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Charcoal Burning in Mississippi: A Forgotten Industry

by Thomas J. Straka

The early manufacturing industries of Mississippi were centered on the state's forest resources, the most prominent of those industries being lumbering and naval stores (turpentining).[1] Often forgotten is a third forest-based industry, charcoal burning, which was also very important in south Mississippi.[2] In 1886, for example, lumber accounted for 85 percent of the commercial activity on the Pascagoula River, while, surprisingly, charcoal production accounted for 11 percent, and turpentine/rosin only accounted for 3.5 percent.[3] The charcoal industry is part of the "coast lore" of Mississippi:

> Men covered in the residue of the charcoal they sold came to Biloxi in mule-drawn wagons during the early 20th century, bringing loads of their cargo. They came to sell their charcoal, which they had made in the back counties of the Coast, primarily to the men who would use the fuel to prepare their food on small furnaces aboard the schooners of Biloxi's fishing fleet. But these men represented only a few who worked in the charcoal industry, which was one of the Coast's early major industries. . . . [The industry] did not begin to diminish until gas and electricity were introduced in New Orleans shortly before World War I. For many years, schooners collected the charcoal from the kilns in such places as those along the banks of Bluff Creek in Central Jackson County where the industry thrived. . . . Schooners, which were polled [sic] and later towed by tugs, came out of Bluff Creek often laden with as many 3,000 sacks of charcoal. Once leaving the creek and reaching the Pascagoula River, they set out under their own sail to New Orleans where their cargo would be used for cooking and heating. The schooners were eventually replaced by freight trucks which hauled their cargo on the highways. This did not occur, however, until the 1930s, after the old industry

[1] John K. Bettersworth, "The Beginnings of Manufacturing in Mississippi," *Social Science Bulletin 5*, no. 1 (October 1951), 4-6.

[2] Charles E. Chidsey, "Charcoal Industry an Important One," *Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Pascagoula), December 16, 1910, p. 1.

[3] "Review of 1886," *Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Scranton, MS), January 21, 1887, p. 2.

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was on the wane.[4]

The charcoal burning industry is generally recognized in most southern states, as nearly all of them possessed iron resources and large smelting furnaces fueled by charcoal to process the ore.[5] That was not the case in Mississippi, even though its neighboring states of Alabama and Tennessee had very active charcoal production, supporting thirty-one iron furnaces in 1880.[6] Nonetheless, south Mississippi's vast forest resources presented an economic opportunity for charcoal burners due to nearby urban markets and efficient transportation routes (using its inland rivers and specialized schooners). Charcoal burners helped establish communities and contributed to the developing economy. They are an important part of Mississippi's economic history, yet the charcoal pits and kilns that produced the charcoal have vanished, and few remember the industry.[7] Even so, its importance should not be underappreciated; in 1902, the industry's stature was summarized as:

> The charcoal industry is on a boom in South Mississippi, and many of the firms engaged in the business are preparing to double the capacity of their kilns. The demand for charcoal has greatly increased during the past few months, and the prices are steadily maintained. One firm recently established has a capacity of 10,000 barrels of charcoal per month, and the business is becoming one of the most important features of the lumber industry in that section.[8]

The 1938 Works Progress Administration *American Guide for Mississippi* presented an overview of the industry:

> The charcoal kilns were operated by men of the non-slaveholding class who lived among the pines of south Mississippi. Small individual operators were scattered throughout the Piney Woods section. They used the crudest and cheapest methods

[4] Dale Greenwell and Billy Ray Quave, "Charcoal Making Was Big Industry," *Sun-Herald* (Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula), February 15, 1976, p. D-2.

[5] James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (Philadelphia: The American Iron and Steel Association, 1892), 258-300.

[6] American Iron and Steel Association, *Directory to the Iron and Steel Works of the United States* (Philadelphia: American Iron and Steel Association, 1880), 50-51, 56-58.

[7] Mississippi histories on forests and forestry emphasize lumbering and turpentine production as industries that impacted the state's forests. The two most substantial state forestry histories only mention the charcoal industry in passing: Nollie W. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840-1915* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1962), 29, 72; James. E. Fickle, *Mississippi Forests and Forestry* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 48, 254.

[8] "Mississippi Matters," *Okolona Messenger*, September 3, 1902, p. 5.

> and, as little capital was involved, the individual output was small. Conical mounds covered with pine needles and earth and left open at the top were used as kilns. Each kiln could contain enough pine slabs or blocks to make several hundred pounds of charcoal. New Orleans was the chief market for the product; though Mobile and the towns along the Coast used it for cooking and heating purposes, and here also the masters of sailing vessels purchased a supply.[9]

There is some south Mississippi charcoal production jargon that aids

Burning charcoal pits, most always called charcoal or coal kilns in Mississippi, and usually constructed in groups of six to ten so that the charcoal burner could supervise multiple charcoal pits simultaneously. From Scranton Chronicle*, January 30, 1904.*

in understanding the industry's history. Charcoal production was called charcoal burning, and the producers were called charcoal burners.[10] Most often they were just called coal burners. Charcoal was commonly referred to as coal, and the formal term for a charcoal burner was collier. Charcoal was produced in earth-covered mounds called charcoal pits or masonry kilns made of stone, brick, or both.[11] In south Mississippi, most charcoal was produced in charcoal pits that were frequently referred to as charcoal kilns. This shorthand resulted in charcoal pits usually

[9] Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 107.

[10] Jackson Kemper, III, "American Charcoal Making in the Era of the Cold-Blast Furnace," *The Regional Review* 5, no.1 (July 1940), 3-14.

[11] Thomas J. Straka, "Charcoal as a Fuel in the Ironmaking and Smelting Industries," *Advances in Historical Studies* 6, no. 1 (March 2017), 56-54.

being identified as coal kilns.

