

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

**Manly Smokes:
Tobacco Consumption and the Construction of Identities
in Industrial Montreal, 1888-1914**

Robert Jarrett Rudy

**Department of History
McGill University
Montreal**

July 2001

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**© Robert Jarrett Rudy
2001**



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-75674-2

Abstract

This dissertation explores the cultural practice of smoking and its connection to social relations from the beginning of cigarette mass production in Montreal in 1888 to the First World War. It uncovers the norms of smoking etiquette and taste, their roots in gender, class and race relations and their use in reproducing these power relationships. It argues that these prescriptions reflected and served to legitimize beliefs about inclusion, exclusion and hierarchy that were at the core of nineteenth-century liberalism. Liberal ideals of self-control and rationality 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. 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 cultural minorities. Furthermore, even while these prescriptions were at their height, an emergent group of beliefs began to recast notions of respectable smoking around new ideals of speed and ungendered universality. This challenge was not only part of the transition from bourgeois to mass consumption, it was the roots of a transformation of the liberal order in the years previous to the First World War.

Résumé

Le tabagisme, en tant que pratique culturelle en lien avec les relations sociales, constitue l'objet de cette thèse. L'étude couvre la période qui va des débuts de la production de masse de la cigarette à Montréal en 1888 jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale. Elle dégage les normes associées au tabagisme, les goûts des fumeurs et leur étiquette, leurs origines de genre, de classe et d'ethnicité, en plus de leur utilisation dans la reproduction de ces relations de pouvoir. L'hypothèse soutenue veut que ces normes, ces prescriptions, reflétaient et voulaient légitimer les valeurs d'inclusion, d'exclusion et la hiérarchie inhérentes au libéralisme du XIX^e siècle. Les idéaux libéraux de contrôle de soi et de rationalité ont effectivement structuré les rituels du tabagisme : quel tabac choisir et acheter, qui peut fumer, comment et où fumer. Ces normes ont servi à exclure les femmes de la définition de l'individu libéral et à justifier la subordination des pauvres et des minorités. Au moment même où les normes issues du libéralisme du XIX^e s'imposaient avec le plus de vigueur, un nouveau système normatif émergeait. Par les idéaux de vitesse et d'universalité non genrée qu'il valorisait, ce nouveau système a entraîné une timide modification des normes associées au tabagisme. Cette remise en question ne représente pas seulement un aspect de la transition de la consommation bourgeoise à la consommation de masse, elle marque les débuts d'une transformation de l'ordre libéral dominant au cours des années précédant la Première Guerre mondiale.

Acknowledgments

Many people and organizations have contributed in fundamental ways to the research and writing of this dissertation. It is an absolute pleasure for me to publicly thank them. The research was supported by scholarships from the McGill Class of '66 and the Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche (FCAR). At the McGill History Department, Colleen Parish, Celine Coutinho, Jody Anderson, and especially Georgii Mikula went beyond the call of their administrative duties to make the Department an enjoyable place to spend time. During my first years at McGill, Mary McDaid's enthusiasm made even the most tedious paperwork bearable.

Numerous archivists and librarians have facilitated my research and made the long hours of solitary research an experience I enjoyed thoroughly. The staff at the McGill Inter-Library Loans Service and the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec on Esplanade deserve particular recognition for their efficiency and friendliness. Margot Diochon and Yolande Muherjee at Imperial Tobacco provided me with research space, access to a photocopier and enjoyable lunch companionship. I also want to recognize two archivists who are far more than "information managers." Pam Miller of the Osler Archives at McGill and Gordon Burr of the McGill Archives helped to navigate through Access to Information procedures and directed me to sources that I never would have found without their help. They are a credit to their profession.

The thesis also benefitted from the support I had from friends. Two local establishments – l'Amère à Boire and Thomson House – provided exceptional social settings. I thank their staffs. I "blew off steam" and had significant discussions about politics and history with many that I would like to recognize here: Ian Welsted, Derek Ball, Sarah Caspi, Sharan Samagh, Marc Molgat, Michael and Mark Temelini, John Topping and Marcia Leblanc, Catherine Vaillancourt-Laflamme, Aaron Windsor, Eve Pickles, Chloé Besner Jo-Anne McCutcheon, Jason Gilliland, Tania Martin, Kathleen Lord, Johanne O'Malley, Craig Heron and Karen Robert. Other friends helped by taking on extra chores. Brain van denn Broek and Sebastian Normandin read chapters on short notice and provided insightful criticism. Steve Penfold and Diane Swartz housed me while I did research in Toronto. Steve High has been my sounding board for several years and commented on a version of the thesis. For the first four years of the thesis, René Guindon put up with me as a roommate, and at the end of my Ph.D. even scanned the images I used in the thesis. Chris Koenig-Woodyard has been my friend since high school. He unflinchingly read and extensively commented on the roughest versions of each chapter – a pain reserved only for the oldest and best of friends. I also want to acknowledge the generosity of Matthew Hilton, Jacques Rouillard and Ruth Dupré, historians I do not know, who all shared their unpublished work.

The Montreal History Group has given me practical support and camaraderie. It's members – Andrée Lévesque, Bettina Bradbury, Mary Anne Poutanen, Sylvie Taschereau, Tamara Myers, Don Fyson, Karine Hébert, Denyse Baillargeon, Lorraine O'Donnell,

Steve Watt, Suzanne Morton, and Brian Young have contributed to my intellectual development and taught me much about collective research and the politics of academia. Individually, Lorraine O'Donnell and Steve Watt provided useful suggestions on parts of the thesis on short notice. Karine Hébert translated my abstract and along with Julien Goyette, discussed organizational strategies at a crucial moment. Suzanne Morton has given me great teaching advice, read a version of the thesis and asked questions that pushed me in useful directions. My thesis supervisor, Brian Young, has given me far more than I ever really expected. Certainly he has furnished valuable criticism and advice, but he also put confidence in me "to find" my topic, and above all, he has been a good friend. Brian is the most recent of people who have kept me fascinated in history. This list includes Barry Tate, Phil Werstein, Pat Coling and Donald Davis, who at the University of Ottawa, originally suggested that I "work on tobacco."

While researching in Ottawa I stayed with Vincent Klassen, Frédérique Tsai and their family, sometimes for long periods of time. My gratitude to them goes well beyond food, shelter, and not unimportantly, a personal introduction to cigar smoking. When their daughter Emmanuelle was born I was named as her godfather, an honour that has made me think of them as family more than friends. In the depths of graduate work, spending time with Emmanuelle and her brother Alexandre, playing with dolls or telling bedtime stories, renewed my energy and allowed me to escape an unhealthy obsession with my own work.

My largest debt is to my own family. Montreal is a long way, in many senses, from where I grew up – the small but proud town of Tavistock. My brother, Jensen, and his wife, Heidi, have visited me on numerous occasions, helping to reduce the distance. My parents, Bob and Joan Rudy, have encouraged me in so many ways it is difficult to sum up in a few lines. They have celebrated my successes and sent care packages of chocolate-covered coffee beans and cigars when the thesis was not going well and it seemed like it would never end. I love them greatly and the thesis never would have been completed without their support. One of their great gifts was to raise my brother and me as part of a tightly knit extended family. Within this extended family I want to recognize three women who have shaped who I am. 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 dissertation is, I think, no coincidence. Finally, my two great aunts, Helen Rudy and her late sister, Ethel Rudy, are my family's first historians. The stories they tell, and have told, reveal a passion for the everyday concerns of "ordinary" people. They personify the kind of historian and person I want to be. It is to these three women I dedicate this thesis.

Table of Contents

Abstract/Resumé	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Separating Spheres	19
I. Women Smokers.	22
II. Rituals of Manhood	32
III. The Public Sphere	43
IV. Deference and Self-Control.	61
Chapter Two: Bourgeois Connoisseurship and the Cigar	75
I. Class, Gender and Connoisseurship.	77
II. Skilled Labour	86
III. Cuba.	98
Chapter Three: Conflicts in Connoisseurship: Debasing <i>le Tabac Canadien</i>	114
I. Pipes and la Patrie.	115
II. The taste of " <i>la patrie</i> " and <i>du vargeux</i>	122
III. Bourgeois Connoisseurship and <i>Le Tabac Canadien</i>	131
Chapter Four: Unmaking Manly Smokes.	144
I. Opposing Tobacco.	147
II. Opposing Prohibition.	154
III. Legislative Campaigns	164
Chapter Five: Mass Consumption and Undermining Bourgeois Notions of Smoking.	176
I. The Return and Transformation of <i>Le Tabac Canadien</i>	178
II. The Cigarette in Montreal.	187
III. Cigarettes and Mass Consumption.	194
IV. Controlling the Cigarette.	200
V. Mass Consumption Contested.	209
Conclusion.	215
Bibliography.	221

List of Figures

1.1	Igorrot woman pictured in <i>l'Album Universel</i> (1905).	24
1.2	" <i>Ex fumo Dare Lucem</i> ," <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , (1882).	46
1.3	"The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker," <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , (1879).	48
1.4	Wrigley's Spearmint gum advertisement, <i>Montreal Herald</i> , (1912).	53
1.5	"Comment on arrive à prendre femme," <i>Le Monde Illustré</i> (1886).	64
2.1	"Pour Les Dessinateurs," <i>La Presse</i> (1910).	78
2.2	"Contraste," <i>La Presse</i> , (1910).	79
2.3	Cigar as power, <i>L'Album Universel</i> , (1906).. . . .	79
2.4	"Nobleman" advertisement, <i>Montreal Gazette</i> (1910).	88
2.5	Blue label, <i>The Echo</i> , 1 September 1890.. . . .	91
2.6	"Boston" Label	105
3.1	"En Roulant ma Boule," <i>La Presse</i> (1914).	117
3.2	Meerschbaum Pipe	119
3.3	"Canadian" briar pipe.. . . .	120
3.4	Henri Julien "Un Vieux de '37'"	120
3.5	Henri Bourassa	121
3.6	Selling <i>le tabac canadien</i> at Bonsecouer Market	129
3.7	Francophone middle class view of <i>le tabac canadien</i> , <i>L'Album Universel</i> , (1906)	134
4.1	<i>Montreal Standard's</i> Anti-Cigarette Campaign, (1907).	163
5.1	Empire Smoking Tobacco Advertisement (1900).	186
5.2	Ben Bey Advertisement	189
5.3	"Son Idéal," <i>La Presse</i> (1910).	197
5.4	"Une Flanerie du Soir," <i>Liqueurs et Tabacs</i> , (1902).	206
5.5	"Coupon Habit," <i>Montreal Star</i> , (1910)	208

List of Abbreviations

ATCC	- American Tobacco Company of Canada
<i>CCTJ</i>	- <i>Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal</i>
CMA	-Canadian Manufacturers Association
CMIU	-Cigar Makers' International Union
<i>CMOJ</i>	- <i>Cigar Makers' Official Journal</i>
MTLF	-Montreal Trades and Labor Federation
RCLT	-Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic
RCRLC	-Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital
RCTT	-Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade in Canada
WCTU	-Women's Christian Temperance Union

Introduction

This dissertation explores the cultural practice of smoking and its connection to social relations from the beginning of cigarette mass production in Montreal in 1888 to the First World War. While people smoked for personal reasons, these rituals were shaped by norms of smoking etiquette and taste, what I call prescriptions. Smoking prescriptions were rooted in, and served to mold, gender, class and race relations. My thesis statement is twofold. First, prescriptions around smoking reflected and perpetuated beliefs about inclusion, exclusion and hierarchy that were at the core of nineteenth-century liberalism. These liberal ideals of self-control and rationality 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. As these liberal prescriptions were at their height, a new “structure of feeling” was emerging, aiming to redefine notions of “proper” smoking rituals.¹ The second element of my argument is that this challenge was not only part of the transition from bourgeois to mass consumption, it was part of the transformation of the liberal order in the years previous to the First World War.

Studies of liberalism in Quebec have, for the most part, concentrated on the political and economic ideology of political, religious and business elites. Discussion has revolved around the very existence of liberalism in the face of clerical-nationalists. And while its existence has been confirmed by Fernande Roy and others, significant questions

¹On “structures of feeling” and their transformation, see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.121-135.

about gender, class and race remain.² As Ian McKay has pointed out, nineteenth-century liberalism was “something akin to a secular religion or a totalizing philosophy ... [rather than]... an easily manipulated set of political ideas” and notions of what constituted the “individual” were broadly internalized into everyday life.³ According to McKay, 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. These were ideals, built on gender, class and racial norms that provided the criteria for political inclusion and exclusion. Women, workers and numerous ethnic groups were often excluded from this definition of an “individual,” furnishing the rationale for their political exclusion. This thesis is part of a growing number of investigations into the everyday rituals of political order which include John Kasson’s study of manners, Keith Walden’s analysis of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, Mary Ryan’s examinations of parades and public celebrations and David Scobey’s investigation of promenading.⁴

²Fernande Roy outlines many of the important issues within this debate in her *Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté. Le libéralisme des milieux d'affaires francophones de Montréal au tournant du siècle* (Montreal: Boréal, 1988). Since Roy’s book, others have stayed within the parameters she sets out. See Yvan Lamonde, *Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, 1818-1895: un seigneur libéral et anticlérical* (Saint-Laurent: Fides, 1994); Yvan Lamonde (dir.) *Combats Libéraux au XX^e Siècle* (Montreal: Fides, 1995).

³Ian McKay, “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 81, 4 (December 2000), pp.624-625.

⁴John Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Mary P. Ryan, “The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order,” in Lynn Hunt, ed. *The New*

Studying the social practices and cultural symbolism of smoking in late nineteenth-century Montreal reveals the extent to which liberalism was internalized as a powerful male identity and created social hierarchies to justify subordinating people on the basis of their gender, class and ethnicity. This was most clear around questions of 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 have the power of self-control. Their health, their safety, 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. They saw themselves as having self-control and as connoisseurs. Smoking brought men together. It gave odour and visible shape to spaces socially constructed as male.⁵ Women who entered not only risked infecting their clothes with its smell, they put their respectability into question.

Though the terms were often inseparable, by the end of the nineteenth century class related differently than gender to notions of the liberal individual. Once again, smoking provides several insights. Tobacco was inexpensive enough that almost all men

Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp.131-153, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) and *Civic wars: democracy and public life in the American city during the nineteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); David Scobey, "Anatomy of the promenade: the politics of bourgeois sociability in nineteenth-century New York" *Social History*, (May 1992), pp.203-227.

⁵Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: towards an anthropology of consumption* (New York: Routledge, first published 1979, this edition 1996), p.45.

could smoke, regardless of class. Still, not all men could afford to smoke highly-esteemed tobacco and the value of 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 difficulties to following the gender prescriptions of space around smoking. Not everyone could provide a separate space for male smokers and the consequences of not being able to segregate the sexes by smoking reflected on the character of the smoker and any women present. Yet men could also perform their class by exhibiting self-control in public situations and refrain from smoking when in the presence of women. Self-control also became a class issue as the amount of time a man could spend smoking was limited by his job, making it difficult to live up to the ideal of the leisurely, self-controlled smoker. Conversely, working class poverty could be blamed on the individual through his excessive smoking. These prescriptions on smoking served to naturalize material inequalities as the fault or choice of the individual, rather than being precipitated by structural problems within the economy or the inequalities of class.⁶

People of other cultural backgrounds were also judged on their ability to abide by these liberal prescriptions around smoking. Smokers that were racially “othered” included

⁶This is the same liberal ideal that stigmatized the unemployed (neo-liberal governments continue to invoke this reasoning), see James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

not only people from foreign lands like the Philippines and eastern Europe, but also Natives and farmers from rural Quebec. In this era of mass immigration to Montreal, these 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 elsewhere were not stigmatized. When these female smokers arrived in Montreal the fact that they smoked played a role in constructions of feminine incivility. The hierarchies of tobacco used to judge the character of smokers were also culturally specific and partially based on racial and gender ideologies naturalized through the structures of the market. Smokers who had formed their tastes elsewhere risked being labeled “tasteless.”

It is important to clarify that while these liberal prescriptions were dominant, smoking was part of other symbolic systems operating in Montreal. Indeed, though French Canadian tobacco was disdained according to dominant hierarchies of taste, it was symbolic of a particularly rural vision of the French Canadian nation. Prostitutes and dandies also used smoking to create feminine and masculine identities outside of dominant norms. From a radically different point of view, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was established in Montreal in 1883, contested the dominant notion that smoking was a symbol of respectable masculinity. Rather, they saw it as a threat to the race and nation and their beliefs in social gospel theology pushed them to organize campaigns for age restriction laws and prohibition of the cigarette. Outside the WCTU, others were attempting to transform the ritual in other directions. As part of their

campaigns to be included as liberal subjects, other women sought to retain the ideals of rationality and self-control that smoking signified and erase the gender exclusivity of the ritual. Smoking, more than any other consumer good, held particularly liberal symbolism even as liberalism transformed.

The tension between liberal preoccupations with self-possession and rationality, on one hand, and smoking's addictive nature, on the other, made smoking a particularly useful and tenacious ritual of liberal values. Anthony Arblaster writes that according to eighteenth and nineteenth-century liberal texts, 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...."⁷ Even in the nineteenth century 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 was a surmountable, though not insignificant risk, and thus a particularly meaningful display of self-control.⁸

In the period between 1888 and 1914, Montreal was a fascinating case study in the everyday workings of the liberal order because of its divided and rapidly transforming social and cultural landscape. The city was the industrial capital of Canada and boasted the most economically powerful bourgeoisie in the country. Both facts suggest

⁷Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1984), p.36.

⁸My comparison of these consuming rituals is drawn from Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed. *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992); and Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt, eds. *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

particularly fruitful explorations into the diverse workings of class in relation to these 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 significant women's groups, allowing for a more extensive gender analysis of opinion on smoking. With the city's division between language groups, Montreal provides a unique opportunity to explore the nature of social relations between Francophones and Anglophones outside the sphere of formal politics. Immigration also marked Montreal's urban landscape in several ways. Massive numbers of foreign immigrants arrived in Montreal during the period, and whether they stayed or not, their presence received comment. These derogatory remarks said more about the racial views of those already in Montreal than about the "civility" of those arriving. Similarly, the wave of rural French Canadian immigrants arriving in Montreal was not beyond the condescending eye of both Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers. Religious affiliations in Montreal were also greatly divided, between Roman Catholic and Protestant as well as between Protestant denominations.⁹ The roles of these groups – business, organized labour, women's groups, Francophones and Anglophones, recent immigrants, and churches – in the construction of, or opposition to, the liberal order through the prism of smoking rituals is the subject of the thesis.

Montreal is also uncommonly valuable case study because it was the centre of the Canadian tobacco industry during this period and these businesses were powerful players

⁹Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montreal: Boréal, 1992).

in the production of meaning around smoking products. In 1888, the Davis family, one of Montreal's most prominent cigar manufacturing families, introduced the Bonsack cigarette machine, allowing cigarettes to be made faster and cheaper than ever before. Soon after, a branch plant of James Buchanan Duke's American Tobacco Company dominated the Canadian cigarette industry with the eldest Davis son, Mortimer, at its head. Davis then proceeded to break into the pipe tobacco market monopolized by Sir William Macdonald. Part of Davis's challenge to Macdonald's stranglehold on the market was through the use of mass-advertising to convince Macdonald smokers to switch to an American Tobacco Company of Canada (ATCC) brand. While the technological innovations used in the cigarette and tobacco industries required large investments of capital, there were few new technologies in the cigar industry, keeping it relatively free of monopoly. Instead cigar manufacturers faced off with cigar makers over changes in work process and reduced wages in a turbulent period of labour relations. All of these issues of production, labour, distribution and marketing were important to perceptions of quality and the availability of a smokers' favourite tobaccos.

A cultural examination of smoking is particularly rich because, as well as being a ritual of the liberal order, smoking was also a ritual of consumption. Canadian historians have never entirely ignored questions of consumption during the era, usually portraying them as questions of the unequal bounties and failures of industrial capitalism. Social historian Terry Copp, for example, discussed consumption in terms of cost of living of

Montrealers and the poverty of the city's working class resulting from industrialization.¹⁰ Subsequently, feminist historians of the working class like Bettina Bradbury have shown that women played the particularly important role of buying their family's basic necessities.¹¹ Yet it is beyond the problematiques of these working class historians to link what were admittedly modest purchases to structural changes in the economy. Culturally informed purchases, however, made industrial growth possible, most obviously in the consumer goods sector. By looking at the cultural underpinnings of demand we can humanize economic change, linking personal decisions to what in Quebec and Canada have been presented as culturally neutral market economies.¹² Anyone who has been involved in boycotting businesses for their labour practices in the third world should see themselves here.

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. For example, research shows 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 used as a response to cultural ideals

¹⁰Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

¹¹Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993).

¹²Notable exceptions here are Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) and Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*.

of the female body.¹³ And women are not the only ones whose tobacco habit is rife with broader cultural significance. Polls have shown that Quebeckers, for example, smoke more than people living in any other province, though we know little about why this is the case.¹⁴ The social role and meanings of smoking differ from culture to culture, and within these 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 these cultural and social dimensions.

This concentration on the meanings people gave to smoking is part of the growing field of new cultural history. On the one hand, building on the work of anthropologists, new cultural historians study not only high culture or institutional cultural activities but popular culture. On the other, new cultural historians draw on literary theorists and have asserted that meanings and "truth" are not natural or self-evident but constructed by human activity. As Catherine Belsey explains "The project of cultural history is 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."¹⁵

¹³The literature around this question is voluminous. Useful starts are Lorraine Greaves, *Smoke Screen: Women's Smoking and Social Control* (Halifax: Fernwood publishing, 1996); B. Jacobson, *The Ladykillers: Why Smoking is a Feminist Issue* (London: Pluto Press, 1981); and Rob Cunningham, *Smoke and Mirrors: The Canadian Tobacco War* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1996).

¹⁴Brenda Branswell, "Quebec and the High Cost of Smoking," *Maclean's*, 25 October 1999.

¹⁵Catherine Belsey, "Towards Cultural History - in Theory and Practice," *Textual Practice* 3,2 (Summer 1989) p.163.

This cultural approach is a new venture in Quebec historiography. For the most part, Quebec cultural history has focused on high culture rather than popular culture or questions of meaning. Indeed, the leading historiographer of Quebec cultural history, Yvon Lamonde, has shown that the subdiscipline has centered on the history of ideas, literary history and religious history and few excursions have been made into the new cultural history.¹⁶ At worst this focus on "high culture" has led to claims by certain historians that entire regions of Quebec have lacked culture or that culture only arrived in smaller Quebec cities when opera companies toured there.¹⁷ Understandably these sorts of claims have marginalized cultural history in Quebec, making it irrelevant to most people's lives in the past and to historiographic discussions about more recent transformations like industrialization.¹⁸

¹⁶Yvan Lamonde, "L'Histoire Culturelle comme Domaine Historiographique au Québec," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* (Autumn 1997: Vol.51, No.2), pp.285-299. There are several recent exceptions to this: Michèle Martin, *"Hello Central?" Gender, Technology, and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Suzanne Marchand, *Rouge à Lèvres et Pantalon. Des pratiques esthétiques féminines controversées au Québec, 1920-1939* (Montreal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée, 1997); Patrice Groulx, *Pièges de la mémoire: Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous* (Hull: Vents d'Ouest, 1998); H.V Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and Isabel-Caroline Caron, *Se créer des ancêtres. Les écrits historiques et généalogiques des de Forest et des Forest en Amérique du Nord, 19e et 20e siècles* (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 2001).

¹⁷"Vie culturelle en milieu urbain," session held at 52nd Congrès de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Trois-Rivières, 23 October 1999.

¹⁸It is striking that in the fiery debates around Ronald Rudin's *Making History in Twentieth Century Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), no one, including Rudin himself, has mentioned that the new cultural history has been slow to establish in Quebec. Native historians have long noted the cultural differences between European and native societies as well as the structural similarities. See, for example, Inga

Most studies of industrialization in Canada and Quebec have focused on its “motors” - “supply” questions of business and labour and its dislocations, rather than “demand.” These interpretations are built on explanatory metaphors derived from orthodox Marxism and historians working in the *Annales* tradition. Orthodox Marxists posited that culture (superstructure) is determined by a society’s economic organization (base), while *Annales* historians developed the framework of structure (economy and demography), conjunctures (social structure) and phenomenon (culture). In these schema, culture is a result of economic relationships and holds little or no explanatory power. As cultural historian Robert Darnton puts it “if we can get the social setting right the cultural content will somehow follow.”¹⁹ By linking the values upon which many of these purchases were made with the broader ideologies of identity construction we can develop a more human view of Montreal’s industrialization and economic change more generally.²⁰

Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹⁹Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 195), p.259. For discussion of orthodox Marxism and the *Annales* approach, see Lynn Hunt, “Introduction: History, Culture, and Text,” in her edited work, *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 1-22. For an example of the treatment of “culture” as irrelevant to industrialization, see Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, and Jean-Claude Robert *Quebec: A History, 1867-1929* (Translated by Robert Chodos) (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1983).

²⁰There is a growing literature on consumption and identity formation. See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinctions: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pushes the argument further and argues that these purchases effect economies. Victoria de Grazia’s collection, *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996) continues on the

Historians have argued that the social role of consumption changed over time, transforming from bourgeois to mass-oriented consumption.²¹ Few historians have looked at this transition in Canada. One exception is Joy Parr who has explored the meanings of domestic goods in post-World War Two Canada. She situates her work within the historiographic debate over the question of how to characterize this transition. On one side are critics who argue that it was fueled by business interests that used advertising to create a consumer society. In this view, consumers were passive and readily consumed whatever was offered them. On the other side are academics who have maintained that the meanings business attempted to give to new goods were not accepted by consumers and that consumption has been used to subvert authority: "Meanings were fragmented, destabilized, and endlessly regenerated. Consumption became a process of energetic disruption rather than pliant subordination." For her part, Parr contends that there was more than one transformation in the cultural meaning of consumption and what is needed now are case studies, situating particular objects within time, geography and social space.²²

While the historiography of smoking in other countries has been dominated by gentlemen scholars, a rare model for studying the history of smoking comes from Matthew

same grounds and shows how gender identities are important to this process.

²¹For the international historiography of the arrival of "consumer culture," see Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Coming up for air: consumer culture in historical perspective," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

²²Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp.8-10.

Hilton's recently published *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000*.²³ Hilton's narrative, up until the First World War, 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 transformed from a bourgeois-liberal smoking ethic that valued individuality above all, especially in tobacco mixtures and cigars, to a technological-rationality, a more standardized mass culture individuality, most fully embodied in the cigarette. My dissertation builds on Hilton's work, with two important differences. Instead of studying an entire country I focus on one city, and in place of a longer temporal study, the thesis is limited to a period of 26 years. This allows me to expand on Hilton's insights on the relationship between purchasing and identity: rather than focusing only on "national tastes," I can include regional tastes and their relationship to local identities. I can also use other methodologies that expose the many dimensions of this ritual and the changing role smoking played in the construction of class, gender, ethnic and age identities.

There is a rich and diverse group of sources that make it possible to study changing thought on smoking. Such a conclusion may not seem evident at first glance. Indeed, evidence that today would give more precise information on what was being smoked and what it meant to smokers does not exist in the pre-World War One era. Polling, for example, is a relatively recent phenomenon that did not begin until the 1940s

²³The most famous works of "Gentlemanly scholarship" on smoking are G.L Apperson. *The Social History of Smoking*. (London: Martin Secker, 1914) and Count Corti. *A History of Smoking* (Guernsey: Guernsey Press Co., first published 1931, this edition 1996). Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001).

in Canada.²⁴ 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, excise statistics, 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 America or Britain. The cigarette made up only 19% of tobacco consumption, whereas pipe tobacco continued to dominate until the late 1920s.²⁵ Why this difference exists is a question beyond the scope of this thesis. For a study of one city, moreover, these statistics present further 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 offer little precision on tobacco consumption in Montreal. What is more, they do not take into account untaxed pipe tobacco sold in the city, which I argue, was a significant quantity. Nor do they include the number of smokers who rolled their own cigarettes. To make excise statistics yet 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

²⁴Daniel J. Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy: Polling, Market Research, and Public Life, 1930-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

²⁵Jan Rogizinski, *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World, 1550-1950* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

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 by reading through the Canadian tobacco industry's two primary trade journals, *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* and *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, the trade journal of Cigar Makers' International Union, the *Cigar Makers' Official Journal* and the numerous Montreal medical journals of the period. Not only do these journals give insights into the workings of the industry and tobacco's medical status, they also alerted me to public debates about smoking. The trail then led to government documents like parliamentary debates and prime ministers' papers as well as to personal and institutional papers and newspapers. Most significant were the papers of the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade (1902). I then culled numerous memoirs, etiquette guides, novels, poetry, cartoons in newspapers, collections of paintings and other cultural sources of the period to understand how smoking was used by their producers to build larger narratives. Occasionally evidence from beyond the temporal limits of this thesis became useful to highlight the distinctiveness of pre-War beliefs about smoking. From time to time it was also necessary to venture outside of Montreal to weigh the city's distinctive views towards tobacco, especially in the case of religious positions on smoking. Looking outside of Montreal is also essential when exploring the state's involvement in regulating and taxing tobacco since, because of the nature of Canadian federalism, discussions of taxing and regulating tobacco in Montreal largely happened in Quebec City and Ottawa. While most of these

are middle class sources and certainly offer less information on the smoking habits on the less powerful, a significant amount can be learned through middle class descriptions of improper and unmanly smoking, providing class judgements are exposed as such, rather than portrayed as truths about what was good and bad conduct.

The Montreal bourgeoisie, like their British counterparts, 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 the immediate pre-war period was the height of the belief that smoking was an exclusively male pass-time. 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 two and three 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 as much based on racial and gender stereotypes as on any intrinsic value within the tobacco itself. Chapter two uses a case study of the cigar to explore notions of connoisseurship and chapter three demonstrates that these beliefs were not universally accepted. Bourgeois notions of quality tobacco debased traditional French-Canadian tobacco, yet many French Canadians refused to accept these negative assessments.

Change over time becomes much clearer in chapters four and five as they chronicle challenges to the liberal notions delineated in the first three chapters. Chapter four examines the first anti-smoking movement in Montreal as well as its efforts in provincial

and federal anti-smoking campaigns. In addition to looking at the ideology of this anti-smoking movement, I also examine the diverse reasons for its failure. Finally, chapter five documents the more successful, though contested, challenges to nineteenth-century liberal notions of proper tobacco consumption. These centred on the transition to a new way that individuals related to their tobacco as well as new understandings of who could respectably smoke. These transformations were brought on both by changing views of who was included in the definition of an “individual,” the relationship between speed and masculinity which had consequences for liberal notions of self-control, and by business and government campaigns to redefine “rational,” quality tobacco. Eric Hobsbawm has argued that the liberalism of the nineteenth century succeeded in marginalizing its own creators as it eventually accorded political rights to women and the working class, but in doing so undermined the character of nineteenth-century bourgeois hegemony.²⁶ Indeed, in this age before the health concerns around tobacco were clear, the technological changes of the industrial revolution as well as the broader transformation of liberalism in pre-First World War Montreal began to challenge prescriptions around the ritual of smoking and to lay the foundations of today’s consumer society.

²⁶Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage books, 1987), pp.1-11.

Chapter One

Separating Spheres

From 1888 to 1914, smoking in Montreal was almost exclusively a male activity. Moral reformers who opposed smoking rarely discussed female offenders, not because they thought women smoking was less vice-ridden than men, but because it was not a frequent occurrence. Others in positions 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 Montreal Maternity Hospital were caught drinking alcohol but never smoking.¹ Doctors working 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, out of all his female inmates between 1894 and 1914, only seven smoked; and Dr. Burgess of the Protestant Verdun Asylum maintained that over 25 years there was only one female smoker in his asylum, while 50 per cent of the men smoked.² This gender exclusivity of smoking was not always the case in Quebec. Numerous rural women born in the first half of the nineteenth century took up pipe smoking. Similarly, women in the 1920s who smoked cigarettes were not anathematized like their counterparts at turn of the twentieth century. Etiquette guides

¹Montreal Maternity Hospital, Matron/Superintendent's Reports, 1889-1926. RG 95, McGill University Archives.

² "Proceedings and Evidence of 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." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Commons*, No.3, 1914, pp.89-90. Hereafter referred to as "Proceedings."

after the First World War, for example, counseled that women be offered cigarettes after dinner and in Montreal, female students petitioned to gain their own smoking rooms at McGill University's women's residence, Royal Victoria College.³

The pre-War period was the height of the association between smoking and masculine identities. This connection was set within broadly shared standards of respectability and civility that differed for men and women. Women who did smoke were stigmatized differently depending on how their class and racial status was perceived. These assessments of character could have consequences for a woman's social standing, search for work and citizenship.⁴ For men, 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. Much of the etiquette of smoking followed 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 like politics and business, spatially making the male sphere anywhere outside of those spaces specifically set aside for a woman's reproductive tasks. "Social space," as Mary P. Ryan puts it, "serves as a

³Margaret Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities and Meaning of Table Manners* (Toronto: Harper-Collins Publishers Ltd., 1991), p.291; Administrative Records of the Warden, RG 42, MUA.

⁴Kate Boyer, "Re-Working Respectability: The Feminization of Clerical Work and the Politics of Public Virtue in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal," in Tamara Myers *et al.* *Power, Place and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec* (Montreal: Occasional Papers of the Montreal History Group, 1998) pp.151-169; Joan Sangster, "Softball Solution: Female Workers, Male Managers and the Operation of Paternalism at Westclox, 1923-1960," *Labour/Le Travail*, 32 (Fall 1993), 167-199.

scaffolding upon which both gender distinctions and ... identity are constructed.”⁵ These spatial and identity constructions not only embodied the unequal power relations between men and women, identities that not all women were content with, they were also impossible to follow for all but the most materially secure of middle class women. Within the male public sphere there were also structures of respectability – ideals of masculinity – that held consequences for men who transgressed them. Indeed, historians and social theorists have written that men were to be high minded, demonstrating a liberal ideal of rational critical thought.⁶ 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 performance of gentility and mark of distinction. The relationship between gendered norms of respectability and class is complex. Indeed, historians have argued that separate spheres ideology originated and was promoted most by the middle class. Furthermore, because of its costliness, it was difficult for the less wealthy to follow. Still, historians have shown that working class men and women also used separate spheres prescriptions and those practices within their means

⁵Ryan, *Women in Public*, p.59.

⁶Geoff Eley, “Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century,” and Mary P. Ryan, “Gender and Public Access: Women’s Politics in Nineteenth-Century America,” in Craig Calhoun ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

to achieve levels of respect within their communities.⁷ 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 as well as the cost of the particular smoking ritual.

