SAMUEL EDWIN WOOLLEY:
A VALET'S HERO
by
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Having chosen to read the journals of Samuel E. Woolley, I regularly shared my discoveries about his life with my wife who at one point said, "I don't think this is any of your business." An admired colleague confessed, "I don't believe I would read that paper at the Mormon Pacific Historical Society." I wondered myself at times if I had strayed over the line from historian to voyeur? Admittedly, there are some very sensitive areas associated with the life of Samuel E. Woolley. I am as much in need of "mutual approbation" as the next fellow. So what was I doing writing this paper and more importantly, what am I doing reading it in a public forum?

I do not know if Woolley personally felt his life was a triumph; I do know he struggled to faithfully endure to the end and that to me constitutes a very great triumph, indeed! I find heroism in Woolley's repeated attempts to be faithful to the best in himself and to the best he knew. I believe Samuel E. Woolley died a disappointed man, but I find him the more heroic for that very reason. Woolley's own record suggests the final five years of his life may well have been a disappointment to him. Implicit in his journal is the sense that having done all he had done, offered all he had offered, surely, there ought to be more recognition, more reward. Instead, he lay in a hospital bed, without financial resources, far from the scenes of his renowned leadership as the great luna in Hawaii, his body ravaged by strange diseases contracted there, with an uncertain future even if he should survive his hospital stay. Yet despite all this we have no indication of any recriminations on Woolley's part. There is no reason to doubt, discouraged as he was, that he remained faithful to his covenants as he understood them. I question whether any man or woman can do more, if in that regard Samuel Edwin Woolley was not an heroic everyman, at last what we hope every "man" of us will be when, our sensibilities dulled by age, bereft of loved ones who may have preceded us in death, perhaps distant from scenes of our greatest triumphs, the shades of death begin to close around us? So while what
follows can only be a portion of Woolley's life it is also an attempt in celebrating that life to celebrate the heroism in all who wrestle with the human condition.

A word about process. I have focused narrowly on Woolley's gender relationships, to a lesser degree on his finances, and finally on the struggle all men must finally face, the truth that time has to some degree passed them by. While this selectivity does not do justice to Samuel E. Woolley or his memory, I chose these areas of his life because to me they best demonstrated both the man's humanness and his (and our expected) quiet triumph. Finally, the difficulty of my task was compounded by the successful efforts of a sincere and well intentioned Woolley family member to delete from his journals anything she thought might reflect negatively on her father-in-law. At first I was both disappointed and angered by her action. On further reflection I realized we do the same thing each time we write in our journals when we selectively record only the "best" rather than the "complete" us. Thus, to condemn JRHW¹ is to misunderstand human nature and finally to condemn ourselves.

Few in the Church beneath General Authority status can have given longer service than Samuel Edwin Woolley. Born in Salt Lake City, October 22, 1859, he grew up in Grantsville, Utah forty miles west of Salt Lake. He lived there until at age twenty he was called on a mission to Hawaii, serving from 1880 to 1884. After returning home on May 6, 1885, he was sealed to Alice Rowberry of Grantsville in the Logan Temple by President Marriner W. Merrill² and shortly after was called to go with Alice to Iosepa, the gathering place of the Hawaiians in Utah from 1889 until 1917, just west of the Stansbury Mountains from Grantsville. Samuel was assistant manager responsible for livestock, serving for five and a half years.

On August 9, 1895, the Woolleys were called to Hawaii where Samuel served as plantation manager and mission president. Seven years later, Alice returned to live in Utah because of her deteriorating health. Samuel remained at his post in Hawaii for nineteen more years! Their six surviving children were reared by Alice in Utah. In June 1919, Woolley was finally relieved of his duties as mission president by E. Wesley Smith. He continued as plantation manager until May 17, 1921, when he was replaced by Antoine R. Ivins. Upon returning to Utah that year Woolley worked at Warm Springs, a swimming resort complex. Troubled by ill health, he was under a doctor's care from November 1924 and finally was
confined at LDS Hospital. He died in Salt Lake City on April 3, 1925. His service to the Church totalled well over thirty years, most of that spent far from his home and family.

