

The Steel Guitar in Early Country Music

Part Two: Jimmie Rodgers's Steel Guitarists

Chapter Three: Joe Kaipo and Billy Burkes, Part One

Chapter one of this series of articles on the ten steel guitarists who recorded with Jimmie Rodgers (in the March 2008 issue) discussed Rodgers's important role in popularizing the steel guitar in the late 1920s/early 1930s, through his thirty-one sides including the instrument; the chapter also discussed the first steel guitarist to record behind Rodgers (**Ellsworth Thomas Cozzens** [1896-1966]) and the four recordings he made with Rodgers in February 1928.

Chapter two (in the June 2008 issue) discussed **John James Westbrook, Jr.** (1901-1974), who — a little over eight months after Cozzens — played steel guitar behind Rodgers on four dixieland-influenced sides in Atlanta.

The present chapter will discuss the third and eighth musicians to play steel guitar behind Rodgers, Hawaiian-born **Joseph Kaaia Kaipo**¹ (c. 1896-1964) and Kansas-born **William T. ("Billy") Burkes** (1912-1989). (Kaipo and Burkes recorded with Rodgers in Dallas, Texas in August and October 1929 [with Kaipo on steel and Burkes on standard guitar]; Burkes subsequently played steel guitar behind Rodgers on two sides in Dallas in early 1932.)

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Joe Kaipo was the first of three Hawaiian-born steel guitarists with whom Rodgers recorded (the others being **Charles Kama Valera** [1897-1970] and **David Samuel Kanui** [1894-1965]). (Between August and October 1929, Kaipo recorded seven sides with Rodgers, more than any other steel guitarist.)

The facts regarding the first eighteen years of Kaipo's life are a bit unclear. According to Kaipo's great-nephew, David K. Alama, Jr., Kaipo was born in Hookena, on the west coast of Hawaii.² Kaipo's parents were apparently Lum Gun Akana (c. 1850-?) and Kahololio Kaa[a]ia (c. 1850-?), who married in c. 1870.³ Lum Gun was born in China,⁴ while Kahololio was born in Kainaliu (north of Hookena).⁵ Kaipo had two older sisters, Katie Akana Lono and Meulan Akana Alama⁶ (David's grandmother).

By the time of the *1910 United States Federal Census* (enumerated in April), it appears Kaipo was lodging on Kauluwela Lane in north-central Honolulu, in a boarding-house with five other people (including — perhaps — a relative on his mother's side [Miliam Kaipo, from whom Joseph may have taken his surname?]).⁷ Heading up the household was a man of Chinese extraction named Charlie Jones,⁸ who worked as a clerk at the Wall, Nichols Company, an importer of books, stationery, printers, and — perhaps significantly — musical instruments.⁹ At the time of the census, Joseph — who had attended school since the previous September — was working as a self-employed "bootblack" (shoe-polisher) on the city streets.¹⁰

Kaipo left Honolulu for the Mainland in 1915;¹¹ he subsequently served in the US Army during World War I, attaining the rank of corporal.¹² To infer from the 1930 census, Kaipo apparently married sometime in the early-to-mid 1920s, but soon divorced.¹³

By the summer of 1929, Kaipo had made his way to the Dallas/Fort Worth area, where he was "strolling floors" (roaming tables and playing requests) at the El Tivoli Night Club, a posh west-Dallas supper club located on what was then one of two highways linking the city with neighboring Fort Worth. Performing alongside Kaipo were two teenaged brothers from Fort Worth, guitarist **Billy Burkes** and his ukulele-playing brother, Weldon E. (1910-94).¹⁴

(Billy and Weldon began their careers singing with a comedic troupe based out of their hometown of Wichita, Kansas. By 1927 — following their parents' move to Fort Worth — the brothers had learned to play the guitar and ukulele, respectively, and were performing in Fort Worth vaudeville and on the Texas theatre circuit.)¹⁵