I. Women Smokers

In the first half of the nineteenth century smoking was less of an exclusively male activity than it would be in the late nineteenth century and therefore it was less of a symbolic border between public and private spheres. Numerous accounts exist of elderly women smoking pipes in the early twentieth century. 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 their pipes. All the descendants of the family smoked, and one daughter who was pictured beside the article, at the age of 78, still enjoyed her pipe full of ATCC Red Cross Cut Tobacco.⁸ Female pipe smokers were also

⁷Suzanne Morton and Janet Guildford, "Introduction" as well as Sharon Myers, "Not to be Ranked as Women" in Morton and Guildford, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), pp.9-21; Mark Rosenfeld, "It was a hard life': Class and Gender in the Work and Family Rhythms of a Railway Town 1920-1950," *Historical Papers*, (1988), 237-279.

⁸"Le Tabac et la longévit ," *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, April 1903, p.30. Though there is no reference to it, the picture of this old woman smoking may have been poking fun at the WCTU since this was the month they took their anti-smoking campaign to the Canadian Parliament.

found in other countries and provinces in the first half of the nineteenth century. Historians elsewhere have noted that there was less stigma on women smoking 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.⁹ While sources for Quebec and elsewhere are admittedly thin, that female smoking was more acceptable in early nineteenth century Quebec would make sense. According to Quebec historians gender roles were in transition in the 1830s and 1840s and early nineteenth-century codes of respectability may have frowned less on women who smoked.¹⁰

While we know less about popular-class attitudes, by the late nineteenth century, it probably was not acceptable for bourgeois women to smoke. 1875-1876 entries in the diary of Henriette Dessaulles, daughter of a notable rural Quebec family, serve as an example. 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,”¹¹ but

⁹Morton and Guildford, *Separate Spheres*, cover and p.7.

¹⁰Le collective Clio, *L'histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles* (Montreal: Le Jour, éditeur, 1992); Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Class, Culture, Family and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Québec* (Montreal: Programme d'études sur le Québec de l'Université McGill, 1997).

¹¹Henriette Dessaulles, *Hopes and Dreams: The Diary of Henriette Dessaulles, 1874-1881* (Originally published 1971. Translated, 1986 by Liedewy Hawke), 18 April 1876, p.99.

the activities boys shared in 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."¹²

By late century women who smoked were disparaged. They were belittled in different ways depending on their race and class. When women of colour appeared smoking in Montreal cultural sources, smoking was part of the performance of incivility. For example, a 1905 story in the Montreal middle-class weekly *l'Album Universel* featured an interview with an American missionary, Miss Ida Plummer, who worked in the new American possession, the Philippines. She worked directly with a tribe known as the Igorrots who had been headhunters. The story tells of their tribe's marriage ceremonies and clothing, with both the interviewer and Plummer commenting on the Igorrots' incivility. Pictured in the centre of the article was a young Igorrot woman smoking a pipe, part of the visual construction of the incivility of the tribe (figure 1).¹³



Figure 1 Igorrot woman pictured in *l'Album Universel* (1905).

The link between racialized incivility and women smoking extended to new immigrants arriving in Montreal. A *Montreal Star* article entitled, "Greek Gypsies

¹²*Ibid.*, 5 May 1875, p.44.

¹³"Le Mariage chez les Igorrotes," *l'Album Universel*, 25 March 1905, p.928.

Pictureque, But Not very Desirable as Citizens of Dominion” recounted the story of Gypsies arriving in Montreal after being refused entry into the United States. Homeless, 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 [sic]; 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.” On top of 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, women smoking were part of way the journalist recognized the Gypsies as uncivilized.¹⁴

The uncivilized did not necessarily have to come from a foreign land. An early historiographic debate on smoking habits of rural French Canadians serves as an example. In his *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* (1904), historian J.-Edmond Roy took issue with an American traveler who wrote over a century before that “les Canadiens ... sont d’éternels fumeurs. On dirait que chaque homme, femme et enfant doit nécessairement avoir sa pipe et son sac à tabac, et s’en servir constamment.” The traveler then claimed to have seen sixteen year old French-Canadian brunette girls working in the fields and puffing clouds of smoke. Roy, in defense of French-Canadian womanhood, responded that French-Canadian girls did not smoke, so he must have confused “les Français du

¹⁴Montreal *Star*, 21 March 1903, p.7.

Canada, avec les descendants des Iroquois, des Hurons et des Micmac.”¹⁵ According to Roy, native women could smoke pipes because he saw them as primitive and women smoking was uncivilized behaviour. Some French Canadians were willing to accept that French- Canadian women smoked, but they made it part of the distant rural past. Dr. L. J. Lemieux, Sheriff of Montreal, physician and professor of the history of medicine at Laval, president of the Board of Censors of moving pictures, and organizer of the Montreal Juvenile Court told the commission that “we [Quebec] have some of those old people, but they are passing away now: they [women] are getting more civilized.”¹⁶

In Montreal at the turn of the century women smoking were stigmatized as immoral. John Todd, a young McGill medical student from Toronto wrote his mother telling her of the bizarre people and events he saw in Montreal. Among them was a woman carrying a cigarette (though not smoking it). “Then I saw a female, with a half-smoked cigarette behind her ear, walking along the street. I had often read of this, but this was the first time I had seen it. No, I cannot see why people live in Montreal, when they can go to Toronto.”¹⁷ Lemieux equated women smoking cigarettes to 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

¹⁵J.-Edmond Roy, *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* Volume 4, Lévis, pp.169-170. This debate is also recounted in George M. Wrong, *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneuries* (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1908), p.181.

¹⁶Dr. L.J. Lemieux in “Proceedings,” p.82.

¹⁷John Todd to his mother, 15 June 1895, Bridget Todd Fialkowski, ed. *John L. Todd Letters, 1876-1949* (self-published), McGill Archives.

that is bad they take up.”¹⁸ Whether the women were prostitutes or not Lemieux understood the cigarette to be a sign of moral deviance. Furthermore, it was possible that prostitutes smoked cigarettes and wore particular clothes and makeup to declare themselves to be prostitutes. This might explain the striking difference in numbers of female smokers in jail compared to the few in the asylum discussed earlier. As Mara L. Deire writes, “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.”¹⁹ This is also suggested in a letter from Montreal poet Charles Gill to fellow poet and friend Louis-Joseph Doucet. Gill described 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 of her clients. When outside in the city she was honest, calm, reserved, dressed simply and wore no makeup. On top of these other issues of physical appearance, “Elle ne fume ni ne boit” all of which Gill linked to prostitution.²⁰

Smoking could cause a woman to fail to live up to the goals society gave women: marriage and having children. Etiquette commentators and guides published in Montreal during the period counseled against women smoking using these rationales. Etiquette

¹⁸Lemieux in “Proceedings,” p.86.

¹⁹Mara L. Keire, “Dope Fiends and Degenerates: the Gendering of Addiction in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Social History*, (Summer 1998), p.814.

²⁰Réginald Hamel, editor. *Charles Gill: Correspondance* (Montreal: Éditions Parti Pris, 1969), letter from Charles Gill to Louis-Joseph Doucet, 23 July 1917, p.193.

guide author Madame Sauvalle gave, for example, “Un mot seulement pour les jeunes femmes qui s’aventurent de temps à l’autre à lancer quelques bouffées de fumées.” While he acknowledged that smoking cigarettes was widespread among Europe’s elite women, it was clear that this was a case of aristocratic decadence that should not be tolerated by the other classes: “il devient de très mauvais ton lorsqu’on n’approche pas des marches d’un trône.” According to Sauvalle, a woman’s priority was to find a husband and smoking put her success in jeopardy.²¹

As Sauvalle’s advice suggests, responses to women smoking changed according to the class of women who smoked. Another group of women to smoke in Montreal before the First World War were a select group of “Society Women” who saw themselves as culturally linked to Europe. From the 1880s, 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, “Oui, une pipe, une vraie pipe, une pipe en plâtre, courte et noire, j’allais dire culottée!”²²

While stories of European society women circulated from time to time in the Montreal press, the question of the extent to which Montreal society women smoked was rarely posed. Immediately before the First World War newspapers increasingly ran

²¹Madame Sauvalle, *Mille Questions d’étiquette: Discutées, Résolues et Classées* (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1907), p.119.

²²Léon Ledieu, *Le Monde Illustré*, 26 January 1887, p.307.

exposés on the smoking habits of Montreal's elite women. Even the reputations of these elite female smokers could be put into question for smoking, though in a different way than 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 Windsor 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 caught on a curtain and then destroyed the woodwork around the window.²³

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 sense, Bettina Bradbury has written that 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.²⁴ In the case of the Windsor fires, the Montreal Fire Department was never called so no investigation was ever undertaken.²⁵ What is more, there were few stories in the news about men being

²³"Lady's Cigarette Caused One Fire at Windsor Hotel: Fair Smokers Are Careless, and Window Blaze Was Result," Montreal *Herald*, 20 March 1912, p.6.

²⁴ See Bradbury, *Working Families*, p.135.

²⁵The *Fire Register: Montreal Fire Department* lists no fires at the Windsor in the weeks before the report.

dangerous smokers and men 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 historians have recognized as being dominated by men.²⁶

This trickle of stories about women smokers became a flood in 1914 during hearings of 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 cigarettes," or what was commonly called the "Commons Commission on the Evils of the Cigarette." Established in 1914 to avoid WCTU demands for cigarette prohibition, the Committee heard numerous witnesses who testified about the smoking habits of elite women. First W.L. Scott, President of both the Ottawa Children's Aid Society and the Union of Children's Aid Societies of Ontario, announced that, "women of the very best class" were beginning to smoke.²⁷ Then F.X. Choquet, judge of the Montreal Juvenile Court, agreed that Montreal had the same problem.²⁸ The Montreal witnesses were unanimous that, as the *Montreal Gazette* put it, the city's elite women were "Cigarette Slaves."²⁹ The *Montreal Star* sent out a reporter to interview local "society and

²⁶Donald F. Davis and Barbara Lorenskowski, "A Platform for Gender Tensions: Women Working and Riding on Canadian Urban Transit in the 1940s," *Canadian Historical Review*, 79,3, September 1998. Pp.432-465. *Fire Register: Montreal Fire Department*, 1912 entries 253, 1157, 1832, 2103, AVM.

²⁷W.L. Scott in "Proceedings," p.16.

²⁸F.X. Choquet in "Proceedings," p.24.

²⁹"Society Women Cigarette Slaves," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 April 1914, p.1.

club women” to get their opinions on women smoking. Many of these women couched their responses in terms of equality between men and women. Lady Julia Drummond opined, “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 the 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.”³⁰ While Lady Drummond and Lady Williams-Taylor believed women should have the right to smoke they did not admit to smoking themselves. The exposé in the Montreal *Star* noted, “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.’”³¹

Working class women may in fact have been more diligent than middle class women about following the custom of women not smoking. After all, if the price of respectability was abstaining from smoking, this was a symbol of respectability even the poorest could display. The testimony at the commission and the follow-up stories all made clear that it was always elite women who were picking up the cigarette. Working class women, according to witnesses at the commission, 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

³⁰“Favor Feminin Smoking,” Montreal *Star*, 17 April 1914, p.1.

³¹*Ibid.*

of people among whom the mothers are smokers” because they could not afford tobacco.³²

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, suggesting that smoking among respectable working class women was a rarity.³³

II. The Rituals of Manhood

By the end of the nineteenth century respectable smoking was only possible by men. Many likened smoking to a ritual that symbolized a boy's transition to manhood. It was expected that boys would try to emulate their fathers. The *Montreal Gazette*, for example, wrote that, “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”³⁴ and smoke. The WCTU was concerned about this view of smoking as a rite of passage and wrote in its “Catéchisme de Tempérance,” “Beaucoup de jeunes garçons commencent à fumer parce qu'ils auront l'air hommes....”³⁵ These attempts at coming of age were often doomed to failure because of the harsh effects

³²Rose Henderson in “Proceedings,” p.43.

³³“Gus. Francq tells some observations of Europe,” *Le Monde Ouvrier*, 8 March 1919, p.3. My thanks to Eric Leroux for this reference. For more on Francq, see Leroux, *Gustave Francq: Figure Marquante du Syndicalisme et Précurseur de la FTQ*. (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 2001).

³⁴“A Legislative Mistake,” *Montreal Gazette*, 23 February 1893, p.4.

³⁵Société chrétienne de tempérance des dames de la province de Québec (WCTU), “Catéchisme de tempérance à l'usage des familles et des écoles de la province de Québec,” CIHM 26045, p.13.

of smoking on the immature boy. In a sermon Reverend W.H. Warriner, a Congregationalist minister in Montreal, described the "first experiences of the smoker... the faintness, dizziness, nausea and vomiting."³⁶ The scenario of boys smoking their father's tobacco and getting sick was described in Marc Legrand's poem "Les Petits Fumeurs" published 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 charoon,
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 fumèrent plus jamais.³⁷

According to these beliefs, smoking required a considerable amount of physical maturity. The strength of the tobacco supposedly acted as a natural guard against boys smoking

³⁶"Mr.Cook's Bill Praised," Montreal *Herald*, 27 February 1893, p.8.

³⁷Marc Legrand, "Les Petits Fumeurs," *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 May 1907, p.64.

until they were men. Barring this natural barrier, fathers were to decide if their boys had become men. Quebec MP and nationalist Armand Lavergne, for example, argued that, "You cannot take from the parents the right to give that training to their children which they consider best for them, and if a father should see that the smoking of cigarettes does not harm his son" the young man should be allowed to smoke.³⁸

Medical understandings of tobacco also 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, some of the leading lights 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 Laval University's Medical Faculty, observed that most child smokers "sont pâles, petits, étoilés, dyspeptiques et leur peau jaune terreuse reflète l'état misérable de leur santé." He concluded by writing that "j'ai ordonné à mon jeune collégien de s'abstenir de fumer quand bien même il croirait en obtenir de bons résultats."⁴⁰

³⁸*Debates*, 23 March 1904, p.351-352. On Lavergne, see Réal Bélanger, *L'impossible défi: Albert Sévigny et les conservateurs fédéraux (1902-1918)* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1983) and Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon, *Olivar Asselin et son temps: Le militant* (Montreal: Fides, 1996).

³⁹ Michael Bliss, *William Osler: A Life in Medicine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p.274.

⁴⁰Professor 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, p.198. For references to Foucher, see Denis Goulet, *Histoire de la Faculté de*

Continuing to reinforce 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. While most historiography has gone to great lengths to uncover whether or not doctors saw tobacco as a cause of diseases or a curative, most doctors considered adult men smoking safe, if done moderately.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. A 1896 *L'Union médicale du Canada* article 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 can burn the stomach, tobacco disinfects the mouth, "déprime les fonctions génitales," and acts as a sedative on the central nervous system. For this last reason Jankau maintained that smoking a pipe often

Médecine de L'Université de Montréal, 1843-1993 (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 1993), p.77.

⁴¹R.B. Walker, "Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking and the Anti-tobacco Movement in Britain in the Nineteenth Century," *Medical History*, 24, 1980, pp.391-402. 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 Sir Richard Doll, "The First Reports on Smoking and Lung Cancer," in S. Lock *et al.* *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health*. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp.130-163; Christopher C. Booth, "Clinical Research," p.224 and David Cantor, "Cancer," p.557, both in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds. *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁴²I have looked at *l'Abeille Médicale*, 1879-1882; *le Gazette Médicale de Montréal*, 1888-1892; *l'Union médicale du Canada*, 1872-1930; *le Montréal Médicale*, 1901-1920; *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1872-1888; *Montreal Medical Journal*, 1901-1910.

prevents attacks of "asthme nerveux."⁴³ Tobacco was clearly helpful only if used in moderation.

Other articles enumerated the cases where tobacco was helpful and dangerous, all of them noting that moderate smoking was safe. In 1909 *L'Union médicale du Canada* republished an article entitled "Le Tabagisme" with an editorial commentary in the footnotes: "Voici une article bien fait, qui sera utile aux Canadiens, grands fumeurs." The article enumerated the numerous health problems associated with abuses of tobacco, from tobacco heart to "cancer des fumeurs," or lip cancer, to memory loss and abortion. Marc also listed a few examples where tobacco was helpful, especially in the areas of constipation and digestion: "s'il est fumé à petite dose."⁴⁴ He concluded by saying that "La question n'est donc pas absolument tranchée."⁴⁵ Professor Foucher discussed the effects of smoking on the respiratory pathways. Aware of "tout le mal qu'il peut produire," he did not want to approve of smoking, prescribe it as a medication and then watch his patient fall into "l'usage immodéré." On the other hand, he did not want to condemn it, an "habitude qu'il chérit," and fall into "l'exagération de l'abstention absolue." He thus sets out rules to healthy smoking: "L'effet irritant et toxique du tabac dépend de la manière dont on en fait usage.... C'est dire en d'autres termes qu'il faut fumer

⁴³"L'usage du tabac chez les malades," originally published in *American Medical Review*, Vol.I, No.4. Republished in *L'Union médicale du Canada*, May 1896, pp.336-337. On tobacco and tuberculosis, see also "Tobacco as an Antizymotic," *Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, July 1884, p.767.

⁴⁴Dr. Marc, "Le Tabagisme," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, 1909, pp.587-590.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.594.

modérément, lentement, un tabac faible en principes actifs.”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 did not get many cases of “tobacco heart” and that he had never heard of a fatal instance of it.⁴⁹ Osler maintained that the cigarette “in moderation ... soothes physical irritability and mental and moral strabismus.”⁵⁰ During a cigarette prohibition debate in 1903, Dr. T.G. Roddick, McGill professor of Clinical Surgery, founder of the Canadian Medical Association and Member of Parliament, told the House of Commons that after a child is finished growing

⁴⁶Professor Foucher, “Quelques remarques....”

⁴⁷Sir William Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine: Designed for the Use of Practitioners and Students of Medicine*. Third edition, (D. Appleton and Company, 1898), p.764. This quotation does not appear in earlier editions, nor in many later editions. It was also used in pro-tobacco propaganda like the widely circulating Leonard K. Hirschberg, “The Truth About Tobacco,” originally published in *Harper's Weekly*. Republished in *CCTJ*, March 1913, pp.43-45. Osler's smoking habits are explored most extensively in Bliss, *William Osler*, p.78, 94-95, 274-275.

⁴⁸Sir William Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine: Designed for the Use of Practitioners and Students of Medicine*. Eighth edition, (D. Appleton and Company, 1912).

⁴⁹William Osler, “Ephemerides, 1895: IX Tobacco Angina,” *Montreal Medical Journal*, Vol. XXIV, No.11, May 1896, p.879.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

"we cannot declare, as medical men, that very much harm follows...."⁵¹ It is clear that most medical authorities concluded that moderate tobacco consumption by grown men was perfectly healthy.

This belief in moderation can be explored in greater detail by looking at doctors' case files. McGill Otolaryngologist (ear, nose and throat specialist) H.S. Birkett, for example, frequently saw patients with ailments caused by smoking though in my sample I found no woman admitting to Birkett that she smoked before the First World War.⁵² 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 was. Birkett's 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.⁵³ For cigarette smokers, the

⁵¹*Debates*, 1 April 1903, pp.832-834. For biographic information on Roddick, see Edward H. Bensley, *McGill Medical Luminaries*, (Montreal: Osler Library Studies in the History of Medicine, 1990), pp.35-37.

⁵²For biographic information on Birkett, see "Herbert Stanley Birkett" Bensley, *McGill Medical Luminaries*, pp.63-65. My base sample of the Birkett casebooks was the books from 1892, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925 and 1930. Fonds H.S. Birkett, Osler Library, McGill University.

⁵³Examples of this are Files No.4151, 8 May 1895; No.16363 13 March 1910; and No.16690 9 September 1910.

upper end of moderation was between 10 and 12 cigarettes a day.⁵⁴ Fewer cigar smokers are mentioned in the Birkett case files with five cigars being considered excessive.⁵⁵

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 modeled their studies of other addictive substances like tobacco, was seen as a disease of the will and women were seen as being more susceptible to abuse because they had inherently less will-power.⁵⁶ 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 at the Commune in Paris.⁵⁷ Valverde adds that men of the lower classes, men of passion, writers, artists, and "empire builders" were also likely candidates to abuse because their passions escaped their wills.⁵⁸ And as with alcohol, doctors saw women as more susceptible to abusing

⁵⁴No.20865, 17 November 1914; No. 7289, 3 Feb. 1900, No.12659, 24 Oct. 1905.

⁵⁵No.29781, 12 May 1930.

⁵⁶Mariana Valverde, "'Slavery from within': the invention of alcoholism and the question of free will," *Social History*, vol.22, No.3 (October 1997), pp.251-268.

⁵⁷See, for example Cynthia Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds. *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp.229-260; Ruth Harris, "Melodrama, Hysteria and Feminine Crimes of Passion in the Fin-de-Siecle," *History Workshop Journal* 25 (Spring 1988), pp.31-63; Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁵⁸Mariana Valverde, "'Slavery from within.'"

tobacco because of their apparently weaker wills. The doctor of Montreal socialite Lady Williams-Taylor explained moderation to her 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, at which point smoking becomes dangerous.⁵⁹ This belief that women were likely to smoke excessively was shared by others outside of the medical profession. Lady Julia Drummond, for example, advised that women should perhaps avoid the habit because they were "often prone to excess."⁶⁰

Smoking was also part of the rituals of doctors becoming "medical men" in both of Montreal's medical schools. These were bastions of male culture with women only admitted to the McGill Medical School in 1917, and the Université de Montréal in 1924.⁶¹ In these buildings, medical students could smoke almost anywhere. At McGill limits were only put on smoking in 1907 after the Medical Faculty building burned.⁶² At Université

⁵⁹"Favor Feminin Smoking," *Montreal Star*, 17 April 1914, p.1.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹On women in the McGill Medical Faculty, see Margaret Gillet, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981), pp.280-303; Little has been written on female medical students being admitted to Université de Montréal. For a cursory mention, see Goulet, *Histoire de la Faculté de Médecine de L'Université de Montréal*, p.211, 261-263.

⁶²"Montreal Notes," *CCTJ*, November 1910, p.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, p.228, p.230 and p.232, RG 38, McGill University Archives.

Laval à Montréal, which would become the Université de Montréal in 1920, the smoking regulations for the medical faculty were part of the gendering of space of the faculty. While smoking was explicitly banned in the dispensary and the waiting room of the maternity hospice, two places where women worked, in the “Règlements concernant l’amphithéâtre d’Anatomie et les salles de dissection” noise was forbidden, but smoking was not.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ Generally, in anatomy classes students smoked to “disguise the odors of putrification.”⁶⁵ 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.”⁶⁶ One 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

⁶³“Constitutions et Règlements de l’Université Laval” Publiés par ordre du Conseil Universitaire, 4ième édition,(Québec: Des Presses à vapeur de Augustin Côté et cie, 1879), Les Archives de l’Université de Montréal, pp.60-63. The rules were the same for the Montreal campus.

⁶⁴“Between the Lectures,” *University Gazette*, 7 February 1888, p.85.

⁶⁵*Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, January 1880, p.282.

⁶⁶John F. Todd to his mother, 8 Feb. 1897 in *John L. Todd Letters*.

who were sick even sicker and non-smoking “gentlemen” would thus avoid hiring them.⁶⁷

According to contemporaries, the ritual of smoking while dissecting was one of the traditions which made the profession unsuitable for women. The *McGill University Gazette*, for example, commented on the University of Geneva that allowed 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 then questioned in the article by noting that they were mainly from eastern Europe, were not respected in Geneva, and never amounted to much.⁶⁸ Part of the way this meaning was evoked was by having these female doctors undergo the same rites of passage as male doctors, though slightly feminized with the specification of the cigarette.

Among physically mature men, 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 other appears.⁶⁹ For example, Montreal journalist Jules Fournier was offered a cigarette by Chief McCarthy, the police officer taking him to prison after being charged with publishing a defamatory article. This helped him to declare McCarthy polite on all counts, despite the

⁶⁷*Canada Medical and Surgical Journal*, January 1880, p.282.

⁶⁸“College News,” *University Gazette*, 7 February. 1888, p.85.

⁶⁹Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (originally published as *Essai sur le Don*, 1950) translated by W.D. Halls, (London: Routledge, 1990), p.13.

fact that McCarthy was in a conflicting relationship with Fournier.⁷⁰ While teaching at the École Normale, Charles Gill was touched at the end of the year when his third year students bought him a box of cigars and a package of choice tobacco, though he thought it was a bit expensive considering their meager bursaries.⁷¹ Moving to the 1920s, male employees of the Bank of Montreal, as Clare Jennings has shown, received pipes as wedding presents while women received household items, reflecting and reinforcing the norms of separate spheres.⁷²

III. The Public Sphere

Smoking also set the tone for high-minded discussion. Cultural journals and newspapers included columns entitled “en fumant” which focused on issues of civil society as their subjects. One such case was the “En Fumant” column of *Le Monde Illustré* which discussed, for example, the secret ballot in Canadian elections or “Le despotisme et la barbarie de L’autocrate de toutes les Russies.”⁷³ Similarly, authors of fiction used

⁷⁰Jules Fournier, *Souvenir de Prison*, in Jacques Hébert, *Trois Jours en Prison* (Montreal: Club du Livre du Québec), p.73.

⁷¹Charles Gill to Louis-Joseph Doucet, 20 June 1911 in Hamel, ed. *Charles Gill*, p.31.

⁷²Clare Jennings, “The Bank of Montreal Staff Magazine: Images of Work and Leisure,” (Undergraduate paper, 101-364B, McGill University, 2000), p.11.

⁷³“En Fumant” *Le Monde Illustré*, 12 July 1890. For other examples of this column, see 20 October 1888, p.198; 2 November 1889, p.214; and 14 June 1890, p.235. This trend was not unique to Montreal. See the series, “The Good-Night Pipe,” *Trinity University Review*, 10:10, October 1897, pp.117-118. The series continues in the following months of the *Review*.

smoking to evoke the same high-minded masculinity. In one instance, Dr. Ernest Choquette, describes in a short story a group of doctors reuniting, coming from long distances, and discussing their first cases. Choquette sets the stage for this storytelling by depicting a post-dinner scene: "Sur une table, il y avait des bouteilles ouvertes de cognac, des facons de genière, des carafons de vin, des cigares, des cigarettes, des verres...."⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ In a more macabre sense, Montreal poet Emile Nelligan, anthropomorphized tobacco, making it his companion while questioning his very existence in the poem "Rondel à ma Pipe":

Les pieds sur les chenets de fer
Devant un bock, ma bonne pipe,
Selon notre amical principe
Rêvons à deux, ce soir d'hiver.

Puisque le ciel me prend en grippe
(N'ai-je pourant assez souffert?)
Les pieds sur les chenets de fer
Devant un bock, rêvons, ma pipe.

Preste, la mort que j'anticipe
Va me tirer de cet enfer

⁷⁴Dr. Ernest Choquette, "Premiers Cases" in *Carabinades* (Montreal: Déom Frères, Éditeurs, 1900), p.51.

⁷⁵*The Echo*, 11 October 1890.

Pour celui du vieux Lucifer;
Soit! Nous fumerons chez ce type,
Les pieds sur les chenets de fer.⁷⁶

Smoking sets the tone for Nelligan's contemplation of death. His move from what he saw as Hell on earth to Hell, is not done alone. It is worth noting that while both tobacco and beer have a physiological effect on the body, it was tobacco that Nelligan chose to use as his companion, not his mug of beer, underlining tobacco's particular cultural role of setting a tone for high-minded discussion.

Considering 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*" (figure 2, see p.46) presents two men, one a "Cigarette Lunatic," the other a "Cigarette Idiot," both of whom present opinions that the cartoonist finds to be absurd.⁷⁷ 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. Cigarette smoking was often linked to a youthful restlessness, not content to pass time pensively smoking a cigar or pipe. In William Douw Lighthall's *The Young Seigneur*, the narrator is part of a secret society called the "Centre-Seekers" in which he and his young friends discuss important topics. One of his friends,

⁷⁶"Rondel à ma Pipe," *Poèmes Choisis: Émile Nelligan* (Montreal: Fides, 1983), p.51.

⁷⁷"*Ex fumo Dare Lucem*," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 18 March 1882, p.176.



EX FUMO DARE LUCEM.

CIGARETTE LUNATIC.—"It not only gives one a manly air, but adds such an intellectual look."
CIGARETTE IDIOT.—"Yes, and makes one do nothing, and care for nothing; and one feels as if
life was all smoke."

Figure 2 *Canadian Illustrated News* (1882).

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.”⁷⁸ Lighthall, a noted anti-modern, not only relates the cigarette 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 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.⁷⁹

Commentators used the image of rolling-their-own cigarettes as a criticism that dandies lacked substance, 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. This concern for detail would have been fine but it took such a short length of time to smoke a roll-your-own cigarette and seemed like an insignificant amount of pleasure for so much work. The cartoon, “The

⁷⁸William Douw Lighthall, *The Young Seigneur* (Montreal: Wm.Drysdale & Co., 1888), p.31. Donald A.Wright, “W.D. Lighthall: sometime Confederation poet, sometime urban reformer” (M.A. Thesis: McGill University, 1991).

⁷⁹Leora Auslander, “The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth Century France” in Victoria de Grazia, ed. *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996. p.90.



Figure 3: "The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker" (*Canadian Illustrated News*, 1879).

Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker” (figure 3, see p.48) from the *Canadian Illustrated News* demonstrates the case.⁸⁰ The cigarette smoker is portrayed as the dandy, dressed to extremes as well as sitting with severely disciplined posture. He also makes extraordinary gestures to roll the cigarette, falling into 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 was used to construct the dandified character of Gaston in Rodolphe Girard’s short story, “Fin d’un Célibataire.” Gaston is described as a “invulnérable célibataire,” a “cynique et stoïque vieux garçon” 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, “un divan aux prétentions orientale, ses membres longs et secs comme des queues de billard” which he flops down upon to take his fateful nap, and by his rolling and smoking of a cigarette.⁸¹ He is a man of extreme leisure, with even his furniture resembling billiard cues, more image than real as his furniture only has “prétensions” 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

⁸⁰“The Herculean Labours of a Cigarette Smoker,” *Canadian Illustrated News*, 1 February 1879, p.80.

⁸¹Rodolphe Girard, “Fin d’un Célibataire” in *Mosaïque* (Montreal: Deom Frères, 1902), pp.9-10.

have shown that as industrial capitalism took hold, the nature of work changed.⁸² Among other changes, work moved from the workshop to the factory and workers lost a great deal of control over their time which was strictly regimented by factory hours. Previously, as historian Alain Corbin has pointed out in regards to France, “[t]he rhythm of work was easily adapted to a generous consumption of alcohol and tobacco.”⁸³ 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” at the *Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital* prohibited smoking in the tannery.⁸⁴ 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 permission, 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 workers were fined 25 cents for breaking them.⁸⁵ 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 Point St. Charles, for example, where in the early 1890s at least 2000 were employed, but the company set up a

⁸²Bradbury’s *Working Families* summarizes much of this literature for Montreal.

⁸³Alain Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp.5-6.

⁸⁴Jean Hamelin and Jacques Rouillard, *Répertoire des grèves dans la province de Québec au XIXe siècle* (Montreal: Presses de l’École des hautes études commerciales, 1970), p.21-22.

⁸⁵“Rules of Establishment....” Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital (hereafter RCRLC), *Quebec Evidence*, pp.593-594.

room 150 feet by 50 feet, where men could eat and then, for 15 minutes at the end of their lunch hour, they could smoke.⁸⁶

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 the smoking room were often decorated with things related to male public sphere activities, like 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.⁸⁷ 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 negotiation of gendered space in the home involving smoking. Women retired to a drawing room or parlor while the men withdrew to a library or smoking room. In the extreme case of this ritual a smoking jacket and hat were worn to protect a man's clothes from smoke, so his wife would not smell it later. According to etiquette, this was not only a spatial move, but a change in topics of

⁸⁶Testimony of Frederick Wanklyn, Assistant Mechanical Superintendent of the Grand Trunk Railway, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic (hereafter RCLT), *Quebec Evidence*, p.742 and p.746.

⁸⁷Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p.77-78.

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.⁸⁸

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 remembered in his memoirs 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 it would help economically if they moved. The family found an apartment on St. Denis street which had a smaller room that his father declared "La pièce la plus importante après la salle à manger" where the family gathered in the evenings and smoked, yet it did not have the status of a smoking room.⁸⁹

Most Montreal homes did not have a smoking room or a drawing 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 room, depending on the size of the family, and a kitchen.⁹⁰ With no space set aside to smoke, middle class etiquette dictated that the home was

⁸⁸Visser, p.267 and p.281.

⁸⁹Robert de Roquebrune, *Quartier Saint-Louis: Récit* (Montreal: Fides, 1966), p.42, pp.165-166.

⁹⁰Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson, "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth Century Montreal," *Urban History Review*, Volume 26, No.2, (March 1998), pp.3-16.



Figure 4: Following smoking etiquette.

supposed to be female space and non-smoking. Some advertisers played on this belief. In 1912 Wrigley's Spearmint Gum was advertised as a more appropriate odour and taste than a cigar if a man was going home to see his family (figure 4).⁹¹ Tobacco companies also tried to sell their

products by playing on the home as a female space. Fortier's ten cent cigar, the Chamberlain, was advertised to have an "Arome Parfumé," an attempt to curry favour with women.⁹² Another tobacco advertisement alleged that if a man smoked Jacques Cartier tobacco "votre épouse ne s'objectera plus à votre pipe."⁹³ 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

⁹¹Montreal *Herald*, 22 January 1912, p.11.

⁹²28 November 1907, *Le Canada*, p.9.

⁹³9 October 1907, *Le Canada*, p.1.

Suppression of Alcohol, addressed married women in the crowd 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.”⁹⁴ 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, like alcohol or other unnamed vices.⁹⁵

Other commentators portrayed the spatial rules around smoking as a choice between marriage and tobacco. They could either be married to a respectable woman or married to tobacco, and when asked to choose, some chose tobacco. Poets were particularly active in expressing this renunciation of what was a domesticized 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 the simple pleasure of smoking, summing up with “And a woman is only a woman, but a good cigar is a Smoke.”⁹⁷ Montreal journals reprinted similar poems, like the poem “My Love,” a parody of the Robbie Burns poem, “My Luve is Like a Red Red Rose,” published in Montreal *Saturday Night*:

⁹⁴“Let the Hubby Smoke,” *Montreal Star*, 12 March 1910, p.27. Republished in *CCTJ*, April 1910, p.35.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶ On the sexualization of objects, see the essays in de Grazia, ed. *The Sex of Things*.

⁹⁷Rudyard Kipling, “The Betrothen” in Wilfred Partington, ed. *Smoke Rings and Roundelays: Blendings from Prose and Verse since Raleigh’s Time* (London: John Castle, 1924), pp.61-63.

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 *CCTJ* 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 and 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

⁹⁸C.D. "My Love," Montreal *Saturday Night*, 14 September 1895, p.4.

