

Tracing the Footsteps of George Warmack,
a.k.a. A. L. King:
An American Bandleader in Prewar Japan and the U.S.

Edgar W. POPE

ジョージ・ウォーマック別名A. L.キングの足跡をたどる
——戦前日本とアメリカで活躍した
アメリカ人のバンドリーダー——

エドガー・W・ポープ

要 約

1935年から1936年にかけて東京のフロリダ・ダンス・ホールで演奏したA. L.キング・エンド・ヒズ・フロリダ・リズム・エーセスは、日本で活躍した最初のアフリカ系アメリカ人のダンスバンドとしてよく知られている。しかしバンドリーダーのA. L.キングについてはアメリカに記録が全くなく、これまでは謎の人物でした。この論文では当時の新聞、雑誌、ラジオ放送の情報などの史料に基づいて、「A. L.キング」はジョージ・ウォーマック (George Warmack) というバンドリーダーの別名だったとし、アメリカにおける彼の音楽的活動の経歴を明らかにする。また、当時の歴史的・文化的なコンテクストを背景に彼の東アジアとの関係性について考察する。

1. Introduction

A. L. King and his Florida Rhythm Aces are generally considered to be the first complete African American dance orchestra to perform in Japan. Invited from the U.S. by dance hall manager Tsuda Matatarō 津田又太郎, they performed at the Florida Dance Hall in Tokyo, the most luxurious and successful venue in Japan's flourishing urban culture of jazz and social dance, from spring or summer of 1935 to May 1936. The band consisted of

four saxophones, two brass, four rhythm section players, a female vocalist, and A. L. King himself, who conducted, played saxophone, and sang. In November and December 1935 they played on recordings for the Teichiku label, accompanying the Japanese singers Dick Mine and Rosy Miyano on renditions of five American popular songs, with arrangements by A. L. King (see Discography). Following a brief return to the U.S. and some personnel changes, they came back to the Florida in August 1936, now under the name A. L. King's Florida Swing Band, and performed there until about the end of 1936 (Uchida 1976, 116–7; Hosokawa 2007, 166; Miya 1936). During these eighteen months or so, the instrumental skills and rhythmic power of this band made a profound impression on Japanese jazz musicians and audiences. One critic who heard them was almost at a loss for words: “What they showed was too transcendental. It was hardly attainable by common players.”¹

But apart from his activity in Japan in 1935 and 1936, almost nothing has been known about the leader of this band. As Hosokawa notes (2007, 166), he appears nowhere in American jazz encyclopedias. Scholars writing about the history of jazz in Japan have thus been left with an unanswered question: Who was A. L. King?

A largely unnoticed answer to this question was given by Burton Crane, an American journalist who worked in Japan during the 1930s and enjoyed his own musical career there, in a magazine article² that he wrote after his return to the U.S.:

When I left Japan there was just one all-American band in Japan, Captain Warmack and His Rhythm, a colored outfit from Buffalo billed there as Al King and His Florida Rhythm.... This Warmack band was pulling down the highest pay ever given a band in Japan, 5,500 yen a month for 11 men. (Crane 1937)

It appears, then, that A. L. King (misprinted in Crane's article as “Al King”) was also known as Captain Warmack. (We can note in passing that the high pay given to his band reflects the high esteem in which they were held by

Japanese dance music fans, and suggests the magnitude of their influence on Japanese musicians.) This answer, however, does little to solve the mystery—which may be why previous researchers have not given it much attention. It leads immediately to another question: who was Captain Warmack? Like A. L. King, this name is nowhere to be found in jazz encyclopedias. Could Burton Crane have been mistaken about the name?

But Crane has given us some essential clues: the name itself, and the fact that he was from Buffalo, New York. An online search of U.S. newspaper and magazine databases reveals a number of references to bands led by “Captain Warmack,” “Captain George Warmack” or simply “George Warmack,” all in the eastern Great Lakes region of the U.S. and Canada: Ohio, western Pennsylvania, western New York state (especially Buffalo), and southern Ontario. One item clearly confirms Burton Crane’s assertion that King and Warmack are the same person: on November 14, 1936, the “Club Chatter” section of *Billboard* magazine noted that the Vendome Hotel in Buffalo was “playing to capacity” with “Captain Warmack’s Orchestra, back after an 18-month tour of Japan.”³ The date is consistent with the sources cited above, which indicate that the A. L. King orchestra completed its second engagement at the Florida Dance Hall around the end of 1936, about a year and a half after first performing there, and presumably then returned to the U.S. We can safely assume, then, that George Warmack was indeed the same person as A. L. King, and that like Duke Ellington, Count Basie, King Joe Oliver, and many other African American bandleaders of the time, he frequently added a title (“Captain”) with overtones of dignity and authority to his name for professional purposes.

