

president of the University of Jena after his predecessor, Karl Astel, committed suicide.

138. Zimmermann, *Die medizinische Fakultät*, p. 97.

139. Horst Wüstner, *Eine Krebsstatistik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Bronchialcarcinoms* (Jena: Med. diss., 1941).

140. Eberhard Schairer and Erich Schöniger, "Lungenkrebs und Tabakverbrauch," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 54 (1943): 261-69.

141. Personalakten Eberhard Schairer, D-2487, Universitätsarchiv Jena; George Davey Smith, personal communication. Davey Smith met with Schairer's daughter-in-law in 1994; she refused to grant an interview with the eighty-seven-year-old physician. She did say, however, that her father-in-law was disappointed he had not received more credit for his tobacco work.

142. Schairer and Schöniger, "Lungenkrebs," p. 263.

143. George Davey Smith, Sabine A. Ströbele, and Matthias Egger, "Smoking and Health Promotion in Nazi Germany," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 48 (1994): 220.

144. Schairer and Schöniger, "Lungenkrebs," pp. 263-66.

145. Albert Dietrich, "Krebs als Kriegsfolge," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 54 (1944): 198-99.

146. The *Science Citation Index* reveals that Schairer and Schöniger's paper is cited three or four times in the 1960s, only once in the 1970s, and then not again until 1988, when Ernst Wynder cited it in an article in *Public Health Reports*. Among sixty-five citations of papers by Schairer in the period 1965-1984, only two are to the 1943 paper with Schöniger. The paper simply does not figure in the canonical histories of smoking and health.

147. Myroslaw Nawrockyj, *Tabak und Krebs: Eine Literaturzusammenstellung* (Heidelberg: Med. diss., 1953); Colin White, "Research on Smoking and Lung Cancer: A Landmark in the History of Chronic Disease Epidemiology," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 63 (1990): 29-46.

148. *Smoking and Health: Report of the Advisory Committee to the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

149. *Smoking and Health: A Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London on Smoking in Relation to Cancer of the Lung and Other Diseases* (London: Pitman Medical Publishing, 1962). The report lists only six German-language sources among 216 references, and all but three date from after the Second World War. Twelve separate papers by Richard Doll are cited.

150. Richard Doll, personal communication.

151. Paul Reckzeh, "Chronische Tabakvergiftung und Lebenserwartung," *Medizinische Klinik* 35 (1939): 1169-71. Reckzeh reported that 14 among 1,700 deaths covered by a leading life insurance company in 1938 were listed as due in whole or in part to nicotine abuse (p. 1170).

152. Grüneisen, "Krebsbekämpfung," p. 1499.

153. Westphal and Weselmann, "Über Nikotinschädigungen," p. 14. Westphal at this time was head of internal medicine at Berlin's City Hospital. He joined the NSDAP and SS in 1937, and by 1939 was an SS Rottenführer. Excessive drinkers were treated far more harshly than excessive smokers: in

1934, for example, the NSDAP Kreisleitung for the city of Ulm announced that unemployed men who used their welfare money to become drunk would be confined to a concentration camp; see "Konzentrationslager für Trinker," *Vertrauensarzt* 1 (1934): 71. There is no evidence that smokers were ever treated so harshly, though Boehncke in 1939 did recommend "productive and useful work"—e.g., road construction or farm work—as an appropriate therapy for tobacco addicts. Boehncke also proposed that in extreme cases, such persons could be deprived of their civil rights and placed under the guardianship of the state (*Die Bedeutung*, p. 14). Compare his 1937 remark that such persons should be "forcibly separated" (*zwangsweise abgesondert werden*) from the rest of society (*Die gesetzliche Grundlagen*, p. 15); also Wilhelm Messer, "Zur Entmündigung von Tabaksüchtigen," *Reine Luft* 24 (1942): 36-40.

154. Kortenhaus, "Krebs," p. 425.

155. See Charlotte Lickint, "Wir deutschen Frauen rauchen nicht!" *Deutscher Tabakgegner* 16 (1934): 1-2.

156. Sauerbruch, Lickint, and Gabriel, *Arzt, Alkohol und Tabak*, p. 13.

157. Gabriele Schulze and Käte Dischner, *Die Zigarettenraucherin* (Jena: Med. diss., 1942); compare also Bernhard's *Einfluss der Tabakgifte*.

158. Jill Stephenson, *The Nazi Organisation of Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 188.

159. Hess, *Rauchen*, p. 45; compare also Mark W. Rien and Gustaf Nils Dorén, *Das Neue Tabago Buch* (Hamburg: Reemtsma, 1985), p. 124. Tobacco imports cost Germany about 400 million reichsmarks in 1940; see Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 48.

160. Merki, "Nationalsozialistische Tabakpolitik," p. 28.

161. Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, pp. 327-28. Hitler on July 18, 1942, characterized tobacco as "die Rache des Roten Mannes (Indianers) dafür, dass der Weisse ihm den Schnaps gebracht und dadurch ihn zugrunde gerichtet habe" (*ibid.*, p. 439). In January of that year he said that smoking "gehöre zu den widerwärtigsten Dingen"; he also blamed smoking for the undoing of Dietrich Eckart, Paul Ludwig Troost, and his own father; smoking was also about to undo his friend and photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann (Schenck, *Patient Hitler*, p. 32).

162. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 31.

163. John C. Burnham, "American Physicians and Tobacco Use: Two Surgeons General, 1929 and 1964," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 63 (1989): 10-15.

164. "Hitler's Attitude toward Alcohol," *Scientific Temperance Journal*, Spring 1933, p. 18.

165. Medizinalrat Dr. (Friedrich?) Pfeuffer, "Gesundheitliche Gefahren des Tabakgebrauchs," *Öffentlicher Gesundheitsdienst* 7 (1941): 515.

166. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 33.

167. Hans Reiter characterized nicotine as the "grösste Schädling der Volksgesundheit" and "grösste Schädling der deutschen Wirtschaft" at a May 25, 1939, meeting sponsored by the Werberat der deutschen Wirtschaft; see *Volksgesundheit und Werbung*, p. 17.

168. Walter Naasner, *Neue Machtzentren in der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft, 1942-1945* (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1994).