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 broad link between high-minded leisure and smoking, often focusing on “back-to-nature” themes. Returning to nature, historians have told us, was an important theme of 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 and Son, Co. launched a brand of tobacco called “the angler” aimed at “the summer resort trade.”¹⁰² In 1910 S. Davis and Sons advertised their 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

⁹⁹ “Apotheosis of the Pipe,” *CCTJ*, August 1903, p.53.

¹⁰⁰ *Canadian Illustrated News*, 6 September 1873, p.146.

¹⁰¹ See Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp.105-132. For the importance of this to working classes, see Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Gender and Domestic Life in a Working Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp.127-128.

¹⁰² “Montreal Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, June 1899, pp.213-215.

then "It certainly makes an early fishing trip more enjoyable if you take along a goodly supply of this popular brand."¹⁰³ S. Davis and Sons also changed the packaging of their 25 cent cigar "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 that sometimes could otherwise be invisible. "Smokers," for example, were male-only social nights that were complete with other activities like music, speeches and drinks. Its link to tobacco was the only sign that it was male-only, unlike a ball. Smokers were frequent in Montreal, often held in festive seasons, like immediately prior to Christmas, and were commonly held by Francophone and Anglophone males from all classes. They were part of an associational life that made up the public sphere in Montreal. In December of 1900, for example, the bourgeois Montreal lacrosse club hosted a free smoker open to all – "a compliment to Lady Nicotine."¹⁰⁵ Similarly in December of 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

¹⁰³Montreal *Gazette*, 9 May 1910, p.4.

¹⁰⁴"Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, June 1899, pp.213-215.

¹⁰⁵"My Lady Nicotine," *Gazette*, 1 December 1900, p.1. On the social makeup of the Montreal Lacrosse Club, see Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).

¹⁰⁶"Le concert tabagie des relieurs: Discours, chant et musique," *La Patrie*, 9 December 1907, p.9.

senator L.-O. David, argued that women should not get the vote because the political sphere of public assemblies and political clubs was full of crude discussion: “dans une atmosphère viciée par les fumées du tabac et de l’alcool... Quel triste spectacle!” 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 between five French-Canadian elite women who frequented a tearoom in the afternoons. The women proclaimed that they were not interested in the vote because it would mean entering polling stations where the men smoked: “Y songez-vous, ma chère, aller dans ces affreux ‘polls’ où les hommes fument et où on croise un tas de yeux, ah non! Merci.”¹⁰⁸ In this case, men smoking and their uninviting gaze constructed the political sphere as an uncomfortable space for these women.

Unsurprisingly, male smoking also helped demarcate cigar stores as male space. The cigar store was a centre of male culture for all classes. At the turn of the century, industry insiders estimated that there were 2,000 cigar stores in Montreal.¹⁰⁹ Tobacconists and cigar stores were often associated with other male oriented services like barbershops and

¹⁰⁷L.-O. David, “Le suffrage féminin,” *Au soir de la vie* (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1924), p.55.

¹⁰⁸“Perruches entre elles,” *Le Pays*, 5 February 1910, p.2.

¹⁰⁹Mortimer Davis, “Minutes,” Royal Commission Re: The Tobacco Trade of Canada (RCTT), RG13, box 2317, file 349/1903, p.1174-1177.

billiards.¹¹⁰ They also served as “fronts” for illegal male sporting culture activities like 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 may have questioned men entering a cigar store as opposed to a 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 Numerous cigar store owners attempted to turn their stores into centres of 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 Russian-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,

¹¹⁰A. Michaels, for example, reported that a Mr. Giroux kept a barbershop at the “rear” of his premisses, “Minutes,” *RCTT*, p.128. Louis Fortier kept a billiards parlor in his “Eden Cigar Store.” See *CCTJ*, January 1902, p.17.

¹¹¹*CCTJ*, April 1903, p.14; *CCTJ*, April 1905, p.23.

¹¹²For cigar stores and gambling in a later period, see, Suzanne Morton, “A Man’s City: Montreal and Male Space in the 1940s,” in Myers *et al.*, *Power, Place and Identity*, pp.169-182.

¹¹³“Montreal Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, September 1899, p.337; June 1906, p.17.

¹¹⁴“Attracts a great deal of Attention,” *CCTJ*, May 1905, p.49.

¹¹⁵“Montreal Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, October 1905, p.19.

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. “Naturellement,” wrote *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, “il ne peut être question d’admettre les vagabonds dans un magasin bien dirigé....” Yet there was no problem in allowing “les gens de bonne société... se rencontrer quelques moments et converser des sujets qui les intéressent” 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 their male relatives in their stores. The *CCTJ* suggested the tobacconist should offer to send a selection of the gentleman’s cigars over to the house for her perusal, so she would not have to suffer the indignity of entering a cigar store.¹²⁰ But barring this, the *Journal* also gave advice on some of the ways tobacconists could encourage women to come to their stores. This advice gives insight into the factors, in addition to smoking, that made cigar stores unfriendly spaces for women. For example, the *Journal* suggested that cigar store

¹¹⁶“Montreal Notes,” *CCTJ*, November 1913, p.33.

¹¹⁷“Cigar Stores as Social Centres,” *CCTJ*, January 1908, p.67.

¹¹⁸“Good Shopkeeping,” *CCTJ*, June 1905, p.19.

¹¹⁹“Les Flaneurs Chez les Tabacconistes,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, October 1904, p.42. Also on “loafers” see *CCTJ*, July 1903, p.65 and “Loafers Not Wanted,” *CCTJ*, August 1907, p.65.

¹²⁰“Pointers for Retailers,” *CCTJ*, November 1902, p.629.

advertising should “[t]ry to convey assurance ... that the woman customer will be subject to absolutely no embarrassment or annoyance in entering the store....” The article continued that though it shouldn’t 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 story of one tobacconist who had taken “pains” to receive the patronage of women buying gifts for men. Their 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

IV. Deference and Self-Control

Smoking was perfectly respectable in public places like smokers, medical schools, political events, and cigar stores - all places designated as homosocial male public space, and furthermore, smoking 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 etiquette, streets, for example, were still considered male space and women who frequented them risked their dignity. Without

¹²¹“Ladies Trade,” *CCTJ*, December 1908, p.57.

¹²²*CCTJ*, February 1911, p.55.

¹²³Ryan, *Women in Public*, p.9.

careful attention to comportment and dress, a woman on the street could be misunderstood to be a “street walker” or prostitute.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ Especially important, John Kassons adds, was not to draw attention to the internal workings of the body.¹²⁶ Thus, men chewing gum, eating and smoking were frowned upon in these rarefied mixed sex situations. Etiquette experts in Montreal denounced men smoking on streets when in the company of a woman. One guide told its readers that if you meet a woman in the street “on fera le sacrifice du cigare ou de la cigarette commencée que l’on jettera discrètement et sans ostentation.”¹²⁷ 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: “Non, ce ne serait pas poli.”¹²⁸

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

¹²⁴For a study of Montreal prostitution and female juvenile delinquency see Tamara Myers, “Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montreal, 1890-1930” (Ph.D. Dissertation: McGill University, 1996).

¹²⁵David Scobey, “Anatomy of the promenade.”

¹²⁶Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, pp.117-132.

¹²⁷Sauvalle, *Mille Questions d’étiquette*, p.119.

¹²⁸“Le Courrier de Colette,” *La Presse*, 18 July 1914, p.7.

less interaction of classes, a man could ask for permission to smoke in a woman's presence. Madame Sauvalle considered it "presque superflu de dire qu'un homme n'allume jamais une cigarette devant des femmes sans leur demander la permission." He 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.¹²⁹

Permission was not always forthcoming. The *CCTJ* told the story of a "smart young lady" who arrived at a railway carriage that already had three or four men in it. One of them, "in the familiar style we know so well," took out a cigar and match box 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 [sic] tell, for as yet no gentleman has smoked in my presence."¹³⁰

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" (figure 5, p.64). The cartoon begins with the man at home with drinks on his table, enjoying a cigar. On a "promenade hygienique," 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

¹²⁹Sauvalle, *Mille Questions d'étiquette*, pp.117-8.

¹³⁰ "It Remains to be seen," *CCTJ*, August 1900, p.345.

Figure 5: Le Monde Illustré (1886)



COMMENT ON ARRIVE A PRENDRE FEMME.

room. A year later a child enters the picture.¹³¹ 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 of Ruth Cameron, the author of the *Montreal Herald's* "Evening Chit-Chat": "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.¹³²

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 this man as being "upper class" by being in front of the "finest" hotel, wearing the "extreme of fashion," getting into the automobile in a "lordly manner," and having a cigar in the 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

¹³¹"Comment on arrive à prendre femme," *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 August 1886, p.124.

¹³²Ruth Cameron, "The Evening Chit-Chat," *Montreal Herald*, 7 June 1910, p.9.

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. Men were to exert self-control and not indulge in tobacco while with women in public.

These ideals of personal conduct and self-control while 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. Some establishments where men could drink and smoke based their respectability on their separation of the sexes. In 1893 the Lyceum Theatre, for example, had a separate section for men to smoke and drink without women and its manager claimed that this was part of why it was a respectable theatre.¹³³ All taverns were not so respectable. In Dr. Ernest Choquette’s short story “Loulou” two individuals find their moral decline in the tavern. First, Robert Renault, a boy from the country comes to the city to go to medical school. After refusing several times his fellow students’ invitation to go “out on the town,” he finally gives in:

Un soir cependant, dans l’atmosphère des cigarettes, du cognac brûlé, du scotch, qui embaumait le salon de l’*Aurore*, il avait senti se fondre insensiblement dans le même nuage les restes flottants de ses scrupules; et il les avait suivis machinalement... les autres partis en caravane pour un chahut d’enfer.

To join the circle was to enter into the smoke, and once in, his 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 was Loulou, a woman who is also out “on the town” with this group. Renault asks her why she did not leave the group, and she

¹³³William Walter Moore, RCLT, *Quebec Evidence*, p.532.

finishes his statement “pour redevenir honnête, n’est-ce pas?”¹³⁴ While the narrative did not include any mention of her drinking or smoking, the fact that she was in such an environment put her respectability into question. The mingling of the sexes here played an important role, as did the alcohol and tobacco smoke, in putting this woman’s character into question.

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 on Montreal tramways bring together the use of smoking as a border of a high-minded male public sphere, the material limitations to this etiquette, and its use as a performance of respectability. Tramways were exemplary, as Donald Davis and Barbara Lorenzkowski have argued, of male spaces where women were made to feel “as intruders whenever they ventured into the public ‘male’ sphere of travel and commerce.”¹³⁵ Traditionally, to accommodate female travelers, smoking was only permitted in the last four rows on each car.¹³⁶ Yet this could barely have been seen as adequate to protect a woman’s respectability. There was no wall between the smoking and non-smoking section, so this symbolic border floated into the rest of the tramway, bringing discomfort and leaving the strong suggestion on a woman’s clothing that she too had been smoking.

The symbolic border between men and women on Montreal transit was altered on the first of December, 1901, when the Montreal Street Railway Company (MSR) banned

¹³⁴Ernest Choquette, “Loulou,” *Carabinades*, p.154.

¹³⁵ Davis and Lorenzkowski, “A Platform for Gender Tensions,” p.432.

¹³⁶*Le Monde Illustré*, 1890-91, p.199.

smoking on the back four seats during the winter.¹³⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century women were increasingly entering into this public sphere, whether it was for shopping or a job in Montreal's downtown offices. For women to do this respectably, men would have to stop smoking on the tramways. Beginning in 1897 the Western Union of the Montreal WCTU began a campaign to end smoking on the MSR, seeing results in 1901.¹³⁸ The Dominion WCTU, probably inspired by what it saw as a victory in Montreal, passed a resolution in late 1902 that pitted women as non-smokers with rights to clean air and the space on the tramway against the 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.¹³⁹

There were other reasons outside of 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 tram cars to pass them by as they had the impression that the tram was already full. In reality it was half

¹³⁷Miss Dougall, "Report of the Committee on Resolutions," *12th Annual Report of the Dominion WCTU*, (1901), p.58, FA 885 MU 8447.2, OA.

¹³⁸Western Montreal WCTU 1894-1950 minute book, 11 November 1897, FA 885 MU 8450.4, OA.

¹³⁹Dominion WCTU Reports, 1 November 1902. "Executive Committee" at the Toronto District Headquarters, p.63. Jessie B. Woodbury, "Report of Committee of Resolutions." FA 885 MU8398.10, OA.

empty and only crowded in the smoking section.¹⁴⁰ In fact, in 1913 when Montreal City Council banned smoking completely on Montreal tramways, it was in the hope of dealing with the overcrowding problem, not the rights of all riders to have fresh air, that was at issue.¹⁴¹

Despite the broader 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 came quickly. In 1903, the tobacconists organized the "Association des commerçants de Vins et de liqueurs Licenciés de la Cité de Montreal" and sent several delegations to the MSR, but with little success.¹⁴² 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 "Compagnie" in French is feminine, writing "tout en donnant satisfaction à la grande masse de la population masculine, elle améliorerait ses recettes."¹⁴³ Thus they created the double meaning that the company should improve its policy and that women 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 of 1907, probably just after summer smoking period

¹⁴⁰"Dans les Tramways," *La Presse*, 20 November 1907, p.4.

¹⁴¹Minutes, Montreal City Council, 9 June 1913, p.107; 17 June 1913, p.414; 23 June 1913, p.610; AVM, 83-1-10-3.

¹⁴²"Montreal Chat," *CCTJ*, November 1903, p.23.

¹⁴³"Fumera-t-on dans les chars urbains?" *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, November 1903, p.38.

ended, a *La Presse* editorial lashed out at the anti-smoking laws as discriminating against men. The editorialist wrote that if men are supposed to stop smoking to end the crowding on tramways, women should not be allowed on with hats and that: “sont retenus par des épingles de plus d’un pied de long et celles qui portent leur parapluie comme un bébé en tenant les baleines” at the eye level of other passengers.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, this was gender conflict, men wielding burning tobacco and women with hair pins 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 Protective Retailers Association of Tobacco and Cigars, stepped up their efforts to allow smoking on public transit.¹⁴⁵ They circulated a petition, in French and English, opposing prohibition of smoking and asking either for special smoking cars like in Europe or “to take other practical means to permit passengers to smoke on the present cars.”¹⁴⁶ The organization approached the Montreal Trades and Labor Council to support their initiative. When the Trades and Labor 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

¹⁴⁴“Dans les Tramway,” *La Presse*, 20 November 1907, p.4.

¹⁴⁵“News and Views of Labor World, Home and Abroad,” *Montreal Star*, 21 February 1914, p.9.

¹⁴⁶“Montreal Notes,” *CCTJ*, March 1914, p.21.

the only opportunity he often had for a smoke was when travelling [sic] back and forward from his work.” This was clearly playing 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 passed with unanimity and the Labor Council sent three delegates of support instead of the one which had been requested by the Retailers Association.¹⁴⁷

In the end the class 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 their proposals.¹⁴⁸ Yet after it 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

¹⁴⁷These delegates were J. Wall, Gustave Francq, and N. Fontaine. See “Labor Council to Support Petition for Car Smoking,” *Montreal Herald*, 6 March 1914, p.3.

¹⁴⁸“Smokers Want to Puff on Street Car,” *Montreal Gazette*, 10 March 1914, p.5; *Montreal City Council Minutes*, 9 March 1914, AVM 2-2-29.

little evidence that they were followed.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, etiquette remained the key to separating smokers and non-smokers, allowing for the creation a male homosocial space on tramways. Smoking on tramways also offered a prime mixed-class opportunity for men to perform respectability and to defer to women in public. At the same time 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" describing the smoking section on the tramway. D'Ornano began his moral tale by describing the smoking section on the tramway as an inclusively male public sphere that he was not entirely comfortable with because of its mixed-class nature:

Dans une promiscuité toute démocratique, la cigarette du jeune homme mêlait sa fumée à celle du havane d'un financier ou d'un bourgeois tandis que sur le tout planait le nuage épais et âcre de la pipe des travailleurs.

This male space rocked to a stop to pick up a group of women who tried to get to the traditional non-smoking section of the tramway. 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 "une lady" who was "assez maitresse de ses nerfs pour éviter une scène," 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: "[Il] tirait des formidables bouffées de sa pipe" and it was these "appétits

¹⁴⁹Indeed, while tobacco was banned on the tramway, the Montreal Fire Department was still regularly called on to extinguish fires on trams caused by smoking, *Fire Register: Montreal Fire Department*, 1912 entries 253, 1157, 1832, 2103.

désordonnés” that forced him into his precarious existence, not his poor pay.¹⁵⁰ 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: “Cet homme: gauche, brutal, rustre au possible, le symbol de l’humanité pauvre, à la fois trop fière ou trop acerbe, pour se plier devant une créature fortunée.” Indeed the worker failed to defer to the woman and the gesture showed that there would never be universal harmony while the poor had such contempt for their “social superiors.” While the woman, according to d’Ornano, demonstrated her “breeding” through her impressive poise, 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 damaging it 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 Tramway Company to resolve the situation by running smoking cars. The proposal would preserve male space to smoke, a woman’s dignity, and would 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. 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. To smoke for males was a ritual of transition

¹⁵⁰“Chonique: En Tramway,” *L’Album Universel*, 2 February 1907, p.1353.

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, making respectability 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 amount of time 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.

Chapter Two

Bourgeois Connoisseurship and the Cigar

Etiquette prescribed many of the rules around smoking – who was to smoke; where they were to smoke; when, how much and in what spirit. But outside of taking a dim view 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, or plugs using flavoured, non-flavoured or home grown 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 pass on the same level of social prestige to 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.¹ Among men, hierarchies of taste distanced gentlemen from the poor and nouveaux riches and helped

¹On the creation of the “Straw Woman” consumer, see Jill Greenfield, Sean O’Donnell and Chris Reid, “Gender, Consumer Culture and the Middle-Class Male, 1918-1939,” pp.183-197, and Christopher P. Hosgood, “Mrs.Pooter’s Purchase: Lower-Middle-Class Consumerism and the Sales, 1870-1914,” pp.146-163, both in Alan Kidd and David Nichols, eds. *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). For a Canadian example, see Cynthia Wright, “Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance.”

differentiate the “civilized” from the “uncivilized” in the construction of racial ideologies.²

The cultural categories of tobacco connoisseurship were most clearly exemplified in the cigar. The cigar 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 them specially to satisfy their members and the *CCTJ* declared: “The Havana cigar is admittedly the king of cigardom.”³ 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, increased until the War, though they never reached the same level of popularity again.⁴ According to connoisseurs, price was not a true mark of quality. Connoisseurs,

²On connoisseurship as a male identity, see Leora Auslander, “The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France,” in de Grazia *et al.*, eds. *The Sex of Things*, pp.79-112; Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1996); Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, pp.17-59.

³*CCTJ*, February 1898, p.37. Quotation from *CCTJ*, March 1898, p.2.

⁴These 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 numerous sizes. In 1901 56,630 lbs. of cigars were imported from Cuba. This number is unusually low because of the fallout from the Spanish-American War. In 1897, for example, 69,317 lbs. were entered for home consumption. By 1911 this number had risen to 87,559 lbs. Consumption of Canadian-made cigars rose from 101,142,481 in 1891 (*CCTJ*, September 1900, p.379) to 141,096,889 in 1901 and 227,585,692 in 1911. This works out to 21 cigars per person in 1891, 26 per person in 1901 and 32 in 1911. These cigar numbers are taken from those published in the *CCTJ*, June 1912, p.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 Yearbook*, (Ottawa, 1932), p.721.

manufacturers of Canadian-made cigars, their rollers and the state all had a clear idea of the values upon which this hierarchy was based. They pointed to the skilled labour of the cigar maker as well as 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. A cigar's quality was derived from cultural visions of race and gender as well as the learned skill of the worker or 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 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 Montreal offers a useful case study of how hierarchy was built into the liberal ritual of smoking. It also proposes a genealogy of the cultural categories on which this hierarchy of taste was based, and their subsequent precariousness immediately before the First World War.

I. Class, Gender and Connoisseurship

The cigar in turn-of-the-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 like Richard I, Alexander III, and major American industrialists like "Vanderbilt."⁵ One of the most popular cigars at the turn of the century was J. Hirsch, Sons and Co.'s the "Stonewall Jackson" and S. Davis

⁵*Cigar Makers' Official Journal (CMOJ)*, March 1899, p.4.

and Sons frequently advertised their “Nobleman” cigar. Cartoons frequently criticized the misuse of wealth and power by portraying the rich as a fat pig who smoked cigars. 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 completing the image of class (figure 1).⁶ 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 (figure 2, see p.79).⁷ 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 (figure 3, see p.79).⁸ Pre-World War One 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,

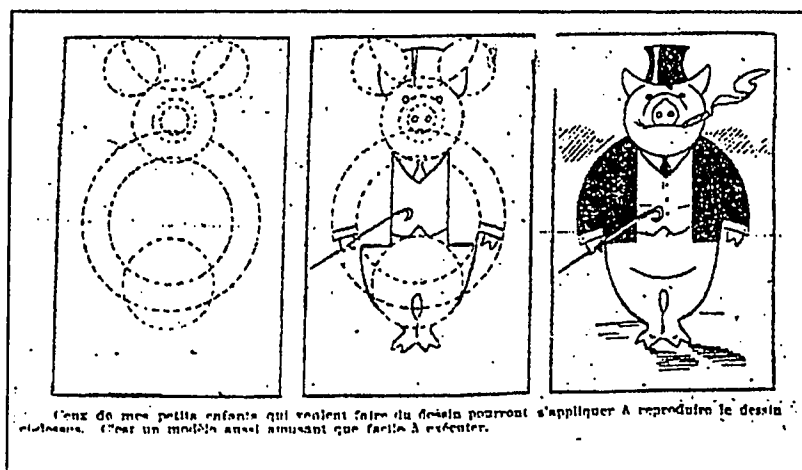


Figure 1: Drawing wealth, *La Presse* (1910)

⁶“Pour Les Dessinateurs,” *La Presse*, 25 June 1910, p.2.

⁷“Contraste,” *La Presse*, 25 October 1910, p.2.

⁸*L’Album Universel*, 24 November 1906, p.1027.



Figure 2: Cigar as wealth, *La Presse* (1910)

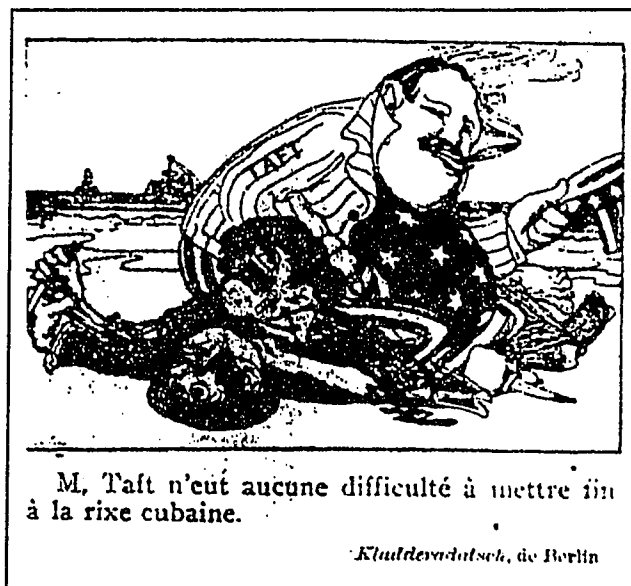


Figure 3: Cigar as power, *l'Album Universel*, (1906)

close to death, tries and fails to reconcile with him.⁹ Tardivel used the cigar to emphasize Montarval's selfishness – a man who uses this crucial time for his leisure rather than to care for his father. In Hector Berthelot's *Les Mystères de Montréal: Roman de Moeurs*, the character Cléophas wakes up from a night of drunkenness to the smell of "un cigare à l'arôme des plus délicats." The smoker is the Count of Bouctouche, who wants to hire Cléophas to help him swindle an inheritance to which he no longer has any claim.¹⁰ The use of the cigar as a symbol of misused wealth was carried beyond literature to the pulpit. Rev. Herbert Symonds, the Vicar of Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal, criticized moral reformers who took aim at moving pictures. Noting that 90 per cent of movie-goers were working people, he compared them to those of his own class who organize bridge and poker games "with cigars and liquid refreshments." He continued ironically "we may incidentally deplore the frivolity of the masses who instead of saving something from their earnings spend it all at the movies."¹¹

These images of power and wealth highlight the expense of a cigar and its association with the elite. Yet cigars ranged in price from those that sold at two for five

⁹Jules-Paul Tardivel, *Pour la Patrie* (1895) translated (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.21.

¹⁰Hector Berthelot, *Les Mystères de Montréal: Roman de Moeurs* (Montreal: Imprimerie A.P. Pigeon, 1901), p.43. This story was originally published from 20 December 1879 to 31 July 1880 in *Le Vrai Canard*, reprinted in *Le Canard* 23 May 1896 to 18 February 1897 and then finally published as a book in 1901. For more information on Berthelot and the publishing history of *Les Mystères de Montréal*, see its entry in *Dictionnaire des oeuvres Littéraires du Québec: Tome Premier, des Origine à 1900*, sous la direction de Maurice Lemire, (Montreal: Fides, 1978), p.510-512.

¹¹Herbert Symonds, *A Memoir* (Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co., 1921), p.182.

cents to more expensive ones that could cost a dollar each. Clearly most smokers could afford the cheapest cigars. What drew the association between cigars and elite smokers closer together was the ideology of connoisseurship. Like with wine and champagne, connoisseurs learned how to evaluate a cigar through an expensive process of testing and information gathering that amounted to a type of cultural class formation.

Connoisseurship had much in common with the amateur ideology that drove sport in nineteenth century Montreal. Today, it is no mistake that in French the word *connaissanceur* is used almost interchangeably with the word *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.”¹² As such, sports were to be played according to the spirit of their rules rather than 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.”¹³ Like the disdain held for the codified rules of 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 boxes of cigars because true connoisseurs would know a good cigar.¹⁴

Cigar companies attempted to cast their customers as “men of taste” who would

¹²Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, p.120.

¹³*Ibid.*, p.120.

¹⁴*CCTJ* April 1901, p.183. This was part of a larger debate about price tickets that occurred in the grocery business as well. See Keith Walden, “Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920,” *Canadian Historical Review* 70,3 (September 1989), p.285-310.

recognize quality. As well as using the names of political, business and military leaders for their brands, cigar companies also marketed brands like “Verdi” and “Walter Scott” – images of quality in music and literature.¹⁵ In contrast, failures in connoisseurship reflected poorly on the manhood of the smoker and their claim to being middle or upper class. A 1921 Montreal *Herald* article, 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 story, the question of who was socially superior was based on a measure of connoisseurship. According to the article, when Van Horne did not want to talk to reporters he would give them eight inch long black cigars made from Hudson Bay tobacco. The cigars were described as being “rank beyond description” and Van Horne attributed the project of growing the 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.¹⁶ 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 Esquiman,” the journalist derogatorily equating strong odours 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 countered that this was proof of Shaughnessy’s poor taste: “I might have known it. Tom

¹⁵CMOJ, March 1899, p.4.

¹⁶On Arnold, see Brooks Wright, *Interpreter of Buddhism to the West: Sir Edwin Arnold* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957).

Shaughnessy likes 'em!"¹⁷

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 "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 laughter.¹⁸ 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, Bateese is penniless and returns home hungry where he is, of course, met and welcomed by his father. In the winter between these two summers Trudeau returns to Quebec as John B. Waterhole, and the narrator, a French-Canadian man who speaks in broken English like many of the 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

¹⁷"Shaughnessy Likes 'Em!" *Montreal Herald*, 27 October 1921, p.4.

¹⁸Arthur L. Phelps, "Introduction," in William Henry Drummond, *Habitant Poems* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart limited, 1970), pp.7-16. See also, "Dr. Drummond in St. John," *Montreal Herald*, 11 April 1900, p.12.

L'enfant! He smoke beeg pile of dem - for monee he don't care!-¹⁹

The relationship between the "tabac canayen" and the five-cent cigar from Trois Rivières reveals much about Bateese and Drummond. Bateese fails as the connoisseur and speaks condescendingly to the narrator in saying that the "tabac canayen" is not worth smoking. Drummond in turn condescends to the habitant 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.²⁰

Connoisseurs of cigars believed that women could not join their ranks. The best example of the belief that cigar connoisseurship was an exclusively male ability was observable each Christmas in tobacco trade journals and newspapers. According to these reports, one of the few times that women shopped for cigars was just before Christmas when they bought presents for their husbands and brothers. Though women 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."²¹ The *CCTJ* abounded with jokes about the way in

¹⁹William Henry Drummond, *The Habitant and other French Canadian Poems* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), pp.24-33; Citation from pp. 28-29. For another example along this line see "Ottawa Jottings," *CCTJ*, September 1900, p.383. The journal discusses a beginner tobacconist who wanted 1000 clear Havana cigars but "doesn't know Havana from Rimouski," meaning this tobacconist could not recognize a good cigar.

²⁰Arthur L. Phelps, "Introduction," in William Henry Drummond, *Habitant Poems* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart limited, 1970), pp.7-16.

²¹*CCTJ*, January 1913, p.13.

which women bought cigars. Underlying these jokes was a lack of respect for the way women consumed other goods. One such joke recounted a discussion between a husband and wife as to whether the “New Women” would 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.²² Similarly the *Journal* recounted a poem where a husband took desperate measures to deal with his Christmas cigars:

He stood alone upon the bridge alone [sic], 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 wife had bought ‘so cheap.’²³

It was also believed that women bought cigars for the fancy cigar 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 jewelry box. Men apparently preferred a plain cedar box of “a brand with which he is acquainted.”²⁴

This ideology of connoisseurship stated that women could not possess the proper knowledge to buy quality tobacco, cigarettes, or cigars. Along the same logic, the *CCTJ* wrote that tobacconists were ill-advised to hire women to work in their stores because women could not possibly understand the cigar trade. The *Journal* maintained that “[women] have not, nor can they acquire, the knowledge necessary in advising the

²²*CCTJ*, February 1898, p.41, reprinted from *Tid Bits*.

²³*CCTJ*, February 1899, p.69.

²⁴“The Holiday Package and the Cigarette Insert,” *CCTJ*, October 1912, p.11.

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.²⁵ 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.²⁶

II. 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

²⁵*CCTJ*, October 1900, p.429.

²⁶*CCTJ*, November 1900, p.473.

burning.²⁷

Increasingly, different grades of cigars were made with different work processes that were seen as undermining the craft. The cigars most vulnerable to de-skilling were the five-cent cigars. Five-cent cigars were nothing short of an institution and their price could not be raised so manufacturers introduced molds and groups of women or children to reduce costs. With mold and group work the speed of production could be increased and highly paid journeymen cigar makers replaced with poorly paid children and women.²⁸

Using this kind of labour, however, meant that the theme of “skilled labour” was more difficult to use honestly in advertising. Companies who used skilled labour frequently mentioned it in their advertising, believing that the logic of 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 their cigar makers in their advertisements (figure 4, see p.88).²⁹ Cigar manufacturers elsewhere went to more extreme measures to advertise the skill of

²⁷Patricia Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), p.53.

²⁸*Ibid.*, chapter 2.

²⁹Until 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 *et al. Répertoire des grèves dans la province de Québec au XIXe siècle*. (Montreal: Presses de l’École des hautes études commerciales, 1970) and then for the twentieth century through the *Labour Gazette*. Some of them 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 PAC. For a particularly hostile example, see Vol.303 T-2691 Strike No.119. Lasting from December 1913 to 15 August 1914, Davis emerged victorious and his correspondence in the file takes a strikingly patronizing tone towards his workers.

their cigar makers. One cigar manufacturer in Ottawa, with the consent of the Cigar Makers' International Union (CMIU), put cigar makers on display in their 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,

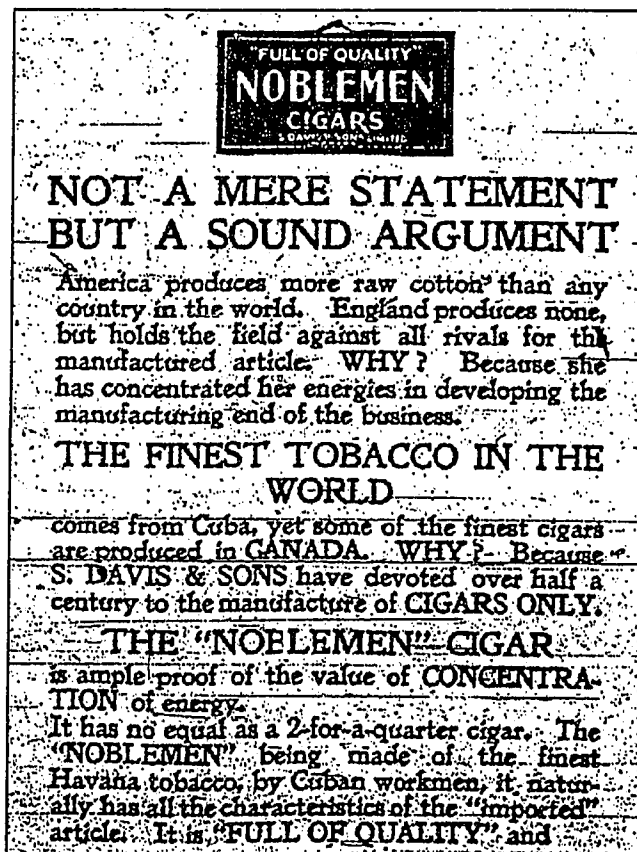


Figure 4: Advertising workmanship (*Gazette* 1910)

a cigar firm in London, Ontario, put Cuban cigar makers on display 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 had in selling cigars.³⁰

Cigar manufacturers were undermining the process by which these skills were learned, making it difficult to guarantee the quality of the cigar. The skill to make a good

³⁰“Proceedings of the 20th Session,” *CMOJ*, September 1893; The company may have been Brown Bros. which is reported to have put cigar makers in their windows as “advertisements.” See *CCTJ*, March 1898, p.10; “London Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, p.441. Similarly, Keith Walden notes that, see *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, p.164.

cigar was supposed to be acquired during a three-year apprenticeship.³¹ Apprenticeship agreements in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries set out a set of responsibilities between master and servant. In exchange for the apprentice's labour, he received little or no pay, but was to be fed, sheltered, clothed and taught a craft.³² By the 1880s, as Bettina Bradbury has written, in the move from artisanal shop to industrial factory, this apprenticeship system had already broken down and many cigar makers who had completed their apprenticeship were not able to complete a full cigar.³³ Six months after finishing his apprenticeship, journeyman cigar maker Edmond Gauthier testified at the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital that he could only roll a cigar by mold, not by hand, and then admitted that he did not know his trade.³⁴ Because the industry's reputation relied so heavily on skill, to the extent that the value of the product was partially dependant on it, this breakdown in the apprenticeship system was a crisis. 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

³¹For descriptions of the poor treatment of apprentices, see among others, the testimonies of Théophile Charron, pp.24-26; Achille Dabenais, pp.26-29, RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence* .