By following the trail of Captain George Warmack and drawing together scattered references in newspapers, magazines, discographies, radio broadcast schedules, biographies of musicians associated with him, and secondary sources on regional jazz history, I have been able to assemble a rough outline of his North American career. In this paper I present the results of this research. As we will see, Warmack’s career shows connections to musicians who traveled to East Asia, and to East Asian culture in the U.S., that precede his stay in Japan. His career also seems to involve a flexible strategy of exotic

self-representation that was crafted to suit different audiences in the U.S. and Japan. In the concluding section I discuss these aspects of Warmack's career and what they suggest about the engagement of African American musicians with the trans-Pacific flow of people and exotic representations that helped to shape the globalization of American music culture in the first half of the 20th century.

2. A chronology of George Warmack, his bands and his musical milieu

This section aims to tell the story of George Warmack's musical career in North America, and of his indirect connections to East Asia, to the extent that I have been able to reconstruct that story from primary and secondary sources. Please refer to the Appendix for a timeline that summarizes the chronology presented here.

From Columbus to Cleveland's Chinese restaurants:

The Singing Syncopators

George Warmack's birthplace is unknown, but his musical activity may have begun in the city of Dayton, Ohio. A "celebrated" group called the Willis-Warmack-Willis Trio is mentioned by historians as having played in Dayton with the well-known African American bandleader R. Roy Pope during the winter of 1914–5 (Abbott and Seroff 2007, 165), and also at some point with saxophonist Milton "Milt" Senior (Meyers et. al. 2012, 35). George Warmack's documented activity in Ohio during the 1920s and 1930s, as well as his association with two musicians named Willis (Herbert Willis of the Singing Syncopators, mentioned below, and Beatrice Willis of the A. L. King orchestra, mentioned in Hosokawa 2007, 166), suggest that the Warmack of the Willis-Warmack-Willis trio is likely to have been the young George Warmack, or possibly a member of the same family.

The earliest indisputable reference to him, however, is the following item from *Billboard* magazine, dated February 23, 1924.

George Warmack's "Singing Syncopators" and Mozart Glee Club of Cleveland, O. broadcasted a complete program from WJAX station, February 5. The orchestra is engaged at the Chinese-American Restaurant opposite Keith's Palace Theater in Cleveland. Harrison Hall, basso, is a member. Others are Bud Wilson, Clyde Rickman, Peter France, William Tillford, Ralph Wilson, Frank Fowler, Herbert Willis and George Warmack, the conductor. It is an unusually high-class group. The Glee Club is under the direction of Captain C. E. Fyre of the local Y.M.C.A., and is a unit of the national association of Negro musicians.⁴

"The Chinese-American Restaurant opposite Keith's Palace Theater" refers to The Far East Chinese and American Restaurant, then located at 1614–18 Euclid Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio. Together with the Golden Pheasant and the Bamboo Gardens, it was one of three Chinese restaurants in Cleveland that regularly featured jazz bands, and that played a central role in Cleveland's early jazz scene (Mosbrook 2003, 120).⁵ Radio station WJAX had begun operation in 1922, and this 1924 broadcast was probably done from the station studio; later, in 1925 or 1926, WJAX also broadcast on location from the Bamboo Gardens.⁶

The Singing Syncopators are clearly identified as an orchestra; but the name of the group, as well as the description of one member as a "basso," suggests that they sang as well as played. (The Mozart Glee Club is clearly a separate choral group.) George Warmack is also named as the leader of the Singing Syncopators in a notice for a broadcast on another Cleveland radio station, WTAM, on May 22, 1926.⁷

But the history of the "Singing Syncopators" begins several years earlier, and under different leadership. An orchestra of that name was formed in 1918 by Columbus, Ohio native Samuel "Sammy" Stewart, who is said to have invented the concept of an orchestra that also performed choral singing.⁸ An undated photograph of Sammy Stewart's Singing Syncopators shows nine members, seven of whom are identified by name: Frank Fowler, Dewey Pucket, Sammy Stewart, Earl Hood, Dave Smallwood, Douglas Speaks, and Clint Mormon.⁹ Frank Fowler was also a member of George Warmack's

Singing Syncopators (as mentioned in the *Billboard* item quoted above), which confirms that these two orchestras shared not only a name but also personnel. Another connection between Warmack and Sammy Stewart is saxophonist Paul Tyler, also of Columbus, who is reported to have performed with both men.¹⁰ Although I have found no direct proof that Warmack himself was a member of Sammy Stewart's Singing Syncopators, the indirect evidence makes this a strong possibility. We can speculate that Warmack might be one of the two unidentified musicians in the undated photograph of the latter group.

