"They Had a Chance to Talk to One Another . . .": The Role of Incidence in Native American Code Talking

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Abstract. While formally recruited groups of Native American code talkers used in World War II, such as the Navajo, Comanche, and later the Meskwaki and Hopi, are well known, this article focuses on the incidental use of Native Americans in U.S. Armed Forces communications in both world wars. This essay documents several instances in which the presence of Native American soldiers within the same or nearby units who spoke a common native language was discovered by accident, either by their commanding officers or by the members themselves, and their subsequent use in sending military communications in their respective tribal languages. These data add to the breadth of our knowledge of Native American code talking and the essay explores the context for the development of such opportunities, which, although they involved fewer men and perhaps less frequency of use, involved more tribes than formally developed code-talking programs.

Sometimes great things come about by accident rather than design. The origin of Native American code talking is one such example. In earlier works (Meadows 2002, 2007), I distinguished two types of Native American code talking used by the U.S. Armed Forces in World War I and II. Type 1 was the use of native languages in which special bodies of native vocabulary were developed for modern military items; Type 2 was the use of native languages without any specially devised vocabularies. In this essay I will discuss an additional level of distinction in these forms: conscious versus unconscious, or incidental, uses of Native American code talking. I will distinguish between groups that were consciously recruited to develop standardized and formally coded, or Type 1, systems for military communications and those that were discovered by accident and then used in Type 2 systems. The use of such incidental code talking has long been assumed, but never seriously examined by scholars.

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Members of six different tribes provided military communication in their native languages in World War I, of which the Choctaw are known to have developed some coded terminology. In World War II, members of seventeen different groups, some of which were the same tribes involved in World War I, provided military communications in their native languages. Six of these seventeen groups served as Type 1 code talkers; the remainder served as Type 2 code talkers, and several of them contributed through incidental, rather than planned, circumstances.

While Willard Walker (1980), an anthropologist from Wesleyan University, first recognized the role of incidental code talking and provided a brief example of this principle, additional research demonstrates three important facets of this subject: (1) Incidental discovery and subsequent use of Native Americans for code talking was involved in the initial use of Native Americans as code talkers. (2) Additional cases of incidental use of code talking have been documented. (3) Cases involving the incidental discovery and later use of code talking are more common than groups that were consciously recruited and formally trained to be code talkers. As will be demonstrated, this scenario was associated with groups who performed Type 2 Native American code talking, but could, and in some cases did, lead to the development of coded vocabulary.

World War I

Native American code talking, which began with Choctaw in the Thirty-sixth Infantry Division in World War I, was initially an accidental discovery. According to Solomon Louis, the last surviving World War I Choctaw code talker, the idea to use Indians for transmitting communications was created by Captain Lawrence, an officer in one of the American companies. While walking through the company area one day, Lawrence happened to overhear Louis and Mitchell Bobb conversing in their native Choctaw language. Lawrence quickly realized the immediate possibilities for a communications advantage. After listening to them for a few minutes, Lawrence called Louis aside and asked how many other Choctaw speakers were in his battalion. Upon discovering that there were several others, he arranged a test over the field telephones with another officer. Calling Louis and Bobb together, Lawrence told them, "Look I'm going to give you a message to call in to headquarters. I want you to give them a message in your language. There will be somebody there who can understand it." The message was given to Bobb, who used the field telephone to deliver the first Choctaw code message to fellow Choctaw Ben Carterby, who then translated it back into English for the battalion commander. On field telephones at separate

Table 1. Identification of Native American and Canadian code talkers by tribe, type of code talking, and service unit (as of Sept. 2008)