By the summer of 1929, Billy and Weldon had landed their El Tivoli gig, and were soon joined by Kaipo¹⁶ (who may have been introduced to the brothers by their father, Ezra,¹⁷ who worked as an engineer at various ice plants in western and northern Fort Worth).¹⁸

Jimmie Rodgers heard of Kaipo from entertainers in Dallas soon after arriving there in late-summer 1929 in advance of some planned field-recording sessions for Victor (once again supervised by Ralph Peer). Looking for backup musicians, Rodgers arranged an audition for Kaipo, who — possibly nervous about meeting Rodgers — asked Billy Burkes to come along; to Billy's surprise, Rodgers hired both of them on the spot. On their second day of rehearsals, Weldon Burkes joined the group on ukulele, and recording sessions soon commenced.¹⁹

Rodgers's recording sessions took place at Dallas's Jefferson Hotel downtown; between August 8-12, seven sides were recorded during five sessions, with the following five sides including Kaipō on steel guitar:

"Everybody Does It In Hawaii" (Vi 22143)	(recorded 8 August, 1929)
"Tuck Away My Lonesome Blues" (Vi 22220)	(recorded 8 August, 1929)
"Train Whistle Blues" (Vi 22379)	(recorded 8 August, 1929)
"Jimmie's Texas Blues" (Vi 22379)	(recorded 10 August, 1929)
"Home Call" (Vi unissued)	(recorded 12 August, 1929) ²⁰

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The yodel-infused "Everybody Does It In Hawaii" provided an appropriate opening for Kaipō's first day of recording with Rodgers. (The song had been written the night before by Rodgers's sister-in-law, Elsie McWilliams [1897-1985], who frequently helped Rodgers "polish" his songs [as related in chapters one and two].)²¹

Although Kaipō's steel guitar is at times a bit difficult to discern in the mix, he can be clearly heard providing a loud "swoop" on the third syllable of "Hawaii" whenever the word occurs in the verses or chorus (and also playing a loud ascending glissando in the final bar). Weldon Burkes faithfully marks each beat on his ukulele, for added "Hawaiian atmosphere," while Billy contributes on guitar.²²

Concerned about the song's mildly-risqué double-entendres, the music-industry paper *Variety* — in the wake of the record's November 1929 release — cautioned dealers to "use discrimination and not sell this [record] into polite families or for juvenile consumption [as] . . . it's never made clear [just exactly] what everybody does in Hawaii . . . leav[ing] . . . sensitive listeners in a state of unrelieved embarrassment." (!)²³

"Parental advisories" notwithstanding, "Everybody Does It" proved popular enough to spawn several covers — six versions appeared within the first fifty-five days of the record's release, including *two* by dixieland jazz pioneer **Joe "King" Oliver**, with **Roy Smeck** on steel guitar.²⁴ (On Oliver's mid-January 1930 recording [which opens with Smeck quoting "Aloha Oe"], Smeck imitates Rodgers's yodelling with unusually-wide glissandos; he also plays two eight-bar solos.)

George Kanahale notes that "Everybody Does It" "was [also] a great hit in India"²⁵ (with Rodgers's recording being released there sometime between 1932-38 [as HMVIn N4364]).²⁶

"Tuck Away My Lonesome Blues" — which opens with Kaipō's steel (and includes Billy Burkes on standard guitar and Weldon on ukulele) — features a syncopated, almost-ragtime-esque melody Kaipō had composed several years earlier. (Elsie McWilliams again provided the lyrics, fitted [again, in short order] to Kaipō's tune.)²⁷

The second verse is given over to the "harmony whistling" of Robert MacGimsey (helping to create — in the words of Drew Kent — a "haunting and plaintive" effect),²⁸ while the ensuing chorus is taken up by Kaipō's rather-vigorous steel-guitar solo. (MacGimsey [1898-1979] — a National Champion Whistler billed as "the only man in the world who c[ould] whistle three tones at once"²⁹ — went on to compose the psuedo-spirituals "Shadrach" and "Sweet Little Jesus Boy" in the 1930s.)

