

being stigmatized as persons "outside the *Volksgemeinschaft*" and "on a par with Jews"—dangerous charges in 1941.¹⁷⁷ Funk wrote to the party leadership for a ruling on the question in May of that year,¹⁷⁸ but Hitler allowed the campaign to continue. The health consequences of smoking outweighed economic concerns, he argued, and tobacco workers should probably be employed in more "war-important" pursuits.¹⁷⁹

We do have reason to believe, however, that Nazi tobacco bans were not always effectively enforced. A 1940 medical dissertation complained that smokers sometimes indulged their habit in train cars reserved for nonsmokers, and that conductors occasionally had to be called to get the affronting transgressors to cease. Smoking bans in hospitals were sometimes violated, even by physicians, a practice recognized as compromising the counsel given to patients not to smoke.¹⁸⁰ As the war dragged on, in fact, the antitobacco campaign lost much of its steam. Wartime urgencies led a military physician in 1944 to write that "only a fanatic" would withhold a drink or a smoke from a soldier trying to calm his nerves after the horrors of battle.¹⁸¹ The surgeon Ferdinand Sauerbruch, an occasional contributor to antitobacco literature, argued that it was "wrong to regulate, slavishly, the life of every individual" by tobacco bans and the like.¹⁸² Complaints about the inadequacy of tobacco rations began to grow, and in 1943 Heydrich's Security Service (SD) produced a secret report detailing the nature and extent of public grumblings.¹⁸³ When agricultural authorities again raised the question of increasing tobacco yields in the spring of 1944—mainly to satisfy military demands—Hitler acquiesced and said that cultivation could rise again to 1941 levels.¹⁸⁴

Economic factors were important in the early failure to curb German smoking. The economic recovery in the first six years of Nazi rule boosted the average German's purchasing power, and tobacco companies took advantage of the boom to promote their products. German antitobacco activists were aware of this and frequently complained that their own efforts were no match for the powerful "American-style" ad campaigns waged by the industry—

campaigns redolent of (in Hans Reiter's words) "the tasteless methods of the era of Jewish domination."¹⁸⁵

One also has to reckon with the fact that, in Germany as elsewhere, tobacco provided an important source of revenue for the national treasury. In 1937/38, German national income from tobacco taxes and tariffs was in excess of a billion reichsmarks—a not inconsiderable sum for a government striving both to modernize and to militarize the nation's economy.¹⁸⁶ By 1941, as a result of new taxes and the annexation of Austria, Germans were paying about twice this amount. According to Germany's National Accounting Office, tobacco taxes by this time constituted about a twelfth (!) of the government's entire income.¹⁸⁷ Hundreds of thousands of Germans were said to owe their livelihood, directly or indirectly, to tobacco—an argument that was also easily reversed by those who pointed to Germany's need for an additional three million men in its labor force—some of whom could presumably be supplied from the tobacco trade.¹⁸⁸

Of course, German tobacco companies were not entirely passive in such matters. German cigarette manufacturers early on recognized the direction of the nation's political drift and by 1933 were casting themselves as eager supporters of the regime. One place this can be seen is in the elaborate cigarette card albums published by tobacco companies. American companies had begun to package card-like photos with cigarettes in the previous century, and by the First World War Germans had begun to follow suit. There were many different series, from "The German Army" and "The 1936 Olympics" to the more upscale "Paintings of the Gothic and Early Renaissance."¹⁸⁹ The albums—now collectors' items—sold for as little as fifty pfennigs, and tempted smokers with the prospect of completing their collections. Cigarette albums were often very patriotic and sentimental, as when the Waldorf-Astoria Company lamented the passing of the time (Germany's *grosse Vergangenheit*) when German naval forces projected "power over countries and oceans." The Kosmos company's 1933 album glorified the first eight months of Nazi rule and bragged on its title page of having been a "purely German enterprise [i.e., *judenfrei*] since 1886."¹⁹⁰