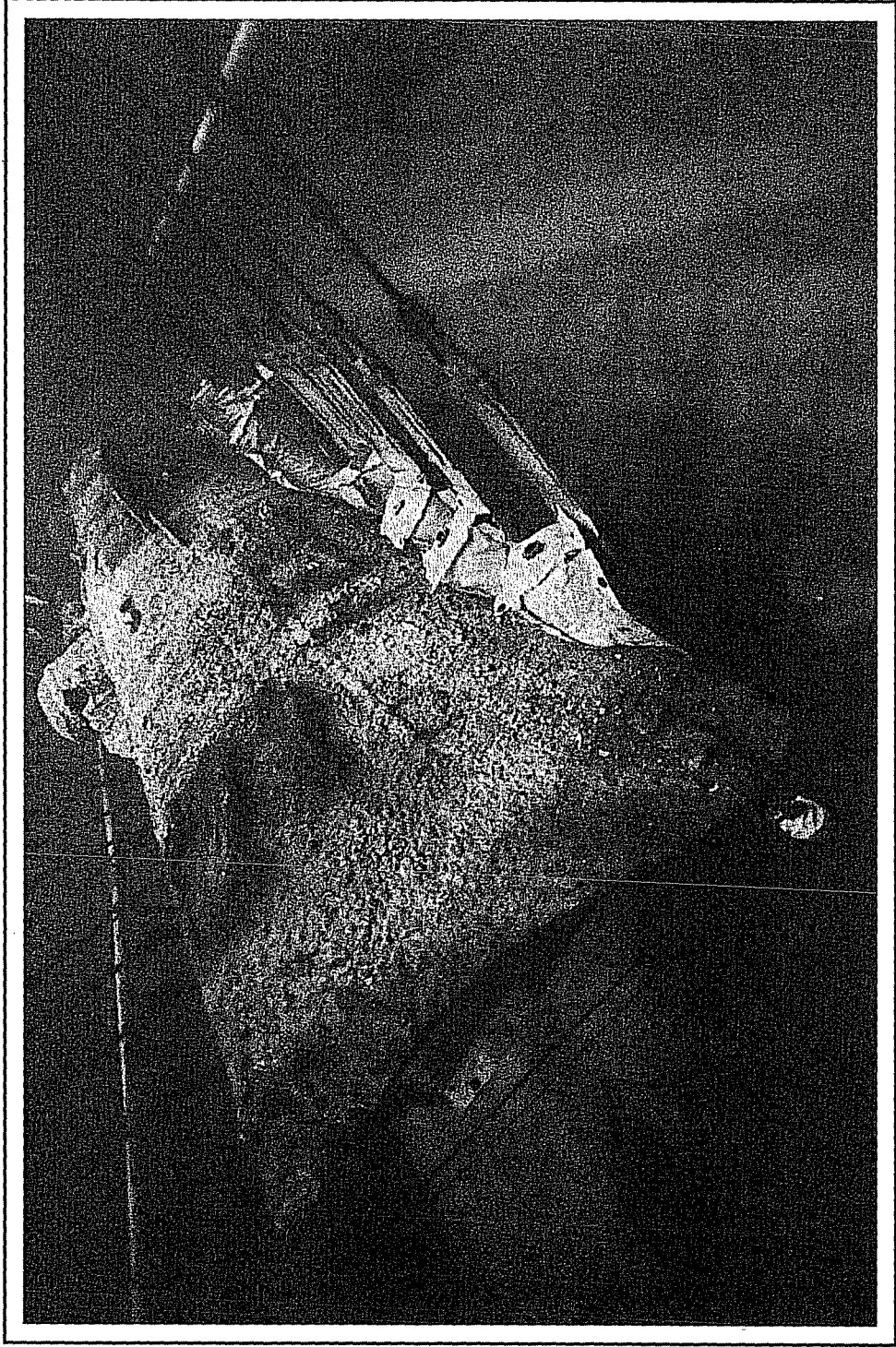


Where was the *Hunley* Built?

Jack O'Brien Jr.

On August 8, 2000, salvage crews carefully raised the first submarine to sink an enemy warship in combat, the *H. L. Hunley*, from the anoxic waters outside Charleston Harbor where she had lain for almost a century and a half. Escorted by a colorful flotilla of local watercraft, a barge carried the Confederate submarine to the Warren Lasch Conservation Center where archaeologists began painstaking efforts to excavate, identify, and conserve her relics and the remains of her crew.¹ Six hundred miles to the west, Mobile, Alabama, was preparing its tricentennial celebration, and *Hunley* stories were headline news. It was here that the submarine had been designed, built, and tested, and where families remembered ancestors who had participated in the *Hunley* saga. This investigation will attempt to resolve some ninety years of confusion concerning where in Mobile the revolutionary underwater war-machine had been assembled. One possibility is a building presently located on the campus of the University of South Alabama now housing that institution's honors program.

The story of the *Hunley*, like so many stories from the American Civil War, was both tragic and glorious.² Soon after the outbreak of hostilities, Horace L. Hunley, a wealthy lawyer, politician, and cotton exporter, financially backed the construction of a submarine in New Orleans. He scuttled that vessel, the *Pioneer*, in Lake Pontchartrain to prevent its capture by Union forces following the surrender of the port in 1862. He then moved his enterprise to Mobile where, with other financial backers, the Hunley group continued to build submarines. After the loss of a second prototype (called either the *Pioneer II* and/or the *American Diver*), the persevering innovators built a third vessel that came to be known as the *H. L. Hunley*.³ Within days following its successful test in Mobile Bay, this submarine was shipped by rail to Charleston whose defenders were willing to try new weapons that might break the Union blockade of their city. Almost every man who served on the *Hunley* died in her. On August 29, 1863, she had been swamped by a passing vessel. Her commander, naval Lieutenant John A. Payne survived, but five crewmen did not. Five weeks later the *Hunley* sank again, this time costing the lives of men who had built her including Thomas Park, co-owner of the Mobile foundry where her parts had been forged, and H. L. Hunley, himself. On February 17, 1864, under the command of another Mobilian, army