This is the brief outline, but it does not begin to tell the full story. The materials extracted from the journals make it impossible to know some important details of the Woolley story, but one fact is clear. Samuel E. Woolley's long separations from his first wife Alice had much to do with some of the problems he encountered in Hawaii and Utah. His journals make clear that at least as early as 1905 Samuel was sufficiently well thought of by church leaders that he was regularly invited by President Joseph F. Smith to come to and be recognized at the fall general conference sessions. After Alice had been released from their mission in 1902, her husband accompanied the family to Utah where she and Samuel were given their second endowment, as if to steel them for their long separations. Samuel continued to come to fall conference for a number of years and sometimes remained as long as six months, travelling between Grantsville, Salt Lake and Iosepa. Still, those six to eleven month separations from Alice must have seemed long indeed to Samuel E. Woolley. It is possible that had adherence to the 1890 or 1904 Manifestos been universally accepted, practiced, and enforced by the Latter-day Saints at the time of their issuance, Woolley might not have been involved in and suffered as he did over the issue of plural marriage.

Samuel E. Woolley was a likely candidate for post-Manifesto plural marriage. By one account, in October 1843 the revelation of plural marriage was first read in the home of Samuel E. Woolley's grandfather, Edwin D. Woolley, at Nauvoo. Edwin was one of the first to "yield obedience to the principle." Elder John W. Taylor of the Twelve, excommunicated in March 1911 for refusing to "subordinate himself to the government and discipline of the Church," married a half-sister of Samuel E. Woolley, Janet (Nettie) Marie Woolley, as his third wife. John Wickersham Woolley, brother of Samuel E. Woolley's father, Samuel Wickersham Woolley, married his third wife, Anne Fisher, in March of 1910 when he was seventy-nine and she forty and was excommunicated in 1914 for performing plural marriages. So the Woolley name is one long associated with post-manifesto plural marriage and even with Mormon Fundamentalism.

Obviously, one of the problems of plural marriage is that it encourages monogamous men and even women to view others as potential
mates. This is an unexceptional practice in a society where plural marriage is accepted, but in a monogamous society it is bound to create tensions which can prove socially and emotionally disruptive. Certainly the issue of plural marriage was disruptive in Laie during much of Samuel E. Woolley's leadership tenure there and especially after Alice left in 1902. Of course, it was the contention of some church leaders that the 1890 and 1904 Manifestos were intended for the Church at large, not for certain individual members and particularly not for select members outside the United States in places like Canada, Mexico, and Hawaii.

From January 1904 to February 1907 the Reed Smoot Hearings attracted widespread attention in the U.S. and the ripple effect of this event easily reached Honolulu. Not that the hearings were necessary for Section 132 to be so topical in Hawaii for it is apparent that from 1902 until 1915, when he was disciplined by the Church leadership for promoting plural marriage in Hawaii, Samuel E. Woolley was regularly involved in public and private discussions concerning the subject. Six weeks after the April, 1904 Manifesto, Samuel wrote Alice that he had helped convert a missionary couple, the Shadrack Lunts, to the idea of plural marriage. In May, 1904, Woolley admitted feeling sorry for Harriet Pomaikai Davis of Honolulu, one of so many "oldish women" never having a chance for a family or a home of their own. "Hattie" Davis was born on Maui on January 25, 1871, of royal Hawaiian blood. Woolley lamented that he could not help such women as Hattie, but only give them good advice. Samuel wrote his wife Alice on May 24, 1904: "I know you are with me heart and soul in carrying out the mandates of the priesthood. I believe you are so thoroughly converted that if the priesthood should command you would be willing to obey. I do appreciate that." It appears Woolley is already personally involved in the sexual dynamics peculiar to polygyny and is considering "helping" Hattie.

Five days later he wrote along the same lines and again mentioned Hattie. "I believe she feels that she is losing many blessings by being single. She is a good woman and will make some man a good wife." But in the meantime Samuel had received a letter from Alice and one can sense Alice's concern about what her husband had told her. Samuel answered his wife, "I don't know how much your protest will avail but we will be patient and let the Presidency say when it will be." Had Alice communicated to the church leaders that nine years seemed long enough for her husband to serve in Hawaii and was she fearful her husband might
take a second wife? That Alice may have been fearful of just such an eventuality is indicated when on August 6, 1921, just before he left Laie for the last time, Woolley wrote his wife, "Another trial came to you when I took another wife but how nobly you have born that test. God bless your dear soul, I know that has been a test . . . ."