The Market

Following the Civil War until the early twentieth century, the coastal counties of Mississippi supported a strong charcoal production industry that supplied the New Orleans market. Even after the emergence of electricity and gas in New Orleans, for at least a half century, charcoal was a major fuel for that urban area.[12] The primary means of charcoal transport to New Orleans was by charcoal schooner making use of the many navigable bayous. Over fifty schooners with crews of three or four men each supplied New Orleans.[13] Also, a sizable amount of charcoal arrived in New Orleans by rail (Illinois Central Railroad, Southern Railway, New Orleans Great Northern Railroad, and Louisville and Nashville Railroad) from as far north as Purvis and Lumberton in Mississippi and Franklinton in Louisiana, with the greatest producing areas being the three coastal counties of Mississippi.[14] In 1900, the price of charcoal had risen significantly, enticing charcoal burners to increase the number of charcoal pits along the Louisville and Nashville Railroad between West Pascagoula and Ocean Springs. The scene was reported as: "The conical mounds can be seen smoking like miniature volcanoes near, far and wide from the windows of passing trains."[15]

New Orleans used more charcoal than any other city of the same size in the United States, estimated at 300,000 to 500,000 barrels annually. Wholesale prices ranged from twenty-five to seventy-five cents per barrel, with an average price of thirty cents per barrel. The top price would occur when weather delayed the charcoal schooners. Charcoal burners were paid ten to fifteen cents per barrel; after delivery by a schooner, then the retailer would add ten to fifteen cents per barrel to the wholesale price. The charcoal was sold in corner groceries and small shops and on the streets by criers. Nearly every household in the city used it.[16]

The region north of Bay St. Louis was an important area for charcoal,

[12] John K. Cross, "Story of a Forgotten 'Art'," *Stone County Enterprise* (Wiggins, MS), November 14, 1968, p. 6.

[13] "The Charcoal Trade," *Weekly Times-Democrat* (New Orleans), November 28, 1885, p. 5.

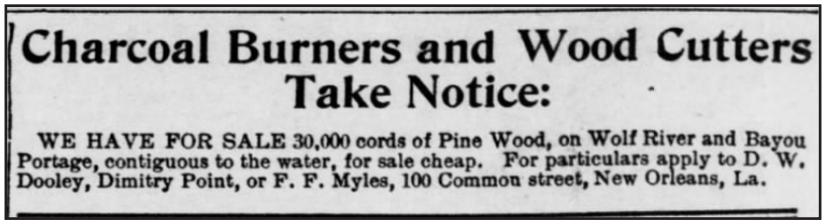
[14] *Stone County Enterprise*, November 14, 1968, p. 6.

[15] "Ships That Pass," *Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Scranton, MS), October 5, 1900, p. 3.

[16] "The Charcoal Trade," *St. Tammany Farmer* (Covington, LA), April 24, 1886, p. 2.

turpentine, and rosin production, but charcoal was ranked as the most important industry, with all its product destined for the New Orleans market.[17] In 1906, on the Wolf and Jordan Rivers, which empty into Bay St. Louis, the combined timber-based industries were ten to twelve sawmills, ten to fifteen charcoal operations, and twelve turpentine operations.[18] One observer noted the main charcoal production area in Harrison County was the region north of the Tchoutacabouffa River from Ramsey Springs west to Kiln, where "charcoal was loaded on ox and horse drawn wagons and carried to Stiglett's Landing near Coalville Church, a landing near Brashier's shipyard on the Back Bay, on Bayou Bernard, and also on the Jordon River."[19] The community of Kiln was named for the immense charcoal kilns built by the early inhabitants on the banks of the river for easy transport to New Orleans.[20] Charcoal burners were of French descent and charcoal burning had been in their families for generations. The charcoal burning art was systematic and passed down over generations.[21]

In Harrison County, the center of charcoal industry was about three miles northwest of Biloxi in the Woolmarket community: "Here it was



Charcoal Burners and Wood Cutters Take Notice:

WE HAVE FOR SALE 30,000 cords of Pine Wood, on Wolf River and Bayou Portage, contiguous to the water, for sale cheap. For particulars apply to D. W. Dooley, Dimitry Point, or F. F. Myles, 100 Common street, New Orleans, La.

Large amounts of timberland in Hancock County (this might be 1,000 acres) attracted charcoal burners and woodcutters. From Sea Coast Echo *(Bay St. Louis), June 9, 1906, p. 1.*

that the coal kilns dotted the landscape and the sweet smelling smoke from the charring pine logs arose to the sky, both day and night year after year."[22] Coalville near the Biloxi River, named for its charcoal burning

[17] "The Charcoal Burner," *Daily Clarion-Ledger* (Jackson, MS), February 26, 1901, p. 2.
[18] "$30,000.00 for Jordan and Wolf Rivers," *Sea Coast Echo* (Bay St. Louis, MS), January 19, 1907, p. 1.
[19] O. M. Smith, Jr., "Charcoal Industry," *Daily Herald* [Biloxi-Gulfport], October 21, 1975, p. A-4.
[20] "Kiln: The Charcoal Town," *Daily Herald*, August 29, 1956, p. 4; James F. Brieger, *Hometown Mississippi* (Jackson: Town Square Books, Inc., 1997), 237.
[21] *Daily Clarion-Ledger*, February 26, 1901, p. 2.
[22] "Woolmarket," *Daily Herald*, December 14, 1945, p. 10.

settlers, was part of the Woolmarket community.[23] Charcoal burning was so widespread that in 1905, when Gulfport was "just emerging from the mud," as one resident recalled, there were charcoal kilns burning where Tenth and Eleventh Streets are today.[24] Occasionally, up to two dozen schooners would anchor between Deer Island and Point Cadet waiting for their turn to go up the Jordan River to load charcoal.[25]

The principal market in Jackson County was Vancleave, a village on Bluff Creek, a stream that flowed into the West Pascagoula River. Charcoal schooners from New Orleans received the charcoal there. The Jackson County charcoal burners shipped 270,000 barrels of charcoal, at 13 cents each, from Vancleave in 1893, with about the same shipped from six other points in the county. [26]A second market for the charcoal of Jackson County was Fort Bayou, which emptied into the Biloxi River at Ocean Springs. [27] This bayou provided an interesting image of the charcoal schooners and the magnitude of the trade:

> . . . when the fleet is in one may cross the bayou by stepping from the deck of one schooner to the other. Bluff Creek is one of those streams peculiar to the South, very narrow, but exceedingly deep. . . . The bayou is so narrow that schooners passing frequently graze one another. In riding through the woods near Fort Bayou one will frequently see before him what appears to be the wings of some great white bird winding its way through the pines, but it is only a charcoal schooner descending the bayou on its way to New Orleans, which is the principal market and southern distribution point for charcoal." [28]

The charcoal schooners crossed Mississippi Sound, then Lake Pontchartrain, and accessed the city via canals to the Old and New Basins. At the time, canals connected to a harbor at Lake Pontchartrain and turning basins in the city.[29] At the turning basins:

> There [the schooners] lay a dozen at a time. A week is usually spent in disposing of cargoes. Frames ten feet high, erected around and above the decks of these schooners enclose

[23] "Coalville Church Observes 110th Year on Sunday," *Daily Herald*, May 26, 1962, p. 6; Brieger, *Hometown Mississippi,* 244.