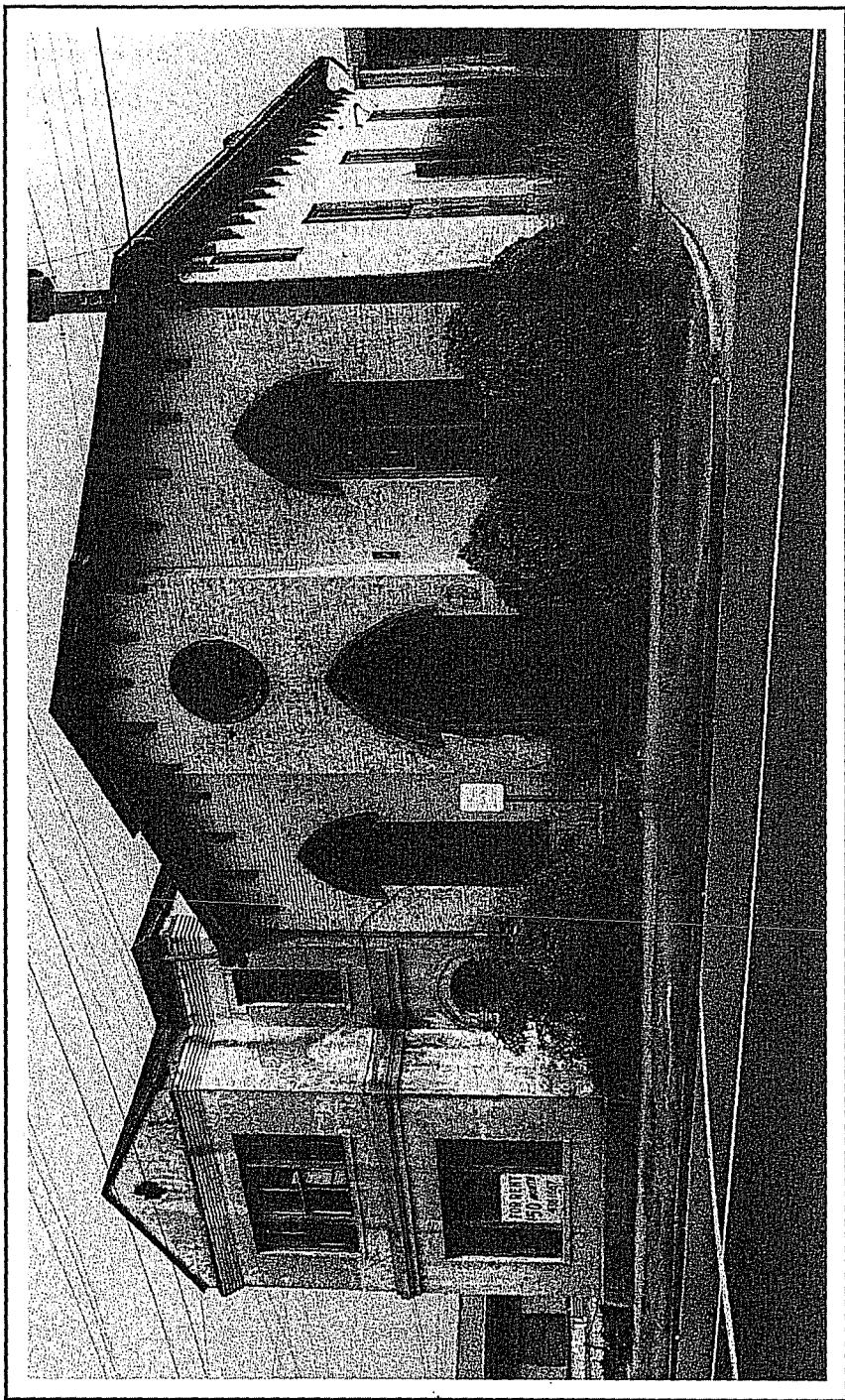


The Hunley in a refrigerated storage tank at the Warren Lasch Conservation Center. Friends of the Hunley.

Lieutenant George Dixon, the *Hunley* made history by successfully detonating an explosive device under the hull of the USS *Housatonic*. The formidable 1,200-ton warship went down in minutes, but success was costly. For reasons as yet unknown, sometime after the explosion the Confederate submarine settled onto the benthic silt seaward of her victim where she served as an iron coffin for her crew. With the turn of the twenty-first century, the mystery of where the *Hunley* underwent her death-throes had been solved, but exactly where she had been born still remained unclear.

In the decades following the Civil War, three buildings were identified by four people as the construction site of the *Hunley*. The most well-known of these is the Park and Lyons Foundry (or machine shop) that was located on the corner of State and Water streets in Mobile. Modern-day book and newspaper accounts of the *Hunley* typically include a photograph of a building that had stood on the southeast corner of that intersection during the first half of the twentieth century.⁴ There is also a representation of the foundry in a depression-era mural in the anteroom of the city's Museum of History.⁵ The fame of this building is due to the writings and speeches of Lt. William Alexander at the beginning of the twentieth century who claimed, "...the Confederate authorities...ordered the boat to be built in the machine shop of Park & Lyons, Mobile, Ala."⁶ The Lieutenant was a knowledgeable authority. One of his official duties as an engineer in the Confederate Army had been to facilitate the construction of the *Hunley* and he served on her as well. Following the war Alexander became a co-owner with Thomas Lyons of the foundry of which he had referred.⁷

Toward the end of the twentieth century, two Mobile historians uncovered evidence that two different Bethel churches had also been used to build submarines. In 1971, Caldwell Delaney, the former Director of the Museum of the City of Mobile, wrote in a caption to a photograph of Mr. H. L. Hunley, "Famous, third, boat [the *Hunley*] built in old Bethel Church on Water Street between Theatre and Monroe streets. Moved to foundry of Park and Lyons, where mechanical parts made and installed."⁸ This church is referred to as the "first Bethel" in this article. Delaney did not cite his sources, but he may have relied on the firsthand accounts of Benjamin B. Cox.⁹ Cox grew up near the Bethel churches and worked for the federal courts, the post office, and a local newspaper in Mobile.¹⁰ He published two long, rambling articles in 1914 and 1916 that were filled with anecdotes from his childhood in Mobile during the Civil War. The following was taken from the 1914 contribution:



The Second Bethel Church on Church Street, ca. 1968. Elizabeth Gould photo, University of South Alabama Archives.

The building of the submarine torpedo boat Hundley [sic] has been a subject of much discussion. It has been claimed by some that she was built at Park & Lyons' foundry, on the corner of St. Anthony [sic] and Water streets. This may be a fact. If so she was finished in the old Bethel, an old sailors' church that had been deserted. This building was located on the west side of Water street second north of Monroe, where now stands part of the Zimmern Feed Company building, opposite the Louisville and Nashville freight depot. Next north of the Bethel was located the boiler works of Mr. Michael Hines, where the riveting of the iron of the Hundley [sic] was done.