By spring of 1905 the plural marriage question was front page news in Honolulu. The LDS were accused of practicing it, and while Woolley knew they were, he spoke publicly to convince outsiders, at least, that the practice was dead in the Church. The Attorney General for Hawaii investigated and he and Woolley had a long talk. The Territorial Marshall even came to dinner at Laie to further investigate. Here at this point, Romania's work is apparent since journal entries for this period are missing. But within the mission something occurred to drastically change the feelings of at least some of the Laie missionaries toward President Woolley. Sisters Wooten and Bush came to Woolley to discuss plural marriage with him; he says he " . . . heads them off and finally they say they will have to give up." It seems more than coincidental that these two and others expressed concerns at the very time Samuel Woolley was regularly spending as many as three days a week in Honolulu and staying nights at the Abraham Fernandez home in Kalihi where Hattie Davis resided with her sister and brother-in-law.

Meanwhile in Honolulu the "Josephite" missionaries told a grand jury what they knew of plural marriage in Laie. LDS Church leaders regularly came to Laie while "on the underground." The RLDS missionaries' report may have included the fact that Samuel E. Woolley had taken Hattie Davis as a plural wife. This appears to have occurred between 1905 and 1908, whether in Hawaii or Utah, I cannot determine. In Grantsville, Utah, on January 6, 1907, Woolley spoke in church on plural marriage and told the Saints he did not want any brethren or sisters to teach that plural marriage was not true or had been forever done away with. Eight days later Elder Mathias F. Cowley shared with Woolley a precious document "he shows to few of his brethren." One can only speculate whether this document was a photocopy of Lorin Calvin Woolley's 1912 account of permission to continue performing plural marriages as authorized by President John Taylor. It appears likely the document's subject was plural marriage.

Records show Hattie P. Davis Woolley bore a child, Minerva, on September 30, 1909, in Salt Lake City, Utah. She had been released as
Primary president in Honolulu within a month after Samuel Woolley returned from general conference in October, 1907. Despite Romania's best efforts both the Samuel Woolley correspondence and The Utah Woolley Family by Preston Parkinson mention Hattie as Samuel's wife and Minerva (Dolly) as their daughter. The behavior of some LDS Church leaders as well as Woolley's missionaries in Hawaii gave further evidence of the marriage. In November of 1915 the Council of the Twelve wrote a letter indicating that while they found no evidence of Woolley's plural marriage they had reprimanded him for teaching the subject and thus there was no cause for further censure. Francis M. Lyman in the same letter "in behalf of the Council" wrote: "the objectionable peculiarities of President Woolley with Elders and Saints he claims to have corrected . . . ."10

One of the most painful evidences of General Authority displeasure with Woolley's undocumented plural marriage occurred in fall, 1910, when he was not invited to attend conference. Disappointed at hearing no word, he finally cabled President Joseph F. Smith, asking if he should come. The response was as terse as it was cold, "Suit yourself." Nevertheless, he finally decided to go and his feelings recorded at the time he made that trip were poignant. At his departure for the mainland he went through the "usual lei ordeal." "Aloha Oe" was sung, an experience which "always" made Woolley "feel annoyed." "The passengers on the boat looked at him as if he were a wild animal of some sort." By the time he arrived in Salt Lake his daughter Minerva, a bit more than a year old, had forgotten him and was frightened at his presence.11 Elder Francis M. Lyman, whose opposition to plural marriage at this time is well documented, summoned Woolley into the office and "asks many questions of [his] personal affairs . . . some of which worried [him] very much." In the past he had brought poi from Hawaii to share with the prophet but this time he was allowed to see President Smith, "protected," as Woolley described him, for only a few minutes.12 A decided chill had set in.

A year later Woolley spent the time he usually took to attend general conference travelling around Kauai. His description of a Kauai branch president that September 17, 1911, is filled with dramatic irony. "He does not live as he ought and the people have lost confidence in him and he knows it. There will have to be a change before things will be any better."

Unfortunately for Samuel E. Woolley the counsel, belief, and practices of some of his ecclesiastical superiors, his own doctrinal convictions, and maybe Woolley's biological drives apparently did not
encourage a reformation in him which would have made his life less difficult. The journals give no indication that either of his two wives returned to Hawaii before 1919 when Alice came. Meanwhile, temporarily denied access to Alice or Hattie, Woolley sought further female companionship in Laie. He was attracted to an LDS Hawaiian woman named IK or I. A., as she later came to be called. Like Samuel's two wives, I. was a Primary president and, while twenty-five years younger than Samuel, the two were thrust together frequently, at least sometimes by design. Because of the missing journals their relationship is left to inferences and a telling letter written in January, 1917 by fourth son, Joseph Rowberry Woolley, 19, to his brother John Franklin Woolley, 29. I. was then 33, Samuel, 58:

I think mother (Alice) worried a lot about that I., and from what I know of it she has a right to, because father isn't doing right by her. It's true he has done all he possibly could and can do for us all the time but still if he is going with that woman or paying any attention to her it isn't right. I think you and Ralph ought to put it to him before it is too late, because it would probably mean a great deal to us all. Hattie was telling Sis. about it and she sure is sore, to think she would do the things she has. . . . Father will lost out if he is not careful for things of that sort to avail. Enough said.13

There are no Samuel Woolley journals after May 13, 1915. One can only speculate about what transpired between I. and Samuel. But the frequency of I.'s name in Samuel's journal is revealing. On January 26, 1907, I. was at the boat to greet him on his return from Utah. Two days later "I. and I spent evening with Adelaide Fernandez." In July President Woolley set I. apart for her mission to Kauai. In September of 1907 "I spent most of the time talking to I. who had just returned from Kauai with Annie Apua." On Kauai himself, later in September, Samuel expected lots of mail but received only one letter, from IK. In October, back in Laie, I. bore her testimony immediately after Samuel. The association continued through the years. On October 6, 1911, "Sister Cole, I. and I go to Kahuku for the train." On Sunday, October 22, 1911, Woolley invited Lelia and I. to eat with him. They "feel honored and pleased as it is his 52nd birthday." Later in the day I. gave her mission president a stick-pin, tie, and collar holder. One is reminded of Hattie's having given gifts to Samuel
Christmas 1905, a shaving mug and brush, case, and ink well of shell. The day following the exchange of gifts between Samuel and I., she came to get Woolley to administer to a sick child. Later that same day, now in Honolulu, Woolley wrote I.. In November 1911, Samuel, then in Kona on the Big Island, received letters from Alice, Hattie, and "a nice little one from I." Samuel even served as I.'s rescuer on one occasion when she was having a fight with her mother, Miliama. I. escaped to phone Samuel who came quickly and protected thirty year old I. from further hair pulling. There is much, much more mention of I. in Samuel's journals. Nor does anyone else's name appear with near the frequency of IK's after both Alice and Hattie went to the mainland.

A letter from Samuel to Alice in which he addressed the children is instructive, this written on February 16, 1904:

A rugged frontier life fits us for the great battle of life. Now children, remember above all else that an adulterer can never be exalted. Joseph Smith said Nov. 25, 1843, 'If a man commit adultery he can not receive the celestial kingdom of God.' The Lord says the same thing. Then how careful we should be that Satan does not tempt us beyond what we are able to resist.

We can assume this counsel, written at a time when Samuel was developing a relationship with Hattie Davis, applied equally to I.. Whatever transpired between Samuel and I. did not result in even the temporary rejection of Woolley by Church leaders which had occurred in 1910. While that rejection did not persist indefinitely, Woolley was not again in attendance at general conference until October, 1914. But by then clearly he had returned to favor. Before dismissing the conference session President Joseph F. Smith mentioned the overflow meeting in the Assembly Hall next door, presided over by a General Authority "assisted by President Samuel E. Woolley, President of the Hawaii Mission."14 We have no evidence if anyone knew Woolley had gone from the train directly to Hattie's upon arriving in Salt Lake.

There were at least two other major difficulties associated with Samuel E. Woolley's twenty-six years as a Church missionary and leader in Hawaii. The first concerned finances. The Laie sugar plantation was only sometimes a paying proposition. The land in cultivation was never extensive enough that economies of scale could be practiced and
profitability was dependent to a considerable degree on American politics and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875. Nevertheless, while not a lot of money remained in the possession of President Woolley, significant amounts passed through his showing he was often loaning or being loaned considerable sums of money. It is unclear if the Church provided a salary to this plantation manager. More likely he was allowed to take his living expenses from plantation profits. In contrast, he commented on the extravagant life style of his friends Abraham and Minerva Fernandez (she a sister to his second wife, Hattie) in Honolulu; Woolley's own living standard was no doubt much more modest. Nor does he seem to have put aside anything for his retirement years. This is ironic in view of his letter of May 19, 1904, to Alice. In it he worried about the Fernandezes being extravagant and not knowing how to save a dollar. On May 6, 1916, Samuel wrote his first wife:

I ought to have made money enough to have been on easy street by now. Even if I have been on a mission, there are opportunities passing by every day that some one picks that I could have taken and they would have paid themselves out long ago. I am sore at myself sometimes to think that I have been so foolish and short sighted but we can always look back and see what we might have been . . . . I feel that I have not done as well in so many ways as I ought to have done.