[24] "From Gulfport's Picture Album," *Daily Herald*, March 2, 1959, p. 4.

[25] *Daily Clarion-Ledger*, October 21, 1975, p. A-4.

[26] *Grenada Sentinel,* January 13, 1894, p. 4.

[27] Charles E. Chidsey, "Takes Half Acre a Day for Charcoal," *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1.

[28] *Pascagoula Democrat-Star*, December 16, 1910, p. 1.

[29] Richard Campanella, "From Canal to Interstate," *Preservation in Print* 46, no. 8 (November 2019), 14-15.

> charcoal, piled above deck. Thus loaded, the schooner is a grim, ungainly looking craft. There are sixty or eighty schooners engaged in the trade. Their capacity varies from 1500 to 3000 barrels of charcoal.[30]

Charcoal Pit Operation

Charcoal was produced by partially burning (carbonizing) wood to remove water vapor and volatile gases, leaving a carbon residue. Wood

A charcoal schooner in Old Basin, New Orleans. Photograph courtesy of Library of Congress, Image LC-DIG-det-4a13313, original from Detroit Publishing Company.

was carefully and tightly stacked in a mound shape for a charcoal pit, covered with leaves and soil to keep the air out, and then ignited. Combustion was controlled by regulating the air flow to the burning wood. Once the water vapor was driven out, the dry wood began to break down at just over 500°F, and the heating process peaked at about 750°F. [31] The resulting process produced charcoal, with a carbon content of approximately 80 percent. It was a concentrated heat source and burned much cleaner than the original wood.[32] The weight advantage was illustrated in an old observation about a charcoal pit that "ten horses will draw the

[30] *St. Tammany Farmer*, April 24, 1886, p. 2.

[31] Thomas J. Straka and Wayne C. Ramer, "Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site." *Forest History Today* 16, no. 1&2 (Spring/Fall 2010), 58-62.

[32] Andrew J. Baker, "Charcoal," in *Encyclopedia of American Forest and Conservation History*, ed. Richard C. Davis (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983), 73-77.

wood and three horses draw the charcoal away." [33]

While hardwood was generally preferred for charcoal production, pine was preferred in Mississippi's Piney Woods region. The charcoal burning site was usually in a thick pine stand where a circular area of thirty to fifty feet would be cleared. The charcoal pit was built on the cleared circle, or hearth.[34] The term "pit" is a misnomer because a charcoal pit was built on level ground. In addition, the ground had to be hard and firm to allow for a "seal" against the entrance of air to the pit.[35]

Charcoal pits were located on the highest and driest part of the tract, with the woodchoppers proceeding to virtually clearcut the tract, harvesting even the smallest sapling.[36] In most of the country, timber was cut into four-foot lengths, called billets, with large diameter wood

A three-tier charcoal pit. Notice the earthen covering on a layer of hardwood leaves (instead of pine needles) and a chimney in the center instead of lightwood. Photo courtesy of Douglas H. Page Jr.

split into pieces for better burning. Some charcoal burners in south Mississippi used multiple lengths of three, four, and five feet for billets.[37]

[33] "How Charcoal Is Made," *Savannah Morning News* (Savannah, GA), June 27, 1901, p. 7.

[34] "Making Charcoal," *Pascagoula Democrat-State* (Scranton, MS), December 9, 1887, p. 1.

[35] Gustaf Svedelius, *Hand-Book for Charcoal Burners* (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1875), 30-34.

[36] *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1.

[37] "About Charcoal Burning," *Weekly Corinthian* (Corinth, MS), November 9, 1904, p. 11.

Once the hearth was cleared and leveled, a center pole (four to six inches in diameter and thirteen to fourteen feet in height) was erected in its center. In many parts of the country a small "chimney" was built around the center pole using small wood; the chimney was filled with kindling used for ignition.[38] In south Mississippi, instead, lightwood was stacked around the center pole for a radius of about one foot and to a height of five feet. Then the five-foot billets were carefully stacked upright and tilted slightly towards the center around the lightwood, continuing outward in a circular fashion creating the first tier of the charcoal pit.[39]

Once the first tier was constructed, more lightwood was added around the center pole and a second tier constructed in the same manner using the four-foot billets. Once complete, the three-foot billets were used to construct a third tier.[40] Industrious charcoal burners might even add

Charcoal pit at Gainesville, Mississippi, on the Pearl River in Hancock County in 1912. The two charcoal burners are shoveling dirt onto the pit. Photograph courtesy of the Hancock County Historical Society.

a fourth tier. Due to the slight tilt of the billets, the three tiers would form a mound shape. This three-tier mound might have been thirty feet in diameter at ground level, eight feet in diameter at the top, twelve feet high, and contained about thirty cords of wood.[41]

[38] Kemper, *American Charcoal Making*, 3-14; "Charcoal Burning," Scranton Chronicle, January 30, 1904, p. 4.

[39] *Pascagoula Democrat-Star,* December 16, 1910, p. 1

[40] *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1.

[41] *Stone County Enterprise*, November 14, 1968, p. 6.

When the wood was in place, the charcoal pit was ready to be covered by digging a small ditch around the pit's edge, serving the purpose of draining off rainwater and supplying dirt for covering the pit (or "banking up"). The wood mound was covered with a layer of dirt, but first a layer of pine straw was applied so that the dirt would not fall into the pit. The charcoal burner used a crude ladder, usually made of pine saplings, to reach the top of the pit.[42]

The actual charcoal burning took place after the pit was banked. At this time, the collier's skills became important because the whole venture depended upon them. If too much air reached the wood, or if it burned too hot, the whole pit could end up as worthless ash; or if air were insufficient it might not char all the wood.[43]

Ignition occurred at the top of the pit where the lightwood column and center post were allowed to burn downward until the charring process began in the stacked bolts, belching black smoke.[44] As the lightwood column disappeared more billets were dropped into the hole (called feeding the pit).[45] Once the cordwood began to char, white smoke appeared first, which was mainly water vapor from the drying wood. When the wood was dry, the smoke turned blue or gray (even yellow at times).[46] The collier could judge the progress of the "fire" by the amount and color of the escaping smoke.[47] Gases could accumulate inside the pit, and on rare occasions an explosion occurred, with pieces of wood flying out of the pit, and even more rarely a charcoal burner casualty resulted from the flying wood.[48]

The work of the charcoal burner and his helper was constant. It was a twenty-four-hour-a-day job, and a small lean-to or hut was built for shelter. Vigilance was required that just enough air was allowed into the pit and that the burning occurred evenly across the pit. Holes or cracks in the dirt would be patched (so that the pit would not be "burnt out"), and if an area was not burning hot enough, holes would be punched into the covering at groundline to draw the fire down. Sometimes voids occurred