³²Testimony of Alphonse Lafrance, RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, p.31.

³³While many apprentices in other trades may not have been paid, cigar making apprentices were. See Testimony of Edmond Gauthier, RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, p.29. For apprenticeship in much of the North American industry, see Cooper, pp.48-49. Bradbury summarizes much of the literature on apprenticeship in her *Working Families*.

³⁴Testimony of Edmond Gauthier, RCLRC, *Quebec Evidence*, p.29.

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.³⁵

Another solution allowing 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 the system would not be abused. The CMIU attempted to do this through their "Blue Label." A cigar manufacturing company could use the union label if they agreed to a bill of prices per thousand cigars, hired only union cigar makers and packers in the factory and the use of apprentices limited. 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.³⁶ In exchange for accepting union demands, the union allowed the cigar manufacturer to put the Blue Label on his cigars, vouching both for their quality, and the conditions under which they were made.

The notions of skill represented in the Blue Label also reflected the racial and gender prejudice in the trade. Though cigar making was seemingly something that could be learned through apprenticeship, unionized cigar makers maintained that not everyone

³⁵"Apprenticeship Schools," *CCTJ*, December 1899, p.495.

³⁶On 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, p.147 as well as the listings in Hamelin. For the changes in apprentices allowed in unionized factories, see *La Presse*, 14 April 1900, p.25 and the testimony of Patrick J. Ryan, RCRLC, *Quebec Evidence*, p.36 and Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, p.48-49.

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 as women were not made to feel welcome in the union and were actively discriminated against racism was even more overtly displayed. In fact, the label was adopted by the CMIU in 1880 and the fine print of a 1890 example printed in the Montreal union journal (figure 5),

The Echo, read:

This certifies that the Cigars contained in this box have made by a First-Class Workman, a member of the Cigar Makers’ International Union of America, an organization opposed to inferior rateshop, COOLY, PRISON, or FILTHY TENEMENT-HOUSE WORKMANSHIP. Therefore we recommend these Cigars to all smokers throughout the world.³⁷

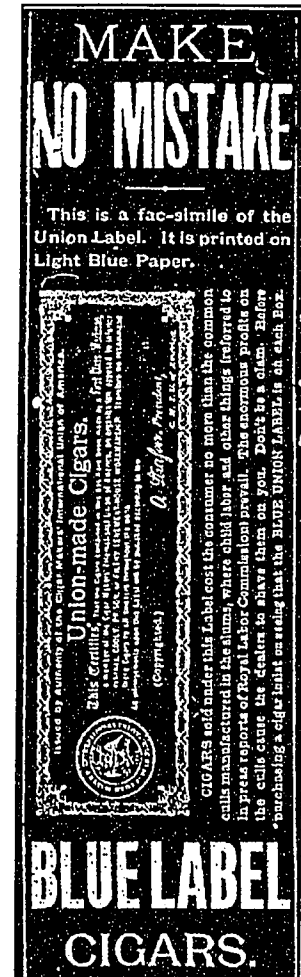


Figure 5

By 1910 the label had changed, getting rid of references to “Coolies” and all words in the above sentence after “organization,” replacing them with “devoted to the advancement of the MORAL, MATERIAL and INTELLECTUAL WELFARE OF THE

³⁷*The Echo*, 1 September 1890.

CRAFT.”³⁸ Still, some claimed the history of racial exclusion as part of the Label’s “noble history.” The “Chronique Ouvrière” in *La Patrie* gave a brief history of the union label, tracing its origins to Gilded Age San Francisco cigar makers. As background, the article pointed to the Burlingame Treaty concluded with China on 28 July 1868. The treaty allowed Chinese immigrants to enter into 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, as there were only 179 white cigar makers and 8,500 Chinese cigar makers and the effects “du travail de ces jaunes” were disastrous since they worked for between 30 and 60 cents per day. Finally in 1874 a local of the cigar makers’ union adopted a white label “pour distinguer les produits des ouvriers blancs des produits des ouvriers jaunes.” In 1876 the movement became more widespread, and the Pacific Coast Cigar Makers Association was formed. Fifty cigar 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.³⁹ 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 racism would not hurt, and may even help the Blue Label’s promotion.

³⁸For an image of the new label see *La Patrie*, 16 May 1910, p.5 and Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, p.106.

³⁹Henri Bourdon, “Chronique Ouvrière,” *La Patrie*, 15 June 1910, p.5.

Most of the label's promotion in Montreal called for class, 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."⁴⁰ The main promoters of union-made cigars were the Montreal locals of the CMIU and the Montreal Trades and Labor Federation (MTLF), 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.⁴¹ The Montreal locals promoted Blue Label cigars in their newspapers, in meetings of their locals, through short animations, label exhibitions, during labour day parades, and through asking consumers to boycott other goods. In 1908 the secretary of the label committee of the MTLF, C.R. Salmon, spoke in support of union labels at early Montreal cinema halls like the Readoscope and the Duluthoscope. Almost like a precursor of a television commercial, while he spoke an animation of a union label, sometimes the cigar maker label and sometimes others, would appear on the screen. He would also speak during the intermissions.⁴²

Another method by which union cigar makers promoted their label and the goods that wore it was through label exhibitions. The 1910 exhibition took place over two days, beginning on Saturday afternoon when factory work ended for many and continuing on

⁴⁰"BLUE LABEL CIGARS," *The Echo*, 7 June 1890.

⁴¹"L'Union Internationale des Cigariers," *Le Repos du Travailleur*, 1 September 1890, p.3.

⁴²"Nouvelle Ouvrière," *La Presse*, 28 April 1908; 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 Ouvrière," *La Presse*, 4 May 1908, p.11.

through Sunday afternoon. Despite the sweltering heat, the label exhibition attracted an estimated 1500 visitors.⁴³ Union labels were displayed prominently, companies who used union labour showed their goods, and speeches were given on the co-operative movement and the importance of the union movement. Union-made cigars were awarded as prizes during the exhibition's festivities. Cigar makers played an important part in the exhibition's organization. Benjamin Drolet, the president of the CMIU local 58, at that time the only local of the International in Montreal, was both a speaker and member of the organizing committee.⁴⁴

In addition to promoting union label goods, the Label Committee also arranged for boycotts of non-union cigars. In January 1898, the MTLF came to an agreement with the Steve Brodie Theatrical Company that the Company would no longer advertise for what the MTLF called the "General Arthur scab cigar." The Company would receive 100 Blue Label Cigars as well as a union advertisement.⁴⁵ Later that same year a committee of the MTLF interviewed the lessee of St.Helen's Island Park, asking him to sell only union cigars.⁴⁶ Similarly Adolphe Gariépy, a Montrealer and the third Vice President of the CMIU, moved a successful motion at the MTLF in August 1907 to boycott the "Papa"

⁴³"Nouvelle Ouvrière," *La Presse*, 13 June 1910, p.13.

⁴⁴*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* on microfilm, local 226 disappears.

⁴⁵Montreal Trades and Labor Council, Minutebook, 20 Jan. 1898, p.15. Les Archives d'UQAM.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 7 April 1898, p.28.

and "Romeo and Juliette" cigars because the factory at which they were being produced was on strike.⁴⁷ The Cigar Makers' Union also used national boycotts through the *CMOJ*. 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 Fortier's brand names in the *CMOJ*.⁴⁸ How effective these tactics were is not clear. The *CMOJ* claimed that the public responded well to label promotions and boycotts. The *Journal* pointed to an example of one cigar manufacturer, Villeneuve and Co., that in 1899 returned to the union label after repudiating it three years earlier. Adolphe 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 three. Immediately after union labour was engaged, according to Gariepy, the company hired 25 men, for him proof that the Label was popular.⁴⁹

This promotion of the Blue Label as a symbol of the value of the cigar was done against a back drop of opposition in Parliament. In response to a number of cases of Blue Label counterfeiting in and around Montreal, as well as use of the Label without union permission, the CMIU attempted to register it as a trade mark.⁵⁰ In the past, the CMIU

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 1 Aug. 1907, p.106.

⁴⁸March 1899, *CMOJ*, p.4. The arrests and ensuing libel trial are described in Ian McKay, ed. *For a Working-Class Culture In Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay's Writings on Sociology and Political Economy, 1897-1939* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996), pp.xxii-xxvii, 43-47.

⁴⁹*CMOJ*, June 1899, p.5.

⁵⁰Cooper maintains that counterfeiting of the label was fairly common. *Once a Cigar Maker*, p.105. For a Toronto example, see, "The Label Sustained by the Courts,"

had successfully litigated to protect their claim on the label. There was growing concern within the union after defeats in US courts, and the CMIU concluded that their position would be stronger if the label was registered.⁵¹ As it stood, however, the Trade Marks and Industrial Designs Act only allowed people or corporations to register trade marks and trade unions did not conform to either of these descriptions. The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress from 1897 to 1905 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 beliefs doomed the amendment. In 1897, 1899 and 1901 it was defeated in the House while in 1898 and 1905 the amendment made it to the Senate where it was also defeated. 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 CMA sent a delegation to lobby the Senate Committee on Banking and Commerce.⁵² In fact, the CMA itself took credit for the Bill's failure at its 1901 convention and claimed to be instrumental in the Bill's demise in 1903.⁵³ In Parliament debate usually amounted to

CMOJ, March 1891, p.10-11 and for cases in Montreal, see, "La Chronique Ouvrière," *La Patrie* 10 November 1907, p.3 and the same column, 16 May 1910, p.5.

⁵¹For a Canadian example, see "The Label Sustained by the Courts," *CMOJ*, March 1891, p.10-11. *Debates*, 22 April 1897, pp.1073-1074.

⁵²Minutes of Parliamentary Committee 13 Apr. 1901. P.56. Vol.61, CMA Papers, MG 28 I230.

⁵³Report of the CMA 30th Convention, *Industrial Canada*, CMA Papers, MG 28 I230 Vol.3, p.104; Probably Printed in *Industrial Canada* 19 Oct 1903 "Union Label,"

an attack on working peoples' right to organize as well as to accuse unions of corruption. Occasionally, however, they addressed the relationship between labour and value. Two positions on the bill became clear. First, 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.⁵⁴

The counter-argument was upheld consistently by the former Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, Mackenzie Bowell. Bowell maintained that the bill was "vicious in principle" because the union label was not a voucher of quality. Instead, he argued, products are the outputs of companies not of workers. The label would then allow trade unions to put this mistaken principle into action through a boycott.⁵⁵ 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 continued, was not proof of "superior ability," but rather "too often the badge of arrogant incompetence" as those who did not have skill were the only cigar makers who needed a union. If the cigar maker wanted to improve his lot in the world, he would

p.179.

⁵⁴*Debates of the Senate*, 10 May 1898, p.795.

⁵⁵*Debates of the Senate*, 29 April 1898, p.639.

practice at night and improve his skills.⁵⁶

III. Cuba

In addition to skill, the second criteria for a good cigar, even one that was made in Canada, was that the tobacco had to be grown in Cuba. There were several theories as to why Cuban tobacco was superior. The 1910 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* explained that “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.” One theory argued that the “aroma and other good qualities” of Cuban tobacco were caused by bacteria and that it could actually be extracted from Cuban tobacco and put into poorer tobacco to increase its value.⁵⁷ The bacterial theory, however, was not universally accepted. The *CCTJ* mocked it, writing that it was authored by German scientists who would “try to change cabbage into Cuban.”⁵⁸ Similarly, *Liqueurs et Tabacs* took the sarcastic position: “Donc, hâtons-nous, importons des microbes de Cuba et cultivons-les, acclimatons-les, ils nous havaniseront notre tabac, ces charmants microbes.”⁵⁹

A more accepted theory explaining the superior quality of Cuban tobacco posited that it was a question of “*terroir*.” Like with grapes used to make champagne and French

⁵⁶“Unionism in the Cigar Trade,” *CCTJ*, April 1901, pp.157-158.

⁵⁷“Tobacco,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Eleventh Edition, (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910), pp.1036-1037.

⁵⁸“Tobacco and Bacteria,” *CCTJ*, August 1899, p.305.

⁵⁹“Le Tabac et ses Délices,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, April 1902, pp.32-34.

wine, it was the experience of the cultivator and their relationship to the soil and climate that determined the quality of the tobacco leaf.⁶⁰ The *Encyclopaedia* 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."⁶¹ 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 Rio*. They planted their tobacco fields, the plants came up, and in their opinion they were on their way to "a bumper" crop. Their neighbours, however, 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 "do not themselves know how to

⁶⁰Here 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 got its value. See her paper, "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures: Wine Consumption and the Making of French Identity in the late Nineteenth Century," presented at the "Food and Drink in Consumer Societies Conference" held at the Haglem Museum, Wilmington, Delaware, 12-13 November 1999. She draws on the work of nineteenth-century French Geographer Vidal de La Blanche. See Jean-Yves Guiomar, "Vidal de La Blanche's *Geography of France*," in Pierre Nora, ed. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* Vol.2, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp.187-209.

⁶¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p.1036.

describe their ways of analyzing the exceptional qualities of soil, atmosphere and moisture which gave the Vuelta Abajo leaf its primacy,” they did, however, know how to treat the leaf and get the best return.⁶² 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 based on race. Canadian tobacco farmer and expert Louis V. Labelle’s well-circulated 1898 pamphlet, “Traité de la culture et de l’Industrie du tabac,” 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:

Pendant de longues années, les tabacs Mexicains ont été considérés comme très inférieurs, parce que cette culture était laissée aux mains des *peones* ignorants, qui gaspillaient l’oeuvre de la nature ... par une incurie et une ignorance incroyable.

According to Labelle’s pamphlet, 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.⁶³

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* was explicit about the racially specificity of who possessed “proper” knowledge about growing tobacco. For example, when it analyzed

⁶²“Havana News Items,” *CCTJ*, August 1901, p.373.

⁶³Louis V. Labelle, “Traité de la culture et de l’Industrie du tabac,” (1898) p.13. CIHM 08362.

valuable tobacco grown on the Indonesian island of Sumatra that was used as a wrapper because of its colouring, the *Encyclopaedia* assessed its value 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."⁶⁴ Once again, intelligent management was equated with Europeans. The *Encyclopaedia* explained Cuban superiority by writing that even during the slave period, tobacco had been a "white man's" crop, "for it requires intelligent labour and intensive care."⁶⁵ In fact, tobacco in Cuba was far from being a "white man's crop." As 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.⁶⁶

"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 of 1898 the *CCTJ* reported that "the insurgents" in the Spanish-American War (1898) had destroyed 600,000 tobacco plants in the Pinar del Rio and Santa Clara districts and two months later the same journal reported that the quality of Cuban cigars had dropped.⁶⁷ Over ten years later the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* made similar claims that the decline had actually happened long before the

⁶⁴*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p.1039.

⁶⁵See "Cuba," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p.599.

⁶⁶Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).

⁶⁷*CCTJ*, January 1898, p.4 and March 1898, p.3. Other reports of destruction of Cuban crops can be found in the *CCTJ*, March 1898, p.77; July 1898, p.181-182.

Spanish-American War. The *Encyclopaedia* asserted strongly that during the Ten Year War in Cuba (1868-1878) 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.”⁶⁸

While it was likely that the quality of Cuban tobacco fluctuated, the suggestion of tobacco being Cuban was more important than the quality of the tobacco. From 1897 to 1908 a Cuban cigar could be recognized by the Canadian revenue stamp that was 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, Manilla or China; a black stamp for cigars that were made with Cuban tobacco in Canada; a pink stamp for cigars made from tobacco from other countries; and green for Canadian tobacco.⁶⁹ Many smokers and tobacco industry experts that influenced smokers’ opinions interpreted these stamps as guarantors of quality rather than as simple excise categories. Early in 1905, for example, the *CCTJ* wrote an editorial noting that the government had actually developed the stamp system to protect

⁶⁸“Cuba,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p.599.

⁶⁹“Uniform Revenue Stamps Meeting with Approval,” *Montreal Herald*, 26 March 1908, p.11.

consumers from fraudulent tobacco.⁷⁰ 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. One tobacconist in Toronto even threatened to get the signatures of concerned smokers on a petition opposing the abolition of the stamp system.⁷¹

In the debates around 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 argued in the Montreal *Herald* that the label only defined the tax division through country of origin and there was no guarantee that all tobacco of that country was going to be of equal quality. The same manufacturer pointed out that there could be a difference of up to \$14 between Cuban cigars all with the same stamp and weight, and cigar manufacturers themselves were known to go to Cuba to choose their own leaf. Others attacked cigars made in Canada with Cuban tobacco. J.M. Fortier claimed that the excise labels were not stamps of quality and 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 the black label.⁷² What he was suggesting was that cigar

⁷⁰"Editorial," *CCTJ*, October 1905, pp.11-12.

⁷¹"Uniform Revenue Stamps Meeting with Approval," Montreal *Herald*, 26 March 1908, p.11.

⁷²*Ibid.*

manufacturers were substituting cheaper tobacco for the more expensive Cuban and using the black label 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 attach 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.⁷³ 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 [sic] 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. Writing during the Spanish-American War, the author 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

⁷³My use of the word Cubanicity borrows from Roland Barthes’ discussion of “Italianicity” in his “The Rhetoric of the Image” in *Image - Music - Text* (Fontana, 1977).

not yet been observed.”⁷⁴ In Montreal L.O. Grothe’s brand, the “Boston” is a good example (figure 6). 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.⁷⁵

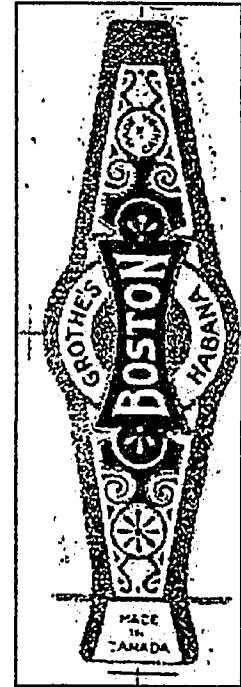


Figure 6

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 opened on the first of July 1900 and continued until at least 1919.⁷⁶ The firm pioneered the production of the “authentic” Cuban cigar, made in Canada.⁷⁷ Michaels owned several cigar stores in Montreal and was from an important Montreal tobacco family. His father founded the Stonewall Jackson Cigar Factory, a longstanding concern in Montreal, and both his brothers owned cigar stores that dealt in expensive tobacco goods.⁷⁸ Along with of his brothers, Granda had learned the cigar making trade during their childhood in Cuba, working in New York and then Montreal.⁷⁹ And while both partners were experienced in the tobacco business, only the

⁷⁴“Brands, Labels, and Size Names,” *CCTJ*, February, 1900, p.75.

⁷⁵Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd. Collection, McCord Museum Archives, .43.

⁷⁶The firm disappears for *Lovell*’s business directory in 1919.

⁷⁷ *CCTJ*, August, 1901, p.372; and “In Memoriam,” *CCTJ*, December 1906, p.17.

⁷⁸“In Memoriam,” *CCTJ*, December 1906, p.17.

⁷⁹“Manufacture of Clear Havanas,” *CCTJ*, March 1903, p.49.

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 as it had oversold by 350,000 cigars and needed new production space.⁸⁰

Granda Hermanos y Cia. and the Canadian-made Cuban cigar industry that followed them resulted from three factors. First, it represented an attempt by manufacturers to profit from the higher tariffs on imported Cuban cigars imposed by the Laurier tariff of 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.⁸¹ They immediately found work and when the War ended and Cuban tobacco leaf was once again widely available, the third factor came into play: the 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 appealed 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 their 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.⁸² By 1902 the Company added a stockholder in Cuba who acted as a resident buyer in order that "their leaf tobacco

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹"Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, May 1898, p.125.

⁸²"Granda Hermanos Y Ca.'s [sic] New Factory," *CCTJ*, August 1901, p.373.

interests on that island consequently received the closest attention.”⁸³ Granda Hermanos y Cia. also used advertising to pander to the male connoisseur’s attempt to legitimize his consumption of tobacco through the knowledge of the process of making a cigar as well as by calming fears of industrial capitalist transformation processes. 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.”⁸⁴ Indeed, according to Keith Walden, decoration of store windows was probably at its height in this era, a public education strategy to alleviate anxieties of changing work processes and products associated with industrial capitalism. The 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 rolled in Cuba.⁸⁵

While acquiring Cuban tobacco was more easily achieved after the Spanish-American War, skilled labour was far more complicated to find. Other Canadian companies like Granda Hermanos y Cia. insisted on having an all-Cuban or Spanish workforce to produce an authentic Cuban cigar. Here, the CMIU’s claim that not all races were equally skilled returned to haunt them as it was believed that Cubans and Spaniards were superior to any other cigar makers in the world, including the French Canadian, Anglo-Saxons (largely English, Scottish and Irish) and Jewish membership of the Montreal

⁸³“Granda Hermanos y Ca. [sic],” *CCTJ*, February 1902, p.89.

⁸⁴“Montreal Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, 11 June 1901, p.273.

⁸⁵Walden, “Speaking Modern.”

locals of the CMIU.⁸⁶ For Montreal connoisseurs, the image of the Cuban cigar maker was of a tradesman 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."⁸⁷ 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 please 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 the artist may have had defaults, 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.⁸⁸ Still, these explanations did not answer why Cubans were broadly regarded as the most skilled of cigar rollers and observers put forward no explanation. The fact that many believed that the best cigars came from Cuba probably lead to the racial stereotype that Cubans were biologically

⁸⁶The names of new members of both Montreal locals of the CMIU were published monthly in the *CMOJ*. I surveyed from 1881 to 1920. Though I understand it is not entirely an accurate indicator, I have roughly determined their ethnic origins through these names.

⁸⁷"Men and Things," Montreal *Herald*, 16 May 1908, p.4.

⁸⁸"Havana, Mecca of the Cigar World," *CCTJ*, April 1904, p.19.

superior cigar makers.

There is evidence that Cuban cigar makers in Montreal fancied themselves more skilled than Canadian cigar makers. The *CCTJ* reported in 1903 that during a strike at the Granda Hermanos y Cia., the Spanish and Cuban cigar makers attempted to have the Canadian union cigar makers fired "whose work they claim is inferior to their own."⁸⁹ Similarly, in 1910 *La Presse* reported that the Cuban workers at S. Davis and Sons went on strike because they refused to work with Canadians or Americans.⁹⁰ 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 of most CMIU cigar makers in Montreal, on three counts. First of all, it used "long filler" instead of the short filler in most ten cent cigars. The use of this longer filler allowed the skilled roller to forego the binder leaf. Finally, the Spanish method of packing the cigars differed from the German method in that the German method only split the cigars into three or four different colours while Spanish sorters could get up to 75 different shades out of one factory's cigars.⁹¹

⁸⁹"The Granda Hermanos Y Ca. Strike," *CCTJ*, March 1903, p.37.

⁹⁰"Une Grève Sanglante," *La Presse*, 26 July 1910. See RG 27 Vol.298 T-2687 Strike No.3284 "Industrial Disputes File" PAC. There is a further issue that I do not have the sources to approach. The CMIU was in conflict with the Spanish Union of Cigarmakers in Tampa and some cigar makers brought this dispute to Montreal. See "Cigarmakers' Feud," *Montreal Star*, 11 May 1901.

⁹¹"The Granda Hermanos y Ca. [sic] Strike," *CCTJ*, March 1903. "La fin d'une Grève," *Liqueurs et Tabac*, March 1903, p.32. "Manufacture of Clear Havanas," *CCTJ*, March 1903, p.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 *Once a Cigar Maker*, p.50. I use the definition outlined in the *CCTJ* because there seems to be a difference in process

The typology of cigars was important for elite connoisseurs. Matthew Hilton has recently argued that the bourgeois connoisseur's choice of tobacco or cigar was a declaration of independence and individuality.⁹² Similarly, sixty years earlier Cuban Historian Fernando Ortiz wrote that the particular size and shape of the cigar, the vitola, "is an outward manifestation of the *vitola* of the smoker."⁹³ The *CCTJ*, however, wrote 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.⁹⁴ Granda Hermanos y Cia. sought to play on this sense of individualization and self-expression by offering an enormous number of "*vitola*." As well as images of tobacco in its raw state, Granda Hermanos y Cia. window displays exhibited all the cigars they made from the smallest, "the feminine" Senorita, to the largest, Grandas Selecto.⁹⁵

Industry observers noted that Granda Hermanos y Cia.'s advertising was extensive in comparison with other cigar advertising and was the largest campaign of its time.⁹⁶ Not surprisingly it was based on being "equal to anything made on the Island of Cuba at a very

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, p.4 and letter from the executive of CMIU local 58 executive B.Drolet, A.Boivert, A. Garipey 16 Dec. 1913, RG 27 Vol.303 T-2691, "Industrial Disputes File," Strike No.119, NAC.

⁹²Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*.

⁹³Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*, p.43.

⁹⁴"Ignorance of Cigar Names," *CCTJ*, January 1899, p.6.

⁹⁵"Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, 11 June 1901, p.273.

⁹⁶"A Successful Year," *CCTJ*, January 1904, p.51 and *CCTJ*, February 1906, p.25.

much lower price than the imported.” Typically, almost all of their brands had Spanish names.⁹⁷ To push their claim of authenticity even further, in April of 1902 the company announced that it would offer \$500 to anyone who could tell the difference between one of their cigars and a high quality Cuban import. Several Montreal tobacconists took up the challenge. M.H. Parkinson and M. Hinform, for example, were only able to tell the difference 44 per cent of the time.⁹⁸ The contest results as well as solicited commentaries from the contestants were then printed in the industry trade journals to promote the Granda Hermanos y Cia. brands among tobacconists.⁹⁹

The Cuban and Spanish cigar makers clearly understood the importance of the claims of authenticity to the company’s sales and corporate image. They had their own union, the “Federacion 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 to authenticity to manufacturers who would agree to their conditions.¹⁰⁰ Their strategies during strikes also reflected the cultural weight their labour held. In early 1903, shortly

⁹⁷*CCTJ*, August 1901, p.372. The only exception to the Spanish brand names was the “Rothschilds” which was also appropriate as a symbol of wealth.

⁹⁸“Une haute prétention complètement justifiée,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, May 1902, p.32.

⁹⁹*CCTJ*, July 1902, p.355.

¹⁰⁰*CCTJ*, March 1903, p.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, p.41.

after Frank Granda left the company, the Cuban workers went on strike.¹⁰¹ In a powerful move the Cubans circulated a memo to businesses and to the media claiming that Granda Hermanos y Cia. was using non-Cuban labour. The *CCTJ* called the episode “about the worst piece of labor history that has ever come under our notice.” Furthermore, they 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.¹⁰² The episode highlights the cultural value 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 authentic Cuban labour if these cigars were to be sold at a high price.

The 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

¹⁰¹Frank Granda was taken to court by Nathan Michaels in March of 1902 for beginning another cigar company with his brothers, something that was apparently outlawed in their partnership. On the court case see, “Montreal Chats,” *CCTJ*, October 1902, p.551 and “Granda Hermanos Y Ca. [sic] Vs. Frank Granda,” *CCTJ*, December 1902, p.131. When Frank left the company he quickly joined his brothers Jose and Domingo in the firm of J. Granda. They continued to compete with the Granda Hermanos y Cia. until 1920. At that point they are no longer listed in *Lovell’s* business directory.

¹⁰²“The Granda Hermanos Y Ca. [sic] Strike,” *CCTJ*, March 1903, p.37. See also, “La Fin d’une Grève,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, March 1903, p.32.

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 work process, soil or climate. The value 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 was of the same quality it had been before the Ten Years War and the Spanish-American War. Regardless of the quality or the 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 wealth and to the height of prestige among tobacco products.

Chapter Three

Conflicts in Connoisseurship: Debasing *le Tabac Canadien*

This hierarchy of taste which created a social hierarchy of smokers was used to assess the quality of other tobacco products that were far more popular than the cigar. In late nineteenth-century Montreal, bourgeois connoisseurs most reviled French-Canadian homegrown pipe tobacco. Not everyone agreed with this assessment. 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* held national symbolism. Arriving in late-nineteenth century Montreal, rural French-Canadian immigrants found that their national symbol had different meanings in the city. Their clay pipes had become a symbol of poverty and their tobacco, the smell of rural backwardness. Bourgeois connoisseurs gave the label of inferiority to *le tabac canadien* using the same cultural categories they had 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 bringing to light notions of taste that competed with those promoted by bourgeois connoisseurs, this chapter demonstrates how one system of meaning becomes culturally dominant over another. Indeed, 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, they appealed to racial prejudices and linked habitants to Natives who

they claimed grew inferior tobacco. What is striking here is that these bourgeois connoisseurs were not only Anglophones – some French Canadians joined in the criticism of *le tabac canadien*. The key division amongst Francophones was not merely the question of whether French Canada was to have a rural or urban identity. Also at issue was the nature of French-Canadian agricultural practices and their integration into larger networks of capitalist exchange.¹ Indeed, 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, shared 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 like *le tabac canadien*.

I. Pipes and la Patrie

In Montréal three kinds of pipes dominated: the clay, the meerschaum and the briar.² Archaeologists have analysed these pipes in Montreal, primarily on a socio-economic level. They have concentrated on the clay pipe and have hypothesized that the

¹On city and country relations, see Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto* and especially Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).

²It is difficult to assess the 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.

clay pipe had long been the staple of Montreal smokers, though it was losing favour to the cigarette and the briar pipe at the turn of the twentieth century. This hypothesis is corroborated by the *CCTJ* which maintained that "The day of the clay pipe has gone, probably never to return."³ While clay pipes may have been less popular, they still had significant class symbolism. They were cheap: *CCTJ* quoted them at one cent each in 1912, but they were also fragile.⁴ Archaeologists have also asserted that the clay pipe remained in use in impoverished areas.⁵ Literary evidence like the character of Roland in Rodolphe Girard's 1912 collection of short stories, *Contes de Chez Nous*, also links the clay pipe to poverty. Financially ruined, Roland pawns his "pipe d'aristocrates" that his sister gave him and is reduced to smoking a clay pipe.⁶

Clay pipes were partially judged by the length of their stems and questioned as to their healthiness. In 1882, the *Canadian Illustrated News*, in its column "The Family Physician" wrote of the dangers of boys smoking, especially with "dirty short pipes."⁷ 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*: "L'effet irritant de la chaleur diffère aussi dans chaque

³*CCTJ*, June 1912, p.15.

⁴"Public Men Who Smoke," *CCTJ*, June 1903, p.93.

⁵I.C. Walker, "Nineteenth-Century Clay Pipes in Canada," *Ontario Archaeology*, No.16, 1971, pp.19-35; I.C. Walker, *Clay Tobacco-Pipes with Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), pp354-360.

⁶Rodolphe Girard, *Contes de Chez Nous* (Montreal: 1912), pp.208-209.

⁷"A Chat about Tobacco by a Family Physician," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 28 October 1882, p.287.

cas selon que le tuyau est long, non conducteur de la chaleur, ou que la chaleur arrive directement, sans atténuation, à la surface des muqueuses.”⁸ This logic was rooted in the humoral theories of the Greek physician Galen and situated the pipe within questions of heat and bodily fluids.⁹ As such Foucher also suggested the use of cigar and cigarette holders to avoid danger. Class underlies this medical issue as clay pipes with longer stems, the longest known as a church warden, were extremely fragile, and probably best for smoking at home rather than on a break from work or on the travels to and from work. The moral questionability of the short stemmed pipe can be seen in the weekly cartoon “La Débauche” in *La Presse* (figure 1).¹⁰ The character La Débauche, who was dressed in the tradition of the *Habitant*

was always up to some mischief, and even while not smoking, constantly had his short-stemmed clay pipe in his mouth. These ethnic clichés were not always appreciated. *Le Journal*



Figure 1: La Débauche (far left), *La Presse* (1914)

⁸Professor Foucher, “Queques remarques....”

⁹Vivian Nutton, *Galen: problems and prospects* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981).

¹⁰“En Roulant ma Boule,” *La Presse*, 11 July 1914, p.8.

de Françoise, for example, reprinted a complaint in *Le Courrier de Montmagny* that “La Débauche” would give foreigners a bad impression of French Canadians.¹¹

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.¹² Indeed, two clay pipes held at Montreal’s McCord Museum, one with the fleur-de-lis and the thistle images moulded into the clay and another with a crown and anchor, seem to support Hilton’s thesis. Yet considering their fragility, their current good condition and the fact that they found their way into the museum when the museum has only eight clay pipes in good condition suggests that these clay pipes were not the everyday pipes of Montreal or Quebec smokers.¹³ Still, the clay pipe probably played a significant role in Montreal’s working class cultural life. At least one Montreal union, for example, gave them out to their members at parties.¹⁴ Considering the paucity of sources for working class notions of smoking, no conclusive answers can be offered here.

Among the more valuable pipes, the meerschaum was probably the most expensive and most esteemed among Montrealers (figure 2, see p.119).¹⁵ Meerschaum pipes were

¹¹“Respect à notre langue,” *Le Journal de Françoise*, 18 February 1905, p.647.

¹²Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, p.65.

¹³McCord Museum, Thistle and Fleur de Lys pipe M 953.6.9 and the Crown and Anchor, M 953.6.9.

¹⁴“Nouvelles Ouvrières,” *La Presse*, 15 January 1913, p.7.

¹⁵<http://www.maddogcurios.com/pip/mp-8.jpg>.

carved out of magnesium silicate imported from Greece and were usually equipped 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 an entire box of Sohmer Union Made cigars.



Figure 2: Meerschaum pipe.

Meerschaum pipes were also first prizes in the quarter mile running race, the shot put, and the one hundred-yard pipe race.¹⁶ The value of the meerschaum is also affirmed in literary sources like Hector Berthelot's *Les Mystères de Montréal: Roman de Moeurs* where the rich Count Bouctouche, whom we met in the previous chapter smoking a good cigar, is also described as smoking a meerschaum pipe.¹⁷ More popular than the meerschaum was the briar pipe. Indeed, numerous articles in the *CCTJ* claimed that the briar was almost universally smoked.¹⁸ Made from the root of the thorny briar bush, they were more durable and expensive than the clay pipe but less costly than the meerschaum. They were also more respectable than the clay pipe with one of the most popular brands of tobacco in Canada being named after the briar pipe. The popularity of the briar pipe is also suggested

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Hector Berthelot, *Les Mystères de Montréal: Roman de Moeurs* (Montréal: Imprimerie A.P. Pigeon, 1901) p.38. Originally serialized in *le Vrai Canard*, 20 Dec. 1879 - 31 July 1880, 1880-1881; then in *le Canard*, 1896-7.

