

42. Lickint first uses the term "Passivrauchen" in his 1936 *Tabakgenuss und Gesundheit*, p. 26, though his 1935 article in the *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift* notes that three of the seven women in his lung cancer series had lived in "smoke-saturated rooms" fouled by their smoking husbands ("Der Bronchialkrebs der Raucher," vol. 82, pp. 1233-34). Tobacco critics prior to this time had spoken about the dangers of "Aufenthalt in rauchigen Räumen" (e.g., Bejach, *Die tabakgegnerische Bewegung*, p. 11), and Frederick Hoffman in 1931 had speculated that female cancer of the lung might well stem from exposure to "air pollution" caused by "almost universal smoking habits"; see his "Cancer and Smoking Habits," p. 67. Lickint himself identified passive smoking with Julius Fink's concept of *Nicotinismus innocentium*; see *Tabak und Organismus*, p. 269.

43. Lickint, *Tabakgenuss und Gesundheit*, p. 85. Angel H. Roffo used Lickint's notion of cancers lining the *Rauchstrasse* in his "Krebserzeugende Tabakwirkung," *Monatsschrift für Krebsbekämpfung* 8 (1940): 97.

44. Fritz Lickint, Nazi party membership records, National Archives. In March of 1935 Lickint had had to resign as chairman of the Bund Deutscher Tabakgegner; he was replaced by Georg Boehncke; see "Bundes-Umschau," *Deutscher Tabakgegner* 17 (1935): 20. Lickint continued to write for the journal, however.

45. "Volksgesundheit und Genussgifte," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 69 (1939): 196.

46. Georg Boehncke, *Die gesetzlichen Grundlagen der Bekämpfung des Tabakmissbrauches in Deutschland* (Berlin: Wacht-Verlag, 1937), p. 12.

47. Heinrich Lottig, "Über den Einfluss von Alkohol, Nikotin und Schlafmangel auf die Höhenfestigkeit," *Luftfahrtmedizinische Abhandlungen* 13 (1938): 218-33. Otto Schmidt, director of the Danzig Academy's Gerichtsärztliches Institut, found elevated levels of carbon monoxide in the blood of smokers many hours after they had last smoked; see his "Der Kohlenoxydgehalt des Blutes bei Rauchern," *Reichs-Gesundheitsblatt* 4 (1940): 53-58. Schmidt also worried about indoor air pollution from other sources—the carbon monoxide threat to housewives from gas ovens, for example, and the similar threat posed by gas heaters; see his "Über den Kohlenoxydgehalt des Blutes bei chronischer Kohlenoxydvergiftung," *Volksgesundheit im Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen* 1 (1939/40): 323-30.

48. "Berlin: Control of the Use of Alcohol and Tobacco," *JAMA* 113 (1939): 2163-64.

49. Rudolf Friedrich, "Das Nicotin in der Ätiologie und in der postoperativen Nachbehandlung der Ulcuskrankheit," *Archiv für klinische Chirurgie* 179 (1934): 9-28.

50. Karl E. Westphal and Hans Weselmann, "Über Nikotinschädigungen des Magens," *Die Genussgifte* 36 (1940): 1-12; also their *Magenerkrankungen durch Tabakmissbrauch* (Berlin: Reichsgesundheitsverlag, 1940). Compare Franz Reichert's opinion that deaths from stomach perforation (ulcer) were three times more common in men than in women owing to "the alarming increase of cigarette smoking"; see his *Über die Häufigkeit von Krankheiten: Tuberkulose, Ulkuserkrankung und Krebs* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1941), p. 26.

51. Theodor Deneke of Hamburg claimed that 75 percent of all early-onset

angina, and half of all late-onset angina, could be attributed to tobacco; see his "Tabak und Angina pectoris," *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 33 (1936): 573-76; H. Reindell and R. Winterer, "Untersuchungsergebnisse über die Wirkung des Rauchens auf den Kreislauf," *Die Tabakfrage* 24 (1942): 84-88.

52. Walther Kittel, "Hygiene des Rauchens," in *Wehrhygiene*, ed. Siegfried Handloser and Wilhelm Hoffmann (Berlin: Springer, 1944), p. 242; Paul Laurentius, "Über Herzschäden durch Tabakmissbrauch bei Wehrmachtangehörigen," *Der Deutsche Militärarzt* 11 (1941): 633-40.

53. Alfred Goedel, "Kriegspathologische Beiträge," in *Kriegschirurgie*, ed. Arnold Zimmer (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1944), 1:45 and 51-52. The volume was part of the series *Wehrmedizin: Kriegserfahrungen 1939-1943*, edited by Zimmer.

54. Boehncke, *Die gesetzlichen Grundlagen*, p. 6.

55. Werner Hüttig, "Der Einfluss der Genussgifte auf das Erbgut und seine Entwicklung (Alkohol, Nikotin)," *Öffentlicher Gesundheitsdienst* 1 (1935): 171.

56. Paul Bernhard, "Über die Ursachen der Sterilität der Frau," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* 67 (1943): 793; also his *Der Einfluss der Tabakgifte auf die Gesundheit und die Fruchtbarkeit der Frau* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1943).

57. Agnes Bluhm, *Die rassenhygienischen Aufgaben des weiblichen Arztes* (Berlin: A. Metzner, 1936).

58. Kitzing, *Erziehung*, pp. 225-26; the proposal was by D(esiré?) Demeaux.

59. Boehncke, "Tabak und Volksgesundheit," p. 627.

60. George Boehncke in 1939 asserted that "there is no doubt that a large proportion of both smokers and chewers of tobacco should be regarded as addicted (*tabaksüchtig*)"; see his *Die Bedeutung der Tabakfrage für das deutsche Volk* (Berlin: Reichsausschuss für Volksgesundheitsdienst, 1939), p. 14. Leonardo Conti in 1939 affirmed that alcohol and nicotine, like morphine and opium, cause "a chronic addiction"; see his *Zur Gründung der Reichsstelle gegen die Alkohol- und Tabakgefahren* (Berlin: Reichsgesundheitsverlag, 1939), p. 3. Nicotine addiction (*Nikotinsucht*) in at least one case was blamed for the commission of a murder; see "Aus dem Gerichtssaal," *Reine Luft* 20 (1938): 48.

61. Irmgard Hanselmann, *Zigaretten, Ärzteschaft und Sucht im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Krieg (1900-1950)* (Tübingen: Med. diss., 1991), pp. 49-118.

62. Boehncke, *Die gesetzlichen Grundlagen*, p. 4.

63. "Kleine Mitteilungen," *Vertrauensarzt* 9 (1941): 128. The office in question was the Reichsmeldestelle für Suchtgiftbekämpfung.

64. Kittel, "Hygiene des Rauchens," p. 243.

65. Cited in William B. McAllister, *A Limited Enterprise: The History of International Efforts to Control Drugs in the Twentieth Century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1996), p. 214.

66. Angel H. Roffo, "Durch Tabak beim Kaninchen entwickeltes Carcinom," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 33 (1931): 321-32; also his "Der Tabak als Krebserzeugendes Agens," *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 63 (1937): 1267-71, and his "Krebserzeugende Tabakwirkung," pp. 97-102. T. Chikamatsu, about the same time as Roffo, demonstrated the carcinogenic agency of tobacco tars in experimental animals; see his "Künstliche Erzeugung des Krebses durch Tabakteer bei Kaninchen und Maus," *Transactions of the Japanese Pathology Society*