"Tuck Away" has been covered by country-music performers such as Hank Snow and Wanda Jackson; recent renditions include recordings by dobro guitarists Mike Auldridge (nephew of Ellsworth Cozzens) (1989) and Jerry Douglas (with guitarist Peter Rowan) (1996).

"Train Whistle Blues" and its original Victor flip-side, "Jimmie's Texas Blues," are two of six blues songs Rodgers wrote or co-wrote which he recorded with steel guitar (with "Blue Yodel #4" ["California Blues"] — discussed previously in chapter two — being another example).

"Train Whistle Blues" concerns a frustrated, unemployed "rounder" (dissolute person) who wishes he could head back home. An introduction (played by Kaipō) precedes five twelve-bar blues choruses, with Billy and Weldon Burkes again on guitar and ukulele. An interlude — consisting of Rodgers's train-whistle imitation, followed by a distinctive, descending chromatic riff from Kaipō — is interpolated between the first and second chorus, the third and fourth chorus, and before Rodgers's final yodel. Kaipō also makes use of harmonics ("chimes") in his doubling of Rodgers's recurring yodels (the first use of such by one of Rodgers's steel guitarists?).

"Jimmie's Texas Blues" — another "rounder's blues" (with the narrator complaining about his inattentive "sweet mama") — likewise features an introduction played by Kaipō, followed by five blues choruses. Billy Burkes again plays guitar, and — in a manner similar to "Train Whistle Blues" — a descending, chromatic riff from Kaipō punctuates the end of each chorus, as a preface to Rodgers's yodels.

“Home Call” — Rodgers’s tribute to domesticity and his wife and daughter (complete with evocations of “a big Morris chair” and “bright log fire”) — has a confusing recording history. Another Rodgers-McWilliams collaboration, Ralph Peer made three attempts to record the song in Dallas (the first two including a musical saw to augment Kaipo’s steel guitar). These takes remained unreleased until 1961, when the second appeared on RCA’s *Jimmie the Kid* LP [LPM 2213].³⁰

The third take (with Kaipo alone accompanying Rodgers) is included on the recent Rodgers compilations released by Rounder (CD 1056-1063) and Bear Family (B00000ASU6); the recording features Kaipo playing a four-bar introduction and doubling Rodgers on the melody in the higher register of his steel guitar throughout the song’s two verses and choruses.

In the wake of their recording sessions, Kaipo and the Burkes undertook a brief tour of west Texas and the Texas Gulf Coast.³¹ In late October, Kaipo participated in two more Dallas recording sessions with Rodgers and the Burkes (again at the Jefferson Hotel’s Banquet Hall), playing steel guitar on two sides:

“Whisper Your Mother’s Name” (Vi 22319)	(recorded 22 October, 1929)
“My Rough and Rowdy Ways” (Vi 22220)	(recorded 22 October, 1929) ³²

Kaipo’s role on these sides is minimal, confined mainly to playing the introductions to both songs, and — on “Rowdy Ways” — some occasional high-register fills.

“Whisper Your Mother’s Name” — about a brother bearing a conciliatory message from his mother to his estranged sister (who left home after their mother rejected her fiancé) — began life as a 1896 parlor-song by Harry Braisted and Stanley Carter. Rodgers’s rendition (augmented by Billy and Weldon Burkes on guitar and ukulele) uses Braisted’s words, but — curiously — not Carter’s melody.³³

Rodgers’s biographer Nolan Porterfield dubs “My Rough and Rowdy Ways” — another Rodgers-McWilliams collaboration — as “autobiographical . . . close to the core of Rodgers’s life and personality.”³⁴ (The song concerns a rounder who — despite his best efforts to embrace domesticity — is inevitably lured back to the call of the trains.)