¹⁸See, for example, "Pointers on How to Smoke a Pipe," *CCTJ*, November 1906, p.39 and "Editorial Notes," *CCTJ*, Feb 1908, p.13.

by the fact that one shape of the briar was named "The Canadian" (figure 3).¹⁹

The clay pipe remained powerfully symbolic. For example, Ontario businessman and Canadian Minister of Customs, William Paterson smoked a "common clay

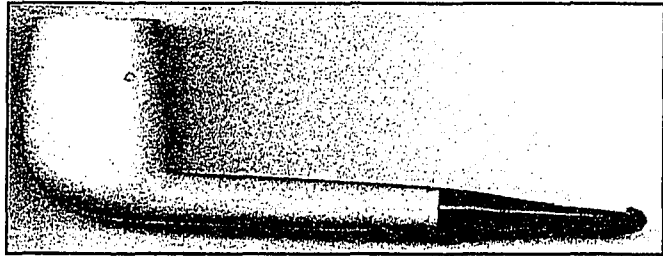


Figure 3: "Canadian" briar pipe.

pipe" which was understood by the press to be a declaration of his popular roots and simple tastes.²⁰ The symbolism of the clay pipe had particular meaning in French Canada. In nineteenth century Quebec art, the clay pipe, along with *la ceinture flechée* and the *tuque* was an essential part of the visual construction of the habitant: Henri Julien's "Un Vieux de '37'," (figure 4) an image made famous in the 1970s by the FLQ, is the most



Figure 4

¹⁹H. Paul Jeffers, *The Perfect Pipe: A Celebration of the Gentle Art of Pipe Smoking* (Short Hills, New Jersey: Burford Books Inc., 1998), p.66. This image is taken from <http://vtpipes.com/images/pipes/w12f.jpg>.

²⁰"Public Men who Smoke," *CCTJ*, June 1903, p.93; on Paterson, see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p.10.

notorious example.²¹ Similarly the picture of nationalist Henri Bourassa smoking a clay pipe was a means of associating Bourassa with the past and his French-Canadian roots (figure 5).²² Indeed Bourassa was a noted smoker of the short clay with six in front of him at his *Le Devoir* desk.²³ His visual statement was



Figure 5

understood by those who saw him smoking the clay pipe. Lionel Groulx, for example, saw the symbolism of Bourassa's pipe, commenting that he recalled seeing Bourassa in a Montreal presbytery smoking "la démocratique pipe de plâtre."²⁴ 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 him smoking his pipe while the others spoke.²⁵

²¹Henri Julien Album, (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1916), p.186.

²²Desmond Morton, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), p.102.

²³Louis Robillard, "'Monsieur' Bourassa, solennel et familier," in *Hommage à Henri Bourassa* (Reproduced from a memorial edition of *Le Devoir*, 25 October 1952), p.142.

²⁴Lionel Groulx, "Henri Bourassa ou le causeur prestigieux," in *Hommages*, p.91.

²⁵Ernest Bilodeau, "Cinquante années de souvenirs," in *Hommages*, p.158.

II. The taste of “*la patrie*” and *du vargeux*

Tobacco smoke was another 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.”²⁶

Similarly, in his memoirs, 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.”²⁷ Similarly, in 1905 *La Presse* assigned *le tabac canadien* a significant role in a feature on distinctly 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 had retired to one room and, as *La Presse* reported “se content leurs peines et leurs joies,” the men sat in another, smoking their pipes and discussing “des mérites et des qualités de leur

²⁶William Henry Drummond, *The Habitant and other French-Canadian Poems* (New York: Knickerbocket Press, 1897), pp.58-59.

²⁷Robert de Rocquebrune, *Testament of My Childhood* (Translated by Felix Walter, University of Toronto Press, 1964, original publication, 1958, Fides), p.24.

tabac en faisant des expériences comparatives”²⁸ While the role of smoking in separating men and women was not distinct 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 overheard an habitant talking about the smoking habits of the minister elected in his constituency: “C’est bien de valeur ... j’ai vu notre ministre, je croyais que c’était du monde autrement que nous. Je l’ai vu fumer du tabac canadien.” The habitant thought that his minister was the type to present himself as above the rest of the population, but seeing him smoking *le tabac canadien* made the country man reassess the character of the politician. The choice of smoking tobacco, while being a personal act by the politician, was taken as a public declaration that the politician was part of the habitant’s community. For his part, the 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. Ledieu, to make sure that there was no misunderstanding, declared that *le tabac canadien* was not a mark of inferiority, noting that he himself smoked it - when it was of good quality.²⁹

Most commentators believed that rural French Canadians preferred homegrown tobacco to other types of tobacco. In Louis-Joseph Doucet’s collection of short stories *Contes du Vieux Temps: ça et là*, Doucet 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

²⁸“Les Veillées,” 28 January 1905, *La Presse*, p.1.

²⁹Léon Ledieu, “Entre Nous,” *Le Monde Illustré*, 4 April 1891, p.766.

informer, an old man who could recount French Canada's "true" past. To win over the old man, Doucet offered some tobacco that he had brought from the city. The old man politely said that Doucet should keep his tobacco because "il ne vaut pas le mien."

Doucet's tobacco was, according to the old man "du vargeux."³⁰ There can be little doubt that *le tabac canadien* had a strong smell and flavour. *Le tabac canadien* 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 with Canelle, for example, earning its name from the smell of its smoke which had the odour of burning cinnamon.³¹ The use of tobacco here must be understood in the context of Doucet's narrative intent. He was evoking a very specific rural past. The farmer who smoked his own tobacco which was stronger tasting than industrially produced tobacco was key to evoking a heartier rural past.

Certainly there is a grain of anti-modernism in these examples, yet others less interested in evoking a romantic French-Canadian past also argued that men who acquired a taste for *le tabac canadien* preferred it.³² Sir William Macdonald, the "Tobacco King of Canada," told the 1902 Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that "[t]hose who are accustomed to Canadian tobacco in this Province like it. They have been brought up upon

³⁰Louis-Joseph Doucet, "Coin Natal," in *Contes du Vieux Temps: ça et là*, (Montréal: J.G. Yon, Éditeur, 1911), pp. 75-77. "Vargeux" is an old French-Canadian word for "weak."

³¹Felix Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, June 1910, pp.31-33.

³² Anti-modernism is outlined in T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Also see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*.

it to a large extent, and it is satisfactory to them....”³³ 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.³⁴ 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 panel member termed as “good” tobacco.³⁵

Analyzing how much French-Canadian homegrown tobacco was consumed in Quebec is difficult. Excise statistics, for example, included little Canadian tobacco because taxes were applied only when tobacco entered into factories, and Canadian tobacco rarely was 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. In the early 1870s the amount of Canadian tobacco that entered into factories in Quebec declined to a low of 10 pounds in 1875. This gap led Montreal tobacconist David H. Ferguson to complain in 1876 that only one-fourth to one-fifth of one per cent of all tobacco grown in

³³“The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry,” *CCTJ*, December 1902, p.721.

³⁴Evidence of Joseph Picard before the RCTT, pp.633-4.

³⁵Louis V. Labelle, “Canadian Tobacco Products Before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization,” 27 March 1908, Appendix 2, *House of Commons Journals*, Vol.1907-08, p.69.

Quebec, which he estimated to be between four and five million pounds, was taxed. Ferguson may have been exaggerating, considering he was calling for protection against this "homegrown" competition.³⁶ Indeed the 1881 Census reported 2,356,581 pounds of tobacco grown in Quebec, well under Ferguson's 4 to 5 million pounds.³⁷ Yet if tobacco farmers were not reporting their sales to excise officials, they may not have reported their entire crops to census officials either. Beyond the census and excise statistics, other contemporary observers remarked on the amount of homegrown tobacco that was being sold without being excised. In 1899 there was enough Canadian loose leaf tobacco on the market that the Dominion Cigar Manufacturers' Association called for the Canadian government to make it illegal.³⁸ J.M. Fortier told the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that there were 4 million pounds of Canadian tobacco sold without paying duties on markets around Quebec.³⁹ As late as 1908, Felix Charlan, the head of the Tobacco Division of the Canadian Department of Agriculture told a Commons Committee on Agriculture and Colonization that he estimated 2.5 million pounds of Quebec tobacco

³⁶Evidence of David H. Ferguson to the *Select Committee on the Causes of the Present Depression*, 6 April 1876, p.254. These numbers of pounds of tobacco circulating, and the census numbers quoted hereafter, may have been "closer to the facts than the truth." We have no idea at which stage of the drying process this tobacco may have been. This 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."

³⁷*Census of Canada*, 1881, p.241.

³⁸"Sale of Leaf Tobacco," *CCTJ*, October 1899, p.377.

³⁹Evidence of J.M. Fortier, *RCTT*, p.1429.

never entered excise and was sold directly to consumers in markets around the province.⁴⁰ Indeed, there is ample evidence that huge amounts of Canadian tobacco were being smoked without ever entering into factories or excise statistics.

Homegrown tobacco in Quebec developed out of the habitant tradition of growing small amounts for household consumption with accessory production being sold on local markets.⁴¹ According to a pamphlet written by William Saunders, the Director of the Experimental Farms in Ottawa, Quebec farmers grew no more than a few acres of tobacco on their land.⁴² One other tobacco improvement pamphleteer gave his instructions for both field and garden.⁴³ Tobacco cultivation began in mid-April when seeds were planted in a sheltered location.⁴⁴ The plants were then transplanted to a well-drained garden or field in early June. About two months after being transplanted, the tobacco plants were "topped" with the top leaves and flowers pinched off, the lower leaves became thicker and

⁴⁰Evidence of Felix Charlan before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, "Canadian Tobacco Products," Appendix 2 of the *House of Commons Journals*, Vol.1907-08, p.5.

⁴¹For early nineteenth century Quebec, Allan Greer discusses the usefulness of the term "accessory production" in *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp.204-5.

⁴²Wm. Saunders, Director of Experimental Farms, Ottawa, 4 April 1898. Bulletin No.30 CIHM 26383, p.6.

⁴³Dr. G. Laroque, "Culture et Préparation du tabac: à l'usage de l'amateur et du cultivateur de tabac en particulier; suivies des articles de la loi concernant la culture et la vente des tabac canadiens."(Lévis: Mercier & Cie, Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1881), pp.15-16.

⁴⁴This discussion of tobacco cultivation is derived primarily from Dr. G. Laroque, "Culture et Préparation du tabac" as well as Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp.171-2 and C. Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp.292-3.

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 together and then compressed in a tobacco press. Much was also sold in bales without being transformed. Demand was high with one manufacturer, writing in the late 1870s, that the popularity of this tobacco left little raw Canadian tobacco for industrial manufacturers.⁴⁵ This was not surprising since the retail price on local markets in 1910 could be as high as 75¢ to \$1 a pound.⁴⁶ Farmers could easily sell it through intermediaries: one farmer reported that farmers could sell “[in] their houses, to the people passing by who purchased tobacco, either agents or to the diverse companies that were sending agents, or to the traders.”⁴⁷

With heavy rural emigration, this smell and taste was increasingly transferred to Montreal. Between 1880 and 1890 Montreal posted its fastest rate of growth with large numbers of French Canadians relocating to the city for factory work.⁴⁸ Homegrown

⁴⁵A.D. Porcheron, “Tabac Canadien,” (CIHM 12126), see Section III.

⁴⁶F. Charlan, “Tobacco Culture in Canada,” *CCTJ*, June 1910, p.31.

⁴⁷Evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis, RCTT, p.968.

⁴⁸Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*.

French-Canadian tobacco was obtainable in Montreal, though it was probably not as widely available as the tobacco produced in Montreal factories. Some farmers brought their tobacco directly to the city. In 1907 Berri street tobacconists Guertin and Bouchard purchased a bail without inspecting their acquisition. After the farmer had left, without giving his name or address, Guertin and Bouchard unwrapped the tobacco to find a six pound brick in the middle.⁴⁹ A commission was told in 1876 that in Montreal loose-leaf Canadian tobacco was sold by small grocers through intermediaries. Every week during the winter, one Montreal firm was offered 150 barrels, 75 pounds each.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ Both farmers and intermediaries sold Canadian tobacco at Montreal markets.⁵² Montreal tobacco

⁴⁹*La Presse*, 12 December 1907, p.16.

⁵⁰Special Commission on the Depression in Trade, evidence of David H. Ferguson, 6 April 1876, p.255.

⁵¹See evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis and Philippe Roy in the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade, p.969 and 1247. For other examples of Montreal tobacconists selling Canadian tobacco using wagons, see the evidence of tobacco merchant and manufacturer Napoleon Landry, p.1209.

⁵²On the history of markets in Quebec see Yves Bergeron, "Le XIXe siècle et l'âge d'or des marchés publics au Québec," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29,1 ((Spring, 1994), pp.11-36.

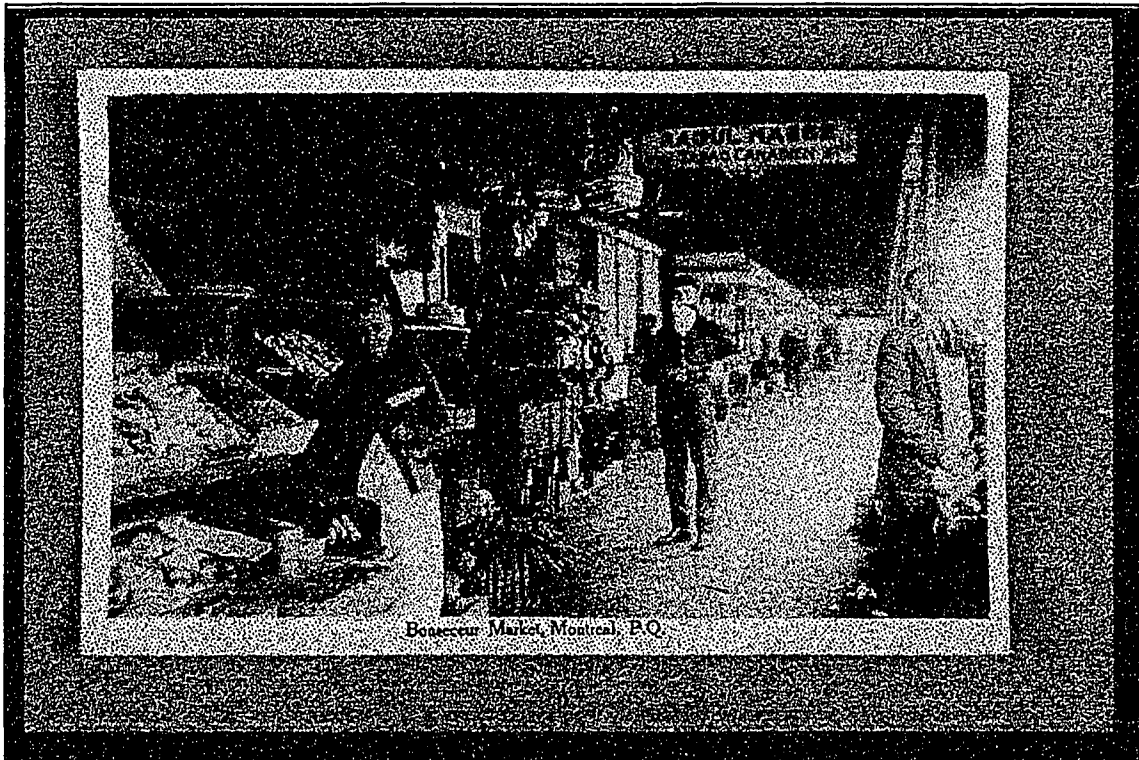


Figure 6: Selling *le tabac canadien* at Bonsecour Market.

manufacturer Jacob Goldstein submitted a plug of untaxed Canadian tobacco bought at Bonsecour Market as proof of the massive unregulated Canadian tobacco trade (figure6).⁵³

As well as taste, 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 6 or 7¢ a pound in Beauseceour market, much lower than the 1910 prices quoted above. By comparison *Liqueurs et Tabacs* listed the wholesale prices of the ATCC's at 60¢ to \$1.75 a pound.⁵⁴ Some Montrealers may have grown it themselves. Bettina

⁵³Testimony of J.M. Fortier, "Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade," p.1430 and p.1432; Image from Collection Michel-Bazinet, BNQ, cote 25-7-b.

⁵⁴*Liqueurs et Tabacs*, January 1902, p.46.

Bradbury has shown that some Montreal working-class families kept gardens: a small amount of tobacco may have been grown here in the same fashion as it had been grown in small gardens in the country.⁵⁵ In 1914 *La Presse* responded to a question on how “empêcher les vers de manger les plants de choux et de tabac.” 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.⁵⁶

Indeed, smoking *le tabac canadien* became part of social events in Montreal in which rural emigrants participated. In January of 1913, *La Presse*’s column “Nouvelles Ouvrières” covered a carpenter’s union installation ceremony with unusual detail. The event promised a speech and a “fête intime et récréative” with “chants, musique, et autres distractions des plus agréables, y compris du bon tabac canadien.” Two days later, *La Patrie* column reported that the event had been a great success with “les dévoués organisateurs distribuaient aux assistants pipes et tabac ainsi que des rafraichissements.”⁵⁷

III. 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 which it usually supplied

⁵⁵Bradbury, *Working Families*, p.47.

⁵⁶“Courrier de Collette,” *La Presse*, 9 May 1914, p.7.

⁵⁷“Nouvelles Ouvrières,” *La Presse*, 13 and 15 January 1913, p.7.

to Northwest natives, a Macdonald tobacco that they considered “standard” and was made of foreign tobacco, with *le tabac canadien*. The natives rejected it and the unnamed company took a heavy reduction in their 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.”⁵⁸ Numerous members of Parliament from outside of Quebec also commented that Canadian tobacco’s flavour “is sometimes repugnant to a smoker who is accustomed to using the imported tobacco.”⁵⁹ Similarly, John 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 zeroed in on one family “consisting of Papa, Maman, Bébé, two little girls [sic] and four boys, the eldest perhaps fifteen. Papa and the sons all smoked common, clay pipes, crammed full of vile smelling ‘tabac rouge.’”⁶⁰

Some Montrealers objected to *le tabac canadien*. This was especially true of sources close to the tobacco industry. The *CCTJ*, the Montreal-based industry’s primary

⁵⁸Unnamed government official to M. Arahill and Co. 23 Nov. 1896. Laurier Papers, Reel 744, pp.9137-40.

⁵⁹*Debates*, 24 Feb. 1905, pp.1682-3.

⁶⁰John F. Todd to Rosanna Todd, 20 June 1895 in *John L. Todd Letters, 1876-1949*, p.62 also John F. Todd to Rosanna Todd, 6 February 1895, p.55.

trade journal, concerned over the subsidized flight of cigar factories to suburban Montreal maintained “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.”⁶¹ Perhaps the most surprising commentary on *le tabac canadien* came from *l’Album Universel* (figure 7, see p.134).⁶² The cartoon clearly demonstrates that there was no unified French-Canadian opinion on *le tabac canadien*. It linked the strong smell of homegrown tobacco to the mores of a street person. Taken as a whole the cartoon “Une bonne pipe de tabac canadien” plays on respectability, with *le tabac canadien* giving the lounge the means of appropriating middle class public space.

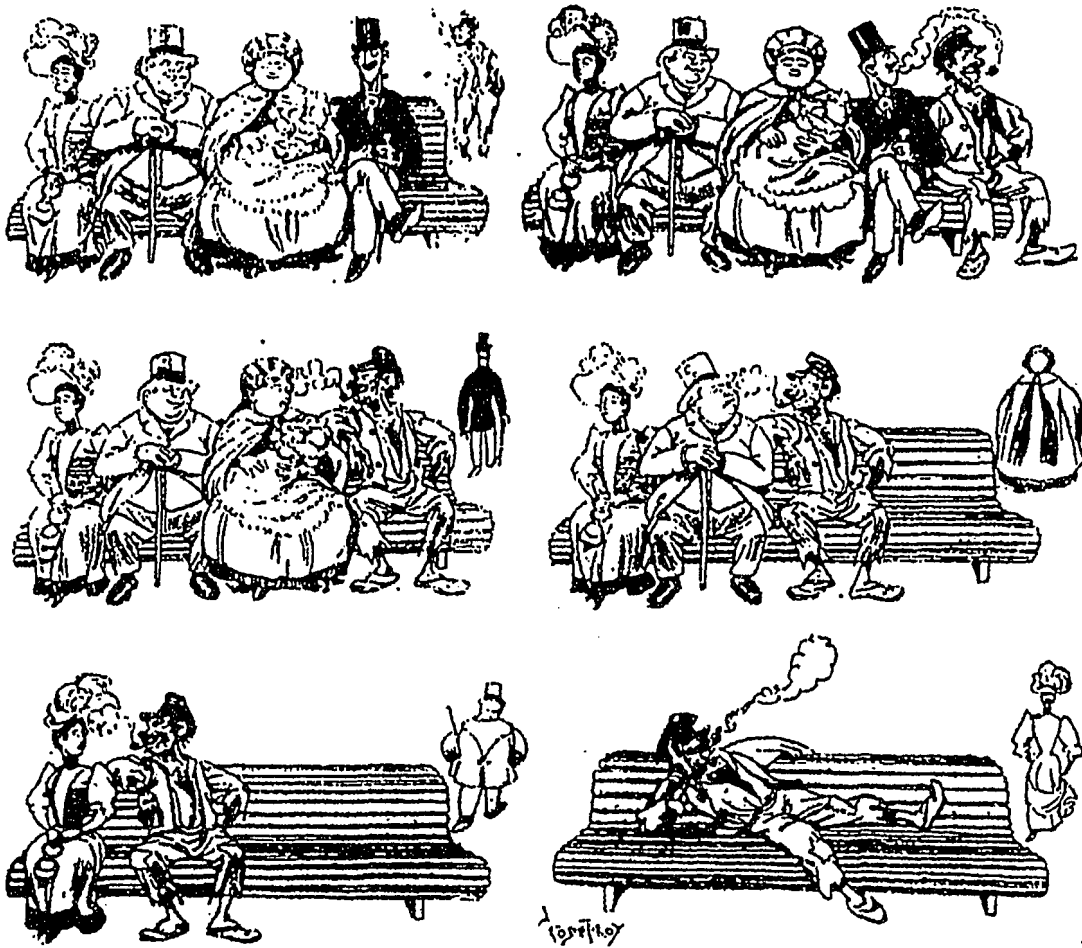
Even the suggestion of using homegrown tobacco in cigars scandalized some. Though few were ever produced, in 1898 the *CCTJ* declared there was no “hope for the much maligned Canadian leaf cigar, which, with all its aromatic qualities, is still the peer of German filth.”⁶³ On the other side of the capital and labour divide, William V. Todd of Hamilton, the third vice-president of the Cigar Makers’ International Union (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

⁶¹*CCTJ*, February 1898, p.37.

⁶²*L’Album Universel*, 20 October 1906, p.845.

⁶³According to the *CCTJ* in 1898 Canadian leaf cigars made up only 1% of production August 1898, p.214. Quotation is from *CCTJ*, March 1898, p.3.

Une bonne pipe de tabac canadien !



La place est libre, même de maringoutins

Figure 7: Francophone middle class view of *le tabac canadien*.

vilest of the vile” and asked that the union label be denied to any cigar made from Canadian tobacco.⁶⁴ Similarly, 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.⁶⁵

Critics of *le tabac canadien* placed Canadian homegrown tobacco in the same structures of bourgeois connoisseurship that exalted Cuban cigars. The only way in which French-Canadian tobacco was judged differently than cigars was on the question of skilled labour used to roll a cigar. Indeed the skill necessary to cut and mix tobacco did not weigh heavily into the evaluation of Canadian homegrown pipe tobacco. Matthew Hilton has found that the British connoisseurs’ sought individualization through having their own personal mix of tobaccos to express their personality. In such a case, mixing required significant skill. While there is little evidence of demand for special tobacco mixtures in Montreal, advertisements suggest that the most elite smokers sought them out. A 1907 advertisement for E.A. Gerth’s smoking tobacco announced that it was made with imported tobacco “evenly blended, [with] precision and care.”⁶⁶ The fact that Gerth, an elite tobacconist who sold expensive goods, offered the product and chose to advertise it in the *Montreal Gazette* suggests that it was an elite good.⁶⁷ A number of hypotheses are

⁶⁴ *CMOJ*, Oct 1891, p.9.

⁶⁵“One Good Use for Tobacco,” *CCTJ*, November 1912, p.51.

⁶⁶*Montreal Gazette*, 2 September 1907, p.3.

⁶⁷For other advertisements of Gerth’s tobacco products, see *Montreal Gazette*, 5 September 1907, p.5 and 16 September 1907, p.5.

possible to explain why tobacco workers were unsuccessful in asserting the value of their labour in the product they made if we extrapolate from what we know about the cigar makers' experience. For cigar makers, the question of skill was central to their claims, as well as the advertising of their bosses. De-skilling of cigar makers would be more successful after 1920.⁶⁸ The de-skilling of tobacco workers and mechanization of smoking tobacco production happened long before the period under study in this thesis, and the tobacco workers' label could make fewer claims of their importance to the tobacco making process than the cigar makers.⁶⁹ On top of questions of skill, when unionized 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.⁷⁰ Regardless, 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 an acceptable climate and reasonably good land. In this framework, all precursors to Anglo-Saxon

⁶⁸Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*.

⁶⁹Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp.228-229.

⁷⁰Lewis, "Productive and Spatial Strategies in the Montreal Tobacco Industry, 1850-1918."; Stuart Kaufman, *Challenge and Change: The History of the Tobacco Workers International Union* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

industrial farming of tobacco were considered “uncivilized.” Louis Lewis, for example, a tobacco buyer from New York who would soon set up a cigar factory in Montreal, reinterpreted the history of the plant in the *CCTJ*. He wrote that “When first discovered by the Spanish and Portuguese the plant was small, and in flavor [sic] ‘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 300 years, but in the last 50 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.”⁷¹

In this version of tobacco history, the habitant and his product were associated with pre-industrial and unscientific techniques. In short, *le tabac canadien* represented an outdated mode of production. One example of this reconstruction of tobacco history came from Felix Charlan, the Federal Government’s tobacco expert from France. After explaining that tobacco probably originated in Central America, it was given as a gift to the European discoverers of North America 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 continued by noting 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

⁷¹Louis Lewis, “The World’s Tobacco Crops: A Description of the types of leaf grown all over the world,” *CCTJ*, October 1898, p.359. The first reference I have found to Lewis moving to Montreal is *CCTJ*, November 1903, p.23.

unfermented.”⁷² Habitant tobacco was put into the same category as that grown by natives and according to Charlan, was of inferior quality. 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 the trade journal of the Montreal tobacco industry never spoke of the “Cigar Store Indian” even though they frequently discussed the decoration of cigar stores.

More specifically, French-Canadian homegrown tobacco was criticized for three reasons. First, it was criticized for not being a pure breed of tobacco.⁷³ This was linked to a broader trend in agricultural improvement for greater crop production. Indeed, historian E.A. Heaman has noted that habitant livestock was criticized by improvers in the last half of the nineteenth century for being of mixed pedigree.⁷⁴ Second, others believed 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 being set by the weather, the seasons and the work schedules of other crops - not by the needs of the tobacco crop itself. This meant that the tobacco could be harvested too early or too late for best results. It could also mean that 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

⁷²F. Charlan, “Tobacco Culture in Canada,” *CCTJ*, May 1910, p.31.

⁷³Felix Charlan, “Tobacco Culture in Canada,” *CCTJ*, June 1910, pp.31-33.

⁷⁴E.A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p.40.

tobacco improvement manual he counselled that unlike the dominant practice used since tobacco began to be grown in Quebec, tobacco was not to be rolled until March, when the leaves “ auraient ainsi le temps de se débarrasser de leur odeur de *vert* et de prendre l’arôme qui leur convient.”⁷⁵ Louis-V. Labelle maintained that it was because of the curing methods of the *habitant* that “On y trouve aisément l’une des raisons de l’odeur souvent nauséabonde du tabac canadien”⁷⁶ The costs of some of the suggestions being made in later improvement pamphlets were probably prohibitive. Some of these pamphlets called for the construction of entire new curing barns with the pamphlets even giving 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 their 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, all the same, were probably connoisseurs of tobacco, other consumers also had an idea of Canadian tobacco’s “odeur de vert.” Indeed, it was inadvertently institutionalized within the system of excise stamps. As discussed in the last chapter, the 1897 Inland Revenue Act dictated that each box of tobacco products had to have one of four different coloured stamps signifying the

⁷⁵Porcheron, “Tabac Canadien,” Section I.

⁷⁶Louis V. Labelle, “Traité de la culture et de l’Industrie du tabac,” CIHM 08362. St-Jacques, 11 April 1898, p.106.

tobacco's rate of excise: in an unfortunate coincidence, the stamp used for Canadian tobacco was green.⁷⁷ Sticking Canadian tobacco with the green label 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:

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.⁷⁸

The debasing of Canadian homegrown tobacco was done in comparison to the imported tobacco that was used by tobacco manufacturers. Once again Canadian excise statistics provide only a partial picture of how much industrial tobacco was consumed in Montreal or Canada since the government only took production statistics city by city rather than consumption statistics and since Montreal provided most of the industrial tobacco to the rest of the country, these statistics only give a national picture. A second problem exists in the fact that statistics on smoking and chewing tobacco were included together. Still, these 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 increased to 10,538,183 pounds in 1900; 13,246,843 in 1905; 17,647,982 in 1910 and 21,694,110 pounds in 1913 on the eve of the First World War. As with Canadian tobacco and tobacco grown for cigars, Canadian experts once again pointed to the "intelligent" labour, climate and soil as being the

⁷⁷Montreal *Herald*, 26 March 1908, p.11.

⁷⁸*CCTJ*, December 1909, p.23.

foundations of pipe tobacco's value. Quality pipe tobacco came from Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri. Voicing this structure of connoisseurship, Louis Labelle maintained "Ce qui fait réellement la supériorité des produits Américains au point de vue de l'industrie, c'est l'intelligence et les soins apportés à leur culture et à leur préparation pour le marché."⁷⁹

These values by which connoisseurs rejected *le tabac canadien*, shaped the pipe tobacco most Canadians smoked through 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.⁸⁰ Macdonald controlled the market by price setting through the Dominion Wholesale Grocers Guild.⁸¹ Competitors like Tuckett's of Hamilton and two Montreal firms, Paegels and Ferguson and Porcheron, had difficulties competing with him since he regularly undercut his competitors, at times selling at a loss. He did this in 1893 and 1895 and shortly thereafter

⁷⁹Labelle, p.13.

⁸⁰See the testimonies of Montreal tobacconists Mary Pelletier, pp.1323-1324; Joseph Lacoste, p.1326; and the evidence of Montreal's Albert Hebert, one of the largest wholesale grocers in Canada, p.1404. The questioners at the Royal Commission also believed Macdonald was the largest tobacco company in Canada. See the question of Goldstein, p.1126. In the M.B. Davis testimony and the question of Fleming, pp.1179-80, in the W.C. Macdonald testimony, RCTT. Fleming's belief is particularly important as 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 Nov. 1896, Laurier Papers, Reel 744, pp.9137-40.

⁸¹This was part of a broader trend in Canadian business to stop price cutting. See Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp.33-54.

bought two of his Montreal competitors.⁸² 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 would not use Canadian tobacco in his products noting that he briefly experimented with it in 1860 but consumers, especially in the western Canadian trade, did not like it.⁸³ Macdonald, while being a non-smoker, firmly believed that the climate and soil in Canada were not appropriate for growing tobacco, telling the Royal Commission "They cannot change the climate or the soil of the country - you cannot grow oranges here, and you cannot grow figs."⁸⁴

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 bourgeois 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 structure of connoisseurship "read" smokers of *le tabac canadien* as rude or backwards. 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 criteria for weighing the quality of

⁸²Testimony of Hormidas Laporte, p.1260; Testimony of W.C. Macdonald, p.1196, RCTT.

⁸³"The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, p.719.

⁸⁴*Ibid*, p.721. Stanley Brice Frost and Robert H. Michel, "Sir William Christopher Macdonald," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XIV (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp.689-694.

tobacco was culture-specific. Indeed, many rural French Canadians preferred the strong taste of *le tabac canadien* and many who had recently immigrated to Montreal may have seen it as a national symbol - a link to their rural past and part of turn-of-the-twentieth-century French-Canadian national identity.

Chapter Four

Unmaking Manly Smokes

Thus far I have argued that the years immediately before the First World War were the height of the association between masculinities and smoking. Respectable smoking was a ritual of, and set the boundary to, the liberal public sphere. 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. French Canadians, whose smoking tastes were formed in rural Quebec, did not agree with this hierarchy of value. Still, it was 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 which set the boundaries of the late nineteenth-century liberal public sphere.

Within this context, the Quebec WCTU organized the province's first legislative and educational campaigns against smoking. Between 1892 and 1914, the WCTU played a prominent role in having thirteen anti-smoking motions presented to the Quebec and Canadian legislatures. These motions ranged from proposals for age restrictions on smoking tobacco to calls for prohibition of the cigarette. But the WCTU's success in having anti-smoking motions must be considered in light of the fact that only one law

resulted and it was considered a defeat by most WCTU supporters. The WCTU anti-smoking campaigns were particularly unsuccessful in Quebec. In the 1890s, when the targets of WCTU legislative efforts were provincial governments, Quebec was one of only two provinces (the other was Manitoba) which did not legislate age restrictions for smokers. In 1914, the Quebec WCTU was the only provincial union to pull out of the Dominion WCTU tobacco 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 into at least three kinds of questions. First, it is a useful case study of women's public activities and the difficulties which faced women who sought to influence formal politics before 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. Discursively, WCTU members anchored their public campaign 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 women an important platform for personally participating 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 WCTU's anti-smoking position originated in a particularly

¹Mary Ryan, "Gender and Public Access: Women's Politics in Nineteenth-Century America," in Calhoun, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, pp.259-288.

gendered vision of social gospel Protestantism concerned over national racial degeneration.² Because of the WCTU's 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 suggested by much of Canadian social gospel historiography.³ Third, in Montreal, a minority of people thought the state should play this role. While some have asserted that French Canadian opposition was the root of the failure of the anti-smoking movement, I want to go beyond race-based explanations in order to better explain French Canadian antagonism to this WCTU cause.⁴ Culture is key here. French Canadians opposed anti-smoking measures because of their Roman Catholic religion and the French language, providing an insurmountable obstacle for the WCTU. Still, in Montreal, the weakness of the anti-smoking movement was the result of more than just the opposition of French Canadians. In particular, 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 unique and contradictory liberal alliance between cultural groups in Montreal and the extent to which the liberal order

²Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), especially chapter one.

³Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996) and Sharon Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

⁴Ruth Dupré, *"To Smoke or Not to Smoke: that was the Question": the Fight over the Prohibition of Cigarettes at the turn of the century* (Montreal: Cahier de recherche, École des Hautes Études Commerciales, 1997).

shifted due to collectivist demands for a new relationship between the liberal individual (man) and the state.