Tribe	Type of Code Talking	Unit
	World War I	
Cherokee	2	36th Div., ? 142nd Inf. Reg.
Cheyenne	2	Presently unknown.
Choctaw (19)*	1	Co. E, 142nd Inf. Reg., 143rd Inf. Reg., 36th Div.
Comanche	2	Presently Unknown
Osage	2	Probably 36th Div.
Sioux (Yankton)	2	Presently Unknown
	World War II	
Canadian Cree (6+)**	2	American 8th Air Force, 9th Bomber Command, London.
Cherokee	2	Normandy, Europe.
Chippewa and Oneida (17)	2	32nd Inf. Div. (4 in 57th Fld. Art. Brig.) (4 in Div. Comm.) (9 in Prov. Antitank Batt.)
Choctaw (4+)	2	Co. K, 180th Inf. Reg., 45th Inf. Div.
Comanche (17)	1	4th Sig. Co., 4th Inf. Div.
Hopi (8)	1	U.S. Army 323 Inf. Reg., 81st Inf. Div.
Kiowa (3)	2	689th Fld. Art. Batt., XX Corps
Menominee	2	Presently Unknown
Meskwaki (Sac and Fox) (8)	1	18th Iowa Inf.; H. Co., 168th Inf. Reg., 34th Div.
Muskogee/Creek-Seminole (2)	2	195th Fld. Art. Batt.
Muskogee/Creek-Seminole (2)	2	Aleutian Campaign
Navajo (420)	1	U.S. Marine Corps, 3rd, 4th, 5th Divs.
Pawnee	2	1st Cav. Div. 112th Reg. Com. Team, Recon Troop; 33rd Div., Co. C
Sioux (Lakota) (7)	2	302nd Recon. Team, 1st Cav. Div., Pacific Theater.
Sioux (Lakota/Dakota) (3+)	2	32nd Fld. Art. HQ. Batt., 18th Reg. Combat Team, 18th Inf. Div., North Africa, Sicily, Normandy.
Sioux (Lakota) (6+)	2	3rd Fld Art. Batt., 2nd Cav. Div., Ardennes.
Sioux (Yanktonai) (7+)	2	Co. B, 163rd Inf. Reg., 41st Inf. Div., New Guinea, Luzon, Philippines.

** Numbers in parentheses after tribal names indicate the number of individuals currently identified as having served as code talkers.*

*** (+) means that other individuals from this tribe may have served as code talkers.*

communication posts, the Choctaws easily and accurately transmitted the messages. Within a matter of hours, a Choctaw had been assigned to each of eight field company headquarters (*Bishinik* 1986; Meadows 2002: 14–28).[1]

Throughout October 1918, their service led to the development of several new "coded" words created in the field to convey information about military subjects that the Choctaw lacked vocabulary for in their own language. As word of their success spread, other officers began using Indians in similar fashion, inferably on a "use them if you have them" basis. Subsequently, the use of the Choctaws and other Indians for communication transmissions resulted in immediate gains in the Meuse-Argonne Campaign that contributed to the end of World War I (*Bishinik* 1986; Meadows 2002: 14–28). The use of other Indians in World War I (Meadows 2002: 27–31), some of whom were also in the Thirty-sixth Infantry Division from Oklahoma, all appear to have been the result of the incidental discovery and use of the Choctaw. Although the Choctaw eventually developed some coded vocabulary in World War I and became a Type 1 unit, they and all other groups in World War I were discovered incidentally.

World War II

While several Native American groups provided code talking in World War II, only the Comanche, Meskwaki, Chippewa-Oneida, Hopi, and Navajo were intentionally recruited to develop Type 1 code-talking programs (Meadows 2002, 2007).[2] In a previous work (Meadows 2002: 35–67), I demonstrated that the potential for using Native American servicemen as code talkers was vastly underutilized during World War II due to the widespread skepticism of army and some navy personnel. While some members of the navy in the Pacific embraced Indian code talking, those in the Atlantic were less enthused. Both theaters presented significantly different conditions and situations, particularly concerning intelligence gathering and communications operations. Within the Department of the Navy, the Marine Corps developed the largest and most extensive code-talking program with the Navajo.[3] Documentation of at least five other instances (two Muskogee, two Lakota-Dakota, and one Pawnee) of incidental code talking in World War II exist and the circumstances involving members of the Choctaw, Kiowa, other Lakota and Dakota, and Canadian Cree individuals suggest a similar basis.

