 Jazz is celebrated today as an integral part of our American culture. It would be hard to find anyone at the beginning of the twenty-first century who looks askance at jazz or sees it as alien to American identity and values. Few would demean its origins within black music or view in a negative light its development by music publishers and song writers, many of whom were Jewish, in the artistic milieu popularly known as “Tin Pan Alley.” But in the 1920s and 1930s, this was quite another matter. There was a far less welcoming attitude in certain social circles towards jazz. Many questioned just how truly American it was—especially when compared to what was then often called “old-time” music. This could mean anything from squares, quadrilles, reels and rounds, to ballroom (but non-Latin) forms of social dancing to country fiddling and related hillbilly genres—just as long as the music was identifiably white and European in origin (even if the unseen performers at recording sessions were occasionally of another color or if the music itself borrowed significantly from black music traditions). The nostalgia for these forms of music and more broadly, for the nineteenth century life and culture out of which they emerged was often rooted in regional pride, the socioeconomic circumstances of its participants, and a more general anxiety about the modern world, but occasionally had a distinct and sharp aspect of prejudice as its fellow traveler—or perhaps we might better say, its dance partner. If today
we tend to view the 1920s and 1930s as a high point of the Jazz Age, there were those at that time who were determined to fight against this cultural and musical shift in popular tastes because they viewed jazz as inimical and alien to American old-time values—values that needed to be preserved against their perceived enemies at all costs. And some turned, in part, to old-time music as a means to entice the American public back to an idealized life founded on nineteenth century values that resonated with what they nostalgically perceived to be the traditional rhythms of traditional music.

One of the leaders of this effort to revive the rhythms of an imagined past was Henry Ford. Carmaker and philanthropist, mechanizer and sermonizer, Ford, in fact, was more than just an occasional naysayer of jazz, he was a leading proponent of re-creating all aspects of nineteenth century culture in 1920s America. Though passionate about collecting antiques—the old-time furniture, machinery, and farm equipment that would eventually fill the halls of his Henry Ford Museum and populate his recreated Greenfield Village (Simonds 153–214; Richards, Last Billionaire 161–95)—he also sought to revive forms of “Old American” music and dance that he believed were central to reclaiming the ways of a forgotten but vital Old America, the type of music and dance that “cheered the pioneer race as it moved from coast to coast,” as one of Ford’s editorial publicist opined. “The music Washington’s troops sang,” that editorial continued: “and Daniel Boone whistled on strange mountains, and Abraham Lincoln heard, and the people of the ‘Covered Wagon’ trains loved. It is truly American. It has the pulse of life in it. No ‘blues’ there.”

From 1923 until his death in 1947, Ford poured thousands of dollars into the enterprise, buying and restoring three historic inns to serve in part as dance venues, building an elegant dance hall in Dearborn, and hiring a full-time dance master, who stayed on his payroll for some twenty years. He underwrote the salaries of an old-time dance orchestra, paid for old-time dance education for hundreds of university students and thousands of Michigan school children, and covered the costs for writing and the distributing four separate printings of a dance manual. Ford even extended his reach into the media, financing more than twenty old-time musical recordings, two coast-to-coast radio relay broadcasts, a network radio series, and documentary motion picture shorts of favorite old time fiddlers.

At first, the press reacted to Ford’s passion for an earlier generation’s sound and footwork with terms associated with leisure or religious fervor: It was a “missionary labor” (“Henry Ford Shakes a Wicket Hoof” 38), a “hobby” (Pope SM4), and a “revival” (“Ford and His Fiddler” 6). Before long, however,
the metaphors sounded downright militaristic. The *New York Times* labeled his promotion of old-time music and dance as a “campaign” (“Ford Hires Big Hall” 2) while the *Literary Digest* preferred the less subtle “crusade” (“Fiddling to Henry Ford” 356). The *Los Angeles Times* was more blunt: “Ford Wars on Jazz” (E2). Even the children’s press got into the fray. *Youth’s Companion*, a 100-year-old magazine that would later merge with *American Boy*, applauded the media blitz that occurred when Ford invited old-time Maine fiddler Mellie Dunham to play for large audiences and intense press scrutiny in Michigan in 1925. Dunham’s arrival in Dearborn, the magazine argued, was:

... a step in Mr. Ford’s campaign against the ugliness of present-day dances and the tyranny of the jazz band. He (Ford) is for Money Musk against the Blues of whatever tinge; for the dignified Lancers or the romping Portland Fancy, against the acrobatic Charleston; for the jollity of the fiddle against the moan of the saxophone. Mellie Dunham is the first wave of Mr. Ford’s shock troops advancing against the entrenched atrocities of Jazz-mania. (“Take Down the Fiddle and the Bow” 10)

The use of so many martial metaphors—the “shock troops” of *Youth’s Companion* and the *Los Angeles Times* notion of Ford warring on jazz—over so short a time was odd, seemingly out of character for the billionaire tinkerer and carmaker. To be sure, his factories eventually produced vehicles and airplane engines for the American effort in World War I (Lacey 154–58), but Ford was, after all, best known politically in the 1920s for his pacifism—most notably his support of the League of Nations and his chartering of the ill-planned and much ballyhooed 1915 Peace Ship mission to Europe in an idealistic effort to end that war (Brinkley 194–200; Lacey 137–46).

But, perhaps, the martial language was accurate in a way. Ford’s promotion of old-time music and his opposition to jazz in the 1920s were not isolated nor compartmentalized cultural skirmishes. They were closely associated with an ongoing rhetorical war that he and his public relations machine had waged against immigrants, non-northern Europeans, and, most vehemently, Jews. Although other factors—Ford’s reformist and agrarian leanings, his love for history, his anti-modernist inclinations, the joys and camaraderie of social dancing, his yearnings for a lost youth—played a role, the xenophobic and antisemitic leanings of Henry Ford and relevant members of his executive staff figured prominently as rationales behind the effort to revive rural what was perceived as traditional American music and dance.
Numerous writers have documented how Ford used his newspaper, The Dearborn Independent, in the 1920s to accuse Jews in finance, government, and entertainment of undermining Anglo-Saxon culture (Ribuffo 448, 452–53, 457; Kun 356; Carr 87–90). Less known is how this antisemitic world view permeated important aspects of Ford’s attempts to promote old-time fiddling—important in the development of the hillbilly or country music genre—and “traditional American” dances such as reels, rounds, and squares. Although some sources have sought to downplay connections between Ford’s antisemitism and this old time revival, a full examination of the Ford’s publicity efforts and his antisemitic efforts during the full span of the 1920s and of the archival material related to the campaign including oral histories of staff members and unpublished manuscripts, suggests a very direct connection. Ford went to considerable expense to support these nineteenth century art forms as an alternative to dancehalls and mass-produced jazz and Tin Pan Alley, venues and genres the Independent claimed were despoiled by Jewish influence. In fact, substantial evidence supports the conclusion that the author of the old-time dance and music revival’s formal raison d’être, expressed in the introductory essay in Ford’s popular old-time dance manual Good Morning, was none other than the same Ford journalist, ghostwriter and editor who spearheaded the Independent’s antisemitic campaign on behalf of the carmaker.

This antisemitism was coupled with Nordicism, a belief about the racial destiny of Northern European peoples that drew explicitly from the “scientific” racism and eugenic thought of the era. Ford and his staff’s explanations of why they promoted old-time music and dance often built on antisemitic and Nordicist ideas disseminated in earlier Ford-produced literature, while the overall old-time campaign occurred simultaneously with Ford’s ongoing antisemitic publicity campaign. As an early draft of Good Morning argued, moral authorities roundly criticized modern forms of popular music and dance, especially those deriving from jazz and Tin Pan Alley, because they were so racially foreign to Protestant, Anglo-Saxon America. “Dances partake of the racial characteristics of the people who dance them,” it argued, before moving on to fret about the groundswell of “foreign” musical styles and dances that were being hawked by the American music industry. Nevertheless the manual predicted a resurgence of the “type of dancing which has survived longest amongst the northern peoples.”

Ford’s old-time campaign deserves scrutiny because of the role it played at a critical juncture in the emergence of major commercial genres of American music such as country and folk in the 1920s (Peterson 59–62; C. K. Wolfe
77–80). Indeed, Ford’s efforts denote a circling of the wagons around specific notions of whiteness and American-ness that already were being pushed by the recording industry through the creation of genres that segregated peoples and musical styles by race, region, and socioeconomic status: blues and jazz as black “race music”; hillbilly or old-time as a poor, usually Southern, and almost always white, music. Most accounts of this bifurcation of genres argue that industry figures such as Frank Walker and Ralph Peer invented categories as a way of making artificial distinctions that either mirrored existing racial segregation in the South or fit within existing national patterns of production and consumption—this despite the fact that black and white musicians had long been involved in “a creolized synthesis of European and African influences” (Roy 462; see also Otto and Bums 407–17; Peterson 194–96; Miller 29–32, 223–26; 253–92; Feder 45–73). Ford went a step further than Walker or Peer. He not only hoped to advance one genre (old-time/hillbilly) over another (race music), he further sought to build deeper boundaries around that genre by adding religion and national origin to old-time/hillbilly’s existing list of racial, class, and geographic requirements. Ford’s promotional efforts, then, are key to understanding how events outside the South and outside of recording industry marketing practices—in this case a large, sustained, national media campaign centered in the northern Midwest—might naturalize notions that old-time/hillbilly music was not only white and American, but also antithetical to groups such as immigrants and particularly Jews. In doing so, Ford’s efforts reflect a pointed agenda where promotion of one musical and dance style over another was used to shape the debate about who is or who is not a proper citizen of the American republic.