[42] "How Charcoal Is Made," *Savannah Morning News* (Savannah, GA), June 27, 1901, p. 7.
[43] "Charcoal Burners," *Brookhaven Leader*, August 6, 1885, p. 1.
[44] "Charcoal Burning," *Scranton Chronicle*, January 30, 1904, p. 4.
[45] *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec 2, p. 1.
[46] *Weekly Corinthian,* November 9, 1904, p. 11.
[47] Straka and Ramer, "Hopewell Furnace," 58-62.
[48] *Pascagoula Democrat-Star*, December 16, 1910, p. 1.

as the wood "burned," and those would need to be compressed.[49] A skilled charcoal burner could judge the degree of burning just by running his hand through the escaping smoke.[50] A mallet was used on the sides to eliminate a void. But on top of the kiln the collier might need to jump up and down over the void, called "jumping the pit." This was another danger as occasionally the covering and wood no longer supported the collier. On rare occasion a collier got badly burned by falling into the pit, or even burned to death.[51]

The continuous twenty-four-hour-a-day nature of a charcoal burner's duties were summed up by an early nineteenth century observer:

> The coal burner and his helper were never idle; it was a day-and-night job. They lived in a lean-to of brush, did their own cooking, and it is safe to say that no one changed clothes during the entire burning period. It can also be surmised that the coffee pot was always hot. I leave it to your own imagination how the burners looked; but one had to make a living, and no one ever heard of government relief in those days.[52]

When a charcoal pit had burned through, after two weeks or longer for a large pit, it was sealed and allowed to smother out. After cooling, the charcoal would be "raked out" or "drawn out" with long-handled rakes into concentric circles around the pit.[53] There it could be observed, doused with water if necessary, and allowed to cool until the collier was confident it would not reignite. For some very large pits the whole process might have taken a month. The hearth was often reused to save the work of clearing a new one and the "charcoal dust" remaining after burning was used as the new covering.[54]

The charcoal burner led a difficult life, most of it alone in the forest, and under primitive conditions. It was described by one observer as:

> The charcoal burner leads a gypsy life. His cabin is near by the kilns, and in it is the picturesque disorder that is natural to man in the woods. His kitchen utensils are most in evidence. His bed is wholly secondary. He eats to live and lives to work with only an occasional "spree" in some nearby town. In the

[49] "Burning Charcoal," *Asheville Daily Citizen* (Asheville, NC). January 23, 1891, p. 3.
[50] *The Chronicle* (Pascagoula and Moss Point), May 21, 1962, p. 7.
[51] *Sun-Herald*, February 15, 1976; "Dead in a Charcoal Pit," *Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, CT), May 10, 1889, p. 3; "With Charcoal Burners," *Essex County Herald* (Island Pond, VT), March 24, 1893, p. 6.
[52] *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec 2, p. 1.
[53] Kemper, "American Charcoal Making," 3-14.
[54] Straka and Ramer, "Hopewell Furnace," 58-62.

> woods sobriety is everything to his craft. He is a wonder to the visitors, as he plunges into thick smoke and heat, and works in the choking fumes with the fortitude of a salamander. When the kiln is working best the smoke and fumes are worst, and to keep the kilns so necessitates the constant attention of the burner. These fumes are considered detrimental to health under ordinary circumstances, but the compensating life in the woods seems to make the charcoal burner a hardy specimen of his race.[55]

Charcoal pits were part of some local communities. In 1878 in Brookhaven, the local newspaper editor warned that the "coal kilns should not be allowed to die out." The smoke from the kilns scared off the mosquitos and helped prevent yellow fever.[56] At Saucier in Harrison County, local merchants developed charcoal operations to supply the New Orleans and national markets with boxcars of charcoal leaving Saucier weekly.[57] Not all communities were fond of charcoal pits. In 1938, Canton outlawed charcoal burning within the corporation limits.[58] Some moonshiners took advantage of the charcoal pits by hiding their still near a charcoal burning site to disguise the peculiar smoke and odor from law enforcement.[59] Charcoal burners were competitive and very much concerned with the price paid for a barrel or bushel of charcoal. In 1887, competing charcoal burners set fire to charcoal kilns near Ocean Springs because the owner was not charging "sufficient" rates.[60] Charcoal burners apparently had their own enforcement of labor group standards.

Marketing the Charcoal

Once thoroughly cooled, the charcoal was raked into sacks and hauled with an ox- or mule-drawn wagon to a charcoal depot where it was sold, or perhaps just delivered to a dealer who had provided an advance for the fuel (it was not unusual for the charcoal burner to be

[55] *Savannah Morning News*, June 27, 1901, p. 7.

[56] *Brookhaven Ledger*, September 12, 1878, p. 2.

[57] Wayne A. Saucier, The History of Saucier, Mississippi. https://thesaucierfamily.weebly.com/the-history-of-saucier-mississippi.html; "Saucier News Paragraphs," *Daily Herald*, June 22, 1921, p. 6.

[58] "Laws and Ordinances," *Canton Herald*, February 21, 1838, p. 3.

[59] "A Coweta Man in Trouble," *Herald and Advertiser* (Newman, GA), June 11, 1897, p. 9; "Enforce the Laws," *Hattiesburg American*, July 20, 1891, p. 4.

[60] *Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Scranton, MS), May 1, 1881, p. 2.

heavily indebted to the dealer).[61] The charcoal depot would commonly be along the shores of a tidal stream or at a railhead. A unique feature of charcoal wagons were the floorboard planks that could be pulled out if the charcoal caught on fire in transit. The charcoal might be lost to burn on the road, but the wagon would be saved. Plus, the floorboards could be pulled for easier unloading.[62]

The charcoal burner had to both produce and market the charcoal, or involve a middleman. Charcoal marketing and sales were integral necessities of life in the large cities like New Orleans or Mobile. The end of the charcoal burning process meant the product must be marketed and:

> When the tar ceased to flow and the smoke ceased to rise the charcoal burner knew that the pit was burned out, and after

A charcoal wagon hauling sacks of charcoal, probably en route to the Louisville and Nashville railhead at Fontainebleau. Courtesy of the Daniel C. 'Danny' Seymour Collection via oceanspringsarchives.net.

