

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Documents

Johnston, Philip. Letter to Maj. Gen. Clayton B. Vogel. "Memorandum Re the Enlistment of Navajo Indians," 1942.

<https://www.archives.gov/files/education/lessons/code-talkers/images/letter-01.jpg>.

This is a memorandum that Philip Johnston sent to Maj. Gen. Vogel suggesting the idea to use the Navajo language to create a code. As a child, Johnston lived on the Navajo reservation with his parents who were missionaries and knew that Navajo was very difficult to learn.

"Navajo Code Talker Dictionary." Edited by the U.S. Navy, *Naval History and Heritage Command*, 16 Apr. 2020,

www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/n/navajo-code-talker-dictionary.html.

This document contains all three alphabets and words used in the code and what they meant.

Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, "Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations,"

<https://americanindian.si.edu/nationtonation/navajo-treaty.html>.

This website has many of the treaties that were created between 1778 and 1868, including the transcripts which made it easier to understand what was being said in the Navajo Treaty of 1868.

Images

Anonymous. 1942. "Chapter 4: Code Talking: Native Words, Native Warriors." Native Words, Native Warriors - National Museum of the American Indian. <https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/code-talkers/code-talking/>.

This image shows both sides of the Navajo Code Talker, the soldier and the Indian at Camp Pendleton, California. This is also the same source for the image of the 382nd Platoon.

Anonymous. 1942. *First 29 Navajo U.S. Marine Corps Code-Talker Recruits being Sworn in at Fort Wingate, NM.* Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/295175>.

This image shows the first 29 Navajo recruits being sworn in at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, before traveling to Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, California.

Anonymous. 1942. *Recruiting party on tour of the Navajo Reservation, October 1942.* Northern Arizona University, Cline Library. <https://archive.library.nau.edu/digital/collection/cpa/id/6341>.

This is an image Philip Johnston recruiting soldiers on the reservation who could become Code Talkers.

Anonymous. 1943. *Marine Indian Uses Walky-Talky.* U.S. Marine Corps. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/100378135>.

This image of a Code Talker using a walky-talky. Because the Japanese were unable to break the code and it was so secure, they could use radios and not worry if the messages were overheard by the enemy.

Anonymous. ca. 1943. *Modern Red Man: Operating a field radio with a Marine artillery regiment somewhere in the South Pacific, is Corporal Lloyd Oliver, U.S.MC, Ship Rock, New Mexico, a fullblooded Navajo Indian. Cpl. Oliver is also a sniper and a highly regarded scout.* U.S. Marine Corps. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/74251393>.

This is an image of Code Talker, Corporal Lloyd Oliver using a field radio. Not only were the Code Talkers able to communicate and warn other platoons of danger, they were also great soldiers.

Anonymous. 1943. *Photograph of Navajo Indian Code Talkers Henry Bake and George Kirk*. U.S. Marine Corps. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/100378136>.

Code Talkers Henry Bake and George Kirk communicating in the Pacific Theater.

Anonymous. 1943. *Photograph of Navajo Indian Code Talkers Peter Nahaidinae Z, Joseph P. Gatewood, and Corporal Lloyd Oliver*. U.S. Marine Corps. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/100378124>.

This is another image of Corporal Lloyd Oliver, Peter Nahaidinae and Joseph Gatewood. The image is an example of what the Navajo Code Talkers were doing in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II.

Anonymous. 1943. *Photograph of Navajo Indian Code Talkers Preston Toledo and Frank Toledo*. U.S. Marine Corps. National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/100378007>.

Part of the series: Photographs of Navajo Indian “Code-Talkers” in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1943-1948. The images were taken in the battlefield on the different Pacific Islands to show what the Code Talkers in action looked like.

Anonymous. 1943. *U.S. Troops Advancing on Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, in 1943*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pacific-War#/media/1/437585/60989>.

U.S. troops advancing on Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, in 1943, during World War II.

