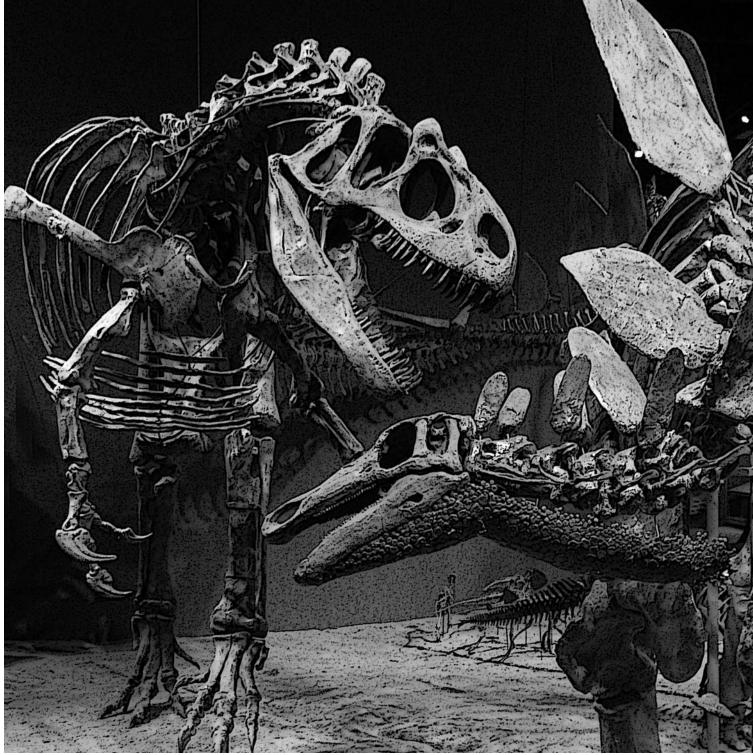
DINOSAURS



Allosaurus and Stegosaurus skeletons | Denver Museum of Nature and Science

The Adventist Origins of Dinosaur National Monument *Earl Douglass and His Adventist Roots* | by t JOE WILLEY AND RONALD L. NUMBERS



For decades, Seventh-day Adventists have visited Dinosaur National Monument in northwest Colorado and reported on the unparalleled fossil dinosaurs found there. None, however, ever mentioned that the paleontologist responsible for the discovery, G. Earl Douglass (1862–1931), was a former member of the church who grew up in a devout Adventist home. This is his story.

Earl Douglass

The Adventist Years

he son of Fernando and Abigail (Carpenter) Douglass, G. Earl Douglass was born in Medford, Minnesota, about fifty miles west of Rochester. Most of the neighbors were Baptists or Presbyterian.¹ In 1854, Earl's father purchased a quartersection (160 acres) of land a mile from town for two hundred dollars and began clearing the land. Both parents were devout Seventh-day Adventists, as were Earl's two older sisters, Ida (1858–1910) and Nettie (1859–1928). Ida married an Adventist minister; Nettie never married.²

Indirect evidence suggests that a Brother Washington Morse introduced Earl's parents to Sabbath-keeping in 1859 while "canvassing for souls" in Medford.³ Morse suspected that the "brethren in the church at Medford [were] generally poor, although there [were] exceptions." By 1860 the Medford church had merged with one in nearby Deerfield to form a single congregation. Ten families in the combined group met weekly "to worship on the Sabbath, and [tried] to get the victory over the beast and his image." We also know that the Douglasses subscribed to the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* throughout the late 1860s and early 1870s.⁴ As an adult Earl reflected on his "intensely religious" childhood, filled with predictions of the imminent end of the world, ubiquitous prophetic charts, and "very ingenious" arguments about the symbolic beasts of Daniel and Revelation. Adventist preachers, he recollected, referred to their message as "the Present Truth" and deferred to the female prophet in their midst. Especially fearful was the papacy in Rome.⁵

