

Physician, Suffragist, and Citizen: Dr. Margaret Long and Early Twentieth-Century Feminism

Dr. Margaret Long (1873-1957) was a medical philanthropist, an activist in the suffragist movement, and a notable travel writer. Long demonstrated that women's progress required simultaneous action across all spheres of society, challenging gender norms and creating space for women. With financial and family support, Long dedicated her early life to pursuing an education, bypassing domestic expectations for women. She established her career as a physician in Denver, working alongside a non-profit sanatorium to advance women's progress in society through focused public health efforts that improved conditions for women. Her professional career and dedication to social progress frame her as a representation of feminist ideals that sought equality in education, the workforce, and society. Long believed in bold political action, using suffrage as a platform for equality, and she dedicated her time to national suffrage campaigns through leadership in radical and militant organizations. Her legacy of historical writings and maps highlights her dedication to recognizing and celebrating the accomplishments of women and other trailblazers in the American West. Long's contributions during her life represent a shift in societal expectations for women and a leading example for generations of women to come. Drawing on oral histories and archival collections, this paper examines how Long's public activities demonstrate the tenor of twentieth-century feminism.

Makena Davisson
Honors 499 Thesis
Professor Jared Orsi
Professor Adam Thomas
May 8, 2026

Table of Contents

<u>Long's Early Life</u>	5
<u>Medicine</u>	10
<u>Public Health</u>	11
<u>Women in Medicine</u>	20
<u>Suffrage</u>	24
<u>Death Valley</u>	33
<u>Conclusion</u>	46
<u>Bibliography</u>	49
<u>Archives and Abbreviations</u>	49
<u>Other Primary Sources</u>	49
<u>Secondary Sources</u>	50

Dr. Margaret Long was not the picture of a nineteenth-century woman. She was not raised to be a proper homemaker and wife. She was not raised to speak only when spoken to. She was not raised to be selfless and poised. Dr. Long was a modern twenty-first-century woman during the early twentieth century. She was independent. She was an academic achiever. She was a professional. She was well-traveled. She advocated for what she believed. She fought for women's progress across all spheres of society.

Margaret's closest friends described her as having a masculine demeanor. Dorothy Reed Mendenhall, a friend from Smith College, recalled that during medical school, Long kept a six-shooter in her room for protection. In the same letter to Long, Mendenhall recounted Margaret's resentment of the male students' raunchy humor and practical jokes that embarrassed the women during anatomy class.¹ Mendenhall's description of Long paints a picture of an independent, direct woman who stood up for herself and challenged nineteenth-century gender norms.

Margaret Long (1873-1957) spent her early life in Massachusetts and her adult life in Denver, Colorado. Margaret dedicated her life to fighting for women's equality through medicine, politics, and travel. She pushed for women's advancement in all areas of her life, as demonstrated by the institutions she supported and the social activism she participated in. Her own experiences demonstrate a shift in societal expectations for women, which she leveraged to expand opportunities for future generations.

Margaret is renowned for her 1921 journey through Death Valley National Park with Anne Martin, which led to the publication of the book *The Shadow of the Arrow* (1941).² Long's

¹Dorothy Reed Mendenhall to Margaret Long, August 12, 1896, Margaret Long Papers; quoted by Jacqueline D. Antonovich, "Medical Frontiers: Women Physicians and the Politics and Practice of Medicine in the American West 1870-1930," PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2018, 4-334.

²Margaret Long, *Shadow of the Arrow* (Caxton Printers Ltd. Press, 1941).

book was the first documentation of the original route of the '49ers who first traversed through Death Valley in an attempt to make it to the California gold fields. However, this biography highlights her broader contributions to her local community and to women's progress. As seen through her involvement in public health, suffrage, and historical research, Margaret believed in women's capabilities and equality. At a time when women's progress was a major topic of public debate, Margaret firmly positioned herself as a leader in the feminist movement. She defied gender norms by attending college, obtaining a medical degree, practicing medicine, advocating for women's suffrage, having same-sex relationships, and traveling alone. The intricacy of Long's life demonstrates the complexity of her involvement within her community, dedicated to goals and values that reflect her character and purpose. Long's lasting legacy extends beyond *Shadow of the Arrow*, representing twentieth-century feminism that transformed women's lives today.

The first section of this thesis, [Early Life](#), details Margaret's childhood and academic path, defining her as a young upper-class woman who used her privilege to defy gender roles and pursue a high-level education. The second section, [Medicine](#), focuses on Long's medical career and contributions to public health, demonstrating her dedication to the community and women's advancement through her role as a physician. The third section, [Suffrage](#), traces Long's involvement with suffrage organizations, offering insight into her stance on women's advancement and reflecting her character as a dedicated feminist. The final section, [Death Valley](#), follows her contributions to the historical record, especially her travels around Death Valley National Park, which provided insight into her relationships with women and further demonstrates her celebration of women's achievements.

Margaret's biography helps us understand the early wave of twentieth-century feminism and the women who challenged strict gender roles to establish a more progressive society. In the United States, the first wave of feminism focused on abolitionism, securing women's suffrage, and ending inequalities between men and women in access to education and to medical, legal, and most other professions from which they were excluded.³ Throughout Long's life, her contributions and achievements symbolize the early feminist movement. She achieved educational and career goals that had previously been restricted to men and continually fought for women's suffrage and equality. Her father, John D. Long, was a proponent of women's suffrage, which likely influenced her to be among the minority of women who strongly advocated for women's equality throughout economic, political, and social avenues. Long's biography demonstrates that women's progress required simultaneous action across all spheres of society and showcases Long as the embodiment of early twentieth-century feminism.

Long's Early Life

Margaret Long was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on October 28, 1873, to Mary Woodward Glover Long and Governor John D. Long.⁴ Margaret had a younger sister, Helen. Her mother, Mary, died in 1882 when Margaret was nine years old. Four years later, in 1886, John married Agnes Pierce, and they had a son, Pierce. The family lived in Hingham, Massachusetts,

³Marcelline Block, "First Wave Feminism (Ca. 1848-1960s)," in *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2010), 1-4.

⁴Kimberly Selinske, "Dr. Margaret Long: Author of Shadow of the Arrow & explorer of DEVA region," unpublished manuscript, Death Valley National Park.

and owned a vacation property in Buckfield, Maine.⁵ From early in life, her family's status gave Margaret the opportunity to push gender boundaries.

John D. Long had a lengthy career as a lawyer, serving in various political roles at the state and national levels, shaping the opportunities afforded to his children. From 1870 to 1880, he served in the Massachusetts State legislature before becoming Governor of Massachusetts from 1880 to 1883.⁶ He then served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1883 to 1889.⁷ At the end of his career, John Long became the Secretary of the Navy for William McKinley's cabinet from 1897 to 1902.⁸ Margaret was influenced by her father's career, which afforded the Long family wealth and the social status of an upper-class New England family. The upper-class lifestyle afforded Margaret great opportunities to pursue an education, move across the country, and travel throughout her early life. Margaret's letters, correspondence, and diaries do not mention her childhood or familial expectations; however, given her family's support for her life choices, it is likely they were socially progressive. Margaret's education, career, sexuality, and ideology regarding women's status all reflect non-traditional gender norms, at least partly made possible by her social status.

Prior to the Women's Rights Movement in 1848, the Doctrine of Spheres was the predominant ideology that perpetuated gender roles in public and private life. It outlined strict boundaries for each gender's defined sense of self and legitimacy in asserting rights. Women were confined to working and socializing within the home, caring for the family. Meanwhile,

⁵Biography, Finding Aid, Margaret Long papers, SSC.

⁶Margaret Long, "Letters and Journal of John D. Long, ed. By Margaret Long (n.d.)," Table of Contents, Box 1, MLP.

⁷Margaret Long, "Letters and Journal of John D. Long, ed. By Margaret Long (n.d.)," Table of Contents, Box 1, MLP.

⁸Margaret Long, "Letters and Journal of John D. Long, ed. By Margaret Long (n.d.)," Table of Contents, Box 1, MLP.

men were the family's financial providers, working outside the home and participating in social circles on behalf of the family. The Women's Sphere restricted a sense of personal identity and gave women legal inferiority to their male counterparts. The early Women's Rights Movement pushed against these expectations and demanded that women, like men, have both a public and a private life, with the two intertwining at every point. Early feminists argued against strict gender roles and challenged the idea that the home was an insurmountable barrier to self-development.⁹ The Doctrine of Spheres limited women's autonomy, and many feminists argued that allowing women to work outside of the home would break down the strict gender roles. The idea of working was further limited by societal expectations, especially regarding female leisure, which perpetuated the "cult of domesticity," keeping women working inside the home. In the early nineteenth century, rural New England farming families began sending their daughters to cities for work to contribute to their families' wealth. There was also a sentiment among parents that training as a teacher or nurse was a good investment for their daughter's future. Many middle-class girls were not raised to face the prospect of working outside the home, but cycles of economic boom and bust required women to earn wages to support their families. The lack of preparedness of young girls entering the workforce led to the nineteenth-century campaign for women's education. Once established in the workforce, many women began working towards their own interests and aspirations.¹⁰ Working outside the home started from the bottom of the social hierarchy and worked its way up. Although during Margaret's childhood, lower- and middle-class women worked to provide for their families, there was still an underlying expectation that women worked only out of necessity. For Margaret, her family's wealth

⁹Jean V. Matthews, "'Women's Place' and the Search for Identity in Ante-Bellum America," *The Canadian Review of American Studies* 10, no. 3 (1979): 290-293, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/682494>.

¹⁰Joan Jacobs Brumberg and Nancy Tomes, "Women in the Professions: A Research Agenda for American Historians," *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 2 (1982): 279-281, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2702343>.

provided her with the opportunity not to work outside the home. Despite this, Margaret defied societal expectations that upper-class women should care for their families at home.

Margaret used her privilege as an upper-class woman to pursue a prestigious education and traveled through Europe before securing a career to support herself. Throughout the nineteenth century, Boston increasingly prioritized women's education by providing free high school education and expanding college admissions.¹¹ Margaret was among a generation of girls who dedicated their childhood to studying and pursued formal degrees.

Margaret's education began at the Derby Academy in Hingham, Massachusetts, before she enrolled at Smith College for an undergraduate degree. During her time at Smith College, Long became friends with Dorothy Mendenhall and Florence Sabin, both of whom became prominent physicians. While at Smith, Mendenhall and Long lived in Wallace House and were among a tongue-in-cheek social club called the "Anti-Matrimonial Alliance."¹² While there is no information about the club's specifics, at the time, the organization was among many women's clubs that seemingly advocated for social change.