Anonymous. 2001. George W. Bush and the Code Talkers Medal of Honor image. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/07/20010726-5.html>.

This is an Image of President George W. Bush giving the Code Talkers the Medal of Honor.

Anonymous. 2010. *“Hank Talman's Home on Navajo Reservation. An Above-Average Home By Current Standards For the Area, This Owner-Built House Has No Running Water, Electricity Or Waste Disposal Service.”* Flickr. National Archives. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/35740357@N03/4268342461/>.

This image is an example of a home without electricity, water or bathroom on the Navajo reservation.

Anonymous. 2015. "War of Secrets: Cryptology in WWII." National Museum of the United States Air Force™. <https://www.nationalmuseum.af.mil/Visit/Museum-Exhibits/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/196193/war-of-secrets-cryptology-in-wwii/>.

This website had images of the SIGABA and Enigma cipher machines.

Choate, John. 1882. *Tom Torlino - Navajo. As he entered the school in 1882. As he appeared three years later.* <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/tom-torlino-1882-and-1885>.

This photo shows how assimilation changed the Navajo. When you look at the image you can tell how determined the boarding schools were to assimilate the Navajo.

Leddy, Brian. 1942. *Pvt. Chester Nez, one of the 29 original Navajo Code Talkers, unsung heroes who were responsible for decoding and relaying clear and accurate information during some of the most heated battles in the Pacific.* U.S. Marine Corps, National Archives, <https://www.marines.mil/Photos/igphoto/2000953413/>.

This is an image of Chester Nez. His memoir, *Code Talker: The First and Only Memoir by One of the Original Navajo Code Talkers of WWII*, was a major source of information and really helped me understand what it was like to be a Code Talker.

NASA/JPL-Caltech. 2021. "Perseverance Hazcam First Drive - NASA's Mars Exploration Program." NASA's Mars Exploration Program. <https://mars.nasa.gov/resources/25699/perseverance-hazcam-first-drive/>.

This website has images from Perseverance on Mars, where several features are being named using Navajo words. NASA has been working with the Navajo Nation and has come up with at least 50 words to use.

Pennington & Rowland, Copyright Claimant. *Relating an Experience.* ca. 1914. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/90708129/>.

I wanted to find an image that looked like people telling stories.

Rosenthal, Joe. 1945. *Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima.* National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/169140336>.

This is probably one of the most famous images of World War II. The work of the Code Talkers helped the U.S. secure Mt. Suribachi on Iwo Jima.

Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, "Multimedia Gallery,"
<https://airandspace.si.edu/multimedia-gallery/wac-decrypting-message-wwiijpg>.

This is an image of a SIGABA machine in use. The SIGABA was a coding machine used during World War II.

Wikimedia Commons, "M-209.Jpg." <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M-209.jpg>.

This is an image of the M-209 cipher machine at the National Cryptologic Museum.

Video

Silversmith, Shondiin. "Navajo Code Talkers: The Last of the Living WWII Heroes Share Their Stories." azcentral.com, AugU.S.t 29, 2019.
<https://www.cnn.com/2020/02/02/U.S./navajo-code-talker-dies-trnd/index.html>.

This was an article that included a series of interviews of the last remaining Code Talkers as of 2019. It gave me their perspective on being a Code Talker and I included an excerpt from an interview with Peter MacDonald discussing how the oral tradition of storytelling and memorization was a big part of the success of the Navajo Code.

Secondary Sources

Books

Durrett, Deanne. *Unsung Heroes of World War II: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers*. 1st ed., University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

This helped me a lot with both general and military info, like what a tonal language is and how Navajo is a tonal language.

McClain, Sally. *Navajo Weapon: The Navajo Code Talkers*. Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2002.

This book was more helpful on the military end and had many examples of messages the Code Talkers were transmitting.