Ford’s first love, his “old-time” or “old American” dances, were for the most part resurrected nineteenth century ballroom dances, some of folk and some of courtly origins, but all of European roots and many with important regionalized American variations. The sources for these dances, Richard Nevell tells us, were not original folk dances but “updated, sophisticated versions of the country dances that really emphasized morality and manners” (65, and more generally, 63–65). Ford began to seek out musicians who could, not only play the old “authentic” music to accompany them, but who could also make phonograph records, thereby “extending the effect of his ideas on dancing,” according to one executive close to Ford (Liebold, Reminiscences 1367). This led Ford and the growing portions of his staff charged with maintaining his antiquarian pursuits to venture into what at the time was called “old-time music,” an important forerunner of what would later become known as “country”
music. Although Ford’s influence was somewhat fleeting—the original full- fledged media campaign for old-time dance and music seems to have extended just over three years, from October 1923 to December 1927—his efforts serve as an important link in ensuring the survival and continuity of what has become known as contra-dancing and appear, to a lesser a degree, to have provided impetus for the standardization and popularization of western square dance.\textsuperscript{10} Perhaps even more importantly, they helped popularize what would become country music inside and outside of the South by sparking a spate of well-publicized, fiercely-fought fiddling contests in 1926. Although Ford certainly didn’t invent the fiddling contest, and was generally uninvolved in these competitions, his promotion of key fiddlers invigorated an interest previously unseen before even in the South.\textsuperscript{11}

Ford’s promotion of old-time dance and music appears to have started gradually and from within his immediate social circle in Dearborn. Although Ford is reported to have enjoyed social dancing in his youth in the 1880s, specifically at the Joseph Coon Hotel and Tavern outside of Detroit, it is difficult to pin down when the adult Ford first began promoting old-time dancing. Scholarly and journalistic accounts typically date Ford’s first forays into the promotion of old time dancing to the mid-1920s, but materials in the Benson Ford Research Center on the grounds of the Henry Ford history and museum complex in Dearborn suggest that he was involved in smaller scale promotion among his immediate social circle in Dearborn as early as 1910. Ford had been a member of a group called the “Greenfield Dancing Club of 1882” and had sponsored a dance for the group at one of his properties in January 1910. According to the invitation, the event was to feature “an Old Time Dancing Party consisting of Square Dances, Virginia Reels, and old fashioned Polkas” and was to take place at the “Old Gulley Homestead,” a farmhouse located on the eighty-acre Orin P. Gulley farm in Dearborn that Ford had purchased as a gift for his wife Clara with profits from the Model T.\textsuperscript{12}

Ford’s first public declaration of interest in traditional music in the national press appears to have occurred nine years later, during eight days of court testimony that would rank among the most humiliating in his life. In summer 1919, Ford took the stand in the libel trial his attorneys had filed against the \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune} after that newspaper criticized Ford’s World War I-era pacifism and claimed Ford was an “Anarchist” and “ignorant idealist.” His attorneys hoped that putting Ford on the stand would disprove the charge of ignorance, but the plan backfired. Not only were defense attorneys able to make a mockery out of Ford’s infamous and until-then-mostly-unknown three-year-
old quote in the Tribune, “History is more or less bunk,” and Ford’s testimony that he did not care much for art, history, or music, but Ford appeared woefully ignorant of basic facts of American history (Butterfield 53–66; Brinkley 225–26, 244–48). In his July 15th testimony, Ford could not identify the nations that fought in the War of 1812, and then again on July 16th, misidentified Revolutionary War traitor Benedict Arnold as a writer of some sort (“Henry Ford Still Thinks Soldiers are Murderers” 1; “Odd Definitions” 1). Between these embarrassing and embittering missteps, Ford tried to retract earlier his dismissals of art and music, noting especially his interest in the banjo, a statement that was widely carried by Associated Press wire stories (“History and Art Bunk, Says Ford” 18). Although not matching his later fondness for the fiddle, the cimbalom, and the dulcimer, Ford’s early penchant for this instrument, which could be used to play jazz and Tin Pan Alley as well as traditional Appalachian and Euro-American music, would later result in the purchase of historically-significant banjos, especially those related to traditional music traditions, for his growing collection of Americana.

After the Tribune trial, the Ford name would not be connected again nationally with traditional music and dancing until October 1923 when the New York Times noted that Ford had given a new automobile to Jasper E. “Jep” Bisbee, a traditional fiddler from Paris, Michigan. The article explained that Bisbee, a well-known local fiddler, had played for Ford, inventor Thomas Edison, and tire magnate Harvey Firestone, during a camping trip the three had made to western lower Michigan that summer. The new automobile was simply Ford delivering on a promise (“Ford Keeps a Promise” 2). Ford’s patronage of the 88-year-old Bisbee continued to get much press over the next three months with Ford arranging for Bisbee to travel to New Jersey so Edison could record and film him, and with Ford hiring Bisbee to play at a well-publicized “old fashioned house-warming” for Ford’s brother-in-law in Traverse City, Michigan (“Ford Brings Old Fiddler” 11; “Edison ‘Cans’ Music of Old Time Dance Fiddler” 2; “‘Jep’ Fiddles for Edison” 3). In one article, Traverse City’s old-timers reportedly characterized Ford as “mighty spry for a city feller” (“Ford at Oldtime Dance” 3).

Over the next year, Ford quietly sponsored more traditional musicians and made more headlines by organizing well-publicized dances at the Wayside Inn in Sudbury, Mass., the first of three historic tavern-inns he acquired in the 1920s because of his penchant for the past, his love old-fashioned dancing, and, in this case, the inn’s association with poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (“Mine Host Ford Fiddler for Dance” E1; “Ford Debt to Longfellow” S6). At
the Sudbury functions, Ford occasionally fiddled himself and in August 1924 had hired on a dancing master, Benjamin B. Lovett, to better acquaint himself with the ripple, polkas, the Money Musk, quadrilles, schottisches, reels and Varsovienne (Twork 54). Lovett, who had taught in nearby Hudson, Mass., returned with Ford to Dearborn later that year and stayed on as Ford’s personal dancing teacher for some twenty years (“Ford to Learn Oldtime Dances” 1; Richards, Last Billionaire 104–05).

By July 1925, the trickle of publicity Ford received for sponsoring Bisbee and the Wayside Inn dances had turned into a veritable tidal wave of coverage that would result in a short-lived but far reaching national old-time fiddling and dancing craze. Ford had ordered a manual of old-time dances to be put together and advance copies of the book, “Good Morning”: Being a Book on the Revival of the Dance, caught the eye of the press. First, Pulitzer’s New York World, then Literary Digest magazine, and finally the New York Times featured lengthy articles on the forth-coming manual, noting Ford’s general disdain for jazz and the “modern dances” of commercial dance halls (Richards, “Ford Trips Ripple” S7; “Henry Ford Shakes a Wicked Hoof” 38, 40; Feld SM1–2, SM23). In its press preview, the Literary Digest quoted Good Morning at length and noted the anti-commercialism of his dance and music revival:

The characteristics of modern commercial dance is determined by commercial considerations. The older form of dancing requires room. Room in cities, especially in cabarets, is expensive. Hence a form of dancing that has been encouraged that enables the largest possible number of paying couples to dance together in the smallest possible space. (“Henry Ford Shakes a Wicked Hoof” 40)

Although Lovett reportedly traveled to research the dances, most of the sixty-seven actual dances in the manual were lifted straight out of nineteenth century dance manuals. In fact, Allison Robbins notes that, of the nineteen contra-dances outlined, all but three had a “corresponding melody in Elia Howe’s nineteenth-century compilations of dance tunes” (Robbins 4). This does not mean they were not researched or adapted to Ford’s tastes. Ford’s longtime general secretary recalled:

Mr. Lovett went into the older types of dances and developed them and applied them in the way that Mr. Ford wanted. They would make changes in the old scheme. Of course, the old-fashioned dances were characteristic of certain localities. For instance, they would dance a
square dance a certain way in certain locations and differently in others. The farther they were away from each other the greater they differed. Mr. Ford’s idea was to standardize it to one form of a dance. In doing that he discussed the matter with Lovett, and they decided how they were going to proceed on it.19

Lovett, however, was perhaps more direct about the aims of the manual in a later radio interview: “We teach social deportment, poise, carriage, and courteous behavior along with the early American dances.”20 Indeed, according to Lovett’s account, it seemed the dances themselves were an afterthought compared to the lessons in proper behavior and instilling an almost-aristocratic set of social mores.

On the heels of Good Morning’s release came a second barrage of press attention when Ford began inviting elderly musicians to play for him in Michigan. The first highly-publicized musician to arrive in Detroit to play was Mellie Dunham, a fiddler from Norway, Maine,21 followed by 71-year-old dulcimer player Jesse Martin of Frewsberg, New York (“Ford to Hear Dulcimer” 21). Dunham’s trip to Detroit, however, outshone Martin’s. It started with a send-off that drew much fanfare and dozens of Norway’s children, including several who held picket signs wishing Dunham, a 77-year-old snow-shoe maker who had recently won the Maine state fiddling championship, a safe return (“Fiddling to Henry Ford” 36). Remarkably, Dunham also drew large crowds when he arrived at the Ford laboratories even though a New York Times article noted that thirty-eight other old time fiddlers had already performed for Ford in Dearborn (“Henry Ford Greets New Dance Tune Fiddler” 16).