In 1895, Dorothy Mendenhall began her studies at Johns Hopkins Medical School and wrote Long several letters persuading her to enroll as well.¹³ Long graduated from Smith College in 1895 and traveled briefly throughout Europe. She returned to the United States and took courses at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to complete her science requirements for medical school. She enrolled in Johns Hopkins Medical School in 1898 and graduated in 1903.¹⁴

¹¹Patricia M. King, "The Campaign for Higher Education for Women in the 19th-century Boston," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 93, (1981): 60-61, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25080888.pdf>.

¹²Biography, Finding Aid, Dorothy Reed Mendenhall papers, SSC.

¹³Kimberly Selinske, "Dr. Margaret Long: Author of Shadow of the Arrow & explorer of DEVA region," unpublished manuscript, Death Valley National Park.

¹⁴Kimberly Selinske, "Dr. Margaret Long: Author of Shadow of the Arrow & explorer of DEVA region," unpublished manuscript, Death Valley National Park.

Together, Long, Sabin, and Mendenhall were among the first women to pursue medical degrees at Johns Hopkins University, and they eventually became involved in pathology, exerting a significant influence on public health throughout their careers. Johns Hopkins Medical School opened in 1893 and was the first school to establish a four-year university-based medical school. Prior to this, medical school often consisted of a one-year lecture series. Post-graduation internships were limited but offered new graduates the opportunity to further their education and



Figure 1- Drawing of Margaret as a young woman (age unknown); Photo from "As a Suffragist, Miss Long Leads Cause in the West," Scrapbook 1, Box 1, WSM.

support hospital staff. By 1910, the Johns Hopkins proprietary medical school model began to replace the prior model. In addition, by 1914, 75-80 percent of graduates from the yearlong programs took internships.¹⁵ The Johns Hopkins model changed the medical education system, and Long was among the first students to go through it.

During the summer of 1898, both Long and Mendenhall served in the US Naval Hospital in Brooklyn during the Spanish-American War.¹⁶ While it is unknown how long she served or in what capacity, she probably worked as a nurse because she had not yet completed her MD. Margaret's time with the Navy was passed down through family history, suggesting that her father or extended family took pride in her service.¹⁷ After

¹⁵James E. Dalen et al., "Where Have the Generalists Gone? They Became Specialists, Then Subspecialists," *The American Journal of Medicine* 130, no. 7 (2017): 766-768, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjmed.2017.01.026>.

¹⁶Biography, Finding Aid, Dorothy Reed Mendenhall papers, SSC.

¹⁷Daniel Paul, Makena Davisson, Jared Orsi, Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

graduation, Long interned at the New York Woman's Infirmary, the probable place where she contracted tuberculosis while treating patients infected with the disease.¹⁸ These experiences during and after medical school demonstrate the beginning of Long's commitment to philanthropic medical care.

Margaret was raised as an upper-class woman during the end of the nineteenth century, yet she used that privilege to defy gender roles through education and travel. Long eventually pursued a professional degree outside the home, thereby achieving a core feminist ideal of developing a public life.

Medicine

Twentieth-century women's history tends to focus on suffrage; however, as Long's life demonstrates, women's progress was achieved through pushing against gender norms in all spheres of society. The campaign for public health policies in many states, including Colorado, was pushed forward by female physicians. These women represent a select group that leveraged their position within society to force social and political change in an era when women were fighting for a voice. Dr. Long used her position as a consumptive (a term from the time period for someone who contracted tuberculosis) and as a woman in medicine to improve the conditions of women and young girls living in Denver. Through her work at a Denver non-profit sanatorium for women, Sands House, Long demonstrated a commitment to public health and women's progress. The contributions of Margaret and her fellow female physicians cannot be overlooked.

¹⁸"Shadow of the Arrow Part 1," Shoshone Museum Reader, Winter 2022, 1-2.

Public Health

Margaret's worsening condition prompted her to relocate to Colorado. Margaret's sister Helen also contracted tuberculosis and died in 1901.¹⁹ Perhaps the death of her sister motivated Margaret's family to encourage healing in Colorado. Her graduation from medical school in 1903 also provided a prime opportunity to relocate and establish a career in the West, where women physicians were more prevalent. Long was among a large group of health immigrants to Colorado and the West. Colorado was a common destination for upper-class Americans at the time, as it was regarded as an ideal environment for healing and alleviating disease symptoms.²⁰ During the nineteenth century, it was unknown that pathogens caused illness; instead, there was a common narrative that climates provided healing and promoted health. Many believed that Colorado's arid climate could cure tuberculosis. The argument was supported by the sunshine and pure air of the high-elevation mountainous regions. Air was considered the most important factor in the treatment of tuberculosis, serving as an antiseptic and helping to purify the respiratory tract.²¹ Doctors thus prescribed temporary or permanent relocation to the West as a cure when they had exhausted the treatments provided by East Coast physicians.²²

The influx of consumptives expanded Colorado's economy, and a health industry developed at the foot of the mountains. One example is Colorado Springs, which developed as a wellness resort town for consumptives. Local entrepreneur William Jackson Palmer used the railroad from Denver to Colorado Springs to help consumptives access the health benefits of the

¹⁹Biography, Finding Aid, Margaret Long papers, SSC.

²⁰Mary Swanson, "Tuberculosis," *Colorado Encyclopedia*, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.

²¹Arthur Ransome M.D., F.R.S., *Researchers on Tuberculosis: The Weber-Parkes Prize essay*, (Yale Medical Library, 1897), 71.

²²Mary Swanson, "Tuberculosis," *Colorado Encyclopedia*, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.

nearby hot springs. By 1900, it became the most popular vacation and health destination in the United States.²³ With resort-like sanatoriums such as the Cragmor Tuberculosis Sanatorium, which opened in 1905, Colorado Springs became a hotspot for the East Coast elite hoping to recover. In 1924, the National Tuberculosis Association recognized the Cragmor as the “most desirable sanatorium in the world,” which spurred the opening of seventeen more sanatoriums in the surrounding area.²⁴ These organizations established an industry supported by consumptives. Long was among the East Coast elite who moved to Colorado during the state’s rise to prominence as a wellness escape. It is worth noting that not all visitors to resorts such as the Cragmor were consumptives, as it became popular for healthy, wealthy easterners to visit Colorado Springs for shorter periods.²⁵ Long, however, selected Denver, not Colorado Springs, as to begin her new, healthful life.

At the time, Denver was a larger city that reflected Long’s larger politics and values. During early research, her selection of Denver seemed odd; however, the discovery of her political and social endeavors aligned Margaret with Western women and presented her as someone who would have ended up in the West even if she had not contracted



Figure 2- 2070 Colorado Boulevard – Margaret’s home in 1910; Photo from Denver Public Library Digital Images Collection, MCC-360, Louis Charles McClure, photo c1910.

²³Cynthia Ambriz, “William Jackson Palmer,” Colorado Encyclopedia, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/william-jackson-palmer>.

²⁴Douglas R. McKay, *Asylum of the Gilded Pill: The Story of Cragmor Sanatorium*, 2nd ed. (Denver: State Historical Society of Colorado, 1990), 20–21.

²⁵Susan Teele (Mrs. Simeon J.) Dunbar, “Colorado Springs and Manitou,” in *The Health Resorts of Colorado Springs and Manitou*, by Samuel Edwin Solly (Colorado Springs, 1883), 29–30.

tuberculosis. Therefore, the tuberculosis haven of Colorado Springs did not align with Long's character, whereas Denver did. In 1905, Long arrived in Denver and planned to drive around in her automobile, enjoying the fresh air and sunlight to reduce symptoms.²⁶ She purchased land and designed a home at 2070 Colorado Boulevard, where she lived for the remainder of her life.²⁷ The Colonial revival style was popular in the Northeast and mimicked the colonial buildings of Boston, such as Massachusetts Hall at Harvard University. The architecture suggests that Margaret was fond of her childhood landscape and wanted to maintain ties to her early life in Massachusetts. Still standing today, her Denver home is located in the Park Hill neighborhood, which was platted in 1887 and began selling homes in 1900. The neighborhood quickly became one of Denver's most popular residential areas. It was known for its inclusivity across social classes, races, and sexualities. At the time Margaret lived there, the neighborhood was home to several affluent physicians.²⁸ Today, Park Hill maintains the same reputation for openness that characterized the neighborhood when Margaret lived there.²⁹ Long's sexuality as a lesbian was potentially more widely accepted in the Park Hill neighborhood than in other Denver communities. The characteristics of Park Hill may have drawn Long to the neighborhood, but at minimum, they reflect the inclusive and progressive attitude she carried.

²⁶Biography, Finding Aid, Margaret Long papers, SSC; Kimberly Selinske, "Dr. Margaret Long: Author of Shadow of the Arrow & explorer of DEVA region," unpublished manuscript, Death Valley National Park.

²⁷Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, "Margaret Long House Denver Landmark Designation Application," City and County of Denver, 2013, https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/646/documents/landmark/lpc/agendas/2020/12-01-2020/2070ColoradoBlvd_designation_app_2020.12.01.pdf.

²⁸Adam Thomas, conversation with author, Fort Collins, April 27, 2026.

²⁹Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, "Margaret Long House Denver Landmark Designation Application," City and County of Denver, 2013, https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/646/documents/landmark/lpc/agendas/2020/12-01-2020/2070ColoradoBlvd_designation_app_2020.12.01.pdf.

The same year, Long established her career as a physician in Denver and the surrounding area. The trajectory of Long's career is largely unknown. She received her medical license from the state of Colorado in 1906.³⁰ In 1907, an article in the *Denver Times* reported that Long was working at Colorado College in Colorado Springs for the winter.³¹ Based on the census data, it seems likely that Long returned to Denver after that winter, as she continued to reside in her home there. During an oral history interview, Daniel Paul, one of Long's descendants, mentioned that few details about her career were passed down through family stories. However, Dan shared



Figure 3- Margaret's clinic office building at the Metropolitan Building at Sixteenth Street and Court Place in Downtown Denver – year unknown; Photo from "Photographs - Western History," DC.

that she carried a .45 caliber handgun on house calls around Denver and Colorado Springs.³² It is likely that her gun was a Colt .45, commonly known as the pistol of the West, and a heavy, masculine gun.³³ Long's ownership of such a firearm further demonstrates her defiance of gender norms and separations.

From stories of house calls, it can be inferred that Long was a primary care physician and practiced at a clinic rather than solely in a hospital. To further support this point, one of the pages of her typed diary displayed the likely address of her clinic,

³⁰Mary DeMund, *Women Physicians of Colorado* (Range Press, 1976), 48.