McPherson, Robert S, and Samuel Holiday. 2013. *Under the Eagle: Samuel Holiday, Navajo Code Talker*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

This book was from the perspective of Code Talker Samuel Holiday. It showed some of the spiritual side of being a Navajo soldier.

Nez, Chester, and Judith Schiess. Avila. *Code Talker: The First and Only Memoir by One of the Original Navajo Code Talkers of WWII*. 1st ed., Dutton Caliber, 2018.

This book gave me the perspective of an actual Navajo Code Talker, Chester Nez. He went into a lot of details about what it was like to fight in World War II in the Pacific Theater.

Turner, Jim. *Navajo Code Talker Manual*. Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2019.

This book really broke down how the code worked, and taught me things that I didn't know yet about the code like the three different alphabets.

Maps

Encyclopædia Britannica. *Height of Japanese Expansion in 1942*.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pacific-War#/media/1/437585/54621>.

This map is of the Pacific Theater and what the Japanese took over with their victory at Pearl Harbor.

Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian. *"Returning Home: The Navajo Treaties."* <https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/navajo/returning-home/returning-home.cshtml>.

This is a map that shows the original Navajo Nation after the Navajo Treaty and the Navajo Nation today.

Crow Canyon Archaeological Center. *2014 Peoples of the Mesa Verde Region*.
<http://www.crowcanyon.org/peoplesmesaverde>.

This map shows the four sacred mountains that mark the boundaries of the Navajo Nation.

Websites

Borowski, Susan. n.d. "Code-Breaking Instrumental in Ending World War II | American Association for the Advancement of Science." American Association for the Advancement of Science. Accessed May 13, 2021.
<https://www.aaas.org/code-breaking-instrumental-ending-world-war-ii>.

This website talked about cipher machines and included a little history and how they worked.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "Code talker." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/code-talker>.

This was one of the first things I looked at to learn about the Navajo Code Talkers.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "Enigma." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Enigma-German-code-device>.

This helped me learn about the Enigma code machine so that I could understand a bit more about secure communications in the European Theater of WWII.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "Pacific War." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pacific-War>.

This helped me get more of a general idea about what happened in the Pacific War.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "Pearl Harbor attack." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Pearl-Harbor-attack>.

This taught me more about the attack on Pearl Harbor and gave me more of an idea about what the Japanese did.

Hall, Delaney. "Vox Ex Machina." *99% Invisible*, 1 Jan. 1970, 99percentinvisible.org/episode/vox-ex-machina/.

This helped me understand more about the SIGSALY, which was a voice code machine used during World War II. It was mainly used to transmit messages between very important people like the U.S. President and the Prime Minister of England.

Hargus, S. "Athabaskan language family." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Invalid Date. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Athabaskan-language-family>.

The article helped me understand what an Athabaskan language is and how the Navajo language is one.

Litvack, Emily. 2019. "On Navajo Nation, Taking Clean Water Off the Grid | UArizona Research, Innovation & Impact." UArizona Research, Innovation & Impact. September 26, 2019. <https://research.arizona.edu/stories/navajo-nation-taking-clean-water-grid>.

This article talked about how many people on the Navajo reservation do not have access to water and how the University of Arizona is researching how to fix the problem.

Mucklow, Timothy. "The SIGABA / ECM II Cipher Machine: 'A Beautiful Idea.'" *2015-SIGABA.indd*, 2015, www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/about/cryptologic-heritage/historical-figurespublications/publications/technology/The_SIGABA_ECM_Cipher_Machine_A_Beautiful_Idea3.pdf?ver=2019-08-07-124409-850.

This article gave me more of an understanding on the SIGABA code machine.

“Transcript: Jonathan Nez on ‘Face the Nation,’ April 4, 2021 - CBS News.” 2021.
CBS News - Breaking News, 24/7 Live Streaming News & Top Stories.
<https://www.facebook.com/FaceTheNation>. April 4, 2021.
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-jonathan-nez-on-face-the-nation-april-4-2021/>.

