

dans ces deux siècles d'expérimentations coloniales françaises en Amérique, qu'une ouverture comparative. L'auteure y esquisse un tableau sommaire des lignes de divergence sous le rapport de l'éloquence corporelle entre les colonies françaises, britanniques et néerlandaises.

À ce titre, *Eloquence Embodied* constitue une contribution remarquable à la vieille question de la spécificité du projet colonial français en Amérique. En mettant les corps communicant au centre du débat sur l'interaction coloniale — entre rencontre paisible et affronts incommensurables —, le livre oblige les historiens à se méfier de leur tropisme linguistique et à se pencher sur la dimension pragmatique, contextuelle et multidimensionnelle de toute communication. Les termes du débat et les critères pour en décider deviennent à la fois plus spécifiques et plus riches. On peut enfin se demander si l'enquête ne trouverait pas utilement à se prolonger en direction d'une histoire de l'art. La question générale des images ou de la traduction de certains problèmes, admirablement soulevés, dans les cultures figuratives européennes est presque entièrement absente. En écrivant cela, nous voudrions surtout pointer le type de curiosités que suscite ce livre passionnant.

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Musée du quai Branly – J. Chirac / Mondes Américains (CENA)

ROBINSON, Daniel J. – *Cigarette Nation: Business, Health, and Canadian Smokers, 1930–1975*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021. 352 p.

At my high school in the 1980s, very few friends of mine smoked. The smokers were headbangers or preppies, not the International Baccalaureate (IB) students like me. It was a sign of the divide that was emerging between smokers and non-smokers, as the dangers of smoking had become undeniable. I only learned about the pleasures of smoking when I did the Explore Program, spending a summer in Jonquière, Quebec, to improve my French. The Montréal students I hung around with introduced me to the camaraderie of sharing cigarettes and the break in the day that they provided. I never became a smoker, but I came to understand Richard Klein's beautiful lament for tobacco, *Cigarettes are sublime* (1993).

Cigarette Nation is an outstanding new addition to the scholarship on smoking in Canada, an excellent complement to Jarrett Rudy's *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity* (2005) and Sharon Anne Cook's *Sex, Lies, and Cigarettes: Canadian Women, Smoking and Visual Culture, 1880–2000* (2002). In *Cigarette Nation*, Daniel Robinson explores the pleasures of smoking for workers, women, and soldiers in the golden age of smoking while paying attention to the medical science that was revealing the links between smoking, lung cancer, heart disease, and lessened life expectancy. As a historian of marketing, he spends much of the second half of the book examining how tobacco companies responded to the medical research with new products that purported to make smoking safer, such as

filtered, “mild”, and king-sized cigarettes as well as new sponsorship and advertising campaigns. He also explores the half-hearted government efforts to regulate the industry and educate Canadians about the dangers of smoking and how the tobacco companies countered these efforts.

Robinson starts his story in 1930, making the point that even though the First World War gave a significant boost to the cigarette, it was not until the Great Depression that Canada saw significant increases in cigarette sales, especially to women. The first marketing campaigns directed at women only began in the late 1920s and were helped by the glamorous depiction of smokers Marlene Dietrich and Bette Davis in Hollywood films. The importance of the industry was striking: I was fascinated to learn that Imperial Tobacco alone provided approximately 7% of all federal tax revenue in 1938. There was significant concern about corporate concentration and price fixing as just two companies had over 90% of the market share. Even at this time, there were concerns about the health impact of smoking, although they centred more on smoker’s cough and throat irritation than on cancer. The industry addressed these concerns by providing menthol and filtered cigarettes.

A fantastic chapter on the Second World War shows the importance of smoking to soldiers, including the vital role cigarettes played in the gift economy. It was not just family members who sent cigarettes to soldiers overseas. Businesses, high schools, the Red Cross, and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) also sent the precious sticks. In Verdun, Quebec, the Mayor’s Cigarette Fund obtained support from community organizations, unions, and businesses, including the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society. During the Liberation of the Netherlands, Canadian cigarettes were in high demand and created bonds between Canadian soldiers and Dutch citizens longing for a good smoke.

Cigarettes and cigarette advertising were ubiquitous in Canada in the decade following the war. An Ontario school textbook even praised cigarettes for bringing people harmoniously together. Cigarettes produced a sense of relaxation, but they also permitted people to take a break on the job at a time when smoking at the workplace was the norm. By this time, cigarette sales had moved out of the specialist tobacco shop and into local convenience stores making them more accessible to younger consumers. Cigarette companies sponsored television shows such as the popular *La Famille Plouffe* (Player’s), and advertised in curling clubs, baseball stadiums, and hockey arenas. At the same time, although Canadian smokers were aware of the research that suggested smoking led to lung cancer, they were disinclined to believe that smoking was unhealthy. Canadians (and tobacco companies) lobbied to have cigarette taxes reduced in the early 1950s, meaning that just as awareness of the health risks was growing, cigarettes were becoming cheaper than ever before. I was intrigued to learn how many times air pollution was blamed for problems associated with smoking, which suggests a need for a more thorough study of Canadians’ understanding of air pollution in the immediate postwar period.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, cigarette sales increased steadily as companies increased their marketing efforts, especially around filtered cigarettes, which falsely promised a safer smoking experience. At the same time, tobacco companies countered that the epidemiological evidence that suggested a link between lung

cancer and smoking was not real science and that laboratory proof was lacking. When Health and Welfare Minister Judy LaMarsh suggested a number of measures to reduce cigarette smoking, especially among young people, the tobacco companies assumed a united front to undermine her efforts.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the tobacco companies began offering a wider array of products to appeal to different audiences. Health remained a concern with many brands promising reduced tar and nicotine or improved filtration. They increased their sponsorship, moving into activities such as car racing that were believed to appeal to younger audiences. Many companies offered coupons and prizes. Unfortunately, at this point, Robinson stops focusing on why Canadians smoked, losing an opportunity to explore what smoking meant to the baby boomers at a moment of rapid change in Canadian society.

The release of the US Surgeon General's report in 1964 made it clear that smoking killed. In its wake, Canadian tobacco firms adopted a voluntary Cigarette Advertising Code that stated they would avoid advertising to people under the age of 25 and refrain from health claims for any particular brand of cigarette, although Robinson argues this was more than a little disingenuous since their consumer research and marketing made it clear that they were targeting teenagers. Health and Welfare Minister John Munro tried hard to restrict tobacco advertising, but there was significant resistance by the publishing industry, which relied on tobacco advertising revenue, and within the Liberal cabinet, where many believed that consumers did not need to be protected from themselves. Ultimately, the industry agreed that it would end cigarette advertising on radio and television, adopt package warning labels and cap the amount of tar and nicotine.

Robinson ends his book in 1975, failing to explore the stronger moves made against smoking in the last decades of the twentieth century. Even so, as he points out, the weak response to smoking in the postwar era meant that 40,000 Canadians per year were dying from smoking-related illnesses in the 2010s, many of whom likely started smoking in the 30 years after the Second World War.

This is a compelling book that should be widely read by medical historians, historians of consumer culture, and historians of addiction. One topic I wish Robinson had explored in greater depth was race. Given what we know today about much higher rates of smoking in Indigenous communities, I was curious about whether there was any marketing that targeted Indigenous peoples or BIPOC communities. While Robinson pays more attention to class and gender, here too he might have probed a little more deeply, especially in later chapters, to better understand why some Canadians continue to embrace the pleasures of smoking.

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