Launching of the Hundley [sic]

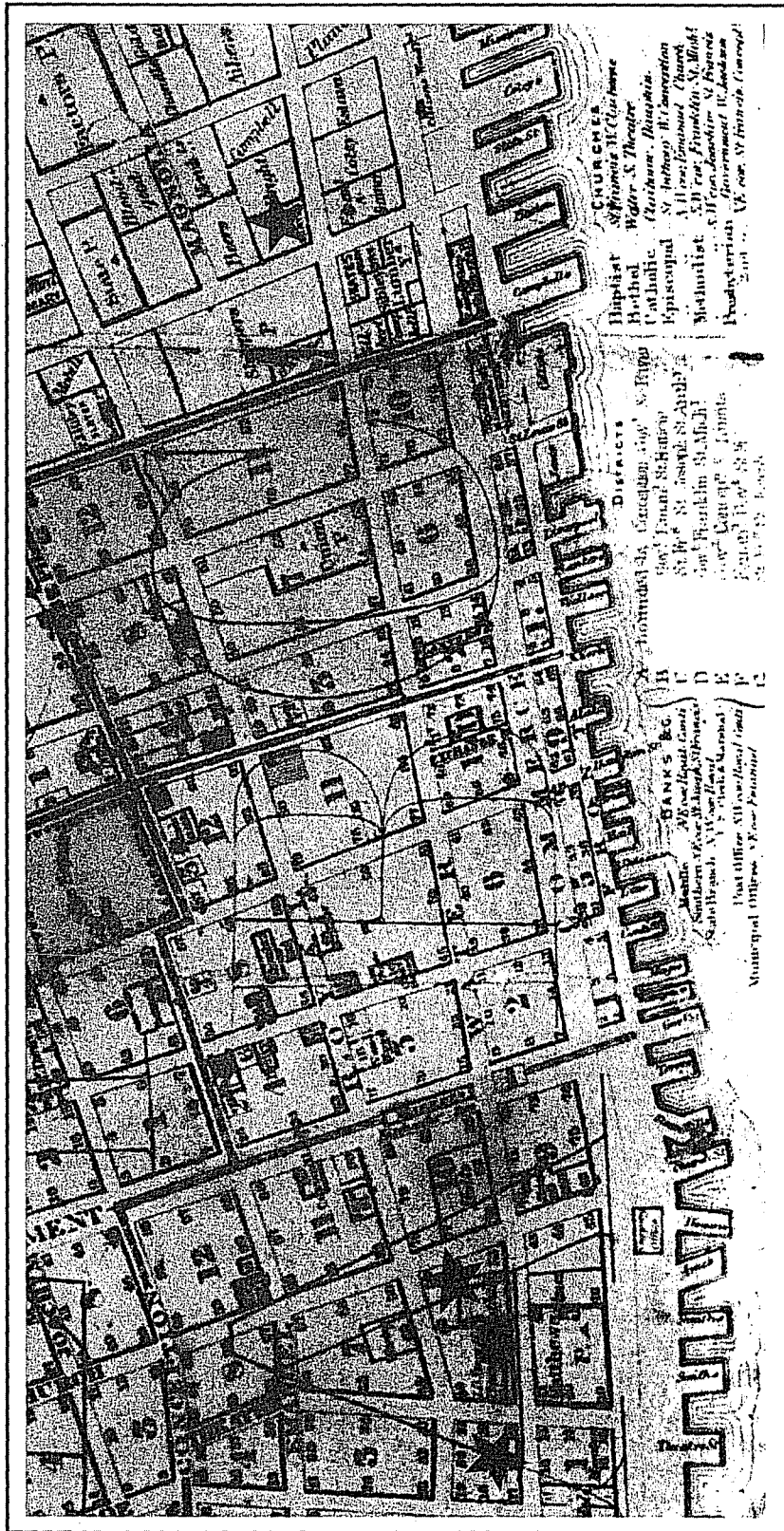
I was a small boy at the time and would go every evening with the boys in the neighborhood to witness this part of the construction and to play about the boat. I was present when this little torpedo boat was placed upon a wagon and taken to the slip at the foot of Theatre street where she was launched into the Mobile river....¹¹

In his second narrative, Cox corrected some errors that had appeared in the first article, but continued to insist that the Bethel Church near Monroe Street was the construction site. He went on to imply that there were witnesses who would support this assertion. "There are yet living one or two citizens who in company with myself, played about this boat [the *Hunley*] when we were boys."¹²

Finally there is the work of Elizabeth Barrett Gould who, in 1997, identified a third site, "...the little iron vessel [the *Hunley*] was built in the...machine shop on Water Street at the foot of Church Street."¹³ Unfortunately, as did Delaney, Gould did not cite sources, but she may have relied upon statements made by Major Palmer J. Pillans, the city surveyor of Mobile prior to and during the Civil War and those of his son, Harry, who had been a teenager during the war and eventually became Mayor of Mobile.¹⁴ These men said that the *Hunley* was assembled in the Bethel Church that was on Church Street adjacent to the corner of Water Street. This building will be referred to as the "second Bethel." In 1895, Major Pillans was quoted in the Mobile newspaper as follows:

The boat [*Hunley*] was built in the Seamen's Bethel on Church street, the floor being taken up for the purpose. When the boat was finished it was found that she was too wide to take through the exit of the Bethel, so that pieces had to be cut out of each of the columns to get her out.¹⁵

Almost thirty years later, Harry Pillans responded to an error-filled article concerning the *Hunley* that had appeared in a regional



Detail from Robertson's 1852 map of Mobile. Reading from left to right, stars indicate the locations of the first and second Bethel churches and the Park and Lyons Foundry. Mobile City Directory.

newspaper.¹⁶ In his letter to the editor, he corroborated his father's statements that the construction site was the second Bethel.