Ford’s championing of the “picturesque, white-haired” Dunham sparked ire and challenges from several other champion fiddlers around the country (“Fiddles as Ford Dances” 1).22 The most publicized of these, however, involved Uncle Jimmy Thompson of Tennessee. In early January 1926, a Boston newspaper reported that Dunham had not only challenged Thompson, a Southern fiddling champion who performed on the Nashville-based radio barn dance that would become known as the Grand Ole Opry, but had bragged openly of his superiority over Southern fiddlers in general (C. K. Wolfe 75–77). Quick to realize the public relations bonanza, both the show’s manager and Uncle Jimmy responded (“Fiddler Champ Challenged” 8.). The contest, however, never occurred nor did Thompson ever play for Ford. The publicity drummed up by the episode coupled with the media-fed notion that Ford was anointing national fiddle champions, however, helped increase interest to the point that country music historian C. K. Wolfe has estimated that some 30,000 people took
part in local fiddling contests sponsored several weeks later by Ford dealers in Tennessee, Indiana, and Kentucky. The winners of these contests then went on to complete in a regional championship in Louisville (C. K. Wolfe 77–79). Fiddling contests were not new in the South or other regions of the country (Blaustein 53–55), but such widespread interest and enthusiasm was unusual.

Within weeks fiddling contests grew into a national fad. Similar competitions took place in the Pennsylvania, Iowa, New England, and Canada, spurred by the Ford publicity and local boosters’ pride in their own musicians (Gifford, Hammered Dulcimer 354). The extent to which Ford’s fiddling promotion so thoroughly penetrated the consciousness of the nation is perhaps demonstrated by the media coverage and notions of gender equality that surrounded a similar fiddling contest in far away Southern California. Radio station KHJ broadcast the numerous installments of the local contest (Sheedy A5) and a large photo of the nine top finalists—seven men and two women—accompanied a front page story on the Los Angeles Times on January 25 (“Fiddling Title at Stake” A1). Loving cups were awarded to the top male competitor—aged 80 or older—and female competitor—aged 70 or older (“Fiddling Title at Stake” A1). “Mellie Dunham please write,” opined a later Los Angeles Times photo caption accompanying a photo of one of the winners. “Stephen Gilley, 80 years of age, and seven other Southland fiddlers, all Civil War veterans, propose an East-West fiddling match” (“World News” H2).

Broadcasting was also central to the Ford publicity push. In conjunction with dealers who picked up a portion of the costs, Ford Motor Company relayed an “‘old time dance’ program” to sixteen radio stations nationwide, including San Francisco’s powerful KPO. The company’s internal organ, the Ford News, reported on the reach of KPO rebroadcast:

[M]any Western dealers’ showrooms were crowded with people swaying to good old tunes. In fact, in Carson City, Nevada, twenty-five per cent of the population (400 people) accepted the invitation of the Carson City Garage, and several of the most distinguished state officials and their wives participated. (“West Dances to Ford Orchestra” 4)

Ford repeated the relay broadcast again in 1927, this time to stations in nine states and the District of Columbia and, again, the program was aired in Ford dealer showrooms (“You Are Invited to Hear”; “Dance Music is Radiocast” 1).

Ford’s promotion of traditional fiddling and reels, squares, and rounds
over other forms of music and dance was consistent with the criticism that his newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, had long made of jazz (“Jewish Jazz Becomes Our National Music” 8–9; Harvey 10–11; “A Dance A Week” 29), a criticism Ford himself began to make in his own remarks to the press. Shortly before *Good Morning*’s release in 1925, for instance, he noted that his dancing campaign was seeking to oust jazz, a musical form he argued that had only taken root in the cities (“Ford Wars on Jazz” E2). A year and half later, while promoting old-time dance classes he had financed for several groups of Michigan school children, he noted his distaste again. “In Detroit and surrounding towns,” he told a writer on assignment for the *Los Angeles Times*, “there are thousands of school children dancing old-fashioned dances to old-fashioned airs. Jazz has no melody” (“Ford Strong for Coolidge” 1).

Unclear too is when antisemitism became a prevalent aspect of Ford’s thought. Much speculation suggests that Ford’s thoughts on the matter were cemented by the allegations of two Jewish members of his 1915 Peace Ship mission, who claimed that wealthy Jews in Europe were behind the war (Hapgood 14). Others suggest that Ford was pushed over the line by his loss in the 1918 Michigan Senatorial race to Truman Newberry. Ford reportedly fumed that high placed Jews were behind his defeat (Liebold, Reminiscences 409). Others point as far back as his youth, noting the ways in which Ford’s beloved *McGuffey Reader* textbooks naturalized antisemitic notions about Jewish greed (Baldwin 1–7), or to the “Populist anti-Semitism” that might have confronted him as young man in the late nineteenth century or, perhaps, the “pseudo-agrarian” movements that were springing up in the twentieth (Hofstadter 80; Gerber 30). Ford’s own political trajectory in the 1920s remained enmeshed in Progressive reform, but seem to have moved stridently to the right without completely breaking with the reformist tradition. A radical-leaning LaFollette Republican who favored women’s rights and Wilsonian notions about peace while in his teens, Ford had over time come to the point that he was describing himself publicly as a conservative by 1924 (“Mr. Ford’s Page” 5 July 1924, 7; see n 38). Today’s political historians might label him an “insurgent” who along with Hiram Johnson, Burton K. Wheeler, and others had moved rapidly from Progressive reformism to—or perhaps blended their Progressivism with—xenophobia, a hatred of labor unions, and an ardent opposition to the New Deal—the difference perhaps being that Ford’s transformation occurred much quicker (Hurtigan 30–31; Mulder 5–22; Graham 24–100; Greenbaum).

Whatever the case, Ford and Ford executives, and Ernest G. Liebold, his personal secretary, as well as W. J. Cameron, the *Dearborn Independent*’s
editor, clearly were the forces behind the *Dearborn Independent*’s publication of the “International Jew” series. Ford had bought the paper in 1919, filling its pages with light features, ethnocentric travelogues, Western Americana, and editorials preaching hard work and Ford’s own unique brand of reform. The “International Jew” series began in 1920 with extravagant claims regarding Jewish economic and political power, continued with attacks on Jews in entertainment and cultural industries, and finally, offered an updated rewritten serialized version of the claims made in conspiratorial antisemitic Tsarist fakery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Ribuffo 446–53). Each week for twenty-one months, the *Independent* featured a new article on the evil enterprises of the Jews, most of which appeared on the newsheet’s front page. Jews were blamed for everything from low harvest prices to smut in movies to corruption in baseball to the lack of religious themes in Christmas cards.23

The “International Jew” series was particularly critical of Jews in the music business, blaming Jews for the rise of jazz and arguing that a trust of “Yiddish song manufacturers” on Tin Pan Alley completely controlled the music business. “Jazz is a Jewish creation,” the *Independent* opined. “The mush, the slush, the sly suggestion, the abandoned sensuousness of sliding notes, are of Jewish origin.” The newspaper went on to quote an unnamed source that described how the “Oriental, especially the Jewish, infection in our music” was more “virulent” than earlier German and French musical influences on the American music culture:

> The insidiousness of the Jewish menace to our artistic integrity is due partly to the speciousness, the superficial charm and persuasiveness of Hebrew art, its brilliance, its violently juxtaposed extremes of passion, its poignant eroticism and pessimism. . . . The Anglo-Saxon group of qualities, the Anglo-Saxon point of view, even though they are so thoroughly disguised in a people descended from every race . . . are nevertheless the vital nucleus of the American temper. And Jewish domination of music, even more than Teutonic or Gallic, threatens to submerge and stultify them at every point.

The article also described how a promising “non-Jewish” song was defeated by a “Jewish manager” who purposefully introduced it to the public with a non-English-speaking singer who was not only overly “Yiddish in appearance” but “sang through his nose” (“Jewish Jazz Becomes Our National Music” 8).
Jewish songsmiths were also accused of delivering smut and repackaging degenerate black music. Irving Berlin’s “I Like It,” for instance, put “unashamed erotic suggestions” on the lips of children (“Jewish Jazz Becomes Our National Music” 9). A follow-up article noted that, under Jewish control, Tin Pan Alley had been transformed from an entity that emphasized “sentiment” and promoted communal singing to one that promoted showmanship and degenerate “Congo” themes, “seductive” ragtime, and “slimy” jazz (“How the Jewish Song Trust Makes You Sing” 8–9). Indeed, such writing seemed to play on centuries-old notions that Jews were a mongrel race or possessed a heightened sensuality and a “blackness” of the skin that was symptomatic of a potentially infectious disease, usually syphilis (Gilman, Jew’s Body 150–85; Gilman, Freud 19–33).

One might note that Ford and company preferred “unobjectionable” or “clean” songs from the folk tradition and the early “non-Jewish period” of Tin Pan Alley such as “Turkey in the Straw,” “Zip Coon” (sung to the same melody), and “After the Ball.” Ironically, the first, a fiddle tune from blackface minstrelsy tradition, was often paired in nineteenth century with the highly suggestive lyrics such as “Sugar in the gourd/Honey in the horn/I was never so happy/Since the hour I was born.”24 Charles K. Harris’s bestselling hit, “After the Ball,” also bristles with what Jon Finson calls “an undercurrent of frustrated sexuality,” and, after all, is about an elderly uncle seating a very young niece on his lap and regaling her with stories of his teenage love life.25

The “International Jew” series was eventually collected and republished in a four volume set by Ford’s Dearborn Publishing Company, the publisher of the Good Morning and the Dearborn Independent. The book set was then promoted within the pages of the Independent. The four volumes were organized into general thematic sections, focusing collectively on Jewish power and cultural influence.26 Professional historians and other writers have documented the wide reach of the series, both in Europe and America. Hitler was certainly a fan of Ford and the German-language edition of International Jew, and he had a large photo of Ford hanging in his private office and also kept a well-stocked collection of Ford’s books in his library (“Berlin Hears Ford is Backing Hitler” 2). While the Independent often disagreed with Hitler’s tactics, it carried generally positive coverage of the nascent National Socialist movement in Germany and of the Italian Fascist Party. A 1923 article by A. R. Pincini praised the Italian Fascist Party and its forced feedings of cod liver oil to Socialists (2); a 1926 editorial criticized some of Mussolini’s methods, but praised his purported ability to restore order (“Bark Versus Bite” 11); and finally, a 1927 piece criticized the Fascist role in recent assassinations but argued that Mussolini “lifted
Italy from far down in the rank of nations to the border line of first rank—if Italy afforded the national resources and national temperament to reach this category” (Wilbur 1–2). German National Socialists were likewise justified in “Germany, Prey of Alien, Faces Complete Ruin,” an antisemitic 1922 piece that claimed that “alien” Jews controlled Berlin financially but cared little for ordinary Germans, and a 1925 Jew-baiting article, “Anti-Semitism in Germany: Who and Why?” (Wolff, “Germany” 9, 11; Wolff, “Anti-Semitism” 2).

