**2:20 Session 12: U.S. Women’s History: Reformers and Traditionalists Petrocelli 102**

Chair and Comment: Kristen Petersen, Massachusetts College of Pharmacy and Health Sciences

“Anti-Suffragists on Campus: The Progressive Era Campaign against the Nineteenth

Amendment at American Colleges and Universities”

Kelly Marino, Binghamton University

“Frances Parkinson Keyes Writes from the Nation’s Capital to American Women:

*Good Housekeeping*’s ‘Letters from a Senator’s Wife’ Column in the 1920s”

Melanie Gustafson, University of Vermont

“’Is a nation a country or a people?’ Transnational State-building and Citizenship between the World Wars”

Erika Cornelius Smith, Nichols College

**Frances Parkinson Keyes Writes from the Nation’s Capital to American Women:**

***Good Housekeeping*’s ‘Letters from a Senator’s Wife’ Column in the 1920s**

Melanie Gustafson, University of Vermont

**Paper Presented at the Fall Conference of the New England Historical Association**

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This paper has three parts. The first part is a brief biographical overview of the writer Frances Parkinson Keyes.[[1]](#endnote-1) The second examines her work as a columnist for *Good Housekeeping* magazine in the 1920s and the third part is my story about how this story came about.

**Part One: A Brief Biographical Overview**

Frances Parkinson Keyes was born in 1885 in Charlottesville, Virginia, where her father John Henry Wheeler was a classics professor at the University of Virginia.[[2]](#endnote-2) Her mother Louise had married John Henry after the death of her first husband, a New York City lawyer. Louise was the daughter of Edward Johnson of Newbury, Vermont, who moved to New York City after receiving his law degree from Dartmouth College.[[3]](#endnote-3)

Two years after Frances was born, John Henry fell ill, resigned his professorship, and the family moved to Newbury. After his death, Louise married a prominent lawyer Albert Pillsbury and the family moved to Boston.[[4]](#endnote-4) In 1895, to escape what had become a troubled marriage, Louise took Frances to Europe.[[5]](#endnote-5) When they returned, Frances settled into a life where she lived in Boston during her school terms and Newbury during vacations.

In Boston, Frances attended Miss Winsor’s School and near the end of her studies she prepared to enter Bryn Mawr College but mental and health problems resulted in less than perfect exam scores and ended her hopes for a college education.[[6]](#endnote-6) Instead, in 1904, Frances married Harry Wilder Keyes, an up and coming politician, banker, and farmer from Haverhill, New Hampshire, which was just across the Connecticut River from Newbury. Before the ceremony, Frances exacted a promise from Harry that if they had a daughter she would be allowed to go to college. Frances instead gave birth to three sons: they all attended Harvard University.

While raising her sons, Frances wrote. Making money for a financially strapped household seems to have been a major motivation but Frances had been writing since she was seven years old.[[7]](#endnote-7) According to Keyes’s later recollections, because her husband discouraged her writing efforts, she wrote in the attic of their farmhouse and, when she finished with her day’s efforts, hid her papers in her underwear drawer. She was living, she said, a “life of deception.”[[8]](#endnote-8)

Deceptive or not, in November 1917 Keyes became a public writer when her first article about the wearing of mourning clothes was published in a short-lived publication financed by a group of wealthy New York women.[[9]](#endnote-9) She then published historical sketches in New Hampshire’s “state” magazine, the *Granite Monthly*.[[10]](#endnote-10) Then there was her article in the *Atlantic Monthly* and the publication of her first novel, *The Old Gray Homestead*, by Houghton Mifflin.[[11]](#endnote-11) It was 1919, and the thirty-four-year-old Frances Parkinson Keyes began to think of herself as a writer with potential.[[12]](#endnote-12)

Her husband also had his successes. Harry walked the political ladder from local offices to the governorship of New Hampshire and, in 1919, entered the U.S. Senate. The family relocated to Washington, D.C. and Frances was soon involved in the daily rituals required of a Senator’s wife. She continued to write fiction but was finding it difficult to get her novels published. Her second novel, *The Career of David Noble*, was published in 1921 but it would be almost a decade before her third novel, *Queen Anne’s Lace* was published. To make money, she turned to political journalism.

