

# Annotated Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### Online Interviews

Admin. *Surviving USS Nautilus Crew Member Recalls Battle of Midway.*

Military & Aerospace History,

[defaeroreport.com/2017/06/06/last-living-uss-nautilus-crew-member-recalls-battle-midway/](http://defaeroreport.com/2017/06/06/last-living-uss-nautilus-crew-member-recalls-battle-midway/).

In this interview with Defense & Aerospace Report Editor Vago Muradian on June 5, 2017, former US Navy Chief Gunner's Mate Henry "Hank" Kudzik, a surviving crew member from the USS Nautilus (SS-168), shared his experience. Kudzik was assigned to an old Narwhal-class submarine called Nautilus, which was built before the start of the war. Although there were some serious design flaws that made Nautilus slow to dive, hard to maneuver, and easy to detect, she played a significant role in the battle of Midway. He stated that during the Battle of Midway, his submarine sank two warships. He stated that the USS Nautilus somewhat led the Naval planes to the Japanese fleet, as the destroyer that unsuccessfully attempted to hunt it down served as the guide that the Enterprise air group commander, Wade McClusky, used to find the Kido Butai.

*Destination Midway: A Yorktown Veteran Remembers.* Naval Historical Foundation. 22 March, 2017, [www.navyhistory.org/destination-midway-a-yorktown-veteran-remembers/](http://www.navyhistory.org/destination-midway-a-yorktown-veteran-remembers/).

This interview was conducted by Dr. David Winkler in March 2017 at the home of Captain John W. Crawford Jr. Assigned as an officer of the deck for watches aboard Yorktown, he remembered the battle that took place over the Yorktown at Midway. As being off duty on June 4th, he remembered going down below the hanger deck and hearing and seeing the planes flying and passing one another so quickly that they ended up heavily damaging the structure of Yorktown. Abandoning the sinking Yorktown, he was pulled aboard the U.S.S. Russell.

Ferrier, Commander Harry H. Torpedo Eight: *The Other Chapter.* *Naval History Magazine.* Volume 22, Number 3. U.S. Navy Institute. June 2008, [www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2008/june/torpedo-eight-other-chapter](http://www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2008/june/torpedo-eight-other-chapter).

In this magazine, Commander Harry H. Ferrier, who served as a radioman at the Battle of Midway, retold events at the Battle of Midway. He recalled his memory of the first day of battle on June 4, 1942. As an unidentified aircraft had been sighted about 100 miles away by a patrol plane, his team started up plane's engine and joined the other planes of his group taxiing out to the take-off spot. In the battle, there were six TBFs from the Midway detachment and 15 TBDs from the *Hornet* that Torpedo Eight launched against the Japanese, but his was the only plane to survive the battle. He stated, "we did not know until much later just how terrible, yet triumphant, the sacrifices had been that day."

Norberg, Bill. *Navy Veteran Bill Norberg on the Battle of Midway*. Battle of Midway 75th Anniversary Recollections. C-Span. 27 October, 2017. Online Interview, [www.c-span.org/video/?c4801417/navy-veteran-bill-norberg-battle-midway](http://www.c-span.org/video/?c4801417/navy-veteran-bill-norberg-battle-midway).

This video was recorded on October 27, 2017. It was a collection of interviews with Midway veterans at the 75th Anniversary Recollection of the Battle of Midway. In this video clip, Navy veteran Bill Norberg discussed his experience as captain's yeoman aboard the U.S.S. Enterprise during the Battle of Midway. He recalled that 14 torpedo bombers took off from Enterprise but only 4 returned.

Walsh, George. *World War II Veteran George Walsh on the Importance of the Battle of Midway*. Battle of Midway 75th Anniversary Recollections. C-Span. 27 October, 2017, [www.c-span.org/video/?c4801420/world-war-ii-veteran-george-walsh-importance-battle-midway](http://www.c-span.org/video/?c4801420/world-war-ii-veteran-george-walsh-importance-battle-midway).

This video was recorded on October 27, 2017. It was a collection of interviews with Midway veterans at the 75th Anniversary Recollection of the Battle of Midway. In this video clip, World War II veteran Naval pilot of dive bomber George Walsh discussed the importance of the American victory at the Battle of Midway. He stated the significance of the victory not only in the Pacific Theater, but throughout World War II. Moreover, he stated that if Japanese had not been checked by the Americans at Midway, Germany and Japan's plans to join forces in the Middle East might have become a reality.