Sammy Stewart and Earl Hood had previously been members of Parker's Popular Players, a Columbus-based orchestra (or rather a stable of orchestras with shifting personnel) managed by Charles A. Parker, which they left in 1918 to form the Singing Syncopators. In 1923 Stewart relocated to Chicago, where he became established as one of the most popular bandleaders in the city and as an early proponent of "symphonic jazz," the classically-tinged style made famous by Paul Whiteman and George Gershwin.¹¹ Earl Hood also formed his own orchestra, which remained active in Columbus until the 1950s. It appears, then, that when Sammy Stewart left Columbus for Chicago, members of his Singing Syncopators reformed into various new orchestras, one of which retained the name "Singing Syncopators" and moved to Cleveland under the leadership of George Warmack.

From Columbus to Shanghai: The New York Singing Syncopators

But the Singing Syncopators name was also used by yet another offshoot of Stewart's orchestra, which took shape around the same time and moved from its Ohio roots to East Asia. The origin of this band dates to early 1923, when the government-run Manila Hotel in the Philippines sought the aid of the U.S. Army in acquiring a high-quality dance band.¹² The task of organizing a band was eventually entrusted to Prof. William Parker, a booking agent who had recently moved to New York City from Columbus, Ohio (where his name suggests a possible family connection to Charles Parker and Parker's Popular Players). The 1925 newspaper article that gives this background goes on to describe the group itself and their journey across the Pacific:

The group selected included Bailey W. Jackson, William O. Hegamin, Jack Carter, Clinton Moorman and Andrew F. Rosamond, who became the director of a group that not only doubled on instruments, but who were vocalists of no mean ability. They left New York with transportation advanced on July 12, 1923, to fill a year's contract. En route they played at the Imperial hotel and the Grand hotel, both in Tokyo, at the Oriental hotel in Kobe, Japan, and at the Hong Kong hotel In Shanghai, China. Arriving in Manila on August 22, they were billed as "The Negro Musical Kings from Broadway" and so successful were they that the engagement continues to the present time.¹³

One of the group members listed here, Clinton Moorman, is no doubt the same person mentioned earlier as "Clint Mormon" of Sammy Stewart's Singing Syncopators, a banjo player and guitarist from Columbus who is known to have played in Shanghai hotels in the mid-1920s (Meyers et al. 2012, 30). Drummer Jack Carter later became established as one of the most popular bandleaders in Shanghai, where he was active for many years.¹⁴ William O. "Bill" Hegamin apparently returned to the U.S. before departing again for East Asia in 1925, as the leader of a group called the New York Singing Syncopators (N.Y.S.S.), who established themselves in Shanghai and also are reported to have performed in the Philippines and Japan.¹⁵ The article quoted above notes that these musicians were "vocalists of no mean ability" as well as skilled instrumentalists, which suggests that they maintained the Singing Syncopators concept originated by Sammy Stewart.

Among the various offshoot bands of the original Singing Syncopators, then, it appears that there were two who continued to use that name: one led to Cleveland by George Warmack, and the other led to Manila and Shanghai by William Hegamin, first as the Negro Musical Kings from Broadway, and later as the New York Singing Syncopators. George Warmack's Singing Syncopators, as we have seen, performed for radio broadcasts in Cleveland in February 1924 and May 1926; the N.Y.S.S. departed from New York around August 1925, and were performing and broadcasting from the Plaza Hotel in Shanghai in May 1926.¹⁶ These are the last references I have found to bands

using the Singing Syncopators name.

There is no record of George Warmack's activities between February 1925 and May 1926; it is therefore possible that he himself might have been a member of the N.Y.S.S. that left New York around August 1925, and might have performed with them in Shanghai, the Philippines and Japan before returning to the U.S. sometime before May 1926. It is even possible that he might have been one of the "Musical Kings" who went to East Asia with William Hegamin earlier, in July 1923. But these possibilities remain in the realm of speculation. What is clear from the activities and membership of the Musical Kings / N.Y.S.S. is that ten years before his arrival in Japan under the name A. L. King, George Warmack already had at least indirect connections with East Asia, not only through the Chinese restaurant in Cleveland where his own Singing Syncopators performed, but also through other members of his musical milieu who had traveled to Manila, Shanghai, Kobe and Tokyo.