> allowing a day or so for cooling, he shoveled off the sods and earth, pouring water on such chuncks [sic] of coal that happened to be on fire, and was then ready to load the products of his labor into a dusky, black covered wagon, and with his mules to pull it, drives to town and make himself hoarse shouting, "Cha-r-r-coal! Cha-r-r-coal!" He got about 25 bushels out of a cord of wood and 25 cents out of a bushel of coal. Considering the value of wood and the time required to make and sell, the charcoal burner didn't get rich very fast. In fact, he was always a laborer, dressed in blue jeans.[63]

[61] *Stone County Enterprise*, November 14, 1968, p. 6.
[62] Straka and Ramer, "Hopewell Furnace," 58-62.
[63] *Pascagoula Democrat-State*, December 9, 1887, p. 1.

The nature of the work required charcoal burners to toil throughout the region's forests, often in isolated places. In 1909, the American Bible Society claimed to have received a plea from the "poor Creole charcoal burners in southern Mississippi" for Bible study services. They responded with services involving twenty-three days traveling 422 miles, as "the people are so badly scattered, doing their work in the charcoal camps."[64] Charcoal burners, while isolated, still had to deal with the owners of the wood they burned, teamsters to transport the charcoal, and merchants who sold them supplies. The burner was his own master, and if he knew the markets well, could make a "decent living."[65] Yet the American Bible Society missionary gave a contrary view of the charcoal burners' situation:

> I have tried for months to get into touch with the charcoal burners of southern Mississippi. They are robbed by the owners of the forests; they are robbed by the persons who transport their products; they are robbed by those who sell goods and services to them—in fact, they are kept almost in slavery and want. No care is given to their education or uplift, and when in the winter of 1909 I tried to teach them to read and write and give them the Truth in Christ Jesus, I was ostracized. [66]

In most of the country, the unit of measure for charcoal was the bushel, but in south Mississippi, it was the one-hundred-pound flour barrel. Sacked charcoal delivered to a tidal stream was carried aboard schooners, where it was deposited into barrels.[67] The entire hold of the ship would be filled with barrels, and special deck stanchions that projected above the rail lines to just short of the sail booms would allow barrels to be stacked on deck. These deck loads sometimes made the ship top-heavy, and a storm or squall could capsize the boat resulting in the loss of cargo. A charcoal schooner sometimes carried from 1,500 to 2,000 barrels.[68]

Payment was made to the charcoal burner upon delivery. A typical charcoal pit contained thirty cords of wood and required twenty to twenty-five days of work for two men. Charcoal usually sold at the depot for eight to thirty cents a barrel, but twenty cents was a common

[64] *American Bible Society, Ninety-Fourth Annual Report of the American Bible Society (New York: American Bible Society, 1910), 212.*

[65] "Charcoal Burners," *Sea Coast Echo*, June 1, 1912, p. 3.

[66] American Bible Society, *Ninety-Fourth Annual Report*, 203.

[67] *Stone County Enterprise*, November 14, 1968, p. 6.

[68] *Hattiesburg News,* December 17, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1.

price.[69] A three-tier, thirty cord charcoal pit, operated by a very efficient charcoal burner, could produce from 1,000 to 1,200 bushels of charcoal. Output of a charcoal pit depended upon the quality of the collier. Some top-notch colliers asked for a premium for better quality charcoal. It all depended on how well the wood was stacked, how well the air flow was regulated, and how well the collier could read the progression of the burning process.[70]

Most of the charcoal was destined for New Orleans, and schooners were the usual means of transport; one observer summarized the market as:

> Go to New Orleans, the metropolis of the South, at any time; go to the New or Old Basin and view the fleet of vessels (schooners) there. See the thousands of sacks of charcoal that are being deposited there and retailed later throughout the city from any where from 45 to 90 cents per sack, depending upon the size of the sack and the season of the year, and ask where it comes from. The answer will be, the Gulf Coast of Mississippi. There schooners ply up such streams and rivers as the Jordan and Wolf, where the charcoal industry flourishes and places in active commission a fleet that possibly without this trade would not exist.[71]

By 1906, the sustainability of the charcoal industry had become an issue. Timber availability had declined, and the charcoal industry's raw material costs were increasing. Near Ocean Springs, a railcar load of charcoal cost $240 that year, whereas only a few years earlier a high price would have been $60 to $80 per carload. A newspaper column summed it up: "Timber is getting too scarce and valuable."[72] In New Orleans it was called a "charcoal famine" with the "ever-familiar figure, the charcoal vendor, begrimed with dirt from head to foot, seated on a spring wagon, drawn by a lean horse," described as "disappearing from the streets."[73]

[69] *St. Tammany Farmer,* April 24, 1886, p. 2.

[70] Thomas J. Straka, "Historic Charcoal Production in the US and Forest Depletion: Development of Production Parameters," *Advances in Historical Studies*, 3, no. 2 *(March 2014), 105.*

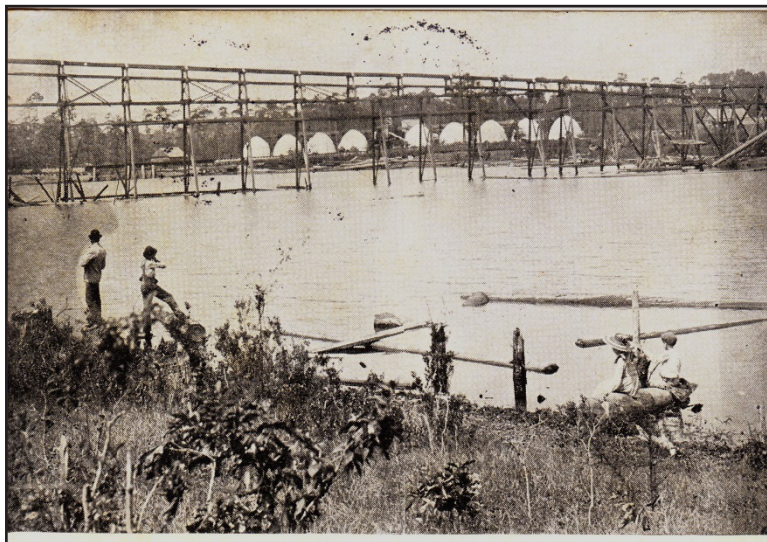
[71] Chas. G. Moreau, "The Mississippi Coast; A Valuable Asset," *Sea Coast Echo*, October 2, 1909, p. 1.

[72] "Highest Price for Charcoal Ever Reached," *Sea Coast Echo*, August 25, 1906, p. 1.

[73] "Charcoal Famine," *Sea Coast Echo*, August 11, 1906, p. 1.

Beyond the Charcoal Pits

Burning kilns in the woods was associated in many minds with the image of a tar kiln. Tar kilns and charcoal kilns were kindred structures.