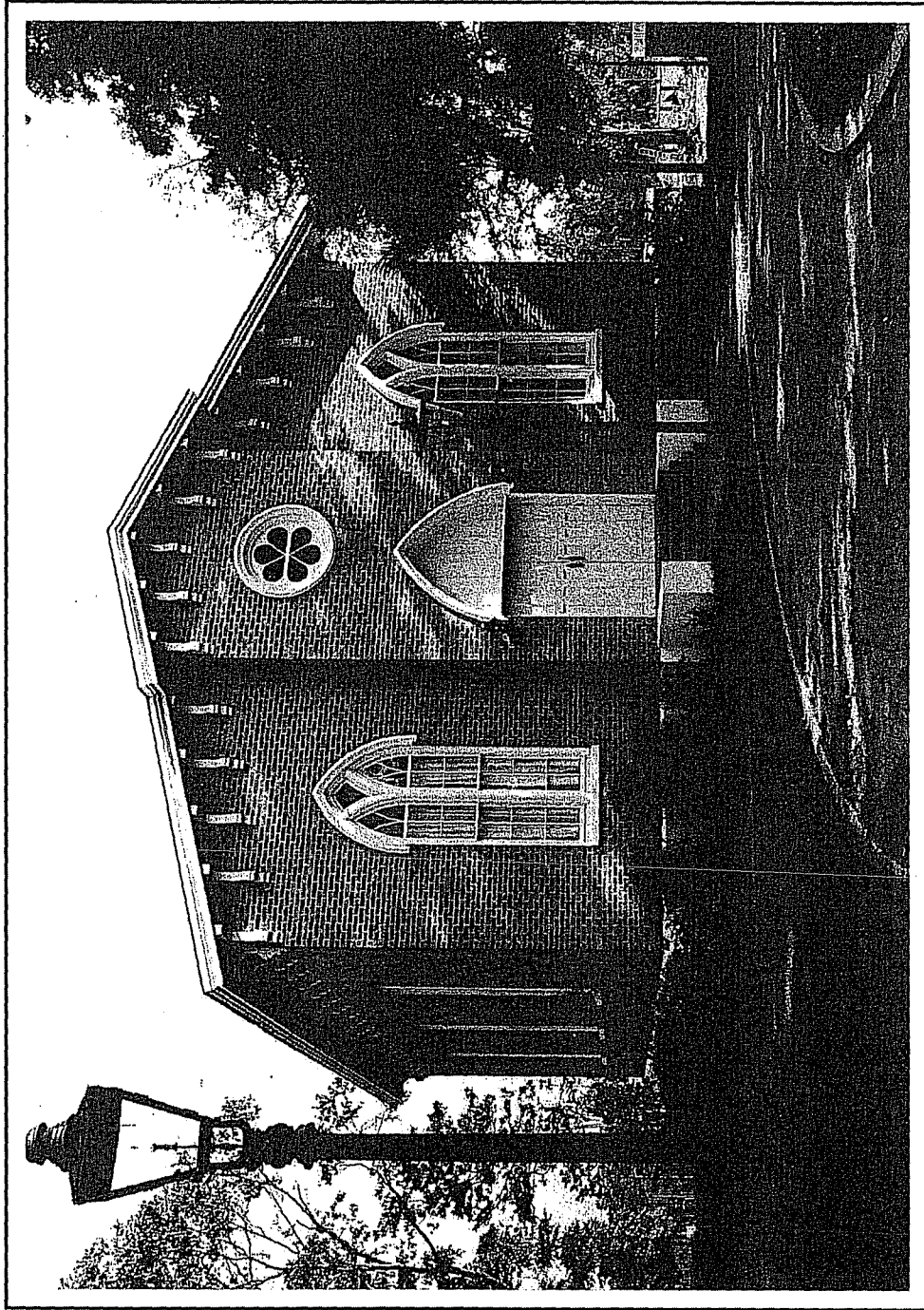
This vessel [the *Hunley*] was built in or at least was completed in the old Bethel, on Water Street, behind the old soldiers' home at the corner of Church street. There shortly before its launching, the writer saw and went over it within and without and though a youth presumed to criticize the spear carrying the torpedo, which projected from the comical [*sic*] bow centrally stopped so that it was as he thought and said if its torpedo should be fired by contact with the enemy vessel the spar would inevitably be driven end wise back into the boat to her possible destruction.¹⁷

Pillans's use of "old Bethel" referred to the second Bethel Church. When his letter was published in 1924, the Bethel Society had recently moved to the third site on St. Joseph's Street.¹⁸ Harry Pillans who was in his mid-seventies at this time had a penchant for convoluted grammatical structure. His use of the phrase, "on Water Street" is admittedly confusing for only the first Bethel Church had faced Water Street. Yet Harry Pillans pinpointed his location as being "...behind the old soldiers [Seaman's] home at the corner of Church street." The Seaman's Home was on Water Street at its intersection with Church Street. West (or "behind" if one is standing on Water Street) of the Sailor's Home was the second Bethel Church.

Erwin Craighead of the *Mobile Register* confirmed that Harry Pillans believed the assembly site was the second Bethel on Church Street in an article written about the *Hunley* just weeks before the publication of Pillans's letter. Craighead was familiar with Alexander's assertion that the submarine had been built in the Park and Lyons foundry and that Alexander's account did not exactly agree with Pillans's story.

The instructions were that the boat should be built in the machine shop of Parks [*sic*] and Lyons. Mr. Alexander does not in his account locate the shop. Mr. Harry Pillans, sometime Mayor of Mobile, says that as a boy he went with his father to see the boat which was on the stocks in the Old Bethel building on the west side of Water street, second south of Church street.¹⁹

To summarize, all the informants agreed that the *Hunley* was put together somewhere along Water Street. Lt. Alexander claimed it was in a foundry located where Water Street intersected with State Street, B. B. Cox said it was in the first Bethel Church between Theatre



The Second Bethel Church on the campus of the University of South Alabama, 1971. University of South Alabama Archives.

and Monroe streets, while Major Pillans and his son said it was in the second Bethel that was near the corner of Church and Water. There were two different Bethel churches and those churches as well as the foundry were all located either on or near different corners of Water Street. Fortunately, the solution to the puzzle is simple. The key lies in the credibility of Benjamin B. Cox who was a very young boy during the time period in question and who misinterpreted or mis-remembered some of what he had seen.