This interview with President Nez talked a lot about how the Navajo Reservation was hit hard by Covid-19. He talked about the lack of running water on the reservation and how the Indian Health Services has been underfunded since it started.

National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives and Records Administration, Jan. 2018, <https://catalog.archives.gov/>.

The National Archives was a really good resource for historic photographs. I found most of the images I used on my website in their database.

“Navajo Code Talkers.” *Interviews, Videos & More* - <https://navajocodetalkers.org/>.

There was no information other than the website and the URL. The website did provide video interviews with several of the remaining Code Talkers.

OkarReview. HOZHO: Navajo Concept of Balance and Beauty, March 14, 2013. <http://balkhandshambhala.blogspot.com/2013/03/hozho.html>.

This website explained “Nozho” which means Balance and Beauty in Navajo culture. I also used an image from this website in the section “Code Talkers After World War II.”

U.S. Census Bureau. “2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates.” Explore Census Data. https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=poverty&g=0100000US_2500000US2430&tid=ACST1Y2019.S1701&hidePreview=true.

I learned how to long up data and find out what the poverty rates are in the Navajo Nation versus the rest of the United States.

Interviews (personal)

Bruff, Derek. *Info on Cryptography and the Navajo Code Talkers*, 16 Jan. 2021.

Derek Bruff, Ph.D. Director, Center for Teaching and Principal Senior Lecturer, Mathematics at Vanderbilt University teaches a course on cryptography. Dr. Bruff helped me understand more about what the U.S. used for encrypting messages before the Navajo code, and how they worked.

Farley, Coby. *Monday Interview*, 10 Jan. 2021.

Coby is the Grandson of Navajo Code Talker Eugene R. Crawford, who was a part of the U.S. Marines 382 platoon, and one of the original 29 Code Talkers. He spoke actual Navajo code messages that I recorded and put in my website and gave me some insight on why the language was so difficult.

Frewin, Lapita. *Info about Navajo Oral Traditions and Culture*, 15 Jan. 2021.

Lapita Frewin is Navajo and a historian and storyteller and is part of the Utah Division of Arts and Museums Art Teaching Roster. She explained to me the importance of the oral traditions and culture of the Navajo and shared several photographs of different types of Navajo artwork.

Kaplan, Aaron. *Your Questions about Navajo*, 17 Nov. 2020.

Aaron Kaplan, Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics at the University of Utah. Mr. Kaplan explained to me what a tonal language is and how the grammar of English and Navajo is really different.

Tohe, Laura. *Three Questions Answered*, 7 May 2021

Laura Tohe is the daughter of Navajo Code Talker Benson Tohe. She's a Navajo Nation Poet Laureate and talked to me about her experience at a boarding school, her father and oral traditions.

Documentaries

History, Channel, director. *In Search of History: Navajo Code Talkers*. Jan. 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Po9vUB0vV74.

This helped me get more of an understanding about the Navajo Code Talkers at the beginning of the project. It explained how the military got the idea, how difficult it was to fight the Japanese, and how the code helped the U.S. start defeating them.

Red-Horse Mohl, Valerie. 2007. *Review of True Whispers: The Story of the Navajo Code Talkers*. DVD. Independent Television Service, Inc. <https://itvs.org/films/true-whispers>.

This documentary told the story of the 400-plus Navajo Code Talkers that fought in World War II and included interviews with many of the living Code Talkers. One thing that really stood out was how all the Code Talkers interviewed said they would do it all over again and the importance of their story to be told.

Spotted Elk, Davina and Jeff Elstad. "Unspoken: America's Native American Boarding Schools." 2016, video file, 56:43. February 16, 2016. <https://www.pbsutah.org/whatson/pbs-utah-productions/unspoken-americas-native-american-boarding-schools>.

This documentary explained how the boarding schools tried to erase the language and culture of the Navajo, how hard it was for the Navajo students to be taken away from their families and how they were not allowed to speak their language. It also showed how terrible some of the schools were to the Native Americans.

