sphere, the social construction of these new spaces underlines the continuing influence of separate-spheres ideologies in the formation of female smoking etiquette and the tenacity of men who sought to retain their homosocial space. Indeed, not everyone approved of women's new public role in the post–First World War era. Nor did they approve of women smoking. I conclude this chapter by discussing the position of Roman Catholic leaders in Montreal, who opposed the new discourses and practices that were making female smoking more acceptable. Drawing on long-established associations between women and the survival of the French Canadian "race," church authorities expressed their concern by focusing on the dangers that smoking posed to women's ability to bear and raise children. They appropriated liberal language to call on women to free themselves from these "modern" trends. Because of the

political symbolism of smoking, establishing the ritual as a respectable feminine practice remained a controversial issue throughout this period, before health concerns about smoking were clear.

DEMANDING THE RIGHT TO SMOKE

The roots of these new notions that women could respectably smoke are found in the late nineteenth century. Even when smoking was as much a male activity as voting and citizenship, an emergent group of predominantly middle-class women challenged smoking etiquette along with dominant understandings of gender. In England the cigarette was used as a symbol of female liberation in novels about these "New Women" by male writers such as Grant Allen in *The Woman Who Did* (1895) and H.G. Wells in *Ann Veronica* (1909). In France the smoking habits of novelist George Sand echoed this symbolism.[6] Montreal had its own novels that linked the New Woman with smoking. The character of Sophia Brooke in Adeline Sergeant's *Brooke's Daughter: A Novel* (1891), published by Montreal's John Lovell, was the quintessential New Woman. A medical doctor, she had a vibrant public life, speaking at meetings, serving on "every committee under the sun," championing "female emancipation," and smoking cigarettes.[7] Fiction published in French Canadian weeklies used the cigarette in a similar way. The short-lived weekly *Les Débats* ran a serial detective story in 1900. The principal character was a woman detective who smoked cigarettes. The cigarette served to highlight the extent to which the story's protagonist had chosen an occupation outside traditional gender roles.[8]

From the turn of the century some Montreal women used novels, articles, and other public print media to claim the right to smoke as an emblem of their place in modernity. Throughout its existence, the fashion editor of the women's bimonthly *Le Journal de Françoise* (1902–1909) wrote under the pen name "Cigarette" to highlight her role in introducing new fashions to the journal's readers.[9] Early in 1914 a Montrealer seeking advice from Colette in *La Presse*'s etiquette column signed her name simply "One who likes cigarettes." Again linking the issues of dress, smoking, and proper etiquette, she asked whether, after mourning the death of her little sister for seven months, she could wear white clothes during the summer.[10] In her letter, she used the cigarette to signify the fashionable lifestyle she led as well as her interest in defying mourning traditions.

The same year prominent elite anglophone Montrealers and suffrage supporters voiced their opinions about smoking, arguing strongly for equal rights in this area. Lady Julia Drummond, whom, as we have already seen, had some concerns about women's tendency to excess, wanted her opinion on the issue to be clear: "I want to say, first of all, that I agree with Boyd-Carpenter, former Bishop of Ripon, who said: 'what isn't a sin in man, isn't a sin in woman.'" Lady Williams-Taylor, who, according to a Montreal *Star* reporter, "gave the viewpoint of typical English society women," declared, "I see no objection whatever to women smoking ... I see no reason why there should be two standards, one for us and one for our brothers and husbands."[11] These women also sought social distinction through their choice of cigarettes. They were not likely to be smoking mass-produced cigarettes. Tobacconists in Montreal's West End reported that wealthy women had their cigarettes privately rolled, forgoing mass-produced cigarettes and even having their private cigarettes marked with their coat of arms or monogram.[12]

The Canadian cigarette industry observed and promoted this association between non-traditional gender roles and the cigarette. The industry leader, American Tobacco Company of Canada, began an advertising campaign building on these images. From mid-1905 the company advertised its Diva cigarette on the back page of *Le Journal de Françoise*. Divas were Egyptian cigarettes with cork filters to make the smoke less harsh. Advertisements described them as "cute" and apparently made with especially pure tobacco for women.[13]

The advertisements for Diva cigarettes outlined what "kind of woman" smoked cigarettes and drew on the image of the "grande dame" or titled women. An early narrative told of the former Princess of Wales, Alexandra, who would smoke cigarettes at intimate receptions with the women of the court. It concluded by saying that Diva cigarettes "are the favourites of our Canadian socialites."[14] Another in the series referred to the great ladies of Spain and then "tickled the cultural fancy" of upper-class Canadian women by stating, "In listening to 'Carmen,' the comic opera of Bizet, many of us are taken into the spell of the heroine whose 'red lips let escape curls of white smoke.'"[15] A second theme that this advertising campaign drew on was that of the New Woman. The advertisements made cigarettes part of the progress of modern life. One advertisement entitled "The young modern girl" trumpeted how much better life was for the young woman of today than for women of the previous generation. It was better to play sports such as golf or curling than to sit around and gossip, and it was better to have a cigarette than to

have a nervous breakdown.[16] Unlike in previous centuries, playing golf and smoking cigarettes could improve marriage since women became companions to men and there was a greater community of interests.[17] Another advertisement entitled "For my Lady," was narrated by a husband who explained why his wife was allowed to smoke: "The modern woman has proven her ability and has opened herself to many careers which, up until now, only men were hired to do; consequently, she has won certain privileges which had, until now, been reserved for the less attractive sex."[18] Just as both men and women could kiss, so they could smoke.[19] "Young Canadian girls," the campaign told readers, "take pride in themselves as being completely 'up to date' that is to say, 'twentieth century.'"[20]

While the Diva campaign promoted the link between the cigarette and modern women, it did not mark the watershed in changing public opinion about women smoking. It ran for only six months, at which time advertising for the brand ended. While the *Le Journal de Françoise* gave no clues as to why the campaign ended, several hypotheses can be advanced. It is possible that the editor had received complaints about the advertisements, though none were printed in its pages, and the continued use of the penname of "Cigarette" by its fashion editor suggests that complaints were not what ended the campaign. Nor had the journal begun to support the WCTU's anti-smoking campaigns. As I have demonstrated in chapter 4, in 1908 it opposed the organization's proposed cigarette prohibition legislation.[21] It is possible that the Diva campaign was terminated by the cigarette industry itself because it was not profitable. This interpretation finds support in the fact that the campaign was an anomaly among the company's other advertising strategies because it devoted a comparatively large amount of text to argue its product's case. Indeed, it suggests that selling cigarettes to women was particularly difficult.

Before the war, a more covert approach was still necessary. Three years after the Diva campaign, the ATCC once again began advertising in *Le Journal de Françoise*; this time it took a fundamentally different approach to attract female smokers. Rather than appealing to stereotypes of turn-of-the-century women smokers, the ATCC advertised its most popular brand, Sweet Caporal, using the slogan "smoked universally."[22] The contrast between the two approaches is striking. While the Diva campaign was clearly about social distinction, the Sweet Caporal campaign sought to include women in a publicity campaign that targeted a mass market undifferentiated by gender. The fact that the slogan

"smoked universally" was used in this case to target possible women smokers also suggests that the company sought to do the same when it used the slogan elsewhere in Montreal. Indeed, this interpretation empirically supports a point that has been suggested by Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and others: the way in which these advertisements may have been read was shaped by the gender politics of the reader, and cigarettes were marketed to women long before advertisements explicitly singled them out.[23] Still, it also shows that before the war it was necessary for tobacco companies to keep advertising campaigns that targeted women in the shadows.

Despite the growth in the number of women smoking and the arguments for the women's right to smoke, opinion was still divided about the dangers to propriety, social standing, and health that smoking posed for women of all classes. Supporting votes for women did not necessarily mean supporting female smoking. As discussed in chapter 1, the noted suffragist Carrie Derick before the war would not countenance women smoking. Similarly, after the war, labour journalist and suffrage supporter Eva Circé-Côté opposed women smoking. She wrote that what had started as a habit of the rich now had spread to working women. Though it was not a sin, she considered it dangerous for the nerves and for nursing mothers, expensive for women on limited incomes, and generally a "false understanding of pleasure." In keeping with her belief that "women have the same rights as men," she argued that smoking should be banned for both sexes.[24]

Negative associations surrounding female smoking continued to limit public smoking up until the war. In Adeline Sergeant's *Brooke's Daughter*, the protagonist had been "discreet enough to smoke only in her own room or in her brother's study," rather than in public. Otherwise, the novelist suggests, her maid would have been forced to resign rather than work for such a scandalous woman.[25] Yet escaping a cross-gender and cross-class gaze did not mean that Montreal's middle-class women only smoked secretly by themselves. These women did smoke outside the home among women of their own class. In the 1910s Montreal's "society women" were said to order their cigarettes by telephone and have them delivered in candy boxes so they could smoke them discretely in the city's hotels in the company of female friends. Smoking was also said to be prevalent at tea parties and tango teas in reserved private rooms at the St Regis and Windsor Hotels.[26] In newspaper exposés of life among Montreal's wealthy women, smoking is represented as part of their bourgeois and possibly decadent female culture.

The war pulled growing numbers of women into factory work and into the public. War-related jobs meant that women had more money to buy cigarettes. After the war, women's paid labour as clerical workers in offices continued to expand. Growing numbers of middle-class girls joined working-class girls in the paid labour force as they found work in offices, schools, and hospitals. Though still poorly paid, these new jobs took women spatially outside heavily surveyed domestic environments into a public sphere where, according to historian Veronica Strong-Boag, "they would have the opportunities to form the non-familiar associations and attachments that had long linked male workers directly to larger economic, social, and political forces."[27] Growing numbers of women took part in the increasingly commercialized world where leisure and desire might mingle, as they purchased women's magazines, visited department stores, and attended movies.[28]

The post-war woman smoker faced fewer criticisms than her counterparts at the turn of the century. In contrast to earlier advice, etiquette guides now counselled that women be offered cigarettes after dinner.[29] By the 1930s the Montreal *Herald*'s etiquette columnist, Grace Gordon, was advising boys and girls to ask permission to smoke in someone's house, while *La Presse*'s Colette maintained that all people had the right to smoke.[30] Women were increasingly likely to admit to smoking. Upper-middle-class women who consulted Dr H.S. Birkett, the eyes, nose, and throat specialist at McGill University after the First World War, were much more likely to be smokers or to admit to being smokers than were their pre-war counterparts. Only after the war did he record cases of smoking-related illnesses, such as smokers' throat, among his female patients.[31] Admitting to smoking was part of the broader public exercise of rights and activities that had formerly been seen as male. Yet, like the question of women's citizenship rights, it was also the subject of public debate and divided opinion. Between the wars, many Montreal institutions that trained "respectable" women for female professions only slowly lifted their ban on women smoking. Professions that frequently sent women before the public eye, such as nursing, continued to demand intense disciplining of the body, including not smoking, until after the Second World War.[32]

Among those most keen to transform these standards of etiquette after the First World War was the tobacco industry. In the wake of the temperance movement's recent success in bringing about alcohol

prohibition in several provinces, cigarette producers feared new campaigns against tobacco. Indeed, the WCTU had threatened that "nicotine's next."[33] As a result, overt advertising campaigns to attract women smokers were seen, in some parts of the tobacco industry, as asking for trouble. One tobacco journalist claimed that a massive advertising campaign targeting women and employing "full-page newspaper advertisements, magazine displays and fifty-foot billboards" would result in the "anti-everything leagues from one end of the country to the other" proclaiming "a Jehad against the fragrant weed and tobacconists would bring down upon their heads the wrath of all the gods and not a few mortals in the bargain."[34] A second problem that troubled the tobacco industry was the questions of gender differentiation of their products. Industry specialists feared that creating a universal smoking product might drive away men, who had seen the cigarette as an expression of their masculinity. The *CCTJ* voiced this concern: "When women first commenced to smoke cigarettes the majority of men objected on the ground that it made the men appear effeminate. Smoking cigarettes was regarded as a really manly accomplishment before women adopted the habit."[35] Cigarette producers were keen to hook female smokers, yet they would have had no interest in destabilizing the recently forged understanding that the cigarette was as manly a smoke as the cigar or the pipe.

Creating products specifically for women was one way the industry sought to retain its masculine market. It had flirted with this approach briefly in the earlier Diva campaign and dropped it quickly. After the war, however, as it became clear that growing numbers of women were taking up smoking, products specifically for women offered the added advantage of large profits on high-end cigarettes and smoking accessories. Montreal tobacconists Rubinovich and Haskell began to market "Novelties for Ladies," including "fancy cigarette holders" and sterling silver cigarette cases, in the pages of the *CCTJ* in 1920 (fig. 6.1).[36] From shortly after the war the journal's "Trade Prices Current Wholesale Quotations" section offered numerous brands to retailers explicitly as "Ladies'." This was the case with Egyptian Deities with gold tips, silver-tipped Dardanelles, and "Virginia Ovals."[37] Article after article in the same journal reported that the women in fashionable cities such as New York and London were taking to the pipe. Some of these evoked earlier associations of smoking with women's inability to control their excesses, claiming that they smoked pipes as "a cure for excessive cigarette smoking."[38] Others maintained that women were taking to feminine pipes. In

6.1 Advertisement for women's smoking sundries, *CCTJ* (1920)

1932 the first shipment was displayed by Montreal tobacconists. Described as "pretty little implements," some were bejewelled and all smaller than male pipes.[39]

Tobacco products advertised in mass-circulation newspapers and magazines read by Montreal women offer a better indicator of how smoking rituals were made feminine. Tobacco advertising in the Montreal-based women's journal *La Revue moderne* presents examples of both explicitly feminine tobacco products and cigarettes that were less gender-specific.[40] In the 1920s Imperial Tobacco promoted its brands Player's, Guinea Gold, and Pall Mall in the review. Both Player's and Guinea Gold were not specifically feminine products, as they were offered to men in other periodicals. The gender ambiguity of Imperial's Pall Mall brand stands out. The company's advertisements for the cork-tipped version of the brand used the slogan "The best cigarette after tea."[41] In that same year, when Pall Mall was the only brand advertised in the journal, Imperial's campaign received a suspicious boost when *La Revue moderne*'s etiquette columnist responded to a letter seeking advice about smoking. The columnist recommended Pall Malls and added: "They are in pretty boxes and deliciously perfumed. These are

6.2 Advertisement for Millbank cigarettes, *La Presse* (1924)

the cigarette of fashionable people, and you can serve them without worry, certain to maintain the note of elegance you desire, with reason, to hit."[42] Here, the description of the "pretty boxes" and the fact that the cigarettes were "deliciously perfumed" were appeals to what were thought to be the tastes of women. The columnist was also careful to write of "fashionable people," while the woman who had sent the question signed her name as the more-inclusive "Amie des fumeurs," rather than "Amie des fumeuses."