³¹"Dr. Long Goes to College," *Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, October 18, 1907, CHNC.

³²Daniel Paul, Makena Davisson, Jared Orsi, Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

³³Adam Thomas, conversation with author, Fort Collins, April 27, 2026.

located in the middle of Downtown Denver.³⁴ The 226 Metropolitan Building was constructed between 1910 and 1930. It can be inferred that it contained offices, as the building had lightwells to provide light and air to the offices. In addition, there was a drugstore on the ground floor, suggesting that the building contained some medical clinics.³⁵ The image of Long treating patients both in a clinic and especially out on the road follows the pattern of her enjoying time on the road. Both to cure her tuberculosis and her later travels through Nevada, Long enjoyed driving. It is not surprising that Long also incorporated the outdoors and travel into her career. As a general practitioner, Long had the flexibility to design her practice around driving. Driving became an important feature throughout her life and, interestingly, provides another example of breaking gender norms.

In addition to driving, Long built community service into her medical practice. She spent several years early in her career serving as the Medical Director of Sands House, a philanthropic sanatorium that aided women. The popularization of sanatoriums coincided with the mass migration to Colorado. There was a belief that different treatments could be applied more effectively and be more successful in an institution designed to meet the needs of tuberculosis patients. Sanatoriums thus became the most promising institution for offering cures by 1900. To effectively “cure” people, sanatoriums embraced open air, sunlight, and good nutrition. Sanatoriums at the time were a mixture of medical and non-medical practices and were similar to hospitals, with furnished beds for the extremely ill.³⁶ Besides the resorts of Colorado Springs, sanatoriums were commonly smaller care facilities established by religious or philanthropic

³⁴Margaret Long, “Diary (1925),” Box 4, MLP.

³⁵Adam Thomas, conversation with author, Fort Collins, February 20, 2026.

³⁶Cynthia Kay Stout, “A Consumptives’ Refuge: Colorado and Tuberculosis,” PhD Dissertation, The George Washington University, 1997, 82.

groups.³⁷ In bigger cities, they were seen as the primary means of preventing the spread of tuberculosis. Therefore, they were effective at isolating patients and offering rehabilitation for symptoms but did not cure tuberculosis.³⁸ In the early twentieth century, Denver held several large sanatoriums, including the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society, Agnes Memorial Sanatorium, Bethesda Sanatorium, and Swedish National Sanatorium. Sanatoriums funded by different religious or immigrant groups were significantly more affordable than the resort-like sanatoriums in Colorado Springs.³⁹ Unlike the larger Denver sanatoriums, Sands House specifically cared for impoverished women and young girls. Therefore, Long's contributions to Sands House represent her support for the underprivileged and contributions to public health in Denver.

Long served as the Medical Director of Sands House sanatorium for impoverished women and girls. In 1913, a young woman who had contracted tuberculosis arrived on the



Figure 4- View of the brick addition to Sands House Sanatorium – 1931-32; Photo from “Photographs - Western History,” DC, <https://digital.denverlibrary.org/nodes/view/1099599>.

doorstep of Mrs. J. H. Bradbury. Mrs. Bradbury was inspired to aid the young woman and others who had contracted the disease due to poverty and malnutrition.

³⁷Mary Swanson, “Tuberculosis,” Colorado Encyclopedia, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.

³⁸Mary Swanson, “Tuberculosis,” Colorado Encyclopedia, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.

³⁹Rebecca Hunt, “Swedish National Sanatorium: Building Community in a Swedish-American Tuberculosis Sanatorium; 1905-1959,” *Colorado Heritage Magazine* 25, no. 3 (2005); Ruby Johnstone, “Treating Tuberculosis at the World’s Sanatorium,” American Jewish Historical Society, August 2, 2023, <https://ajhs.org/the-worlds-sanatorium-tuberculosis-treatment-for-jewish-patients/>; “Bethesda Sanatorium,” Museum of Denver, last modified March 25, 2024, <https://www.museumofdenver.org/blog/bethesda-sanatorium>; Finding Aid, AMSC.

Several Denver residents, including Mrs. Bradbury, officially founded the Sands House in the winter of 1913. The non-profit sanatorium for women and girls was established in a home in Englewood in 1915. The original home burned down shortly after construction, but a second home at 5261 West 26th Ave in Edgewater was built soon after.⁴⁰ During the early twentieth century, it was common for sanatoriums to be built in Edgewater because of the availability of cheaper land. Therefore, several small sanatoriums, similar to Sands House, were built in the area.⁴¹

By 1919, Sands House was treating 14 girls, one of whom had been receiving care since the home was built. The girls had all come to Colorado with no means of support.⁴² On January 28, 1920, the organization concluded that it had higher financial stability and membership than in the previous years. At that time, the Sands House had admitted 82 patients, with 21 in 1919 alone. The home had undergone several improvements over the previous year, and the organization had set goals to expand the housing facilities in the coming years. One of the organization's major goals was to expand the activities it hosted and to form committees throughout the city to increase funding.⁴³ These articles demonstrate the capacity and mission of Sands House at the time of Long's service. Under Long's medical administration, the Sands House supported almost 100 patients. The home was rather small yet had an immense impact on improving public health in Denver. In 1939, Sands House was applauded for its role within the community: "From poorer sections of the city, girls have been taken into the home and cared for

⁴⁰"Sands House Celebrates 20th Anniversary Today," *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, December 1, 1933, CHNC.

⁴¹Adam Thomas, conversation with author, Fort Collins, February 20, 2026.

⁴²"First Flower Day for Sands Home Will be Friday," *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, August 17, 1919, CHNC.

⁴³"Sands House Association Reduce Roll of Directors," *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, January 29, 1920, CHNC.

... through the foresight of its organizers, Sands House has become a leading contribution to humanity,” demonstrating the social improvement from Sands House.⁴⁴

Long served as the Medical Director of Sands House for the first five years of its operations. A newspaper article published on March 31, 1920, discussed Long’s resignation as Medical Director of Sands House, the reason unknown.⁴⁵ Long’s own experience with tuberculosis likely shaped her work at Sands House and potentially even gave her credibility for providing medical policy decisions. Through her role at Sands House, Long became a prominent member of several philanthropic and social advocacy groups in Denver, which she leveraged for her later political endeavors. Long’s contributions and involvement follow the larger theme of female physicians during the twentieth century who used their positions as platforms for social and political reform.

Among influential female physicians is Dr. Florence Sabin, a friend of Margaret’s from Smith College. Sabin retired from her position as a professor and researcher at Johns Hopkins Medical School and moved to Denver in 1938. By 1944, Governor John Vivian had asked her to serve on the post-war planning committee to assess the state’s public health needs.⁴⁶ She led forty-nine other community and professional leaders through discussions on Colorado’s healthcare and devised ways to improve it. In 1947, the Colorado legislature passed Six Sabin Bills and later expanded on them in 1949. These laws demonstrated a shift in Colorado politics towards improving public health and welfare.⁴⁷ Sabin’s public health campaign demonstrates the influence of female physicians on public health. Through figures such as Sabin

⁴⁴ “Sands House and Craig Colony Rehabilitate Health Refugees,” *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, October 30, 1939, CHNC.

⁴⁵ “Dr. Long and Miss Lathrop Quit Sands House Positions,” *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, March 31, 1920, CHNC.

⁴⁶ Biography, Finding Aid, Florence Rena Sabin papers, SSC.

⁴⁷ “Doctor Florence: Colorado’s Woman of the Decade,” *Colorado Heritage Magazine* 15, no. 1 (1995).

and Long, public health in Colorado became a political priority and improved the lives of Colorado communities. Unfortunately, Long's medical career outside Sands House is not documented in any journals or newspaper articles, leaving Sands House as the only record of her influence in the community as a physician. However, Long used her position as a physician to advocate for social improvement through suffrage and women's equality.

Long's work with Sands House raises the question of her professional title. At the time, physician specialization, such as primary care or epidemiology, was uncommon. A book containing mini-biographies about women physicians in Colorado recognized Dr. Long as a clinical pathologist and bacteriologist.⁴⁸ Another biography about Long in the Shoshone Museum in Shoshone, California, referred to Long as an epidemiologist.⁴⁹ Some Western physicians gave themselves titles of specialization due to the focus of their work, which is perhaps why these biographies recorded Long as an epidemiologist. It was not until 1930 that the American Medical Association recognized thirteen specialties and established specialty boards. Despite this, even in 1940, 76 percent of physicians were still generalists.⁵⁰ Therefore, it was also not unusual for Long to refer to herself as a general practitioner despite her work in epidemiology with Sands House. According to the 1930 census, Long considered herself a general practitioner.⁵¹ Therefore, it is possible that at times Long referred to herself as an epidemiologist because of her work with Sands House and other public health initiatives. However, individuals report their occupation in the census, suggesting that Long identified herself as a general practitioner.

⁴⁸Mary DeMund, *Women Physicians of Colorado* (Range Press, 1976), 48.

⁴⁹"Shadow of the Arrow Part 1," Shoshone Museum Reader, Winter 2022, 1-2.

⁵⁰James E. Dalen et al., "Where Have the Generalists Gone? They Became Specialists, Then Subspecialists," *The American Journal of Medicine* 130, no. 7 (2017): 766-768, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjmed.2017.01.026>.

⁵¹U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls.

Regardless of her career title, Long dedicated her early career to aiding consumptives and should be recognized for her contributions to public health and community welfare.

By the end of Long's career, the perception of diseases had begun to change significantly. Colorado state officials feared that tuberculosis would endanger public health, leading to the closure of sanatoriums. In 1948, Sands House shifted its mission and became a rehabilitation center for cancer patients.⁵² During the Great Depression and World War II, mobile tuberculosis clinics traveled around with X-ray machines, treating and cataloging people with tuberculosis. Through these policies, tuberculosis in Colorado was eradicated by the 1950s.⁵³

Long represents physicians at the time who established public health policies but also advocated for medical access. Her own opinions on women's status are reflected in her work at Sands House, which contributes to the narrative of her support for women's equality. Examination of this generation of female physicians reveals a group of people who used their academic positions and affluence to make significant positive impacts in their communities, a topic commonly overlooked in twentieth-century women's histories.

Women in Medicine

Long is an excellent example of a leading woman physician of the time. Women physicians during the twentieth century used their position to advocate for social change beyond public health. Women physicians defied traditional gender roles, consistently breaking barriers throughout their careers. It is important to recognize the role that women physicians played in improving their communities.