Warmack's only U.S. recording: "Shanghai Shuffle"

About a year after his performances at the Far East Chinese and American Restaurant in Cleveland, Warmack's interest in East Asia, or rather in its representation through American jazz music, becomes evident in his only known U.S. recording: "Shanghai Shuffle," recorded by George Warmack and his Orchestra for the Okeh label in Buffalo, New York in February, 1925.¹⁷

"Shanghai Shuffle" was not an original Warmack composition. Composed by pianist/bandleader Gene Rodemich and trombonist/songwriter Larry Conley, its melody features sequences of repeated three or four-note figures of the sort commonly used as signifiers of East Asia in American musical exoticism of time. It was recorded by Gene Rodemich's Orchestra in October 1924, and in November 1924 by the highly influential Fletcher Henderson orchestra, which at the time included such jazz luminaries as Louis Armstrong, Don Redman and Coleman Hawkins.¹⁸ Warmack's recording of the piece may have been made as a "location recording" by Okeh's mobile truck, which had begun operations in Cleveland in 1924 (Meyers et al. 2012, 37). It was probably released regionally rather than nationally, aimed at a

limited audience consisting of people in the Buffalo and Cleveland areas who had heard his performances either live or on radio. We can assume, then, that this piece was a regular part of his band's repertoire and consistent with the public image they had already established. This record, together with their performances at a Chinese restaurant, leaves little doubt that Asia-exoticism was an element of that image.

Captain Warmack's Buffalonians on Radio

In February 1928, *Radio Digest* published the results of a contest for "World's Most Popular Radio Orchestra."¹⁹ The magazine had printed a "coupon ballot" which listeners could mail in, after writing the name of their favorite radio orchestra and the call letters of the associated radio station. The overall winner was Paul Christensen of WHO in Des Moines, Iowa, with 19,093 votes. The winner in the East district (including New York state) was Vincent Lopez of WEAJ, with 2,194 votes. Far down the list in the East was "Capt. Warmack Buffalonians" of WMAK, with 187 votes. There were, however, many orchestras in the East with even lower vote counts. The New York Philharmonic Orchestra on WOR, for example, had 168 votes—which may simply show that classical music was less popular than jazz and sweet dance music. Perhaps more significant is that Fletcher Henderson's Roseland Dance orchestra of WHN came in with only 150 votes, below Warmack's orchestra. In this case the difference may reflect the fact that Henderson, broadcasting from WHN in New York City, had far more competition for his radio audience than did Warmack, broadcasting from WMAK in the much smaller city of Buffalo. As in the case of the national winner, Paul Christensen in Des Moines, orchestras in small regional cities may have had an advantage in this contest because of their access to a broad regional radio audience, even if they enjoyed less national popularity than the leading orchestras that were active mainly in large cities.

George Warmack's Algerians

Warmack continued to lead bands of various names in U.S. performances through the late 1920s and early 1930s, and again after his return from Japan

until at least 1938. These include a performance by Captain George Warmack in Buffalo on November 26, 1926;²⁰ a Thanksgiving night performance by Captain Warmack and His Orchestra at the Hotel Statler Ballroom in Buffalo on November 24, 1932;²¹ and an engagement at the Vendome Hotel in Buffalo that lasted from November 1936 into January 1937.²² Warmack was also active across the border in Canada, and was associated with at least one prominent Canadian jazz musician: saxophonist Lloyd Duncan, from Guelph, Ontario, a member of the Canadian Ambassadors band formed in 1931, had experience before that time playing with Captain George Warmack “probably in the Buffalo area” (Miller 1997, 143).

On many of his dates, Warmack’s band names suggest an exotic band image evoking not China or Japan, but Algeria. Captain George Warmack’s Algerian Syncopators performed at the Terrace dance hall near Hamilton, Ontario, in the summer of 1927, and again on Halloween of 1929;²³ Captain Warmack’s Algerians played at the Orchard Dance Pavilion in Buffalo on May 20, 1932;²⁴ and a 1928 advertisement for a performance on May 3, 1928 at the Pier Ball Room in Warren, Pennsylvania, shows a photograph of the band members with their instruments displayed in front of them, with the caption “Captain Warmack and his Sensational Algerians.”²⁵ Warmack used similar band names over a period of over eleven years; in fact the last performances by Warmack for which I have found evidence are two in the Buffalo area on February 19 and May 26, 1938, by Captain Warmack’s Algerians.²⁶

3. George Warmack in context: African American musicians, Asian connections, and the flexible exoticism of jazz

George Warmack was one of many African American musicians to perform at Chinese restaurants during the 1920s and 30s. In addition to the Far East Restaurant where Warmack was engaged, the Golden Pheasant and the Bamboo Gardens were two other major Chinese restaurants in Cleveland that featured jazz bands, including musicians who went on to national fame. As one scholar of Cleveland jazz history notes, “For some reason, Chinese

restaurants were among the first to present live jazz—not just in Cleveland, but across the country” (Mosbrook 2003, 121).