Initially, advertisements targeting female smokers were limited to women's magazines. It was not until late in the 1920s that they appeared in Montreal's daily newspapers. In the daily press the companies did not seek to sell specifically female products. Rather, they attempted to attract women smokers to their standard brands. In contrast to the advertisements in the women's reviews, cigarette advertising that targeted women in daily newspapers pictured them smoking. Yet it was not the portrayal of women smoking in tobacco advertising that

6.3 Advertisement for Turret queen of spades, *La Presse* (1925)

was new. Indeed, in the early twenties, cigarette advertisements featuring Asian women smoking circulated in Montreal dailies (fig. 6.2).[43] These advertisements, however, were targeting male smokers. As Delores Mitchell has argued, the race of the woman portrayed was key to understanding who the intended audience was, and these "orientalist" advertisements were attempting to evoke a male taste for exoticism and passivity.[44] Other advertisements that showed women smoking were ambiguous about their intended audience. In 1925 Imperial Tobacco began advertising its Turret brand in *La Presse* using a mischievous-looking "queen of spades" (in fig. 6.3, note the tilt of her crown, the slight wink of her eye, and the fact that she is smoking a cigarette) and employing the phrase "Mild Cigarettes from Virginia."[45] Ambiguous in its gendered message, this advertisement could equally have caught the interest of men titillated by the triple risk of potential addiction to the cigarettes, the sultry allure of the queen of spades, and the joys of the game of poker being played while buying packages of Turret cigarettes.[46]

From 1927 on, tobacco companies more openly sought women consumers through Canadian daily newspapers, rather than only through women's magazines. In that year the *CCTJ* claimed that Imperial's advertisement for Player's Navy Cut cigarettes in the Montreal *Gazette* was the first Canadian advertising campaign to target women openly.[47] The advertisement used the slogan "His favourite brand – and mine" and pictured an elegant woman smoking with a cigarette holder (fig. 6.4). The advertisement was typical of the industry's attempt to lure female smokers. Rather than making different brands for men and women, tobacco companies carefully developed different campaigns for each sex. At the same time as Player's Navy Cuts were being aimed at women, they were also being advertised to men using an image of a manly sailor and a warship. In the following years, British Consols, Viceroys, Roxys, Gold Flakes, Grads, Sweet Caporals, Philip Morris Navy Cuts, Macdonald Menthols, Oxfords, Buckinghams, and Marlboros all advertised explicitly to women in Montreal dailies at the same time as they sought male smokers with different sets of images.[48]

Advertisements aimed at women linked female smoking to notions of the modern, middle-class woman who was taking her place in the modern world, offering cigarette smoking as a step to upward social mobility and a lifestyle of active leisure.[49] Sweet Caporals advertisements showed two women on the beach talking about their cigarettes. One says, "There's nothing like a Sweet Cap after a swim!" to which the other replies, "There's nothing like a Sweet Cap anytime." On a similarly active theme, advertisements for Gold Flake cigarettes showed a woman water-skiing.[50] Companies appealed to fantasies of discernment, leisure, refinement, and heightened sex appeal that would have been unthinkable for all but the most daring women in the nineteenth century. Marlboros were declared to be the "aristocrat of fine cigarettes." Gold Flakes sought to appeal to "discriminating" smokers.[51] Grad Cigarettes used the image of university education to evoke liberation of women through their products.[52] From time to time, sexual themes were evoked. The Sweet Caporal Girl was transformed from patriot to smoking sex object. Before the First World War, advertisements had featured her standing at attention without a cigarette. The Marlboro slogan promised that "Ivory tips caress the lips," Grad Cigarettes used the line "sitting pretty," and in the earliest Player's advertisement the woman smoking has bare shoulders.[53]

While these advertisements promoted an image that linked smoking to an active, educated, and sexual womanhood, far from Victorian

6.4 Player's advertisement directed at women, Montreal *Gazette* (1927)

notions of femininity, they did not question the dominant view that a woman's ultimate goal should be marriage and motherhood. Nor did they seek to appeal only to single women. As with the brief Diva campaign earlier, some advertisements explicitly targeted married women, offering them the promise that cigarettes could improve modern marriages. British Consol cigarettes used a drawing of a woman talking to her husband on the telephone, asking him to bring home a package of British Consols for her. Turrets were advertised as a way to cure marital problems by calming the nerves of "nagging" wives.[54]

How women received such messages is, of course, hard to determine. Were they more attracted to campaigns that linked smoking to new kinds of modern femininity? Or was advertising that seemed to target men compelling for women as well? Montreal tobacconists maintained that female smokers preferred the same mass-produced brands as men, suggesting that for all the effort to differentiate a feminine cigarette, women had more material interests in mind when buying their cigarettes. One St Catherine Street tobacconist confided to a Montreal

Star reporter that the "three well advertised cheaper makes of Virginia cigarettes" were the most popular with women smokers and that these smokers had "no use for those miniature perfumed cigarettes which were considered so daring 15 years ago." In French-speaking east-end Montreal, a Mount Royal Avenue tobacconist concurred that his female clients preferred the "standard brands."[55] What may have interested Montreal women was not the advertising of these brands but their low price. Indeed, by analyzing the smoking tastes of female respondents in the Mass-Observation project undertaken in post–Second World War England, Matthew Hilton suggests that this may have been the case.[56] What we can say about this advertising that showed women smoking was that it was one discourse among many which served to help normalize an image that once was considered scandalous.

While tobacco companies sought to hook smokers and to increase the sales of their own products, movies promoted a wider revolution in manners and behaviour that was critical in legitimizing female smoking. In the 1920s, American silent films were popular among both anglophones and francophones in Montreal.[57] In these films a cigarette in public and a drink of alcohol stood for dialogue that would suggest a scandalous woman who was perilously leaving her sphere. The *La Presse* advertisement for the silent film *Lilies of the Field* in 1924 makes the case. The image of the bare-shouldered woman reclining on a bed smoking is far more sexually daring than any cigarette advertisement during the period (fig. 6.5).[58] Later, in Hollywood films of the 1930s, women smoking became much more prominent and evoked far more positive images. One sample of forty Hollywood films found that 30 per cent of heroines smoked, while only 3 per cent of female villains took to the habit.[59] This finding contrasts with French films of the period. Their heroines rarely smoked, though those around them did.[60] Many of the smoking heroines in American films were femmes fatales, famously played by Marlene Dietrich. For example, in her first American film, *Morocco* (1930), she plays the nightclub singer Amy Jolly, who is in love with Legionnaire Tom Brown (Gary Cooper). In her musical number early in the film, she dresses as a man in a tuxedo and kisses a woman. Later she and Cooper engage in flirtatious and loaded interchanges about independence in her dressing room. Their future as lovers seems sealed when he lights her cigarette with a match. This kind of role was acclaimed by anglophone and francophones Montreal women alike: Dietrich was voted the top female film star in American cinema in 1936 by readers of *La Revue moderne*.[61]

6.5 Advertisement for *Lilies of the Field*, *La Presse* (1924)

While the extent to which these images affected women smokers in Montreal is not clear, researchers elsewhere have found that female smokers in films had a significant influence on the meanings women attributed to the cigarette. In the Mass-Observation project, informants linked an understanding that smoking was sophisticated to the influence of Hollywood films.[62] This association also shows up in Montreal dailies in the 1930s. A picture of actress Constance Bennett with the headline "Sophistication" in the Montreal *Herald* in 1933 demonstrates the point. The caption claims that she is the "picture of sophistication" in her role in an unnamed new motion picture. To convey her sophistication, she wears expensive clothes and jewellery and, most strikingly, smokes a cigarette using a cigarette holder.[63]

Images in advertisements and films promoted smoking for women as modern, respectable, and sophisticated. Growing numbers of women took up the habit. The cigarette-smoking woman became more normal, losing many of the old associations with backwardness and taking on newer associations with modern life that began to counter the link with prostitution. By the twenties and thirties, the idea that women might smoke was more acceptable yet still contentious. Where they should smoke and with whom remained a subject of some debate. Groups with divergent class and gender interests promoted the idea of separate smoking rooms for women as a solution to very different anxieties about women's newly won liberty. One example comes from a campaign to establish a smoking room at McGill's Royal Victoria College residence for women. In January 1927 some thirty-nine women living at the residence wrote to Ethel Hurlblatt, their warden, requesting the establishment of smoking rooms in the building. The young women claimed that the majority of students in the residence smoked and those who did not were not in principle against the habit; thus the anti-smoking house rule should be altered.[64] After consulting with Ethel M. Cartwright, the director for women at the Department of Physical Education, and the dean of medicine, C.J. Martin, Warden Hurblatt and the McGill administration agreed in a limited way. A smoking room was established, euphemistically called the "Rest Room." Only third- and fourth-year students were allowed to use the room, ostensibly because of concerns over the health dangers for younger smokers.[65] The room was equipped with furniture that was unlikely to catch fire – a leather sofa and armchairs, tables, lights, numerous ashtrays, and metal wastepaper baskets. According to the next warden, Susan Cameron Vaughan, who considered smoking "social slovenliness," the room was "very charming."[66]

The exclusion of first- and second-year students led in 1928 to a further crisis for the administration, revealing its continued preoccupation with public smoking by its students. To evade the residence smoking rules, these co-eds had been leaving campus to smoke in local restaurants, under the pretext of going out for coffee and sandwiches. Vaughan was distressed less by her charges' smoking than by where they smoked. She was concerned that these young women risked calling "attention to themselves by smoking in public." So she opened a less-comfortable smoking room for students in their first and second years where they

would not be judged by the public.[67] Over the next fifteen years, the spaces within the residence where the residents were allowed to smoke expanded to include the common room, drawing-room, sitting rooms, and students' rooms, as well as at dances. Smoking remained forbidden in the library, classrooms, reading room, assembly hall, dining room, corridors, and in the most public places of all – on the porch or steps of the college. All these measures attempted to manage the reputation of these young women when they smoked, as well as the reputation of the university, by keeping them out of the public eye.[68] Their youth, privilege, and status as proteges under the surrogate parenthood of the wardens gave college authorities the power to constrain where they smoked but not to stop them smoking.

Proposals for separate smoking areas for men and women were also made by men who lamented a lost world of male-only sociability built around off-colour stories and cigarette smoke. Separate smoking spheres appealed to the author of a Montreal *Herald* editorial in 1935. Enthused by reports that a western railway had established a smoking car for women, the editorial proclaimed a return to the separate spheres of old, with the modification that both spheres allowed smoking. It claimed that things had got so bad on the trains that all the best seats in the smoking car were taken up by women and children. As a result, male smoking-car culture was not what it once was. "Smoking-car stories have suffered a decline of 85 per cent," the editorial lamented. The smoking car was no longer a homosocial environment. Men felt they had to change their behaviour in the presence of these smoking women: "'Remember, there are ladies present!' has been the smoking car warning for the last few years." As respectable women now smoked, a women's smoking car would re-establish a separation of spheres in which each gender's identity could be written into the physical space of the rail cars. Making his point by exaggerating the architectural and social differences between male and female smoking space, the editorialist suggested that the male smoking car could remain "dingy, dirty, [and] unventilated" as in the past. In contrast to this rugged tongue-in-cheek vision of smoking men with no need of creature comforts, he proposed that the women's smoking car would have to be more homelike, fitted with "special draperies" and "artistic ash trays."[69]

Other smoking-related spaces were opening to women without petition or gender differentiation as part of the greater entry of women into public between the wars. As Spizer's story, which began this chapter, attests, some cigar stores were attempting to provide a more friendly

environment. They diversified their product lines, sold candy and gum, and installed soda fountains, in an effort to provide a more hospitable place for women. The *CCTJ* highlighted this new trend of increasing diversity of social space by giving press coverage to new ideas to bring women into cigar stores.[70] Other tobacconists, however, remained opposed to what they saw as a "feminine influence" on male space. Jack Lewis's tobacco shop in downtown Montreal was described in the *CCTJ* in 1943 as a traditional English cigar store. He refused to carry soft drinks or magazines, feeling that his clientele sought a cigar store that "was only that." In fact, his traditional English cigar store was far more than "that." It was a centre of male sporting culture where baseball and hockey celebrities demonstrated their connoisseurship of elite tobacco and tobacco sundries. Not surprisingly, few women patronized the store.[71]

OPPOSING THE FEMALE SMOKER

Not all groups accepted the new, positive symbolism attached to women smoking. Certainly the WCTU continued to oppose the practice. Yet in Montreal, as I have argued, its members' lack of facility in French limited their ability to mount an effective anti-smoking campaign outside their own increasingly demographically marginal Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist followers. Montreal's Roman Catholic leaders had not been interested in the WCTU's pre–First World War campaigns that targeted boy smokers. When women smoked more publicly in the mid-1920s, in contrast, they mounted a major challenge to the habit.[72] They linked the decline of French Canadian culture and, much like the WCTU concerns before the war, a more biological construction of "race" to what they called "modern" social practices such as new fashions, female suffrage, movies, automobiles, dancing, jazz, and women smoking. In this counter-discourse these issues blended together as grave threats to a woman's natural and God-intended role, that of motherhood within the bounds of church-blessed marriage. And while anxieties about the modern world's threats to motherhood existed elsewhere in Canada in this period, historian Andrée Lévesque has argued that apprehensions about the decline of motherhood were not heard in other parts of the country with "the same level of urgency."[73] Concerns over women smoking, in particular, provide valuable insights into the relationship between the church and liberalism in Montreal between the wars.

Franciscan brother Romain Légaré's 1942 pamphlet *Fumera-t-elle? Que penser de la mode de la cigarette chez la femme?* (What should we think of the fashion of women who smoke cigarettes?) stands as a summary of these opinions. According to the publication, female smoking was rampant, especially among young women. The habit was both a physical and a moral risk to motherhood. Drawing on medical concerns about the dangers of young people smoking, Légaré argued that it was physically dangerous for young girls, just as it was for young boys, because they had not yet finished growing. Moderate or light smoking for grown women was not dangerous, but becoming addicted and, hence becoming a slave to tobacco, clearly was, and women by their very nature were likely to abuse the habit. What is more, mothers were supposed to provide examples to their daughters, so women had the further burden of being role models. Légaré quoted studies by Drs Ernest Couture and Jacques Fortier to bring authority to his claim that smoking was dangerous for the unborn child of a pregnant woman. In addition to these medical authorities, Légaré cited the 1938 collective letter from the bishops of Quebec in which they had blamed mothers who smoked cigarettes immoderately and drank cocktails for the large proportion of abnormal and mentally slow children born in the province. According to Légaré, given this knowledge of the physical dangers of smoking and the consequences to a woman's ability to have healthy children, to smoke "is to assume a grave responsibility before God."[74]

Légaré went beyond outlining the health risks, which later studies have proved accurate. Smoking women, in his account, symbolically abandoned their femininity, and hence their potential as future mothers, because smoking remained so strongly associated with manliness. He linked smoking to *garçonnisme,* a danger that had been highlighted in Victor Margueritte's 1921 novel *La garçonne.* While in the novel there is no connection between the young women seen as taking on male characteristics and tobacco smoking, Légaré makes this connection by concurrently citing prominent authorities who had spoken out against *garçonnisme.* Similarly, in a 1934 sermon on temperance, Cardinal Jean-Marie Villeneuve warned: "Be cautious of women with cigarettes and legs crossed, of women who, when dressing themselves, only dress in trousers. No! this does not follow Christion morals." Abbé Lionel Groulx, not surprisingly, echoed these sentiments.[75]

At issue here was a question of the moral formation of the individual. The Légaré article constructs two models of the free individual, one secular, the other spiritual. He represents the modern, secular

individual as an advertising executive who has convinced women that smoking is fashionable by using film stars and models in publicity campaigns. Such advertisers value their own individual monetary gains over the collective good of French Canadian culture. In contrast to this liberal individual is the French Canadian Catholic woman. She is encouraged to abstain from smoking as a performance of Catholic femininity. Légaré admits that smoking is technically not a sin, but an abandonment of the Christian spiritual values of piety and sacrifice that women are supposed to hold dear. Smoking is nothing more than a false, secular, pleasure from which nothing can be gained. Appropriating liberal discourses of freedom and reason to his own ends, Légaré proposes that in abstaining, "You commit an act purely of well-thought-through will, of reasoned liberty."[76] Sadly, among youth "the pleasures of the body have become more important than cultural and spiritual values."[77] At fault is the education system and families (no mention of the church here) for not forging individuals who conform and for failing to transmit shared cultural values. Not all is lost. Légaré calls on women who do not smoke to refuse cigarettes when offered them and on women who already smoked to quit. Ultimately, this would be a collective action that would create a proper Catholic environment for women. He also appealed to Catholic women's groups to help change popular opinion about the cigarette.[78]

Did these discourses convince Catholic women to avoid smoking at this time when francophone women still lived in a world "defined by male (Roman Catholic) power?[79] In the previously cited 1947 survey, 40 per cent of francophone women who responded admitted to smoking. Clearly, the church's control over women's practices was not total. Still, there were differences between francophone and anglophone women. Nearly 20 per cent more anglophone women admitted to smoking than did francophones. In the immediate post-war period, then, there is some evidence that religious arguments against female smoking may have influenced francophone behaviour. A survey less than ten years later suggests that whatever influence the church had exercised over female smokers had evaporated. The survey carried out in 1956 by the Canadian Daily Newspaper Association showed a complete turnaround, with 68 per cent of Montreal's francophone women and only 28 per cent of anglophone women admitting that they smoked.[80] According to political scientist Donley T. Studlar, cigarette sales in North America declined in the mid-1950s as a result of articles published in late 1952 in *Reader's Digest*, but the survey numbers cited

earlier speak to the continued distinct smoking patterns of francophones in North America.[81]

By 1950, smoking held far less negative social consequences for women than it had at the turn of the twentieth century. Numerous factors were involved in transforming this perception. It was critical for tobacco manufacturers to reshape negative associations between smoking and femininity in order to expand their market to include women. To do so, they had to counter the associations of smoking with prostitution and unrespectable womanhood. Cigarette advertising directed to women was an important influence that helped to legitimize female smoking. These advertisements built on the claims for the right to smoke and sought to produce associations between female smoking, modernity, sex appeal, and companionate marriages. Yet theirs was not the first or the only discourse that played a role in changing prescriptions around women smoking. Movies and etiquette specialists also played critical, if not more important, parts in reshaping gender within the emerging mass-consumer society. Roman Catholic notions that linked Québécois women's modesty, piety, self-sacrifice, and maternity to the ongoing survival of Quebec culture could affect the ways in which female smokers were viewed and reinforce the gendered moral economy of cigarette consumption.