Muskogee (Creek-Seminole)

Two incidental discoveries of the Muskogee (Creek and Seminole) language are known. Edmund Harjo, a Seminole from Oklahoma, was a clerk-typist

in the 195th Field Artillery Battalion in the European theater of World War II in France and Germany. On a Sunday afternoon a few days after D-Day, Harjo was walking through an apple orchard in France when he heard someone singing an Indian Christian church hymn under a tree. He immediately recognized the language as Creek, a mutually intelligible dialect of the Muskogean language, which resulted in his meeting Thomas MacIntosh, a Creek Indian from near Tulsa, Oklahoma. After a captain heard them conversing, he later put them to work on opposite ends of a radio (Moseley 1988). Their chance meeting led to their being used as code talkers.

As Mr. Harjo described,

> Well, sometimes they put us in the reconnaissance detail . . . [as] observers along with the infantry. And sometimes I had to go and communicate on a radio, and one interesting thing that happened one time [was] that I heard this young man singing a church song under the apple orchard in France. That was about three or four days after D-Day. It was Sunday afternoon. I took a stroll and I heard that song and I wondered where it was coming from . . . I inquired around and see who is singing it you know, and they told me well that chief over there sitting under the tree is singing, he was singing a while ago. "Is that what you mean?" they said. "I guess so, I heard an Indian song." "Well that's him, he just got through singing."
>
> He's Creek and I'm Seminole but we can communicate. And I asked him in my language, "Were you the one that was singing?" And he said, "Yes, I was." And he looked surprised, and he said, "Did you hear me?" And I said, "Yes I did hear you, very clear. I thought I was imagining it." Of course I didn't say that in English. "No, I was trying to sing because today it happens to be my wedding anniversary, and that is how my people were singing during that time. And about a month ago, I lost my wife and that was sad you know. And here I am alone." And I said, "No, you're not alone. I'm with you now, so we both can communicate." And he felt better then, and by that time somebody overheard our conversation. There was a captain in this area and the captain walked up . . . and we're just standing there at attention so stiff you know, kind of scared-like you know. And he says, "You two, are you two communicating?" And we said, "Yes." He said, "What tribe are you?" I said, "I'm Seminole," and he asked him, "What tribe are you?" and he says, "I'm Creek." And he says, "You mean you two understand each other?" And I said, "Yes, it's the same language." He said, "That's interesting," and he said, "What outfit do you belong to," and I told him where I was, you know. And he said, "Well I'll keep in touch." That's all he said you know.

> Surely that was just it, you know, I had forgotten about it all of course after he left, you know. And we visited. This man [was] Thomas MacIntosh, from Broken Arrow, south of Tulsa, and we visited for a long time and of course I went back to my area. But about three or four days later, I had a telephone call from the company commander, battery commander, [who] told me that they want you at this certain area, they said you can talk the language. "What do you mean by that," they said. "Well there's another man that can understand the language and that's the reason why we can communicate. Well he heard us and he asked me about it a few days ago, if we can communicate." He says, "Well we need that right now." So he was really happy about it and so he went with me. So that's how we got to communicate on a regular [basis]—we had all kinds of information that the Germans couldn't understand. That's one of the interesting things that we helped out. (Harjo 1983)

Mr. Harjo described some of the types of messages that he conveyed to Thomas MacIntosh in their native language:

> For instance if they say they're going to attack at 300 hours—I mean zero three hundred, and they want the infantry to move back and the artillery is going to use a certain number, a certain serial number of the projectile. It could be high explosive or whatever, [or] white phosphorous, see all of that has been said to me in English [while] . . . the radio is off. OK, I've got all that written out and then I translate that into Creek. And I communicate back to Tom MacIntosh and then he turns around and tells the officer there that, what they're going to do. And here we are, and in between the German will be right there somewhere listening to our conversation, but he doesn't know what we're talking about. That's the kind of information that we gave. (Harjo 1983)

Harjo and MacIntosh transmitted messages in Muskogean (Creek and Seminole) between their respective units throughout the remainder of the war. Although it is possible that they developed some special terminology, their communications appear to have been Type 2 code talking. According to Mr. Harjo, the military tried (to what extent is unknown) to find other Indians in the surrounding units who spoke their language but were unable to do so. When the European theater of the war ended, Harjo and MacIntosh were assigned to study Japanese in preparation for being assigned to the Pacific theater of operations. They were studying at a language school in Paris when the Japanese surrendered in August 1945 (Harjo 1983).