The Charcoal plant from across the mill pond, Poplarville, Miss.

Mississippi had sets of large brick conical charcoal kilns in the early twentieth century that looked misplaced, as they were more commonly associated with iron furnaces. When these were built in the early twentieth century, charcoal kilns were routinely collecting the chemicals that resulted from carbonization, and charcoal became a secondary product. Photograph courtesy of Mark Clinton Davis, Pearl River County Historical Society.

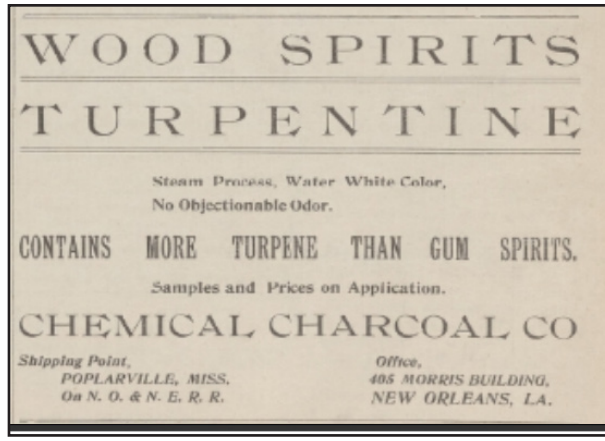
Both involved mounds of wood, covered in earth, with an opening on the top and slight ventilation holes, and almost air-free burning of wood.[74] The difference was that a tar kiln used "lightwood," the resinous boles, branches, and stumps of longleaf pines, as the wood; plus, a gutter was dug at the bottom to drain the liquid that condensed from the heated resin, with the liquid tar usually collected in barrels.[75] Tar and pitch (condensed tar) were used on wooden sailing vessels to preserve the riggings and to caulk the side and bottom of the ship (which is why they

[74] Percival Perry, "The Naval-Stores Industry in the Old South, 1790-1860," *Journal of Southern History* 34, no. 4 (November 1968), 310-311.

[75] Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 20-21.

were called naval stores). Since nearly the same production process was used as in charcoal making, tar kilns made a by-product – charcoal (roughly twenty-five to thirty bushels per cord of lightwood) that was sold for blacksmithing purposes.[76]

Charcoal was an incidental product of more than just tar kilns. In the late nineteenth century, charcoal burners realized that a valuable product was contained in the smoke that rose from charcoal pits and kilns.[77] Soon chemical plants used brick or concrete kilns or iron retorts



This advertisement from the Savannah Naval Stores Review and Journal of Trade *from May 5, 1906, describes one of the primary products of the Poplarville charcoal kilns.*

to produce charcoal primarily to capture the chemicals from the smoke that was condensed into products such as wood alcohol, acetate of lime, and wood oils. Even plants set up to primarily produce charcoal would capture the chemicals as profitable by-products. While a charcoal pit might produce twenty-five bushels per cord of wood, an iron retort would produce sixty bushels to the cord.[78] The value of the charcoal could pay for the wood and the cost of the burning process, leaving chemicals as pure profit.

In 1902, the Chemical Charcoal Company opened a charcoal plant

[76] James P. Barnett, *Naval Stores: A History of an Early Industry Created from the South's Forests*, General Technical Report SRS-240 (Asheville, NC: USDA Forest Service, Southern Research Station, 2004), 12-13; "Turpentine and Tar," *True Democrat* (Paulding, MS), July 30, 1845, p. 4

[77] "Charcoal," *Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Scranton, MS), March 11, 1887, p. 4.

[78] *Pascagoula Democrat-Star*, December 9, 1887, p. 1.

in Poplarville.[79] It involved a row of large white brick charcoal kilns. The appearance from afar was more like the iron region of Alabama with its many iron smelters. Charcoal burning evolved from charcoal pits to charcoal kilns, and then chemical plants.[80] The low capital requirements for charcoal pits meant they continued to be popular, while corporations and iron furnaces invested in brick kilns. Many industrialized charcoal plants became chemical plants that also produced charcoal. That was the case in Poplarville. Charcoal production in Mississippi developed following national market trends to include corporate charcoal kiln operations and chemical plants. Properly, these chemical charcoal companies were termed the softwood and hardwood distillation industry. In 1929, the state forester announced that wood distillation and charcoal manufacturing industries had entered Mississippi's elite group of million-dollar industries with $2.5 million of product value, using only second growth timber, stumps, and other products without a market.[81] A half dozen of these chemical charcoal companies were scattered around Mississippi by 1938.[82]

Charcoal kilns, the masonry kind (brick, stone, or a combination of the two), were part of early charcoal burning in Mississippi.[83] It is extremely difficult to determine where these kilns were located as the nomenclature was loose in Mississippi. Earth-covered and brick structures were both usually called kilns. So, the literature is seldom conclusive. While most charcoal was produced in pits, a few large commercial operations were certainly scattered across the state using masonry kilns. Mississippi Department of Archives and History site files confirm several brick charcoal kilns on different sites in Hancock County.[84] It is interesting that the management plan for the Mississippi Gulf Coast National Heritage Area contains a number of charcoal kiln operations in its historical listing of the lumber industry; it is plausible some of these

[79] "The Charter of Incorporation of the Chemical Charcoal Company," *Free Press* (Poplarville), March 20, 1902, p. 4.

[80] Robert K. Winters, Gardner H. Chidester, and J. Alfred Hall, *Wood Waste in the United States* (Washington, DC: USDA Forest Service, 1947), 27-30.

[81] "A Two Million Dollar Industry," *Greenwood Commonwealth*, September 21, 1932, p. 4.

[82] Mississippi State Planning Commission, *Progress Report on State Planning in Mississippi* (Jackson: Tucker Printing House, 1938), 59.

[83] Edward Beglinger and Edward G. Locke, "Charcoal—Its Manufacture and Use," *Economic Botany*, 11, no. 2 (April 1957), 160-173.