The number of Chinese restaurants in the U.S. had grown rapidly from the late 19th century through the 1920s. Like the Chinatowns in which they were frequently located, they were objects of exotic interest to non-Chinese, and popular spots for tourism and “slumming” by upper-class white Americans. They were also widely depicted as places of moral danger, especially for white women, and for this alleged reason they were often targets of hostility and attempts at legal restriction (Chin and Ormonde 2018, 698–716). In at least one case, the “dreamy, seductive music” played in Chinese restaurants was accused of contributing to the downfall of white women who ventured there.²⁷ In all of these respects, Chinese restaurants occupied a social position similar to that of nightclubs in Harlem and other African American neighborhoods, and to that of jazz itself, which were objects of similar mixtures of exotic attraction and moral panic driven by racism. In this sense it is not surprising that Chinese and African Americans often made common cause for their mutual benefit, and that Chinese restaurants often became venues for jazz music and dancing.

On the other hand, Warmack chose to name many of his bands “the Algerians” during a period when exotic representations of North Africa and the Middle East were widely popular in the U.S. This trend had been inspired by the exploits of T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) during World War I; by the Rif War of the 1920s in Morocco; and by novels such as Edith Hull’s *The Sheik* (1919) and Robert Hichens’ *The Garden of Allah* (1904), which were made into major Hollywood movies in 1921 and 1927 respectively. In music, the trend appeared in the Broadway operetta *The Desert Song* (1926) and in numerous popular songs. Although Warmack had professional connections to East Asia and to its presence in the U.S., it appears that he was also attuned to the Middle Eastern trend in popular culture exoticism and prepared to adapt his band’s image to that trend.

Warmack was also one of many African American musicians to cross the Pacific and find appreciative audiences, as well as a temporary escape from the racism of U.S. society, in cities such as Manila, Shanghai, and Tokyo. The

activities of African American musicians in Shanghai during the 1920s and 1930s have been documented by a number of researchers (e.g. Field 2011, Farrer and Field 2015, and Marlow 2018). Some of these musicians, as we have seen, had at least indirect connections with George Warmack and had very likely played in bands with him in the U.S. Since Tokyo dance halls were part of the regular “East Asian circuit” for international musicians and bands in the region, musicians in Shanghai who knew Warmack might well have known people associated with the music business in Japan as well. Thus we can plausibly speculate that Warmack’s connections to musicians in Shanghai might have led in some way to his invitation to perform at the Florida Dance Hall.

Contrary to popular belief, A. L. King and his Florida Rhythm Aces were apparently not the first all-African American band to perform in Japan. As we have seen, “The Negro Musical Kings from Broadway” are reported to have performed at the Grand and Imperial Hotels in Tokyo and the Oriental Hotel in Kobe during the summer of 1923, about twelve years before Warmack’s arrival as A. L. King. Presumably this band performed for dancing by upper-class Japanese young people, which was common at the Imperial Hotel and other venues around this time.²⁸

The Florida Dance Hall advertised A. L. King and his band as having come “directly from the Cotton Club” (Hosokawa 2007, 166). It is probable that Warmack had never actually performed there. But the Cotton Club in New York City, where Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington played extended engagements, was by this time an international symbol of the African American urban culture associated with jazz, and the name was perhaps as evocative for some Japanese jazz lovers as it was for white American jazz fans.

As I have argued elsewhere, although jazz in its early years appealed to white Americans partly through the exoticism of its associations with imagined African American and African cultures, the exotic appeal of jazz was often more broadly generalized, and was reinforced by associations with other imagined cultures, including those of Asia and the Middle East (Pope 2007, 263–4). In East Asia, on the other hand, the exoticism of America itself,

and of African American culture in particular, contributed to the attractions and pleasures of jazz music and dancing. George Warmack's engagement at the Far East Restaurant in Cleveland, his recording of "Shanghai Shuffle" as his only known U.S. record, his use of the band name "Algerians," and the association of his A. L. King persona with the Cotton Club, all suggest that he was attuned to the flexible exotic appeal of jazz, and that he astutely employed a variety of exotic signifiers in shaping his public image and adapting it to his audiences.