⁵²"Lag in Patients Causes Changes at Sands House," *The Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, March 10, 1948, CHNC.

⁵³Mary Swanson, "Tuberculosis," *Colorado Encyclopedia*, <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.

During the twentieth century, women faced significant barriers to education, especially entry into medical school. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, 16 women-only medical schools were founded and run by women physicians. By 1910, all but three of these schools had closed or merged with male-only medical schools, reducing the number of total women medical students in the United States from 6 percent in 1900 to 4 percent in 1930. The admission restrictions for women were not eliminated until the Civil Rights Act of 1972.⁵⁴ Long was not the first woman physician; however, she was among the first generation of women physicians to enter the medical field.

The American West did not always welcome women physicians with open arms, but several determined women found a way to earn the respect of their communities and leverage their careers to advance political and social agendas. The West became a hotspot for female physicians, offering them more opportunities. By the turn of the twentieth century, Colorado, California, and Oregon had the highest ratios of women physicians in the nation.⁵⁵ Female physicians in Colorado broke down gender barriers, opening avenues for women into professional careers and social circles previously exclusive to men. Long was among the women physicians in the American West who leveraged the social and political atmosphere of the twentieth century to practice medicine, influence politics, and design public health policies. However, there was still skepticism from locals who doubted women's capabilities and intellect, sometimes requiring them to tend to a horse or cow to win the trust of the townspeople.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Molly Carnes et al., "Women's Health and Women's Leadership in Academic Medicine: Hitting the Same Glass Ceiling?" *Journal of Women's Health* 17, no. 9 (2008-11): 1453-62, <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2007.0688>.

⁵⁵Kimberly Jensen, "The 'Open Way of Opportunity,' Colorado Women Physicians and World War I," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 327-48.

⁵⁶Jacqueline D. Antonovich, "Medical Frontiers: Women Physicians and the Politics and Practice of Medicine in the American West 1970-1930," PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2018.

Women like Margaret who spoke out against gender stereotypes shifted the social climate regarding women's capabilities. Long wrote an article published in the *Denver Times* in 1910, arguing in favor of women physicians' capabilities and essential role in hospitals.

“Like many others, I am nonplussed to know why women are so manifestly not wanted on the staff of the new Children’s Hospital. Hitherto, my experience has been that women were absolutely necessary on such a staff. ... I have had the opportunity to judge the invaluable work done by the women physicians of New York City. Their services were at all times given liberally and willingly, and their ability was, and is, unquestioned. Colorado women are prominent in public affairs and wide awake to state and municipal requirements. They have shown their ability to control, to preside, and to legislate. They are in the vanguard in every philanthropic movement, and yet they are not permitted to occupy positions of trust of the staff of the new hospital.”⁵⁷

This quote shows that Long believed and advocated for female physicians’ roles in medicine and that they were in no way less capable than their male counterparts. She also calls out the role of women in society and politics at the time. By writing articles such as these, Long used her experience and credibility as a physician to argue for gender equality.

Female physicians became leaders in society and campaigned for social reform and philanthropy. White women physicians, like most male physicians, often promoted medical imperialism that pathologized race, class, sex, and disability and worked in eugenics. However, a smaller number of women, often women of color, women on the political left, and those involved

⁵⁷Margaret Long, “Believes Mothers Would Prefer to Have Trained Medical Women,” *Denver Times*, March 26, 1910, Scrapbook 1, Box 1, MS 730, SHHRC.

in same-sex relationships, contested this ideology. They were advocates of reproductive choice and race, class, and gender equity in public health.⁵⁸ Several aspects of Long's life suggest she belonged to the second and third group of women physicians. One is the apparent same-sex relationships she had, most notably with Anne Martin. In addition, her commitment to equitable public health is demonstrated by her work with the Sands House sanatorium, which provided medical care to low-income women and girls.

In Colorado, Long was among a group of female physicians who made significant contributions and advocated for social reform. Dr. Kate Lobinger spoke at the Milwaukee Biennial for the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1903. Dr. Caroline Spencer of Colorado Springs, considered one of the West's most radical advocates for national suffrage, co-founded the Women's Club of Colorado Springs in 1902 and the Civic League in 1909. She later became a point person for feminist Alice Paul's Congressional Union/National Woman's Party (NWP) in 1913.⁵⁹ These women are among female physicians in Colorado who became social and political advocates. While there is no specific evidence linking Long to these women per se, they could have moved in similar social circles, as they were members of similar organizations. By fighting for public health and gender equality, Long used her position as a female physician to advance women's social and political standings. Margaret's professional career and dedication to social progress frame her as a representation of feminist ideals that sought equality in education, the workforce, and society.

⁵⁸Molly Carnes, et al., "Women's Health and Women's Leadership in Academic Medicine: Hitting the Same Glass Ceiling?" *Journal of Women's Health* 17, no. 9 (2008-11): 1453-62, <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2007.0688>.

⁵⁹Jacqueline D. Antonovich, "Medical Frontiers: Women Physicians and the Politics and Practice of Medicine in the American West 1970-1930," PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2018.

Suffrage

On a crisp Halloween morning in 1908, a few prominent American suffrage leaders and two European suffragettes sat around Margaret's grand dining table. Long had invited the president of the American National Suffrage Association, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, as well as two young English suffragettes, Ray Costello and Eleanor Randal. All three women were recorded as being "primarily and entirely suffragettes," connecting them to the radical and militant suffrage movement. The women were in Denver to study American women at the polls to aid the suffragette campaign back in England. Throughout breakfast, the women discussed American and British politics. Costello told stories about the suffrage campaigns in Britain and Randal's cross-country tour. Randal was quoted as being excited about Election Day, seeing women secure the rights inherent to them. Together, they analyzed the victories and challenges being faced by both American and British suffrage movements. All women shared a sentiment of women's rights beginning with suffrage.⁶⁰ The 1908 breakfast provides insight into the connection between the American and British suffrage movements. In addition, it establishes Long's personal viewpoint on suffrage. Aligning herself with such radical English suffragettes who believed that voting was a basic right and would secure additional women's rights demonstrates that Long, too, was a radical feminist who sought suffrage as the starting point for women's progress more broadly.

Hosted by Long, this breakfast offers a window into her role in the suffrage movement and her views on women's issues. Margaret was well-connected to prominent suffrage leaders

⁶⁰"Suffragettes From England Here to See Women Vote," *Denver Post*, October 31, 1908, Scrapbook 1, Box 1, Women's Suffrage Manuscripts, MSS 730, SHHRC.

and organizations in national and international movements. She was also involved in women's rights organizations for a significant portion of her life. Newspaper articles document that Long remained involved in organizations until at least 1927, well after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. For Long, suffrage was a platform to advocate for women's rights and equality more generally, beginning with gaining a voice in politics. This places Long toward the radical end of the suffrage-era ideological spectrum. Her dedication and involvement in the suffrage movement from 1908 to 1927 illustrate her stance on women's advancement and reflect her character.

This synthesis of Long's stance on women's movements comes primarily from a large collection of papers she compiled, now held by History Colorado. The Women's Suffrage Manuscripts Collection comprises newspaper clippings and pamphlets on the national women's suffrage movement during the early twentieth century. This collection is quite extensive, with clippings from prominent Denver newspapers and some Massachusetts newspapers. Long painstakingly hand-organized hundreds of articles in chronological order. She removed articles from the larger newspaper and glued them into the scrapbook pages. In some cases, she also snipped the date and pasted it above or next to the article. The collection totaled seven scrapbooks, each with hundreds of pages, most of which had several articles per page. The meticulous organization of the scrapbooks suggests that Margaret's intentionality in selecting the articles; therefore, the narratives they convey may give us some insight into Long's own agendas within the larger suffrage movement. These clippings focus on themes of equality, inclusion, and women's capabilities outside the home, representing a more radical ideology that sought more than just the vote.

Many articles highlight women's achievements in both physical and intellectual pursuits. Included in this are several articles by feminist Denver journalist Alice Rohe, who clearly opposed the notion that women were incapable of assuming roles traditionally held by men. In one article published in *The Sunday News* in January 1920, Roe called out men for restricting women's rights in favor of their own. Rohe stated that "the publicity given to the breed of male parasites, basking in society, is rather significant, coming at a time when woman is making her fight for recognition before the world as glorious man's equal. And when we consider the state of society that nurtures these parasitical males, it causes one to smile at the arrogance of man in endeavoring to keep up the archaic arguments of his superiority."⁶¹ This piece of writing criticized the systemic barriers that hindered women's progress and, like other articles, challenged the era's strict gender roles. A large majority of the thousands of articles in Long's scrapbooks follow this narrative of feminism and women's advancement, condemning societal expectations that prevented women from exercising their right to vote.

Despite the overall theme of celebrating women's achievements, the collection also contained articles that recounted aspects of Long's own involvement in the suffrage movement. One of the earliest articles discussed her leadership as an elected member of a prominent local women's club. Its placement in scrapbook 1 suggests that the article was written between 1906 and 1908. The article labeled Long as the treasurer of the Colorado branch of the National Women's Suffrage Association. The National Women's Suffrage Association was founded in 1890 by prominent suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who were known for their radical federal-level strategy to secure women's right to vote. During Long's year of involvement (1908) with the organization, it was led by Anna Howard Shaw and transitioned

⁶¹Alice Rohe, "The Male Parasite," *The Sunday News: Denver, Colorado*, January 5, 1913, Scrapbook 7, Box 3, WSM.

toward more aggressive, visible campaign tactics.⁶² The article described Long as “one of the foremost workers in the country for the sacred cause of women’s equal rights.”⁶³ This article establishes Margaret as a leading member of her local community in a radical organization. Long’s association is indicative of her belief in women’s equality, and the article is among many that portray Long as an advocate for women beyond securing the vote.

The same article quoted Long’s stance on the importance of women’s political rights, drawing on her own experience witnessing women’s suffrage in Colorado politics.⁶⁴

“Women have notably advanced in the brief time they have had suffrage in the West. It seems impossible to me that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life there and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of that State than they do where they do not have the power which suffrage gives. It does not follow that their every wish is gratified, but it is true that more attention is paid to their wishes and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment than is the case in communities where they do not have political equality.”⁶⁵

This quote demonstrates Long's belief that women's suffrage positively influenced society, countering the anti-suffrage argument that women hindered beneficial public policy. It also aligns with the themes throughout the collection, supporting the inference that Long championed women’s equality.

⁶²“The National American Women Suffrage Association,” National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection, Digital Collections, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/national-american-woman-suffrage-association/articles-and-essays/the-national-american-woman-suffrage-association/>.