Minnesota Adventists held their first camp meeting, in Medford, during the summer of 1871, when Earl was nine years old. The Review announced that both Ellen and James White would be attending, which they did, along with Elders William S. Ingraham and Wolcott H. Littlejohn, and Adelia Patten Van Horn, who often traveled with the Whites. A bell sounded at five in the morning to awaken the campers, who had thirty minutes to prepare themselves and assemble for morning prayer. Ellen White spoke at least twice during the meetings before a "large and orderly assembly," estimated at 120 people. The Whites stayed an extra day to catch up on *Review* correspondence before returning to Battle Creek, where James not only edited the magazine but presided over the fledgling denomination.⁶ Notes in Douglass's diary indicate that during the coming years he attended other camp meetings in Minnesota and South Dakota. He also mentions attending various Sabbath School and church meetings.7

Young Douglass encountered fossils for the first time during a trip with his father to Lindersmith's limestone quarry near Clinton Falls. There the excited boy held in his hand what he thought was some kind of "saurian" lizard but later discovered it was a giant molluscan ancestor of the nautilus.⁸ This first encounter aroused his imagination about the mystery of life that once had lived in the sea—but it did not suddenly change his Bible-based views of earth history. As he later recalled, Ronald L. Numbers and T Joe Willey | On the site where it all began



The belief in the early account of creation in six literal days was too completely driven into my consciousness and was too thoroughly bound up with our eternal fate. The people with whom I was raised were commissioned by the almighty [sic] and the angels of Revelations to proclaim the last message of mercy to a dying world, to restore the commandments, especially the Sabbath of the Bible which had been ignored for centuries, and thus fit a holy people for translation at the final consummations. And was it plainly stated that the Sabbath was the rest day of the Almighty and a memorial of the Creation. To declare, then, that the world was more than six thousand years old and was made in more than six days was, therefore, to deny God and his Word and the sacredness of the Sabbath. In fact it would have to be branded with that name too awful to mention without horror—an infidel or atheist. When one of his teachers explained that "the days of Creation in Genesis were seven long, indefinite periods of time," it made him so mad that he wanted to fight.⁹

As a youth, Douglass attended a two-room public school in Medford. Near the end of his elementary schooling, his teacher, who was attending Carleton College in Northfield, loaned him Dana's *Geological Story Briefly Told*. Douglass read the book through the night before returning it the next day.¹⁰ On the question of the age of the earth, the author Dana was cautious. Geological time, he wrote, "establishes only the general proposition that time is long."¹¹ After reading this book, Earl wrote in his diary:

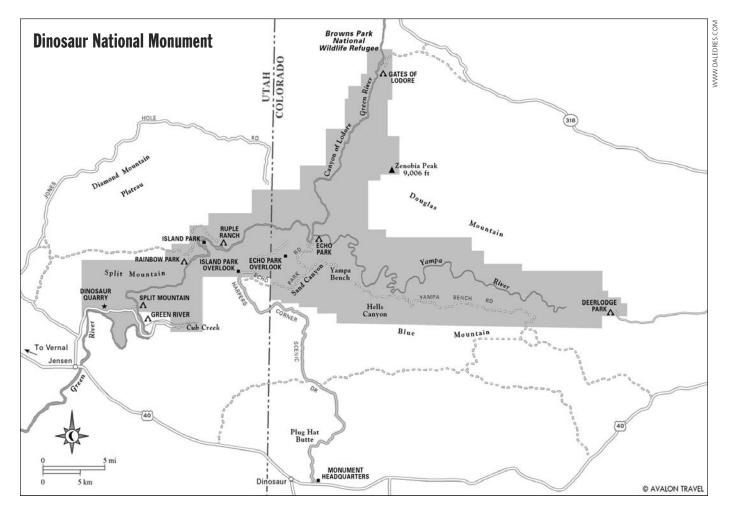
The excited	It was different from the sermons I beard and the reli-	away. M
boy held in his	gious literature which I read, for the people with whom I was brought up insisted on the literal interpre- tation of "the Word of God." They laid special emphasis on the soon coming of the "consummation of	Lyell's Pr mitariani lical stor noted th
hand what	all things," and the restoration of the Sabbath of the Bible. They opposed, as the doctrine of Satan, the	antago
he thought was	teaching of "infidel geologists," that the Earth was formed in immensely long periods of time. ¹²	earth's this do fossils
some kind	At age 20, Douglass earned his own teaching certificate and took a job in a one-room school	and be
of "saurian"	in Deerfield, not far from Medford. On the first day of 1884, he began keeping a diary. Thoughts of his unworthiness flooded his mind, and	Never mensely At the
lizard.	doubts "concerning the Bible and fears as to the destiny of man" arose. "By earnestly praying to God and studying His Word more of these	Douglass Minneso 1915), to
	doubts are being removed," he wrote optimisti- cally. "I mean to make a point of studying the Bible more this year." ¹³ But his doubts didn't go	Accompa Medford attend ar