**Part Two: *Good Housekeeping***

1919 was an exciting time to be in Washington. The war was over, the country was debating the League of Nations, a presidential campaign season was heating up, prohibition was no longer an issue but a reality, and, after a half-century of hearings, the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate had passed the woman suffrage bill, the proposed constitutional amendment went to the states for ratification, and women were ready for their next political step.

Keyes arrived in the nation’s capital as the published author of a well-received novel but it was her second article in the *Atlantic Monthly* that announced her as a woman of significance. “On the Fence” is a thoughtful investigation about the potential impact of woman suffrage.[[13]](#endnote-13) In it, Keyes argues that women had proven themselves during World War I and their experiences had made them more self-respecting but, overall, women’s lot was not as positive as many might think. Women were burdened by the drudgery of housework, over 20,000 died in childbirth each year due to lack of medical care, and isolated farmers’ wives had the highest incidence of insanity in the country. Women’s problems were the country’s problem she declared. Women “need economic independence,” she argued, “but we [the country] need mothers much more.” She stated that she was “on the fence” about woman suffrage because she feared that if women rushed “headlong into the busy world” their course of action might bring about “many empty nurseries.” “Motherhood,” she concluded, “always has been, and always will be, the greatest factor in civilization. It has never needed to be recognized as such more than it does now.”

After the publication of “On the Fence” Keyes was invited to join the League of Women Voters and the League of American Pen Women.[[14]](#endnote-14) Through the League of Women Voters, she met Maud Wood Park, who introduced her to William Frederick Bigelow, the editor of *Good Housekeeping* magazine.[[15]](#endnote-15) Bigelow asked Keyes take part in the campaign for the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act by contacting the wives of senators and getting them interested in the bill. Their correspondence indicates that she did very effective work. Her next step was testifying before Congress and in her statements she focused on her knowledge of rural women’s health care needs.[[16]](#endnote-16)

It was out of this activism that Keyes became a monthly columnist for *Good Housekeeping*.[[17]](#endnote-17) Keyes and Bigelow made a deliberate choice to fashion “Letters from a Senator’s Wife” as letters to friends, making each column seem less politically controversial and more informational. Their overall aim was to embed in each letter *Good Housekeeping*’s political agenda, especially its effort on behalf of the Sheppard-Towner bill. Before Sheppard-Towner was signed into law by President Harding in November 1921, Keyes published eight *Good Housekeeping* articles and over half of them directly discussed and promoted Sheppard-Towner.[[18]](#endnote-18)

In her March 1921 *Good Housekeeping* column, Keyes wrote to Mary, a farmer’s wife in the Connecticut Valley, about the pro and con arguments about Sheppard-Towner that had been presented before Congress and how her participation in the lobbying effort for the act had changed her political ideas. “You know I never sought nor desired the right to vote,” Keyes wrote, and “that I felt formally that the ballot for women would bring only doubtful blessings in its train. But if it will bring passage of bills like this – *and it has* -- I am willing – I am glad – to confess that I was mistaken in the judgment I pronounced.”[[19]](#endnote-19)

Keyes wrote her “Letters from a Senator’s Wife” column from March 1921 until March 1937.[[20]](#endnote-20) According to one account, the column helped increase the magazine’s circulation by about 100,000 readers.[[21]](#endnote-21) Her columns of the early 1920s described the social-political life in Washington and bills before Congress. They celebrated women’s individual and collective achievements and brought attention to ongoing efforts for a child labor amendment (which Keyes supported) and the equal rights amendment (which she opposed). She reported on the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, the Pan-American Conference of Women, and the meetings of the Cause and Cure of War.[[22]](#endnote-22) She discussed marriage and motherhood, and told stories of her own illnesses to explore women’s mental and physical health, and their health care.

In June 1923, Keyes announced to *Good Housekeeping*’s readers that she would be traveling to Rome for the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and in August readers were able to read not only about the conference but also about her interviews with Benito and Rachele Mussolini.[[23]](#endnote-23) The interviews were, she later wrote, her “first scoop” and when she returned home she took another step forward in her career when Bigelow appointed her as one of *Good Housekeeping*’s associate editors.[[24]](#endnote-24)

Writing about Washington, no matter how vibrant its political culture, was not enough for Keyes and being on editor took time away from writing. Wanting to

expand her horizons, she approached Bigelow about the possibility of making a round-the-world trip and reporting on her experiences in her monthly column. Her desire to travel was not just wanderlust. It stemmed from her experiences covering domestic and international politics, her previous trips to Europe, and a belief that women needed to understand international affairs.