Notes

- 1 Jōji Gashuin 1937; quoted in Hosokawa 2007, 166.
- 2 This article was part of a controversy that had continued through several issues of *Metronome* magazine, in which several writers expressed opinions about the opportunities for American dance bands to find work in China and Japan. On Burton Crane, see Atkins (2001, 79) and Yamada (2002, in Japanese).
- 3 *Billboard*, November 14, 1936, "Club Chatter," 13. This section of the magazine gave information about orchestras currently performing in clubs and other night spots in various U.S. cities.
- 4 *Billboard*, February 23, 1924. Quoted in Sampson 2013, 609.
- 5 Postcard images of these and other Chinese restaurants in 1920s-30s Cleveland, from the library of Cleveland State University, can be viewed on the webpage of "The Cleveland Memory Project" (n.d.).
- 6 See article "RADIO" from the online *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Case Western Reserve University, 2018).
- 7 *Radio Digest*, May 15, 1926, 22.
- 8 This band's name was later changed to the Ten Knights of Syncopation. See "Sammy Stewart's Ten Knights Of Syncopation" n.d.
- 9 See "Sammy Stewart's Singing Syncopators—(Photo)" n.d.
- 10 According to Ohio jazz historian Arnett Howard; see <http://mayorarnett.blogspot.com/2011/>.
- 11 See "Sammy Stewart and His Orchestra" n.d., and Meyers et al. 2012, 33.
- 12 "Race Band Going Big in Manila," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, May 9, 1925. Quoted in Sampson 2013, 493–4.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 See for example Mills 1937, and Field 2011, 36.

- 15 Saxophonist Darnell Howard left the U.S. late in 1925 “with the N.Y. Singing Syncopators (led by pianist William Hegamin). The N.Y.S.S. were based in Shanghai, but also toured the Philippines and Japan.” See <https://www.encyclopedia.com/arts/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/howard-darnell>, based on *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 2001, The Gale Group Inc. See also Horne 2019, 84.
- 16 *The North-China Herald*, May 15, 1926.
- 17 See Rust 1975, 1894, and Discography. Released as track 3 of the CD compilation *Jazz is Where You Find It 1924–1930* (Various artists, 1998).
- 18 Henderson’s band recorded the piece twice in 1924, once in October and once in November; the November recording cited in the Discography is the better known of the two.
- 19 *Radio Digest*, February 1928, 5, 18, 20.
- 20 McRae 1993, 155.
- 21 *Buffalo Canisian Newspaper Archives*, Nov 18, 1932, 3.
- 22 *Billboard*, December 5, 1936, 37; December 12, 1936, 37; December 26, 1936, 49; January 2, 1937, 35; January 9, 1937, 35.
- 23 Miller 1997, 131, 139.
- 24 McRae 1993, 155.
- 25 *Warren Morning Mirror Archives*, May 2, 1928, 3.
- 26 *Buffalo Courier-Express*, Saturday, February 19, 1938, 25; Adeyola 2017, 77.
- 27 *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 28, 1910; quoted in Chin and Ormonde 2018, 703.
- 28 See Grace Thompson Seton, “The Jazzing Japanese,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 14, 1923.

References

- Abbott, Lynn, and Doug Seroff. 2012. *Ragged but Right: Black Traveling Shows, “Coon Songs,” and the Dark Pathway to Blues and Jazz*. Reprint edition. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Adeyola, Dawoud Sabu. 2017. *Against All Odds: The Remarkable Story of Musicians Association, Local 533 A. f. of M.* Xlibris Corp.
- Atkins, E. Taylor. 2001. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. First Edition. Durham: Duke University Press Books.
- Chin, Gabriel J., and John Ormonde. 2018. “The War Against Chinese Restaurants.” *Duke Law Journal* 67 (4): 681–741.
- Crane, Burton. 1937. “Coda on Japan.” *Metronome*, January, 17, 53.