Eight months before Samuel died on April 3, 1925, he wrote Alice from Salt Lake that he wished he were so fixed financially he could satisfy every desire of her heart. He continued: "It makes me feel mighty small because I can't do for you what I would like to do . . . ." By February 24, 1925, Samuel was in the LDS hospital in Salt Lake and again the subject was money. He wrote Alice: "I surely need something to bring a living. This thing of being at the mercy of some one else surely gets under my skin." Later in the same letter he returned to the subject of his impoverishment.

I need a good job now to get me out of the hole. Spring seems to have come and I feel I should be doing something but if a fellow has nothing he can do and nothing to do with one hardly knows where to begin. But I live in hopes something will come my way before long.
Within six weeks of this letter Woolley had died of erysipelas, nephritis, and arteriosclerosis.15

The other trouble is related to that encountered by many young missionaries when they return home and are given their first post-mission directive to take out the garbage, go to bed, or some other mundane command. In all likelihood during their missions they became as Samuel E. Woolley did, much more used to giving commands than to receiving them. This role reversal can be traumatic and appears to have been so for Woolley. By the time Ralph E. Woolley, Samuel and Alice's firstborn, was appointed construction superintendent for the Hawaii Temple, the plantation in Laie was of secondary significance. The temple groundbreaking began in February of 1916 and Samuel, with some proprietary responsibility, announced he wanted the project completed in a year; it took more than three. Samuel was then fifty-seven years old and certainly in possession of the bittersweet awareness that the son Ralph must increase and the father decrease. Acutely aware of time's passing, in August of 1917 he wrote Alice "I am such a poor weak fellow that I do not seem to advance very much with all these long years of experience." Samuel was a horseman and motor cars were taking over. In the same letter he described his health and his mental state. "Sometimes I get nervous and shaky but not from over work but from an over strain because some things do not go like I would have them go . . . . It is hard to teach old dogs new tricks." On May 6 of the previous year he had addressed the same theme in a letter to Alice.

I am not quite so young as I was . . . and do not look at things just the same but I feel that with the opportunities of all these years I have not made the progress that I ought to have made. I must be a lolo, I surely ought to have been better posted in every way. But I suppose my thinker is not good enough or I do not know how to work it so well as others.

Woolley was discouraged when he was released as mission president and replaced by Hawaii-born E. Wesley Smith, son of Joseph F. Smith. After all, Woolley had called Wesley to labor in Hilo and to serve as first counselor in the MIA. Woolley's release as plantation manager to years later must have been even more devastating. Antoine R. Ivins was "hired" to run the plantation. Admittedly fragmentary, the Samuel E. Woolley
collection contains a letter from missionaries Frank and Cassie Bailey to Ruth Austin, Woolley's granddaughter. "I was at Laie when he received notice of his release via a news dispatch and I am sure it was a tremendous shock . . . I think the new life with its necessary adjustments was rather difficult." (Underlining mine)

The journals show that Samuel E. Woolley did make at least one attempt to prepare for a rainy day while he was in control in Laie. In 1907 he bought mining shares in Blackhorse, Nevada. He obtained approval from the First Presidency to borrow money for the Trustee in Trust and in January of 1907 purchased at least 3,000 shares in a mine. Later it was organized into the Ohana Mining Company. The financial results of this investment can only be inferred since no further mention of it appears in the Woolley journal or letters. It is unclear whether Woolley was investing for himself, the Church, or both, but his penury in the final months of his life indicates the mining venture must have been an unprofitable one, for him at least.

What can one conclude from such a brief and partial look at one man's life? Tribute must be paid to the person singly most responsible for bringing attention to the significance of the Woolley journals. Ruth Austin is the third child of Samuel E. Woolley's second son, John Franklin Woolley. Her interest has been to have her grandfather's journals edited and made available to scholars. To her great credit, Ruth wanted this great Hawaiian pioneer—Samuel Edwin Woolley, who died before Ruth's second birthday, presented warts and all, but it was imperative to her that his story be accessible. Ruth has spent considerable sums of money and an enormous amount of time personally preparing her grandfather's journals. She presented a sketch of his life in 1986 at the Mormon Pacific Historical Society annual meeting. Surely some genetic credit is due Samuel E. Woolley for this inspiring and dedicated granddaughter.