Walker (1980) reports interviewing Leslie Richards, a Muskogee Creek from near Checotah, Oklahoma, who stated that he and a fellow Muskogee-

speaking Seminole from Florida had used their native language in the army during the Aleutian campaign of World War II. In playing what appears to have been a practical joke on the men, an officer discovered they both spoke a common language. One day in the mess hall, an officer came through and said to Richards, "Hey, Indian!" He then asked him if he could speak "Indian." Receiving an affirmative answer, the officer instructed Richards to tell another man at the end of the table to pick up a slice of bread in "Indian language." Richards did, and to their mutual surprise a man did as instructed. It turned out that this soldier had been raised in a Muskogee-speaking community in Florida, the son of a Muskogee-speaking mother and a white father. Discovering that both could indeed talk "Indian," the officer had them both assigned to special duty as "dispatchers." For the remainder of the Aleutian campaign, the two men communicated with each other over shortwave radio (Walker 1980: 145).

There are other instances where the fact that Indians in the same unit already knew one another encouraged their use in communications. Three Kiowa (John Tsatoke, James Paddlety, and Leonard Cozad Sr.) in the 689th Field Artillery Battalion, XX Corps, under Generals Walker and Patton in the Third Army, are reported to have used their native language for communication transmissions. As Tsatoke, an artillery gunner (cannoneer) in Battery A, explained, "We didn't have a special unit set up for this. . . . We would talk Kiowa over the radio at various times when needed and sometimes among ourselves" (Tsatoke 1987). Although the circumstances leading to this scenario and the extent of their use of spoken Kiowa are unknown, there is no indication of the use of any formal training or encoding. Thus it appears that this case was also incidental, whether instigated by the Kiowa themselves or through incidental discovery by higher-ranking officers.

Company K of the 180th Infantry Regiment of the 45th Infantry Division contained an all-Choctaw platoon. Members such as Staff Sergeant Schlicht Billy, Corporal Andrew Perry, Sergeant Davis Pickens, and Pfc. Forrester Baker conversed in Choctaw on Model 536 radios for short-range communication (Wigginton 1992; Moseley 1988; *Bishinik* 1987).[4] Small numbers of members of other tribes probably facilitated the recognition and use of other code talkers, such as the small groups of Lakota and Dakota (Meadows 2002: 70; 2007). In another instance, individuals from the large number of enlisted Canadian Cree were screened in England and recruited to perform Type 2 code talking for the American 8th Air Force, 9th Bomber Command in London.[5]

More important, however, these cases raise the relationship between languages, use, and incidental association. Members of many different nationalities and languages were involved in both world wars as military,

partisan, or resistance efforts; civilians; or enslaved populations. The multiethnic and fluid nature of both wars frequently brought speakers of different languages together in a myriad of combinations and circumstances. Soldiers who spoke more than one language were often called upon to communicate with captured enemy soldiers, local civilians, and members of allied resistance movements. Usually these instances were incidental and unpredictable. The ability to have rapid access to more than one language was a valuable communications and tactical advantage. While members on both sides of the European theater of World War II had knowledge of and access to other European languages, American Indian languages were accessible only to the Allied side, specifically through American and Canadian forces.

Although not all Indian servicemen in World War II were fluent in their native language, for many, their first or native language was their tribal language (Meadows 2002). While in basic training at Camp Roberts, Henry C. Stoneroad Sr., a Pawnee, was instructed that he could not declare English as a foreign language. "That's what I was telling everybody and of course we always laugh about [it]. When I was in Camp Roberts they called me in and they were like, 'How come you say that your foreign language is English?' When he told them that he only spoke Pawnee before entering the local Indian school, they instructed him to change the form he had filled out. "And they said, 'No, change it because you're an American soldier . . .' So that's why I had to change that. I didn't have any foreign language" (Stoneroad 2006b).