- Farrer, James, and Andrew David Field. 2015. *Shanghai Nightscapes: A Nocturnal Biography of a Global City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Field, Andrew. 2011. *Shanghai's Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919–1954*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Horne, Gerald. 2019. *Jazz and Justice: Racism and the Political Economy of the Music*. New York: NYU Press.
- Hosokawa Shūhei. 2007. “The Swinging Voice of Kasagi Shizuko: Japanese Jazz Culture in the 1930s.” In *Japanese Studies around the World 2006: Research on Art and Music in Japan: A Colloquy with Foreign Scholars Resident in Japan* (世界の日本研究 比較：在住日本研究者が語る日本の美術と音楽), edited by Patricia Fister and Hosokawa Shūhei, 159–185. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (国際日本文化研究センター).
- Jiōji Gashuin. 1937. “Jazuri Keizu” (Genealogy of Jazzing). *Dansu to Ongaku*, December, 31. (自王寺我趣院 1937「邪摺系図」『ダンスと音楽』第3巻 第12号, 30)
- Marlow, Eugene. 2018. *Jazz in China: From Dance Hall Music to Individual Freedom of Expression*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- McRae, Richard. 1993. “Musicians Association Local 533 of the American Federation of Musicians and Its Role in the Development of Black Music in Buffalo, New York.” M.A. thesis, Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Meyers, David, Candice Watkins, Arnett Howard, and James Loeffler. 2012. *Ohio Jazz: A History of Jazz in the Buckeye State*. Charleston, SC: The History Press.
- Miller, Mark. 1997. *Such Melodious Racket: The Lost History of Jazz in Canada, 1914–1949*. Mercury Press.
- Mills, Hal P. 1937. “Band Leaders Find Dancing Feet Fickle: Various Baton-Wielders Are Up Today Down Tomorrow.” *The China Press*, May 1, 1937. <http://shanghaijourns.net/shanghai-dancing-world/2018/6/22/the-master-list-of-1920s-1930s-shanghai-jazz-bandleaders>.
- Miya Morijirō. 1936. “Niguro Bando: Kingusu Furorida Suwingu Bando” (A Negro Band: King’s Florida Swing Band). *Dansu to Ongaku*, October, 16–17. (宮杜次郎 1936「ニグロバンド『キングス・フロリダ・スイング・バンド』」『ダンスと音楽』第2巻 第10号, 16–17)
- “RADIO.” 2018. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*. Case Western Reserve University. June 29, 2018. <https://case.edu/ech/articles/r/radio>.
- Pope, Edgar. 2007. “Jazz and Other Exoticisms in Prewar Popular Music of the U.S. and Japan.” In *Japanese Studies around the World 2006: Research on Art and Music in Japan: A Colloquy with Foreign Scholars Resident in Japan* (世界の日本研

- 究 比較：在住日本研究者が語る日本の美術と音楽), edited by Patricia Fister and Hosokawa Shūhei, 247–277. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (国際日本文化研究センター).
- Rust, Brian A. L. 1975. *The American Dance Band Discography 1917–1942. Volume 2: Arthur Lange to Bob Zurke*. Arlington House.
- “Sammy Stewart and His Orchestra.” n.d. Accessed October 17, 2019. <http://www.redhotjazz.com/stewart.html>.
- “Sammy Stewart’s Singing Syncopators—(Photo).” n.d. Accessed October 17, 2019. <http://www.redhotjazz.com/stewartssinfo.html>.
- “Sammy Stewart’s Ten Knights Of Syncopation.” n.d. Accessed October 17, 2019. <http://www.redhotjazz.com/tenknights.html>.
- Sampson, Henry T. 2013. *Blacks in Blackface: A Sourcebook on Early Black Musical Shows*. Scarecrow Press.
- “The Cleveland Memory Project.” n.d. Michael Schwartz Library at Cleveland State University. Accessed October 19, 2019. <http://images.ulib.csuohio.edu/cdm/search/field/subject/searchterm/Chinese%20restaurants/mode/exact>.
- Uchida Kōichi. 1976. *Nihon no jazu shi* (A History of Japanese Jazz). Tokyo: Swing Journal Company. (内田晃一 1976 『日本のジャズ史』 スイング・ジャーナル社)
- Yamada Harumichi 山田晴通. 2002. “Biographical Notes on Burton Crane, 1901–1963 (バートン・クレーン覚書).” *The Journal of Communication Studies*, no. 17: 191–227. <http://camp.ff.tku.ac.jp/YAMADA-KEN//Y-KEN/fulltext/02BC.html>.

Discography

Original 78RPM records (initial release only):

- Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra. “Shanghai Shuffle.” Vocalion A-14935. Recorded November 1924.
- George Warmack and his Orchestra. “Shanghai Shuffle.” OK 9002-A. Recorded February 25, 1925.
- Dick Mine (vocal). “Dinah.” Accompanied by A. L. King and His Florida Rhythm Aces. Teichiku 50164. Recorded November 19, 1935.
- Dick Mine (vocal). “Shanghai Lil.” Accompanied by A. L. King and His Florida Rhythm Aces. Teichiku 50164. Recorded November 19, 1935.
- Dick Mine (vocal). “St. Louis Blues.” Accompanied by A. L. King and His Florida Rhythm Aces. Teichiku 50170. Recorded November 19, 1935.
- Dick Mine (vocal). “Cheek to Cheek.” Accompanied by A. L. King and His Florida

Tracing the Footsteps of George Warmack, a.k.a. A. L. King

Rhythm Aces. Teichiku 50188. Recorded December 12, 1935.
Roya Miyano (vocal). “The Piccolino.” Accompanied by A. L. King and His Florida
Rhythm Aces. Teichiku 50188. Recorded December 12, 1935.