At the centre of this debate remained the question of the morality of women smoking. From the late nineteenth century, suffragettes and others had appropriated the liberal symbolism of smoking and made it part of their demands of inclusion within the public sphere. Until the First World War, smoking by women was still a serious enough transgression of etiquette that it was rarely done in public, even by middle-class suffrage supporters. Not until after the war, as the separate-spheres ideology that acted as a foundation for notions of liberal citizenship began to be transformed, did public smoking by women became more acceptable. Only at this point did advertisers start to target women explicitly in mass-circulation newspapers. Yet place and propriety remained linked. McGill University authorities still insisted on preventing the young women at the Royal Victoria College residence from smoking in public, preferring to provide them with private, female-only smoking rooms.

Advertising increasingly targeted women as consumers – as individuals with the independent power to purchase commodities at a time when even in Quebec, wives were gaining greater recognition of their rights to their own earnings. Yet other gender inequalities in society

were undisturbed. Men might romanticize a past when they could share the rough allure of dingy smoking cars in which men hung out with other men, but liberalism and citizenship were in the process of being severed from their separate-sphere foundations. One element was the way in which smoking lost its role of symbolically separating the sexes. Other mechanisms such as new liquor laws, new residences for working women, and ongoing inequalities of earning power reinscribed or perpetuated the "grammar of difference."[82] Women's gaining the "right" to smoke might obscure other inequalities, but it did not erase them, and the health consequences of this victory underline the hollowness of women's growing integration into the expanding world of early twentieth-century consumer capitalism.

CONCLUSION

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY LIBERAL individual, contends Ian McKay, "was not the work of an idle week to 'normalize' the laws of liberal political economy and society."[1] It clearly was not a question of pointing to all living human beings as self-evident political subjects. Nor was it only a victory of politicians and businessmen over priests and their followers. It was a complex and contested process in which people internalized notions of inclusion, exclusion, and hierarchy that shaped how they saw themselves and others. This book has argued that between 1888 and 1950 dominant prescriptions around smoking, as with few other consumption rituals, were part of this process of legitimation.

As with notions of the liberal "individual," gender played a determining role in the way the respectable smoker was constructed. Until the First World War, the liberal citizen was profoundly masculine, grounded in ideals of self-control and culturally specific rationality. Male smokers dramatized these values through their purchasing and smoking of tobacco. Smoking set the tone and boundaries of the male public sphere, where high-minded communication was idealized. Women, according to nineteenth-century liberal prescriptions, were biologically incapable of both self-control and rationality. Nor could they enter this sphere without putting their reputations into jeopardy.

Class and racial identities and relations were also shaped by these highly gendered prescriptions. Class only on rare occasions excluded a man from exercising liberal rights, just as only the poorest could not afford to smoke, but it did present him with material barriers to achieving the ideals of self-control and rationality. He may not have been able to afford to make a rational purchase of a tobacco that bourgeois connoisseurs constructed as superior. He also may not have had the time to smoke in a leisurely fashion in a homosocial environment, an act that was interpreted as a failure in self-control. Because these codes of conduct were not universal, smokers from other cultures broke local rules when in Montreal and saw the consequences in how their character was understood. Indeed, transgressing local prescriptions around smoking served in the construction of gender- and race-based notions of incivility. Both material failures to demonstrate liberal values and transgressions rooted in cultural difference served to justify the subordination and domination of entire races and classes.

These prescriptions, particularly norms of taste, shaped the nature of industrialization in Montreal and the encroachment of capitalism in the countryside. The cigar industry stands as a case in point. Because male skilled labour was valued in a cigar, mainly men were hired to roll the most valuable cigars. The importance of male skilled labour also shaped labour-capital relations. Unions had greater power in dealing with cigar manufacturers because their members' skill was valued by consumers. An entire industry producing Canadian-made Cuban cigars was born because Cuban tobacco and Spanish workmanship was valued by consumers. Furthermore, notions of standardization of taste embraced by the American Tobacco Company of Canada transformed the methods by which tobacco was grown in rural Quebec. Conversely, industrial technology and culture profoundly affected smoking rituals. Cigarettes became cheaper, and what is more, they became more widely accepted as industrialization transformed notions of speed, thus undermining the ideal of the leisurely, self-controlled smoke.

Certainly, these liberal prescriptions were powerful, their consequences felt far beyond smoking rituals, yet it is important to note that others broke these rules and used smoking symbolically to different ends. French Canadian men smoked *le tabac canadien* to declare allegiance to a particularly rural French Canadian nation. Prostitutes and dandies used smoking to create feminine and masculine identities outside dominant norms. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union challenged all notions that smoking could be in any way linked to

respectability, instead seeing it as a vice that sullied their vision of heaven on earth.

The First World War was a watershed for the Canadian liberal order (including, of course, Quebec and Montreal), as it equally was for dominant prescriptions that shaped smoking rituals. Strikingly, smoking gained new liberal symbolism even as the definition of the liberal individual changed. Some of these changes were gradual, such as the disappearance of *terroir* as an important factor in judging the quality of tobacco, which in Montreal would be followed by a decline in the popularity of cigars and the transformation of the unacceptable *tabac canadien*, with the help of the tobacco industry and the state, into indistinguishable Canadian tobacco with little social status. Other changes began in the years immediately before the First World War. Still, it was the social and cultural dislocation caused by the war that transformed dominant prescriptions. Inexpensive mass-produced cigarettes became "manly." They heralded a new legitimacy of mass appeal, speed, and youthfulness that had been shunned by bourgeois tobacco connoisseurs before the war. The tobacco industry, soldiers, and especially newspapers were effective in redefining the symbolism of the cigarette. The war also served as a watershed in the gender specificity of smoking etiquette. While women had smoked earlier, after they achieved new citizenship rights and began working in public places during and after the war and as a result of the continued public debate about the place of women in Montreal society, they also went public with their smoking habits as a symbol of their demands.

Establishing and reforming these smoking codes of conduct were processes characterized both by conflict and by consent on everyday levels, just as definitions of the liberal subject and liberal rights more generally have been in the past and continue to be today. Legitimization processes involve many actors. In the case of the dominant norms of smoking rituals, businesses, organized labour, federal governments of different political stripes, etiquette columnists, farmers, churches, doctors, cartoonists, novelists, painters, soldiers, and poets all played parts in changing what was acceptable. Clearly, tobacco companies did not entirely control the symbolism of smoking, as was demonstrated not only by those who chose not to follow liberal prescriptions but also by anxieties about additives in mass-produced cigarettes. Yet it is important to recognize that this was no consumer democracy, where rituals of resistance were staged through an infinity of smoking rituals. Some groups had more power than others to establish norms of taste and

etiquette as dominant. Tobacco manufacturers, in particular, held great power on issues of taste. For the most part, they controlled what tobacco was available to smokers. When William Macdonald monopolized the tobacco industry through his agreement with the Dominion Wholesale Grocers' Guild, he did more than push his competitors out of business – he popularized bourgeois hierarchies of taste by refusing to use Canadian tobacco in his products. The ATCC and later Imperial Tobacco took a larger role in the production of meanings of smoking that went beyond nineteenth-century liberal prescriptions. Not only did the company use enormous amounts of advertising to try to stabilize and control the meaning of its products, but its consignment system made its competitors' advertisements almost useless. In the 1920s and 1930s this limiting of choice became even more intense as Imperial indulged in tactics that amount to schoolyard bullying.

The state, both federal and to a lesser extent provincial, played a pivotal role in changing the taste for Canadian tobacco through its protective tariffs, agricultural education programs, and ultimately its excise taxes, which put an end to the extensive smoking of *le tabac canadien.* It also quietly supported the ATCC and subsequently Imperial's monopoly over cigarettes and Canadian tobacco because it refused to act against such practices. Indeed, tobacco manufacturers and the state employed powerful methods to structure the purchasing choices smokers could make.

This cultural history of smoking in Montreal poses important questions about the changing relationship between the liberal order and traditional French Canadian society, with its twin pillars of Roman Catholicism and agriculture. In the past, the Roman Catholic Church has too often been presented in opposition to the liberal order.[2] But clearly, by the turn of the century, there were moments of alliance, if in the minds of French Canadians these ever were, in fact, two separate entities. Fernande Roy has argued that French Canadian businessmen were both liberal and Roman Catholic; they simply believed that the church did not have a direct role in managing the economy or the state.[3] Concerning prohibition of cigarettes, individual and property rights were at stake for liberals, but for the church, its role in the moral formation of individuals was put into question. These interests converged in opposition to social gospel collectivism. The 1908 age-restriction legislation was a symbolic victory for the WCTU, giving the state a place in shaping the moral decisions of children. It was not a case of the state extinguishing rights, as prohibition was. Rather, the state could

play an auxiliary role in parenting, and Roman Catholics were less opposed to such a notion since they were also concerned over the degenerative effects on the future of the French Canadian culture of children smoking. In Montreal the local representatives of the state, particularly the police, had little interest in playing this role, emphasizing that state formation was a slow process and declarations in a legislature did not ensure local action.[4] On other questions, by the late 1920s French Canadians were ready to use the state to protect the primacy of agriculture within Quebec society. The Tobacco Branch of the Quebec Department of Agriculture sought to change French Canadian farming methods in order to better cater to the needs of industry, something the federal government and the tobacco manufacturers had been promoting since the turn of the century. The loss of traditional agriculture, and as a result, the end of the cultural ritual of smoking distinctive tobacco, may have seemed like a small price to pay to reassert a rural vision of French Canadian culture that was clearly fading.

By mid-century, dominant prescriptions about smoking were shaped by the cigarette, and etiquette no longer prohibited smoking by women. Like suffrage, it had become universal for adult Montrealers who were Canadian citizens. At the same time, however, the seeds of a new politicization of smoking were being planted in the United States and Britain, where research was published linking cigarettes to lung cancer. This new research made its first brief appearance in the Canadian Parliament in early 1951 when Liberal MP Dan McIvor cited reasons why it was necessary to establish a committee to look into "the entire cigarette problem; its effect on moral, mental and physical health, especially teenagers and unborn children; fire hazard and other related details." Only with hindsight can we distinguish the difference in importance between the path-breaking research of Dr Evarts Graham, which linked lung cancer to cigarette smoking, and the traditional concerns that anti-tobacco advocates had voiced since the 1890s, all of which McIvor brought to the debate.[5]

It would be another twelve years before this new politicization of smoking would more fully take root in Canada. In 1963 Health Minister Judy LaMarsh would begin the federal government's anti-smoking program. Thirty-five years later the Quebec health minister, Dr Jean Rochon, attacked the problem seriously at the provincial level.[6] By that point, smoking would have a different political significance: in a welfare state with universal health care, could an individual really claim the right to smoke, or was this a right that could be extinguished in favour

of protecting collective rights to health care? Yet this new politicization seemed to be taken seriously by governments only when universal health care was threatened by budgetary cutbacks. Even in the late 1970s, when the leftist Parti québécois government was contemplating its position on smoking, the chain-smoking minister of cultural development, Camille Laurin, claimed that the government preferred anti-smoking education programs to policies that might infringe on individual liberties.[7]

Today, for the most part, the discourse of smokers' rights has been turned on its head with the advent of the Non-Smokers' Rights Association of Canada. Yet the belief in the rights of smokers lives on in Canada most obviously in pro-smoking groups such as the international Smokers' Rights Association. More significant and disturbing is the fact that it still exists in the minds of adolescents, who may look forward to the day when they are allowed to buy cigarettes, a desire created by prohibiting adolescent smoking. This is not to claim that denying adolescents the right to smoke has been a wrong policy. Rather, it is to point to the complex ways in which discourses on individual rights and smoking bring meanings to identities – issues that continue to challenge today's anti-smoking activists.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 *CCTJ*, April 1906, 45.
2 Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1895, and *CCTJ*, July 1914, 10.
3 Fernande Roy outlines many of the important issues in this debate in her *Progrès, harmonie, liberté*. See also Lamonde, *Combats libéraux* and the two volumes of his *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec*.
4 Belsey, "Towards Cultural History," 163.
5 Bonnell and Hunt, "Introduction, " 11.
6 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 624–5; Fecteau, *La liberté du pauvre*, especially the first two chapters.
7 This study is part of a growing number of investigations into the everyday rituals of political order, which include Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*; Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*; Ryan, "The American Parade," *Women in Public*, and *Civic Wars*; and Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade." Some would make such an examination of popular culture a question of "américanité." Such a focus, however, would obscure the complex meanings of smoking and smoking's realtionship to power relations in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Montreal. The hypothesis about Quebec popular culture and "américanité" is thoughtfully drawn together in Bouchard, "Une nation, deux cultures." The most important response is found in Thériault, *Critique de l'Américanité*.
8 Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*, 36.
9 My comparison of these consuming rituals is drawn from Warsh, *Drink in Canada*; Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*; and Goodman et al., *Consuming Habits*.

10 Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Conféderation.*
11 The literature on this question is voluminous. Useful places to start are Greaves, *Smoke Screen*; Jacobson, *The Ladykillers*; and Cunningham, *Smoke and Mirrors.*
12 Apperson. *The Social History of Smoking*; Corti, *A History of Smoking*; Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco.*
13 Schudson, "Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising"; Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors"; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*; Tate, *Cigarette Wars*; Nourrisson, *Histoire sociale du tabac*; Burnham, *Bad Habits*; Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes*; Lock et al., *Ashes to Ashes*; Tyrrell, *Dangerous Enemies.*
14 Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy.*
15 Rogizinski, *Smokeless Tobacco*,129–30.

CHAPTER ONE

1 Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 270.
2 Montreal Maternity Hospital, Matron/Superintendent's Reports, 1889–1926. RG 95, MUA; CCC, "Proceedings."
3 Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 70–111.
4 Boyer, "Re-Working Respectability"; Sangster, "Softball Solution." The consequences of breaking etiquette were particularly serious when women went in front of the courts. See Dubinsky, *Improper Advances,* and Kramer and Mitchell, *Walk towards the Gallows.*
5 Ryan, *Women in Public*, 59.
6 For an excellent study of policing these boundaries, see McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity.*
7 Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures"; Ryan, "Gender and Public Access."
8 Morton and Guildford, "Introduction," in *Separate Spheres*; S. Myers, "'Not to be Ranked as Women'"; Rosenfeld, "'It was a hard life.'"
9 Dessaulles, *Hopes and Dreams*, 18 April 1876, 99.
10 Ibid., 5 May 1875, 44.
11 Sauvalle, *Mille questions d'étiquette*, 8.
12 Ibid., 119.
13 On the social construction of racial difference and hierarchy, see Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire,* and "The Social Origins of Race: Race and Racism in the Americas."
14 J.-E. Roy, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon*, 4: 169–70. This debate is also recounted in Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneuries*, 181.
15 On fascination with difference and how it is racialized, see Said, *Orientalism*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; "Le mariage chez les Igorrotes," *L'Album universel*, 25 March 1905, 928; Montreal *Star*, 21 March 1903, 7.
16 "Le tabac et la longévité," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, April 1903, 30; see also photograph, "Type de chez nous," *La Presse*, 31 October 1925, 16.