away. Meanwhile, he began reading Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, which adopted uniformitarianism and dismissed as unscientific the biblical story of Noah's flood. Douglass astutely noted that Lyell's theory was

antagonistic to the doctrine of a revolution in the earth's structure. It seems to me more and more that this doctrine has exceptions at any rate. How can fossils in such great numbers be deposited in the earth and be preserved except by catastrophe?¹⁴

Nevertheless, he found Lyell's account immensely fascinating.

At the end of the school term in March 1884, Douglass was recruited by the president of the Minnesota Conference, O. A. Olsen (1845– 1915), to serve as a colporteur for the summer.¹⁵ Accompanied by an experienced canvasser from Medford, Douglass took the train to Rochester to attend an orientation meeting. Also in attendance





were a number of future Adventist leaders, including W. B. White, William Inges, Johnny Toulson, Harrison Grant, and Edward Sutherland. On Sabbath evening, they practiced their spiels for canvassing door to door, focusing on Ellen White's The Great Controversy and subscriptions to Signs of the Times magazine. After listening to what was expected of them, Earl raised his hand to protest selling this truth-filled literature, which, given the shortness of time, he thought should be given away. He also raised questions about some of White's "testimonies." Soon, however, as he explained in his diary, he felt "sorry I said anything about the matter as it did no good for them either." Douglass lasted a week in the field before returning home with little to show for his effort.¹⁶ He spent the rest of the summer hunting, fishing, reading, and collecting rocks. He also served as superintendent of the local Sabbath School, a position he did not enjoy. From time to time he encountered resistance to his evolving views on science and religion. Struggling to retain his faith in the Bible, he noted, "We cannot judge the Bible by present opinions relating to science, for they have not been fully established."17 By early 1885 he was wondering

whether or not the Church has the truth. If they have in every respect I fear for my own eternal welfare. It may be my fault that I doubt so much, but how can I believe against strong evidence? For instance, how can I believe the earth was created in six, 24-hour days?

After attending church later that year he resolved to "stop speaking of those subjects to those who do not love to hear them—science, evolution."¹⁸ Facing up to his growing theological doubts, especially about immortality, Douglass confessed to his diary in late December 1889:

Douglass was	I have broken away from the former ties to some
looking forward	extent. I so dread to give pain to my mother, father and sisters and friends but I felt I must if I would be honest. I wrote to the church to which I belonged
to collecting	to have my name taken from the church records. ¹⁹
fossils in	Like many other scientifically informed Adventists, Douglass felt torn, in the words of his son, "between the strict orthodox religious
Montana—	atmosphere in which he had been reared and the scientific truth he had discovered relative to the theory of evolution." ²⁰
where, as he	The tension continued throughout his life, although it is apparent when reading Douglass's diaries that the conservative cement of his early
thought,	upbringing continued to serve as the matrix of his religious character. Throughout his life he
fossils were	retained an inviolable conviction in the value of life. Douglass's departure from the church came more than a decade before George McCready
"just waiting	Price (1870–1963) began his long career defend- ing "flood geology"; there is no evidence that the two men ever met or corresponded. ²¹
to he	·····