CD reissues:

Mine, Dick. 2011. *Empire of Jazz 1934–1942*. Audio CD. TECH-37270/71. テイチクエンタテインメント.

Miyano, Cherry. 2018. 『おゝ櫻(チェリー)!! ～チェリー・ミヤノ傑作集～』. BRIDGE-241. Audio CD. ブリッジ.

『再発見・ニッポンの音／芸 (10) 洋楽ポップスの系譜』. 1995. Audio CD. TECR-20180. テイチクエンタテインメント.

Various artists. 1998. *Jazz Is Where You Find It 1924–1930*. Audio CD, Compilation, Remastered. Chris Barber Collection. CBC 1–048. Timeless Records.

Appendix: Timeline of George Warmack and associated musicians

1914–15 Winter: The Willis-Warmack-Willis Trio performs in Dayton, Ohio.

1918: Sammy Stewart’s Singing Syncopators orchestra (including Frank Fowler, Clinton Moorman, and possibly George Warmack) is formed in Columbus, Ohio.

1923 July 12: “The Negro Musical Kings from Broadway,” a group that includes William O. Hegamin, Jack Carter, and Clinton Moorman, departs from New York for East Asia. They perform in Tokyo, Kobe and Shanghai; they arrive in Manila on August 22 and begin an engagement at the Hotel Manila.

1924 February 5: George Warmack’s Singing Syncopators (including Frank Fowler) broadcast “a complete program” on radio station WJAX, while engaged at The Far East Chinese and American Restaurant in Cleveland, Ohio.

1925 February: George Warmack and His Orchestra record “Shanghai Shuffle” (OK 9002-A) in Buffalo.

1925 August or later: The New York Singing Syncopators, led by William O. Hegamin, depart from the U.S.; based in Shanghai, they perform also in the Philippines and Japan.

1926 May 15: George Warmack’s Singing Syncopators perform for a broadcast on radio station WTAM in Cleveland, Ohio.

Ca. 1926 May 15: the New York Singing Syncopators perform three times a week for radio broadcasts from the Plaza Hotel in Shanghai.

- 1926 November 26: Captain George Warmack performs in Buffalo.
- 1927 Summer: Captain George Warmack's Algerian Syncopators perform at the Terrace dance hall near Hamilton, Ontario.
- 1929 October 31: Captain George Warmack and his Algerians perform at the Terrace dance hall near Hamilton, Ontario.
- 1928 February: Capt. Warmack Buffalonians appear on a Radio Digest list of popular radio orchestras in the Eastern district, for broadcast performances on Buffalo station WMAK, with 187 votes.
- 1928 May 3: Captain Warmack and his Sensational Algerians perform at the Pier Ball Room, Celoron Park, Warren, Pennsylvania.
- 1932 May 20: Captain George Warmack and the Algerians perform at the Orchard Dance Pavilion in Buffalo.
- 1932 November 24: Captain Warmack and His Orchestra perform at the Hotel Statler Ball Room in Buffalo.
- 1935 September – 1936 May: A. L. King [a.k.a. George Warmack] and his Florida Rhythm Aces, invited from the U.S. (by Tsuda Matatarō), perform at the Florida Dance Hall in Tokyo.
- 1935 November 19 and December 12: A. L. King and his Florida Rhythm Aces accompany singers Dick Mine and Rosy Miyano on Japanese language recordings of American popular songs. (Teichiku 50164, 50170, and 50188)
- 1936 August – October: after a stay in the U.S. and some personnel changes, George Warmack and his band return to Japan and perform at the Florida as A. L. King and his Florida Swing Band.
- 1936, November 14 through January 9, 1937: Captain Warmack's Orchestra performs at the Vendome Hotel in Buffalo. (Billboard, November 14: "Captain Warmack's Orchestra, back after an 18-month tour of Japan")
- 1937 January: Burton Crane's article "Coda on Japan," published in *Metronome* magazine, refers to "Captain Warmack and His Rhythm, a colored outfit from Buffalo billed [in Japan] as Al King and His Florida Rhythm."
- 1938 February 19: Captain Warmack's Algerians perform at the Rhythm Club in Buffalo.
- 1938 May 26: Algerians (The Warmack Band) perform in or near Buffalo.