17 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*; Morton and Guildford, *Separate Spheres*, front cover and 7.
18 Dr L.J. Lemieux in CCC "Proceedings," 82.
19 Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade."
20 Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 117–32.
21 Lemieux in CCC "Proceedings," 86.
22 Keire, "Dope Fiends and Degenerates," 814.
23 Hamel, *Charles Gill*, Charles Gill to Louis-Joseph Doucet, 23 July 1917, 193.
24 Léon Ledieu, *Le Monde illustré*, 26 January 1887, 307. For an example from a daily, see "Strange Ways in Other Lands," Montreal *Star*, 7 October 1905, 23.
25 "Favor Feminin Smoking," Montreal *Star*, 17 April 1914, 1.
26 Montreal *Herald*, 20 March 1912, 6.
27 Bradbury, *Working Families*, 135.
28 The Montreal Fire Department, Fire Register, AVM, lists no fires at the Windsor Hotel in the weeks before the report.
29 Davis and Lorenzkowski, "A Platform for Gender Tensions"; Montreal Fire Department, Fire Register, 1912, entries 253, 1157, 1832, 2103, AVM.
30 Rose Henderson in CCC, "Proceedings," 43.
31 "Gus. Francq tells some observations of Europe," *Le Monde ouvrier*, 8 March 1919, 3. My thanks to Éric Leroux for this reference. For more on Francq, see Leroux, *Gustave Francq*.
32 J.G. Sime, "Munitions!" in her *Sister Woman*, 35–45. In his *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 144–5, Hilton documents women workers smoking cigarettes in northern English factory towns as far back as 1898.
33 "A Legislative Mistake," Montreal *Gazette*, 23 February 1893, 4.
34 *Catéchisme de tempérance*, 13.
35 Baden-Powell, *The Canadian Boy Scout*, 203–5. On Scouts in Quebec, see Savard, "Une jeunesse et son Église."
36 "Mr. Cook's Bill Praised," Montreal *Herald*, 27 February 1893, 8.
37 Marc Legrand, "Les petits fumeurs," *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 May 1907, 64.
38 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 23 March 1904, 351–52. On Lavergne, see Bélanger, *L'impossible défi*, and Pelletier-Baillargeon, *Olivar Asselin et son temps*.
39 Bliss, *William Osler*, 274.
40 Professor Foucher, "Quelques remarques sur l'usage du tabac en rapport avec la muqueuse de la bouche et des voies respiratoires," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, March 1897, 198. For information about Foucher, see Goulet, *Histoire de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Montréal*, 77.
41 R.B. Walker, "Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking." There were a number of studies suggesting a link between tobacco and lung cancer before the end of the 1940s, but they were either poorly publicized or written off as being flawed. See Doll, "The First Reports on Smoking and Lung Cancer"; Booth, "Clinical Research," 224; and Cantor, "Cancer," 557.

42 I have looked at *L'Abeille médicale*, 1879–82; *Le Gazette médicale de Montréal*, 1888–92; *L'Union médicale du Canada*, 1872–1930; *Le Montréal médicale*, 1901–20; the *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1872–88; and the *Montreal Medical Journal*, 1901–10.

43 "L'usage du tabac chez les malades," originally published in *American Medical Review*, vol. 1, no. 4; republished in *L'Union médicale du Canada*, May 1896, 336–7. On tobacco and tuberculosis, see also "Tobacco as an Antizymotic," *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, July 1884, 767.

44 Dr Marc, "Le tabagisme," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, 1909, 587–90.

45 Ibid., 594.

46 Professor Foucher, "Quelques remarques ...," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, March 1897.

47 Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, (1898) 764. This statement does not appear in earlier editions nor in many later editions. It was used in pro-tobacco propaganda such as the widely circulated article by Leonard K. Hirschberg, "The Truth about Tobacco," originally published in *Harper's Weekly*; republished in *CCTJ*, March 1913, 43–5. Osler's smoking habits are explored most extensively in Bliss, *William Osler*, 78, 94–5, 274–5.

48 Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* (1912).

49 Osler, "Ephemerides, 1895: IX Tobacco Angina," *Montreal Medical Journal*, May 1896, 879.

50 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 April 1903, 832–4. For biographical information on Roddick, see Bensley, *McGill Medical Luminaries*, 35–7.

51 On Kellogg, see Tate, *Cigarette Wars*.

52 "Cigarette Crazed Boy Tries Suicide," Montreal *Herald*, 3 January 1910, 10. For another exaample, see "La cigarette," *Le Nouveau Monde*, 4 March 1893, 3.

53 "La crime du Saint-Sauveur: Même avant le juge, l'accusé ne cesse de fumer des cigarettes," *La Presse*, 23 May 1914, 9 and 21.

54 Burgess in CCC, "Proceedings," 87–9.

55 Villeneuve in CCC, "Proceedings," 90–1.

56 For biographical information on Birkett, see Bensley, *McGill Medical Luminaries*, 63–5. My base sample of the Birkett casebooks was from 1892, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925, and 1930. Fonds H.S Birkett, Osler Library Archives, McGill University.

57 Examples are files no.4151, 8 May 1895; no.16363, 13 March 1910; and no.16690, 9 September 1910, ibid.

58 No.20865, 17 November 1914; no.7289, 3 February 1900, no.12659, 24 October 1905, ibid.

59 No.29781, 12 May 1930, ibid.

60 Valverde, "'Slavery from Within.'"

61 See, for example, Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance'"; Harris,

"Melodrama, Hysteria and Feminine Crimes of Passion"; Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*.

62 Strong-Boag, "'The Citizenship Debates,'" 80; Leacock, "The Woman Question."

63 Quoted in "Favor Feminin Smoking," Montreal *Star*, 17 April 1914, 1.

64 On women in the McGill medical faculty, see Gillet, *We Walked Very Warily*, 280–303; Little has been written about female medical students admitted to Université de Montréal. For a cursory mention, see Goulet, *Histoire de la Faculté de médicine de l'Université de Montréal*, 211, 261–3.

65 "Montreal Notes," *CCTJ*, November 1910, 25. The right to smoke in the dissecting room was put into question after the McGill medical faculty burned in 1907; students were still allowed to smoke in the faculty reading room. See McGill Faculty of Medicine Minutes, 5 October and 30 October 1907, 228, 230, and 232, RG 38, MUA.

66 *Constitutions et règlements de l'Université Laval, publiés par ordre du Conseil universitaire*, 4ième éd. (Québec: Des Presses à vapeur de Augustin Côté et cie, 1879), 61–3; copy in Archives de l'Université de Montréal. The rules were the same for the Montreal campus.

67 "Between the Lectures," *University Gazette*, 7 February 1888, 85.

68 *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, January 1880, 282.

69 John F. Todd to his mother, 8 February 1897, in Fialkowski, *John L. Todd Letters*.

70 *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, January 1880, 282.

71 "College News," *University Gazette*, 7 February. 1888, 85.

72 Mauss, *The Gift*, 13.

73 Fournier, *Souvenir de prison*, 73.

74 "En fumant," *Le Monde illustré*, 12 July 1890. For other examples of this column, see 20 October 1888, 198; 2 November 1889, 214; and 14 June 1890, 235. This trend was not unique to Montreal. See the series "The Good-Night Pipe," in *Trinity University Review*, October 1897, 117–18. The series continues in the following months of the *Review*.

75 Choquette, in *Carabinades*, 51.

76 *The Echo*, 11 October 1890.

77 "Roundel to My Pipe," in Cogswell, *The Complete Poems of Émile Nelligan*, 25.

78 "*Ex fumo dare lucem*," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 18 March 1882, 176.

79 Lighthall, *The Young Seigneur*, 31; D.A. Wright, "W.D. Lighthall."

80 Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices," 90.

81 "The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 1 February 1879, 80.

82 Girard, *Mosaïque*, 9–10.

83 Bradbury's *Working Families* summarizes much of this literature for Montreal.

84 Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror*, 5–6.

85 Hamelin and Rouillard, *Répertoire des grèves*, 21–2.

86 "Rules of Establishment ...," in RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, 593–4.
87 Testimony of Frederick Wanklyn, assistant mechanical superintendent of the Grand Trunk Railway, in RCLT, *Quebec Evidence*, 742, 746.
88 Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way*, 77–8.
89 Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner*, 267, 281.
90 De Roquebrune, *Quartier Saint-Louis*, 42, 165–6.
91 Gilliland and Olson, "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 3–16.
92 Montreal *Herald*, 22 January 1912, 11.
93 *Le Canada*, 28 November 1907, 9.
94 *Le Canada*, 9 October 1907, 1.
95 "Let the Hubby Smoke," Montreal *Star*, 12 March 1910, 27; republished in *CCTJ*, April 1910, 35.
96 On the sexualization of objects, see the essays in de Grazia, *The Sex of Things*.
97 Rudyard Kipling, "The Betrothen," in Partington, *Smoke Rings and Roundelays*, 61–3.
98 C.D., "My Love," Montreal *Saturday Night*, 14 September 1895, 4.
99 "Apotheosis of the Pipe," *CCTJ*, August 1903, 53.
100 *Canadian Illustrated News*, 6 September 1873, 146.
101 See Jasen, *Wild Things*, 105–32. For the importance of this theme to the working classes, see Morton, *Ideal Surroundings*, 127–8.
102 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, June 1899, 213–15.
103 Montreal *Gazette*, 9 May 1910, 4.
104 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, June 1899, 213–15.
105 "My Lady Nicotine," *Gazette*, 1 December 1900, 1. On the social makeup of the Montreal Lacrosse Club, see Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*.
106 "Le concert tabagie des relieurs: Discours, chant et musique," *La Patrie*, 9 December 1907, 9.
107 David, *Au soir de la vie*, 55.
108 "Perruches entre elles," *Le Pays*, 5 February 1910, 2.
109 Mortimer Davis, RCTT, "Minutes," RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7; Earl Spafford, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1934, 1830.
110 A. Michaels, for example, reported that a Mr Giroux kept a barbershop at the "rear" of his premises; see RCTT, "Minutes," 128, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA. Louis Fortier kept a billiards parlour in his "Eden Cigar Store"; see *CCTJ*, January 1902, 17.
111 *CCTJ*, April 1903, 14; *CCTJ*, April 1905, 23.
112 For cigar stores and gambling in a later period, see S. Morton, "A Man's City."
113 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, September 1899, 337; June 1906, 17.
114 "Attracts a Great Deal of Attention," *CCTJ*, May 1905, 49.
115 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, October 1905, 19.
116 "Montreal Notes," *CCTJ*, November 1913, 33.
117 "Cigar Stores as Social Centres," *CCTJ*, January 1908, 67.

118 "Good Shopkeeping," *CCTJ*, June 1905, 19.
119 "Les flaneurs chez les tabaconistes," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, October 1904, 42. Also on "loafers," see *CCTJ*, July 1903, 65, and "Loafers Not Wanted," *CCTJ*, August 1907, 65.
120 "Pointers for Retailers," *CCTJ*, November 1902, 629.
121 "Ladies Trade," *CCTJ*, December 1908, 57.
122 *CCTJ*, February 1911, 55.
123 Ryan, *Women in Public*, 9.
124 Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade."
125 Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 117–32.
126 Sauvalle, *Mille questions d'étiquette*, 119.
127 "Le Courrier de Colette," *La Presse*, 18 July 1914, 7.
128 Sauvalle, *Mille questions d'étiquette*, 117–18.
129 "It Remains to Be Seen," *CCTJ*, August 1900, 345.
130 "Comment on arrive à prendre femme," *Le Monde illustré*, 21 August 1886, 124.
131 Ruth Cameron, "The Evening Chit-Chat," Montreal *Herald*, 7 June 1910, 9.
132 Choquette, *Carabinades*, 154.
133 William Walter Moore in RCLT, *Quebec Evidence*, 532.
134 Davis and Lorenzkowski, "A Platform for Gender Tensions," 432.
135 *Le Monde illustré*, 1890–91, 199.
136 Miss Dougall, "Report of the Committee on Resolutions," in *12th Annual Report of the Dominion WCTU* (1901), 58, F 885, AO.
137 Western Montreal WCTU 1894–1950 minute book, 11 November 1897, F 885, AO.
138 Dominion WCTU Reports, 1 November 1902; "Executive Committee" at the Toronto District Headquarters, 63; Jessie B. Woodbury, "Report of Committee of Resolutions," F 885, AO.
139 "Dans les tramways," *La Presse*, 20 November 1907, 4.
140 Minutes, Montreal City Council, 9 June 1913, 107; 17 June 1913, 414; 23 June 1913, 610; 83-1-10-3, AVM.
141 "Montreal Chat," *CCTJ*, November 1903, 23.
142 "Fumera-t-on dans les chars urbains?" *Liqueurs et tabacs*, November 1903, 38.
143 "Dans les tramway," *La Presse*, 20 November 1907, 4.
144 "News and Views of Labor World, Home and Abroad," Montreal *Star*, 21 February 1914, 9.
145 "Montreal Notes," *CCTJ*, March 1914, 21.
146 These delegates were J. Wall, Gustave Francq, and N. Fontaine; see "Labor Council to Support Petition for Car Smoking," Montreal *Herald*, 6 March 1914, 3.
147 "Smokers Want to Puff on Street Car," Montreal *Gazette*, 10 March 1914, 5; Montreal City Council Minutes, 9 March 1914, 2-2-29, AVM.
148 Indeed, while tobacco was banned on the tramway, the Montreal Fire Department was still regularly called on to extinguish fires on trams

caused by smoking; see *Fire Register*, 1912, entries 253, 1157, 1832, 2103, AVM.

149 "Chonique: En tramway," *L'Album universel*, 2 February 1907, 1353.

CHAPTER TWO

1 Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, 44.

2 On the creation of the "Straw Woman" consumer, see Jill Greenfield et al., "Gender, Consumer Culture and the Middle-Class Male"; Hosgood, "Mrs.Pooter's Purchase." For a Canadian example, see Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance.'"

3 On connoisseurship and male identity, see Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices"; Mort, *Cultures of Consumption*; Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 17–59.

4 *CCTJ*, February 1898, 37; quotation from *CCTJ*, March 1898, 2.

5 Statistics were kept in pounds and only occasionally in numbers of cigars. They do, however, reflect a more accurate amount of tobacco smoked in cigar form since cigars come in many different sizes. In 1901, 56,630 pounds of cigars were imported from Cuba. This number was unusually low because of the fallout from the Spanish-American War. In 1897, for example, 69,317 pounds were entered for home consumption. By 1911 the number had risen to 87,559 pounds. Consumption of Canadian-made cigars rose from 101,142,481 in 1891 (*CCTJ*, September 1900, 379) to 141,096,889 in 1901 and 227,585,692 in 1911. These figures work out to 21 cigars per person in 1891, 26 per person in 1901, and 32 in 1911. The cigar numbers are taken from those published in the *CCTJ*, June 1912, 48. The height of Canadian-made cigar consumption in Canada was 1913, with 294,772,933 cigars. There was a slight decline to 288,219,892 in 1914, when the country was plunged into depression just before the war. Throughout the 1920s, Canadian-made cigar consumption hovered between a low of 168,097,587 in 1925 and a high of 270,049,761 in 1920. For statistics on cigar consumption in Canada between 1901 and 1931, see Canada, *Canada Yearbook*, 1932, 721.

6 *CMOJ*, March 1899, 4.

7 "Pour les dessinateurs," *La Presse*, 25 June 1910, 2.

8 "Contraste," *La Presse*, 25 October 1910, 2.

9 *L'Album universel*, 24 November 1906, 1027.