⁶³“As a Suffragist, Miss Long Leads Cause in West,” Scrapbook 1, Box 1, WSM.

⁶⁴“As a Suffragist, Miss Long Leads Cause in West,” Scrapbook 1, Box 1, WSM.

⁶⁵“As a Suffragist, Miss Long Leads Cause in West,” Scrapbook 1, Box 1, WSM.

Long's contributions to the suffrage movement continued for another fifteen years after that initial biographical article. Another article, not featured in the collection, but published by the *Rocky Mountain News* in June 1916, mentioned Long's involvement during the founding of the Colorado branch of the National Woman's Party. The National Woman's Party was formed in 1913 by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns and concentrated on gaining women's rights in the United States Constitution. During the 1910s, when Long was involved, it was considered a militant organization and openly declared itself feminist.⁶⁶ Long was listed as chairman of the Colorado chapter. Being selected as the highest-ranking officer of this new club meant Long was well known and trusted within the suffragist community. It also suggests that she had established working relationships with the national suffragists who oversaw the formation of such state chapters of clubs. The article provides further confirmation that Long was active in advocating for women's equality and that she saw suffrage as a platform for women to improve their lot in society. This was a radical stance, even among suffrage advocates.

Several articles in the Women's Suffrage Manuscripts collection and the 1908 breakfast Margaret hosted raise questions about Long's alliance with the English suffrage movement. There are articles in the collection that follow the English suffragettes, suggesting that Long was particularly interested in them and their more radical, militant campaign tactics.⁶⁷ The term "suffragette" was initially used by the British media to diminish the movement, as the suffix "-ette" is used to refer to something small or diminutive and often connotes something feminine. British suffrage advocates, however, turned the tables and embraced the term proudly. Thus, suffragette became a term for the participants in the British women's suffrage movement.

⁶⁶Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," *Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 43-68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1899833>.

⁶⁷"Suffragettes From England Here to See Women Vote," *The Denver Post*, October 31, 1908, Scrapbook 1, Box 1, WSM.

Women's suffrage leaders in the United States, in contrast, considered the term suffragette offensive and rarely used it; instead, they called themselves suffragists.⁶⁸ The rhetorical distinction between suffragist and suffragette changed significantly throughout the 1910s as the British suffragette movement came to be seen as radical and militant. The blending of British and American suffrage movements is where the rhetoric gets complex. Some more moderate American organizations used "suffragette" to diminish the more radical movements. Alice Paul, for example, defined her philosophy of suffrage after experiencing a hunger strike and hearing British suffragette Christabel Pankhurst speak in 1908. Paul used her experiences with militancy in the suffrage movement as the foundation for the National Women's Party, which Long served as the initial chair of the Denver chapter and was involved with again in 1926.⁶⁹ Therefore, Long's personal involvement in radical women's clubs and her following of the British movement demonstrates that she was likely aligned with the militant campaigns of the suffragette movement rather than the moderate suffragist agenda common throughout America. Had Long lived in England, she might have considered herself a suffragette.

The narrative that Long sided with the radical, more militant English suffragettes is also briefly mentioned in the Epilogue to her father's diaries, which she wrote prior to publication. The collection of her papers housed at the University of Colorado Boulder Archives included a typed manuscript of Margaret's father's diaries. The epilogue of that manuscript covered the lives of both Long and her half-brother Pierce after their father's death. Regarding Margaret's suffrage contributions, the manuscript states, "Although her father always supported Equal Suffrage, he has aroused many a friendly argument by saying that, from the legal viewpoint, the

⁶⁸"Did you Know? Suffragist vs Suffragette," National Park Service, Last modified September 1, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/suffragistvsuffragette.htm>.

⁶⁹Susan Ware, "The Book I Couldn't Write: Alice Paul and the Challenge of Feminist Biography," *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 27, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2012.0022>.

English women had gone too far in the destruction of property,” suggesting that Long and her father disagreed about the militancy of the suffragette movement.⁷⁰ This story is as close as possible to connecting Long’s ideology of women’s suffrage with more radical efforts and organizations.

One of the arguably largest personal sacrifices Long made for the suffrage campaign occurred in 1918 when she donated money and time to suffragist Anne Martin’s campaign for the Senate. Martin was an independent candidate for the United States Senate from Nevada in both 1918 and 1920. Martin was also an author and poet who wrote several articles on political and economic subjects, including women’s equality. Like Long, Martin was from a wealthy family, educated beyond university, well-traveled throughout Europe, and highly involved in the cause of feminism. Importantly, Martin aligned herself with the prominent suffragettes in two radical suffrage organizations while traveling in Britain.⁷¹ The two women shared many parallels, which may have contributed to their close friendship and possible romantic involvement. Since Martin’s stance on women’s suffrage and feminism has been studied in several works, this also provides another perspective on determining Long’s position.

It is unknown when or how Long and Martin met; however, the women became consistent figures in each other's lives after Martin’s 1918 campaign. It is quite possible that they met in 1916, when Martin attended the Congressional Union's executive conference in Colorado Springs. This meeting was hosted by several Women’s Party clubs, as well as other local Colorado women’s suffrage clubs in which Long was involved.⁷² Within two years, Long

⁷⁰Margaret Long, ed., “Letters and Journal of John D. Long, ed. By Margaret Long (n.d.), Table of Contents, Box 1, MLP.

⁷¹Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985).

⁷²Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985), 109.

became a significant contributor to Martin's Senate campaign, and the women developed a relationship that continued throughout the rest of their lives.⁷³

Martin spent the summer touring Nevada and speaking directly to voters. Margaret



Figure 6- Margaret driving Anne Martin (passenger) during Martin's campaign; Photo from the "Shadow of the Arrow Part 1," Shoshone Museum Reader, Winter 2022, 1.



Figure 5- Martin speaking to a group of men from Margaret's car – Thompson Meeting July 1918; Photo from "Travel Diary May 29 – Nov. 6, 1918", Box 4, MLP

donated her time and automobile to drive Martin and several other women around Nevada. Historian Anne Howard noted that Margaret took a leave of absence from her medical practice from June to November. Long was also the primary financial contributor, as most of the funds came from Long and Martin's own finances, apart from smaller donations from Nevada women. During the summer, most of the group traveled by train or stagecoach while Long drove various workers. On the final tour, Long drove Martin herself.⁷⁴ Despite Martin's loss in the 1918 election, she still paved the way for future women in political positions and demonstrated the influence of women voters. Long's contributions to

⁷³Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985), 109.

⁷⁴Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985), 127, 131, 151; "Anne Martin of Peace Foundation Ran for Senate," Martin, Anne, Box 6, MLP.

Martin's campaign speak to her commitment to the women in politics and her love of driving. That summer, the two women began a lifelong friendship and a shared love of western exploration.

Long and Martin maintained their relationship after Martin's campaign; their similar political agendas continued through involvement in the same organizations. After Martin's political journey, she returned to women's clubs and began recruiting for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1926.⁷⁵ WILPF was a global feminist peacebuilding organization founded in 1915. The WILPF vision coincided with feminist foundations of freedom, justice, nonviolence, human rights, and equality for all.⁷⁶ According to an article in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Long became involved as the secretary of the Denver branch of WILPF in 1927.⁷⁷

Long's involvement in organizations like WILPF and her stance on women's equality further confirm that she saw suffrage as a platform to advocate for women's progress. Like many other women of the time who sought the vote as a stepping stone to equality rather than the end goal, Long continued to fight for women's rights after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Prominent women's activist Alice Paul was one of the leading women who continued to advocate for equality after women gained the right to vote. She believed suffragists would continue working on women's issues after the vote was won. She was quoted in the *New York Times*, stating, "It is incredible to me that any woman should consider the fight for full equality won; it has just begun," underscoring her view that suffrage was only one part of women's advancement, not the final goal. Nearly all women involved in her organization, the

⁷⁵Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985), 173-175.

⁷⁶"About us," Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, accessed March 31, 2026, <https://www.wilpf.org/about-us/>.

⁷⁷"In Peace League," *Rocky Mountain Times: Denver, Colorado*, February 18, 1927, CHNC.

National Women's Party, shared this view of feminism and continued to advocate for women's equality.⁷⁸ Long was a highly committed member of the National Women's Party and followed Paul's mission for women's equality. Women like Paul and Long used suffrage as an opportunity for women's progress and leveraged their platform to advocate for women's issues of the time.

Death Valley

The final period of Long's life included traveling via automobile, writing, and historical research. Margaret traveled extensively from 1918 until 1956, a year prior to her death.⁷⁹ Arguably, her contributions to the historical record and other writings are her most tangible legacy. In these writings, Long continued to celebrate women's achievements, as seen in her focus on women's history in her first book, *Shadow of the Arrow*. In addition, Margaret's record-keeping of travel routes and research materials, contained in the University of Colorado Boulder collection, demonstrates her meticulous character, as Dorothy Mendell alluded to in her own description of Long. This period of Long's life reveals her passion for causes beyond medicine, though she remained dedicated to women's equality.

The semiautobiographical Epilogue she wrote for her father's diary manuscript indicates Margaret's love of travel and documents her journeys related to her historical writing.

“Through suffrage work, Margaret Long became interested in Anne Martin's campaign for the U. S. Senate in 1918 and 1920 and spent those summers motoring with Miss

⁷⁸Susan Ware, “The Book I Couldn't Write: Alice Paul and the Challenge of Feminist Biography,” *Johns Hopkins University Press* 24, no. 2 (2012): 27, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2012.0022>.

⁷⁹Margaret Long, “Notebooks,” Box 6, MLP.

Martin over the state of Nevada. Perhaps this was the beginning of her love for desert motor wanderings. Since that time, she has studied Western pioneer history, followed the old trails, and interviewed old timers. ... Since her retirement from practice, she has followed in the footsteps of her family and become interested in writing.”⁸⁰

The quote highlights that Long developed a love for motoring. She was among a group of women who utilized the automobile to achieve spatial freedom and empowerment.



Figure 7- Margaret standing in a field on the road to Contact, Nevada - August 11, 1918; Photo from “Travel Diary May 29 – Nov. 6, 1918”, Box 4, MLP.

Her involvement in travel and recreation is another aspect of her life that showcases her pursuit of feminist goals. At the start of the twentieth century, the automobile allowed women to physically break out of gender roles within the home. Autos and other innovations in transportation expanded women’s domestic sphere geographically. In *Taking the Wheel*, historian Virginia Scharff described the role of the automobile in expanding gender norms. Popular culture in the early days of the automobile painted a picture of “a man behind the wheel, a woman in the passenger seat, children enjoying the ride in the back,” illustrating how the automobile initially reinforced the gender roles of the time.⁸¹

⁸⁰Margaret Long, “Letters and Journal of John D. Long, ed. By Margaret Long (n.d.),” Table of Contents, Box 1, MLP.