Studying and teaching

In 1888 Douglass enrolled in the University of South Dakota at Vermillion, and by the end of October had decided what he "would like to make of myself—a teacher and scientist."²² While there, he attended the theater for the first time, thinking he "would see the evil and would not go again"—but discovered that he actually enjoyed

picked up."



Cyrus Pringle

the experience.²³ Desiring more classes in science, including botany, he transferred to the South Dakota Agricultural College in Brookings. There, while still a student, he established the school's first herbarium. The following summer he traveled on a fellowship to

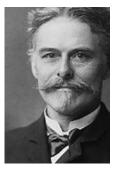
Texas and Mexico to collect for the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis. There he came into contact with the legendary Harvard botanist Cyrus G. Pringle (1838–1911). Suffering from asthma, Douglass returned to St. Louis, where he studied systematic botany and plant histology at the Shaw School of Botany at Washington University in St. Louis.²⁴

Douglass returned to the South Dakota Agricultural College in 1892. Following a student protest over how a favored professor was removed, Douglass, along with seven other students, transferred to the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in Ames. There, at age 31, Douglass received a Bachelor of Science degree in November 1893. It made him "almost sick to recall the struggles I have been through to become a college graduate."²⁵

The following spring, Douglass purchased a train ticket to Montana to become a schoolteacher "in the best geological region in the state." At the Medford depot to see him off was his family, including the sister who was married to Elder Alfred Battin. Alfred's elderly father, John, who had witnessed the "falling of the stars" in 1833, was there too. On the railroad heading west, Douglass wrote in his diary, "I find parting with my family always unpleasant . . . had been anxious to get started and was glad to get away." He was looking forward to collecting fossils in Montana—where, as he thought, fossils were "just waiting to be picked up."²⁶

For the next six years Douglass taught in small country schools around Lower Madison Valley near Bozeman. During his spare time he explored the geological formations of Montana and collected fossils, either on foot or by horseback on a borrowed steed. Douglass became particularly interested in the bones of extinct mammals and other vertebrates unknown to science. In his diary he tells about traveling alone and sleeping out in the open without fear of "wolves, mountain lions, highway robbers, etc."²⁷ Teaching school served as merely a means to support his primary interest in rocks and fossils.

As early as May 1895, Douglass made contact with Professor William Berryman Scott (1858–1947), an eminent vertebrate paleontologist at Princeton University (who, coincidentally, had been raised by his maternal grandfather, the distinguished theologian Charles Hodge). Scott instructed Douglass on the technique of using a thin solution of gum arabic to stiffen the crumbling bones he frequently found.²⁸ That same month Douglass discovered his first carnivore fossil. He continued collecting in Montana, all the while relentlessly tormented by poverty. Despite being chronically short of funds (teach-



ing did not pay well), Douglass in 1898 ordered 150 pounds of geology and related books, which cost him more than twenty dollars, including seven dollars for handling and freight. By mail he also received a number of pamphlets by Yale's O. C. Marsh