10 Tardivel, *Pour la patrie*, 21.

11 Berthelot, *Les mystères de Montréal*, 43. This story was originally published between 20 December 1879 and 31 July 1880 in *Le Vrai Canard*; it was reprinted in *Le Canard* between 23 May 1896 and 18 February 1897 and then published as a book in 1901. For more information on Berthelot and the publishing history of *Les mystères de Montréal*, see the entry in Lemire, *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, 1: 510–12.

12 Symonds, *A Memoir*, 182.
13 "The Allowance Question: Viewed by a Railway Man's Wife," Montreal *Star*, 8 December 1900, 12.
14 "A Widow's Philosophy," Montreal *Star*, 22 December 1900, 19.
15 Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 120.
16 Ibid.
17 *CCTJ*, April 1901, 183. This was part of a larger debate about price tickets that occurred in the grocery business as well. See Walden, "Speaking Modern."
18 *CMOJ*, March 1899, 4.
19 On Arnold, see B. Wright, *Interpreter of Buddhism to the West*.
20 "Shaughnessy Likes 'Em!" Montreal *Herald*, 27 October 1921, 4.
21 Phelps, "Introduction," 7–16; see also "Dr. Drummond in St. John," Montreal *Herald*, 11 April 1900, 12.
22 Drummond, *The Habitant*, 24–33; quotation from 28–9. For another example along this line, see "Ottawa Jottings," *CCTJ*, September 1900, 383. The journal discusses a beginner tobacconist who wants a thousand clear Havana cigars but "doesn't know Havana from Rimouski," meaning that this tobacconist could not recognize a good cigar.
23 Phelps, "Introduction," 7–16.
24 *CCTJ*, January 1913, 13.
25 *CCTJ*, February 1898, 41, reprinted from *Tid Bits*.
26 *CCTJ*, February 1899, 69.
27 "The Holiday Package and the Cigarette Insert," *CCTJ*, October 1912, 11.
28 *CCTJ*, October 1900, 429.
29 *CCTJ*, November 1900, 473.
30 Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 53.
31 Ibid., chapter 2.
32 Until the First World War, there were more strikes at S. Davis and Sons than at any other cigar factory in Montreal. I have tracked these for the nineteenth century through Hamelin and Rouillard, *Répertoire des grèves*, and for the twentieth century through the *Labour Gazette*. Some of the strikes were quite bitter and usually focused on the issue of pay reductions. More in-depth accounts can be found in the Industrial Disputes Files, RG 27, NA. For a particularly hostile example, see vol.303, T-2691, Strike no.119. Davis emerged victorious from this strike, which lasted from December 1913 to 15 August 1914, and his correspondence in the file takes a strikingly patronizing tone toward his workers.
33 "Proceedings of the 20th Session," *CMOJ*, September 1893. The company may have been Brown Brothers, which is reported to have put cigar makers in its windows as "advertisements"; see *CCTJ*, March 1898, 10; "London Correspondence," *CCTJ*, 441. See also Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 164.
34 For descriptions of the poor treatment of apprentices, see among others, the testimonies of Théophile Charron, 24–6, and Achille Dabenais, 26–9, in RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*.

35 Testimony of Alphonse Lafrance, ibid., 31.
36 While many apprentices in other trades may not have been paid, cigar-making apprentices were. See testimony of Edmond Gauthier, in RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, 29. For apprenticeship in much of the North American industry, see P.A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 48–9. Bradbury summarizes much of the literature on apprenticeship in her *Working Families*.
37 Testimony of Edmond Gauthier, in RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, 29.
38 "Apprenticeship Schools," *CCTJ*, December 1899, 495.
39 On the strike, which the CMIU won and which succeeded in forcing the resignation of the president of the Dominion Cigar Manufacturers' Association, see "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, April 1900, 147, as well as the listings in Hamelin and Rouillard, *Répertoire des grèves*. For the changes in apprentices allowed in unionized factories, see *La Presse*, 14 April 1900, 25, the testimony of Patrick J. Ryan, in RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, 36, and P.A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 48–9.
40 *The Echo*, 1 September 1890.
41 For an image of the new label, see *La Patrie*, 16 May 1910, 5, and P.A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 106.
42 Henri Bourdon, "Chronique ouvrière," *La Patrie*, 15 June 1910, 5.
43 "Blue Label Cigars," *The Echo*, 7 June 1890.
44 "L'Union internationale des cigariers," *Le Repos du travailleur*, 1 September 1890, 3.
45 "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 28 April 1908, 11. On 3 May 1908 he showed two animations at the Vitoscope on Mount Royal Street, one for the laundry workers' label and the other for the cigar makers'; see "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 4 May 1908, 11.
46 "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 13 June 1910, 13.
47 Ibid. The *CMOJ* lists two Montreal locals of the CMIU, Local 58 and Local 226, until about 1901 when, during a break in the run of the *CMOJ* available on microfilm, Local 226 disappears.
48 Montreal Trades and Labor Council, Minute book, 20 January 1898, 15, Archives d'UQAM.
49 Ibid., 7 April 1898, 28.
50 Ibid., 1 August 1907, 106.
51 *CMOJ*, March 1899, 4. The arrests and ensuing libel trial are described in McKay, *For a Working-Class Culture*, xxii–xxvii, 43–7.
52 *CMOJ*, June 1899, 5.
53 Patricia A. Cooper maintains that counterfeiting of the label was fairly common; see *Once a Cigar Maker*, 105. For a Toronto example, see "The Label Sustained by the Courts," *CMOJ*, March 1891, 10–11; and for cases in Montreal, see "La chronique ouvrière," *La Patrie*, 10 November 1907, 3, and the same column, 16 May 1910, 5.
54 For a Canadian example, see "The Label Sustained by the Courts," *CMOJ*, March 1891, 10–11; Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 22 April 1897, 1073–4.

55 Minutes of Parliamentary Committee, 13 April 1901; 56, vol.61, CMA Papers, MG 28 I 230, NA.
56 Report of the CMA 30th convention, in *Industrial Canada*, vol.3, 104, ibid.; probably printed in "Union Label," *Industrial Canada*, 19 Oct 1903, 179.
57 Canada, *Debates of the Senate*, 10 May 1898, 795.
58 Ibid., *Debates of the Senate*, 29 April 1898, 639.
59 "Unionism in the Cigar Trade," *CCTJ*, April 1901, 157–8.
60 "Tobacco," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1036–7.
61 "Tobacco and Bacteria," *CCTJ*, August 1899, 305.
62 "Le tabac et ses délices," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, April 1902, 32–4.
63 Here I am following the work of historian Kolleen M. Guy, who has argued that the concept of *terroir* was central to nineteenth-century views of French geography and equally important to the way champagne acquired its value; see her "Rituals of Pleasure." She draws on the work of nineteenth-century French geographer Vidal de La Blanche; see also Guiomar, "Vidal de La Blanche's *Geography of France*."
64 "Tobacco," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1036.
65 "Havana News Items," *CCTJ*, August 1901, 373.
66 Labelle, *Traité de la culture*, 13.
67 "Tobacco," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1039.
68 See "Cuba," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 599.
69 Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*.
70 *CCTJ*, January 1898, 4, and March 1898, 3. Other reports of destruction of Cuban crops can be found in the *CCTJ*, March 1898, 77; July 1898, 181–2.
71 "Cuba," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 599.
72 "Uniform Revenue Stamps Meeting with Approval," Montreal *Herald*, 26 March 1908, 11.
73 "Editorial," *CCTJ*, October 1905, 11–12.
74 "Uniform Revenue Stamps Meeting with Approval," Montreal *Herald*, 26 March 1908, 11.
75 Ibid.
76 My use of the word "Cubanicity" borrows from Barthes's discussion of "Italianicity" in his "The Rhetoric of the Image."
77 "Brands, Labels, and Size Names," *CCTJ*, February, 1900, 75.
78 Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd. Collection, McCord Museum Archives, M9999.70.43.
79 "Granda Brothers Left Havana to Establish Firm in Canada," *CCTJ*, December 1944, 8.
80 *CCTJ*, August, 1901, 372, and "In Memoriam," *CCTJ*, December 1906, 17.
81 "In Memoriam," *CCTJ*, December 1906, 17.
82 "Manufacture of Clear Havanas," *CCTJ*, March 1903, 49.
83 Ibid.
84 Granda Hermanos y Cia was not the only pioneer of the made-in-Canada Cuban cigar. Toronto's J. Tuero Hermanos Company was established in 1902, building on the same demand for a Canadian Cuban cigar. See "Noted Cigar Manufacturer, José Tuero Passes," *CCTJ*, February 1939, 8.

85 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, May 1898, 125.
86 "Granda Hermanos y Ca.'s New Factory," *CCTJ*, August 1901, 373.
87 "Granda Hermanos y Ca.," *CCTJ*, February 1902, 89.
88 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, 11 June 1901, 273.
89 Walden, "Speaking Modern."
90 The names of new members of both Montreal locals of the CMIU were published each month in the *CMOJ*, which I surveyed from 1881 to 1920. Though I understand that this is not an entirely accurate indicator, I have roughly determined their ethnic origins through these names.
91 "Men and Things," Montreal *Herald*, 16 May 1908, 4.
92 "Havana, Mecca of the Cigar World," *CCTJ*, April 1904, 19.
93 "The Granda Hermanos y Ca. Strike," *CCTJ*, March 1903, 37.
94 "Une grève sanglante," *La Presse*, 26 July 1910, 1. See RG 27, vol.298, T-2687, Strike no.3284, Industrial Disputes Files, NAC. There is a further issue that I do not have the sources to consider. The CMIU was in conflict with the Spanish Union of Cigarmakers in Tampa, and some cigar makers brought this dispute to Montreal. This may also have been a conflict between Spaniards and Cubans; see "Cigarmakers' Feud," Montreal *Star*, 11 May 1901, 20.
95 "The Granda Hermanos y Ca. Strike," *CCTJ*, March 1903; "La fin d'une grève," *Liqueurs et tabac*, March 1903, 32; "Manufacture of Clear Havanas," *CCTJ*, March 1903, 49. It is worth noting that in Cooper's brief mention of Spanish Hand Work, she defines it as only using clear Havana leaf; see P.A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 50. I use the definition outlined in the *CCTJ* because there seems to be a difference in process beyond just a difference in leaf. The S. Davis and Sons brand Nobleman was advertised as being made by Cuban cigar makers with Cuban tobacco, but members of the CMIU maintained that it was German Hand Work. See *Gazette*, 4 May 1910, 4, and letter from the CMIU Local 58 executive, B. Drolet, A. Boivert, and A. Gariepy, 16 December 1913, RG 27, vol.303, T-2691, Industrial Disputes File, Strike no.119, NA.
96 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*.
97 Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*, 43.
98 "Ignorance of Cigar Names," *CCTJ*, January 1899, 6.
99 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, 11 June 1901, 273.
100 "A Successful Year," *CCTJ*, January 1904, 51, and *CCTJ*, February 1906, 25.
101 *CCTJ*, August 1901, 372. The only exception to the Spanish brand names was the Rothschilds, which was appropriate as a symbol of wealth.
102 "Une haute prétention complètement justifiée," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, May 1902, 32.
103 *CCTJ*, July 1902, 355.
104 *CCTJ*, March 1903, 53. J. Granda of Montreal, Frank Granda's firm after he left the Granda Hermanos y Cia., adopted the label. S. Davis and Sons also used the label in 1903; see *CCTJ*, June 1903, 41.
105 Frank Granda was taken to court by Nathan Michaels in March of 1902

for starting another cigar company with his brothers, something that was apparently forbidden in their partnership agreement. On the court case, see "Montreal Chats," *CCTJ*, October 1902, 551, and "Granda Hermanos y Ca. vs. Frank Granda," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 131. When Frank left the company, he quickly joined his brothers Jose and Domingo in the firm of J. Granda Limited.

106 "The Granda Hermanos y Ca. [sic] Strike," *CCTJ*, March 1903, 37. See also "La fin d'une grève," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, March 1903, 32.

CHAPTER THREE

1 Dumont, *The Vigil of Quebec*, xi.
2 Eric Hobsbawn, "Introduction," in The Invention of Tradition, ed. Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1–14.
3 On city and country relations, see Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, and especially Williams, *The Country and the City*.
4 It is difficult to assess the relative popularity of different pipes, but I conclude that these pipes were the most popular because of their frequent mention in my sources. Other pipes occasionally mentioned or found in archaeological digs were corncob pipes and china pipes.
5 *CCTJ*, June 1912, 15.
6 "Public Men Who Smoke," *CCTJ*, June 1903, 93.
7 I.C. Walker, "Nineteenth-Century Clay Pipes in Canada," and his *Clay Tobacco-Pipes*, 354–60.
8 Girard, *Contes de chez nous*, 208–9.
9 "A Chat about Tobacco by a Family Physician," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 28 October 1882, 287.
10 Professor Foucher, "Queques remarques ..." *Union médicale du Canada*, March 1897.
11 Nutton, *Galen*.
12 "En roulant ma boule," *La Presse*, 11 July 1914, 8.
13 "Respect à notre langue," *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 February 1905, 647.
14 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 65.
15 Thistle and fleur-de-lys pipe, M 953.6.9, and Crown and Anchor pipe, M 953.6.9, McCord Museum.
16 Savard and Drouin, *Les pipes à fumer*, 37.
17 "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 15 January 1913, 7; "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 17 March 1922, 12.
18 Image from the Robert Rudy Collection.
19 "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 15 January 1913, 7.
20 Berthelot, *Les mystères de Montréal*, 38.
21 See, for example, "Pointers on How to Smoke a Pipe," *CCTJ*, November 1906, 39, and "Editorial Notes," *CCTJ*, Feb 1908, 13.
22 Jeffers, *The Perfect Pipe*, 66.

23 "Public Men Who Smoke," *CCTJ*, June 1903, 93; on Paterson, see Brown and Cook, *Canada*, 10.
24 *Henri Julien Album*, 186.
25 Morton, *Marching to Armageddon*, 102.
26 Louis Robillard, "'Monsieur' Bourassa, solennel et familier," in *Hommage à Henri Bourassa*, 142.
27 Lionel Groulx, "Henri Bourassa ou le causeur prestigieux," ibid., 91.
28 Ernest Bilodeau, "Cinquante années de souvenirs," ibid., 158.
29 Drummond, *The Habitant*, 58–9.
30 De Rocquebrune, *Testament of My Childhood*, 24.
31 "Les veillées," *La Presse*, 28 January 1905, 1.
32 Léon Ledieu, "Entre nous," *Le Monde illustré*, 4 April 1891, 766.
33 Doucet, *Contes du vieux temps*, 75–7. Vargeux is an old French Canadian word for "weak."
34 Felix Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, June 1910, 31–3.
35 Anti-modernism is outlined in Lears, *No Place of Grace*. Also see McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*.
36 "The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 721.
37 Evidence of Joseph Picard, RCTT, "Minutes," 633–4; RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA.
38 Louis V. Labelle, "Canadian Tobacco Products before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization," 27 March 1908, in *House of Commons Journals*, 1907–08, appendix 2, 69.
39 Evidence of David H. Ferguson in Canada, Select Committee on the Causes of the Present Depression, "Report," 6 April 1876, 254. These numbers of pounds of tobacco circulating and the census numbers quoted below may have been "closer to the facts than the truth." We have no idea at which stage in the drying process this tobacco may have been. This question would affect the weight of the tobacco, especially in comparison with dried cut tobacco. The larger point still can be made that massive amounts of tobacco were being sold "under the table."
40 Canada, *Census*, 1881, 241.
41 Opposition to the 1844 census in Lower Canada voiced this argument, among others. See Curtis, *The Politics of Population*, 60.
42 "Sale of Leaf Tobacco," *CCTJ*, October 1899, 377.
43 Evidence of J.M. Fortier, RCTT, 1429, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA; Evidence of Felix Charlan before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, "Canadian Tobacco Products," *House of Commons Journals*, 1907-8, appendix 2, 5.
44 F. Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, May 1910, 31.
45 Saunders, *Tobacco Culture*, Laroque, *Culture et préparation du tabac*, 15–16.
46 Ernest Forest, in IT, RCPS, "Evidence," 1698.
47 This discussion of tobacco cultivation is derived primarily from Laroque,

Culture et préparation du tabac, as well as Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 171–2, and Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco,* 292–3.