## Books

Kleiss, N. Jack "Dusty" and Laura and Timothy Orr. *Never Call Me a Hero*. New York, William Morrow, 2017.

*Never Call Me a Hero* is a book written by late Captain Norman Jack Kleiss, along with Timothy and Laura Orr, about his experiences during World War II. In it he mainly describes his perspective of the Battle of Midway. He began by saying that in the mess hall, he was served steak and eggs, a sign that his mission would be difficult. He also wrote that he questioned why torpedo bombers were being sent to the battle, as they were deficient and were easy targets. Kleiss gave his side of the battle as a dive-bomber pilot, on how he scored the most amount of hits that day by any American. He wrote that upon returning, he learned of the death of his best friend, Tom Eversole, a torpedo-bomber pilot. Kleiss said that his death would always stick to him. I used a photograph of the book cover on my website.

Layton, Rear Admiral Edwin T. with John Costello and Captain Roger Pineau. *And I was There: Pearl Harbor and Midway - Breaking the Secrets*. New York, William Morrow and Company, INC., 1985.

This book was the memoirs of Rear Admiral Edwin Layton, the intelligence officer for both Admiral Kimmel and Nimitz during World War II. He revealed **barriers** in dealing with high level officers in Washington who were vying for power while ignoring the

national interest and how the intelligence officers **broke the barriers** through **breaking** the Japanese code which resulted in the American victory at Midway.

Fuchida, Mitsuo and Masatake Okumiya. *Midway: the Battle that Doomed Japan*. Annapolis, A Naval Institute Publications, 1955.

This book was written by the former Imperial Japanese Navy's leaders. It revealed conflicts within the Imperial Japanese Navy and the Midway operation plan. One of the reasons that Midway was a defeat for them was the faulty basic planning of the operation and failure to keep the emphasis firmly fixed on the central goal of the operation, which was the destruction of the enemy fleet. I used an image of Japanese reconnaissance pilots conducting a debrief on my "Empire of Japan" page.

Stevenson, William. *A Man Called Intrepid*. New York, Ballantine Books, 1977.

This book detailed an account of espionage activities, along with politics and heroism during World War II as well as the important role Churchill, Roosevelt, and Hoover played in the areas of intelligence and politics. I learned that the British intelligence network, along with the US, Canada, and European Resistance, helped secure victory over the Nazis during World War II. I used Churchill's quote on my website.

## Audio

*January 7, 1943: State of the Union Address*. "Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidency." Presidential Speeches. Miller Center. University of Virginia, [millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-7-1943-state-union-address](http://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-7-1943-state-union-address).

This website contained the United States' presidential speeches. I quoted President Roosevelt's State of the Union address delivered on January 7, 1943.

## Document

*Japanese Story of the Battle of Midway*. OPNAV P32-1002. Office of Naval Intelligence, United States Navy. The Navy Department Library. June 1947, [www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/j/japanese-story-of-the-battle-of-midway.html](http://www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/j/japanese-story-of-the-battle-of-midway.html).

This report is the official Japanese after-action report of the Battle of Midway, which was translated from the Japanese to English in 1947. In this report, I was able to read the Japanese plans, descriptions, and preparations to attack Midway. The report also stated the failures of the Japanese and their faults in how the battle was carried out.

## Pamphlet

Schultz, Sally. *Battle of Midway Celebration 2010: Veterans' Biographies*. 2010.

This book consisted of biographies of Midway veterans and their recounts of what happened from their perspective. It showed the way different people in varying roles viewed the Battle of Midway as. It goes in depth how each veteran contributed to that event and the actions that they took; showing how it was the united American effort that led to their victory.

## Memoirs

Cheek, Commander Tom, USN (ret.) *Wildcat Versus Zero at Midway: Tom Cheek's Story*. the Pacific War Web-site,  
[www.pacificwar.org.au/Midway/TomCheek/Wildcat\\_V\\_Zero.html](http://www.pacificwar.org.au/Midway/TomCheek/Wildcat_V_Zero.html).

This memoir was written by Tom Cheek. On 4 June 1942, Tom Cheek was part of a six-plane escort for Yorktown's torpedo squadron (VT-3). Heavily attacked by forty-one Zero fighters defending the Japanese carriers, he saw a Zero fighter pilot dead. In the air, he witnessed the bombings of the Kaga, Akagi, and Soryu. His damaged plane crashed into the barrier on landing and flipped onto its back. In the fierce air battle over the Japanese fleet, he shot down three Zeros. He concluded, "We had done the seemingly impossible; we had beaten the vaunted First Carrier Striking Force and compelled the mighty Combined Fleet of Japan to turn tail and run."