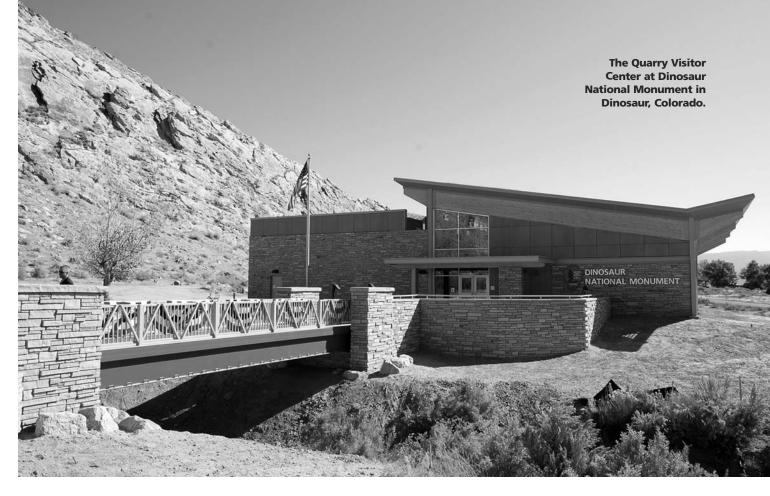
Edward D. Cope

(1831–1899) and Penn's Edward Drinker Cope (1840–1897), the feuding titans of American paleontology in the Gilded Age.²⁹

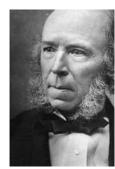
On the strength of his remarkable fossil collection and his intense interest in paleontology, Douglass was recruited by the president of the University of Montana in Missoula to enter a new graduate program in geology—and to exhibit his collection there. In 1899 he earned the first master's degree in geology from the university. After receiving his MS degree, Douglass remained in Missoula and taught for a year at the university, serving as head of the Department of Historical Geology.³⁰

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Struggling to



In 1900 Princeton University offered Douglass a graduate fellowship to work with Scott. By this time he had already established his reputation as a superb fossil collector and geologist. Both Scott and Henry F. Osborne (1857–1935),



Herbert Spencer



Charles Darwin

a close friend of Scott's and curator of the Department of Vertebrate Paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History, had already used some of his Montana fossils in a comprehensive work published on Mammalia fossils.³¹ While Douglass was at Princeton, the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh offered to buy his Montana collection and recruited him for employment. With Scott's encouragement, Douglass moved to Pittsburgh in 1902, where he remained for

more than twenty years, helping the industrialistphilanthropist Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) in his quest for huge dinosaur skeletons.³²

In Pittsburgh, Douglass continued his spiritual journey, reading widely in religious literature and sampling both Presbyterian and Unitarian churches. The alleged conflict between science and religion especially attracted his attention, prompting him to read both Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. On his forty-first birthday, he reflected on his "deep undercurrent of melan-choly" as he thought about "the sadness of the world sufferings" and expressed the hope that he would "find a religion that will reconcile me to these things. I think sometimes I will find it." Later that year he wrote: "God and immortality seem sweet dreams without any objective reality. But on the whole I believe my faith is growing."³³

His outlook on life improved somewhat on October 20, 1905, when, after years of waffling, he married a Montana woman seventeen years his junior, Pearl Goetschius, who had caught his eye years earlier when he taught her in the eighth grade.

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Douglass

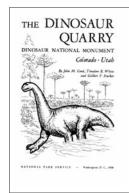
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Dinosaur hunter

	Douglass's big break as a scientist came in the
	summer of 1909, while he was prospecting for
	fossils in Utah along the Duchesne River. At first
	he met with little success, but partway through
	the summer the director of the Carnegie Muse-
	ums, William Jacob Holland (1848–1932),
	instructed Douglass to "dig up dinosaur bones
"I hope that	east of Vernal [Utah]," where, the year before,
i nope that	he and Douglass had found a "perfectly clean"
	Diplodocus femur at the bottom of a ravine, too
the Government,	heavy for a man to shoulder or for a horse to
	carry out. ³⁴ Moving to the area where the six-
for the benefit	foot femur had been found the year before, Dou-
	glass discovered that someone had already taken
	the best of the bones, including this femur. A
of science	few fragments of fossils remained but nothing
	promising. Though disappointed, Douglass,
and the neerle	along with his assistant, a patriarchal Mormon
and the people,	elder, began searching a nearby gulch in an area
	described as thick, hard sandstone beds. That
will uncover	evening Douglass wrote in his diary: "At last, in
	the top of the ledge where the softer overlying
	beds formed a divide, a kind of saddle, I saw
a large area,	eight of the tail bones of an brontosaurus in
0 ,	exact position. It was a beautiful sight."35
	Soon afterward, he found other dinosaur
leave the bones	bones, prompting him to work through the win-
	ter of 1909–1910 recovering them. Mr. Carnegie
and abalatana	himself had taken an interest in the excavations at
and skeletons	what became known as the Carnegie Quarry and
	donated extra funds to his museum. ³⁶ To protect
in relief	the area from looters and at the urgings of the
	lawyers working for the Carnegie Museums, Pres-
	ident Woodrow Wilson in 1915 placed the quar-
and house	ry under protection of the federal government as
	Dinosaur National Monument. In the years that
	Douglass worked this quarry, he removed parts of
them in."	
	three hundred dinosaur specimens, two dozen of
	which were mountable skeletons. ³⁷