48 A literary recounting of this tradition can be found in Ringuet, *Thirty Acres,* 29

49 "Growers Must Be Licensed Now," *CCTJ,* September 1918, 9, 49, 51; Ferland, in Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons,* 24 July 1942, 4640.

50 Porcheron, *Traitement et culture du tabac canadien,* section III.

51 F. Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ,* June 1910, 31.

52 Evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis, RCTT, 968, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA.

53 For this migration to the city, see Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Conféderation.*

54 *La Presse,* 12 December 1907, 16.

55 Evidence of David H. Ferguson, in Canada, Special Commission on the Causes of the Present Depression, "Report," 6 April 1876, 255.

56 See evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis and Philippe Roy, RCTT, 969 and 1247, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA. For other examples of Montreal tobacconists selling Canadian tobacco using wagons, see the evidence of tobacco merchant and manufacturer Napoleon Landry, 1209, ibid.

57 On the history of markets in Quebec, see Bergeron, "Le XIX^{e} siècle et l'âge d'or des marchés publics."

58 Testimony of J.M. Fortier, RCTT, 1430 and 1432, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA; Image from Collection Michel-Bazinet, cote 25-7-b, BNQ.

59 *Liqueurs et tabacs,* January 1902, 46.

60 Bradbury, *Working Families,* 47.

61 "Courrier de Collette," *La Presse,* 9 May 1914, 7.

62 "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse,* 13 and 15 January 1913, 7.

63 For examples, see the "Nouvelles ouvrières," in *La Presse,* 27 December 1921, 3, and 18 March 1922, 35.

64 T.G. Major, "Trends in the Canadian Market," *The Lighter/Le briquet,* 18 March 1933.

65 Rosaire Roch, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1300.

66 Charles Frenette claimed that in his region there were twenty-five to thirty dealers like him; see his evidence, 1694–6, ibid. For the estimate, see Major, "Trends in the Canadian Market," *The Lighter/Le briquet,* 18 March 1933.

67 Gray Miller, IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1630.

68 Unnamed government official to M. Arahill and Co., 23 November 1896, reel 744, 9137–40, Laurier Papers, NA.

69 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons,* 24 February 1905, 1682–3.

70 John F. Todd to Rosanna Todd, 20 June 1895 in Fialkowski, *John L. Todd Letters, 1876-1949,* 62, also John F. Todd to Rosanna Todd, 6 February 1895, ibid., 55.

71 *L'Album universel,* 20 October 1906, 845.

72 Benjamin Sulte, "Le Tabac," *Le Manitoba,* 15 May 1895, 1. Sulte's interest in the smoking habits of French Canadians is not surprising. Historian

Patrice Groulx has shown that his view of French Canadian history spotlighted the daily life of farmers, including topics such as the quality of soup and the comforts of the home. See Groulx, "Benjamin Sulte, père de la commemoration."

73 *CCTJ*, February 1898, 37.

74 "Le tabac du proletaire," *Le Devoir*, 2 March 1915, 8.

75 According to the *CCTJ*, August 1898, 214, in 1898 Canadian leaf cigars made up only 1 per cent of production. Quotation is from *CCTJ*, March 1898, 3.

76 *CMOJ*, October 1891, 9.

77 Quoted in "One Good Use for Tobacco," *CCTJ*, November 1912, 51.

78 Montreal *Gazette*, 2 September 1907, 3.

79 For other advertisements of Gerth's tobacco products, see Montreal *Gazette*, 5 September 1907, 5; and 16 September 1907, 5.

80 P.A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*.

81 Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, 228–9.

82 Lewis, "Productive and Spatial Strategies"; Kaufman, *Challenge and Change*.

83 Louis Lewis, "The World's Tobacco Crops: A Description of the Types of Leaf Grown All over the World," *CCTJ*, October 1898, 359. The first reference I have found to Lewis moving to Montreal is *CCTJ*, November 1903, 23.

84 F. Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, May 1910, 31.

85 "The Cigar Store Indian," *CCTJ*, November 1926, 23; Earl Spafford, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1813.

86 "Old-Time Cigar Store Indian Given Recognition in Extensive Research Project by WPA in USA," *CCTJ*, July 1940, 22.

87 Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, June 1910, 31–3.

88 Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 40.

89 Porcheron, *Traitement et culture du tabac canadien*, section I.

90 Labelle, *Traité de la culture et de l'industrie du tabac*, 106.

91 Montreal *Herald*, 26 March 1908, 11.

92 *CCTJ*, December 1909, 23.

93 Labelle, *Traité de la culture et de l'industrie du tabac*, 13.

94 See the testimonies at the RCTT of Montreal tobacconists Mary Pelletier, 1323–4, and Joseph Lacoste, 1326; and the evidence of Montreal's Albert Hebert, one of the largest wholesale grocers in Canada, 1404, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA. The questioners at the royal commission also believed that Macdonald's was the largest tobacco company in Canada; see the query of Goldstein, 1126, in the M.B. Davis testimony, and that by Fleming, 1179–80, in the W.C. Macdonald testimony. Fleming's belief is particularly important since he may have seen the federal government's "Blue Books," which kept track of excise for individual companies. I have never been able to locate the Blue Books. Besides the royal commission evidence, see the opinion of an unnamed government official who claimed that Macdonald tobacco was the "industry standard" in M. Arahill and Co., 23 November 1896, reel 744, 9137–40, Laurier Papers, NA.

95 This was part of a broader trend in Canadian business to stop price cutting; see Bliss, *A Living Profit*, 33–54.
96 Testimony of Hormidas Laporte, 1260; testimony of W.C. Macdonald, 1196, RCTT, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, NA.
97 "The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 719.
98 Ibid., 721. Stanley Brice Frost and Robert H. Michel, "Macdonald, Sir William Christopher," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14, 689–94.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 Ryan, "Gender and Public Access."
2 Allen, *The Social Passion*, especially chapter 1.
3 Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, and Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow."*
4 Dupré, *"To Smoke or Not to Smoke."*
5 The Roman Catholic Church's objections to state involvement in areas of morality is a well-known theme in Quebec historiography. See, for example, Fahmy-Eid, *Le clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec.*
6 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 162–75.
7 *Catéchisme de tempérance*, 13–14.
8 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 April 1903, 827.
9 Ibid., 23 March 1904, 338.
10 *Testimony concerning the "Cigarette,"* 11.
11 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 April 1903, 820–1.
12 *Catéchisme de tempérance*, 16.
13 Ibid., 4.
14 Montreal *Witness*, 28 March 1903, 4.
15 The same motivations help explain the popularity of eugenics among social gospellers; see McLaren, *Our Own Master Race.*
16 Montreal WCTU, *Annual Report* (1888), 19, MUL; Canada, *Census*, 1891, 312–13, 204.
17 Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow,"* 6, 75–133.
18 *Catéchisme de tempérance*, 13.
19 Ibid.
20 Metcalfe, "Report of the Department of Narcotics," Quebec WCTU, *12th Annual Report*, 1895, 65. This and all subsequent Quebec WCTU reports from F 885, AO.
21 Sara Rowell Wright, "Report of Department of Narcotics: Quebec," *8th Report of the Dominion WCTU*, 1895, 87. This and all subsequent Dominion WCTU reports from F 885, AO.
22 Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow,"* 84.
23 Annie L. Jack, "A Lesson Learned," Quebec WCTU, *8th Annual Report*, 1891, 39.
24 Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, 138.

25 Crossley, *Practical Talks on Important Themes*, 194–200. For more on Crossley, see Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, 219–20. Sharon Anne Cook also makes this point in her "Evangelical Moral Reform," 185–7.
26 Moyle, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 54–74; DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal."
27 "Salvation Songs," *The War Cry*, 25 January 1890, 8, cited in Cook, "Evangelical Moral Reform," 187.
28 Moyle, *Blood and Fire in Canada*, 74.
29 *Sunday School Banner*, March 1904, iii; *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the Montreal Annual Conference of the Methodist Church* (Montreal: William Briggs Publisher, 1892), 84, United Church Collection, ANQ-M.
30 "Dr. Richardson on Tobacco," *Presbyterian Recorder*, December 1892, 330; "Digest of Minutes," Thirty-Fourth Session of the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa, 11-0-001-03-06-001B-01, 23, United Church Collection, ANQ-M.
31 "To Prohibit Cigarettes," Montreal *Weekly Witness*, 20 February 1912, 3.
32 Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 157.
33 T.C. Vickers to Wilfrid Laurier, 6 March 1907, reel c-845, 121093–7, Laurier Papers, NA.
34 *7th Annual Report of the Dominion WCTU*, 1894, 76.
35 Canada, *Census*, 1891, 1901, 1911.
36 Montreal *Gazette*, 20 February 1893, 4.
37 "Children and Theatres," Montreal *Gazette* 3 April 1903, 4.
38 "The Cigarette," quoted in translation in the *CCTJ*, May 1907, 17, from *Le Canada*, 12 March 1907.
39 "Contre les cigarettes," *La Patrie*, 4 December 1907, 4.
40 Canada, *Census*, 1891, 312–13.
41 On Davidson, see J.I. Cooper, *The Blessed Communion*, 118–19; for the synod debate, see Montreal *Star*, 18 January 1899, 7; for the resolution, see Church of England, Doicese of Montreal, *40th Annual Session of the Synod*, 17 January 1899, 34–5.
42 Montreal *Star*, 18 January 1899, 7.
43 Ibid. For another affirmation in a more popular source that smoking was not considered a sin, see "Etiquette," Montreal *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, 5 February 1895, 6.
44 Cooper, *The Blessed Communion*, 125.
45 Nourrisson, "Tabagisme et antitabagisme en France," and his *Histoire social du tabac*, chapter 9.
46 I have found no direct contact between anti-smoking Quebecers and the French anti-smoking movement. No Canadians were at the Congrès international contre l'abus du tabac in July 1889. See Alphonse Karr, *Congrès international contre l'abus du tabac* – 1890, copy in Bibliothèque nationale de France.
47 "Guérison des vomissements chez une hystérique par la fumée de tabac," *Union médicale du Canada*, June 1874, 263.

48 E. Decroix, "Le tabac et l'hygiene," *Le Manitoba*, 28 March 1889, 1, and A. Blatin, "Le tabac et la congestion cérébrale," *Le Manitoba*, 11 April 1889, 1.
49 Nourrisson, "Tabagisme et antitabagisme en France."
50 X.Y.Z., "L'influence pernicieuse du tabac," *Le Monde illustré*, 31 December 1887, 275; 21 January 1888, 293.
51 Montreal *Gazette*, 21 November 1895, 1.
52 See *Les Mandements: Lettres pastorales, circulaires et autres documents publiés dans le diocèse de Montreal* (Montreal: Arbour et Laperle, 1890–1914), AAM. For examples of lists of "Vices," see "Lettre pastorale de nos seigneurs les archevêques et évêques des provinces ecclésiastiques de Québec, de Montréal et Ottawa: Dangers des Mauvaises Compagnies," ibid., 2: 662.
53 See numerous letters in the dossier "Campagnes de tempérance par les évêques de Montréal: Correspondance générale, 1882–1906," AAM. For other Catholic temperance organizations in Montreal, see the "Nouveau manuel de la Ligue du cœur de Jesus" in the dossier on the "Ligue du Sacre-Cœur (fédération des), 1905–1924" and "Société de Tempérance de l'église St. Pierre" in the dossier entitled "Société de tempérance et de charité établies dans le diocèse de Montréal." These dossiers are also at AAM.
54 Hamelin and Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, 175–230.
55 "Our Ottawa Letter," *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, 11 April 1903, 4; Françoise (Robertine Barry), "Sauvons l'enfance," *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 January 1908, 310.
56 Hamelin and Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, 19.
57 Ibid., 198.
58 Pierre Fontanel, "Pour et contre le tabac," 23.
59 For a recounting of the two positions by a Montreal church leader, see Symonds, *A Memoir*.
60 Elva Desmarchais to Archbishop Paul Bruchési, 15 March 1907. WCTU dossier, AAM; Laurier Lapierre, "Tarte, Joseph-Israël," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 12: 1013–20; "Lois prohibitives," *La Patrie*, 18 October 1907, 4; Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 April 1903, 842.
61 Hamelin and Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, 18–19.
62 "Lois prohibitives," *La Patrie*, 18 October 1907, 4.
63 J. MacL. Metcalfe, "Report of the Superintendent of Narcotics," Quebec WCTU, *11th Annual Report*, 1894, 79–80.
64 Montreal WCTU, *Annual Reports*, 1884–99.
65 "Executive," 1 December 1902, Montreal WCTU Minute Book, AO.
66 Quebec WCTU, *13th Annual Report*, 1896, 65.
67 Tate, "The American Anti-Cigarette Movement." For an Ontario example of an American-style anti-tobacco league, see Richard Hobbs, "The Anti-Tobacco League," *Christian Guardian*, 2 August 1911.
68 Quebec WCTU, *15th Annual Report*, 1897, 75.

69 Quebec WCTU, *22nd Annual Report*, 1904–5, 78–9; *24th Annual Report*, 1906–7, 66.
70 "The Standard's Anti-Cigarette Roll of Honor for Canadian Children," Montreal *Standard*, 30 March 1907, 6.
71 Montreal *Gazette*, 20 February 1893, 3.
72 "A Bill intituled [*sic*] an Act to Prohibit the Sale of Cigarettes to minors," New Brunswick, *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1 April 1890, 60.
73 "An Act to Prohibit the Sale or Gift of Tobacco to Minors in Certain Cases," British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 20 April 1891; "Minor's Protection Act," Nova Scotia, *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 25 March 1892; "An Act Respecting the Use of Tobacco by Minors," Ontario, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 29 February 1892, 47; North-West Territories, *Ordinances*, 1896; Prince Edward Island, *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1901.
74 Tate, "The American Anti-Cigarette Movement," 133.
75 J. MacL. Metcalfe, "Report of the Superintendent of Narcotics," Quebec WCTU, *10th Annual Report*, 1892–93, 65.
76 Her letters to county presidents of the WCTU produced only limited results. Out of eighty letters, she received thirteen replies, six of these saying that the writers were too busy with other WCTU business; see ibid., 65.
77 Montreal *Witness*, 27 February 1893, 6; Montreal *Gazette*, 27 February 1893, 4.
78 Quebec, *Journeaux de l'Assemblée nationale*: for the second attempt, see 10, 16, and 21 November 1893; for the third attempt, see 27 and 29 November 1894; and for the final bill, see 8 and 20 November 1895. See also Montreal *Gazette*, 21 November 1895, 1; Quebec WCTU, *14th Annual Report*, 1897, 54.
79 Anti-smoking lobbying at the provincial level in Quebec was limited to two petitions: the first on 28 February 1902 to forbid tobacco sales to anyone under eighteen, submitted by "Mary E. Sanderson and others"; the second, a similar petition, sent on 12 May 1905 by the Quebec WCTU. For the Quebec WCTU's opposition to moving the cigarette prohibition campaign to the provincial level, see its *24th Annual Report*, 1907, 12–13.
80 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 April 1903, 830.
81 Annie O. Rutherford, Annie M. Bascom and Jennie Waters to MPs, 25 April 1903, cover letter to pamphlet *Testimony concerning the "Cigarette."*
82 Montreal *Witness*, 28 March 1903, 4.
83 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 23 March 1904, 344.
84 *Testimony concerning the "Cigarette,"* back cover.
85 "The Cigarette Evil," Montreal *Witness*, 26 March 1903, 12.
86 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 23 March 1904, 339–40. Others continued on the theme of outlawing only cigarettes, not all tobacco products; see ibid., 1 April 1903, 830–1, and 16 March 1908, 5103.
87 "Anti-Cigarette Motion Adopted," Montreal *Gazette*, 2 April 1903, 7.
88 M.B. Davis to R. Préfontaine, reel c-802, 75090-1, Laurier Papers, NA. The letter is undated, but its position in the Laurier Papers suggests it was written in 1903.