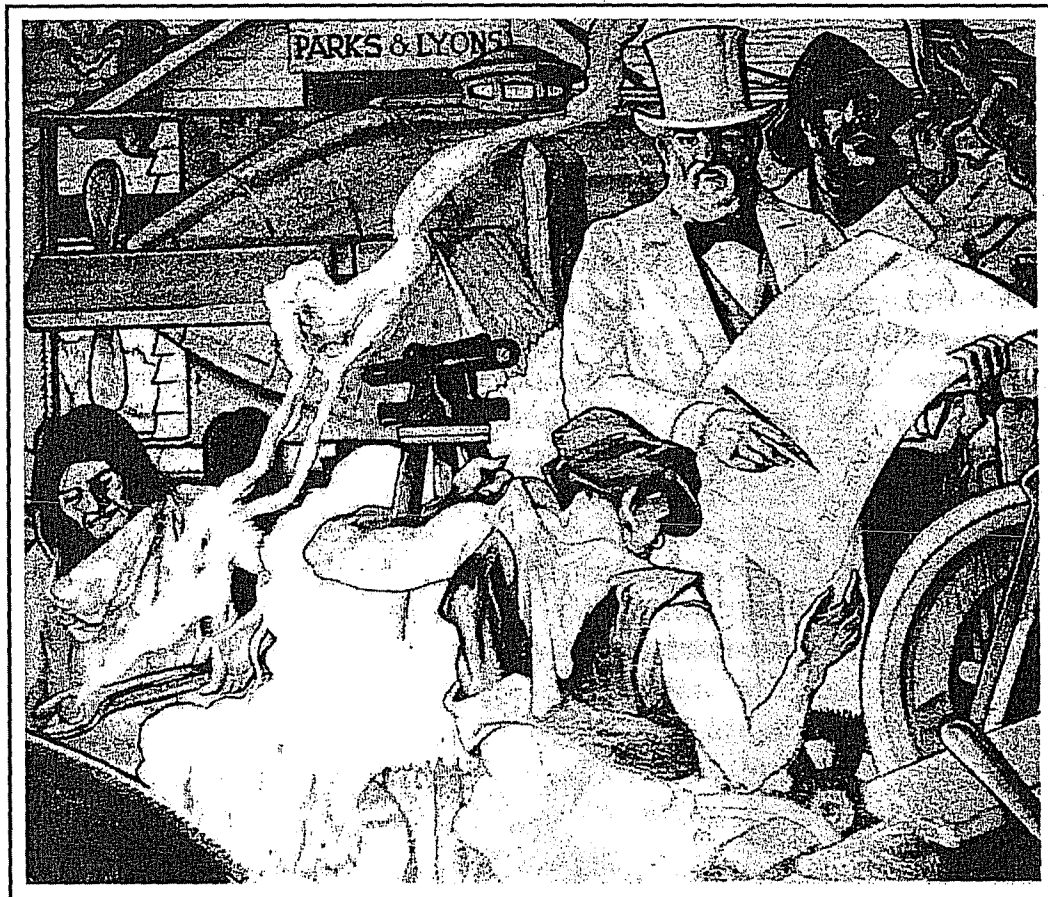
Throughout most of the nineteenth and continuing into the twentieth century, a series of Bethel churches and "Seaman's homes" were maintained by an ecumenical consortium of Mobile's Protestant churches for the sailors who temporarily found themselves in the port city.²⁰ In the early 1800s, deep-draft, ocean vessels commonly loaded and unloaded cargo in the lower bay rather than risk running aground in the shallows of the bay's upper reaches. Worship services for the crews of these ships were conducted on the "floating (Sailors) church," formerly the *Queen of the Ocean*, that was permanently anchored at the mouth of the bay.²¹ In 1845, the Alabama legislature approved the incorporation of the Trustees of the Seaman's Home.²² This organization built the first Bethel Church located on South Water Street between Theatre and Monroe streets.²³ In July 1860, the trustees purchased a larger piece of property facing Church Street that extended westward from the southwest corner of Church and Water streets.²⁴ On this property, a Seaman's Home and the second Bethel Church was constructed. Six weeks later, the trustees sold the first Bethel property for \$2,500 to Michael Hines while "reserving the Interior Carpentry Work of the Building."²⁵ Decades later, in June 1923, the Seaman's Bethel program would relocate to a third site on St. Joseph's Street and a theater group would purchase the second Bethel from the Trustees.²⁶ From the mid-1930s until the state of Alabama purchased it, the second Bethel was owned by J. W. Hooge who also owned the adjacent Marine Junk Company. The upstairs was used for storage and the downstairs for union meetings.²⁷ The first Bethel church no longer exists, but the second was relocated to the campus of the University of South Alabama in 1968 where it currently serves as the Center for the University Honors Program.²⁸

A footnote to the 1860 deed of sale of the first Bethel to Michael Hines contained the names of the trustees.²⁹ These were C. H. Minge (President), Walter Smith (Secretary), Thos. W. McCoy, Hugh Monroe, Wm. Stewart, and Daniel Wheeler. Most of the trustees were staunch supporters of the Confederate cause. The son of the President

was one of the cadets at the Virginia Military Institute who fought at the Battle of New Market.³⁰ Thomas McCoy had been Major General of the 4th Division of the Alabama Militia.³¹ Walter Smith petitioned citizens to donate winter clothing for Confederate soldiers and served with Daniel Wheeler on the Committee of Safety for the City of Mobile.³² Wheeler also chaired the Volunteer Relief Committee and was elected to the Board of Trustees of the City on January 9, 1864.³³

There was no direct familial, social, nor business connections between any of the trustees and men known to have been involved with subsequent submarine construction.³⁴ Major Pillans had stated that the floor of the Bethel had been removed and that the columns had been damaged in order to get the vessel out of the building. If the construction site of the submarine, had been the second Bethel, extensive repairs would have been required before religious services could be conducted within its walls again.

It does seem that the Hunley group utilized the facilities and expertise at the foundry of Park and Lyons. This foundry (formerly known as the Southern Iron Works) was located on the northwest corner of State and Water streets.³⁵ Designing and forging the components within a foundry was one thing; but providing secure space for the riveting together of a forty-foot-long war machine was another. Although there are no contemporary photos of the Park and Lyons Foundry, there is a representation of the facility on an 1873 map of Mobile.³⁶ It depicts numerous roofed, but wall-less buildings and open yards on the northwest corner of State and Water streets. Mobile summers are hot and humid with frequent thunderstorms. To make iron malleable, foundry workers had to heat the material before bending it to the desired shape. During the Civil War, this was done almost entirely by human muscle power. Using hoists and pulleys, massive weights would be lifted and dropped on metal plates while detailed shaping would be done with heavy hammers. Labor conditions surely were oppressive, but open-air structures would have provided some relief. This also must have been a security nightmare during a time of war. Mobile was a cosmopolitan city; not every passerby could be trusted to be a believer in the Confederate cause.³⁷ Indeed some of what we know about the *Hunley* comes from the testimonies of deserters.³⁸ There may have been concern as well about business competitors who might copy structural designs. The Hunley group expected the Confederate government to reimburse them as much as 50 percent of the value of any war ship that their vessel could destroy.³⁹ A large enclosed building, such as an unused church (the last European merchant ships



Detail of mural by John Augustus Walter, ca. 1934, commemorating the construction of the Hunley. The Park and Lyons Foundry name is misspelled. Museum of Mobile.

departed Mobile at the end of May, 1861) would have been a logical solution to the builders' security problem.⁴⁰ Since Cox never mentioned the second Bethel, it is apparent that the young boy and his playmates were unaware that anything interesting had gone on inside that building. If *Hunley* had been built within the second Bethel, her builders had, indeed, found a remarkably secure site for their operation.