According to Tony Russell, two recordings also made on 22 October in Dallas by the “Burke [sic] Brothers” — “At Last My Dreams Have Come True” and “Lonesome and Lonely” — also likely feature Kaipo on steel guitar and vocals (and Billy Burkes on guitar/vocals and Weldon on ukulele/vocals).³⁵ Johnny Bond hypothesizes that the sides were recorded while Rodgers — suffering with tuberculosis for at least five years by this point — was resting.³⁶

By early 1930, Kaipo had remarried, to — apparently — **Jessie Edna Jacks** (1907-1987?), from Bonham, Texas, northeast of Fort Worth. (Jessie Edna apparently most-often went by “Edna;” to infer from an uncredited “Descendants of Thomas Jacks” website, her marriage to Kaipo was perhaps her third.)³⁷

Morrison & Fourmy’s Fort Worth (Texas) City Directory 1930 (published in the early part of the year?) shows an unemployed Kaipo and Edna living in central Fort Worth, in a furnished room above the Fort Worth Fish Market.³⁸ By April, Kaipo and Edna were apparently living in downtown Oklahoma City (190 miles north). (Oil had been discovered just southeast of Oklahoma City in late 1928; perhaps that discovery was a factor in drawing then-unemployed Kaipo and his wife north, where — presumably — the city’s “boom town” atmosphere offered hope of opportunities for Kaipo to ply his trade as a “musician” in the “entertain[ment]” industry?)³⁹

Kaipo’s time in Oklahoma City ended up being brief . . . according to bassist Wanna Coffman, Kaipo was playing on WBAP radio back in Fort Worth by the early 1930s.⁴⁰ (Coffman remembers Kaipo teaching him and Derwood Brown [brother of western swing pioneer Milton Brown] “some Hawaiian tunes” [perhaps “Hilo March” and “Song of the Islands,” which Coffman and Brown subsequently played at Fort Worth-area “house parties,” and Milton Brown later performed with his Musical Brownies?]).⁴¹

In c. 1932, a son — Joseph K[aaaaia?] Kaipo, Jr. — was born to Kaipo and Edna.⁴² Kaipo’s nephew, David Alama, Sr. remembers Kaipo having a guitar studio around this time, out of which he taught “Hawaiian tunes.”⁴³

In c. 1934-35, Kaipo, Edna, and young “Joey” moved to Honolulu, to live with Kaipo’s sister Meulan, her husband, and young David Alama, Sr.⁴⁴ Kaipo tried out for the Royal Hawaiian Band and Harry Owens’s orchestra, but the auditions unfortunately came to naught; only Edna was able to find steady work, at a beauty salon in (or near) a hotel in the Waikiki Beach area.⁴⁵

In July 1936, Kaipo and his family left Honolulu⁴⁶ for — apparently — Dallas, where — by that fall — Kaipo was employed by the Federal Music Project.⁴⁷ (The FMP — formed in 1935 as an agency of Franklin Roosevelt’s Works Progress Administration — provided employment assistance for musicians on relief rolls;⁴⁸ from 1936-39, Texas FMP units gave over 4,000 performances state-wide.)⁴⁹

An early-October 1936 *Dallas Morning News* article mentions Kaipo “present[ing] Hawaiian selections” on a WPA “community night program” on the grounds of the Texas Centennial Exposition⁵⁰ (a World's Fair-type exposition held in Dallas's Fair Park [home of the city's Cotton Bowl] from June-November 1936). Kaipo's contemporaneous activities included directing “the Silver String Orchestra” at a May 1938 luncheon meeting of the Dallas Federation of Music Clubs at the Dallas Country Club.⁵¹

Weakened congressional support and accusations of “pro-Communist” leanings of some WPA projects forced Roosevelt to sign a budget bill in 1939 transferring control of WPA projects to individual states, ending the “federal” aspect of the FMP (although some state projects limped on through mid-1943).⁵² Kaipo and his wife vanish from the Dallas city directory after 1939 — perhaps Kaipo's FMP appointment was a victim of WPA restructuring?