89 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 23 March 1904, 354.
90 Ibid., 363.
91 This legislative path is summed up in ibid., 16 March 1908, 5088–91.
92 On the Ontario tobacco belt, see Tait, *Tobacco in Canada*, 59–72.
93 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 16 March 1908, 5123.
94 "Anti-Cigarette Bill," Montreal *Star*, 16 July 1908, 4; Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 16 March 1908, 5133–4.
95 Daisy Cross, "Anti-Narcotics," Quebec WCTU, *26th Annual Report*, 1908–9, 64; Sophia Black, "Anti-Narcotics," Quebec WCTU, *27th Annual Report*, 1909–10, 63.
96 Recorder's Court *Reports*, 1909–11, AVM.
97 CCC, "Proceedings," 23.
98 City Council, Montreal, Minutes, 26 February 1912, 51; Bureau des Commissaires, *Procès verbal*, 23 March 1912, 19, AVM.
99 At the Commons Commission on the Cigarette, F.X. Choquet denied using entrapment, only to be contradicted by Owen Dawson; see CCC, "Proceedings," 23 and 45.
100 *CCTJ*, November 1913, 37.
101 Florence E. Woodley, "Quebec Will Not Be Found Wanting," *Canadian White Ribbon Bulletin*, April 1914, 59.
102 Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow,"* 13.
103 CCC, "Proceedings," 2.
104 Ibid., 6.
105 Cunningham, *Smoke and Mirrors*, 35.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 Walden, "Speaking Modern," 303.
2 Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony." In addition to Walden's work, for an example of the use of hegemony and cultural selection in Canada, see Storey, "Unionization versus Corporate Welfare," as well as McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*. For a discussion of these issues in the context of Quebec newspaper advertising, see Côté and Daigle, *Publicité de masse et masse publicitaire*, 300–7.
3 For a brief recounting of this question, see McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*, 235–6.
4 On mass consumption in the late 1920s, see S. Morton, *Ideal Surroundings*, 10–11, and Cohen, *Making a New Deal*.
5 The specific revision to the Inland Revenue Act to change these excise duties was an amendment to 60–1 Victoria, chap. 19, no. 13 (m) and (n). This amendment put an excise tax of fourteen cents per pound on stemmed foreign leaf tobacco and ten cents per pound on non-stemmed.
6 See "Comparative Statement of Manufactures," in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, for these years.

7 Lyal Tait reports that tobacco growth in Quebec between 1898 and 1910 rose from 5,800,000 to 10,000,000 pounds. In Ontario, expansion into tobacco was even more impressive, increasing from 399,870 to 7,000,000 pounds in the same years. See Tait, *Tobacco in Canada*, 73–4.
8 Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, June 1910, 35.
9 L'Association des planteurs de tabac du district de Joliette to Laurier, 22 January 1908, reel c-857, 134615, Laurier Papers, NA.
10 "The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 719–21.
11 "Sir W. Macdonald At Last Has 'Phone and Elevator,'" Montreal *Herald*, 2 May 1910, 3. While I can not say definitively that Macdonald never advertised, I have surveyed the Montreal popular press extensively between 1895 and 1914 and have not found any Macdonald tobacco advertising. After he died in 1917, his company began producing cigarettes. On Macdonald, see E.M.D., "The House of Macdonald: The Unique History of a Great Canadian Enterpise," *Saturday Night*, Financial Section, 20 January 1923; "Canada's Tobacco King," *CCTJ*, July 1913, 39; Stanley Brice Frost and Robert H. Michel, "Macdonald, Sir William Christopher," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14: 689–94. On the standards of business at the turn of the twentieth century, see Chandler, *The Visible Hand*.
12 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, February 1899, 51; "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, July 1899, 253.
13 Letter from Joseph Picard to Laurier, 20 March 1908, reel c-860, 138050, Laurier Papers, NA.
14 Evidence of Albert Octave Dugas, RCTT, 983, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA. Dugas was a lawyer and MP for Montcalm.
15 Evidence of Joseph Picard, 618, ibid.
16 Lavoie quoted in Kaufman, *Challenge and Change*, 34–5.
17 Evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis, RCTT, 991, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.
18 D.B. McTavish, "Report of the Commissioner," Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1903, no. 62, 7–8.
19 He gave the example of one farmer who received ten cents per pound of tobacco rather than seven. Pierre Denis, 6 July 1903, reel c-802, 74811, Laurier Papers, NA. For numerous other letters of support, see 83932–84001 on the same microfilm.
20 "Canadian Tobacco," *CCTJ*, August 1899, 289.
21 "As Others See Us," *CCTJ*, November 1908, 44–5.
22 Felix Charlan, "Dominion Department of Agriculture: The Tobacco Division Organized, 1905," *CCTJ*, July 1910, 23.
23 While it is true that the 1911 census reported that 1.5 million more pounds of tobacco were grown in Ontario than Quebec, by 1921 Quebec was outpaced by 6 million pounds. See Canada, *Census*, 1921, 5: 445.
24 "The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 705.

25 "The Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, 657.
26 "Growing High-Class Tobacco in Canada," *CCTJ*, December 1908, 27.
27 "Smoker's Prejudice," *CCTJ*, September 1921, 21.
28 I surveyed *La Presse* and the *Montreal Star*, the two largest circulation newspapers in Montreal, looking at each Saturday for the years 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, and 1914. I also did less-systematic surveys of other Montreal newspapers, such as the *Gazette*, *La Patrie*, *Le Canada*, and the *Herald*, for the years 1903, 1907, 1908, and 1914.
29 Montreal *Star*, 14 July 1900, 1.
30 Evidence of H.C. Fortier, RCTT, 1416, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.
31 Evidence of George E. Forbes, 1270, ibid.
32 Letter of colonel commanding Canadian Troops at Shorncliffe, 18 November 1917, RG 9 III B1, vol. 3263, file 5-32-42 (vol.1), NA.
33 Walter Stewart, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1718–1727.
34 "Special Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying: Memorandum on the Evidence Dealing with the Tobacco Industry," August 1934, 21. The tariff was set at one-sixth the general rate in 1919; in 1925 it increased to one-quarter, and finally in 1932 it was fixed at 2s. ½ d. for a period of ten years.
35 W.F. Kingston, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1213.
36 "Tobacco Duties," Montreal *Herald*, 20 June, 1928, 4.
37 "Handicapping Canadian Leaf," *CCTJ*, May 1925, 15.
38 Roch, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1299–1300.
39 J.L. Perron, "Report of the Minister of Agriculture, 1928–29," Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1931–32, no. 20. See also the report of the branch's inspector, Conrad Turcot, "Tobacco Growing," in "Report of the Minister of Agriculture, 1928–29," Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1931–32, 171–3.
40 Gray Miller, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1630.
41 A.E. Picard to H.H. Stevens, 3 May 1934, "General Correspondence of Tobacco Companies" file, Subject Rock City, RG 33–18 vol. 36, NA.
42 Roch, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1300 and citation from 1303.
43 Joseph Marion, Evidence, ibid., 1687.
44 For these petitions, see Exhibit 120, Price Spreads Commission, RG 33-18, vol. 61, NA. For a list of these petitions, see IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1438.
45 It had briefly been excised and licensed in 1918, but the tax was removed in 1923 and licensing system ended at the same time. See "Growers Must be Licensed Now," *CCTJ*, September 1918, 49, 51. Also Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 24 July 1942, 4640.
46 The preceding paragraph is based on Ferland, in Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 24 July 1942, 4640.
47 "Tobacco Section," in Quebec, *Report of the Minister of Agriculture*, 1941–42, 71.
48 Ibid.
49 Evidence of Mortimer B. Davis, RCTT, 1061, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA. One indicator that Rattray was one of the most elite cigar-store

owners and tobacco manufacturers was that he was among the leading importers of Havana cigars. In October of 1902, for example, only E.A. Gerth imported as many Havana cigars into Canada as Rattray. See "Importations de la Havane," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, December 1902, 40. For a concise history of cigarettes, see Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 12–13.

50 "Yldiz [*sic*] Magnum," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, August 1902, 28; Photograph 22570, Category 31, CPR Archives; Montreal *Gazette*, 14 October 1907, 2.

51 For Virginian cigarettes, see advertisement for Smokerets, Montreal *Gazette*, 14 October 1907, 2. For Turkish tobacco cigarettes, see advertisement for Tuckett's Special Turkish Cigarettes, *Gazette*, 9 June 1910, 13. For a mixture of the two, see Benson and Hedges advertisement, *Gazette*, 12 September 1907, 7.

52 Montreal *Gazette*, 7 October 1907, 4.

53 Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd. Collection, M999.70.2.10, McCord Museum Archives.

54 Said, *Orientalism*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.

55 "The Holiday Package and the Cigarette Insert," *CCTJ*, October 1912, 11.

56 Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 249–50.

57 "Cigarette Making," *CCTJ*, April 1906, 45.

58 Montreal *Star*, 13 April 1895, 16.

59 Dawson, CCC, "Proceedings," 24; interview with Frank Bell of Griffintown in Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, 177–9.

60 *CCTJ*, June 1908, 11.

61 The pre-war 1914 statistic comes from *CCTJ*, July 1914, 10.

62 For cigarette statistics from 1901 to 1931, see table 15, "Quantities of Spirits, Malt and Tobacco Taken Out of Bond for Consumption, Fiscal Years Ended 1901–1931," *Canada Yearbook*, 1932, 721.

63 Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*. For a fascinating example of changing conceptions of speed in Canada, see Walden, *Becoming Modern*, 3–7.

64 "Editorial Notes," *CCTJ*, February 1908, 13.

65 Bernard Baron, "Cigarette Age Coming," *CCTJ*, January 1914, 39.

66 Montreal *Herald*, 31 May 1910, 11.

67 "Son idéal," *La Presse*, 26 November 1910, comic section, 1.

68 Choquette, *Carabinades*, 94–5.

69 "Apotheosis of the Pipe," *CCTJ*, August 1903, 53.

70 "Evolution in Smoking," *CCTJ*, August 1898, 233.

71 "Origin of Smoking," *CCTJ*, April 1904, 43.

72 "The Soda Fountain and the Cigar Store," *CCTJ*, March 1913, 11.

73 The consignment agreement conditions were published in the "Report of the Commissioner" of the RCTT, Canada, *Sessional Papers*, no. 62, 1903, 4–6.

74 Evidence of Phillipe Roy, RCTT, 1246, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.

75 Evidence of Davis, 1126, ibid.; see also the evidence of Peter N. Menard, whose job it was to check the numbers on the back of cigarette packages in

Queen v. the American Tobacco Company, exhibit A-38, 1708, ibid. See also testimony of Bernard Goldstein in *Theo Hamel v. Mortimer B. Davis et al, sur accusation de conspiration pour restreindre le commerce (Art.216-520)*, 9, 1786, ibid.

76 Bernard Goldstein evidence, 18 January 1897, 1632, ibid. See also testimony of Alphonse Brazeau in the same court case, who was told by an agent of the ATCC, Louis Samenhoff, that he could not sell to Goldstein, 1660, ibid.

77 Evidence of O.W. Legault, 1222, ibid. He lists the "cream of the cream" of wholesale companies as Hudon Hebert, Charles Lacaille & Co., A. Robitaille & Co.; Hudon, Arsoli; Lockerby Bros; Laporte Martin & Co. See also Evidence of C. De Cazil, 1239, Testimony of J.B. Courtois, 1317, Evidence of Jacob Goldstein, 1368, ibid.

78 Testimony of J.M. Fortier, 1341, ibid.

79 1340, ibid.

80 Testimony of H.C. Fortier, 1422, ibid.

81 Michael Bliss has shown that the Canadian government was far more permissive towards monopolies than the American; see his *A Living Profit*, 33–54.

82 Testimony of Joseph Picard, RCTT, 613, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.

83 Testimony of Abraham Michaels, 1274, ibid.

84 Walden, *Becoming Modern*, 126.

85 Evidence of O.S. Perrault, RCTT, 1085, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.

86 For examples of Sweet Caporal advertising, see *Le Nationaliste*, 14 April 1912, 1, 27; *La Patrie*, May 1910, 4; *Le Pays*, 6 August 1910; *Le Canada*, 27 May 1910, 9; *La Presse*, 16 August 1910; Montreal *Star*, 10 October 1910, 6.

87 "Grocers' Show Is in Full Swing," Montreal *Herald*, 21 April 1908, 5.

88 Walden, *Becoming Modern*, 119–66.

89 *CCTJ*, Janurary 1899, 37. In 1914, as a reward for his twenty-five years of service as "mascot" of the Imperial Tobacco Company, Professor Brown was given a trip to Europe. On the use of "exotic bodies" to attract crowds, see Walden, *Becoming Modern*, 157.

90 "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, July 1901, 319. He also visited the Toronto Industrial Exhibition; see *CCTJ*, September 1901, 449.

91 On the scarcity of cars in Montreal at the turn of the century, see Veilleux, "La motorisation."

92 *Liqueurs et tabacs*, January 1902, 28.

93 *CCTJ*, June 1913, 41.

94 *CCTJ*, April 1909, 53.

95 "Une flanerie du soir," *Liqueurs et tabacs*, January 1902, 42. My description here follows the line of argument set out in Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern."

96 For a tag prize list, see *CCTJ*, August 1901, 175–390. It took 1,200 tags to earn a gun.

97 "Coupon Habit," Montreal *Star*, 8 October 1910, 18.
98 *CCTJ*, April 1904, 65.
99 "National Council of Women," Montreal *Witness*, 26 September 1904, 2.
100 Dawson, CCC, "Proceedings," 50.
101 Testimony of Emanuel Belasco, "ATCC charged with conspiracy," 18 December 1896, 1707, RG 13, box 2317, file 349/1903, 1174–7, NA.
102 Testimonies of William L. Ross and Theotime Valiquette, ibid.
103 Tate, "The American Anti-Cigarette Movement," 61–4. In her dissertation, Tate goes as far as to say that these kinds of excesses were typical of the American anti-smoking movement and eventually contributed to its demise.
104 "Cigarette Trial Progresses," *CCTJ*, May 1914, 9. The testimony is also reported in Ottawa *Citizen*, 21 April 1914, 1; *La Patrie*, 9 May 1914, 4; "Notes and Comments," Montreal *Herald*, 10 April 1908, 4.
105 Tyrrell, *Dangerous Enemies*, 130–1.
106 *Catéchisme de tempérance*, 15.
107 Sanderson, "President's Address," Quebec WCTU, *9th Annual Report*, October 1892, 30–1.
108 These two-page advertisements were not run in Montreal newspapers.
109 On concerns of purity and adulteration in advertising, see Walden, "Speaking Modern." Purity was also an issue in discourses on race and sex during this era; see Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*.
110 *La Presse*, 3 September 1910, 8.
111 For the letter, see the Montreal *Witness*, 26 March 1903, 12; and for a similar editorial, see Montreal *Witness*, 28 March 1903, 4.
112 "Cinemas et cigarettes," *La Patrie*, 9 May 1914, 4.
113 Boucher, "Intoxication chronique par le tabac," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, March 1920, 134.
114 CCC, "Proceedings," 50.
115 Porter, "Origins of the American Tobacco Company."
116 D. Morton, "Entente cordiale?" 235.
117 *CCTJ*, November 1914, 21.
118 *CCTJ*, December 1914, 21.
119 *CCTJ*, December 1918, 39.
120 *La Presse*, 3 July 1885, 4, and 16 October 1899.
121 *CCTJ*, October 1914, 23.
122 *CCTJ*, August 1918, 33.
123 *La Presse*, 11 November 1914, 8.
124 *La Presse*, 25 November 1914, 7, and 27 November 1914, 9.
125 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse*, 11 November 1914, 9.
126 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse*, 28 November 1914, 21.
127 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse*, 20 November 1914, 10.