In May 1925, newspaper reports announced that Keyes was embarking on a year-and-a-half “Round-the-World Swing.”[[25]](#endnote-25) Her travels took her from Cuba, through the Canal Zone, and then west to Hawaii, Japan, China, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, and Java. Then it was Egypt, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and other countries in Europe. Her *Good Housekeeping* articles about her travels provided readers with an introduction to a world that many had very little knowledge about, despite the international conferences already held and unfolding events such as the volatile situation in China.[[26]](#endnote-26)

In September 1927, Keyes sailed from Marseilles for New York City on the final leg of her voyage. Soon she was on the road again. In the second half of 1929 and first half of 1930 Keyes traveled to Spain, Portugal, and South America. In early 1931, Keyes once again secured Bigelow’s support for an assignment that took her to Europe and the Middle East.[[27]](#endnote-27) It would be the last major global trip Keyes would make on the behalf of *Good Housekeeping*.

After leaving *Good Housekeeping*, Keyes became the editor for the Daughters of the American Revolution’s *National Historical Magazine* until “certain obstacles and restrictions” that inhibited her work led to her resignation, which coincided with the DAR’s refusal to allow Marian Anderson to sing at Constitution Hall and Anderson’s subsequent performance at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939.[[28]](#endnote-28) Keyes then took on a monthly column called “Pine Cones” for *Yankee* magazine.

By then Keyes was making her name as a novelist. To list her novels here, or even to attempt to discuss them, would take up our whole session. So, in summary, let me just say, according to my calculations, Keyes published a total of fifty-five books. This total includes thirty novels and twenty-five non-fiction works but not reprints (sometimes under different titles), foreign editions, and translations of her works. In June 1968, a month before Keyes turned eighty-three years old, she was in Washington for a “lavish party” to celebrate the publication of what was being heralded as her fiftieth book, *The Heritage*. When one guest asked her how many books she had sold during her career, she replied, “I have heard the total put at 50,000,000 … but I don’t know.”[[29]](#endnote-29)

It is in Louisiana that Keyes found the settings for her most popular novels. According to her son Henry, the most important change in her life, next to her conversion to Catholicism, was her move to Louisiana. Her first Louisiana novel *Crescent Carnival* (1942) was followed seven more. The most famous is the 1948 *Dinner at Antoine’s*, which is the only one of her books to make it to the screen, and it only made it to television.

In writing novels, Keyes drew on local historians, friends, and colleagues to help her with research and, at times, writing. She was always generous in crediting the help she received, acknowledging contributions of researchers and others in the author’s notes to her novels and, privately, providing monetary compensation for their work. Public pronouncements and private recompense began early in her career, continued even when money was tight, and increased as she was more successful. Just one example: Hermann Deutsch collaborated with Keyes from about 1945 until just before her death in 1970. According to one source, Deutsch, who Keyes called “one of my best editorial advisors,” received fifty percent of Keyes’s royalties for *Dinner at Antoine’s*.[[30]](#endnote-30)

**Part Three: A Story about a Story**

Collaboration was crucial to Keyes’ success as a writer. She relied on knowledgeable individuals like Deutsch to help her with research and editing, and employed secretaries (and drafted her sons) to meet publishing demands. I did not know this about Keyes when, at the beginning of last spring semester, I asked my students in a senior seminar if they would be interesting in converting our traditional course -- where we all read and discussed the same scholarly texts and then they individually went off to do their solitary research and writing -- into a course where we not only read but researched and wrote together. Our subject, I told them, would be Keyes, whose papers, I had just discovered, were on deposit at UVM’s Special Collections.