Douglass devoted nearly two decades of his life exploring this "Dinosaur Ledge." Unlike the famous East Coast paleontologists Cope and Marsh, who hired others to do excavations, Douglass preferred working on-site with a local crew, personally wielding shovel and pick; as a The Carnegie Museums closed the Vernal quarry in 1923. Knowing that the fossils in the rock were still protected, Douglass hit on the idea of making an exhibit of the fossils that remained. Describing his vision in a letter to Dr. Charles Wolcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, he wrote: "I hope that the Government, for the benefit of science and the people, will uncover a large area, leave the bones and skeletons in relief and house them in. It would make one of the most astounding and instructive sights imaginable."³⁹

In 1953, the National Park Service began to



chip away matrix rock to expose in high relief some of the huge dinosaur bones still *in situ* in the quarry. Two years later, the "dinosaur wall," Douglass's enduring legacy, was opened to the public. There, several thou-

sand bones, including *Apatosaurus*, *Allosaurus*, *Ceratosauris*, *Diplodocus*, and *Stegosaurus* are exposed on the rock face. Under the watchful eye of the National Park Service, some 500,000 visit the dinosaur quarry each year.

Postscript

To the end of his life Douglass tried to satisfy his "cravings for higher intellectual and spiritual things," but certainty eluded him. Although he recognized a "higher power," he rejected the notion of a personal God—as well as atheism and hedonism. At times he fretted over the origin of life. "It makes me wonder," he confided to his diary in 1915, "if something not of this planet—even something of him that is wide as the universe" might not be involved. At his funeral in Salt Lake City in 1931, a liberal, socially active Congregational minister delivered the sermon. No one seemed to have remembered his Adventist youth.⁴⁰

In the history of American science, especially in accounts of dinosaur hunting, Earl Douglass occupies a secure, if not prominent, place.⁴¹ One recent book describes him as the discoverer of "one of the world's great collections of fossilized dinosaur bones."42 Among Seventh-day Adventists, however, he remains virtually unknown. In numerous reports of visits to Dinosaur National Monument, his name never appears.⁴³ Apparently the first time his name appears in a denominational publication is in Ruth Wheeler and Harold Coffin's dinosaur book for youth, but the authors remain silent about Douglass's years as an Adventist.44 The same is true of Dinosaurs by David Read, who mentions Douglass several times in passing as "a dinosaur hunter."

Ronald L. Numbers (below, left) is Hilldale Professor Emeri-



tus of the history of science and medicine and of religious studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he has taught for the past four decades. After earning his PhD

in the history of science from the University of California, Berkeley, he taught briefly at Andrews University and Loma Linda University. He has written or edited more than thirty books, including *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G*. White (3rd ed., 2008). The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design (expanded edition, 2008), and Galileo Goes to Jail and Other Myths about Science and Religion (2008). He is past president of the History of Science Society, the American Society of Church History, and the International Union of History and Philosophy of Science.