The evidence suggests that sections of the *Hunley* were forged and perhaps machined at the Park and Lyons foundry and then transported eight to ten city blocks to an unused church building where riveting and internal outfitting would have taken place. But which church? Benjamin Cox stated categorically that he had seen the submarine being assembled in the Bethel Church that had been on Water Street.⁴¹ Both the Major and Harry Pillans positively identified the construction site of the *Hunley* as the second Bethel Church.⁴² Two informants referred to an "old" Bethel church, and all statements were given decades after the Civil War. Yet there were no errors concerning locations within any of the descriptions. Indeed, the three witnesses told the truth as they saw it. No one erred about where they had seen a submarine; the error was what submarine had been seen.

As the city surveyor, Palmer J. Pillans was familiar with the layout of downtown Mobile. He was also heavily involved the war effort.⁴³ He was in charge of city entrenchments, and Cox himself, stated that Pillans was a member of the commission that supervised construction of an iron gunboat and ram for the defense of Mobile.⁴⁴ In the 1895 interview, Pillans described how Lt. Dixon (who was the captain of the *Hunley* when she made her successful, but fatal last voyage) had received the Mobile Grays' colors in a ceremony at the Pillans household. Furthermore, two men associated with submarine construction in Mobile, Michael Hines (who was identified by Cox) and Thomas Lyons (who worked with Lt. Alexander), were on the Board of Aldermen.⁴⁵ All were pillars of the community.

Young Harry Pillans also makes a credible witness. After the Civil War, he worked as an Assistant City Engineer. In his off-hours, the young man took it upon himself to construct a city map documenting the ownership and showing the location of every piece of property on every block in downtown Mobile. It was an impressive labor of love and he devoted almost two years of his life to its completion.

So as my duty hours extended from Eight to three o'clock, I sought and obtained permission to use the Engineers room and in it install, and in my own time after hours work on a great

table at producing a true and accurate new City map on a large scale...I purchased india ink colors then installed my gas heater and went to work; and about twenty months later in 1868 completed my map. It took me so long because I could only work after office hours, at it, and though I seldom went to dinner or home, but contrived with the baker's products a tin of Goshen butter and an occasional slice of cheese to stay my hunger until supper time at home I had to do much of the work by flickering gas light and frequently had to work late in the field with tape and instrument supplying needed and missing data.⁴⁶

In this map each city block is illustrated on a separate sheet, every lot has been hand-colored, and adjacent to each sheet is a list of the owners of each piece of property. It is hard to imagine how someone who had painstakingly assembled all this information could have confused the locations of two churches.

The Cox family owned property adjacent to the second Bethel church. Cox not only provided an impressive amount of accurate detail in his description of the submarine assembly site, but made the point that he was not the only one who played under the submarine.⁴⁷ Much of what Cox stated can be verified. Period maps and Mobile Probate Court records show that Cox accurately described a piece of real estate as it was during the Civil War. Michael Hines did purchase the first Bethel church and owned the adjacent property where he ran a boilermaker business.⁴⁸

All three men knew their buildings, but suppose Cox and the Pillanses had observed the construction of two different submarines? Between 1862 and 1864 Mobile launched a number of such revolutionary craft.⁴⁹ Either Cox or the Pillanses could have mistakenly assumed that "their" submarine had been the *Hunley*. When did the name *Hunley* first come into use? It does not appear in either of the Pillanses accounts and Cox misspelled it in his first (1914) article. The majority of contemporary references to the *Hunley* were phrases such as: "the submarine," "the torpedo boat," or "the cigar boat." Even a deserter who claimed to have worked at the construction site in Mobile, referred to the submarine we know as the *Hunley* as the *American Diver*.⁵⁰ No record using the name *Hunley* in any document survives from the period when the vessel was in Mobile. Its first usage appears to have been in a handwritten letter by H. L. Hunley dated September 19, 1863, just after the first sinking in Charleston. Hunley asserted, "I am part-owner of the torpedo boat the *Hunley*," and requested permission from Gen. Beauregard to take command of the vessel.⁵¹ It is quite possible that during the construction and testing period in

I swear to and Subscribed this 2
day of Nov 1865, before me.
Witness my hand and the Seal of the Court
of Probate for Mobile County, Ala.
Geo. W. Dand, }
Judge

I swear to and Subscribed this 11
day of August 1865, before me.
Witness my hand and the Seal of the
Court of Probate for Mobile County, Ala.
Geo. W. Dand, }
Judge.

John A. Payne

John Payne

Amnesty oaths of John A. Payne and John Payne. Mobile County Probate Court.

Mobile, no one referred to the vessel as the *Hunley*. In fact, officials were as likely to have called the *Hunley* "Whitney's submarine boat," in reference to another financial backer.⁵² Certainly the name *Hunley* would not have been used by children who played in the area and others not involved with the boat's construction.

Who was most likely to have been confused over the identity of the vessel that they saw being built? Unlike the other witnesses, B. B. Cox was a boy during the Civil War and wrote his memoirs some sixty years after the events he described.⁵³ The reliability of Cox as an informant lies at the crux of the puzzle. Was he someone likely to verify "facts" before committing words to print, or was he a teller of tales of dubious accuracy? Fortunately, Cox made statements about another participant in the *Hunley* story that allows an evaluation of his credibility as a witness.