Ultimately, the “International Jew” series came to an end in January 1922, but the newspaper continued to publish antisemitic articles until 1927, when Jewish farm cooperative organizer Aaron Shapiro brought Ford and the newspaper to trial for libel, and successfully brokered a settlement that led to a formal written apology to American Jews, an end of the antisemitic content, and ultimately the end to the Independent itself. The settlement also stipulated that Ford fire the newspaper’s editor and Ford’s personal secretary—conditions that, as we shall see, were never entirely honored (Woeste).

Although the initial first wave of the Dearborn Independent’s antisemitic reporting concluded nearly two years before Ford’s invitation to Jep Bisbee, the newspaper continued to print articles touting antisemitic stereotypes and, especially, Nordicist content, throughout the span of Ford’s old-time music and dancing revival. Nordicism is an early twentieth century race theory contending that northern Europeans formed a master race and that their fall from supremacy would inevitably lead to the crash of civilization. The theory was built on American anthropologist William Z. Ripley’s assertions that one could find three distinct European racial groups—Teutons, Mediterraneans, and Alpines—as well as French diplomat Comte Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau’s nineteenth century argument that all great civilizations of the past had a northern Teuton, or Aryan, leadership component (Jackson and Weidman 105–07).

Ford and the ghostwriters and executives who staffed his publicity machine, however, were more likely influenced by the Nordicism of eugenicist Madison Grant, as expressed in his 1916 book The Passing of the Great Race and by Grant acolyte Lothrop Stoddard in his 1920 book The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy. Grant, in particular, argued that the United States had been founded by Nordics and that it owed much of its success to its Nordic leadership, but he also believed this leadership was being threatened, particularly by blacks and alien Eastern European Jews who retained a “ruthless concentration on self interest” (15–18, 88–91, 167–78). Stoddard, building on Grant’s theories, focused on the foreign “Asiatic elements” of American Jews, lumping them in with Mediterraneans and Alpines, whom he argued
thrived better than Nordics in the densely populated cities and cramped factories of the modern world (164–65). Nordicist thought seemed especially present in the *Independent*’s original “International Jew” series in that series’ argument that Jewish music-makers posed a greater threat to American music than Nordic “Teutons” (German composers) and the Mediterranean-Alpinic “Gauls” (= the French) (“Jewish Jazz Becomes Our National Music” 8).

Music scholar Josh Kun has noted how the *Dearborn Independent* fed upon theories that the Jews who ran Tin Pan Alley were a corrupting “Oriental” menace who were intelligent but incapable of creating their own music (355–56). As historian Jeffrey Melnick notes, Ford’s view of music writing unsurprisingly was similarly imbued with traditional American notions about white racial supremacy and the degeneracy of darker races, especially in regard to belief that the Jews had a special ability to “‘camouflage’ the ‘moral filth’ of African American music” (Melnick 39). Although both authors’ assessments seem to support a basic affinity between Ford’s brand of antisemitism and the racial hierarchies inherent in Grant’s Nordicism, historian Leo Ribuffo argues that Ford’s antisemitism was often closer to the “assimilationist ethnocentrism” of antisemitic Protestant minister Josiah Strong. In contrast to the hardline biological determinism inherent in the Nordicism of Grant, Strong argued that Jews were better viewed as culturally regressive but capable of redemption, if only they conformed to Anglo-Saxon ways. A eugenicist later known as the father of scientific racism, Grant had argued that it would be “fatuous” to assume Jews could be assimilated (Ribuffo 474). While Ribuffo’s assertions may have merit, an analysis of materials associated with the old-time revival suggest that they tended to be more Nordicist than in line with assimilationist ethnocentrism.

Even before the old-time campaign, the *Independent*’s ghostwritten editorial column, “Mr. Ford’s Page,” straddled a fine line between Strong’s assimilationism and the hardline Nordicism of Grant and Gobineau. It argued unequivocally that there were “two distinct bloodstreams in the world,” a superior “racial element” and an inferior one:

> Human history, checkered with various names, may be but the re-appearance of the same bloodstream in various countries at various times, now in Persia as Persians, now in Greece as Greeks, now in Rome as Romans, now in Britain as Britons; now in Babylon, now in Prussia, now in France. Where has the greatness of old nations gone? Did it evaporate into thin air, or did the racial element which created the greatness move out toward the west? . . . We need knowledge.
that will give us the racial facts. But we need most of all to learn the obligations of superiority. Every race cannot be assimilated, but every race can assimilate enough to develop a full life for itself. ("Mr. Ford’s Page“ 17 June 1922, 5)

Another “Mr. Ford’s Page” argued that an unstated but existential “White Man’s Code,” which preached individual accomplishment, was being undermined by ideologically-minded immigrant “orientalists,” obviously a thinly-disguised reference to Jews. According to the piece, these orientalists had persuaded workers to look upon dedicated employees as naïve fools and had even convinced doctors and lawyers to refer to their public not as patients and clients, but as customers. At the center of the piece was an enlarged boxed quote that came close to endorsing anti-Jewish vigilantism:

The enemy has slipped in a great many poisonous seeds, which have sprung up in American thought and borne poisonous fruit. Have you allowed any to grow in your mind? If you have, you are an outpost for the enemy of every nation that is founded on the White Man’s Code. According to this Code, a man must be Straight, Fearless of any man, Vigilant. When he fights, it is the enemy not his own kind. ("Mr. Ford’s Page“ 29 Jan. 1921, 5)

Given this history it is not surprising that antisemitic, Nordicist and racist articles that drew from similar strains of thought continued to run in the Independent during Ford’s old-time music and dance revival. Such content did not cease with the end of the initial “International Jew” series in January 1922 but continued on, less regularly but no less vehemently, throughout the dance and music craze until Ford’s public antisemitic campaign was curtailed with the Shapiro agreement. During 1923 and 1925, two very active years in the old-time music and dancing craze, for instance, the Independent ran an article praising the Ku Klux Klan (“When the Ku Klux Klan First Flourished” 4, 13), two articles claiming that “Anglo-Saxon-Celts” rather than supposedly “Khazar” Jews were the real biblical chosen people (“Are the Jews ‘God’s Chosen People?’” 12; Tyner 14–15, 27), an article claiming powerful Jews purposefully portrayed themselves as “martyrs” in the media (“Producing Jewish ‘Martyrs’ by Propaganda” 12), several articles claiming blacks were exploited by Jews (Smith 9; “The Jewish Attempt to Bolshevize the Negro” 12), and an article by one Walter M. Wolff in Berlin who wrote that rising antisemitism in Germany was the result of Jewish control of corporate boards of directors at a supposed ratio of 24-to-1 (“Anti-Semitism in Germany“ 2).
Eugenics, a pseudo-scientific field popular with health workers, social scientists, and other researchers in the early twentieth century, was also well represented in the *Independent* during this time period through the writings of University of Minnesota anthropologist Albert Ernest Jenks. At its root, eugenics focused on begetting “well-born,” or “eu-genic,” children as opposed to “poorly born” hereditarily-deficient offspring, but it also involved attempts to measure skulls and characterize peoples and races by phenotype, leading some eugenicists such as Jenks to seek prohibitions on racial miscegenation and promote sterilizations, and others to advocate for outright racial or ethnic cleansing. Conceived mostly by Americans and British health professionals, eugenic solutions were ultimately enacted in their most extreme by the Nazis. Jenks, an early leader in the fields of racial and physical anthropology, an apologist for British and American white supremacy, and a member of the American Eugenics Society, appears to have written regularly for the *Independent* during the peak years of the old-time revival, producing pieces that preached a doctrine of inferior and superior races and emphasized that individual physical and mental characteristics were determined to a large extent by one's racial stock (Soderstrom 176–204). A two-part series on Slavic racial history penned by Jenks in 1925, for instance, discussed whether Slavs were “broad-headed” Alpines or “long-headed” Teutons and argued that such characteristics made Slavs sensitive and adaptable, but also imitative, brash, emotional, and incapable of ruling themselves. “As to America, we shall profit by the rich heritages our 100,000 Slavic fellow citizens bring, while we guard against being weakened by those of their age-long characteristics which are alien to American institutions” (“How the Slavs Came to Europe” 25–27; “The Slav—Old, Yet Full of Youth” 15–19). By contrast, Jenks described the Anglo-Saxons more flatteringly in a 1927 *Independent* piece, discussing at length their very uniform head sizes and their racial proclivity toward “individual independence” (“Where the Peoples of the British Isles Come From” 6–7, 29). Not coincidentally, historian Mark Soderstrom finds evidence that Jenks argued that “the Jewish race contained ‘negro blood’ and was ‘acquisitive’ to the point of participating in ‘white slavery’” in a speech before a women's organization in Minneapolis earlier in the century (199).