I. Opposing Tobacco

The WCTU's concern over smoking was part of a larger concern over national physical and mental degeneration.⁵ For example, smoking was seen as endangering the nation's military ability by hindering the physical development of boys. The WCTU's "Catéchisme de Tempérance" cited a German law which forbade the sale of tobacco to minors (under 16 years old) because smoking stunted growth and the development of German youth into strong soldiers.⁶ 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."⁷ Another MP quoted an American doctor who claimed that three times as many recruits to the army during Spanish-American War were rejected because they lacked "the vitality necessary to make a good soldier," than in the Civil War, with the cause apparently being the cigarette.⁸

Another WCTU pamphlet, "Testimony Concerning the 'Cigarette'," argued that

⁵Hilton has made this argument for Britain. See *Smoking in British popular Culture*, pp.162-175.

⁶"Catéchisme de Tempérance," pp.13-14.

⁷*Debates*, 1 April 1903, p.827.

⁸*Debates*, 23 March 1904, p.338.

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 [sic] is handicapped when seeking a situation. He must take second place every time; and rightly so."⁹ 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 that "we are all agreed that the boy who is addicted to the cigarette habit cannot succeed in this country."¹⁰

According to the WCTU, smoking also contributed to the moral degeneration of the race and nation. Smoking played a part in the construction of male delinquency as the WCTU claimed that smoking led to boys stealing tobacco or stealing money to buy tobacco.¹¹ Rev. Elson I. Rexford of the High School of Montreal wrote that any group that 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."¹² Occasionally this was expressed in terms of race. The *Montreal Witness*, for example, editorialized, "How infinitely more should the country sacrifice a luxury which is degenerating our race!"¹³

⁹"Testimony Concerning the 'Cigarette'," p.11.

¹⁰*Debates*, 1 April 1903, pp.820-821.

¹¹WCTU, "Catéchisme de Tempérance," p.16.

¹²*Ibid.*, p.4.

¹³*Montreal Witness*, 28 March 1903, p.4.

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.¹⁴ 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 existing Montreal WCTU membership lists broke down the 1888 membership 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 Presbyterian, 15.6 per cent Methodist, 3.5 per cent Baptist and 2 per cent Congregationalist.¹⁵

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.¹⁶ Indeed, WCTU literature frequently went beyond questions of children smoking to call for a reform of activities seen as masculine. In its "Catéchisme de Tempérance," written to be read in schools and homes, the Montreal WCTU asserted that smoking was a waste of money and

¹⁴The same motivations help explain the popularity of eugenics among social gospelers. See Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990).

¹⁵Montreal WCTU, *Annual Report* (1888), p.19, Rare Book Room, McGill University Canada, *Census*, 1891, pp.312-313, p.204.

¹⁶Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow", p.6, pp.75-133.

that it was especially harmful to the poor as it took bread off their tables.¹⁷ The pamphlet maintained that smoking led men to drink and to enter vice-filled areas.¹⁸ As I showed in the first chapter, the WCTU also campaigned against men smoking on tramways as unfair male control of space. And, as the outrage of tramway smokers demonstrated, attacking smoking was not taken well by men. The Quebec 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.”¹⁹ Furthermore, she reported to her Dominion counterpart that many members “hesitate in coming out openly on this question for fear of annoying some one.”²⁰

Morally reforming men and protecting the future of the nation would begin by focusing on preventing boys from smoking. As I have shown, doctors were unanimous in their belief that smoking was dangerous for boys, and the WCTU claimed that it was their duty as mothers to protect boys from tobacco. Yet even WCTU members seemed to be failing in this quest to prevent boys participating in this dangerous rite of passage to manhood.²¹ Their frustration is summed up in WCTU activist Annie L. Jack’s poem “A

¹⁷ “Catéchisme de tempérance,” p.13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Metcalfe, “Report of the Department of Narcotics,” *12th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1895, p.65. All subsequent Quebec WCTU reports from FA 885 MU 8447, OA.

²⁰ Sara Rowell Wright, “Report of Department of Narcotics: Quebec,” *8th Report of the Dominion WCTU*, 1895, p.87. All subsequent Dominion WCTU reports from , FA 885 MU 8398, OA.

²¹ Cook, “*Through Sunshine and Shadow*,” p.84.

Lesson Learned”:

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 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.²²

The WCTU promoted the use of the state to compensate for this failure on the part of parents. This use of the state 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.²³ In order for individuals to stop smoking, they had only to ask Christ for help and they would lose their desire to smoke.²⁴ The extent to which Christian denominations supported WCTU anti-smoking motions varied

²²Annie L. Jack, “A Lesson Learned,” *8th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1891, p.39.

²³Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*, p.138.

²⁴H.T. Crossley, *Practical Talks on Important Themes* (Montreal: William Briggs Publishing, 1895), pp.194-200. For more on Crossley see Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, pp. 219-220.

according to how far these motions went in limiting 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 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 their Sunday Schools encouraged their pupils to take the "Triple Pledge" against smoking, drinking and swearing, their churches held an annual "Cigarette Sunday." This was marked across Canada, with special lessons on the evils of smoking delivered to children. In 1892, the Montreal Methodist Conference was the first citywide church to pass an anti-smoking motion.²⁵ The Methodists would continue to champion WCTU anti-smoking motions when these proposals moved from age restriction on smoking to the prohibition of the cigarette. The Presbyterians showed similar support. The Montreal *Presbyterian Recorder* published anti-tobacco articles that coincided with the Quebec WCTU's first tobacco age restriction campaigns and the church officially opposed smoking in 1908.²⁶ In 1912, a Presbyterian and a Methodist minister accompanied the WCTU delegation that met Prime Minister Borden, calling for

²⁵*Sunday School Banner*, March 1904, p.iii. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the Montreal Annual Conference of the Methodist Church* (Montreal: William Briggs Publisher, 1892), United Church Collection, ANQ-M p.84.

²⁶ "Dr. Richardson on Tobacco," *The Presbyterian Recorder*, December 1892, p.330. "Digest of Minutes," Thirty-Fourth Session of the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa, p.23. 11-0-001-03-06-001B-01, ANQ-M.

the prohibition of the cigarette.²⁷

While these sources betray an elite bias, WCTU supporters could also be found among the working class. They expressed disapproval in the “fire and brimstone” language historians have found to be typical of turn of the century working-class revivalist groups like the Salvation Army.²⁸ T.C. Vickers, a worker with the CPR in Montreal, wrote Prime Minister 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 Vickers, 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 IX, verses 17 to 19:²⁹

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.

²⁷“To Prohibit Cigarettes,” *Montreal Weekly Witness*, 20 February 1912, p.3.

²⁸Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p.157.

²⁹T.C. Vickers to Wilfrid Laurier, 6 March 1907, Laurier Papers, PAC, C-845, pp.121093-7.

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. This 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.³⁰ 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 number was declining as the percentage of Roman Catholics rose.³¹

II. 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 parent. The *Montreal Gazette*, for example, argued 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."³² Later it linked banning children from theatres, invoking curfew laws and anti-cigarette laws with the belief that "an attempt to do by statute what can only be effectively done by home influence, by a

³⁰7th *Annual Report of the Dominion WCTU*, 1894, p.76.

³¹Canada, *Census*, 1891, 1901, 1911.

³²*Montreal Gazette*, 20 February 1893, p.4.

father's or a mother's precept and advice."³³ *Le Canada*, the Montreal Liberal party daily, editorialized in 1907 that "we must leave to parental authority, exercised directly or delegated to the professors and school masters, the responsibility of taking measures to eradicate a vice which does not interest society but the individual."³⁴ *La Patrie* invoked the parents' rights over their children: "Les gens ont le droit d'être libres en cette matière et pour la répression chez les enfants, c'est aux parents qu'il appartient de l'exercer."³⁵

The dominant Christian churches in the city were also reticent about the state being used to police individual morality. On the surface, the Anglican church, 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 of the population in 1891), held similar positions on tobacco. The Anglicans gave limited support to the WCTU campaign against boys smoking, but opposed prohibition.³⁶ 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. Davidson³⁷, an Anglican with Methodist origins, declared that "no man had a right to foul God's fresh

³³"Children and Theatres," *Montreal Gazette* 3 April 1903, p.4.

³⁴"The Cigarette," translated in the *CCTJ* May 1907, p.17, from *Le Canada*, 12 March 1907.

³⁵"Contre les cigarettes," *La Patrie*, 4 December 1907, p.4.

³⁶Canada, *Census*, 1891, pp.312-313.

³⁷J.I. Cooper. *The Blessed Communion: the Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960* (Montreal: Archives' Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960) pp.118-119.

pure air with tobacco smoke”³⁸ 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.³⁹

Perhaps purposefully, the resolution avoided any suggestion that the state take on the role of a parent. Some openly mused about the influence of the social gospel within the Anglican Church. Dean Johnston of Montreal, for example, recounted that when he came to Canada in 1859, out of 70 clergymen in the Synod, only 12 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.”⁴⁰ In contrast to the followers of denominations heavily influenced by the social gospel, many Anglicans would not support the prohibition of any tobacco product. Layman Mr. A.G.B. Chilton maintained that smoking only fouled “God’s Fresh pure air” in as much as onions did. Furthermore, Rev. 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

³⁸Montreal *Star*, 18 January 1899, p.7.

³⁹⁴⁰*Annual Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal*, 17 January 1899, pp.34-35.

⁴⁰Montreal *Star*, 18 January 1899, p.7.

were harmful if indulged in moderation.”⁴¹ J.I. Cooper, historian of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Montreal, has examined the diocese’s attitudes to prohibition, finding that “Officially, Anglicanism did not go beyond enjoining moderation and insisting on individual responsibility....”⁴²

Roman Catholics occasionally spoke out against children smoking, putting it in terms of racial degeneration. In 1887, for example, *Le Monde Illustré* gave a prize for the best essay on the “Influence pernicieuse du tabac sur l’avenir des races.” Among the judges of the eighteen entries were Abbé Marcoux, the Vice-Rector of Laval University, and writer Raphael Bellemar.⁴³ In 1892, the Archbishop of Quebec, Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, supported the Quebec WCTU’s call for a ban on children smoking. Many other prominent Roman Catholics added their voices to the age restriction campaign. Conservative Premier L.-O. 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 F.-G. Marchand supported prohibiting children from buying cigarettes, saying “that cigarette smoking led to the degeneration of the race.”⁴⁴

⁴¹Montreal *Star*, 18 January 1899, p.7. 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, p.6.

⁴²Cooper, *The Blessed Communion*, p.125.

⁴³X.Y.Z., “L’Influence Pernicieuse du Tabac,” *Le Monde Illustré*, 31 December 1887, p.275; *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 January 1888, p.293.

⁴⁴Montreal *Gazette*, 21 November 1895, p.1.

Adult smoking, however, was never defined as a vice. In Montreal, for example, while the Roman Catholic Church was concerned about morality and especially children becoming “le réceptacle de tous les vices,” lists of vices in the Diocese of Montreal’s official declarations included blasphemy, debauchery, going to cabarets and drunkenness - but never smoking.⁴⁵ Strikingly, Roman Catholic priests and temperance organizations in Montreal confined themselves to concerns over alcohol abuse and occasionally gambling, but never smoking.⁴⁶ 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 licenses not call for prohibition.⁴⁷ As with alcohol, it was only the abuse of tobacco that was a sin and as such, tobacco consumption fell within a conception of liberty to consume all things that God put on the Earth.⁴⁸ Several Roman Catholic leaders opposed prohibition of alcohol

⁴⁵See *Les Mandements: Lettres Pastorales, circulaires et autres Documents publiés dans le Diocèse de Montreal* (Montreal: Arbour et Laperle) from 1890 to 1914. For examples of list of “Vices” see *Tome 11*, “Lettre Pastorale de Nos Seigneurs les archevêques et évêques des Provinces ecclésiastiques de Québec, de Montréal et Ottawa: Dangers des Mauvaises Compagnies,” p.662. Les Archives de l’Archevêché de Montréal.

⁴⁶See numerous letters in the dossier “Campagnes de Tempérance par les évêques de Montréal: Correspondance Générale, 1882-1906.” For other Catholic temperance organizations in Montreal see the “Nouveau Manuel de la Ligue du Coeur de Jesus” in the dossier on the “Ligue du Sacre-Coeur (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 at Les Archives de l’Archevêché de Montréal.

⁴⁷Hamelin and Gagnon, pp.175-230.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.19.

on these grounds. In 1898, canon P.-J. Saucier from Rimouski, for example, opposed prohibition because "Une loi de prohibition serait un attentat à la liberté naturelle puisqu'elle interdirait l'usage licite, en soi, d'une bien que Dieu a créé."⁴⁹ 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 "liberté dans l'usage des biens créés pour l'homme! L'usage très modéré du tabac est à peu près indifférent."⁵⁰

While both Anglicans and Roman Catholics opposed prohibition as an incursion on their rights, they arrived at this position along 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 these beliefs lined up against social gospel beliefs in improving the collective moral environment. And while there were several social gospel advocates within the Montreal Anglican Church, proponents of individual responsibility and rights remained in control.⁵¹

In contrast to the Anglican position, the Roman Catholic use of individual rights to oppose the prohibition of tobacco was part of the Catholic response to what it saw as increasing materialism. The opinions of *La Patrie* editor J.I Tarte illustrate this position. Tarte, a non-smoking Montreal MP, a leader of the Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of Alcohol and devout Roman Catholic contended that because moderate smoking and

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p.198.

⁵⁰Pierre Fontanel, "Pour et contre le tabac," *L'École sociale populaire*, vol.133-134, (1925), p.23.

⁵¹For a recounting of the two positions by a Montreal church leader see Symonds, *A Memoir*.

drinking were not health problems, prohibition was inappropriate. Furthermore he contended, "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."⁵² 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 Roman 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 of the relationship between humanity and the world, Pope Leo XIII released a series of Encyclicals to reassert God and the Church's role 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. This equality before God 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 that *taught* the individual how to make decisions.⁵³ At the heart of the Roman Catholic position was the belief that, through prohibition, the state was

⁵²Elva Desmarchais to Archbishop Paul Bruchési, 15 March 1907. WCTU Dossier, Les Archives de l'Archevêché de Montréal; "Joseph-Isreal Tarte," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII, pp.1013-1020; "Lois Prohibitives," *La Patrie*, 18 October 1907, p.4. *Debates*, 1 April 1903, p.842.

⁵³Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Le XXe siècle, tome 1, 1898-1940* (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1984), pp. 18-19.

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 only acceptable in the worst scenarios, and neither the abuse of alcohol nor tobacco was in this category of problems. What was worse, prohibition would deprive the individual of "les fruits qu'assureraient une réforme inspirée par la modération et susceptible de rallier mieux l'appui de toute les bonnes volontés."⁵⁴

The fact that the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches – the two largest churches in Montreal – did not view tobacco as a danger suggests that the WCTU's first task was to raise awareness. Here, Montreal's particular linguistic duality worked against the organization. Indeed, while the WCTU did have a small French division, I have only found one WCTU anti-smoking pamphlet in French, and most of their proselytizing was done in English. Much more pervasive were Francophone newspaper editorials, such as those quoted above, which opposed both age restriction on smokers as well as prohibition. Educational programs had to be a priority for WCTU members as well. J. MacL. Metcalfe, the Quebec 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 had many replies that they had never given the subject much thought.⁵⁵ Again, in 1895, she complained that it was still

⁵⁴"Lois Prohibitives," *La Patrie*, 18 October 1907, p.4.

⁵⁵J. MacL. Metcalfe, "Report of the Superintendent of Narcotics," *11th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1894, pp.79-80.

difficult to find workers because the department was “anything but a popular one,” with some active WCTU members opposing its work and members remaining silent. Until at least 1899, the Montreal Central Union never had a Narcotic Superintendent and this may have contributed to the Quebec WCTU’s inability to muster support for a cigarette prohibition petition in 1902.⁵⁶ The executive of the Montreal WCTU worried that “[numerous] cities in Ontario have obtained more signatures than the whole of Quebec.”⁵⁷

Despite not having a Narcotics Superintendent, the WCTU sponsored educational events opposing tobacco. By 1896, the WCTU’s educational campaign in Montreal included anti-smoking lectures by physicians and WCTU members and the distribution of anti-smoking literature.⁵⁸ Over the next eighteen years, the various Montreal WCTU locals set up Anti-Cigarette and Anti-Tobacco Leagues in conjunction with local Methodist churches. Unlike their American counterparts, aimed at adults, the Montreal leagues were organized primarily for boys.⁵⁹ Among the earliest was the Westmount Anti-Cigarette Club which by 1897 had forty members, about twelve of whom attended the Club’s bi-monthly meetings.⁶⁰ By 1905, there were three more Anti-Cigarette Leagues in

⁵⁶*Annual Reports*, Montreal WCTU, 1884-1899.

⁵⁷“Executive,” 1 Dec. 1902, Montreal WCTU Minute Book, 1902-06.

⁵⁸*13th Annual Report*, Quebec WTCU, 1896, p.65.

⁵⁹Cassandra Tate, “The American Anti-Cigarette Movement: 1880-1930.” For an Ontario example of an American style anti-tobacco league, see, Richard Hobbs, “The Anti-Tobacco League,” *Christian Guardian*, 2 August 1911.

⁶⁰*15th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1897, p.75.

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 get the interest of their parents.⁶¹ 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 (figure 1).⁶²



Figure 1

⁶¹22nd Annual Report, Quebec WCTU, 1904-1905, p.78-79; 24th Annual Report, Quebec WCTU, 1906-1907, p.66.

⁶²"The Standard's Anti-Cigarette Roll of Honor for Canadian Children," Montreal *Standard*, 30 March 1907, p.6.

III. Legislative Campaigns

The Quebec WCTU's campaign to use the state to stop smoking began in 1892, and between 1893 and 1895 they had four bills presented to the Quebec legislature. Each of the bills would have made it illegal for children under 15 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 18 without a written request from a parent or guardian.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ Similar proposals were considered in at least eight American state legislatures.⁶⁶

The Quebec WCTU would never have the legislative success of its sister associations across Canada. I have shown the hostility of the two largest religious congregations in Montreal – the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans – to controls on youth smoking, the demographic weakness in the city of the supporters of the social

⁶³Montreal *Gazette*, 20 February 1893, p.3.

⁶⁴"A Bill intituled [sic] an Act to Prohibit the Sale of Cigarettes to minors," *Journals of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick*, 1 April 1890, p.60.

⁶⁵"An Act to Prohibit the Sale or Gift of Tobacco to Minors in Certain Cases," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia*, 20 April 1891; "Minor's Protection Act," *Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia*, 25 March 1892; "An Act Respecting the Use of Tobacco by Minors," *Journals of the House of Assembly of Ontario*, 29 February 1892, p.47.

⁶⁶Tate, "The American Anti-Cigarette Movement," p.133.

gospel, the opposition of important newspapers like 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 provincial campaigns demonstrated numerous ways 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.⁶⁷ Narcotics Superintendent J. MacL. Metcalfe wrote 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.⁶⁸ The bill made it through the Legislative Assembly, but died on the order paper in the Legislative Council.⁶⁹ Further efforts to legislate age restrictions failed to pass through the Legislative Assembly, convincing the Quebec WCTU of the futility of securing such legislation in the province.⁷⁰ It petitioned twice more after the turn of the century,

⁶⁷J. MacL. Metcalfe, "Report of the Superintendent of Narcotics," *10th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1892-93, p.65.

⁶⁸Her letters to County Presidents of the WCTU produced limited effect. Out of eighty letters, she received only thirteen replies, with six of these writing that they were too busy with other WCTU business. Metcalfe, "Report," 1892-93, p.65.

⁶⁹*Montreal Witness*, 27 February 1893, p.6; *Montreal Gazette*, 27 February 1893, p.4.

⁷⁰*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 the final bill, see 8 and 20 November 1895. *Montreal Gazette*, 21 November 1895, p.1. *14th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1897, p.54.

but by 1907 it was opposing all attempts by the Dominion WCTU to move the fight back to the provincial level.⁷¹

While the WCTU faced legislative failures in provinces like Quebec and Manitoba, elsewhere it succeeded in passing age restriction laws. Yet in these provinces 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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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. Margarine was banned "for the sake of commerce" even though, as a cheap butter substitute, it would have nourished the "poor man."⁷⁴ M.K. Richardson called on MPs to cast aside "that bugbear of interference with personal

⁷¹Anti-smoking lobbying on the provincial level in Quebec was limited to two petitions: the first on 28 February 1902 to forbid tobacco sales to anyone under 18, submitted by "Mary E. Sanderson and others"; a similar petition was 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 their 24th *Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1907, pp.12-13.

⁷²*Debates*, 1 April 1903, p.830.

⁷³Cover letter to pamphlet "Testimony Concerning the 'Cigarette'," Annie O. Rutherford, Annie M. Bascom and Jennie Waters to MPs, 25 April 1903.

⁷⁴*Montreal Witness*, 28 March 1903, p.4.

liberty.” Was self-sacrifice not, he asked, the most admired quality of the individual?⁷⁵

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 all tobacco products. The problem with singling out the cigarette in the 1890s was that few people smoked them. By the turn of the century, however, there was statistical evidence 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 1902.⁷⁶ Cigarettes, the WCTU argued, were more dangerous than other tobaccos because the tobacco in cigarettes was milder than that used in cigars and smoked in pipes. The cigarette, the Dominion WCTU executive wrote to the *Witness*, “whets without satisfying the appetite” and is 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....”⁷⁷ The focus on the cigarette had a strategic advantage.

Supporters of the WCTU claimed that the prohibition motion was harmless to adult men since they would most certainly smoke other forms of tobacco. Reminding the House that there were other forms of tobacco that an individual could smoke, W.S. Maclaren noted, “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

⁷⁵*Debates*, 23 March 1904, p.344.

⁷⁶ WCTU, “Testimony Concerning the ‘Cigarette’,” back cover.

⁷⁷“The Cigarette Evil,” *Montreal Witness*, 26 March 1903, p.12.

House.”⁷⁸

When the cigarette prohibition petition came before the House in April 1903, WCTU representatives were in the gallery to watch over the MPs.⁷⁹ Despite their lobbying, the WCTU was still an outsider to this political process, with none of its members in Parliament and no suffrage rights for women. This gender inequality was pointed out by Mortimer Davis who wrote 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.”⁸⁰

During 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 attacked the bills as being evidence of women interfering in affairs that they did not understand. E.B. 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

⁷⁸*Debates*, 23 March 1904, pp.339-40. Others continued on the theme of only outlawing cigarettes, not all tobacco products. See *Debates*, 1 April 1903, pp.830-831, and *Debates*, 16 March 1908, p.5103.

⁷⁹“Anti-Cigarette Motion Adopted,” *Montreal Gazette*, 2 April 1903, p.7.

⁸⁰M.B. Davis to R. Préfontaine, Laurier Papers, C-802, p.75090-7509. The letter is undated but its positioning in the Laurier Papers suggests it was written in 1903.

should start teaching cooking courses to girls.⁸¹ Prime Minister Laurier, in a more diplomatic tone, echoed Osler by suggesting that the women of the WCTU would be better off educating, thus not questioning male freedoms by pushing for prohibition legislation.⁸²

Between 1903 and 1908, the WCTU succeeded in guiding four cigarette prohibition resolutions into Parliament, yet with the exception of one, all died “procedural deaths.”⁸³ The watershed moment for the WCTU and its supporters came in 1908 when the Laurier government derailed the cigarette prohibition movement. After another bill was introduced calling for the prohibition of the importation, sale, and manufacture of cigarettes, on 16 March, 1908, A.H. Clarke of South Essex, part of Ontario’s tobacco belt, turned the tables on the WCTU and proposed an amendment to the bill.⁸⁴ Instead of cigarette prohibition, Clarke called for changes in the Criminal Code to stop minors from smoking all types of tobacco.⁸⁵ With the support of Laurier and other ministers, the bill which restricted anyone under the age of 16 from buying tobacco or smoking in public passed with a vote of 61 to 51.⁸⁶

⁸¹*Debates*, 23 March 1904, p.354.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p.363.

⁸³This legislative path is summed up in *Debates*, 16 March 1908, pp.5088-5091.

⁸⁴On the Ontario tobacco belt, see Lyal Tait, *Tobacco in Canada*, (Canada: T.H. Best Printing Company, 1968) pp.59-72.

⁸⁵*Debates*, 16 March 1908, p.5123.

⁸⁶“Anti-Cigarette Bill,” *Montreal Star*, 16 July 1908, p.4; *Debates*, 16 March 1908, pp.5133-5134.

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, Robert Bickerdike, for example, voted against the bill. What is more, we should remember that the WCTU itself had abandoned their campaigns for age restrictions because they had found these to be hollow victories. Put in the context of the Montreal (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 there was 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 WCTU’s supporters voted against the bill, the WCTU gave the new measures a period of grace to see if it would be enforced any better than the provincial acts of the 1890s. While the WCTU were still active in anti-smoking educational campaigns and continued to call for prohibition of the cigarette, the Act gave them a new focus: agitating for enforcement of the age restriction law. Three of their 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.⁸⁷

In Montreal, "the Act to Restrain the use of tobacco by the young" was sporadically enforced. In the first year there was only one conviction. The following year, there were 133 convictions. But in 1911, convictions dropped to four.⁸⁸ 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 anymore. The judge then pushed the accused to reveal the origin of the cigarettes. If the source was divulged, the judge looked for another witness to corroborate the evidence. Only after having corroboration would the judge proceed with a prosecution of the dealer.⁸⁹ By February 1912, it was not clear if officers were actually enforcing the law. Alderman Drummond had to go as far as to ask council if there was a law to restrain children from buying cigarettes in Montreal. The question wove its way through several levels of city officials and had to go to the Chief Lawyer of the City who affirmed that indeed there was a law and all that was necessary for its enforcement were orders to enforce it from the Chief of Police.⁹⁰ In 1912 convictions rose to 25 and in 1913 dropped to 22. In 1914, after the Juvenile Court hired two special

⁸⁷Daisy Cross, "Anti-Narcotics," 26th *Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1908-1909, p.64; Sophia Black, "Anti-Narcotics," 27th *Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, 1909-1910, p.63.

⁸⁸Recorder's Court *Reports*, 1909-1911, AVM.

⁸⁹"Minutes," Commons' Commission of Cigarettes, p.23.

⁹⁰*Minutes*, City Council, Montreal, 26 February 1912, p.51; *Procès verbal*, Bureau des Commissaires, 23 March 1912, p.19, AVM.

officers, the count rose dramatically to 82.

The difficulties of convicting tobacconists pushed the police to use entrapment to gather evidence.⁹¹ Yet the consequences of entrapment could be far from the intentions of those looking for better enforcement of the law. Tobacconist James Stephen sold cigarettes to an 11-year-old boy only to be promptly charged with selling tobacco to a minor by a special officer. Realizing that the boy and the police officer were making the rounds of all local tobacconists, Stephen called his cousin, also a tobacconist, alerting 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.⁹²

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. During preparations, the Quebec WCTU fell out of line with the Dominion cigarette prohibition efforts. President Mary Sanderson asserted that anti-smoking legislation "had been, in her opinion, practically useless" and the provincial Narcotics Superintendent argued that the tobacco prohibition campaign had received so many "turn downs" from the government that it would be better to spend their time, energy and money on educational campaigns.⁹³ The Quebec pullout was symptomatic of

⁹¹At the Commons Commission on the Cigarette F.X. Choquet denied using entrapment only to be contradicted by Owen Dawson. See "Proceedings," p.23 and p.45.

⁹²*CCTJ*, November 1913, p.37.

⁹³Florence E. Woodley, "Quebec will not be Found Wanting," *Canadian White Ribbon Bulletin*, April 1914, p.59.

the reticence of Quebecers to using the state to intrude on individual rights. Sharon Anne Cook, in her study of the Ontario WCTU during the same period, argues the WCTU was divided between supporters of progressive evangelism most obvious in the federal and provincial hierarchies of the WCTU who subscribed to Social Gospel beliefs of collective cleansing of society, and a more traditional evangelicalism of local unions which saw “salvation as being personal and experiential, rather than societal....”⁹⁴ 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, with the only difference from Cook’s framework being that the provincial hierarchy took the traditional position, a position which was more easily reconciled with liberal notions of freedom of the individual.

The Dominion WCTU’s cigarette prohibition campaign continued, in spite of the provincial union’s absence. But instead of letting the question go to a vote, the Conservative government diverted the issue to a Commons’ Commission on the Cigarette that was to look into amending the 1908 age restrictions or to suggest other ways the “Evils Arising From the Use of Cigarettes” could be prevented.⁹⁵ The Commission heard testimony from Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa “experts” on boys smoking. Yet – 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

⁹⁴Cook, *“Through Sunshine and Shadow,”* p.13.

⁹⁵“Proceedings,” p.2.

effective rather than invoking prohibition. The Commission submitted two reports without making any recommendations for change, claiming that they had heard much theory but little empirical data.⁹⁶ In June 1914, the Parliamentary session ended and the committee took leave and never resumed its work, concerns over tobacco eclipsed by the First World War.

Indeed, the social gospel and the WCTU were not successful in their efforts to label smoking a "vice." After lengthy legislative and educational campaigns, the WCTU could not convince Parliament that the cigarette was so dangerous to the country that it would have to be prohibited. The age restriction law they succeeded in passing was not enforced and would be forgotten until the 1980s.⁹⁷ Part of the WCTU failure to pass stronger legislation may have been due to the fact that they had no members in Parliament. Indeed, with the support of social gospel-influenced churches they had not only pushed their cause into the male public sphere of formal politics, they 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 education campaigns and Bible studies.

There were, however, other significant obstacles to the WCTU's collective social reform in Montreal. The dominance of Christian denominations that were less influenced

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.6.

⁹⁷Robert Cunningham, *Smoke and Mirrors: The Canadian Tobacco War* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1996), p.35.

by the social gospel as well as the fact that most of WCTU activism was done in English made the movement weak. The Anglican Church for the most part did not see tobacco as a vice, and regardless, was 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, on the other hand, 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 Roman 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 the individual's 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, their unilingual nature, and the rejection, to a great extent, by the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches of state involvement in moral training of individuals, meant that dominant notions about smoking being a sign of respectable and mature masculinity were less challenged by the WCTU in Quebec and Montreal than elsewhere in Canada. What is more, the Montreal WCTU anti-smoking campaigns provides insights into the alliances, compromises and hierarchies of rights within the Canadian liberal order.

Chapter Five

Mass Consumption and Undermining Liberal Prescriptions of Smoking

At the same time the WCTU was trying to discredit them, these liberal prescriptions of respectable smoking were being undermined more successfully by the new values brought on by the production increases of industrial capitalism - values 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 "natural" about these transformations, nor did they go unquestioned. Indeed, the new cultural categories around industrially-produced products became hegemonic through a process that saw both conflict and consent. Uncovering the ways in which consent was shaped is key to understanding the popular acceptance of not only the new industrial order, but also changes in popular liberalism.²

Tobacco underwent this industrial transformation of meaning in early twentieth-century Montreal. This chapter follows this transformation using two case studies. First, Canadian tobacco, so reviled by bourgeois connoisseurs, was increasingly used for pipe

¹Walden, "Speaking Modern," p.303.

²T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), pp.567-593. Outside of Walden's work, for examples of the use of hegemony and cultural selection in Canada, see Robert Storey, "Unionization Versus Corporate Welfare: The 'Dofasco Way'," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 12 (Fall 1983), pp.7-42 as well as Ian McKay's *The Quest of the Folk*.

tobacco made by the ATCC with its smokers escaping social stigma. The federal government and the ATCC played the primary roles in altering Canadian tobacco's symbolism through tariff changes, "improvement" schemes in the fields and mass advertising. Canadian tobacco could escape its stereotype because the farming practices of the habitant could be modified and local tastes standardized, providing farmers were given the right incentives.

A second example of this process of legitimation is the mass-produced cigarette. As the WCTU had noticed, Montrealers were beginning to smoke more cigarettes. In fact, the cigarette 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. These hand-rolled cigarettes were not popular, and until mass-produced cigarettes were marketed in the late 1880s, the cigarette played only a marginal role in Montreal culture. Even so, it was not until the late 1920s that the cigarette surpassed the pipe in popularity. The ATCC used business structures and advertisements to capture the Canadian cigarette market. The ATCC's consignment system demonstrated that business structures could overcome their competitors' advertising. The company's own advertisements sought to overturn etiquette and did not appeal to the hierarchies of taste set out by bourgeois connoisseurs. Instead they aimed to create a mass market that included women and youth. Still, the ATCC's dominance in the market did not mean it was able to control fully the ways in which these new cigarettes were understood. These case studies underscore the new categories of culture surrounding tobacco under industrial capitalism – standardization, low price, vigour and ungendered and less elitist consumption – which

ultimately transformed the nineteenth-century liberal ritual of smoking. The old liberal categories of culture that defined tobacco as “good” or “bad,” the speed and spirit in which it should be smoked and who could respectably smoke were all put into question. Finally, within the process of inventing, shaping and accepting these new cultural categories, business and government played a key role as did popular resistance by smokers and others to the legitimization of the new industrial order.

I. 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, the Federal Government played an important role in promoting Canadian tobacco 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 tobacco.³ The results were quickly seen. Canadian tobacco entering excise for 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.⁴ Cultivation expanded in both Quebec and Ontario.⁵

³The specific revision to the Inland Revenue Act to change these excise duties was an amendment to Victoria 60-61 Chapter 19, No. 13 (m) and (n). This amendment put an excise tax of 14 cents per pound on stemmed foreign leaf tobacco and 10 cents per pound on non-stemmed.

⁴See “Comparative Statement of Manufactures” *Sessional Papers*, for these years.

⁵Lyal Tait reports that tobacco growth in Quebec between 1898 and 1910 moved from 5,800,000 to 10,000,000 pounds. In Ontario, expansion into tobacco was even more impressive, moving from 399,870 to 7,000,000 pound in the same years. See his *Tobacco in Canada*, pp.73-74.

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 for manufacturers. Charlan set up the Tobacco Division of the Department of Agriculture to provide information and guidance to tobacco growers. Experiments were done on the fermentation of pipe and cigar tobacco as well as testing which varieties of tobacco gave the highest yield in Canadian climates. In 1909, three experimental stations were set up, one in Essex County in Ontario and the two others in Quebec. These experimental farms were to act as examples of new farming and curing methods and seed distributors.⁶ Clearly, some farmers were eager to profit from the government protection of their crop by growing their tobacco to the government standards. The *Association des Planteurs de tabac du district de Joliette*, for example, wrote Laurier asking for more instruction in drying and preparing tobacco for industrial purposes.⁷

The tariff encouraged manufacturers to use Canadian tobacco in their products. Not all tobacco manufacturers, however, were willing to use Canadian 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 did not see switching to Canadian tobacco as an option. Nor did he see

⁶F. Charlan, "Tobacco Culture in Canada," *CCTJ*, June 1910, p.35.