Despite his occasional deprecation by church leaders, Woolley's faith in the prophets and desire to do as instructed by them did not waver. After general conference in 1914 Woolley went to President Smith to ask for direction. He recorded in his journal on October 27, "I want to do as near what he wants me to do as I can for I am willing to go when and where he asked me to go. That has always been my rule." Those who have read Woolley's journal are convinced he meant exactly what he said.

The Brethren recognized that faithfulness in Woolley when in 1904 they sent him to Samoa as agent to select and purchase properties for the
Church. Time and again Woolley told us in his journal that in writing or in person he conferred with President Smith about some change he some change he wished to make in Laie or some other plan for which he needed his direction. While on the mainland, he invariably met with the prophet to be told if and when he should return to his post in Laie. He was left at age sixty-six used up, his talents eroded by age and rendered less valuable by the onset of modern times. He had no income nor real prospect of any. He was soon to die from afflictions he contracted while he served in a foreign land for thirty years, ulcers and high blood pressure among them. One is not surprised he had doubts about the value of his service, that he wondered if anyone were aware of the service he had given. But there is no evidence extant, at least, which would indicate any recriminations on Samuel Woolley's part against church leaders or the Church. He may have felt he had nothing left to offer at his age but take nothing away from the quality and length of the service he had rendered. He may have come to a growing impression of his uselessness but this in no way detracts from the quality of his former service.

The historian Gertrude Himmelfarb cited Hegel, who wrote in 1807, "No man is a hero to his valet." She went on in her Jefferson Lecture to castigate the new breed of historians as possessing the souls of valets. The foregoing may be more of a revelation of my soul than I would like but I hope it will be construed as a celebration of Samuel E. Woolley, and of ourselves when we struggle to endure as he did. Woolley's obituary was written six years prior to his death, on what he said was the greatest of all his days to him. The occasion was the dedication of the edifice for which he had worked so hard and long, the Hawaii Temple, November 27, 1919, the words those of President Heber J. Grant, addressed to the assembled multitude and to God:

We thank thee for the long and faithful and diligent labors of thy servant President Samuel E. Woolley, who has so faithfully presided over this mission for these many years. We thank thee for his labors in the erection of this temple and we beseech thee, O Father, that thou will bless him . . . 17

I believe this is not only an accurate summation of Woolley's life, but a highly appropriate prophetic expression of appreciation for this life of dedicated service. Like our own, Samuel E. Woolley's reward will be postponed but surely, as we hope to, he "will reap in due season."
ENDNOTES

1Romania married Ralph Edwin Woolley, Samuel and Alice's eldest son. He was the builder of the Hawaiian Temple, the Honolulu Tabernacle, and other buildings in Hawaii. He and Romania became wealthy socialites in Honolulu society. Ralph was the first Oahu Stake president.

2Elder Merrill later became an apostle and may have influenced Woolley's attitudes toward plural marriage. Van Wagoner's book notes Merrill's statement made in 1900 that people are mistaken if they believe plural marriage will every be taken from the earth. Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy: A History, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). 257.

3Preston Woolley Parkinson, The Utah Woolley Family, (Published at Salt Lake City, Utah, 1967), 549.

4Ibid., 97.

5Van Wagoner, 187.

6Ibid., 192.

7This May 29, 1904, and subsequent references are to the Journals of Samuel E. Woolley. The typescript of these journals and Woolley letters are in the Joseph F. Smith Learning Resource Center archives on the Brigham Young University-Hawaii campus in Laie, Hawaii.

8Samuel E. Woolley Journal, Sunday, March 27, 1905.

9Van Wagoner, 191. One of the most important statements in Fundamentalist history deals with a vision purportedly had by President John Taylor in 1886 assuring the eternity of plural marriage and authorizing five special men to perform it.

10Letter in the Samuel E. Woolley collection dated, November 17, 1915.


14Samuel E. Woolley Journal, October 4, 1914.

15This information comes from the death certificate of Samuel E. Woolley. Erysipelas is a dangerous form of cellulitis, a bacterial strep infection spreading from a local wound or infection. It may be accompanied by acute pain, high spiking fever, chills, severe headache, sometimes delirium, nausea and vomiting. Modern antibiotics would have quickly healed Woolley of this but not the other medical problems leading to his death. It is ironic that death cheated Samuel E. Woolley of attendance of yet another general conference. Allen E. Nourse, Family Medical Guide, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973, 206-07).


17Jenson, 27 November, 1919.
WORKS CITED


Woolley, Samuel Edwin, The Samuel E. Woolley Collection. This collection includes journals and letters and is housed in the Archives of the Brigham Young University-Hawaii Library.