Often the *Dearborn Independent*'s eugenic, antisemitic and Nordicist reporting appeared more or less simultaneously with new developments in Ford's old-time music and dancing promotions. Less than a month after Bisbee made recordings for Edison and Ford in New Jersey, for instance, the *Independent* ran an article claiming that Jews were attempting to introduce Bolshevism
to African Americans (“The Jewish Attempt to Bolshevize the Negro” 12). And two weeks before Ford invited Lovett to teach dance in Detroit, the *Independent*’s “Mr. Ford’s Page” editorial made a barely disguised attack on Jews as “money brokers” (“Mr Ford’s Page” 16 Aug. 1924, 7). The second of Jenks’ racial and biological dissections of the Slavs appeared about a month after the *Independent* printed what would become the official rationale for the dance revival and about month before the official advance release of the *Good Morning* dance manual (“Editorials: The Return of the Dance” 10). A week before the *Independent* began serializing individual old-time dances and sheet music in *Good Morning*, it ran an article titled “Are We a Shylock Nation?” (3; “Waking Up the Old American Dances”).

In fact, starting in January 1926, the *Independent* continued to advertise the four volume *International Jew* book series every single week in the very same issues that carried articles promoting old-time dance steps and music, most of which were reprinted from the *Good Morning* manual. In the March 20, 1926 edition of the *Independent*, for instance, an ad for the “International Jew in 4 volumes” appears on page 24 while the “A Dance a Week” feature, focusing on the steps of the “Money Musk” appears on pages 28 and 29. Usually the ad for the *International Jew* volumes was centered amid text within the paper’s weekly, “I Read in the Papers that—” digest, a section of abbreviated news blurbs from legitimate news organizations, a placement that would seemingly bolster the credibility of the contents of the book set.

Ford’s own comments in the press throughout this period, but particularly at the height of media attention over the fiddling craze in early 1926, included back-handed compliments that perpetuated antisemitic stereotypes and reinforced the *Independent*’s screeds against Jewish songwriters and ruthless manipulative Jewish moneymen, all the while reiterating Nordicistic beliefs about racial competition. In January, Ford was interviewed by the *New York Times* during one of his old-time dance affairs at the Wayside Inn. During that interview, he recanted a bit of his earlier criticisms of jazz, arguing that some jazz was needed in order to compete with traditional music, just as Jewish business acumen was needed to keep non-Jews on their toes:

And so the conversation went on until it got on the subject of music. Somebody spoke of jazz and somebody else spoke of the impetus Mr. Ford’s movement to revive old time dancing and music had gained. “Well, you have to have different movements,” said Mr. Ford. “You have to have them to keep things stirred up. You have to have an explosion now and then. It’s just like the Jews in this country. We
couldn’t get along without them. They keep things stirred up by their business ability.” (“Old Time Fiddlers at Wayside Inn” 10)

Fifteen days later, without mentioning music, Ford clarified his statement for the Associated Press arguing that Jews as whole were smarter than many Gentiles and a good social influence because they prompted “the boob Gentiles” to “hustle to keep up”—the implication here being that, if Jews continued to find financial successes, they might inadvertently spur a Nordic resurgence. During the same interview, Ford also repeated early Independent diatribes against “international Jewish money power,” arguing it was involved in every war (“Ford Kindlier toward Jews” 2).

Although researchers since the 1970s have briefly noted the connections between Ford’s distaste for jazz and his antisemitic campaign (Nash 161–63; Blaustein 40; Sutherland 33–37; Menius 26–28; Peterson 59–62), and less regularly the chronological connections and general affinity between Ford’s antisemitism and his promotion of old time music,31 musicologist Allison Robbins has deftly and convincingly argued, in a recent unpublished conference paper, that Ford’s antisemitism and his industrial philosophy were primary underlying motivations for Ford’s promotion of old-time dance in the Good Morning manual. Relying mostly on published materials, Robbins highlights the introductory chapter, “The Return of the Dance,” which appears in the widely-distributed, 1926 second edition of the book:

Denunciation of the dance by the protectors of public morals has usually been occasioned by the importations of dances which are foreign to the expressional needs of our people. With characteristic American judgment, however, the balance is now shifting toward that style of dancing which best fits with the American temperament. There is a revival of that type of dancing which has survived longest amongst the northern peoples. The tide has swung in favor of such dances as are described in this book.

She notes that “‘foreign’ here could easily be equated with Jewish, or rather, with the black and Latin dances that the Jewish-controlled (Tin Pan Alley) industry marketed and distributed” (10–11).32 One might add that the introduction’s prediction of a renaissance of the forms of dancing “that have survived longest among the northern peoples” invokes the resurgent Nordicism that eugenicist Madison Grant had hoped would stave off a collapse of civilization, while the language of the final sentence “the tide has swung”
seems a not-too-veiled homage to the title of Stoddard’s Nordicist magnum opus, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*.

An analysis of Ford’s papers archived at the Benson Ford Research Center and material published in the *Dearborn Independent* demonstrates an even deeper connection between the dance manual and the Nordicism that Ford and his executives professed. An early manuscript for *Good Morning*, in fact contains additional lines (noted below in bold) that were apparently retracted from later published editions:

Denunciation of the dance by the protectors of public morals has been usually occasioned by the importations of dances which are foreign to the expressional needs of our people. **Dances partake of the racial characteristics of the people who dance them.** There have been imported into the United States of recent years dances that originated on the African Congo, dances from the gypsies of the South American pampas, and dances from the hot-blooded races of southern Europe. Wave after wave of foreign importations in dancing styles have swept the country. **The result is a reaction against the character of the dances themselves.**

With characteristic American judgment, however, the balance is now shifting toward that style of dancing which best fits the American temperament. There is a revival of dancing which has survived longest amongst the northern peoples. The tide has swung in favor of such dances as are described in this book. (Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford, *Good Morning* [1925])

This version of the text, in fact, appears to be the same text that was released to the press in July 1925 and quoted verbatim in widely-circulated publications such as the popular Sunday edition of the New York *World* and the *Literary Digest* (albeit in the *Digest*, with variations in spelling: “African Kongo” (with a “k”), “gipsies” (with an “i”), “Southern” (in Southern Europe,” upper-case) (Richards, “Ford Trips Ripple” S7; “Ford Shakes a Wicked Hoof” 3, 40).33

The *World*, the new daily incarnation of Joseph Pulitzer’s popular weekly newsheet, the *New York World*, in particular, emphasized the racial component of *Good Morning*’s text, titling the first subheading of its copyrighted press preview “A Nordic,” and noting that the manual stemmed from:

Mr. Ford’s belief in the permanent value of things American. Or, to make it broader, things Nordic. Modern dances of devious origin which specialize in equatorial wriggling and leaping, may suit the
Dances Partake of the Racial Characteristics of the People Who Dance Them

Congo or the South American gypsies, but Ford holds they are not native to the minds of Americans. (Richards, “Ford Trips Ripple” S7)

Despite the early coverage, this elongated and much publicized version of the introduction, apparently, did not make it into the first edition of Good Morning in 1925, the widely-distributed 1926 second edition, nor subsequent printings of the book.34 By mentioning specific geographic regions, this early manuscript not only set Good Morning up as a possible opponent to such South American, southern European, and African American dances as the tango, the tarantella, the fandango, the bolero, the Black Bottom and the Charleston, but put forward Nordicist notions about racial hierarchy. To use Madison Grant’s language, placed at the bottom were dances of “Negroid” racial origins (“dances that originated in the African Congo”), followed next by those originated from the mixed “race bastards” and “suspiciously swarthy” Mediterranean-Alpinic peoples of Argentina (“dances from the gypsies of the South American pampas”), and finally, those created by the sub-European “Mediterraneans” (“dances from the hot-blooded races of Southern Europe”) (Grant 33, 76–78, 111, 148–66).36 Furthermore, the use of the term “Congo” alluded to an assertion made in the “International Jew” series that Tin Pan Alley’s new Jewish songsmiths had introduced a “jungle motif, the so-called ‘Congo’ stuff into popular pieces” that “swiftly degenerated into a rather more bestial type than the beasts themselves arrive at” (“How the Jewish Song Trust Makes You Sing” 8).

The line about dances partaking “of the racial characteristics of the people who dance them” now takes on new urgency. By promoting tangos and the Charleston, it would appear, Nordics, and even Alpines, might be downgrading themselves within the racial hierarchy. The notion that undesirable racial characteristics might “rub off” onto a superior race via cultural absorption also seemed to have some precedence in Nordicist literature. Although cognizant of the differences between language and race, Grant himself made little distinction between race and culture, arguing that “higher cultures” had been “threatened” periodically throughout history with “absorption by a lower civilization” (58–59). Ford, reportedly, was so appalled by Latin dances that his dancing master Benjamin Lovett had to secretly steal away just to learn them from Doris Easton Travis, a former Zeigfeld Follies dancer who had trained under prominent ballroom dance teacher Arthur Murray (Travis 191).

There were inconsistencies in all this. Despite the original manuscript’s disdain “for the hot blooded races of Southern Europe,” among Ford’s featured
dances was the Sicilian Circle, a contra-dance that in fact probably does not have any real connection to Sicily (Shaw 378), but which Good Morning and the later Independent serialization made no effort to clarify (Good Morning, 1926 edition 109; “A Dance A Week: Sicilian Circle” 28–29). One might also presume a Nordicist worldview might entertain anti-Slavism, but both Good Morning and the Dearborn Independent promoted Slavic-origin dances such as polkas (Ford, Good Morning, 1926 edition 7, 141; “A Dance a Week: Polka” 28–29). Indeed, Good Morning waxed poetically, if also not a bit pejoratively, about the dance originating with a “Bohemian servant girl’s joyous steps, artlessly executed, upon receiving good news of her lover” (Ford, Good Morning, 1926 edition 7).