128 For the tramway employees, see *La Presse,* 14 January 1915, 11. For the monastery employees, see 21 November 1914, 15.
129 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse,* 21 November 1914, 15.
130 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse,* 23 November 1914, 5.
131 "Donnons du tabac pour nos braves soldats en Europe," *La Presse,* 25 November 1914, 7, and the same column on 27 November 1914, 9.
132 D. Morton, "Entente cordiale?" 230–1.
133 Montreal *Gazette,* 27 March 1915, 8.
134 See full-page advertisement announcing the fund, Montreal *Gazette,* 27 March 1915, 8.
135 Montreal *Gazette, The Record of the Gazette Tobacco Fund,* 2.
136 "'More Tobacco' Is Constant Cry," Montreal *Gazette,* 1 June 1915, 8.
137 "Men Like 'Smokes' They Had at Home," Montreal *Gazette,* 17 April 1916, 8.
138 Georges Vanier to Margaret Vanier, 15 January 1916, in Cowley, *Georges Vanier,* 108. It is not clear here whether he was referring to Rose Quesnel from Rock City Tobacco or Rouge and Quesnel from the Imperial subsidiary in Quebec City, B. Houde Co. Ltd.
139 Agar to Mabel Adamson, 17 March 1915 and 21 March 1915, in Christie, *Letters of Agar Adamson,* 43 and 46.
140 For Molson, see Montreal *Gazette,* 1 May 1915, 12; for Beatty, see 17 May 1915, 12.
141 Montreal *Gazette, The Record of the Gazette Tobacco Fund,* 10–11.
142 For Angus Shops, see Montreal *Gazette,* 31 May 1915, 15; for Dominion, see 19 July 1915, 12.
143 Montreal *Gazette, The Record of the Gazette Tobacco Fund,* 7.
144 Montreal *Gazette,* 24 May 1915, 13.
145 Montreal *Gazette,* 27 March 1915, 8.
146 For Drummond, see Montreal *Gazette,* 3 May 1915, 12; for Van Horne, see 17 May 1915, 12; for Hingston and Hickson, see 19 April 1915, 12; for Ladies Benevolent Society, see 24 May 1915, 12; see also "Curlers Give to Tobacco Fund," 27 March 1916, 11.
147 For CPR women, see Montreal *Gazette,* 31 May 1915, 15; for Bell Telephone, see 17 May 1915, 12; for James Muir Co, see 5 July 1915, 12.
148 C.B. Bigelow, "Concerning the Tobacco Craze," *White Ribbon Bulletin,* August 1916, 54.
149 M.E.E.C. "The Devil in White," *White Ribbon Bulletin,* June 1915, 84.
150 Jennie Waters, "They Are Death Dealing," *White Ribbon Bulletin,* August 1915, 118.
151 Jennie Waters, "Tobacco: For or Against," *White Ribbon Bulletin,* May 1916, 70.
152 For Sewing Club, see Montreal *Gazette,* 10 May 1915, 12; for Mother's Union, see 21 June 1915, 12.

153 Montreal *Gazette*, 5 July 1915, 12.
154 "What Do You Know About This," *CCTJ*, March 1916, 19.
155 Hughes cited in Montreal *Gazette, The Record of the Gazette Tobacco Fund*, 5.
156 Cyrus MacMillan to Jim MacMillan, 12 May 1917; MG 1057, c.2, file 1, MUA. The biblical quotation comes from Matthew 10:42.
157 D. Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 73.
158 The weekly ration of tobacco was two ounces a week; see letter of Thos. L. Acheson reprinted in Montreal *Gazette, The Record of the Gazette Tobacco Fund*, 34.
159 During the First World War, the Red Cross gave out 12 million cigarettes. See Macphail, *History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War*, 344.
160 For an example of a new smoker, though not from Montreal, see the letters of Roy Macfie, particularly his confession to Muriel Macfie, 10 October 1915, in John Macfie, *Letters Home*, 42–3.
161 Letter, 17 November 1917, NAC, RG 9 III B1 vol.3263, file 5-32-42 (vol.1), NA.
162 Agar to Mabel Adamson, 20 August 1916 in Christie, *Letters of Agar Adamson*, 210.
163 See D. Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 252.
164 Macphail, *History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War*, 135.
165 Grant, *Letters from Armagedden*, 111.
166 Agar to Mabel Adamson, 7 July 1917, in Christie, *Letters of Agar Adamson*, 295.
167 Cyrus Macmillan to Christina Macmillan, 14 July 1918, file 5, c.2, MG 1057, MUA.
168 "Bagpipe and Cigarette Won The War," Montreal *Herald*, 21 February 1933, 4.
169 Rogizinski, *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World*, 129–30.
170 "The War and Its Far Reaching Effects on the Tobacco Industry," *CCTJ*, January 1940, 22.
171 H.C. Fortier, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1867.
172 Earl Spafford, ibid., 1634.
173 Hughes, ibid., 1862.
174 Letter from A.A. Grothé to Norman Sommerville, 7 June 1934, NAC, RG 33–18,Volume 36.
175 "American Invasion Rumored," *CCTJ*, July 1914, 11; transcribed telephone conversation with John A. Carter, RG 33-18, vol. 36, NA.
176 Petition of Regina Candy Co., The Kaban Co, Standard Tobacco, and U. Ratner Wholesale and Confectionary to H.H. Stevens, 7 May 1934, ibid.
177 1930–33 audits of United Cigar Stores Limited, vol. 51, exhibit 160, ibid.
178 H.C. Fortier, Evidence, in IT, RCPS, Testimony; H.C. Fortier to Norman Sommerville, 25 May 1934, RG 33-18, vol. 37, exhibit 160, NA; Max Ratner, 28 November 1930, ibid., vol. 36. See also Petition of Regina Candy Co. *et al.*

179 See letter of support of O.W. Rorke, secretary of the Montreal Tobacco Retailers Association, included in Spafford, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1824.
180 IT, RCPS, Testimony, 813.
181 See series of letters included in RG 33-18, vol. 36, NA.
182 On H.C. Fortier, see IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1867; for Dragonos, see 1 November 1930 in series of letters included in RG 33-18, vol. 36, NA.
183 Spafford, in IT, RCPS, Testimony, 1909 and 1634.
184 Linnel to Stevens, 27 February 1934, RG 33-18, vol. 36, NA.
185 "League Has Sent 73,000,000 Smokes," *CCTJ*, March 1944, 14.
186 Durflinger, "City at War," 142. For a $50 donation from L'Association des vétérans de guerre de la police du district de Montréal, see 147.
187 The word "buckshee" comes from Arabic and means cost-free; see D. Morton, *When Your Number Is Up*, 74.
188 "La résurrection du 'Buckshee Fund' au bénéfice du soldat," *La Presse*, 10 August 1940, 30.
189 "Buckshee Fund Annual Report," *CCTJ*, May 1944, 12.
190 "Les félicitation du général McNaughton au Buckshee Fund," *La Presse*, 26 March 1942, 14.
191 "Smokes for Soldiers," *CCTJ*, February 1940, 14.
192 I have sampled *La Presse*, the Montreal *Star*, and *La Patrie* for the period.

CHAPTER SIX

1 *CCTJ*, December 1943, 14 and 22.
2 *The Canadian Consumer Survey of 1947*, 174 and 176. For the methodology of this study, see Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy*.
3 Halberstam, *The Powers That Be*, 9; Warsh. "Smoke and Mirrors," 185.
4 Schudson, "Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising in the 1920s"; Tate, *Cigarette Wars*; Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture;* Nourrisson, *Histoire sociale du tabac*; Tyrrell, *Dangerous Enemies.*
5 Useful starting places for the history of the women's movement in Quebec are Hébert, "Une organisation maternaliste au Québec," and Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil.* For the anglophone movement in the city, see Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?*
6 On the well-known nature of Sand's smoking habits, see Peyre, "Keynote Address," xiii.
7 Sergeant, *Brooke's Daughter*, 53 and 88.
8 "Un exploit de femme-detective," *Les Débats*, 4 February 1900.
9 Cigarette, "Mode et modes," *Le Journal de Françoise*, March 1902, 12, and "Notes sur la mode," 1 February 1908, 329.
10 "Le Courrier de Colette," *La Presse*, 30 May 1914, 9.
11 "Favor Feminin Smoking," Montreal *Star*, 17 April 1914, 1.
12 *CCTJ*, November 1909, 21; reprinted in *Liqueurs et tabacs*, December 1909, 69. On monograms, see Montreal *Star*, 7 April 1914, 1.

13 *Le Journal de Françoise*, 1 July 1905, 107.
14 Ibid., 20 May 1905, 57.
15 Ibid., 3 June 1905, 72.
16 Ibid., 1 July 1905, 102.
17 Ibid., 21 October 1905, 217.
18 Ibid., 1 July 1905, 107.
19 Ibid., 17 June 1905, 91.
20 Ibid., 14 August 1905, 155.
21 "Sauvons l'enfance," *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 January 1908, 310.
22 *Le Journal de Françoise*, 20 June 1908, back cover.
23 Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors," 189.
24 Julien Saint-Michel [Eva Circé-Côté], "La manie de fumer," *Le Monde ouvrier*, 26 January 1929.
25 Sergeant, *Brooke's Daughter*, 53 and 88.
26 Ibid.; Montreal *Herald*, 24 February 1912, 7; *CCTJ*, February 1911, 25.
27 Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled*, 70.
28 See D. Morton, "The June Bride as the Working-Class Bride."
29 Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner*, 291.
30 "Etiquette," Montreal *Herald*, 22 February 1933, 5; "Le Courrier de Colette," *La Presse*, 10 March 1930, 4.
31 I sampled all Birkett's cases in the 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925, and 1930 casebooks. He may have had more cases than these in these years since he kept his files by patient, in the order in which they came to see him first. Other examples of women admitting to Birkett to being smokers are cases no.20999 (16 November 1923), no.26340 (6 October 1925), and no.21984 (4 January 1927), Fonds H.S. Birkett, Osler Library Archives, McGill University.
32 "Smokers of the World," *CCTJ*, January 1940, 10. See also McPherson, *Bedside Matters*, 38, 165–6, and 189.
33 "The Anti-Tobacco Organization," *CCTJ*, November 1920, 25.
34 C.F. Sanders, "Well Planned Ads Are Offering Cigarettes to Women Smokers," *CCTJ*, August 1927, 16.
35 *CCTJ*, November 1932, 24.
36 *CCTJ*, October 1920, 5.
37 On Virginia Ovals, Egyptian Deities, and Dardanelles, see *CCTJ*, January 1926, 42; for Milo Violets, see advertisement from *Harper's Bazaar*, February 1918, published in Warsh, "Smoke and Mirrors," 193.
38 "The Ladies Take to Pipes," *CCTJ*, May 1932, 30.
39 "Pipes for Ladies Shown at Montreal," *CCTJ*, November 1932, 24.
40 On *La Revue moderne*, see Coulombe, "La femme des années trente."
41 *La Revue moderne*, January 1920, 31.
42 "Courrier de Madeleine," *La Revue moderne*, February 1920, 71.
43 *La Presse*, 17 March 1924, 15.
44 Mitchell, "Images of Exotic Women," 327–350.
45 *La Presse*, 24 September 1925, 23.

46 Brandt, "The Cigarette, Risk, and American Culture."
47 C.F. Sanders, "Well Planned Ads ...," *CCTJ*, August 1927, 16. The article claims the advertisement ran on 25 May 1927. I was not able to find it on that day but did find it two days later.
48 This list has been developed from a Montreal History Group sample of *La Presse* and the Montreal *Star* between 1920 and 1945. These advertisements were the similar to those directed to women in the Montreal *Herald* and the Montreal *Gazette*.
49 Penny Tinkler makes a similar argument for Britain in her "'Red Tips and Hot Lips'" and "Refinement and Respectable Consumption."
50 For Sweet Caporal, see Montreal *Star*, 24 July 1936, 4; for Gold Flakes, see 28 July 1938, 2.
51 For Marlboro, see Montreal *Star*, 1 February 1938; for Gold Flake, see 14 April 1938.
52 *La Presse*, 13 September 1934, 34; Montreal *Star*, 5 June 1939, 23.
53 For Marlboro, see Montreal *Star*, 1 June 1937, 17.
54 For British Consols, see *La Presse*, 27 June 1928, 19; for Turrets, see Montreal *Star*, 28 December 1937, 15.
55 "Tobacconists Have Many Customers among Fair Sex of Montreal," Montreal *Star*, 3 January 1927, 15.
56 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 154.
57 Lamonde and Hébert, *Le cinéma au Québec*; Lever, *Histoire général du cinéma au Québec*.
58 See reminiscence of silent film star Colleen Moore in Rosen, *Popcorn Venus*, 78. See also *Lilies of the Field* advertisement, *La Presse*, 16 August 1924, 29.
59 Graham, *When Life's a Drag*, 4–5.
60 In the 1930s, French films also gained significant audiences, yet the cigarette played a different role. A rare example of the heroine of a film smoking comes in *Pépé le Moko* (1937) when the heroine of the film, Gaby (Mireille Balin), offers Pépé (Jean Gabin) one and lights his – *l'allumeuse*, who symbolically arouses him – and smokes one herself, demonstrating the Parisian sophistication for which Pépé thirsts. For the most part, however, women who smoked did not have prominent roles. As Dudley Andrew writes, comparing poetic realism films and American films, "American Cinema has always invested in maximum shock ... Poetic realism diffuses such energy in a warm mist of style that mutes the sound and brightness of every effect." See Andrew, *Mists of Regret*, 6.
61 For the contest and its results, see *La Revue moderne*, July 1936, 8 and December 1936, 27.
62 Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, 150.
63 "Sophistication," Montreal *Herald*, 23 January 1933, second section, 1.
64 Letter received 29 January 1927, RG 42, MUA.
65 Ethel M. Cartwright to Ethel Hurlblatt, 14 February 1927, ibid. For biographical information on both of these women, see Gillet, *We Walked Very*

Warily, 225–7 and 176–83; C.J. Martin to Ethel Hurlblatt, 10 February 1927, RG 42, MUA.

66 Cameron Vaughan to M.L. Bollert, 16 December 1930, MG 42; Susan Cameron Vaughan Day Books, 12 November 1928, 49, MG 4014, MUA.

67 Cameron Vaughn to M.L. Bollert, 16 December 1930, MG 42, MUA.

68 "Royal Victoria College: House Rules and Regulations, 1942–1943," container 1, file 00075, ibid.

69 "The Women's Smoking Car," Montreal *Herald*, 9 January 1935, 4.

70 See the coverage of the opening of the Nuway Tobacco store in *CCTJ*, December 1929, 32.

71 *CCTJ*, July 1943, 8 and 26.

72 The first Roman Catholic outcry I have found against women smoking comes in a 1926 article by Cécile Jéglot in *La Semaine religieuse de Montréal*. The article, "Le garçonnisme," was reprinted from a French journal. See Marchand, *Rouge à lèvres et Pantalon*, 98–9.

73 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 30.

74 Couture's and Fortier's comments are quoted in Légaré, *Fumera-t-elle?* 18; quotation from Légaré, 19.

75 For Villeneuve's and Groulx's comments, see Légaré, *Fumera-t-elle?* 27–8.

76 Ibid., 37.

77 Ibid., 28.

78 Ibid., 44.

79 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 12.

80 *The Canadian Consumer Survey of 1956*, 172.

81 Studlar, *Tobacco Control*, 33.

82 Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 37. On residences for working women, see Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*.

CONCLUSION

1 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 630.

2 Brian Young discusses the historical caricature of French Canadians in his *Politics of Codification*, 173–90.

3 Roy, *Progrès, harmonie, liberté*, 260–8.

4 This point is made for an earlier period in Greer and Radforth, *Colonial Leviathan*.

5 Dan McIvor in Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 19 February 1951, 456.

6 Cunningham, *Smoke and Mirrors*, 49–51.

7 "Quebeckers Told Advice on Lifestyle Role of the State," *Globe and Mail*, 7 June 1978, 10.

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