[84] Personal communication with Patty Miller-Beech, MDAH, July 21, 2021.

were large commercial operations with permanent masonry kilns.[85] By 1922, large sawmills in Jackson County were building masonry charcoal kilns to utilize waste from their plants. At Vancleave, five kilns were under construction to convert waste lumber slabs into charcoal for which there was a good market.[86]

Following World War II due to migration to the suburbs, outdoor recreation began a steady expansion, including outdoor barbecuing, utilizing the new charcoal grill designs, and the new charcoal briquette.[87] This commercial opportunity was not overlooked in Mississippi with its huge forest resource.[88] In 1959, the Mississippi Industrial Research Center in Jackson began a Small Business Administration-financed project to increase the manufacture of wood products in the state, with a focus on furniture and charcoal.[89] Commercial charcoal operations developed throughout timber regions of the state in the mid-twentieth century. Most used large rectangular brick or concrete kilns and produced lump charcoal, while two produced charcoal briquettes.[90] Charcoal briquettes are commonly sold in stores and are made from compressed charcoal with a binder like corn starch.[91]

In 1961, there were seven charcoal companies in Mississippi: Attala Land and Wood Products Company in Kosciusko, Black Creek Charcoal Company in Lexington, Blackjack Charcoal Company in Bruce, Dixie Farms in Satartia, Dizzy Dean Enterprises in Pachuta, Eaton and Clark in Taylorsville, and Price Lumber Company in Shuqualak.[92] These plants tended to use "scrub" timber from local farmers, giving them a market

[85] Mississippi Department of Marine Resources, *Mississippi Gulf Coast National Heritage Areas Management Plan* (Biloxi: Mississippi Department of Marine Resources, 2005), 111-120.

[86] "Mills Adding Charcoal Kilns," *Daily Herald*, April 4, 1922, p. 3.

[87] Kristin L. Matthews, "One Nation Over Coals: Cold War Nationalism and the Barbecue," *American Studies*, 50, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2009), 5-34; Dashka Slater, "Who Made That? (Charcoal Briquette)," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, September 28, 2014, p. 19.

[88] "New Industry Idea," *Daily Herald*, July 17, 1959, p. 4; "May Be a Good Bet for State Industry," *Clarion Ledger*, June 16, 1959, p. 8. "Backyard Chefs Restore Importance of Charcoal," *Hattiesburg American*, August 9, 1960, p. 6.

[89] "Charcoal, Furniture Industries Studied," *Clarion-Ledger*, June 27, 1957, p. 16.

[90] "Charcoal Plant Fires Up,' *Holmes County Herald* (Lexington, MS), April 7, 1960, p. 1; "Dizzy Dean Helps Ross and Hugh Open Pachuta's First Industrial Plant," Holmes County Herald, April 26, 1962, p. 44; "Attala County Has New Land Wood Products Home-Owned Company," Star-Herald [Kosciusko], February 25, 1960, p. 1; "Charcoal Industry in Lafayette County," *Columbian-Progress* (Columbia, MS), June 16, 1964, p. 4.

[91] Mark Beason and Leslie Roark, "Hardwood Hard to Beat When Firing up the Grill," *Clarion-Ledger*, August 14, 2013, p. 3D.

[92] USDA Forest Service, *Charcoal and Charcoal Briquette Production in the United States, 1961* (Washington, DC: USDA Forest Service, 1963).

for "undesirable" tree species like hickory and blackjack oak.[93] By the end of the decade, most of the plants were no longer in operation.[94]

Dizzy Dean Enterprises in Pachuta provides a good example of the life cycle for one of these charcoal plants. In late 1961, construction of a large charcoal plant was announced at Pachuta and became the small community's first industry.[95] A $150,000 bond issue was required, and the enterprise was a subsidiary of Mississippi Industries. Estimates were

A 1937 cutover yellow pine forest near Kiln, Mississippi. Notice the lack of logging slash. Charcoal burners may have utilized the debris for their charcoal pits. Photograph courtesy of Library of Congress Image LC-USF34-017969-C, photographer Dorothea Lange.

for annual production of 10,000 tons of charcoal briquettes, employment for 100 workers, and purchase of over $200,000 of "waste" hardwood timber annually.[96] In 1969, the firm became a subsidiary of Hood Industries,[97] and in early 1970, Hood Industries was acquired by Masonite

[93] "New Attala Wood Products Co. Ships First Charcoal Made Here," *Star Herald*, May 19, 1960, p. 1.

[94] Dwane D. Van Hooser, *Mississippi's Forest Industry*, Resource Bulletin SO-12 (New Orleans, LA: USDA Forest Service, Southern Forest Experiment Station, 1968), 25; Daniel F. Bertelson, *Mississippi Forest Industries, 1972*, Resource Bulletin SO-43 (New Orleans, LA: USDA Forest Service, Southern Forest Experiment Station, 1973), 27.

[95] "Dizzy Dean Enterprises to Build Large Charcoal Plant at Pachuta," *Clarke County Tribune* (Quitman, MS), October 6, 1961, p. 1.

[96] "New Industry Comes to Pachuta, Thanks to Dizzy Dean and BAWI," *Clarke County Tribune*, March 9, 1962, p. 1.

[97] "Dizzy Dean Becomes a Hood Subsidiary," *Clarke County Tribune*, October 31, 1969, p. 1.

> receiving the seed or "mast" from the neighboring pines, are in a few years crowned with clusters of thickly-growing pine saplings that make the only picturesque spots in an otherwise barren landscape.[105]

While charcoal burning in Mississippi did not produce the forest devastation experienced in some of the charcoal iron furnace regions, it was still significant. Charcoal burning was notorious enough to attract the attention of the editors of an influential political magazine in 1884, *Puck*, which published a centerfold political cartoon reflecting the growing concern over it.[106] At the time, one of the greatest concerns following forest devastation was damage to the watersheds and the dangers of

Political cartoon from January 9, 1884, issue of Puck *magazine warning of the dangers of forest devastation caused by charcoal burning. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Image LC-DIG-ppmsca-28283, artist was Joseph Ferdinand Keppler.*

floods and droughts.

Lumbering and turpentining usually got most of the attention as the culprit in cutover southern forests, but in other regions of the country, charcoal burning was recognized as a major forest conservation

[105] Pascagoula Democrat-Star, December 16, 1910, 1.
[106] *Puck*, 14, no. 357 (January 9, 1884), 290, 296-297.

problem.[107] At the end of the nineteenth century, the South was becoming the new principal lumber source. The forests of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan had been "practically denuded." The stated cause was "reckless lumbering, charcoal burning, and the manufacture of paper pulp [which had] co-operated as forces of destruction."[108]

The aforementioned Puck political cartoon showed burning charcoal pits in the middle ground, with the background strongly implying that indiscriminate logging for charcoal production resulted in clearcut land, eroded riverbanks, and a flooded downriver town. The woodcutters in the foreground have wood at their feet, most likely billets just the size needed for charcoal pits. Hovering above the two woodcutters, a female apparition labeled "Public Spirit" holds up her arm and warns, "Preserve Your Forests from Destruction and Protect Your Country from Floods and Drought."