The fact that Good Morning would employ Nordicist language was perhaps not surprising given the most likely author of the introductory portions of the text was Ford’s chief antisemitic journalist, William J. Cameron. Although no smoking-gun document survives to verify this, it is almost certain that the author of the important ideological portions of the text including the “dances partake” portion of “The Return of the Dance” was Cameron. At first glance Good Morning seems to have a simple authorship: the “Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford” mentioned on the frontispieces of the first edition and in the subtitle of the second. The deeper one goes into the sources, however, the more Good Morning seems to be the product of a collective effort. Although some six books appeared under his name, Ford rarely, if ever, wrote his own published work (Lewis 215–16). Over the years, most of Ford-attributed literature was the result of the others’ pens, either as ghostwriters such as Cameron, who wrote the Independent’s “Mr. Ford’s Page,” which was edited and reprinted in a volume titled Ford Ideals or as officially-recognized collaborators such as Samuel Crowther, who is credited as such on Ford’s My Life and Work, Today and Tomorrow, and Moving Forward. Standard music sources such as Richard Nevell’s A Time to Dance acknowledge this in arguing that the dance manual was coauthored by the Fords and Ford’s hired dance master Benjamin Lovett.

Lovett indeed seems to have been very involved in the publication of the book. Although he strangely does not mention the publication of Good Morning in his reminiscences archived at the Benson Ford Research Center (1–18), Lovett appears to have served as the central compiler and editor for several editions of the book. His correspondence with music publisher Otto Zimmermann & Son Co., regarding a new edition in 1931, depicts a very active presence. In his correspondence with the Cincinnati-based firm, which the
Ford Motor Company apparently hired out to print copies of the book under the Dearborn Publishing Co. name, Lovett approved dummies, corrected typography, grammar, and layout, and forwarded photographs (Otto Zimmerman materials). Other contributors were Clayton Perry, leader of Ford's old-fashioned dance orchestra, who assisted Lovett in traveling and researching the dance steps, and Alfred Hards, a draftsman who was paid to learn and teach the dances and who sketched illustrations for Good Morning (Twork 122–26). Lovett’s correspondence with Otto Zimmermann representatives also notes an unnamed writer and a “Mr. Robinson” being involved in some of the editing in the 1931 edition.39

In light of what is known about the division of duties at the Independent, Cameron’s authorship of the introductory text of Good Morning in 1925 is extremely likely. As editor-in-chief of the Independent, Cameron not only solicited and edited articles but served as the un-bylined ghost author of the staff “Editorials” page and of a weekly feature of “Ford” ideas titled first “Mr. Ford’s Own Page” and then later simply “Mr. Ford’s Page.”40 Generally speaking, Cameron talked with Ford, gleaning what Ford Motor Company production manager Charles E. Sorenson would later call Ford’s “sudden flashes of intuition.” He would then sit down and clothe them in “words (he) believed were Henry Ford’s thoughts” before finally getting the OK from Liebold, Ford’s general secretary.41 Much of the language of “The Return of the Dance” section of Good Morning, in fact, first appeared in an official staff editorial in the Independent in June 1925, just prior to release of advanced manuscript copy to the press and the subsequent media blitz that followed (“Editorials: The Return of the Dance” 10) Cameron, in fact, appears to have had some history of working with, and ghostwriting for, Lovett on endeavors related to Ford’s promotion of old-time dance and music. He wrote Lovett’s dialogue, for instance, when Lovett appeared on the Ford-sponsored Early American Dance Music program on radio’s Blue Network (formerly the NBC Blue Network) in 1944.42

A Canadian by birth, Cameron had grown up in Hamilton, Ontario, and later in Detroit. College educated, he had some background as a lay preacher, but was never ordained. In 1904, he began writing for the Detroit News and had moved up to the rank of columnist. In 1918, he left the Detroit News following his boss, managing editor E. G. Pipp, over to Henry Ford’s newly-purchased Dearborn Independent (Bryan, Henry’s Lieutenants 53–54). When Pipp left the Independent in 1920 over a dispute with Ford about whether to print the “International Jew” series, Cameron was named editor (Pipp 8–16; Lewis 139). Pipp, Liebold, Ford executive Fred L. Black and most other sources agree that
Cameron wrote most of the articles in the “International Jew” series, likely under the direction of Liebold, who was known for harboring a rather ardent anti-Semitism (Pipp 16; Liebold 479; F. L. Black 144).43

Although there is considerable debate about whether it was Cameron or Liebold who first persuaded Ford to engage in the antisemitic newspaper campaign or whether it was Ford’s own idea (Lewis 138; Lacey 208), early researcher Leo Ribuffo (455) and more recently political scientist Michael Barkan have argued that Cameron became independently aligned by the 1930s with an antisemitic faction of British-Israelism, a Protestant theological strain that viewed the Anglo-Saxons as direct descendants of the ancient Israelites. While some early British-Israelites and American Anglo-Israelites practiced a philo-Semitism, Cameron aligned himself with the Nordicist-leaning antisemitic Anglo-Saxon Federation, making speeches about Anglo-Israelism at a Dearborn church as early 1933. Barkan argues that Cameron later wrote that an evil “Esau race” had “amalgamated with the Jews, and began the terrible work of corrupting the Jewish religion from within.” Barkan postulates that Cameron’s exposure to Anglo-Israelism was much earlier and that he was mixing British-Israel theology with antisemitism as early as the “International Jew” series in the early 1920s (Barkan 37–39). Cameron’s later writing for Ford on “Mr. Ford’s Page” bears witness to this. As late as July 1926, while ghostwriting for Ford on “Mr. Ford’s Page,” Cameron invoked the old antisemitic chimera again, criticizing the human “parasite” who persuaded those with “Old American names” into “business practices that are the antithesis of American” (“Mr. Ford’s Page” 24 July 1926, 9).

Cameron was close to Ford, one of the few executives who lunched daily in Ford’s private dining room at the Dearborn Engineering Building (Sorenson 176). Liebold notes that Ford talked to Cameron “almost daily” about publication matters (Reminiscences 451). The two seemed to especially share an affinity for the old-time music Ford preferred. Cameron recalled in his official company reminiscence:

I’ve heard him (Ford) play the fiddle. He would play some of the old tunes in my office. Of course, he had a very great, fine, valuable collection of violins but he would take a fiddle from any of the old orchestra men from his little orchestra that he kept there, tune it up and play it. (Reminiscences 207)

Furthermore, Ford protected Cameron, refusing to send him a pink slip even after he had agreed to fire him as part of the Shapiro settlement (Cameron,
Cameron would stay on to serve as an interpreter of Ford to the press and to write for, and deliver, a weekly sermon-like talk on the music-oriented *Ford Sunday Evening Hour* on the national CBS radio network in the 1930s (Cameron, Reminiscences 38; *Ford Sunday Evening Hour* Folders 6, 8).

Cameron was also involved in promoting the old-time dance as editor of the *Independent*. The *World's* 1925 press preview of *Good Morning* noted the close emotional and, in this case, physical proximity between Ford’s dancing efforts and his antisemitic newspaper:

> So down with the fence of canvas in the laboratory, the pirouetting of other days being done again. It is an amazing environment. Liberty airplanes motors piled high on the waxed floor, printing presses exhaling the next issue of the Dearborn Independent, a wooden dirigible, men bent over blueprints—and twenty-five yards away an orchestra playing music to the Badger gavotte or the Varsovienne for an afternoon class of children. (Richards, “Ford Trips Ripple” S7)

At the very least, Cameron edited the *Independent’s* serialized article versions of the manual content that began appearing in January 1926 as “A Dance of the Week.” In that feature’s inaugural release, the newspaper ran a three-color lithograph cover illustration of an earnest yet modern-looking group of young white people (four men in suits and bow ties and one modestly-dressed woman, all approximately in their twenties) trying to wake a white-mustached elderly fiddler, an apparent relic of the frontier, who sits snoozing, propped back on a chair in western riding boots, a simple cravat, and plain black lapel-less vest. The fiddler sleeps below a simple nineteenth century wooden mantel clock whose hands signal three o’clock—it is unclear whether it is 3 p.m. or 3 a.m.—a reference perhaps to the tendency of Ford’s to run actual dances into the early morning (Cover illustration and “A Dance a Week for Beginners” 32–33). The clock is emblazoned with an oak tree, a favorite symbol among eugenicists for hereditary wellness (“Eugenics tree logo”). The four youths all seem to possess what Madison Grant would have identified as Nordic traits: “wavy brown or blond hair,” “fair skin,” and high and narrow “aquiline noses” (Grant 31, 167). The text inside is also instructive:

> The word “dance,” when seen in print, conveys different things to different people. Some think of it as a jazzy rout from which they would themselves shrink and from which they would protect their children if possible. Others think of it as a monotonous round of steps, endlessly the same.
But those who know the old American dances, the dances which were part of the life of the pioneers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, have an entirely different conception of the dance. (“A Dance a Week” 16 Jan. 1926, 32)

Here we see Cameron, as editor, forging a marriage of convenience between Grant’s Nordicism and Frederick Jackson Turner’s mythologizing about the special properties of the frontier and the uniqueness of the American character. Indeed the illustration seems a visual representation of Good Morning’s assertion that there “is a revival of dancing which has survived longest amongst the northern peoples,” coupled with the concerns of the text inside about restoring the hardiness and character that had once stemmed from frontier life.

Although Cameron’s role in promoting dance was essential to Ford’s efforts, Liebold, as the other Ford executive most closely linked with Ford’s antisemitic efforts, was also heavily involved in promoting old-time music and dance in variety of ways. In his company reminiscence, Liebold not only explained how he was the one who arranged for Good Morning to be printed for distribution, but also relayed how Lovett was having trouble meeting Ford’s expectation that some recordings of the old-time orchestra be made. Lovett asked Liebold to take over this enterprise, especially the technology, and Liebold agreed. “It was very, very trying work and it was very monotonous,” he recalled. “We eventually produced twenty or twenty-four records, or something of that number” (1367–69). In 1942, Liebold appears to have taken over outright the editing of the final galleys of the 1943 edition of Good Morning (Correspondence).