She [*Hunley*] was then placed in charge of Lieut. John A. Payne who handled the boat around Mobile, until it was decided to send her to operate around Charleston Harbor.... Some have written that Lieut. John A. Payne was with this boat in Charleston Harbor, but such is not the fact. John Payne was second lieutenant of the gunboat *Gaines* and helped to fight that ship in the battle of Mobile Bay.⁵⁴

Official records show that John A. Payne served as acting master at Richmond Station, as master mate on the CSS *Raleigh*, and as Lieutenant on the CSS *Chicora*.⁵⁵ Without question, Cox erred here. A fellow officer on the CSS *Chicora* published his account of the activities of Lt. Payne in Charleston.⁵⁶ Cox's confusion can be explained. Lt. John A. Payne did participate in the Battle of Mobile Bay as executive officer of the CSS *Gaines* and lived in Mobile after the Civil War.⁵⁷ He also was known to the younger (Harry) Pillans "as the writer learned from John Payne, commander on one of her [the *Hunley*'s] fatal trials...she [the *Hunley*] again sank in Charleston waters, Lieut. Payne being in command and as the writer's recollection is, only Payne and one other escaped death."⁵⁸

Interestingly, there was an ordinary seaman named John Payne who was on the CSS *Morgan* which served with the CSS *Gaines* during the Battle of Mobile Bay. During Reconstruction, men who had served in the Confederate forces had to sign an amnesty oath before they were allowed to vote. The city records of Mobile contain such an oath signed by John A. Payne on November 4, 1865, and another one signed by John Payne on August 1, 1865.⁵⁹ The signatures are clearly not the same. John A. Payne signed with firm, flourished lines typical of

someone at ease with paperwork. Cox had confused Lieutenant Payne with another veteran of the same name who did not serve in Charleston.

By contrast, the other two sources about the Hunley's construction site were adults who had discharged professional duties to the city during the war. The promoter of the first Bethel was a youngster and a more careless observer who had been on the periphery of the events he described. Benjamin Cox misspelled *Hunley*, misstated the location of the Park and Lyons Foundry, and confused Seaman John Payne, who had not served in Charleston, with Lt. John A. Payne who had done so. The Hunley was assembled in the second Bethel Church on Church Street. This is the Seaman's Bethel that was saved from demolition and relocated to the campus of the University of South Alabama.

The answer to one question leads to another. If the submarine that Cox and his friends had seen as children was not the *Hunley*, what submarine was it? One submarine active in Mobile Bay at this time was known as "the Frenchman's boat."⁶⁰ According to city records, on December 2, 1844, Michael Hines, the owner of the foundry Cox had used as a playground, renounced "all allegiance and fidelity...to Louis Phillippe King of France" and became a citizen of the United States.⁶¹ Hines had been a Frenchman. Cox witnessed Hines's construction of "the Frenchman's boat" and later erroneously incorporated the name *Hunley* into his childhood memories.

The *Hunley* has been located, and now her place of construction has also been found. Both discoveries have raised many new questions while laying old ones to rest.

Notes

Many people helped me unravel this puzzle. I wish to thank the museum, archive, and history professionals as a group and the following individuals: Sid Schell, Philipp Nassar, Mary Elizabeth (Pillans) Van Antwerp, Shea McLean, Augusta Tapia, Vera Norden, Wolfgang and Brigitte Boos, Murray Benson, David Toifel, Christ Coumanis, and Joe Cameron. Thanks also to my family for their patience and support.

¹Brian Hicks and Schuyler Kropf, *Raising the Hunley: The Remarkable History and Recovery of the Lost Confederate Submarine* (New York, NY, 2002), 6-9.

²This synopsis was based upon the investigations of Mark K. Ragan, *The Hunley: Submarines, Sacrifice, and Success in the Civil War* (Charleston, SC, 1999); Hicks & Kropf, *Raising the Hunley*; Mark K. Ragan, *Submarine Warfare in the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

³Although the builders of the *Hunley* received assistance from the Confederate government and during its short life-time, the vessel had been commanded by officers of both the Confederate Army and Navy, technically it had been a privately owned vessel. Consequently, it never was officially registered as a Confederate States Ship.

⁴Richard Bak, *The CSS Hunley, The Greatest Undersea Adventure of the Civil War* (Dallas, TX, 1999), 39; Ragan, *Submarine Warfare*, 82; Ragan, *The Hunley*, 26; Milton F. Perry, *Infernal Machines, The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare*, (Baton Rouge, LA, 1965), 96.

⁵Caldwell Delaney, *The Story of Mobile*, (Mobile, AL, 1999), 125.

⁶William A. Alexander, "The True Stories of the Confederate Submarine Boats," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), June 29, 1902.

⁷W. A. Alexander, "George E. Dixon's Submarine. Details of How Brave Man Lost His Life—Sons of Mobile Veterans Honor Him," *Mobile Daily Item*, April 26, 1910; *Mobile City Directory*, 1870.

⁸Caldwell Delaney, *Confederate Mobile, A Pictorial History*, (Mobile, AL, 1971), 136.

⁹B. B. Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A; Cox, "Mobile in the War between the States," *Confederate Veteran*, 24, No. 5 (May 1916): 210.

¹⁰*Mobile Register*, February 26, 1926, 2.

¹¹Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A.

¹²Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

¹³Elizabeth Barrett Gould, *From Builders to Architects, The Hobart-Hutchisson Six* (Montgomery, AL, 1997), 68.

¹⁴*Farrow & Dennett's City Directory of Mobile*, 1861, Appendix, 17; Harry Pillans, personal memoirs; transcribed by and in possession of Mr. Chuck Torrey reproduced with the permission of Mr. Torrey and Ms. Mary Elizabeth Pillans Van Antwerp. Personal interview with Mr. Terry, whose grandfather was the nephew of H. Pillans.

¹⁵"The Submarine Boat," *Mobile Daily Register*, February 8, 1895.

¹⁶"Captain McElroy Gives History of U Boat Used in Confederate Navy," *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924, 11. Among the errors were references to the *Hundley*, claims that she had sunk a total of five times, that one sinking had occurred in Mobile, and that she had been discovered lying 100 feet from the wreck of the *Housatonic*.

¹⁷Was this a misprint of "conical?" The bow of the submarine recovered from Charleston is decidedly tapered and anything but conical. Yet, to describe the bow as "comical" seems unusual. H. Pillans, "Story of CSN Submarine. Mr Pillans Recalls Misfortunes Which Attended Undersea Boat," Letters to Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924.

¹⁸*Mobile Register*, June 10, 1923, 2A.