The details of the last c. twenty-five years of Kaipo's life are sketchy; in c. 1943, he began working utility on (military transport and/or Merchant Marine?) ships (apparently plying the Pacific?). (Ancestry.com's “Seattle Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1957” database shows Kaipo working utility on an autumn 1951 Yokohama-Seattle voyage of the US Navy Military Sea Transportation Service ship the *Captain Arlo L. Olson*).⁵³

To infer from Kaipo's *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* obituary, he returned to Honolulu sometime later in life, where he worked as a base police officer at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard until retirement.⁵⁴ Towards the very end of his life (sometime after 1959?) Kaipo — evidently divorced from Edna at this point — married **Helen Keakui Kahaleanu** (1895-1990). (Helen was born in Kaheka [Village] on the island of Maui; her marriage to Kaipo was her third).⁵⁵

Kaipo died at the U.S. Army Tripler General Hospital (now the Tripler Army Medical Center) in Honolulu in early-August 1964, and was buried in Honolulu's Punchbowl National Memorial Cemetery, just a few blocks northeast of his last residence (on Captain Cook Avenue, northeast of downtown).⁵⁶

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Jimmie Rodgers's seven recordings with Joe Kaipo were a harbinger of the eleven additional sides he would record with Hawaiian musicians over the next thirty-four months, including seven with Honolulu-born bandleader Victor Lani McIntire, three with Kailua-born steel guitarist Charles Kama Valera, and one with Honolulu-born steel guitarist David S. Kanui (unfortunately never released by Victor).

Next — in Chapter Three, part two . . . Billy Burkes's adoption of the steel guitar, and his use of the instrument to accompany Rodgers on two sides during a February 1932 recording session held once again at Dallas's Jefferson Hotel.

Anthony Lis

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Notes

1. Kaipo's 11 August 1964 *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* obituary spells his middle name as “Kaaaia”, while other sources spell it as “Kaaia.”

2. David K. Alama, Jr., telephone conversation with the author of 12 July 2008.

3. According to information relayed by Kaipo's nephew, David K. Alama, Sr., in a letter to the author of 12 July 2008, Kaipo had two sisters, Meulan Akana Alama (David, Sr.'s adoptive mother) and Katie Akana Lono. According to Meulan's Individual Record in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints' *International Genealogical Index* (IGI) at familysearch.org, Meulan's mother was Kahololio Kaaia; according to Kahololio's Individual Record in the IGI, she married a man named Lum Gun Akana in c.1879 in Kainaliu [on the west coast of the island of Hawaii, southeast of Kailua-Kona].

(According to David Alama, Sr., his [adoptive] father's side of the family was related to Hawaiian steel guitarist/vocalist/bandleader Hal Aloma [Harold Alama] [1908-1980?], who rose to prominence beginning in the early 1940s.)

4. 1930 *United States Federal Census* (Honolulu, HI; April 16, 1930).

(In the entry for “Alama, Men Lan” [sic], the column listing the place of birth of her father states “China.”)

5. IGI Individual Record for Kahololio Kaaia, familysearch.org.

6. David Alama, Sr., letter of 12 July 2008.

7. According to David Alama, Sr., “‘Kaipo’ is a family name on my mother's side” (letter of 12 July 2008). When asked if he had any idea why Joseph used the surname “Kaipo” rather than “Akana,” David replied, “I have no idea why he used that name [Kaipo]. As far as I know [Joseph and Meulan Akana] . . . were full brother and sister.”

One wonders if at some point if young Joseph was — for some reason — taken to Honolulu to be raised. . . . The 1910 *United States Federal Census* (Honolulu, HI; 16 April 1910) shows a fourteen-year-old “Joseph Kaipo” lodging at 12 Kauluwela Lane in Honolulu, in a house with four other lodgers, including a forty-two-year-old widow with no children named Miliam Kaipo; one wonders if young Joseph at some point “adopted” his apparent guardian's surname as his own?

8. 1910 *United States Federal Census* (Honolulu, HI; 16 April 1910).