⁸¹Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 52.

Women drivers soon challenged such imagery by proving their ability to operate gas-powered vehicles with relative ease, and, in the process, many discovered the freedom driving provided.⁸² By the 1920s, Scharff observed, “the automobile, more than any other consumer goods ... offered women new possibilities for excitement, for leisure, and for social mobility,” providing women new opportunities.⁸³ Thus, “women who were privileged to have access to automobiles availed themselves of the power of the machine to explore new territory,” connecting women’s social progress to the automobile and women’s recreation.⁸⁴ Automobile travel allowed Long to advocate for gender equality through Martin’s Senate campaign. It also allowed Long to live as a modern independent woman who was not beholden to the home.

Even her automobile defied gender norms. Photos of her driving during Martin’s campaign reveal that her car was likely a 1918 Willys-Overland Model 90. The Overland 90 is notable for its leaf-spring covers and steering-wheel details, and for being a big, heavy car well built for rough roads, with a powerful engine. This model was designed for and typically driven by men.⁸⁵ In the early days of the automobile, smaller electric cars were designed for women because they were lighter and required less strength to turn the steering wheel, making them easier to drive.⁸⁶ As in her choice of guns, Long chose the large, heavy model, eschewing feminine consumer products.

⁸²Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: women and the coming of the motor age* (University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 66.

⁸³Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: women and the coming of the motor age* (University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 135.

⁸⁴Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: women and the coming of the motor age* (University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 163.

⁸⁵Adam Thomas, conversation with author, Fort Collins, May 8, 2026.

⁸⁶Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: women and the coming of the motor age* (University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 46.

Long's passion for driving is best represented in her travel diaries, which are included in the collection of Margaret's papers housed at the University of Colorado Boulder. These travel diaries span 1918, 1920-21, 1925-27, 1929, 1935, 1937-38, 1940-42, and 1946. The travel diaries contained images, typed diary entries, and handwritten notes describing the locations she visited. The typed diary entries contained abundant physical descriptions of the places they visited, but they don't tell us much about how she thought or felt. They tracked the mileage and time getting from place to place. Some pages were handwritten with scribbled dates, places, and mileage.⁸⁷ One diary entry on May 31, 1918, demonstrates the unexpressive tone she adopted in the travel diaries.

“Started on my 290 trip to Ely, Nevada. I followed the Arrowhead Trail, guided by the Goodrich signs. I drove about 100 miles south on a good gravel road. I passed Utah Lake and came down over a hill with a panorama of the lake and valley below, avenues of green popular trees, and the mountains in the distance to the south and east ...”⁸⁸

From entries like this, it can be inferred that Long was analytical and calculated in her recording of time and distance. This is reflected in her historical writings of routes and maps.

The collection also contained an entire box of 151 notebooks from 1932 to 1956, organized by year, with several notebooks per year. Each notebook contained shorthand records of travel, including destinations, directions, and mileage. Each page was filled with messy cursive writing that seemed jotted down without regard for organization. Some pages even contained arrows indicating the direction of turns (right or left) next to mileage numbers. These

⁸⁷ Margaret Long, “Travel Diary May 29 – Nov. 6, 1918,” Box 5, MLP.

⁸⁸ Margaret Long, “Friday May 31st,” “Travel Diary May 29 – Nov. 6, 1918,” Box 5, MLP.

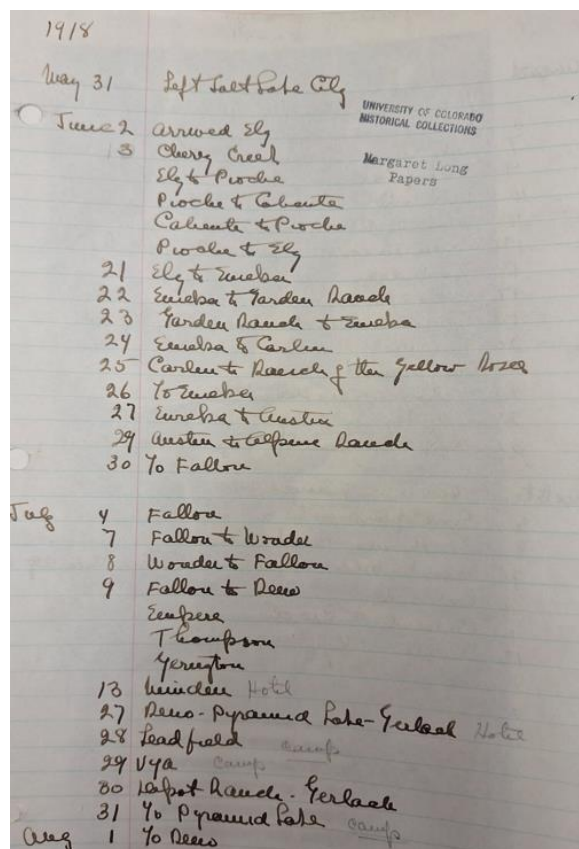


Figure 8 - Written Travel Log from Nevada, May 13, 1918; Margaret Long, "Travel Diary May 29 – Nov. 6, 1918", Box 5, MLP.

pages suggest that the notebooks were either recordings of directions to places Long had visited prior to driving or notes on the routes she was taking while driving.⁸⁹ The messy handwriting and detailed nature make the logs hard to understand; however, they demonstrate Long's dedication to recording and mapping her travels and the pride she took in having logged so many miles. The dates of the documents indicate that Long spent over twenty years of her later life regularly traveling by automobile.

After Martin's 1918 Senate campaign, the

two women continued to regularly travel around the West. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, they

frequently visited Shoshone and other smaller towns around Death Valley, becoming friends with sheriff and prominent local leader Charlie Brown. The two women spent a significant amount of time driving around and camping throughout their adventures in Death Valley. A possible explanation for Long and Martin's love of camping was the privacy it provided. In *Heading Out: A History of American Camping*, Terence Young noted that during the 1920s, personal motor-camping accounts illustrate how women quickly took to camping among other women and without men.⁹⁰ Among these accounts was Maud M. Keek, who wrote *Amateur Campers* about camping and traveling with friends through Southern California in 1921. She

⁸⁹Margaret Long, "Notebooks," Box 6, MLP.

⁹⁰Terence Young, *Heading Out: A History of Camping in America* (Cornell University Press, 2017), 122.

wrote, “It never occurred to us that once on the road we would be in the world’s eye as mere campers. [...] We were young enough to think of ourselves as gay adventurers, hunting romance and taking the King’s Highway to find it.” Keck and the many other women who pitched their tents in the American West demonstrated the freedom camping provided women.⁹¹ Similar to Long and Martin, Keck found the outdoors free of social expectations and sexual criticism. Daniel Paul’s wife suspected that Margaret and Anne appreciated camping because of the privacy it may have provided for their romantic friendship.⁹²

Margaret and Anne were believed to be in a romantic relationship because of the significant roles they played in each other’s lives and the sacrifices they made for one another. Margaret donated her time and car during Anne’s campaign. Anne traveled frequently to meet Margaret in Denver, both for their road trips and for personal vacations over the course of twenty years. Letters written by Margaret in May of 1933, February of 1934, March of 1935, and August of 1940 discuss Anne’s visits to Denver. Margaret addressed Anne as “Darling” and included updates about Margaret’s day-to-day life. Those that featured Anne described attending club meetings together or Anne being in town.⁹³ Importantly, all the letters are casual and never explicitly state a romantic relationship. However, the women had an intimate friendship for over twenty years. The book *The Long Campaign* mentioned that Anne lived with Margaret to recover from an unknown illness sometime between 1938 and 1940.⁹⁴ Given the consistency with which they spent time together, it is reasonable to infer that they had a romantic relationship.

⁹¹Maud M. Keck, “Amateur Campers,” *Sunset*, May 1922, 92, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89069292118&seq=477&q1=keck>.

⁹²Daniel Paul, Makena Davisson, Jared Orsi, Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

⁹³Margaret Long, “Personal Diary (1931-1935),” Box 4, MLP.

⁹⁴Anne Howard, *The Long Campaign* (University of Nevada Press, 1985), 179.

Her own descendants' reticence to talk about her sexuality further confirms that she was likely a lesbian. Daniel Paul and his family are as close as we can get to firsthand narratives about Long's sexuality. During our interview, he described his family as being ominously silent about Margaret's sexuality. Moreover, Margaret's half-brother, Pierce, was openly gay, and Dan's mother would sometimes make offhand comments about it. Dan believes that American culture in the 1950s and 1960s, combined with his family's social conservatism made them uncomfortable discussing the topic. He described his family as including both white-collar Republicans and working-class union Democrats.⁹⁵ Post-WWII conservatives extolled anticommunism, laissez-faire economics, and traditional sexual norms.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, in the working class, there was a crisis of masculinity following the war, which led to concerns about domesticity, fatherhood, male role models for young boys, and homosexuality.⁹⁷ These viewpoints may explain why they did not discuss Long's sexuality, even though they would likely not have hesitated if she were heterosexual.

In addition to Anne Martin, Long had long-term relationships with a few other women, including Jean M. Gale and Elise Pratt. Listed alongside Long in the 1920 census, Jean M. Gale was a "lodger" in



Figure 9- Anne Martin (left) and Margaret Long (right) in Shoshone; Photo from "(part two of two) Shadow of the Arrow by Margaret Long," *Shoshone Museum Reader*, Spring 2023,

⁹⁵Daniel Paul, Makena Davisson, Jared Orsi, Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

⁹⁶Kim Phillips-Fein, "Conservatism: A State of the Field," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 3 (2011): 727.

⁹⁷Stephen Raymond Patnode, "Labor's Love Lost: The Influence of Gender, Race, and Class on the Workplace in Postwar America," PhD. Dissertation, Stony Brook University, 2008, 185.

Margaret's home.⁹⁸ By the 1930 census, Gale was listed as a "partner," but there is no indication that they were business partners, as they both maintained separate occupations as physicians.⁹⁹ However, in the 1940 census, Gale was no longer listed as living with Long.¹⁰⁰ Besides the census information, there is no mention of Gale in any of Long's papers or other records. Another woman, Elise Pratt, is believed to have been a long-time companion of Long, according to the biography in the historical designation of her home. Long left a significant portion of her estate to Pratt upon her passing.¹⁰¹ Through these longstanding relationships with women, we can infer that she may have been a lesbian, though reserved with her public sexuality.