Articles

"Chapter 4: Code Talking | Native Words, Native Warriors." n.d. Americanindian.si.edu. <https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/code-talkers/code-talking/>.

I was able to find a graduation image of 382nd Platoon which was the group of the first 29 Navajo Marines who created the code.

Constable, Anne. "The Long Walk: A Tragedy Unobserved 150 Years Later." *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 21, 2014.
https://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/the-long-walk-a-tragedy-unobserved-150-years-later/article_22f697c9-5cb0-5fed-bbfc-696e56dd35fb.html.

This article explained how hard the Long Walk was for the Navajo. It went into detail about how the U.S. military and the men they sent to move the Navajo from their land treated them very badly.

"Fighting for a Voice: Native Americans' Right to Vote in Arizona." 2020. Arizona Historical Society. July 15, 2020.
<https://arizonahistoricalsociety.org/2020/07/15/fighting-for-a-voice-native-americans-right-to-vote-in-arizona/>.

This article talked about the right to vote and had an image of Native Americans voting in 1955.

Gohd, Chelsea. "NASA Honors Navajo Language on Mars with Perseverance Rover Rock Names." *Space.com*, March 15, 2021.
<https://www.space.com/mars-navajo-language-perseverance-rover>.

This article talked about how NASA is naming different elements on Mars using the Navajo Language.

Michell, Ernie, Nlaka'pamux elder. "The Importance of Long Hair in Indigenous Culture." *Gold Rush Trail*, January 28, 2021.
<https://goldrU.S.htrail.ca/stories/the-importance-of-long-hair-in-Indigenous-culture/>.

A short article that explained what long hair means to indigenous peoples.

Navajo Code Talkers World War II Fact Sheet Edited by the U.S. Navy, *Naval History and Heritage Command*, 16 Apr. 2020,
<https://www.history.navy.mil/content/history/nhhc/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/n/code-talkers.html>

This webpage told me more about how fast the Code Talkers could encrypt and decrypt a message.

Tapahonso, Luci. "For More Than 100 Years, the U.S. Forced Navajo Students Into Western Schools. The Damage Is Still Felt Today." *Smithsonian Magazine*, July/Aug. 2016. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/decades-U.S.-government-forcibly-placed-native-students-western-schools-effects-felt-today-180959502/>.

This article told stories of how terrible the boarding schools were for the Navajo.

Miscellaneous

Frewin, Lapita. 2021. *Navajo Storyteller Doll Pottery*.

This depicts a mom or grandma telling stories passed down for centuries. Storytelling happens in the winter when most of the animals in the stories are hibernating.

Downen, Oliver. 2020. *Navajo Code Talker Highway*.

The photograph of the Navajo Code Talker Highway sign was taken over the Thanksgiving holiday. My family and I drove through the northwestern corner of the Navajo Nation.

Dudva. 2019. *World War 2 Sherman American medium tank in front of the Clervaux Castle, Luxemburg*.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:World_War_2_Sherman_American_medium_tank_in_front_of_the_Clervaux_Castle,_Luxemburg.jpg

World War II Sherman American medium tank in front of the Clervaux Castle, Luxemburg.

Utahcamera. 2005. *Desert Tortoise*.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Desert_tortoise.jpg.

Desert Tortoise - Taken near Saint George, UT. I imagine this is the kind of tortoise the Navajo marines were thinking of when they decided to call tanks tortoises.

Woo, John, director. *Windtalkers*, 14 June 2002,
www.imdb.com/title/tt0245562/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1.

Although this movie is fiction, it was based on the story of the Navajo Code Talkers and was one of the first things I watched to get an idea of what the Code Talkers did during World War II. After doing a lot of research for this project I would say the movie had a lot of truth when it came to the traditions of the Navajo soldiers and what they did during the different battles while island hopping.