After 1927, Ford’s efforts to publicize old-time music and dance fell out of the national limelight, perhaps stunted by the grim economic news or Ford’s labor troubles during the Depression. Old-time music did occasionally get some play on CBS’s Ford Sunday Evening Hour in the 1930s, and Lovett and other Ford employees continued to work on various new editions of Good Morning until 1943 (Lovett, Correspondence [1931]; Liebold, Correspondence). Surviving documents in the Benson Ford Research Center suggest that Lovett and key staff members also put together an Early American Dance program on the Blue Network in 1943 and 1944, but with Ford’s death in 1947, and little interest among his heirs, promotional efforts effectively ended.

While Ford’s support for old-time music and dance may have spoken of nostalgia and an agrarian philosophy, his attempts to resurrect tradition were definitely tinged with a modernistic streak. Nationwide relay broadcasts of old-time music broadcasts were one area in which Ford appears something
of a pioneer. Robinson notes, too, that, in his dance manual, Ford “approached old time dances as he did his successful automobiles” by standardizing them (Robbins 2). Even his dance floor was subject to technological innovation. The aging floor in the ballroom at Sudbury Inn was supported with two large automobile springs and sliding wainscoting to give dancers an extra bounce (“Ford Debt to Longfellow” S6). In much the same way, the antisemitism and Nordicism that seemed to undergird Ford’s favorite pastime were modernist inventions, which drew on antiquarian prejudices but were thoroughly up-to-date in their ruthlessness. Race theory, eugenics, anthropology, the study and measurements of human phenotypes—all the touchstones of Madison Grant’s Nordicism and scientific racism—were fairly recent developments, often considered at the time to be on the cutting edge.

So what to make of the old-time music revival? Writers and historians have offered widely varying assessments regarding Ford’s promotion of old-time music and the kinds of Nordicist arguments one finds in Good Morning and the Independent. Writing for Sing Out! magazine in the 1970s, Estelle Scheider and Bob Norman argued that Ford’s revival coupled with his racism and antisemitism was “nothing less than a historical and cultural blueprint for a native American Fascism” (27). Leo Ribuffo, as mentioned earlier, argued that Ford’s antisemitic muckraking was closer to Protestant minister Josiah Strong’s “assimilationist ethnocentrism,” which promoted the idea that Jews would be fine Americans if only they learned to adapt Anglo-Saxon ways, than it was to Grant’s hardline “biological determinism.” Certainly, there is no evidence from Ford’s dance and music revival that he or any of his writers or interpreters favored the sustained eliminationist approach that Grant seems to favor: “the sterilization . . . of the criminal, the diseased and the insane and extending gradually to types which may be called weaklings rather than defectives and perhaps ultimately to worthless race types.” Furthermore, the evidence on Ford directly supporting European Fascism, at least so far, seems inconclusive, although the very real feelers Ford put out for the presidency in 1922 (Liebold, Reminiscences 520–25)—just after the publication of the “International Jew” and just before the old-time revival—makes one wonder about the potentiality for the kind of nightmare scenario that novelist Philip Roth depicts, a Plot Against America only with lots of moralistic sermonizing, fiddling, and quadrille dancing.

Though several sources convincingly argue that the Dearborn Independent series and the Dearborn Press’s four volume International Jew set influenced the Nazis or at least were used in support of Nazi racial ideology, the influence
of Ford’s promotion of old-time music and nineteenth century folk and social dances on the Nazis remains less certain. Although folk music and folk dance fit with Nazi concerns about Völkisch-ness, dance historian Marion Kant and dancer Lillian Karina argue that the Nazi state primarily used German folk dancing essentially for show or rhetorical benefit, providing irregular support or commitment outside of a few specific instances such as annual harvest festival at Bückeburg or as, Joshua Hagen argues, the Shäfertanz (Shepherd Dance) (Karina and Kant 87, 209; “Does Five O’Clock Tea Suit Our Time” 50). And though the Nazis shared Ford’s distaste for jazz music and dance and at times followed the Dearborn Independent’s lead in claiming that American jazz was a degenerate Jewish creation, the Nazis embraced modern dance, a form for which Ford apparently had little use (Karina and Kant 34, 73–77, 167–68.).

Similarly, there seems to be little evidence that the American Far Right has ever used folk and social dance or traditional music to much success. In an important recent work, Patrick Huber has explained how early country recording star Fiddlin’ John Carson composed antisemitic lyrics that help spur the scapegoating and, possibly, even the lynching of Jewish factory superintendent Leo Frank; but the populist Carson seems to have had about as much affinity for the local Klan as he did for the Communists (Huber 58–94). Certainly, what has become known as country music has had dalliances with a variety of conservatisms and populisms, and the occasional outburst of antisemitism, but it has also been equally associated with New Deal liberalism, municipal reform, and a consensus-seeking political and social center. Ultimately, it was countercultural youths often associated with the New Left, a group that would have sent Ford and Liebold clamoring for an aspirin and frequently-inebriated Cameron searching for his highball glass, that truly launched a full-fledged second revival in the 1960s of folk and roots music (Cohen 157–263) and, perhaps less well known, of contra dancing (Matthews 293–96).

What Ford’s old-time revival does suggest is that Nordicism—to be sure, a more adaptable non-eliminationist sort, but a definite type of Nordicism nonetheless—was more a part of Ford and company’s thinking than Ribuffo’s and other analyses suggest. Had the antisemitic trifecta of Ford, Cameron and Liebold not ardently believed in Grant’s Nordicist race theory, it seems unlikely that they would have stamped them so prominently on Good Morning, the capstone of their cherished revival project.

The question that arises, then, is one of reception. Did readers of Good Morning and the Independent’s “A Dance a Week” feature, dancers at Ford-sponsored affairs, and listeners of the radio relay broadcasts necessarily
understand the underlying Nordicist premise? Did they understand that the revival might be a way of trimming back the supposed Jewish cultural influence? It seems unlikely that all, or even most, participants consciously made the connections, but some did as evidenced by a folder of fan letters in the Ford family’s Fair Lane papers. One fan writer from Whitinsville, Massachusetts, for example, wrote to thank Ford personally for *Good Morning*, imbuing his missive with the same coded antisemitism that often passed for copy on “Mr. Ford’s Page”: “The American people will take this work up in no uncertain way. Under your great leadership, the styles of the heathen horde will disappear from the country” (Fan letter).

The Ford revival introduced the notion of a special relationship between the elderly and country music, helped set the stage for country music’s rise in nationwide popularity following World War II, and spurred a short-lived revival of contra and squares that helped those forms live on to be revived again in 1950s and 1960s, but it also left other, darker legacies. It added fuel to an already existing campaign of violent stereotyping that fed the fears of racial and antisemitic extremists and justified quotas against Jews among the greater mainstream. It introduced the idea that supposed Jewish cultural hegemony might be overcome with the proper dose of strenuous activity and “clean” Nordic culture. It helped further codify the idea that hillbilly and country music was part and parcel of “white” culture. And, finally, it validated a lot of grumbling about jazz—a kind of kvetching that was replayed in the second half of the twentieth century with the rise of Rock ‘n’ Roll.
1. Quoted section is from the last entry of “The Essence of This Issue.” This entry and the one before it officially announced the intent of Ford’s editors to print descriptions, sheet music, and articles about “old-time dance” and “old American music.”

2. Details about old time dance and music expenses have been mostly gleaned from materials in the Benson Ford Research Center, the Henry Ford, Dearborn, MI, especially the reminiscences of Ernest G. Liebold and Benjamin B. Lovett. An important secondary source is Twork. Although it is difficult to set an exact price tag, Ford’s expenses were considerable. In addition to the cost of transporting and paying more than forty visiting musicians (some of whom were transported across country in Ford’s private car), hiring dancing venues, and paying printing costs associated with Ford’s dance manual, Ford also purchased and expensively-refurbished the historic Wayside, Botsford, and Clinton inns (the first in Massachusetts and the second and third in Michigan) primarily as ballroom spaces, devoted factory space to dancing, financed the recording and distribution of some twenty phonograph records, financed old time dancing lessons of Michigan school children and students at various universities across the nation, paid for promotional exhibitions of old time dancing at thirty-four colleges and universities, purchased at least one gold cup for a Michigan fiddling contest, hired members of a permanent old time orchestra, and salaried a full-time dancing-master, who remained in his employ and whom he housed until the 1940s. Ford also gave automobiles as gifts to at least some of his favored fiddlers. In 1937, he built an elegant ballroom, Lovett Hall, in Greenfield Village, specifically for this form of dancing. One should also add to this, the cost of executive and clerical staff time devoted to promoting dance and music, and the printing and distribution costs of the Dearborn Independent which in January 1926 began heavily promoting old time dances with its “A Dance a Week” feature. As noted by Foust (421), the Dearborn Independent generally operated at a loss, as much as $350,000 a year.

3. These arguments were made most notably, just as this chapter was going to press, in Gifford, “Henry Ford’s Dance Revival.” Although offering excellent insight into personnel involved, this article wants to read the dance revival as though it was removed from Ford’s wider cultural efforts, failing to acknowledge that Ford’s antisemitic campaign in the Dearborn Independent continued throughout the old time revival well into 1927 and missing the significant publicity that release of the Ford’s old time dance manual garnered for certain Nordicist and scientific racist ideas about music and dance.

4. Ford’s distaste for jazz, Tin Pan Alley, and dancehalls are especially evident in the anonymously-penned articles in his newspaper “Jewish Jazz Becomes Our National Music” (8–9), and “How the Jewish Song Trust Makes You Sing” (8–9). Ford
mentions old time music and dancing as an alternative to these forms in the aforementioned “Ford Wars on Jazz” (E2) and Feld (SM2).

5. Details of this will be discussed in the final portion of this chapter.

6. My definitions of, and use of, the terms “Nordicism” and “Nordicist” are borrowed from Gregor’s arguments in “Nordicism Revisited.” Ford’s antisemitism seems to have been influenced by wider scientific racism of his day, but Nordicism seems to best reflect specific type of scientific racism that he and his staff espoused.