¹⁹Erwin Craighead, "Dropped Stitches from Mobile's Past The Hunley," *Mobile Register*, September 14, 1924. Craighead was disoriented here. The "Old" Bethel that H. Pillans referred to was not "on the west side of Water street, second south of Church," rather it was on the south side of Church Street, second west of Water. See Figure 2.

²⁰Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (University, AL, 1985), 175-76.

²¹*Mobile Register and Journal*, "Bethel Notice," January 5, 1844, 2; *Directory for the City of Mobile*, 1856, 20.

²²*Mobile Register and Journal*, "Bethel," February 7, 1845, 2; Amos, *Cotton City*, 176.

²³*Mobile Register and Journal*, "The new Bethel Church," December 20, 1845, 2.

²⁴Deed Book 15 NS, 538-39, Mobile County Probate Court.

²⁵Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court.

²⁶*Mobile Register*, June 6, 1971, 14B; *Mobile Register*, June 10, 1923, 2A.

²⁷In personal interviews with the author, Augusta (Norden) Tapia said that her grandfather, J. W. Hooze, owner of the Marine Junk Co., had purchased the second Bethel and used the upstairs area for storage. When the church was purchased by the state of Alabama prior to being moved to the campus of the University of South Alabama, it had been her grandmother, Vera England Hooze, who had insisted that the sale proceed only on the condition that the Bethel church would not be demolished. Ms. Tapia's mother, Mrs. Norden remembered collecting rent for her father from the CIO who had rented the church for their meetings.

²⁸Robert Gamble, 1987, *The Alabama Catalogue: Historic American Buildings Survey, A Guide to the Early Architecture of the State* (University, AL, 1987), 313.

²⁹Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court.

³⁰Girdler, L. Tracy, *An Antebellum Life at Sea* (Montgomery, AL, 1997), 165.

³¹*Mobile Advertiser & Register*, June 9, 1861, 2.

³²*Mobile Advertiser & Register*, June 26, 1861, 2.

³³*Mobile Advertiser and Register*, June 9, 1861, 2; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Mobile, 181, Mobile Municipal Archives (MMA).

³⁴Marriage License Book, 319, Mobile County Probate Court. On June 15, 1852, foundry owner Thomas B. Lyons married Susan Ann McCoy. She may have been the niece of trustee Gen. Thomas McCoy.

³⁵*Directory for the City of Mobile* (Eichar, Park & Co., 1860), 21. Thomas Park and Thomas Lyons actually owned two lots near the corner of State and Water Streets during the Civil War. On December 11, 1862 the two men purchased a lot "Beginning at a Point One hundred and Twenty feet South of the South East Corner of State and Water Streets. Running South along Water Street...." (Mortgage Book 8, 563, Mobile County Probate Court) and on July 20, 1863 with

a third partner they purchased property on the northwest corner of that intersection (Mortgage Book 8, 639.) The fact that the latter date was just eleven days before the *Hunley* was successfully tested in Mobile Bay does not preclude the possibility that the site had been used in the vessel's construction. The 1860 City Directory citation indicates that Park had a business interest at that location. Certainly Park and Lyons could have rented the property before they purchased it.

³⁶Krebs Map, 1873, University of South Alabama Archives.

³⁷William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, ed. E. H. Berwanger (Baton Rouge, LA, 2001), 136-37.

³⁸*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (ORN)*, 32 vols. (Washington D.C., 1894-1927), Series 1, 19: 268; *ORN*, Series 1, 15: 229.

³⁹Ragan, *The Hunley: Submarines, Sacrifice, and Success*, 36.

⁴⁰Arthur W. Bergeron Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1991), 117.

⁴¹B. B. Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," 5A; Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴²Major Palmer J. Pillans interviewed by an anonymous correspondent, *Mobile Daily Register*, "The Submarine Boat," February 8, 1895; Harry Pillans, Letter to the Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924.

⁴³*City Directory of Mobile*, 1861, Appendix, 17; He was re-nominated March 3, 1862 by Councilman Moulton, Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, 62, MMA.

⁴⁴Bergeron, *Confederate Mobile*, 67, citing the Leadbetter papers, Dr. Thomas McMillan Collection, Museum of Mobile; Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴⁵*Mobile City Directory*, 1861, Appendix, 17.

⁴⁶Personal memoirs of Harry Pillans; transcribed by and in possession of Mr. Chuck Torrey reproduced with the permission of Mr. Torrey and Ms. Mary Elizabeth Pillans Van Antwerp. The map, contained in eight bound volumes, is housed at the Mobile Municipal Archives.

⁴⁷Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴⁸Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court; *Mobile City Directory*, 1861.

⁴⁹*ORN*, Series 1, 19: 268. James Carr, a deserter, asserted during his interrogation that in 1863 "three or four" submarines had been active in Mobile Bay." Sidney H. Schell, "Submarine Weapons Tested at Mobile During the Civil War," *The Alabama Review* 45 (July 1992): 163-83. Schell documented that as many as five submarines had been active in Mobile Bay.

⁵⁰*ORN*, Series 1, 15: 229.

⁵¹Ragan, *The Hunley*, 81.

⁵²Bak, *The CSS Hunley, The Greatest Undersea Adventure*, 52.

⁵³Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A.

⁵⁴Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁵⁵ORN, Series 2, 1: 322, 301, 283

⁵⁶C. L. Stanton, "Submarines and Torpedo Boats," *Confederate Veteran* 22 (April 1914): 398-99, as cited by Ragan in *The Hunley*, 64 and note 77, 236.

⁵⁷ORN, Series I, 21: 593-94; Thomas T. Moebs, *Confederate States Navy Research Guide* (Williamsburg, VA, 1991), 248; Jack Friend, *West Wind, Flood Tide, The Battle of Mobile Bay* (Annapolis, MD, 2004), 210-11.

⁵⁸Harry Pillans, "Story of CSN Submarine, Mr. Pillans Recalls Misfortune Which Attended Undersea Boat," Letters to Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 8, 1924.

⁵⁹Mobile County Probate Court, Archives Dept. File 36, 3073, November 4, 1865, no. 1873; Mobile Probate Court, Archives Dept. File 36, 3072, August 1, 1865, no. 169.

⁶⁰ORN, Series 1, 19: 268.

⁶¹Minute Book 10, 38, Mobile County Circuit Court, University of South Alabama Archives. For comments on the possible identity of "the Frenchman" see M. K. Ragan, *Submarine Warfare in the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 100 and note 5; Schell, "Submarine Weapons Tested," 168-72.

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