9. *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii, 1910* (Honolulu: Polk-Husted Directory Company Co., 1910), 604.

10. *1910 United States Federal Census* (Honolulu, HI; 16 April 1910).
11. *1930 United States Federal Census* (Oklahoma City, OK; 5 April 1930).
12. *National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific: Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii* database (“Surnames Jop-Kak”); < interment.net/data/us/hi/oahu/natmem/hawaii_jopkak.htm >; *1930 United States Federal Census* (Oklahoma City, OK; 5 April 1930).
13. *1930 United States Federal Census* (Oklahoma City, OK; 5 April 1930).
14. Nolan Porterfield, *Jimmie Rodgers: The Life and Times of America's Blue Yodeler*, new ed. (Jackson [MS]: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 206 and 208.
15. *Ibid.* 207-08.
16. *Ibid.* 208.
17. *Ibid.* 223.
18. *Morrison & Fourmy's Fort Worth (Texas) City Directory, 1928* (Fort Worth: Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co., 1928), 299; *1930 United States Federal Census* (Fort Worth, TX; 30 April 1930); *Morrison & Fourmy's Fort Worth (Texas) City Directory, 1931* (Fort Worth: Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co., 1931), 238.
19. Porterfield 208-09.
20. Catalogue numbers given for the first Victor release, from Porterfield 399-400.
21. *Ibid.* 209.
22. *Ibid.* 399.
23. *Variety*, Jan. 8, 1930, 120.
(Thanks to Porterfield, 209-10 and 223 for directing me to this source.)
24. T. Malcom Rockwell, *Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records: 1891-1960* (CD-ROM) (Kula [HI]: Mahina Piha Press, 2007) 899.
25. George Kanahale, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979) 166.
26. Tony Russell, *Country Music Records: A Discography, 1921-1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 32 and 801.
27. Porterfield 210.
28. Drew Kent, “Jimmie Rodgers” (liner notes from *Jimmie Rodgers: Recordings 1927-1933, Disc B: Classic Sides: 1928-29*, JSP7704B).
29. Porterfield 210.
30. *Ibid.* 400, 211-12, and 388.
31. *Ibid.* 213.
32. *Ibid.* 401-02.
33. Harry Braisted and Stanley Carter, “Whisper Your Mother’s Name” (New York: Joseph W. Stern and Co., 1896).
34. Porterfield 215.
35. Russell 143-44.
36. Johnny Bond, *The Recordings of Jimmie Rodgers: An Annotated Discography* (JEMF Special Series, No. II) (Los Angeles: The John Edwards Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1978) 14.
37. Both David Alama Sr. and Jr. recalled Kaipo having a non-Hawaiian wife named Edna. *Morrison & Fourmy's Fort Worth (Texas) City Directory 1930* (Fort Worth: Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co., 1930) — likely published in early 1930 — shows a “Jos[e]ph Kaipo” married to a woman named Edna living at 1208 Houston Street in central Fort Worth. The 1930 census — enumerated in April — lists a “Joseph A. [? — should be ‘K’?] Kaipo” working as a “musician” in the “entertainer” [sic] industry, living at 517 1/2-A West California Avenue in central Oklahoma City who is married to a woman named “Jessie E.” The author wonders if Jessie’s “E.” stands for “Edna,” a hypothesis that appears to be supported by an uncredited “Descendants of Thomas Jacks” web page < www.fortunecity.com/roswell/leadbeater/44/jacks2.htm > listing a Jessie *Edna* Jacks born in 1907 who married a “Joe Kaipo.” (The page lists Kaipo as Jessie’s fourth husband; the author believes — if this “Jessie Edna” be “our” Joe Kaipo’s wife — that the web page author is mistaken, and that Kaipo was likely Jessie Edna’s third [or, perhaps second?] husband.)
Using the names of Jessie Edna’s siblings (from the “Descendants of Thomas Jacks” website), the author was able to locate the “Jessie Edna Jacks” mentioned above in the 1910 and 1920 censuses, living with her parents in Bonham, Texas (c. 85 miles north-east of Ft. Worth).
38. *Morrison & Fourmy's Fort Worth (Texas) City Directory 1930*, p. 1050.