Due to cultural and social differences, historians struggle to determine homosexual relationships and to identify with certainty the relationship status of historical figures outside of traditional heterosexual partnerships. Part of this issue is that until the end of the nineteenth century, the terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" were not categories individuals used to define themselves or each other. In the book *A Desired Past*, historian Leila Rupp analyzed same-sex relationships throughout American history. In recognition that modern terminology does not always capture the nuances of historical relationships, she employed the term "romantic friendship" to describe the relationships women formed with one another. Often, they met through friends or at boarding schools or women's colleges and maintained intimate friendships that sometimes extended even after one or both partners entered heterosexual marriages. With

⁹⁸ US Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920. Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1920. T625_162, 2076 rolls.

⁹⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls.

¹⁰⁰U.S. Bureau of the Census. Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627-00489, 4,643 rolls.

¹⁰¹Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, "Margaret Long House Denver Landmark Designation Application," City and County of Denver, 2013, https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/646/documents/landmark/lpc/agendas/2020/12-01-2020/2070ColoradoBlvd_designation_app_2020.12.01.pdf.

the late-nineteenth-century expansion of employment opportunities, women could support themselves financially and thus choose to forgo heterosexual marriage and continue romantic friendships throughout their lives.¹⁰² This gave women more opportunities to maintain same-sex relationships unavailable to their mothers and grandmothers. However, this also led to push back from traditionalists who saw same-sex relationships as a threat to family norms and values. The turn of the twentieth century marked a sexual revolution, also called sexual liberalism, with greater public acceptance of sexual expressiveness. During this time, there was growing acceptance of “respectable” white women’s sexuality. Same-sex sexuality became more public; however, it also came to be widely seen as deviant. These relationships were no longer hidden, and therefore, communities that fostered same-sex relationships began to emerge.¹⁰³ Long maintained romantic friendships throughout her life, in part because her career and family wealth afforded her financial independence. In addition, she lived in an era where same-sex relationships were still considered deviant and thus were kept quiet. The sexual liberalism would have provided Long and Martin more social acceptance to travel and spend decades together; however, it still restricted them from making their romantic feelings publicly visible. The scrutiny faced by same-sex relationships at the time might explain why Long remained quiet about her relationships and never kept those letters as part of her personal papers. Hence, perhaps, their love of camping.

Whatever the exact nature of their relationship, Long and Martin shared a love of Death Valley. They spent the early years of their travels primarily in and around Death Valley. In 1921, they became the first white women to venture alone and unguided into Death Valley.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 45.

¹⁰³Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 100.

¹⁰⁴“(part two of two) *Shadow of the Arrow* by Margaret Long,” Shoshone Museum Reader, Spring 2023, 1-2.

The trip was cataloged in Long's October 1921 diary, which formed the basis of the eventual prologue of her book *Shadow of the Arrow*.¹⁰⁵ A year prior, suffragist and travel writer Edna Brush Perkins and her friend Charlotte Jordan traveled through Death Valley by wagon, accompanied by a guide, Sheriff Julius Meyer. Perkins likely brought a guide as it was common for the time. Women and travelers in general took guides through Death Valley because the area was riddled with rough-and-tumble miners who made it dangerous for strangers.¹⁰⁶ In 1922, Perkins published *The White Heart of the Mojave*, chronicling their adventure.¹⁰⁷ Long's final publication, *Shadow of the Arrow*, documents the region's landscape and histories, similar to Perkins' book but with significantly more research. Long's *Shadow of the Arrow* was initially titled "Woman of Death Valley." In the brief description of an early draft, Long wrote, "This is the story of the first woman to enter Death Valley alone. Their [Margaret and Anne's] objective was to seek out the trail of the first woman who went there. Of how this was done over four years and five thousand miles crisscrossing the deserts in this story."¹⁰⁸ In the early drafts, the book contained several diary entries of Long and Martin's expeditions throughout Death Valley. In addition, the first few versions of the manuscript followed Juliet Brier who was considered the first white woman to travel through Death Valley and was responsible for the survival of her husband and three children during her expedition with the '49ers.¹⁰⁹ As can be seen in the table of contents, the book includes a chapter on Juliet's account and another on William Lewis Manly's (the party's guide) account.¹¹⁰ These drafts, alongside Long's introduction to the first manuscript, suggest that Long and Martin's travels focused on telling tales of courageous women

¹⁰⁵Margaret Long, *Shadow of the Arrow* (Caxton Printers Ltd. Press, 1941), "Introduction."

¹⁰⁶Kimberly Selinske, conversation with author, Fort Collins, April 23, 2026.

¹⁰⁷"Edna Brush Perkins," Death Valley National Park CA, NV, National Park Service, nps.gov.

¹⁰⁸Margaret Long, "Manuscript (1937) The Women of Death Valley, c. 1," Title Page, Box 2, MLP.

¹⁰⁹"(part two of two) *Shadow of the Arrow* by Margaret Long," Shoshone Museum Reader, Spring 2023, 1-2.

¹¹⁰Margaret Long, "Manuscript (1937) The Women of Death Valley, c. 1," Title Page, Box 2, MLP.

who had traversed the dangers of the desert, while they, too, were the first white women to travel through the park alone.

In the same manuscript, “Woman of Death Valley,” the chapters are organized chronologically; therefore, the table of contents indicates some of the years of Long and Martin’s travels to Death Valley. Several other years were documented in travel diaries, also included in the University of Colorado Boulder collection.¹¹¹ The women traveled in 1921, 1925, 1927, 1933, and 1940. Through these travels, the women developed a passion for desert exploration that culminated in the historical investigation featured in *Shadow of the Arrow*. In the introduction of “Woman of Death Valley,” Long outlined her motivations. “After several trips into Death Valley, as well as extensive trips in the Southwest, we realized that we had unknowingly traveled over the old emigrant trails in many places. We became interested in the history of the pathbreakers in this hostile country and resolved to follow and identify as much as possible of the course which they followed.”¹¹²

As Long and Martin traveled through Death Valley, they primarily camped out of Long’s automobile. On April 3, 1927, a newspaper announced their second trip to Death Valley. It described the two women as leaving Denver for the new Eichbaum road, an early toll highway that carried automobilists into Death Valley. Long’s car was “fitted for every emergency of the open road,” and they carried a complete camping outfit. Throughout their trip, the article said, “they will avoid stopping in hotels if possible, preferring the freedom of the wilds to the haunts

¹¹¹Margaret Long, “Travel Diary April 17-Sep 5 1927,” “Travel Diary Aug 18 1930-Dec 4 1935,” “Travel Diary May 11- June 10 1940,” Box 5, MLP.

¹¹²Margaret Long, “Manuscript (1937) The Women of Death Valley, c. 1,” Title Page, Box 2, MLP.

of civilization.” It would be a rugged and isolated trip, in the style of recreation that Long and Martin enjoyed. “The automobile has spoiled me,” the article quoted Long.¹¹³

Through their several expeditions around Death Valley, Long and Martin recorded the paths taken by the ‘49ers both entering and traveling through Death Valley. The ‘49ers were a group of California gold seekers who arrived in Salt Lake City too late in the season for a safe route through the Sierra Nevada mountains. Instead, they hired Mormon guide Jefferson Hunt to lead their 400-500-person party south along the Old Spanish Trail. Similar to the ill-starred Donner Party of 1846, a packer gave them a shortcut that, within days, proved impossible to follow. Many of the party returned to Hunt and continued along the Old Spanish Trail, arriving safely in Southern California. The other group of ninety-five people (families and single men), referred to as the Jayhawkers, spent five months crossing mountains and deserts, including Death Valley. The struggles and lives lost during their misadventure were well known; however, the physical path they followed was not. Long’s book was the first successful attempt to document their travels on a modern map and to include modern landmarks within Death Valley National Park.¹¹⁴

Shadow of the Arrow included significantly less of Brier’s story and Manly’s accounts than the original manuscript draft, “Woman of Death Valley. The reason for this exclusion is unknown. However, the final book is much more of a historical account, including more sources and context and fewer personal diaries, especially material related to Brier’s experiences.¹¹⁵ Perhaps the publisher wanted a story focused on masculine adventures and asked Long to revise the initial manuscript. The final book was published in 1941. One Denver newspaper article

¹¹³“Two Denver Women Depart on Motor Journey to Coast,” *Rocky Mountain Times: Denver Colorado*, April 3, 1927, CHNC.

¹¹⁴“(part two of two) *Shadow of the Arrow* by Margaret Long,” Shoshone Museum reader, Spring 2023, 1-2.

¹¹⁵Margaret Long, *Shadow of the Arrow* (Caxton Printers Ltd. Press, 1941).

described it as sounding like a fairytale, while also labeling it “the best history of Death Valley ever written.” The same article described Long as being “accurate as a mathematician and as interesting as a jackpot.”¹¹⁶ Long published a second edition of the book in 1950, which updated one of the locations the ‘49ers traveled; however, most of the book remained the same as the first edition.

Long’s historical contributions did not stop with *Shadow of the Arrow*. She continued to study and publish historical maps and books until her death. In 1942, she published *The Enchanted Desert*, a collection of poetry likely from her travels with Martin. *Automobile Logs of the Smoky Hill and Other Pioneer Trails in Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico* was published in 1943. More notably, *The Smoky Hill Trail* was also published in 1943. In 1945, *The Santa Fe Trail* and *The Oregon Trail* were published. The last three books were a trilogy, all



https://octa-trails.org/emigrant-trails-hall-of-fame/?srsltid=AfmBOoqlrW_U_LjPPqjVrme7sVJCLrSiZCkTbdnUHbqantfx

published with the same subtitle, “Following the Old Historic Pioneer Trails on the Modern Highway,” and they included mile-by-mile, turn-by-turn directions for reaching sites and markers along the historic trails. These works also represent Long’s dedication to automobile travel, as they feature findings similar to those in her papers at the University of Colorado Boulder, where she kept detailed travel logs with mileage and directions. Her historic publications earned her several state historical awards. In 1944, she

¹¹⁶“Death Valley Saga,” *Rocky Mountain Times: Denver Colorado*, July 6, 1941, CHNC.

earned the State Historical Society of Colorado's first Citation for Distinguished Historical Service for her work on Smoky Hill and other Colorado trails. The same year, she was made an honorary member of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. In 1954, the American Pioneer Trails Association awarded her its citation for "distinguished service to the cause of preserving our Western trails and the traditions of American pioneers."¹¹⁷ These reconstructions and publications present Long as a notable historian from retirement until her death.