T Joe Willey (below, right) received a PhD from the University of California at Berkeley. He taught neuroscience at Loma Linda University Medical School. Now retired, he writes on topics for Adventist progressive readers. His most avid research deals with historical perspectives and science topics of special interest to Adventists, including evolution and the advancement of ideas.

References

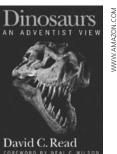
1. William S. Ingraham, "Tour in Minnesota," Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, December 22, 1859, 36 (hereafter cited as Review and Herald). Ingraham was a close friend of James and Ellen White. Regarding mid-century Medford, see Earl Douglass, "Personality Sketch," undated MS in the Earl Douglass Papers, Box 1, Fld. 1, Special Collections Department, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as Douglass Papers.

2. G. E. Douglass, ed., *Speak to the Earth and It Will Teach You: The Life and Times of Earl Douglass, 1862–1931* (self-published, 2009), 2. Much of the material in this book comes from Douglass Papers.

3. "From Bro. & Sr. Warren," *Review and Herald*, November 10, 1859, 199.

4. "From Bro. Morse," *Review and Herald*, March 15, 1860, 134 (re Medford church); L. Bartholomew, Letter to the Editor, *Review and Herald*, June 19, 1860, 39 (re Deerfield). In the published lists of subscribers to the *Review and Herald*, Fernando







Douglass's name appears at least four times between 1868 and 1873.

5. Earl Douglass, "Biographical Sketches and Notes," 28–35, in the Douglass Papers, Box 1, Fld. 3.

6. "Western Tour," Review and Herald, July 11, 1871, 28.

7. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 15, 42.

8. Ibid., 5.

9. Earl Douglass, "Reminescent [sic]: The First Chapter of Genesis," undated document in the Douglass Papers, Box 1, Fld. 1. See also Earl Douglass, "Notes: Ancient Burials," entry for May 10, 1926, in Douglass Papers, Box 8, Fld. 1; and "Reminiscent Thoughts," undated MS in Douglass Papers, Box 1, Fld. 1.

10. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 5.

11. James D. Dana, *The Geological Story Briefly Told* (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, 1877), 237.

12. Earl Douglass, "Personality—VII," undated document in the Douglass Papers, Box 1, Fld. 1.

13. G. E. Douglass, *Speak to the Earth*, 7, 8 (entry for January 1, 1884). This published excerpt varies slightly from the original diary entry in Box 4, Diary 1.

14. Ibid., 11 (entry for February 11, 1884). *Lyell's Principles of Geology* originally appeared in three volumes between 1830 and 1833 and in many editions thereafter. Douglass probably read the eleventh edition, published in two volumes (1872).

15. Four years later, Ole Andres Olsen (1848–1915) was elected president of the General Conference, a position he held until 1897.

16. Diary entry for March 27–30, 1884 (apparently written on March 30), Douglass Papers, Box 4, Diary 1; G. E. Douglass, *Speak to the Earth*, 11.

17. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 12 (entry for June 5, 1884).

18. lbid., 13 (entry for January 5, 1885, re 24-hour days); 15 (entry for May 30, 1885, evolution).

19. Ibid., 56 (entry for December 31, 1889).

20. lbid., 8.

21. See Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design*, expanded ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), especially chap. 5.

22. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 48 (entry for October 28, 1888).

23. Ibid., 38 (entry for April 30, 1888).

24. Ibid., 49-59.

25. Ibid., 65-7, quotation on 77.

26. lbid., 81 (entry for April 13, 1894, re best region), 81 (entry for April 23, 1894, re unpleasant), 85 (entry for April 29, 1894, re waiting to be picked up); obituary of John Battin, *Review and Herald*, August 23, 1906, 23.

27. G. E. Douglass, *Speak to the Earth*, 133 (entry for September 4, 1898).

28. lbid., 99, 100 (entry for May 8, 1895).