⁷L'Association des Planteurs de tabac du district de Joliette to Laurier, 22 January 1908, Laurier Papers, microfilm C857, p.134615, NAC.

it as competition, since he thought it was inferior.⁸ 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 at the end of the century. Examples are abundant of his conservatism: he only installed a telephone and elevator at his office in 1910; he never transformed his firm into a bureaucratic hierarchy like many business 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.⁹ Macdonald was also 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, he appealed decision after decision until his application was eventually refused by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England and he was forced to pay \$1,999 in damages to the parents of the girls. This indeed was a paltry sum, especially for a man who, by February of 1898, was reported to have given \$2,653,000 to McGill alone and if he had paid it earlier, he could have prevented the bad publicity that resulted from the court

⁸"The Tobacco Kings of Canada before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, pp.719-721.

⁹"Sir W. Macdonald At Last Has 'Phone and Elevator'," *Montreal Herald*, 2 May 1910, p.3. While I can not definitively say that Macdonald never advertised, I have extensively surveyed the Montreal popular press between 1895 and 1914 and have not found any Macdonald tobacco advertising. After Macdonald 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 Enterprise," *Saturday Night*, Financial Section, 20 January 1923; "Canada's Tobacco King," *CCTJ*, July 1913, p.39. Frost and Michel, "Sir William Christopher Macdonald," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XIV, pp.689-694. On the standards of business at the turn of the twentieth century, see Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977).

case.¹⁰ His conviction that smokers valued his products because of the *terroir* of foreign tobacco, qualities that 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 Canadian tobacco. Like the federal government, the ATCC sought to instruct farmers on how to grow tobacco that could more readily be sold on the market for industrial use. The Company hired experts to visit and instruct tobacco farmers. It also set up model farm exhibitions at fairs and provided fertilizer for farmers. The ATCC and government were probably successful 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, whose company sold Canadian leaf tobacco to those who appreciated its strong taste, commented on the change in taste of this new industrial Canadian tobacco, now even being used in cigarettes: "Par un subterfuge commercial, elle [ATCC] pousse les cigarettes de tabac étranger en arrière de leurs cigarettes de tabac canadien où elle le peut, dans le but de distraire autant que possible le goût acquis au tabac canadien."¹¹

With the increase in growth of industrial Canadian tobacco, the ATCC sought to control supply. They discouraged others from entering into competition with them for raw

¹⁰"Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, February 1899, p.51; "Montreal Correspondence," *CCTJ*, July 1899, p.253

¹¹Letter from Joseph Picard to Laurier, 20 March 1908, Laurier Papers, microfilm C860, p.138050, NAC.

leaf. When the Federal Government attempted to open up a Belgian market for Canadian tobacco the ATCC sent a delegation to the Government to oppose the efforts in Belgium.¹² Unlike in the U.S. where the American Tobacco Company vertically integrated, setting up its United Cigar Store chain, the ATCC attempted 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 the retailer did not sell any other Canadian tobacco products 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."¹³ This shut other manufacturers out of the market. Charles Lavoie, an organizer for the Tobacco Workers International Union described in 1904 what he mistakenly saw as a question of advertising but actually was 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."¹⁴

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

¹²Evidence of Albert Octave Dugas, RCTT, p.983. Dugas was a lawyer and MP for Montcalm.

¹³Evidence of Joseph Picard, RCTT, p.618.

¹⁴ Lavoie quoted in Kaufman, *Challenge and Change*, pp.34-35.

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 called a meeting of tobacco farmers from Montcalm County and asked them to sell exclusively to the company. When the farmers refused, Dupuis maintained that the company suddenly bought very little tobacco from Montcalm Country growers.¹⁵

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 thus the ATCC would control prices.¹⁶

As it was, many farmers felt the ATCC 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 Laurier in support of the move. Pierre Denis, a general store owner in St. Césaire, Québec, wrote on behalf of farmers from his community to thank the Prime Minister saying that the price of Canadian tobacco had increased by 25 to 30 per cent through the threat of government action. He gave the example of one farmer who received ten cents per pound of tobacco rather than seven.¹⁷

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 they published denigrating Canadian tobacco during

¹⁵Evidence of Joseph Alcides Dupuis, RCTT, p.991.

¹⁶D.B. McTavish, "Report of the Commissioner", *Sessional Papers*, 1903, no.62, pp.7-8.

¹⁷Pierre Denis, 6 July 1903 Laurier Collection, microfilm C802, p.74811, NAC. For numerous other letters of support see pp.83932-84001 of the same microfilm.

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: "It is only paying our just debt to the land of our birth and livelihood" and Canadian tobacco had advanced significantly in the previous year (see Chapter 3). These contradictory opinions would at once keep prices low for raw leaf and leave room for an appeal to consumers.

Both government and numerous businessmen sought to redefine the nature of Canadian tobacco. They stressed that Ontario was now growing better tobacco while Quebec produced "backwards tobacco." Thus, *le tabac canadien* was stigmatized rather than Canadian tobacco. "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."¹⁸ 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."¹⁹ Charlan, for his part 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

¹⁸"Canadian Tobacco," *CCTJ*, August 1899, p.289.

¹⁹"As Others See Us," *CCTJ*, November 1908, pp.44-45.

their tobacco too late allowing for frost damage.²⁰ 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 considering Quebec farmers may have been under-reporting the amount of tobacco they grew.²¹

ATCC advertising campaigns also attempted to promote Canadian tobacco. In 1902, Mortimer Davis told the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade that his company intended to create a demand for Canadian leaf tobacco. Through advertisements they intended on "educating him [the smoker] up to that."²² At the same Commission, the head of the ATTC's advertising division, O.S. Perrault, testified that the ATTC's pipe tobacco division had spent \$250,579 on advertising in the previous four years.²³ Later in 1908 Davis maintained that his companies were largely responsible for the new-found acceptance of Canadian tobacco, partially made possible through a million dollars of advertising.²⁴ Advertising, for the ATCC, was a way of erasing any reference to the origins of the tobacco used in certain products. Indeed, there were no references to the

²⁰F. Charlan, "Dominion Department of Agriculture: The Tobacco Division Organized, 1905," *CCTJ*, July 1910, p.23.

²¹While it is true that the 1911 Census reported that 1.5 million more pounds of tobacco was grown in Ontario than Quebec, by 1921, Quebec was outpaced by 6 million pounds. *Census of Canada*, 1921, Vol. V, p.445.

²²"The Tobacco Kings of Canada Before the Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, p.705.

²³"The Tobacco Inquiry," *CCTJ*, December 1902, p.657.

²⁴"Growing High-Class Tobacco in Canada," *CCTJ*, December 1908, p.27.

origins of the tobacco used in the ATCC's brands (figure 1).²⁵ Rather, the ATCC's main pipe tobacco brand "Empire" was advertised by its mass appeal, using the slogan "Its sale is big" as well as by setting their brand in opposition to the strong taste of *le tabac canadien*, claiming that Empire "Does not bite the tongue."²⁶



Figure 1

The ATCC and federal government efforts to change and promote Canadian tobacco were 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, Heliedore Fortier, the brother of the tobacco manufacturer J.M. Fortier, claimed that Macdonald's market share was half of what it had been before the tariff.²⁷ Indeed, the tariff hit Macdonald hard and his tobaccos were more expensive than ATCC brands, partially because of the tariff and

²⁵I surveyed *La Presse* and the *Montreal Star*, the two largest circulating 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 like the *Gazette*, *La Patrie*, *Le Canada*, and the *Herald* for the years 1903, 1907, 1908, and 1914.

²⁶*Montreal Star*, 14 July 1900, p.1.

²⁷Evidence of Heliedore Fortier, RCTT, p.1416.

partially because he offered more profit for those who pushed his products.²⁸ By the time of the War, Macdonald had been dethroned as "Tobacco King of Canada." In November of 1917 the pipe-smoking preferences of Canadian troops at Shorncliffe, England were polled and Macdonald's plug tobacco came in third behind ATCC's "Imperial Mixture" and "Old Chum," with Old Chum containing Canadian tobacco.²⁹

II. The Cigarette in Montreal

In contrast to the reinvention of Canadian tobacco, successfully marketing mass-produced cigarettes presented a whole different set of challenges for government, and especially 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 U.S, where they were smoked by the urban elites of both countries.³⁰ And even after mass-production technologies had succeeded in making cheaper cigarettes, hand-rolled cigarettes made with imported tobacco continued to be sold to the section of the population who had more money to

²⁸Evidence of George E. Forbes, RCTT, p.1270.

²⁹Letter of Colonel commanding Canadian Troops at Shorncliffe, 18 November 1917, RG 9 III B1, Vol. 3263. File 5-32-42 (vol.1), PAC.

³⁰Evidence of Mortimer B. Davis, RCTT, p.1061. One indicator that Rattray was one of the most elite cigar store owners and tobacco manufacturers was that he was one of 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, p.40. For a concise history of cigarettes, see Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.12-13.

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 “aux vrais amateurs de cigarettes” at 10 for 25¢³¹ to the 5¢ Egyptian cigarettes sold in CPR dining cars at the turn of the century³² to the “Smokerettes” which sold at 10¢.³³

Cigarette manufacturers attempted to make these cigarettes more masculine than roll-your-owns by marketing them to appeal to the values of bourgeois connoisseurship built around cigars. Advertisements for these products trumpeted the fact that their tobacco was foreign and that the cigarettes were rolled by skilled workers. For 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.³⁴ 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 their “Mogul” brand of cigarette received “as much attention as is given to a delicate infant.”³⁵ This probably was an ATCC pitch to legitimize the female labour that may have been used on this cigarette. The advertising around Egyptian cigarettes, which were some times called

³¹“Yildiz [sic] Magnum,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, August 1902, p.28.

³²Photograph 22570, Category 31, CPR Archives.

³³*Montreal Gazette*, 14 October 1907, p.2.

³⁴For Virginian cigarettes, see ad for Smokerets, *Montreal Gazette*, 14 October 1907, p.2. For Turkish tobacco cigarettes, see advertisement for “Tuckett’s Special Turkish Cigarettes” *Montreal Gazette*, 9 June 1910, p.13. For a mixture of the two, see Benson and Hedges advertisement, *Gazette*, 12 September 1907, p.7.

³⁵*Montreal Gazette*, 7 October 1907, p.4.

“Oriental cigarettes,” invoked images of Imperial dominance. These were not images of battles or brute force but images of leisure or more vague imagery associated with the near East (Figure 2).³⁶ Their visions of domination are close to Edward Said’s discussions of orientalism where having knowledge of those who were dominated was important to the process and depth of domination.³⁷ Knowing the quality of products in the Empire, in this case tobacco, and having the power to take them, was part of this Imperial domination.

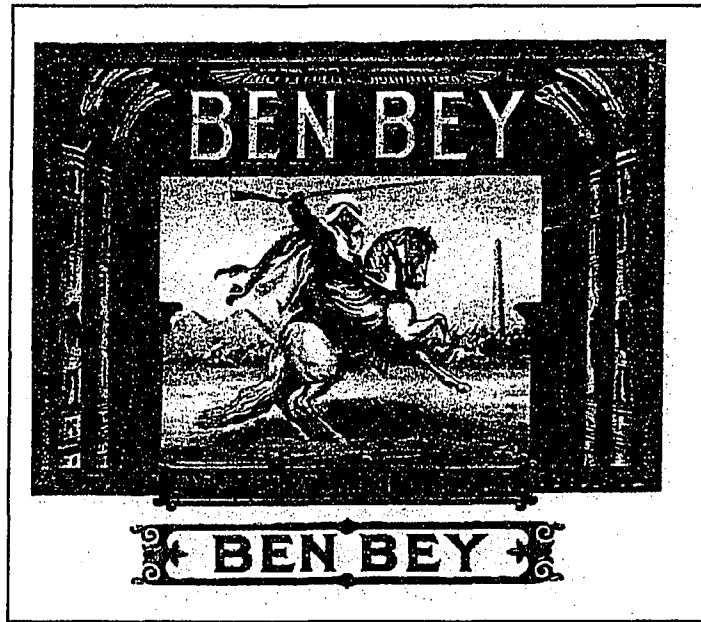


Figure 2

Like with other tobacco products, the values by which these cigarettes were supposed to be weighed, essentially skilled labour and origins of the tobacco, were supposed to be only understandable to men. Any other reason for buying cigarettes was not legitimate. 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 inside the wrapper of a

³⁶Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd. Collection, M999.70.2.10, McCord Archives.

³⁷Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

package of mechanically-rolled cigarettes. According to the *Journal*, they were popular with women and children who pressured men to buy certain brands with inserts in order that a woman 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.³⁸

Despite the fact that many cigarette manufacturers tried to make cigarettes more masculine through appeals to values of bourgeois connoisseurship, cigarettes (as I showed in Chapter 1) were still associated with the sexually ambiguous dandy and thus never entirely lived up to the masculine ideals of the cigar and the pipe. Physically they were smaller than cigars and named to emphasize their appearance. In Europe they had been associated with women since Bizet's opera *Carmen* and were picked up by society women and "New Women" in England who were defying women's traditional gender roles.³⁹ Montreal newspapers ran stories about these women and their "foreign ways."⁴⁰ Montreal women were picking up on the association between untraditional gender roles and the cigarette. One author of a letter to Colette in *La Presse*'s etiquette column after asking "En deuil depuis sept mois d'une petite soeur, pourrais-je porter du blanc à l'été?" signed

³⁸"The Holiday Package and the Cigarette Insert," *CCTJ*, October 1912, p.11.

³⁹On *Carmen*, see Richard Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). On New Women in Canada see Gwendolyn Davies, "The Literary 'New Woman' and Social Activism in Maritime Literature, 1880-1920," in Guildford and Morton, 233-250.

⁴⁰"Strange ways in other lands," *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1905, p.23.

the pen name, "UNE QUI AIME LA CIGARETTE."⁴¹ Here this woman used the cigarette to signify the fashionable lifestyle she led as well as her interest in defying tradition. In a similar vein, the fashion critic for the women's journal, *Le Journal de Françoise* used the pen name "Cigarette" suggesting that her role was to introduce new fashions to the *Journal's* readers.⁴²

The ATCC picked up on this association between untraditional gender roles and the cigarette and began a short-lived advertising campaign building on these images. From mid-1905 the Company advertised their "Diva" cigarette on the back page of *la Journal de Françoise*. Divas were Egyptian cigarettes with filtered corks to make the smoke less harsh. They were described as "mignonne" and apparently made with especially pure tobacco for women.⁴³ 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. It suggests that selling cigarettes to women was particularly difficult.

The advertisements for Diva cigarettes outlined what "kind of woman" smoked cigarettes and appealed to the image of the "Grand 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

⁴¹"Le Courrier de Colette," *La Presse*, 30 May 1914, p.9.

⁴²For examples, see columns by Cigarette "Mode et Modes," *La Journal de Françoise*, March 1902, p.12 and "Notes sur la Mode," 1 February 1908, p.329.

⁴³*Ibid*, 1 July 1905, p.107.

cigarettes “sont les favorites de nos mondaines canadiennes.”⁴⁴ Another in the series referred to the great ladies of Spain, and then “tickled the cultural fancy” of upper class Canadian women by writing “En écoutant ‘Carmen’, l’opéra-comique de Bizet, beaucoup d’entre nous ont subi le sortilège qui émane de l’héroïne dont ‘les rouges lèvres laissent échapper des volutes de fumée blanche’.”⁴⁵

A second theme that this advertising campaign drew on was that of the “New Woman.” The advertisements made cigarettes part of progress of modern life. One ad entitled, “La jeune fille moderne,” trumpeted how much better life was for the young woman of today than women of the previous generation. It was better to play sports like golf or curling than to sit around and gossip and it was better to have a cigarette than to have a nervous breakdown.⁴⁶ Playing golf and smoking cigarettes improved marriage compared to the previous centuries as women had become companions to men and there was a greater community of interests.⁴⁷ Another ad entitled “Pour ma Dame,” was narrated by a husband explaining why his wife was allowed to smoke: “La femme moderne a donné les preuves de sa capacité et s’est ouverte maintes carrières où, jusqu’ici, l’homme s’était seul engagé; elle a, par conséquent, conquis le droit à certains privilèges jusque-là

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 20 May 1905, p.57.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 3 June 1905, p.72.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 1 July 1905, p.102.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 21 October 1905, p.217.

réservés au sexe laid.”⁴⁸ Just as both men and women could kiss, so could they smoke.⁴⁹

“Les jeunes filles canadiennes,” the campaign told readers “s’énorgueillissent à juste titre d’être tout à fait ‘up to date’ c’est-à-dire ‘vingtième siècle’.”⁵⁰

These Egyptian cigarettes, like those marketed to men, were consumer products that sought distinction for individual smokers. And distinction went beyond Egyptian cigarettes. According to the *Montreal Star*, some Montreal society women smoked “Lady size” cigarettes and upper-end tobacconists claimed that some of these “titled citizenesses” were having special monograms put on their smokes.⁵¹ Similarly the *CCTJ* reported that special gold tipped cigarettes were being given out to women.⁵² The object was becoming personalized, and manufacturers attempted to make the cigarette what they thought was more feminine. Yet despite these appeals to society women, Egyptian cigarettes played only a small part in the market and the new mass-produced cigarette brands came to dominate.⁵³ The Diva campaign only ran until October 1905 and then nothing more was heard of the brand. Three years later the ATCC once again began advertising in *La Journal de Françoise* yet this time they would take a fundamentally different approach to

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 1 July 1905, p.107.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 17 June 1905, p.91.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 14 August 1905, p.155.

⁵¹“Favor Feminin Smoking, if Not Done to Excess,” *Montreal Star*, 17 April 1914, p.1.

⁵² “Giving Cigarettes Away,” *CCTJ* February 1914, p.33.

⁵³Robert D. Lewis, “Productive and Spatial Strategies in the Montreal Tobacco Industry, 1850-1918,”; Mortimer Davis testimony in the RCTT, mentions Rattray as a minor manufacturer who had produced tobacco for 25-30 years, p.1054/925

attract female smokers. Rather than appealing to stereotypes of turn-of-the-century women smokers, the ATCC advertised their most popular brand, Sweet Caporal, using the slogan “fumées universellement.”⁵⁴ The contrast between the two approaches is striking. While the Diva campaign clearly was about social distinction, the Sweet Caporal campaign sought to include women in a marketing campaign that targeted a mass market, undifferentiated by gender.

III. Cigarettes and Mass Consumption

The new mass-produced cigarettes were manufactured using the mass production technology of the Bonsack cigarette machine. Invented in 1881, the Bonsack cigarette machine revolutionized the cigarette industry. Briefly, the Bonsack Machine 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.⁵⁵ Hand-rolling had been slow and costly. The *CCTJ* offered an estimation of the saving 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 \$15,000.⁵⁶

⁵⁴*La Journal de Françoise*, 20 June 1908, back cover.

⁵⁵Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, pp.249-250.

⁵⁶“Cigarette Making,” *CCTJ*, April 1906, p.45.

Indeed, like mass-produced pipe tobacco, the cigarette was inexpensive, part of the reduction in costs resulting from the de-skilling of cigarette rollers and the introduction of the Bonsack. In 1895, two of the D. Ritchie and Co.'s most popular brands, Majestic and Athlete Cigarettes, sold twenty for 15 cents.⁵⁷ By 1914 prices had only slightly risen with the ATCC's leading brands, Derby and Sweet Caporals selling six for 5¢ and ten for 10¢, respectively. Numerous dealers broke open packages offering them for a penny a piece.⁵⁸ The low price of the mass-produced cigarette meant that unlike with the cigar or Egyptian cigarette, few could be excluded from smoking cigarettes because of their price. There were impressive increases in cigarette sales before the First World War due to the rising sales of these cheap mass-produced cigarettes. In 1895, at the formation of the ATCC, 85,994,000 cigarettes were manufactured in Canada. By 1903 that amount had more than doubled to 176,435,240 and would double again five years later, to 384,591,744 cigarettes.⁵⁹ By the First World War 1,166,023,170 cigarettes were manufactured in Canada.⁶⁰ This works out to a jump from 23 cigarettes per person in 1901 to 81 cigarettes per person at the time of the next Census in 1911.⁶¹

Much of the increase in popularity of the cigarette came from changing

⁵⁷*Montreal Star*, 13 April 1895, p.16.

⁵⁸Dawson, "Proceedings," p.24.

⁵⁹*CCTJ*, June 1908, p.11.

⁶⁰The pre-War 1914 statistic comes from *CCTJ*, July 1914, p.10.

⁶¹For 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, (Ottawa, 1932), p.721.

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 through 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.⁶² The speed of smoking the cigarette appealed to this same desire. The cigarette industry promoted cigarettes capitalizing on the short amount of time it took to smoke a cigarette 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."⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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

⁶²Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). For a fascinating example of changing conceptions of speed in Canada see Walden, *Becoming Modern*, pp.3-7.

⁶³"Editorial Notes," *CCTJ*, February 1908, p.13.

⁶⁴Bernard Baron, "Cigarette Age Coming," *Ibid.*, January 1914, p.39.

that trouble, with SWEET CAPORAL CIGARETTES."⁶⁵

And while bourgeois connoisseurs had portrayed cigarette smokers as unmanly because of the short time it took to smoke a cigarette, the cigarette was also read as a sign of youthful vigour. *La Presse*'s cartoon "Son Idéal"(figure 3), for example, portrayed 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 qualities, smokes a cigarette and is a far

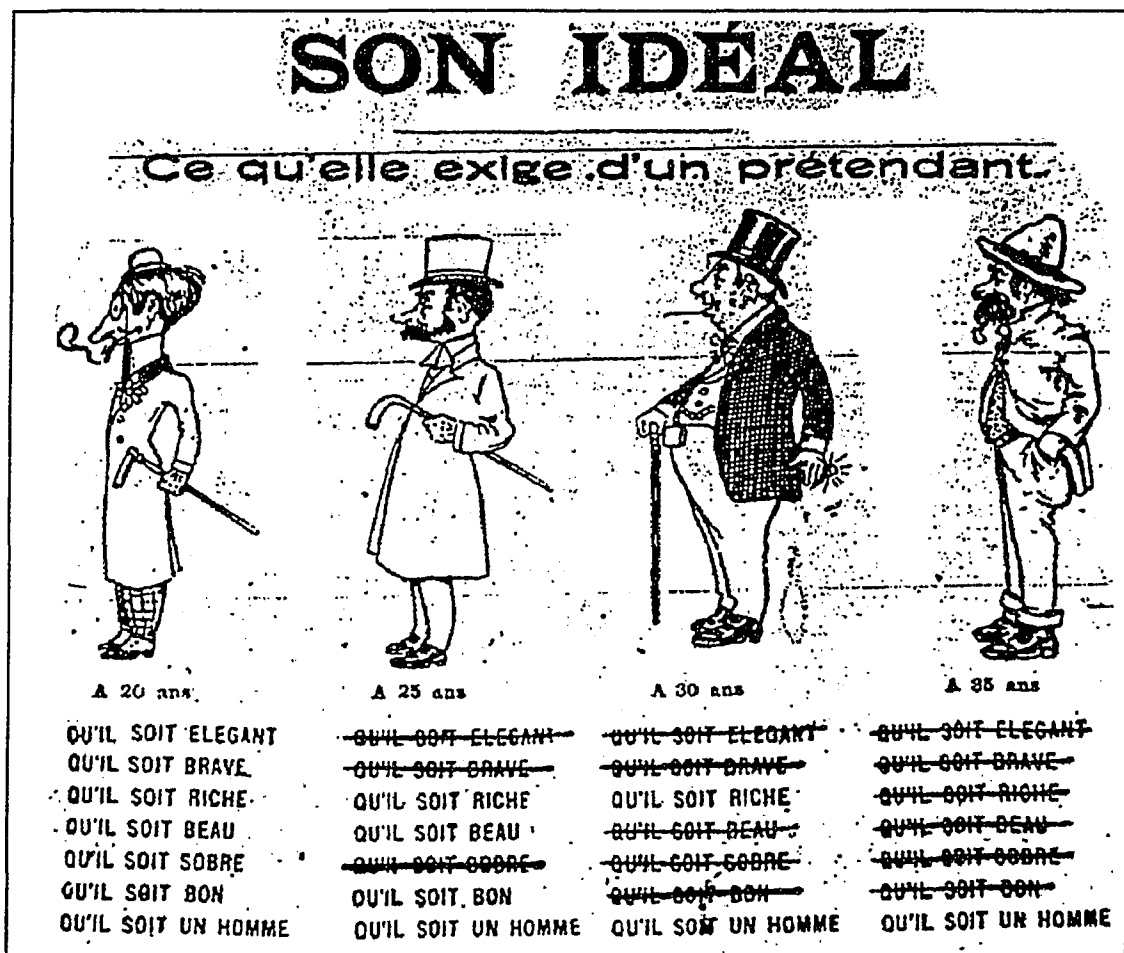


Figure 3

⁶⁵Montreal Herald, 31 May 1910, p.11.

cry from the last man who has, according to the cartoon, few worthwhile qualities, and smokes an old clay pipe.⁶⁶ The cigarette was part of the way readers were to ascertain that the man was young. This cultural image was partially a reflection of the youthful “demographic” who took up smoking. During the First World War, when the Canadian soldiers at Bramshott, England were surveyed to find out their needs in tobacco, 60 per cent were cigarette smokers, 5 to 8 per cent were abstainers, and the rest were pipe smokers.⁶⁷

The cigarette was often used to build an image of youthful male sexuality. In Dr. Ernest Choquette’s collection of short stories different tobaccos appear at different times. In one story, after dinner, a group of older doctors discussed their first cases, while smoking cigars. This contrasts the use of cigarettes in another of his short stories centred around two students at Laval University. The narrator described a friend of his at school who was studying to become a notary. The friend’s most significant weakness that distracted him from his studies was for women. In one scene, the two students stand together looking out on the city from Dufferin Terrace, “la cigarette aux lèvres,” watching the boats in the harbour, the carts in the streets, children playing in courtyards, and most importantly, a beautiful Irish woman, that with whom both of the students fall in love.⁶⁸ The *CCTJ* also 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

⁶⁶“Son Idéal,” *La Presse*, 26 November 1910, comic section, p.1.

⁶⁷Letter 17 November 1917, PAC, RG 9 III B1 Vol.3263, file 5-32-42 (Vol.1).

⁶⁸Choquette, “Un Chanceux” in *Carabinades*, pp.94-5.

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 of 1898 calling for tolerance towards 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, they 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 the use of the word "sweet" in both the Sweet Caporal and the Sweet Sixteen pointed to the weaker tasting tobacco used in the cigarette in comparison to the cigar or pipe tobaccos, especially *le tabac canadien*. Indeed this tobacco was probably easier to begin smoking.

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

⁷⁰"Evolution in Smoking," *Ibid.*, August 1898, p.233.

⁷¹"Origin of Smoking," *Ibid.*, April 1904, p.43.

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

IV. Controlling the Cigarette

Yet it was not the entire industry that could attempt to legitimize the mass-produced cigarette. The ATCC was the only company whose advertisements could have any significant effect on consumers, especially around questions of sales. This power came from the ATCC's cigarette consignment system that effectively protected the ATCC 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 U.S., these contracts gave the retailer or wholesaler a six per cent profit if they sold only ATCC brands. If the consignee chose to break the agreement, their profit would drop to two 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 amount of cigarettes and which brands were sold. They could not resell to other retailers or wholesalers unless permission was given by the ATCC. This effectively allowed the ATCC to monitor its sales and make better decisions as to which brands to promote. The ATCC also reserved the right to stop consigning goods with the retailer or to pay the retailer only two per cent for consignment if the contract was broken.⁷³

What is more, these consignment agreements were policed by company officials. If tobacconists were seen retailing cigarettes of other companies they would lose their six per cent reduction and even their ATCC cigarettes. Montreal tobacconist Phillipe Roy, for

⁷³The Consignment Agreement conditions were published in the "Report of the Commissioner" of the RCTT, *Sessional Papers*, no.62, 1903, pp.4-6.

example, could no longer get ATCC cigarettes after he was spotted by an ATCC representative displaying a competitor's cigarettes that 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 of the agreement, the original retailer could be held responsible.⁷⁵ Bernard Goldstein, formerly the owner of the American Cigarette Company, himself was blacklisted by the ATCC when the numbers on the bottom of a cigarette package that he had sold to Charles Gratton, a wholesaler who did not have an agreement with the ATCC, were tracked by a company representative.⁷⁶ According to one witness at the Royal Commission on the Tobacco Trade, Montreal's largest wholesalers all were under contract with the ATCC. This forced other Montreal cigarette companies to establish their own wholesalers, something that could be expensive and drive up prices.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Evidence of Phillipe Roy, RCTT, p.1246.

⁷⁵Evidence of Davis, p.1126; 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 in RCTT, P.1708. 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)* p.9 in RCTT, p.1786.

⁷⁶Bernard Goldstein evidence, 18 January 1897, *Ibid.*, p.1632. 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, p.1660.

⁷⁷Evidence of O.W. Legault, p.1222. 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. Evidence of C. De Cazil, p.1239. Testimony of J.B. Courtois, p.1317. Evidence of Jacob Goldstein, p.1368, RCTT.

The best example of the effect of the consignment system on the market was an attempt by the 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 of 1895 he sold 390,000 cigarettes; in August, 536,000; and, peaking in October 1895, at 787,500. Then the ATCC contract went into place and sales declined to 302,500 in November and 391,000 in December of 1895.⁷⁹ By 1898, Fortier's own brother Heliedore, did not sell J.M.Fortier's cigarettes because he had signed the consignment agreement.⁸⁰ Fortier did not take this sitting down. Both in 1896 and 1897 he took the ATCC to court for conspiracy of trade and in 1902 successfully petitioned the Federal Government to call a Royal Commission inquiring into an "alleged tobacco combine." In fact, the Royal Commission found that Fortier was right and trade was being inhibited, but the Commission decided that it did not have the power to end the contract system. That would have to be done by Parliament, though Parliament never went further than to threaten to end the consignment system.⁸¹

The consignment system closed the door on many of the ATCC's competitors, and made the ATCC's cigarette advertising the most important advertising discourse on

⁷⁸Testimony of J.M. Fortier, RCTT, p.1341

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p.1340.

⁸⁰Testimony of Heliedore Fortier, p.1422

⁸¹Michael Bliss has shown that the Canadian government was far more permissive towards monopolies than the American. See his *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), pp.33-54.

cigarettes in Montreal and the rest of Canada during the period. Indeed, competitors who may have sought to use advertising discourses that differed from that of the ATTC found that they did not work, not because they held little resonance with smokers, but because there was no way for a smoker to follow through on these consuming desires. 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 the financial benefits of the consignment contract made them not worth filling. Abraham Michaels, brother of Granda y Hermanos owner Nathan Michaelaels, an elite tobacconist at the corner of McGill and Notre Dame Streets got 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’ 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

⁸²Testimony of Joseph Picard, RCTT, p.613.

⁸³Testimony of Abraham Michaels, RCTT, p.1274.

bear.”⁸⁴ Between October of 1895 and October of 1902 the ATCC spent \$267,961.49 on cigarette advertising.⁸⁵ The Company 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 ordinary. 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, somewhat anti-Semitic *Le Nationaliste*.⁸⁶ These were also the same advertisements that ran in *La Journal de Françoise*.

While newspaper advertising was important, it was only one way the ATCC promoted their brands. The Company had a booth at numerous fairs where it gave out free samples of their popular brands. One example of this 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. Keith Walden has argued that the searching urban gaze of the turn-of-the-century consumer was also interested in people, and race and

⁸⁴Walden, *Becoming Modern*, p.126.

⁸⁵Evidence of O.S. Perrault, RCTT, p.1085.

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

⁸⁷“Grocers’ Show is in Full Swing,” *Montreal Herald*, 21 April 1908, p.5.

gender often played important roles in attracting the white male middle class eye.⁸⁸ The ATCC used this fascination with race in particular by hiring an African-Canadian man, who 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 ATCC booth.⁸⁹ Professor Brown, who the *CCTJ* called “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 ATCC were particularly effective at 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 St.Catherine and St.Lawrence.⁹² And in 1913 there was an electric sign advertising Sweet Caporal cigarettes at the corner of St.James and Windsor Streets, certainly a busy spot being near

⁸⁸Walden, *Becoming Modern*, pp.119-166.

⁸⁹*CCTJ*, January 1899, p.37. In 1914, as a reward for his 25 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*, p.157.

⁹⁰ “Montreal Correspondence,” *CCTJ*, July 1901, p.319. He also visited the Toronto Exhibition, see *CCTJ*, September 1901, p.449.

⁹¹On the scarcity of cars in Montreal at the turn of the century, see Denis Veilleux, “La motorisation, ou, ‘La rançon du progrès’: tramways, véhicules-moteurs et circulation,” (Ph.D. Dissertation: McGill University, 1998).

⁹²*Liqueurs et Tabac*, January 1902, p.28.

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, difficult for passengers to miss.⁹⁴

Another major venue for ATCC advertising, and their Sweet Caporal and Murad brands in particular, was in window displays. The ATCC hired artists to decorate several of their clients' window displays around Montreal. These displays did much to legitimize the changes in marketing and products that came with industrial capitalism, and in the case of the cigarette, sought to make them more acceptable as ways to smoke tobacco. Take for example Louis Fortier's Eden Cigar Store display on St. Laurent Boulevard (figure 4).



Figure 4

⁹³CCTJ, June 1913, p.41.

⁹⁴*Ibid*, April 1909, p.53.

In the centre of the display, what immediately attracts the eye, is a boat decorated with Sweet Caporal cigarette boxes arriving in 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 invoking the theme of abundance. The boat coming into port also underlines 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 their cigarettes and other products like pipe and chewing tobacco through “premiums” included in each package. Smokers collected coupons or “tags” and then turning them in to ATCC premium department in Montreal for particularly manly rewards like wristwatches, guns and tents.⁹⁶ The popularity of the “Coupon Habit” was reflected through its penetration into popular culture demonstrated by a cartoon from the *Montreal Star* (figure 5, see p.208). The cartoon gives 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 ATCC putting on display the smallest man in the world. The same attention to display of

⁹⁵“Une Flanerie du Soir,” *Liqueurs et Tabacs*, January 1902, p.42. My description here follows the line of argument set out in Keith Walden, “Speaking Modern.”

⁹⁶For a tag prize list, see *CCTJ*, August 1901, pp.175-390. It took 1200 tags to get a gun.

⁹⁷“Coupon Habit,” *Montreal Star*, 8 October 1910, p.18.