7. Manuscript of text portions of “Good Morning” including introductory chapter, “The Return of the Dance,” ca. 1925, are found in Miscellaneous Papers, Benson Ford Research Center.

8. Robbins, “Henry Ford’s Old Time Dance Revival,” an unpublished conference paper provided by Robbins to the author, is perhaps the best analyses of these dances to date, providing a strong foundation for future studies of the Ford revival.

9. Authenticity seems to have been an important goal in much of Ford’s antiquarian pursuits. Henry Ford’s Early American Orchestra, which was put together in the 1920s, for instance, is described as “an authentic early American combination of violin, dulcimer, cybalom and bass viol” on a script for the Blue Network’s Ford-backed Early American Dance program, 22 Jan. 1944: 2. The Blue Network was originally a holding of NBC, but was spun off in 1943 and became known as the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1945.

10. On Ford’s important role in temporarily reviving and preserving what would become known as contra-dance, see Nevell 63–65, 74; O’Neill 50–53; Matthews 101–35. For more on Ford’s impact on the revival of the western square dance, see Everette S. Wolfe. Ford did not champion the western-style squares that would go through a major revival in the 1950s but favored nineteenth century ballroom forms—which included a variety of forms of both social and stylized folk dancing. E. S. Wolfe, however, claims that pivotal western square dance revivalist Lloyd Shaw was summoned to meet Ford and demonstrate some of his Colorado group’s old-time dances at some point in 1930s or 1940s and that Ford’s campaign to collect and preserve these nineteenth century forms of dance inspired Shaw to do the same with western square dance. One study that argues for a more direct connection, although probably incorrectly, between Ford’s efforts and the western square dancing craze sparked by Shaw in the 1950s is “Swing Your Partner.”

11. C. K. Wolfe’s A Good Natured Riot (77–79) is perhaps the best secondary source on the effect of Ford’s promotion on the old time, or hillbilly, music audience. See also Peterson 60–62.

12. Invitation and club member listing, 27 Jan. 1910. Bryan, Friends (13–15) reproduces the invitation and mentions the 1910 dance, which attracted forty people, but this dance engagement is generally left out of most attempts to mine Ford’s dance history.
13. Ironically, Ford's newspaper would claim that Benedict Arnold was a figure involved in various traitorous alliances with Jews.

14. See for instance, the 1890s-era S. S. Stewart banjo noted in the Henry Ford's "Music and Sound" online exhibit.

15. Relying on the Evart, MI, farmer Stewart Carmichael's recollections, Paul Gifford has argued that Ford, Edison and Firestone had come across Bisbee on an annual camping trip in the area after Ford's brother-in-law Milton D. Bryant, a Ford dealer north in Traverse City, north of Paris, had recommended Bisbee as a skilled fiddler; cf. Gifford, "Jasper E. 'Jep' Bisbee."

16. For details about Ford patronage of traditional musicians during this time period, see Gifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer* 352–58.

17. Relying on the remembrances of Lovett's niece, Twork dates the Ford-Lovett encounter as early as October 1923, but Lovett's own reminiscences and corresponding press coverage seem to contradict this.

18. Ford reiterated the main points of this passage in his interview with the *New York Times*: "This is an age of commercialism. With floor space so valuable one can see why owners of restaurants and dance halls can make more profit in dances which require a small space for a large number of people. I suppose we could get seventy-five couples to dance square dances in this hall. Three hundred could get in to dance the fox-trot. It wouldn't pay a commercial agent to encourage the square dance" (Feld SM2).

19. This is hinted at in Ford executive Liebold's reminiscences (1367).

20. Lovett quoted in a script for the Blue Network's *Early American Dance* program (2).


22. On sparking ire, see, for instance, coverage of challenges to Dunham raised by championship winners in Rhode Island, New England, and California: "71-year-old Fiddler Wins" 8; "Old-Timer Wins Fiddle Title Glory" 7; “Fiddling Title at Stake” A1.

23. This is based on my examination of a run of the *Dearborn Independent* from May 20, 1920 to Jan. 14, 1922. The article on Christmas cards appears after the series, but during a period of ongoing but less frequent antisemitic material: "How Christmas Cards Have Been Degraded" 3.

24. “Turkey in the Straw” was frequently requested and played by old time fiddlers Ford entertained in the mid-1920s. See for instance, “Old-Time Fiddlers at Wayside Inn” 10. This version of the lyrics is drawn from Marling 145. For discussion of “Turkey in the Straw” and other bawdy versions see Cray 238, 253–55, and Titon 183.

25. “After the Ball” is mentioned favorably in "How the Jewish Song Trust Makes You Sing” 8. For lyrics and analysis, see Finson 67–72.

26. The four volumes are *The International Jew, Jewish Activities in the United States, Jewish Influences in American Life*, and *Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States,*

27. I opted for the fourth revised edition of Passing for these passages because it was the most current edition available during Ford’s music and dance promotion.

28. Edwin Black discusses the rise and consequences of American eugenics in War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America’s Campaign to Create a Master, esp. chapters 4–6, 9, 10, 13. Also see Kevles 3–19, 64; Larson 18, 19; Roberts 56–103.

29. Jenks published two articles in the Independent in 1925 about racial history of the Slavs, one article in 1926 on the effects World War I seemed to have on children’s physical development in Munich, and two in 1927 on the racial history of the British Isles.

30. On the advance release of Good Morning to the press, see Richards S7; and “Ford Shakes a Wicked Hoof” 3, 40.

31. Perhaps most explicit in making connections between the old-time revival and Ford’s antisemitism is Schneider and Norman 24–25, 27.

32. Robbins’ transcription of the “denunciation of the dance” paragraph matches that of the second edition that I viewed at the Benson Ford Research Center. The same phrasing is also used the 1925 first edition. See n 34 for explanation of the various editions.

33. The latter piece drew extensively from the former.

34. “Good Morning” (1925) as located in the Fair Lane Papers. The Fair Lane Paper’s copy of the published manual does include some pencil-mark edits regarding margins, orphans, and other layout but no editor’s comments. Compare with the more widely available “Good Morning”: After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is Being Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford which carries the inscription “Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin B. Lovett, masters of dancing, assisted in arranging the dance descriptions herein given.” The 1941 and 1943 editions of the book are both titled “Good Morning”: Music, Calls, and Directions for Old-time Dancing as Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford. These editions bear the Dearborn Publishing name, but were produced by Cincinnati music publisher Otto Zimmerman & Sons.

35. The dances I list were South American and southern European-origin dances popular during the 1910s and 1920s. See for instance, Elson 355. This early manuscript also seems to draw from the popular notion of the time that African-American culture stemmed directly and primarily from the Congo, rather than from more diffused and reinvented cultural continuances and the larger West African region that historians point to today.

36. Although later Nordicists would deem them undesirable, Grant makes no mention of gypsies.

37. See the general anti-Slavic arguments of Grant 64–65. Grant did not consider Slavs a distinct race, but rather feared they were slightly Nordified Alpinics, whose mixing with Mongolian conquerors had left them “checked in development and warped in culture.”
38. Longtime production and development chief Charles E. Sorenson describes how writers such as Cameron and Crowther served as Ford’s public mouthpieces in *My Forty Years with Ford* 3, 142–43. Most if not all of secondary sources credit Cameron with writing “Mr. Ford’s Page.” Cameron admitted his authorship of the column during the Shapiro trial and mentions it in his own Ford Motor Company reminiscences (35). Cameron’s authorship is corroborated by Fred L. Black’s reminiscences, final draft (21). Cameron states that he wrote the original content of *Ford Ideals* in the form of “Mr. Ford’s Page,” but was not involved with the selection or editing of the pieces in the aforementioned reminiscence (35).

39. This was probably not Bernard Robinson, an attorney who headed up a Ford-financed investigation of Michigan Senate opponent Truman Newberry.

40. Cameron’s authorship of the editorials and “Mr. Ford’s Page” is mention in his own Ford Motor Company reminiscences (35), in Black’s reminiscences, final draft (21), and in Liebold reminiscences (442). Nearly all the other major sources concur that Cameron did the bulk of the writing for these sections of the paper including Lacey 196; Brinkley 258; Lewis 135.

41. Quoted sections are from Sorenson 3, 176, referring to both Cameron and Crowther’s duties of interpreting Ford to the public. The specific process is outlined in Black reminiscences (15–16); Liebold reminiscences (444); Lewis 135; and Brinkley 258. Liebold notes that Cameron and Ford talked almost daily about publication matters in his reminiscences (451).

42. Lovett, handwritten note to W. J. Cameron, with accompanying radio script and materials. On the Blue Network, see n 9.

43. Liebold’s antisemitism is documented by many sources, but perhaps the most revealing are his own reminiscences. See for instance, his comments on 447, 458, 518.

44. It should be noted however that some of the Dearborn Publishing Company’s printing did take place with contractors off the Ford property.

45. One exception being a 1928 old-time ball he seems to have sponsored in Rutland, Vermont, in 1928; cf. Lhjehlom 1–2.

46. On Ford’s general lack of eliminationist rhetoric see Baldwin 174. The quote is from Grant 51.

47. Max Wallace’s *The American Axis; Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh and the Rise of the Third Reich* and Baldwin’s *Henry Ford and the Jews* do not find a smoking gun, but do uncover several possible leads.

48. On Nazi support for the *Shäfertanz*, see Hagen 209.

49. Ford was indifferent to modern dance pioneer Isadora Duncan, ignoring her requests for support. Apparently the feeling was mutual as she was ardently critical of what she saw as the overt sexuality that formed the basis of courtly dances Ford preferred. See Richards, *Last Billionaire* 112; Duncan 342.
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