As described above, many Native Americans had similar experiences upon meeting fellow tribesmen who shared their language in their own or nearby units. Just as with two individuals of the same culture meeting on vacation or abroad today, it was normal for them to speak in their native language with one another. This trend was common among native servicemen, whether code talkers or not.

Many Indian veterans have told me of meeting fellow tribesmen abroad while in military service, whereupon, if both were fluent speakers, they spoke in their native language rather than English. Examples ranged from training to combat, visits to other units on the line, ships returning to the United States, and in the postwar era. Many Indians were also in the communications sector of the armed forces in World War II. Indian soldiers often talked on the radio to one another in their native language, even just to visit. That military officers utilized these resources upon discovering them is not surprising, and reflects both the tactical initiative of field commanders and a kind of "Use them if you have them" philosophy that again emerged during World War II and thus represented a potential communications advantage.

Pawnee

The following case demonstrates a recently documented example of incidental code talking among the Pawnee in World War II. This event occurred on Luzon, in the Philippines, in June or July 1945. While relieving troops near Tarloc, in a valley leading to Cabanatuan, Platoon Sergeant Henry C. Stoneroad Sr. (1st Cavalry Division, 112th Regimental Combat Team, Reconnaissance Troop) encountered Sergeant Enoch Jim (Company C, 33rd Division) as Jim's unit was leaving the front. They greeted one another in Pawnee and visited for a few minutes. As Stoneroad described:

> Yeah, we met. It was just a chance meet. In other words he was coming out, like I say he was coming out and my—our group was going in. That's when I met him. And we saw each other and we talked, you know, "hello," and that sort of stuff in Indian together. And we talked for a little bit there and then he had to go. They were going back and we more or less likely were relieving them and we were going up. (Stoneroad 2006b)

When their orders for the following day were issued, Stoneroad realized that his squad would be entering the same area that Jim's unit had just left. Later that evening Stoneroad had his radio operator call Jim's unit to see what information they could provide on the area they had just withdrawn from. Stoneroad's operator reported that he had a "sergeant chief" on the line. When Stoneroad took the radio, he recognized Jim's voice and the two began talking in Pawnee with one another. Jim was able to warn Stoneroad of a unit of around 150 Japanese. Stoneroad described the conversation:

> That's where, that evening is when I had an opportunity, a chance opportunity to talk to him on the radio. . . . He was able to warn me about the number of Japanese troops that were in that area. . . . that night we was more or less you might say waiting or getting ready to move out early [the next] morning. And that night I asked my radio operator, I said, "That bunch that just came out, why don't we try to get a hold of them and see if we can't get some information on [the area]" you know. That's the first thing I thought about, how many troops was up there or where were they concentrated and that sort of stuff. We had sketches of a lot of that stuff but a lot of that stuff in the past had proven, you know, it wasn't like they said. . . . And the operator said, "Well let me let you talk to Sergeant Chief, he's here." And that's when they said well they've got the sergeant there, Sergeant Chief or something like that. Well when I got the thing [phone] that was the first thing I told him in Indian—Pawnee—was our way of saying 'Is that you?' And when he said, "Yeah," . . . you know he told me in Indian,

> [in] our language, that it was him. Then I ask him about the troops that were up there and if he knew. And he said, "Yeah I know," and then he told me in Indian, he said, "Don't say Japanese in our Indian language you know like you say slant eye." [That's] just how we said about the Japanese, say Germans so if anybody is listening that might decipher anything in our language they would think we were talking about Germans or something like that. So that's the way we talked. Then I asked him how many were in there? I'd ask him in Indian if it were a lot of them or was it not too many. And he said it was a lot. And then I asked him in Indian, "How many?" And then he told me it was around about, at that area, there was about 100–150. And we were going to walk right into them if we hadn't of gotten that information. So that's where we made a roundabout turn and outflanked them all the way. But if it hadn't been for me talking to him maybe a lot of us wouldn't have made it. (Stoneroad 2006b)