The seminar is one of the best teaching experiences I have had in over twenty years in the classroom. We all learned new skills because, with the help of a colleague, Hope Greenberg from the Center for Teaching and Learning, we chose to both write an article about Keyes for possible publication and create a digital exhibit that was both narrative and archival. The students became totally dedicated to their subject. One student, with a deep knowledge of German and Holocaust history, immersed herself in documents about Keyes’s trips to Germany in 1933, ’37 and ’38. Another read *all* of her *Good Housekeeping* articles and provided us with summaries of them. Our debates about her relationships with her mother, husband and sons were led by students who were, as one put it, “dreaming Frances.” Another student made us take seriously the question of Bigelow’s politics, which shed light not only on Keyes’s activism but also the gap in the scholarship about the place of *Good Housekeeping* in the larger historical narrative of the rise and fall of the Sheppard-Towner Act. Yet another student kept up the refrain “but don’t forget New Orleans” and helped established the importance of historic preservation in Keyes’s career. Others led us deeper into the family histories and broadened our knowledge of the complexities of her ties to the diplomatic world that aided her travels. When a new subject came up, a student volunteered to explore it.

The students critically examined Keyes’s two memoirs, *Roses in December* (1960) and *All Flags Flying* (1972); located newspaper reports and published interviews about Keyes and magazine articles by Keyes; and read relevant secondary sources.[[31]](#endnote-31) At the end of the semester, they wrote individual essays about different aspects of Keyes’s life and career, which were revised into a larger article through a collaborative effort. That article is now out for review.

The students read thousands of documents in the Keyes Collection at UVM and uploaded over four hundred documents in preparation for an online exhibit about Keyes’s life. That exhibit should go live in the next month.

**Conclusion**

In 1918 Keyes made a pledge to herself. It stated: “I would never let even a scrap of paper leave my hands if what I had written on it was not just as good as I could make it – not as good as I should like to make it, of course; not as good as I hoped to make it some day; not as good as what most other writers were doing; but the very best that was in me.”[[32]](#endnote-32) My students took that pledge to heart. They did the very best that was in them to write the history of Frances Parkinson Keyes and it is their names that belong on any paper that I deliver or any article that I write about her.

Frances Parkinson Keyes died on July 3, 1970 in her New Orleans. She was buried in Newbury, Vermont at the Oxbow Cemetery alongside members of her family.