39. 1930 United States Federal Census (Oklahoma City, OK; 5 April 1930).

40. Cary Ginell, *Milton Brown and the Founding of Western Swing* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994) 70.

41. Ibid. 70 and 109.

(Coffman recalled that “ol’ Joe Kaipō was a friend of ours . . . he was a real good steel guitarist and taught me and Derwood [Brown] some Hawaiian tunes.”)

42. The *California Passenger and Crew Lists, 1893-1957* database at ancestry.com contains a manifest of inbound passengers for immigration officials from the July 1936 Honolulu-Los Angeles voyage of the S. S. *Malolo* (on which Kaipō sailed); beneath Kaipō’s name, the manifest lists Edna and a four-year-old boy named “Joe” (born c. 1932)

< http://content.ancestry.com/iexec/?htx=View&r=an&dbid=7949&iid=cam1764_69-0912&fn=Edna&ln=Kaipo+Akana&st=r&ssrc=&pid=2563453 >.

(At this point in his life, Kaipō was apparently incorporating his sister Meulan’s surname into his own, referring to himself as “Joseph Kaipō-Akana.”)

43. David Alama, Sr., telephone conversation with the author of 13 July 2008.

David relayed that Kaipō “had a guitar studio in Texas,” a fact also mentioned by David Alama, Jr.; when asked, David, Sr. said he believed that Kaipō operated his studio *before* coming to Honolulu.

44. David Alama, Sr. believed that Kaipō arrived in Honolulu in 1934 or 1935 (telephone conversation of 13 July 2008); David Alama, Jr. related that at the time, Meulan Alama and her husband [and David, Jr.’s father] were then-living in a recently-completed, three-story “gingerbread-style” house just west of Diamond Head (telephone conversation of 12 July 2008).

45. David Alama, Jr., telephone conversation of 12 July 2008.

46. Both David Alama Jr. and Sr. remembered Kaipō leaving Honolulu in 1936; the *California Passenger and Crew Lists, 1893-1957* database shows the Kaipōs sailing from Honolulu to Los Angeles from 4-9 July 1936.

47. “WPA Theater Group to Appear in Program,” *Dallas Morning News*, 2 October 1936.

(The article describes Kaipō participating in a program including “a skit, vocal and instrumental music, and dancing” taking place at 7 p.m. that evening.)

48. Kenneth J. Bindas, *All of This Belongs to the Nation: The WPA’s Federal Music Project and American Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995) 3 and 1.

49. “Federal Music Project,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*

< <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/FF/xmf1.html> >.

50. “WPA Theater Group to Appear in Program.”

51. “Club Federation Will Honor Past Year’s President,” *Dallas Morning News*, 15 May 1938.

52. Bindas 108.

53. *Seattle Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1957* database, ancestry.com

< content.ancestry.com/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=8945&path=1951.11.Captain+Arlo+L+Olson.2&fn=Joseph%20K&ln=Kaipo&st=r&pid=2225714&rc=&zp=50 >; “Captain Arlo L. Olson,” *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*

< www.history.navy.mil/danfs/c3/captain_arlo_l_olson.htm >.

David Alama, Jr. remembered Kaipō being in the “Merchant Marine” and working in the “galleys” of ships sometime after he left Honolulu (phone conversation of 12 July 2008).

54. “Joseph K. Kaipō” (obituary), *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 11 August 1964.

55. Ibid.; Individual Record for “Helen Keakui Haleanu [sic]” in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints’ *Pedigree Resource File* database at familysearch.org.

56. “Joseph K. Kaipō” (obituary).

To ascertain the birth and/or death dates of certain individuals, the author also consulted the *Social Security Death Index*.

So That’s it Anthony What do you think of the layout, did I follow the formatting correctly. PLease let me know of any errors.

Regards Basil