> And that's the way we were going. In other words we'd a walked right into it or went right into it if we didn't go on around. So that's my story of when I talked to him. . . . But like I say, he saved a lot, he saved a lot of my men by doing that. And that's my part of talking Pawnee. Now we wasn't trained for it. . . . But us, mine was just chance talk. But we did talk Pawnee . . . and I know other tribes did the same thing; they didn't have companies or anything like that but they had a chance to talk to one another. (Stoneroad 2006a)

This information allowed the three American squads to avoid a potential ambush and to outflank the Japanese unit. As Stoneroad explained:

> I think there were about three different squads and we were the ones that were going to go right square into where the enemy was the thickest. If we hadn't of found out then we would have walked right into them. But we managed. We skirted around to the left and outflanked them from the left. The other two squads went around the same way. . . . We bypassed them and more or less got them from the rear you might say. (Stoneroad 2006b)

While Stoneroad attributes this one instance of using Pawnee in combat to coincidence, it demonstrates how other similar situations likely occurred and that it was natural for individuals, upon establishing contact with a fellow tribesmen on the radio, to switch to their native language whether visiting socially or conveying important information. As Stoneroad remarked, "That's the only one, the only time that I used it for war purpose. Now I had met others in different places and . . . you know we talked Indian. We've

always talked Indian if we meet somebody that will talk with us, you know" (Stoneroad 2006b).

Sioux (Yanktonai Dakota)

A group of Dakota-speaking Yanktonai from the Montana National Guard served in Company B, 163rd Infantry Regiment, 41st Infantry Division, in the New Guinea, Luzon, and Southern Philippine campaigns in the Pacific theater of World War II (Stanton 1984: 126–28). Information from Quinton Red Boy indicated that an officer overheard him and Herman Red Elk talking in their native language and decided the use of their language might provide a military advantage and save lives. Terms such as "dragonfly," "fish," and "turtle" were used for slow-moving bombers, submarines, and tanks respectively. Other tribal members have reported that James Turning Bear, Joe Red Door, Duncan Dupree (KIA), Jerald Red Elk, and Lloyd Half Red worked in another radio net. Available information indicates that both teams were informally constructed in the field and were not trained prior to combat as code talkers.[6]

Sioux (Dakota and Lakota)

In the Thirty-second Field Artillery, which supported the Nineteenth Regimental Combat Team in North Africa, Sicily, and Normandy, three Dakota and Lakota used their native dialects for Type 2 code talking. These were Garfield T. Brown of Allen, South Dakota; Anthony Omaha Boy of St. Francis, South Dakota; and John C. Smith of White Earth, Minnesota. One of the men serving in the headquarters battery had the idea that he could talk to his friend in the forward observer post in their tribal language faster than the standard encoding and decoding used to send messages (Marshall 1994).

The use of other Lakota and Dakota also appear to have been incidental in origin. In the Pacific theater of World War II, Lakota and Dakota speakers served as radio communications operators in the 302nd Reconnaissance Team of the 1st Cavalry Division from 1942 to 1945. Activated in Australia in 1943, the 302nd Reconnaissance Team was a separate troop in the 1st Cavalry Division that was composed of personnel from an inactivated reconnaissance squadron. This reorganization indicates that the individuals were not originally recruited as code talkers, but were only later assembled for the task. Working in two-man reconnaissance teams, these men used their Lakota and Dakota dialects to relay U.S. communications and to report enemy troop strengths, locations, and armaments.[7] As Don Walton, who was put in command of the 302nd in January 1944 in New Guinea, described it:

Figure 1. Lakota Code Talkers, 302nd Recon. Team, 1st Cavalry Division. Philippine Islands, 1945. Left to right: 1) Eddie EagleBoy, 2) John BearKing, 3) Walter John, 4) Baptiste Pumpkinseed, 5) Phillip La Blanc, 6) Edmund St. John. Guy Rondell not pictured.