1. Biographical information is documented in Keyes’s two memoirs, *Roses in December* (New York: Doubleday, 1960) and *All Flags Flying: The Reminiscences of Frances Parkinson Keyes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972). Hereafter they are cited as *Roses* and *All Flags Flying*. All references to Keyes’s correspondence and papers are from the Frances Parkinson Keyes Papers, Special Collections, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont. Hereafter, Keyes Papers, UVM. I would like to thank Chris Burns, Prudence Doherty, and Daisy Benson, as well as other faculty and staff at Special Collections and Bailey-Howe Library for research assistance and guidance. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. *A Catalogue of the Doctors of Philosophy and of Science and of the Master of Arts and of Science of Harvard University, 1873-1898* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1898), 23; *General Catalogue of Bowdoin College, 1794-1889* (Brunswick, Me.: Bowdoin College, 1889), 14; *Album Des Bonner Kreises: Als Handschrift Gedrucht*, 1854-1906 (Bonn: Universität Bonn, 1906), 33-34. Wheeler held a Parker Fellowship from Harvard during his studies in Bonn. His dissertation is titled *De Alcestidis et Hippolyti Euripidearum Interpolationbus*. John Henry Wheeler was the son of Melancthon Wheeler, whose father was Hon. Zadok Wheeler, a side judge in Chittenden County. *Journals of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont* (Windsor: Alden Spooner, 1814), 54. His mother, Mary Holbrook Wheeler, was the daughter of a Boston schoolteacher. Alonzo H. Quint, et. al., eds., “Rev. Melancthon Gilbert Wheeler,” *Congregational Quarterly* (Boston: Congregational Rooms, 1870), 409-414; *Triennial Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1870* (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1870); John M. Comstock, *The Congregational Churches of Vermont and Their Ministry, 1762-1914* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Caledonian Company, 1915), 183. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (New York: Riverside Press, 1867), 309. On the Johnson’s of Newbury see FPK, “The Story of Colonel Thomas Johnson,” *Granite Monthly* 52:8 (August 1920), 316-324; FPK, “The Story of Colonel Thomas Johnson,” *Granite Monthly* 52:9 (September 1920), 355-367; Frederic P. Wells, *History of Newbury, Vermont, From the Discovery of Coos County to Present Time* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Caledonian Company, 1902). The Johnson Family Papers are on deposit in the Vermont Historical Society. Johnson Family of Newbury Papers, 1775-1886. Edward Johnson’s wife, Delia Smith, was the daughter of Adon Smith from Hamilton, New York and New York City. Delia and Edward married in 1847. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Albert Enoch Pillsbury served as Massachusetts Attorney General from 1891 to 1894 and was briefly a candidate for Governor in 1893. He also served in the Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives. A nephew of abolitionist Parker Pillsbury and a graduate of Harvard (Class of 1871), Pillsbury was a founder of the NAACP and wrote articles on law and civil rights. *New York Times*, December 24, 1930. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. See the correspondence from Louise Pillsbury and FPK to John Henry Wheeler’s mother and sister in Box 2, Keyes Papers, UVM. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. FPK to Mother, 31 October 1900; 31 January 1901; 13 and 24 February 1901; FPK, Bryn Mawr Examination, June 1902; FPK to Mother, 4 June 1902, Box 2, Keyes Papers, UVM. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. *Roses*, 169. Mother to FPK, 29 September 1895, **Box 2**; FPK to Mother, [189?], **Box 2**; “The Girl That Was Not Pretty,” [189?]; “A Mathematical Love Story,” [late 1890s]; “The Girl that Elizabeth Drew,” [late 1890s]; “Description of a Young Girl at the Piano,” 1902; “The Queen on her Coronation Day,” 1902, **all Box 5,** Keyes Papers, UVM. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. *All Flags Flying*, 53, 135, 140. By focusing on the attic as a place for writing, Keyes was appropriating the Romantic idea of solitary and misunderstood geniuses who were forced to forge their own paths toward intellectual enlightenment and fulfillment. For background see Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. *All Flags Flying*, 99. Maud McDougall, “Woman Who Couldn’t Hide Under a Basket,” *Oregonian*, August 29, 1920. We have been unable to find an extant copy of *The Chronicle* so our research is based on articles about it in other sources. *Catalogue of Copyright Entries* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 1503; “Society Magazine is High But Quiet,” *New York Times*, 6 May 1917; *Syracuse Herald*, 1 February1917. Keyes suggested women wear a gold star instead of black mourning dress. The American Gold Star Mothers, Inc. was established in 1928 by Grace Darling Seibold, who lost a son in World War One. In an interview, Keyes stated that she did “not claim to have originated the idea of the gold star for mothers” but no one suggested it to her. It “seems to have started in several different parts of the country at once.” McDougall, “Woman Who Couldn’t Hide Under a Basket.” On the earlier suggestion of a gold star see *Issues and Events: American Liberal Review*, September 1, 1917, which stated that a “trade paper advises our women not to wear mourning for patriotic as well as economic reasons,” which it explained included the “unreliability of dye stuffs.” See also “Mourning in Wartime,” *Colorado Springs Gazette*, December 10, 1917, reprinting an article from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. The *Granite Monthly* was founded by Henry Harrison Metcalf; Pearson was Metcalf’s son-in-law. For Metcalf’s dealings with the publication see Henry Harrison Metcalf, *One Thousand New Hampshire Notables* (Concord, NH: Rumford Printing, Company, 1919), 548. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. FPK, “Satisfied Reflections of a Semi-Bostonian,” *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1918; FPK, *The Old Gray Homestead* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919). Keyes submitted two earlier manuscripts, *The Sequel* and *The Shield of Faith* to Houghton Mifflin. Both were turned down. Houghton Mifflin to FPK, 8 April 1918, 22 July 1918, Box 4, Keyes Papers, UVM. *All Flags Flying*, 101. “The Sequel” was published as a serial in *Granite Monthly* in 1919 and “The Shield of Faith” appeared in the *Atlantic* in February 1921. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. On how women authors and editors asserted themselves as professionals see Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. FPK, “On the Fence,” *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1920, reprinted in Ralph Philip Boas, ed., *Youth and the New World: Essays from the Atlantic Monthly* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921), 253-269. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. See “History: Pen Women Then and Now,” National League of American Pen Women, <http://www.nlapw.org/history/>; *All Flags Flying*, 134; C. Mitchel Taliaferro, “Women and the Power of the Pen,” *The Trend: A Bulletin of Current History and Letters* (Philadelphia), 21 September 1922, 287. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Good Housekeeping* was one of the “Big Six” magazines. The others were *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Delineator*, *Pictorial Review*, *Woman’s Home Companion*, and *McCall’s*. Bigelow moved to *Good Housekeeping*, which was owned by the Hearst company, from *Cosmopolitan*, also owned by Hearst, in 1911. Jennifer Burek Pierce, “Science, Advocacy, and ‘The Sacred and Intimate Things of Life’: Representing Motherhood as a Progressive Era Cause in Women’s Magazines,” *American Periodicals* 18:1 (2008): 69-95; Marjorie and Donald L. Hinds, *Magazine Magic* (Laceyville, Pa.: Messenger Book, 1972); Nancy A. Walker, *Shaping Our Mothers’ World: American Women’s Magazines* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000); Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *A History of Popular Women’s Magazines in the United States, 1792-1995* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1998). [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. W. F. Bigelow to FPK, 18, 22, 25, 31 March 1920, Box 3, Keyes Papers, UVM; H.R. 10925, 66th Cong., 3rd Session, Senate Hearing, 20-23, 28-29 December 1920, printed as “Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy, Hearings Before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the United States House of Representatives,” “Statement of Mrs. Henry W. Keyes of New Hampshire,” (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 43-48; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press); J. Stanley Lemons, “The Sheppard-Towner Act: Progressivism in the 1920s,” *Journal of American History* 55:4 (March 1969): 776-786; J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973); Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. *All Flags Flying*, 157. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. W. F. Bigelow to FPK, 7 April, 20 November, 1 December 1920, Box 3, Keyes Papers, UVM. Frank Luther Mott, the scholar of American magazines, stated that Keyes wrote “chatty epistles” but “also occasionally touching upon real issues of government.” Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 5* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 134. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. See also *All Flags Flying*, 166. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Keyes’s first letters were published in book form in 1924. FPK, *Letters from a Senator’s Wife* (New York: D. Appleton, 1924). The book was considered important enough for a scholarly review. Katharine Sprague Alvoord, “Letters from a Senator’s Wife by Frances Parkinson Keyes,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11:3 (December 1924): 437-438. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Robert Wernick, “Queens of Fiction, *Life*, 6 April 1959, 139-152. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. On the Pan-American Conference see Marjorie Shuler, "The Women of the Americas Make History," *American Review of Reviews*, June 1922, pp. 635-38; Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 31:5 (November 2007): 801-28. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. International Woman Suffrage Alliance, [*Report of Ninth Congress, Rome, Italy, May 12th to 19th, 1923*](http://wasi.alexanderstreet.com/view/1631885)(Dresden, Germany: B. G. Teubner, 1923), available online in Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements, International—1840 to Present*. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. *All Flags Flying*, 229. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. *Boston Daily Globe*, 17 May 1925. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. The articles are available to read in full Cornell University’s website, “The Home Economics Archive: Research, Tradition, History,” at <http://hearth.library.cornell.edu/h/hearth/index.html>. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. FPK to Peter Keyes, 5 March 1931, Box 1, Keyes Papers, UVM. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Jessie Ash Arndt, “Mrs. Reyes [sic] Tells D.A.R. Paper Plans,” *Washington Post*, 13 October 1937; “Mrs. Keyes Resigns as Editor of the D.A.R.,” *New York Times,* 7 December 1939; “Another Good Woman Leaves the D.A.R.,” *The Afro American,* 23 December 1939. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. *Boston Globe*, 9 June 1968. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Carolyn Kolb, “Frances Parkinson Keyes and *Crescent Carnival,” Louisiana Cultural Vistas* (Fall 2010): 82-91. Deutsch was a writer for the *New Orleans Item* and other periodicals. See FPK, Author’s Note to *Blue Camellia* (New York: Messner, 1957). The Keyes-Deutsch correspondence is located in the Hermann Bacher Deutsch Papers, Special Collections, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Frances Parkinson Keyes Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont. [Hereafter Keyes Papers.] We would like to thank Chris Burns, Prudence Doherty, and Daisy Benson, as well as other faculty and staff at Special Collections and Bailey-Howe Library for research assistance and guidance. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. *All Flags Flying*, 103. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)