These predictions of permanently devastated forests proved to be untrue as Mississippi's second-growth forests, coupled with publicly accepted conservation measures, provided the basis of a vast forest industry across the state.[109] Charcoal burning was an important component of southern Mississippi's early economic development. Later, a more commercial charcoal industry impacted most of the state. The environmental impact on the state's forests and wildlife is seldom considered when the industry is discussed, but it had an impact recognized across the country. It is an important part of Mississippi's forest and economic history.

Conclusion

Today, charcoal burning is an almost invisible element of Mississippi's early economy and history. The southern states all began with solid forest-based economies and continue to have them, owing to an abundance of forest resources and the implementation of conservation practices.[110] They almost all had some mix of forest products industries,

[107] Charles E. Chidsey, "Some Uses and Abuses of Our Forests," *American Lumberman*, October 12, 1918, 52-53. This article contains two interesting photographs of a southern Mississippi charcoal pit, showing pit construction and the finished pit.

[108] "Forestry in the South," *St. Mary Banner* (Franklin, LA), March 8, 1902, p. 1.

[109] "Wood Using Industries Proving Boon to State Timber Growers," *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, June 28, 1956, p. 9.

[110] Matthew Pelkki and Gabrielle Sherman, "Forestry's Economic Contribution in the United States, 2016," *Forest Products Journal* 70, no. 1 (January 2020), 28-38.

Corporation.[98] In 1978, Masonite Corporation sold its Charcoal Division to Husky Industries, a major national charcoal producer.[99] Husky Industries ceased operations at the plant in 1985.[100] The short history of the small charcoal operation was typical for firms that developed to satisfy the post-World War II outdoor recreation demand.

The Forest

Charcoal burners could use almost any scrap of wood to produce charcoal.[101] Often, they cleaned up after logging operations and removed the logging debris (small stems and branches). Most charcoal burners owned no land of their own and leased "timber rights" from a forest owner, paying so much a barrel of charcoal produced from the timber.[102] In northern hardwood stands often the timber would regenerate on its own and charcoal burners could utilize the same timber stands after several decades for a second charcoal operation. In some cases, charcoal was produced in Mississippi on second growth pine stands, with charcoal burning occurring on the same land a second time, but devastated forests were more common. Charcoal burning occurred along the Gulf Coast so widely it is surprising how pervasive it was; even residents of Cat Island, which was wooded, produced charcoal for the New Orleans market.[103] Across the lower South thousands of acres were cleared annually for charcoal production, with recklessly denuded forests creating an "inevitable disaster" such as flooding and wildfire problems.[104]

The landscape near a charcoal operation in 1910 was described as:

> On a journey from Pascagoula through the charcoal country to Vancleave one will traverse miles of land that are practically stripped of their timber, save here and there, where a thick cluster of pine saplings indicate where a kiln has been. . . . These coal-kiln sites, being well drained by the ditch that surrounds the kiln and enriched by the chemicals that soak down into the earth from the burning wood, are seed beds that,

[98] "Masonite Acquires Hood Industries, *Clarke County Tribune*, March 13, 1970, p. 1.

[99] "Masonite Corporation Sells Plant to Husky Industries," *Clarke County Tribune*, September 1, 1978, p. 1.

[100] 'Husky Plant Will Close January 31," *Clarke County Tribune*, December 27, 1984, p, 1.

[101] Dale Greenwell, *D'Iberville and St. Martin* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 41.

[102] *Hattiesburg News*, December 17, 1910, sec. 2, p. 1.

[103] John Cuevas, Cat Island: *The History of a Mississippi Gulf Coast Barrier Island* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011), 16, 37.

[104] "Courting Floods in the South," *Southern Herald* (Liberty, MS), April 28, 1883, p. 1.

including charcoal production, mostly to support charcoal iron furnaces. Mississippi's early economy followed this pattern, with a foundation in agriculture, forest resources, and a manufacturing industry centered on sawmills. [111] There was no iron industry in Mississippi that required charcoal fuel, but close-by urban markets created a demand that fueled a large market for Mississippi charcoal. The market for Pascagoula charcoal even reached along the Texas coast.[112] One does not have to look hard to find clues of an important industry, like place names: Kiln in Hancock County, Coalville in Harrison County, Coll Town in Jackson County, and Coaltown in Lamar County.[113]

The technique and science of charcoal burning is quite similar to turpentining; both used kilns of some sort to burn wood in anaerobic conditions to produce useful forest products. Turpentining, perhaps because it was an almost uniquely southern enterprise, captured regional imaginations and is well-entrenched in southern culture and recognized in histories of its forest industries. Not so for charcoal burning. Few people today, mainly a few members of county historical societies and scattered descendants of charcoal burners, are even aware charcoal burning was once an important industry in parts of the South. It is truly a forgotten industry.

It is surprising that, when historical narratives tell the story of early forestry in Mississippi and the widespread forest devastation that preceded forest management and development of a second forest, charcoal burning is usually relegated to footnote status. While its impact tended to be concentrated in certain areas, the impact was quite intense, and it did contribute to forest destruction. Its impact might be lost to time, but observers at the time could not help but notice.

One letter to the editor in a coastal newspaper noted:

> In commenting on the destruction of the great pine forests along the Coast we charged it all to the lumbering interests and failed to charge a great portion of the destruction to the coal burners who destroyed all the timber that was not large enough for the lumber mills which for many years did not cut or use anything that did not square 12 inches at the top of the log. The coal burners would follow the timber men and cut all

[111] John Ray Skates, *Mississippi: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1979), 133.

[112] *Weekly Times-Democrat*, November 28, 1885, p. 5.

[113] August 29, 1956, p, 4; Gladys B. Legg, "Coalville Methodist Church Is Celebrating Centennial This Month," *Daily Herald*, May 22, 1952, sec. 2, p. 1; "The Charcoal Burners of the *Pascagoula," Pascagoula Democrat-Star* (Scranton, MS), June 26, 1885, p. 2; Jillian Kramer, "Lamar County Road Recalls Early Industry," *Hattiesburg American*, December 11, 2007, p. 3.

> of the timber that left on the land. Of course, with permission, in most cases of the owner of the land, but in many cases they were not particular as to who the land belonged to.[114]

The forest devastation part is forgotten too. Both parts need to be remembered; charcoal burning was part of the early history, culture, and economy of Mississippi, and part of that history involves the destruction of the state's virgin forests. Nonetheless, it is history that tells an interesting story.

[114] John H. Lang, "Coal Burners and Depleted Forests," *Daily Herald*, May 6, 1936, p. 6.