> At that time I was made aware of the group of Indians who were to be used as messengers on the radios so we would not have to encode anything. Their names were [John] BearKing, [Eddie] EagleBoy, [Walter] John, [Phillip] La Blanc, [Baptiste] Pumpkinseed, [Guy] Rondell, and [Edmund] St. John. We had them spend a great deal of their time talking to each other in order to be able to help us. . . . In February, the First Cavalry Division was sent to the Admiralty Islands and our first taste of combat. Shortly after we arrived, our troop was given the mission of setting up a coast-watching patrol at the north end of Marmote Island. We sent one of the Indians along to operate the radio. . . . I am very proud of the fact that the 302nd Rcn had one of the finest records of any unit in the division, and the Indians were as much a part of our troop as anyone else.[8]

Conclusion

Native American code talking ranged from large formally trained units (Navajo) and smaller formally trained units (Comanche, Meskwaki, Hopi,

Chippewa-Oneida) to incidental small groups (Choctaw, Lakota-Dakota), two-man teams (Yanktonai Dakota, Seminole-Creek), and even one-time exchanges (Pawnee). Although the contributions of each varied significantly, in each instance, Native American languages served as a means of communication unknown to the enemy, and thus a voice-based code. While the Muskogee and Pawnee examples are the most detailed recorded accounts of the incidental discovery and use of Native American servicemen using their languages for military communication, they demonstrate both the unique nature of such opportunities and how they could potentially occur at any time. With the long-delayed interest in this body of research, the advanced age of World War II veterans, and, at present, only three known surviving non-Navajo code talkers (Lakota, Hopi, Pawnee), we may never know how widespread or frequent incidental uses of Type 2 Native American code talking were or how many situations existed in which code words were eventually developed, especially in cases in which messages were sent in their languages over a period of time. Remaining Indian veterans and the statistically greater number of their fellow non-Indian veterans could shed future additional information on the subject.

Considering the fact that many native veterans of World War II attended assimilation-oriented boarding or other government-run schools that discouraged or actively prohibited the use of native languages, the contributions of Native American code talkers, from the largest Type 1 forms (Navajo, Comanche) to the smallest Type 2 forms (such as the Pawnee), all serve as examples of an accommodationist irony, while simultaneously reflecting native patriotism and willingness when called upon to serve in both world wars. These examples demonstrate an additional aspect of the ethnography of Native American code talkers and show that the periodic use of such impromptu battlefield communications helped to minimize the danger of successful enemy interception and thus contributed to the United States' effort in both world wars.

Notes

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1 For primary sources on the Choctaw code talkers, see *Fort Worth Star Telegram* (1919), Chastaine (1920), Levine (1921), *Daily Oklahoman* (1917), *New York Sun* (1938), and Bloor (1919). Numerous other articles are found in the Choctaw tribal

newspaper, *Bishinik*. For information on Sioux code talkers in World War I, see *American Indian Magazine* (1919).

2 For sources on the recruitment of natives for code talking in World War II, see *New York Times* (1940, 1941a), Parker (c. 1941), *The Masterkey* (1941), "Red Men Enjoy White Man's Play War" (unknown 1942a), and "4th Signal Boys Cop Major Bouts on Boxing Card" (unknown 1942b) for the Comanche; *Marshalltown Times Republican* (1941a, 1941b), *New York Times* (1941b), *Indians at Work* (1941: 113), and Bennett (2003) for the Meskwaki; and Shaffer (2001) for the Hopi.

3 For information on the numbers of service-age Native American men and fluent bilingual speakers during World War II, see United States Department of Commerce (1937), United States Department of the Interior (1939, 1940, 1945), Chafe (1962, 1965), and Meadows (2002: 35–67).

4 For the best accounts of the Choctaws using their language to transmit communications in World War II, see *Bishinik* (1987) and Beaty (1989).

5 For information on Canadian Cree code talkers, see Stonehouse (2002).

6 Andrea Page, personal communication to William C. Meadows, 8 August 2005. Page has been collecting data on the Lakota and Yanktonai code talkers over the last few years and interviewed Shirley Quinton Red Boy in 2005.

7 For information on these Lakota and Dakota code talkers, see Little Eagle (1994).

8 Don Walton, letter to Andrea Page, 7 October 1997. Copy courtesy of Andrea Page.

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