“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 its 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

Select Committee on the Cigarette in

1914, Owen Dawson claimed that these picture cards entice little boys to buy cigarettes, and what was worse, when asked if they were lewd, he responded, “More or less, and suggestive.”¹⁰⁰

These ATCC promotions and advertising made it increasingly costly for retailers to not enter into the consignment agreements. According to Montreal tobacconists, the barrage of ATCC advertising moved smokers to buy ATCC brands. In 1896, Emmanuel Balasco, for example, maintained that ATCC brands were “The best known brands... in the



Figure 5: The Coupon Habit.

⁹⁸*CCTJ*, April 1904, p.65.

⁹⁹“National Council of Women,” *Montreal Witness*, 26 September 1904, p.2.

¹⁰⁰Dawson, p.50.

world” and because of this, if one had a tobacco store, it was necessary to keep their brands.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Montreal tobacconists William L. Ross and Theotime Valiquette both felt they had to keep ATCC cigarettes because there was such a demand.¹⁰²

V. Mass Consumption Contested

While ATCC advertising was powerful in the business world, it was not fully 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 US these rumours were also rampant and date back at least to the 1870s.¹⁰³ US government tests exonerated the cigarette of these charges in 1892. In Canada the Ministry of Inland Revenue cleared the cigarette of these 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

¹⁰¹Emanuel Belasco testimony, ATCC charged with conspiracy, 18 December 1896, p.1707.

¹⁰²Testimonies of William L. Ross and Theotime Valiquette, ATCC charged with conspiracy, 18 December 1896.

¹⁰³C. Cassandra Tate, *The American Anti-Cigarette Movement, 1880-1930* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Washington, 1995, pp.61-64. In the thesis, Tate goes as far as to say that these kinds of excesses were typical of the American anti-smoking movement and eventually were part of its demise.

¹⁰⁴“Cigarette Trial Progresses,” *CCTJ*, May 1914, p.9. The testimony is also reported in *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 April 1914, p.1 and *La Patrie*, 9 May 1914, p.4. “Notes and Comments,” *Montreal Herald*, 10 April 1908. p.4.

evidence of the effectiveness of that country's anti-cigarette movement.¹⁰⁵

In Canada, and particularly in Montreal, Tyrrell's explanation holds little 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 "Catéchisme de Tempérance" wrote that cigarettes contained "L'opium, la fève de tonca qui contient un poison mortel... le rhum et plusieurs autres drogues nuisibles."¹⁰⁶ In her "President's Address" at the 1892 Quebec WCTU annual meeting, Quebec WCTU president 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 World War I cigarettes were linked to American prejudices about foreigners. Such may have been the case in Canada. With early cigarettes known as "Egyptian" or "Oriental" cigarettes, made with Turkish tobacco, and the advertising using images of the near East, it is not a difficult logical leap to make to link views of "dirty foreigners" and stereotypes of the "oriental" to tobacco and opium habits.

In 1903, the WCTU changed their position on additives in cigarettes in response to

¹⁰⁵Tyrrell, *Dangerous Enemies: tobacco and its opponents in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999), pp.130-131.

¹⁰⁶"Catéchisme de Tempérance," p.15.

¹⁰⁷Mary Sanderson, "President's Address," *9th Annual Report*, Quebec WCTU, October 1892, pp.30-31.

an ATCC attempt to deny the validity of these rumours. During the WCTU's 1903 anti-cigarette campaign, tobacco companies ran two page advertisements with 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 purity of products were not terribly out of the ordinary for advertising at the time, though it was an early example of medical discourse being used by cigarette companies.¹⁰⁹ The ATCC frequently used the quote, "La forme la plus pure sous laquelle le tabac peut être fumé" 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 healthiness and the women wrote 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 showed last chapter, the WCTU leadership believed the dangers of the cigarette were the moral and physical effects of inhaling cigarette smoke rather than the result of

¹⁰⁸These two-page advertisements were not run in Montreal newspapers.

¹⁰⁹On 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 Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991).

¹¹⁰*La Presse*, 3 September 1910, p.8.

additives.¹¹¹

Tyrrell's conclusion is even less tenable considering 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: "Quant aux cigarettes, on s'accorde généralement à les condamner sous prétexte qu'elles contiennent de la morphine, ou de l'opium, ou d'autres substances narcotiques," 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, de la crésote, de l'opium, du salpêtre, du 'tonca flavoring' des traces de rhum et de nombreuses autres matières." He considered these substances, in combination with the nicotine, harmful, but when consumed moderately there was less of a danger.¹¹³ The popular nature of these rumours suggests that they were less the result of the early claims of the WCTU, and more 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 suggests that the rumours were not the result of WCTU success, but 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

¹¹¹For the letter, see the *Montreal Witness*, 26 March 1903, p.12; and for a similar editorial, see *Montreal Witness*, 28 March 1903, p.4.

¹¹²"Cinemas et cigarettes," *La Patrie*, 9 May 1914, p.4.

¹¹³Romeo B. Boucher, "Intoxication chronique par le tabac," *L'Union médicale du Canada*, March 1920, p.134.

Dawson, the Clerk of the Montreal Juvenile Court told the Select Committee on Cigarettes that he believed the cheaper kinds of cigarettes were made of "guttersnipes" or the leftover tobacco in used cigarettes. John Bradford of the Montreal YMCA told Dawson that he had seen boys in the US get 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 that revolutionized cigarette production worried that hand rolling was so important to the cigarette consumer that 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 nor in advertising explaining why this might have been. Indeed, by not appealing to bourgeois values of connoisseurship, the ATCC left its cigarettes open to questions.

Both the cigarette and Canadian tobacco went through significant changes in symbolic association in the years immediately before the First World War. The Canadian government and the ATCC promoted the industrial transformation of Canadian tobacco in the fields and tobacco farmers found a ready, but monopolized market. They did what bourgeois connoisseurs said could not be done: they erased the stigma of smoking Canadian tobacco. But in the end, this was not the same *tabac canadien* that was traditionally smoked by the habitant. It had been standardized and had lost its regional

¹¹⁴Proceedings," p.50.

¹¹⁵P.G. Porter, "Origins of the American Tobacco Company," *Business History Review* (Spring 1969), pp.59-76.

distinctiveness. In the case of the cigarette, industrial transformations in the factory had immense consequences how they 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 their diminutive size, their association with European women and the length of time it took to smoke the cigarette made them less manly. What is more, some women who smoked in Montreal used the habit to distinguish themselves, to make statements opposing traditional beliefs that limited women's public role in society-- beliefs that ascribed women a passive role in sexual relations. With the application of Bonsack cigarette machine cigarettes became less expensive. Their cultural symbolism of being somewhat less than manly was transformed by new beliefs about speed and masculinity into positive symbolism of youthful masculine vigour. At the head of the transformation in Canadian tobacco and the cigarette, shaping cultural meanings, was the ATTC using its consignment system and its advertisements to legitimate the new categories of culture upon which both these products were based. And despite the power and financial resources of the forces promoting these values, the legitimation of these new cultural values was still contested in the pre-War era.

Conclusion

The construction of the late nineteenth-century liberal individual, submits 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 a group of 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 dissertation has argued that from 1888 until the First World War dominant prescription around smoking, like few other consumption rituals, were part of this process of legitimation. In the face of tobacco’s addictive nature, individuals were to perform liberal ideals of self-control and rationality through rituals of smoking in a broadly defined public sphere. And even though these prescriptions were being supplanted by an emergent code of smoking conduct, these new rules were also symbolic statements of how individuals wished to transform the liberal order, not destroy it.

As with the nineteenth-century liberal “individual,” gender, class and race played key, but often different, roles in the way the smoker was constructed. Masculine identities were to be formed around 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

¹McKay, “The Liberal Order Framework,” p.630.

communication was idealized. Women, according to nineteenth-century liberal prescriptions, were biologically incapable of either. Nor could they enter into this sphere without putting their reputations into jeopardy. Class no longer excluded a man from smoking, 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 which bourgeois connoisseurs constructed as superior. He also may not have had the time to leisurely smoke in a homosocial environment, an act which was interpreted as a failure in self-control. Because these codes of conduct were not universal, smokers from other cultures when in Montreal broke local rules 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 perform liberal values and transgressions rooted in cultural difference served to justify the subordination and domination of entire races and classes.

In the past, too often the Roman Catholic church has been presented in opposition to the liberal order.² Yet clearly, by the turn of the century, there were moments of alliance, if indeed these were, in fact, two separate entities. Indeed, 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 On the question of the prohibition of the cigarette, individual and property rights

²Brian Young discusses the historical caricature of French Canadians in his *Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), pp.173-190.

³Roy, *Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté*, pp.260-268.

were at stake for liberals, but for the Church its role in the moral formation of individuals was being put into question. Their interests converged in opposition to social-gospel collectivism. The 1908 age restriction legislation was a symbolic victory for the WCTU, winning a place for the state in shaping the moral decisions of children. The 1908 law was not a case of the state extinguishing rights, like prohibition was. Rather the state could play an auxiliary role in parenting and Roman Catholics were less opposed to such a notion considering they were also concerned over the degenerative effects of children smoking on the future of their "race." In Montreal, the local representatives of the state, particularly the police, had little interest in playing this role, underlining the point that the construction of the liberal order was a slow process and declarations in a legislature did not ensure local action.⁴

It is also important to note that while these liberal prescriptions were dominant, others used smoking symbolically to different ends. French-Canadian men smoked *le tabac canadien* to make declarations of allegiance to a particularly rural French-Canadian nation. Prostitutes and dandies used smoking to create feminine and masculine identities outside of dominant norms. "New Women" also challenge the masculine exclusivity of smoking rituals, symbolically calling for an expansion of the liberal order to include women as "individuals."

These prescriptions, particularly norms of taste, shaped the nature of industrialization in Montreal and the encroachment of capitalism in the countryside. The

⁴This point is made for an earlier period in Alan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

cigar industry stands as a case in point. Because male skilled labour was valued in a cigar, only men were hired to roll the most valuable cigars. The importance of male skilled labour also shaped labour-capital relations. Unions had greater strength in dealing with cigar manufacturers because their 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 ATCC transformed the methods by which tobacco was grown in rural Quebec. Conversely, industrial technology and culture profoundly effected 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.

Establishing smoking codes of conduct as dominant as well as introducing a new set of norms of taste and etiquette were processes characterized both by conflict and consent. Legitimization processes involved many actors – businesses, organized labour, federal governments of different political stripes, etiquette columnists, farmers, churches, doctors, cartoonists, novelists, painters, and poets – all played parts. Clearly, tobacco companies did not entirely control the symbolism of smoking as was demonstrated by not only those who chose not to follow liberal prescriptions, but also by the anxieties about additives in mass-produced cigarette.

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 their 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 Sir William Macdonald monopolized the tobacco industry through his agreement with the Dominion Wholesale Grocer's 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. Mortimer Davis and the ATCC took a larger role in the production of meaning of smoking that went beyond nineteenth-century liberal prescriptions. Not only did the ATCC use enormous amounts of advertising to try to stabilize and control the meaning of their products, their consignment system made their competitors' advertisements almost useless. Indeed, the ATCC monopolized the production of cigarettes and, among cigarette manufacturers, it also dominated the production of meaning of these new mass-produced products. The federal government also played a pivotal role in changing the taste of Canadian tobacco through its tariffs and agricultural education programs. It also quietly supported the ATCC's monopoly over cigarettes and Canadian tobacco because it refused to rule against the ATCC hold on the industry. Indeed, tobacco manufacturers and the state had powerful methods to structure the purchasing choices smokers could make.

While they could go to great lengths to structure the specific hierarchies of taste, successful tobacco businesses followed and promoted cultural currents already flowing through Montreal society. Pre-First World War Montreal saw the height of particularly liberal prescriptions that structured the ritual of smoking, and, in turn, served to normalize the exclusion of women from the definition of the liberal individual and to justify the subordination of the poor and cultural minorities. Yet despite its dominance, the cultural

logic of the nineteenth-century liberal order was beginning to be undermined. While the more significant evidence of the cultural transformation of the liberal order would arrive later in Montreal with, for example, the appearance of women more publicly in the workforce, the popularity of the cigarette and the expansion of mass consumption more generally, the origins of this transformation date to the pre-First World War era.

To conclude, we can harken back to the 1905 advertisement placed by the ATCC in *La Journal de Françoise*. According to nineteenth-century liberal prescriptions, the advertisement was in bad taste, promoting feminine smoking, yet three years previous the fashion editor of the *Journal* began signing her name “cigarette.” Clearly, for some the cigarette signified change, not just in fashion, but towards all that was modern. The fact that this was an advertisement is fitting as this transformation in the liberal order had little to do with revolution. It was a transformation in hegemonic language. The advertisement’s slogan, “fumées universellement” highlights the point. It shed the language of social distinction that previously had dominated tobacco advertisements. Published in a women’s journal, it trumpets a new universality — an ungendered and less class-contemptuous vision of the liberal individual. Yet the cigarette, in the end, was a low cost consumer good, and though women and the working class began to be targeted as consumers, the gender, class and racial inequalities of society were undisturbed. Instead, this new language of rule would obscure these inequalities, and in the case of cigarettes, the health consequences of this shallow democratization added to the effects of social pacification sought through mass consumer capitalism more generally.

Bibliographic Note

Included in this bibliography are sources that I have used in the thesis. It does not include the numerous sources I have consulted that did not bear fruit. This is especially true of the literary sources I surveyed. My methodology with these sources began with literary works, like newspapers, which had the largest circulations. I established this through consulting Maurice Lemire (Dir) *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, Volumes I and II and André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse Québécoise*, Volume I to IV. I added to this as many works as possible by female authors since women were vastly under represented within the original group of popular authors.

I also want to acknowledge the importance of the increasing number of databases that allowed me to find many of these sources. Indexes that would have taken months to peruse became accessible in minutes. I realize that these must be used with care and they do not assure that all relevant sources within that record group were consulted. Yet neither did the paper indexes upon which these databases were based. Regardless, my principle methodology, as I discussed in the introduction, did not rely upon these database findings.

Select Bibliography

1) Primary Sources

a) Archival Collections

Archives de l'Archevêché de Montréal.

WCTU Dossier.

"Campagnes de Tempérance par les évêques de Montréal: Correspondance Générale, 1882-1906" Dossier.

"Société de Tempérance et de charité établies dans le diocèse de Montréal"

Dossier

Mandement: Lettres Pastorales, circulaires et autres Documents publiés dans le Diocèse de Montréal. Montreal: Arbour et Laperle, 1890-1914.

Archives nationale du Québec à Montréal

United Church of Montreal Diocese Collection

Archives nationale du Québec à Québec

Index of Correspondence and the *Register of Correspondence*, Provincial Secretary's Papers (E4)

Archives de l'Université de Montréal

"Constitutions et Règlements de l'Université Laval" Publiés par ordre du Conseil Universitaire, 4ième édition, Quebec: Des Presses à vapeur de Augustin Côté et cie, 1879

Archives de l'Université de Québec à Montréal
Montreal Trades and Labor Council, Minutebook.

Archives de la Ville de Montréal
Bureau des Commissaires, *Procès verbal*
Montreal City Council, Minutes, 83-1-10-3
Montreal Fire Department, Fire Register
Recorder's Court *Reports*, 1909-1911

Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec
Collection Michel-Bazinet

Canadian Pacific Railway Archives
Photo Collection

Jewish Archives of Montreal
Davis File
Michaels File

McCord Museum of Canadian History, Archives
Rolph-Clark-Stone Ltd. Collection

McGill Rare Books Collection
Montreal WCTU Annual Reports

McGill University Archives
McGill Faculty of Medicine Minutes, RG 38
Administrative Records of the Warden, Royal Victoria College, RG 42

Ontario Archives
Dominion WCTU Annual Reports MU8398
Hochelaga County Minutes: F885 MU 8448.18 (1895-1904)
Montreal WCTU Minute Book, 1902-06 (F885 MU 8414.6)
Quebec WCTU Annual Reports (FA 885 MU 8447)
Western Montreal WCTU 1894-1950 Minute book (FA 885 MU 8450.4)
Marguerette Naysmith, WCTU Scrapbook (FA 885 MU 8401)

Osler Library Archives, McGill University
Fonds H.S Birkett

National Archives of Canada
Robert Borden Papers
Wilfrid Laurier Papers

Industrial Disputes Files, RG 27
Canadian Manufacturers Association Papers, MG 28
Royal Commission Re: The Tobacco Trade of Canada, Minutes, RG13 box 2317
file 349/1903
John A. Macdonald Papers
W.L. Scott Papers
Canadian Expeditionary Forces, RG 9 III B1, Vol. 3263. File 5-32-42 (vol.1)

United Church Archives, (Toronto)
Methodist Church (Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda), Department of
Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform
Minutes of the Committee of the General Assembly on Temperance and other
Moral and Social Reforms 79.169c file 1-2

b) Newspapers and Periodicals
l'Abeille Médicale, 1879-1882
Canada Medical and Surgical Journal, 1872-1888
Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal
Canadian Illustrated News
Canada Medical and Surgical Journal
Canada's White Ribbon Bulletin, 1910-1920
Canadian White Ribbon Tidings, 1913-1914
Christian Guardian
Cigar Makers' Official Journal
The Echo
Le Gazette Médicale de Montréal, 1888-1892
Le Journal de Françoise
Liqueurs et Tabacs
Le Monde Illustré
Montreal Gazette
le Montréal Médicale, 1901-1920
Montreal Medical Journal
Montreal Saturday Night
Montreal Star
Montreal Standard
La Patrie
La Presse
L'Opinion Publique
Le Repos du Travailleur, 1890.
Saturday Night
Trinity University Review
l'Union médicale du Canada

c) Printed Government Sources

Canada. *Census*. 1881-1921
Canada. *Debates of the House of Commons*
Canada. *Debates of the Senate*
Canada. *Sessional Papers of the House of Commons*
Canada. *House of Commons Journals*
Canada. Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, *Quebec Evidence*
Canada. Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, *Quebec Evidence*
Canada. *Canada Yearbook*, 1932
Journals of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick
Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia
Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia
Journals of the House of Assembly of Ontario
Quebec. Conseil Législatif, *Debats*.
Québec. *Journeaux de l'Assemblée Nationale*

d) Other Printed Sources

Berthelot, Hector. *Les Mystères de Montréal: Roman de Mœurs*. Montreal: Imprimerie A.P. Pigeon, 1901.
Chamberland, Roger, ed.. *Poèmes Choisis: Émile Nelligan*. Montreal: Fides, 1983
Choquette, Dr. Ernest. *Carabinades*. Montreal: Déom Frères, Éditeurs, 1900.
Crossley, H.T. *Practical Talks on Important Themes*. Montreal: William Briggs Publishing, 1895.
David, L.-O. *Au soir de la vie*. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1924.
de Roquebrune, Robert. *Quartier Saint-Louis: Récit*. Montreal: Fides, 1966.
de Roquebrune, Robert. *Testament of My Childhood* (Translated by Felix Walter, University of Toronto Press, 1964, original publication, 1958, Fides
Dessaulles, Henriette. *Hopes and Dreams: The Diary of Henriette Dessaulles, 1874-1881*. Originally published 1971. Translated, by Liedewy Hawke. Willowdale, Ontario: Hounslow Press, 1986.
Doucet, Louis-Joseph. *Contes du Vieux Temps: ça et là*. Montreal: J.G. Yon, Éditeur, 1911.
Drummond, William Henry. *The Habitant and other French Canadian Poems*. New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.
Encyclopaedia Britannica Eleventh Edition, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910.
Fialkowski, Bridget Todd, editor. *John L. Todd Letters, 1876-1949*.
Fournier, Jules. *Souvenir de Prison* republished in Jacques Hébert, *Trois Jours en Prison*, Montreal: Club du Livres du Québec, 1965.
Girard, Rodolphe. *Mosaïque* Montreal: Deom Frères, 1902.
Girard, Rodolphe. *Contes de Chez Nous*. Montreal: 1912.
Hamel, Réginald ed. *Charles Gill: Correspondance*, Montreal: Parti Pris, 1969.
Henri Julien Album. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1916.

- Hommage à Henri Bourassa* (Reproduced from a memorial edition of *Le Devoir*), 25 October 1952.
- Lighthall, William Douw. *The Young Seigneur*. Montreal: Wm. Drysdale & Co., 1888.
- Lovell, John and Son. *Lovell's classified business directory*. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1888-1925.
- Osler, Sir William. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine: Designed for the Use of Practitioners and Students of Medicine*. Third edition, D. Appleton and Company, 1898.
- Osler, Sir William. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine: Designed for the Use of Practitioners and Students of Medicine*. Eighth edition, D. Appleton and Company, 1912.
- Partington, Wilfred, ed. *Smoke Rings and Roundelays: Blendings from Prose and Verse since Raleigh's Time*. London: John Castle, 1924.
- Sauvalle, M. *Mille Questions d'étiquette: Discutées, Résolues et Classées*. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1907.
- Symonds, Herbert A. *Memoir*. Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co., 1921.
- Tardivel, Jules-Paul. *Pour la Patrie*, (1895) translated, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

e) Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproduction (CIHM)

- Gauvreau, Louis N. "Petit traite sur la culture du tabac" CIHM 53449.
- Labelle, Louis V. "Traité de la culture et de l'Industrie du tabac," (1898) CIHM 08362.
- Laroque, Dr. G. "Culture et Préparation du tabac: à l'usage de l'amateur et du cultivateur de tabac en particulier; suivies des articles de la loi concernant la culture et la vente des tabac canadiens," Lévis: Mercier & Cie, Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1881, CIHM 08539.
- Porcheron, A.D. "Traitement et culture du tabac canadien," CIHM 12126.
- Saunders, Wm. Director of Experimental Farms, Ottawa, 4 Apr. 1898. Bulletin No.30 CIHM 26383.
- Société chrétienne de tempérance des dames de la province de Québec (WCTU), "Catéchisme de tempérance à l'usage des familles et des écoles de la province de Québec," CIHM 26045.
- WCTU, "Testimony concerning the 'cigarette'," CIHM 73873.

2) Secondary Sources

a) Unpublished Papers

- Caron, Isabel-Caroline. "Se créer des ancêtres. Les écrits historiques et généalogiques des de Forest et des Forest en Amérique du Nord, 19e et 20e siècles." Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 2001.
- Dupré, Ruth. *"To Smoke or Not to Smoke: that was the Question": the Fight over the Prohibition of Cigarettes at the turn of the century*. Montreal: Cahier de recherche, École des Hautes Études Commerciales, 1997.

- Epp, A. Ernest. "Cooperation among capitalists: The Canadian Merger Movement, 1909-13." Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1973.
- Guy, Kolleen M. "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures: Wine Consumption and the Making of French Identity in the late Nineteenth Century." presented at the "Food and Drink in Consumer Societies Conference" held at the Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Delaware, 12-13 November 1999.
- Jennings, Clare. "The Bank of Montreal Staff Magazine: Images of Work and Leisure," Undergraduate paper, 101-364B, McGill University, 2000.
- Myers, Tamara. "Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montreal, 1890-1930." Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1995.
- Scobey, David. "Empire City: Politics, culture, and urbanism in gilded-age New York." Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1989.
- Tate, C. Cassandra. "The American Anti-Cigarette Movement, 1880-1930." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1995.
- Veilleux, Denis. "La motorisation, ou, 'La rançon du progrès' : tramways, véhicules-moteurs et circulation," Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1998.
- Wright, Donald A. "W.D. Lighthall: sometime Confederation poet, sometime urban reformer" M.A. Thesis: McGill University, 1991.

b)Articles

- Belsey, Catherine. "Towards Cultural History - in Theory and Practice," *Textual Practice* 3,2 (Summer 1989), pp.160-193.
- Bergeron, Yves. "Le XIXe siècle et l'âge d'or des marchés publics au Québec," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29,1 (Spring, 1994), pp.11-36.
- Davis, Donald F. and Barbara Lorenzkowski. "A Platform for Gender Tensions: Women Working and Riding on Canadian Urban Transit in the 1940s," *Canadian Historical Review*, 79,3, (September 1998), pp.432-465.
- Fontanel, Pierre. "Pour et contre le tabac," *L'École sociale populaire*, vol.133-134, (1925).
- Guiomar, Jean-Yves. "Vidal de La Blanche's *Geography of France*," in Pierre Nora, ed. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past* Vol.2, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, pp.187-209.
- Harris, Ruth. "Melodrama, Hysteria and Feminine Crimes of Passion in the Fin-de-Siecle," *History Workshop Journal* 25 (Spring 1988), pp.31-63.
- Keire, Mara L. "Dope Fiends and Degenerates: the Gendering of Addiction in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History*, (Summer 1998), p.814.
- Lamonde, Yvan. "L'Histoire Culturelle comme Domaine Historiographique au Québec," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* (Autumn 1997: Vol.51, No.2), pp.285-299.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), pp.567-593.
- Lewis, Robert D. "Productive and Spatial Strategies in the Montreal Tobacco Industry, 1850-1918," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 70, No.4, (October 1994), Pp. 370-399

- Massey, Doreen. "Maculinity, Dualisms, and High Technology." in Nancy Dunean, ed. *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp.109-126.
- McKay, Ian. "Twilight at Peggy's Cove: Towards a Genealogy of "Maritimicity" in Nova Scotia." *Border/Lines* 2 (Summer 1988), pp.28-37.
- McKay, Ian. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, 81, 4 (December 2000), pp.617-645.
- Phelps, Arthur L. "Introduction", in William Henry Drummond, *Habitant Poems*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart limited, 1970.
- Porter, P.G. "Origins of the American Tobacco Company," *Business History Review* (Spring 1969), pp.59-76.
- Rosenfeld, Mark.. "'It was a hard life': Class and Gender in the Work and Family Rhythms of a Railway Town 1920-1950," *Historical Papers*, (1988), 237-279.
- Sangster, Joan. "Softball Solution: Female Workers, Male Managers and the Operation of Paternalism at Westclox, 1923-1960," *Labour/Le Travail*, 32(Fall 1993), pp.167-199.
- Scobey, David. "Anatomy of the promenade: the politics of bourgeois sociability in nineteenth-century New York," *Social History*, (May 1992), pp.203-227.
- Storey, Robert. "Unionization Versus Corporate Welfare: The 'Dofasco Way'," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 12 (Fall 1983), pp.7-42.
- Valverde, Mariana. "'Slavery from within': the invention of alcoholism and the question of free will," *Social History*, vol.22, No.3 (October 1997), pp.251-268
- Walden, Keith. "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," *Canadian Historical Review* 70,3 (September 1989), p.285-310.
- Walker, I.C. "Nineteenth-Century Clay Pipes in Canada" *Ontario Archaeology*, No.16, 1971, pp.19-35.
- Walker, R.B. "Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking and the Anti-tobacco Movement in Britain in the Nineteenth Century," *Medical History*, 24, 1980, pp.391-402.
- Warsh, Cheryl. "Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisements Before 1950," *Histoire sociale/ Social History* pp.183-221.
- Wright, Cynthia. "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds. *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, pp.229-260.

c) Books

- Adams, Annmarie. *Architecture in the Family Way*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996
- Allen, Richard. *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

- Apperson, G.L. *The Social History of Smoking*. London: Martin Secker, 1914.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Arblaster, Anthony. *The Rise and Fall of Western Liberalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.
- Auslander, Leora. *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Babcock, Robert. *Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continentalism Before the First World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Baron, Eva, ed. *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image - Music - Text*. Fontana, 1977.
- Beaulieu, André et Jean Hamelin. *La Presse Québécoise*. Vols. I-IV, Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1973-1979.
- Bélanger, Réal. *L'impossible défi: Albert Sévigny et les conservateurs fédéraux (1902-1918)* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1983.
- Bensley, Edward H. *McGill Medical Luminaries*. Montreal: Osler Library Studies in the History of Medicine, 1990.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Bliss, Michael. *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974.
- Bliss, Michael. *William Osler: A Life in Medicine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinctions: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Bradbury, Bettina. *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrial Montreal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993.
- Bradbury, Bettina. *Wife to Widow: Class, Culture, Family and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Québec*. Montreal: Programme d'études sur le Québec de l'Université McGill, 1997.
- Brewer, John and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Brown, Robert Craig and Ramsay Cook. *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Burnham, John. *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Bynum, W.F. and Roy Porter, eds. *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, London: Routledge, 1993.
- Calhoun, Craig ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.
- Chandler, Alfred D. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977.

- Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Le collective Clio. *L'histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles*. Montreal: Le Jour, éditeur, 1992.
- Copp, Terry. *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Cook, Ramsay and Jean Hamelin, eds. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol.10-12. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-1998.
- Cook, Sharon Ann. *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Cooper, J.I. *The Blessed Communion: the Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960*, Montreal: Archives' Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960.
- Cooper, Patricia A. *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Corti, Count. *A History of Smoking*. Originally published 1931, Guernsey: Guernsey Press Co., 1996.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991.
- Cunningham, Rob. *Smoke and Mirrors: The Canadian Tobacco War*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1996.
- Cushing, Harvey. *The Life of William Osler*. Vol.I, London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1985.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- de Grazia, Victoria, ed. *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996.
- Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York: Routledge, 1979.
- Forbes, E.R. *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989.
- Gillet, Margaret. *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill*. Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981.
- Goodman, Jordan. *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Goodman, Jordan, Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt, eds. *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

- Goulet, Denis. *Histoire De la Faculté de Médecine de l'Université de Montréal, 1843-1993*. Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 1993.
- Greaves, Lorraine. *Smoke Screen: Women's Smoking and Social Control*. Halifax: Fernwood publishing, 1996.
- Greer, Allan. *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Greer, Alan and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Groulx, Patrice. *Pièges de la mémoire: Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous*. Hull: Vents d'Ouest, 1998.
- Hamelin, Jean and Jacques Rouillard. *Répertoire des grèves dans la province de Québec au XIXe siècle*. Montreal: Presses de l'École des hautes études commerciales, 1970.
- Hamelin, Jean and Nicole Gagnon. *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Le XXe siècle, tome 1, 1898-1940*. Montreal: Boréale Express, 1984.
- Harvey, Fernand. *Révolution industrielle et travailleurs: Une enquête sur les rapports entre le capital et le travail au Québec à la fin du 19e siècle*. Montreal: Boréal Express, 1978.
- Heaman, E.A. *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Hilton, Matthew. *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800-2000*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2001.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. New York: Vintage books, 1987.
- Howell, Colin D. *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Hunt, Allen. *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hunt, Lynn, ed. *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Infante, Guillermo Cabrera. *Holy Smoke*. Woodstock, New York: Overlook Press, 1985.
- Jackson, Peter. *Maps of Meaning: An introduction to cultural geography*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Jacobson, B. *The Ladykillers: Why Smoking is a Feminist Issue*. London: Pluto Press, 1981.
- Jasen, Patricia. *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Jeffers, H. Paul. *The Perfect Pipe: A Celebration of the Gentle Art of Pipe Smoking*. Short Hills, New Jersey: Burford Books Inc., 1998.
- Kasson, John. *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.
- Kasson, John K. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Kaufman, Stuart. *Challenge and Change: The History of the Tobacco Workers International Union*. University of Illinois Press, 1987.

- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Kidd, Alan and David Nichols, eds. *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Klein, Richard. *Cigarettes are Sublime*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Lamonde, Yvan. *Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, 1818-1895: un seigneur libéral et anticlérical*. Saint-Laurent: Fides, 1994.
- Lamonde, Yvan (dir.). *Combats Libéraux au XX^e Siècle*. Montreal: Fides, 1995.
- Laxer, Gordon. *Open for Business: The Roots of Foreign Ownership in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Lemire, Maurice, (dir.) *Dictionnaire des oeuvres Littéraires du Québec: Tome Premier, des Origine à 1900*. Montreal: Fides, 1978.
- Lewis, Rob. *Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Levésque, Andrée. *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939*. (Translated by Yvonne M. Klein) Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989.
- Linteau, Paul-André, René Durocher, and Jean-Claude Robert. *Quebec: A History, 1867-1929*. (Translated by Robert Chodos) Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1983.
- Linteau, Paul-André. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*. Montreal: Boréal, 1992.
- Lock, Stephen, Lois Reynolds and E.M. Tansey, eds. *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.
- Mackenzie, Sir Compton. *Sublime Tobacco*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957.
- Marchand, Suzanne. *Rouge à Lèvres et Pantalon: Des pratiques esthétiques féminines controversées au Québec, 1920-1939*. Montreal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée, 1997.
- Marks, Lynn. *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Martin, Michèle. "Hello Central?" *Gender, Technology, and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. (originally published as *Essai sur le Don*, 1950) translated by W.D. Halls, London: Routledge, 1990.
- McKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

- McKay, Ian ed. *For a Working-Class Culture In Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay's Writings on Sociology and Political Economy, 1897-1939*. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996.
- McLaren, Angus. *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.
- Metcalfe, Alan. *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Miller, P. et al. *The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision*. Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.
- Monod, David. *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Mort, Frank. *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth Century Britain*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Morton, Desmond. *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989.
- Morton, Suzanne and Guildford, Janet, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- Morton, Suzanne. *Ideal Surroundings: Gender and Domestic Life in a Working Class Suburb in the 1920s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Myers, Tamara, Kate Boyer, Mary Anne Poutanen, and Steven Watt, eds. *Power, Place and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*. Montreal: Occasional Papers of the Montreal History Group, 1998.
- Nelles, H. V. *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Nutton, Vivian. *Galen: problems and prospects*. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981.
- Ortiz, Fernando. *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.
- Parr, Joy. *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Parr, Joy. *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Pelletier-Baillargeon, Hélène. *Olivar Asselin et son temps: Le militant*. Montreal: Fides, 1996.
- Robinson, Daniel J. *The Measure of Democracy: Polling, Market Research, and Public Life, 1930-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Rogozinski, Jan. *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World, 1550-1950*. New York: Praeger, 1990.
- Roy, Fernande. *Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté. Le libéralisme des milieux d'affaires francophones de Montréal au tournant du siècle*. Montreal: Boréal, 1988.

- Roy, J.-Edmond. *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon*. Volume 4, Lévis.
- Rudin, Ronald. *Making History in Twentieth Century Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Civic wars: democracy and public life in the American city during the nineteenth century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Semple, Neil. *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Sutherland, Neil. *Children in English-Canadian Society: framing the twentieth-century consensus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Tait, Lyal. *Tobacco in Canada*. Canada: T.H. Best Printing Company, 1967.
- Tate, Cassandra. *Cigarette Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald. *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community*. Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992.
- Tyrrell, Ian. *Dangerous Enemies: tobacco and its opponents in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999.
- Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.
- Valverde, Mariana. *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998.
- Vance, Jonathan. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997.
- Visser, Margaret. *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities and Meaning of Table Manners*. Toronto: Harper-Collins Publishers Ltd., 1991.
- Walden, Keith. *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Walker, I.C. *Clay Tobacco-Pipes with Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977.
- Warsh, Cheryl Krasnick ed. *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1973.
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana Press, 1988.
- Wrong, George M. *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneuries*. Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1908.
- Young, Brian. *Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Young, Brian. *The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921-1996*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.