Conclusion

Dr. Margaret Long continually fought for gender equality in all spheres of public life. She defied gender norms and societal expectations for twentieth-century women throughout her entire life, making space for women in future generations. As a young woman, she traveled, earned multiple degrees, and pursued a professional career outside the home. As a physician, Long established an institution dedicated to improving public health, especially for women, and pushing for social reform. Long's contributions to the suffrage movement demonstrated her stance on women's equality and her dedication to influencing social and political agendas. At the end of her life, Long leaned into her love of travel and left a legacy as a historian documenting underrecognized aspects of migration in the American West. Over the course of eighty-three years, Margaret Long not only witnessed immense improvements in women's roles in society and politics but also led the fight for women's progress in Denver. Long's contributions throughout her life led to a period where women were gaining recognition in politics,

¹¹⁷"Margret Long, M.D.," Emigrant Trails Hall of Fame, Oregon-California Trails Association, https://octa-trails.org/emigrant-trails-hall-of-fame/?srsltid=AfmBOoqlrW_U_LjPPqjVrme7sVJCLrSiZCkTbdnUHbqantfxt1BuwYSX.

professional careers, and society. Not only did Long represent the goals of twentieth-century feminists, but she also continually advocated for all women to achieve the same.

Margaret was highly involved in local Denver suffrage organizations and national suffrage campaigns. She drew on her own experiences to advocate for women's progress through political representation. Her educational and professional achievements enabled the expansion of women's roles and their inclusion in the medical field. Through all of this, Margaret accomplished the goals of securing women's suffrage and decreasing inequalities between men and women in education and other professions from which they were excluded.

Margaret's death marked the end of her remarkable life. She passed away on August 31, 1957, and is buried in her family's plot in Hingham, Massachusetts.¹¹⁸ It is unknown if she returned to Hingham prior to her passing or if her body was moved from Denver. After her passing, she gave monetary gifts to many of her friends and organizations, including \$5,000 for the publication of her father's diary manuscript and a significant portion to her possible romantic partner, Elise Pratt.¹¹⁹

Margaret's story ties everyone, regardless of their connection to her biography, to the larger story of women's progress and equality in Colorado and across America. Long's interests align with several other prominent women of the time; however, few of these women were involved in such an array of political and social agendas. Dorothy Mendenhall made innovative contributions to the fields of pathology, public health, pediatrics, and women's medical education.¹²⁰ Florence Sabin made significant contributions to public health policies in

¹¹⁸Daniel Paul, Makena Davisson, Jared Orsi, Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

¹¹⁹Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, "Margaret Long House Denver Landmark Designation Application," City and County of Denver, 2013, https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/646/documents/landmark/lpc/agendas/2020/12-01-2020/2070ColoradoBlvd_designation_app_2020.12.01.pdf.

¹²⁰Biography, Finding Aid, Dorothy Mendenhall papers, SSC.

Colorado.¹²¹ Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Alice Paul were all leaders of suffrage organizations that led the national suffrage movement.¹²² Edna Brush Perkins was an Ohio suffragette whose book *White Heart of the Mojave* encapsulates the dangers and beauty of Death Valley.¹²³ Long incorporates the motivations and contributions of all of these women. Her story ties feminism and equality to medicine, travel, and Western American historiography.

For Margaret Long's descendants, her narrative provides a greater insight into her legacy. For the staff of Death Valley National Park, her story connects the park's history directly to the suffrage movement and the movements of women's progress. For Coloradans, her contributions to public health and suffrage directly improved the conditions of Colorado women.

¹²¹Biography, Finding Aid, Florence Sabin papers, SSC.

¹²²Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 43-68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1899833>; "The National American Women Suffrage Association," National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection, Digital Collections, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/national-american-woman-suffrage-association/articles-and-essays/the-national-american-woman-suffrage-association/>; Susan Ware, "The Book I Couldn't Write: Alice Paul and the Challenge of Feminist Biography," *Johns Hopkins University Press* 24, no. 2 (2012): 27, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2012.0022>.

¹²³"Edna Brush Perkins," Death Valley National Park CA, NV, National Park Service, nps.gov.

Bibliography

Archives and Abbreviations:

AMSC: Agnes Memorial Sanatorium Collection, Special Collections and Archives Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colo.

CHNC: Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection.

DC: Digital Collections, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colo.

MLP: Margaret Long Papers, Rare and Distinctive Collections, University of Colorado Boulder Libraries, University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, Colo.

SSC: Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

WSM: Women's Suffrage Manuscripts, MS730, Hart Library, History Colorado Center, Denver, Colo.

Other Primary Sources:

Denver Landmark Preservation Commission. "Margaret Long House Denver Landmark Designation Application." City and County of Denver, 2013.
https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/646/documents/landmark/lpc/agendas/2020/12-01-2020/2070ColoradoBlvd_designation_app_2020.12.01.pdf.

Keek, Maud M. "Amateur Campers." *Sunset*, May 1922, 92.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89069292118&seq=477&q1=keek>.

Long, Margaret. *The Shadow of the Arrow*. First. Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941.

"Margaret Long, M.D." Emigrant Trails Hall of Fame. Oregon-California Trails Association.
<https://octa-trails.org/emigrant-trails-hall-of-fame/>.

"(Part Two of Two) Shadow of the Arrow by Margaret Long." *Shoshone Museum Reader*, Spring 2023, 1–2.

Paul, Daniel. Oral history by Makena Davisson and Jared Orsi. Transcript in the Possession of the Author, January 22, 2025.

Ransome, Arthur. *Researchers on Tuberculosis: The Weber-Parkes Prize Essay*. Yale Medical Library, 1897. 71.

Selinske, Kimberly. Conversation with Author. Fort Collins, CO, April 23, 2026.

"Shadow of the Arrow Part 1." *Shoshone Museum Reader*, Winter 2022, 1–2.

Thomas, Adam. Conversation with Author. Fort Collins, CO, April 27, 2026.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1920. T625_162, 2,076 rolls.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627-00489, 4,643 rolls.

Secondary Sources:

"About Us." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Accessed March 31, 2026. <https://www.wilpf.org/about-us/>.

Ambriz, Cynthia. "William Jackson Palmer." *Colorado Encyclopedia*. <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/william-jackson-palmer>.

Antonovich, Jacqueline D. "Medical Frontiers: Women Physicians and the Politics and Practice of Medicine in the American West 1970-1930." University of Michigan, 2018.

"Bethesda Sanatorium." Museum of Denver. Last modified March 25, 2024. <https://www.museumofdenver.org/blog/bethesda-sanitorium>

Block, Marcelline. "First Wave Feminism (Ca. 1848–1960s)." In *The International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198073.wbierp1685>.

Brumberg, Joan Jacobs, and Nancy Tomes. "Women in the Professions: A Research Agenda for American Historians." *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 2 (1982): 279–281. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2702343>.

Carnes, Molly, Claudia Morrissey, and Stacie E. Geller. "Women's Health and Women's Leadership in Academic Medicine: Hitting the Same Glass Ceiling?" *Journal of Women's Health* 17, no. 9 (2008): 1453–62. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2007.0688>.

Cott, Nancy F. "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party." *The Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 43–68. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1899833>.

- Dalen, James E., et al. "Where Have the Generalists Gone? They Became Specialists, Then Subspecialists." *The American Journal of Medicine* 130, no. 7 (2017): 766–768. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjmed.2017.01.026>.
- DeMund, Mary. *Women Physicians of Colorado*. Range Press, 1976.
- "Did You Know? Suffragist vs. Suffragette." National Park Service. Last modified September 1, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/suffragistvsuffragette.htm>.
- "Doctor Florence: Colorado's Woman of the Decade." *Colorado Heritage Magazine* 15, no. 1 (1995).
- Dunbar, Susan Teele (Mrs. Simeon J.). "Colorado Springs and Manitou." In *The Health Resorts of Colorado Springs and Manitou*, by Samuel Edwin Solly. Colorado Springs, 1883. 29–30.
- "Edna Brush Perkins." Death Valley National Park CA, NV. National Park Service. nps.gov.
- Howard, Anne Bail. *The Long Campaign: A Biography of Anne Martin*. University of Nevada Press, 1985.
- Hunt, Rebecca. "Swedish National Sanatorium: Building Community in a Swedish-American Tuberculosis Sanatorium; 1905-1959." *Colorado Heritage Magazine* 25, no. 3 (2005).
- Jensen, Kimberly. "The 'Open Way of Opportunity,' Colorado Women Physicians and World War I." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 327–48.
- Johnstone, Ruby. "Treating Tuberculosis at the World's Sanatorium." American Jewish Historical Society. August 2, 2023. <https://ajhs.org/the-worlds-sanatorium-tuberculosis-treatment-for-jewish-patients/>
- King, Patricia M. "The Campaign for Higher Education for Women in 19th-Century Boston." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 93 (1981): 60–61. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25080888.pdf>.
- Matthews, Jean V. "'Women's Place' and the Search for Identity in Ante-Bellum America." *The Canadian Review of American Studies* 10, no. 3 (1979): 290–293. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/682494>.
- McKay, Douglas R. *Asylum of the Gilded Pill: The Story of Cragmor Sanatorium*. 2nd ed. Denver: State Historical Society of Colorado, 1990. 20–21.
- Patnode, Stephen Raymond. "Labor's Love Lost: The Influence of Gender, Race, and Class on the Workplace in Postwar America." PhD dissertation, Stony Brook University, 2008. 185.
- Phillips-Fein, Kim. "Conservatism: A State of the Field." *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 3 (2011): 727.

- Rupp, Leila J. *A Desired Past*. University of Chicago Press, 2002. 45.
- Scharff, Virginia. *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age*. University of New Mexico Press, 1991.
- Selinske, Kimberly. "Dr. Margaret Long: Author of Shadow of the Arrow & Explorer of DEVA Region." Unpublished manuscript. Death Valley National Park.
- Stout, Cynthia Kay. "A Consumptives' Refuge: Colorado and Tuberculosis." The George Washington University, n.d.
- Swanson, Mary. "Tuberculosis." *Colorado Encyclopedia*.
<https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/tuberculosis>.
- "The National American Woman Suffrage Association." National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection. Digital Collections, Library of Congress.
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/national-american-woman-suffrage-association/articles-and-essays/the-national-american-woman-suffrage-association/>.
- Ware, Susan. "The Book I Couldn't Write: Alice Paul and the Challenge of Feminist Biography." *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 27.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2012.0022>.
- Young, Terence. *Heading Out: A History of Camping in America*. Cornell University Press, 2017.