29. lbid., 126 (entry for February 26, 1898).

30. lbid., 135, 138, 145; see also 165-66.

31. Henry F. Osborn, William B. Scott, Francis Speir, Jr., Palaeontological Report of the Princeton Scientific Expedition of 1877, vol. 1 of Contributions from the Museum of Geology and Archaeology of Princeton College (New York: S. W. Green, 1878).

32. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 177-78.

33. Ibid., 184 (entry for November 15, 1902, re literature); 184-85 (entry

for November 16, 1902, re Presbyterian and Unitarian); 188 (re conflict); 188 (entry for March 1, 1903, re reading); 198 (entry for October 28, 1903, re finding a religion); 198 (entry for December 11, 1903, re immortality); 199 (entry for January 21, 1904, re Presbyterians); 204 (entry for February 20, 1905, re Unitarians).

34. Ibid., 271.

35. Ibid., 277 (entry for August 8, 1909).

36. Ibid., 299, 335.

37. Ibid., 377–78 (entry for October 29, 1915). For extracts from Douglass's diary for that period, see ibid., 277–338. Because the quarry was located on federal land, Douglass feared someone might file for a homestead claim. When he applied for a mining claim, it was rejected. This explains how President Woodrow Wilson became involved in creating an 80-acre national monument, which was later expanded to more than 210,000 acres. See Deborah Cadbury, *The Dinosaur Hunters: A True Story of Scientific Rivalry and the Discovery of the Prehistoric World* (London: 4th Estate, 2001), 117.

38. G. E. Douglass, Speak to the Earth, 347 (re homestead).

39. John M. Good, Theodore E. White, and Gilbert F. Stucker, *The Dinosaur Quarry: Dinosaur National Monument* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1958), 36.

40. G. E. Douglass, *Speak to the Earth*, 399 (entry for August 7, 1913, re cravings), 400 (entry for August 8, 1913, re creeds), 404 (entry for October 28, 1915, re personal God), 406 (undated entry, re higher power), 415 (re funeral); entry for October 18, 1915, Douglass Papers, Box 7, Diary 33.

41. See, e.g., Daniel J. Chure and John S. McIntosh, "Stranger in a Strange Land: A Brief History of the Paleontological Operations at Dinosaur National Monument," *Earth Sciences History* 9, no. 1 (1990): 34–40; Tom Rea, *Bone Wars: The Excavation and Celebrity of Andrew Carnegie's Dinosaur* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 189; Paul D. Brinkman, *The Second Jurassic Dinosaur Rush: Museums and Paleontology in America at the Turn of the Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 226, 227; and Kenneth Carpenter, "History, Sedimentology, and Taphonomy of the Carnegie Quarry, Dinosaur National Monument, Utah," *Annals of Carnegie Museum* 81, no. 3 (2013): 153–232. An excellent book for juvenile readers, which draws on the Douglass manuscripts in the University of Utah library, is Deborah Kogan Ray, *Dinosaur Mountain: Digging into the Jurassic Age* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010).

42. Editorial introduction to Earl Douglass, "The Dinosaur National Monument," in *A Green River Reader*, ed. Alan Blackstock (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 160. For an early reference to Douglass, see Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, 1942), 302–18.

43. See, e.g., Richard H. Utt, "What Happened to the Dinosaurs," *Signs of the Times*, February 1961, 20–22; Harold W. Clark, *Genesis and Science* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1967), 72; Harold W. Clark, *Fossils, Flood, and Fire* (Escondido, CA: Outdoor Pictures, 1968), 128–30; and Harold G. Coffin, "Evidences of the Genesis Flood," *Review and Herald*, June 8, 1967, 2–4.

44. Ruth Wheeler and Harold Coffin, *Dinosaurs* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1978), 80.

45. David C. Read, *Dinosaurs: An Adventist View* (Keene, TX: Clarion Call Books, 2009), 30, 555, 577.