Fox, Ed. *A MARINE ON MIDWAY - ED FOX'S STORY*. the Pacific War Web-site,  
[www.pacificwar.org.au/Midway/EdFox/Ed\\_Fox.html](http://www.pacificwar.org.au/Midway/EdFox/Ed_Fox.html).

As a machine-gunner, Ed Fox served on the southeastern tip of Sand Island of Midway Atoll with the 6th Defense Battalion, Fleet Marine Force at the time of the Battle of Midway. His sole job was to deny the enemy any foothold on the island. He recalled the morning of the battle when the Japanese dropped bombs on the island, and he thought of many "what if" questions including what if Japanese destroyed Midway as Admiral Yamamoto planned and how his bunker would do faced with the guns of Japanese warships. He stated, "If the tables had been turned around, we would have been hurting at Midway."

Miniclier, Col. John F., USMC-Ret. *In the Tower on Sand Island*. Battle of Midway Round Table, 2 October 2006, [www.midway42.org/RoundTable/Vets\\_JohnMiniclier.aspx](http://www.midway42.org/RoundTable/Vets_JohnMiniclier.aspx).

This was a recount by a marine on Midway Island during the Battle of Midway. He stated that He was on the watchtower when a line of bombs appeared. As Japanese planes soared through the air, explosions wrecked buildings around him. He recalled that many pilots attempted to fly up and attack the Japanese but were shot down and strafed by Zero fighters.

Gee, Captain Roy P., USN-Ret. *Remembering Midway*. The Battle of Midway Roundtable, 2003, [www.midway42.org/RoundTable/Vets\\_RoyGee.aspx](http://www.midway42.org/RoundTable/Vets_RoyGee.aspx).

In 2003 at the age of 83, Captain Roy P. Gee, USN-Ret. retold his side of the story of his participation in the battle of Midway. He served as a USS Hornet pilot with Bombing Squadron 8 (VB-8). He recalled going on a mission to attack the Japanese Carrier Hiryu, with his attack group, which consisted of 9 VS-8 SBDs carrying 1000 lb. bombs and 7 VB-8 SBDs carrying 500 lb. bombs. He was awarded the Navy Cross for his actions at Midway.

## Documentary

Ford, John, director. *The Battle of Midway*. Internet Archive, 1942, [archive.org/details/gov.archives.arc.65422.b](http://archive.org/details/gov.archives.arc.65422.b).

This documentary was directed by film director John Ford. It was used as propaganda and presented a morale boost toward the public US audience. It depicts the actions the US took in order to defend Midway and how the US broke barriers in battle against the Japanese. I used portions of this documentary on my website.

## Video

*Battle of Midway - 75th Anniversary Recollections*. American Veterans Center. C-Span. 27 October 2017, [www.c-span.org/video/?436377-2/battle-midway-75th-anniversary-recollections](http://www.c-span.org/video/?436377-2/battle-midway-75th-anniversary-recollections).

In this video, four World War II Navy veterans who participated in the Battle of the Midway in June of 1942 recounted their experiences. I learned that Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief of the United States Fleet, and Admiral Nimitz were very different in their personalities. When Nimitz was appointed as Fleet Admiral of the US Navy and Commander in Chief of the US Pacific Fleet by President Roosevelt, King did not think Nimitz was fit for the job as he believed that Nimitz was too soft to get the job done. I posted two clips of the discussion, historian and author Richard Frank and Midway veteran George Walsh, from this video on my website.

## Newspaper

*Heroes of Midway Battle return to Hawaii*. Minneapolis Star Journal, Volume LXIV - No. 169, 11 June 1942.

This newspaper front page was written about the stories of Midway pilots. I used a photograph of men returning to Hawaii from the article in my "Research" page.

*U. S. and Japs At War*. Chicago Daily Tribune, Volume C.-NO. 293 C, Monday, 8 December 1941.

This newspaper contained headline news of U.S declaring war with Japan. I included an image of this on my website.

## Photographs

*Battle of Midway, June 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1942*. LC-USZ62-113548, Library of Congress, 1942, [www.loc.gov/item/95505134/](http://www.loc.gov/item/95505134/).

This photograph of "Damaged buildings on Midway Island, smoke rising in background" was used on my website.

*Battle of Midway, June 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1942*. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-99391, [www.loc.gov/item/90707662/](http://www.loc.gov/item/90707662/).

This picture of US planes attacking the Japanese fleet was found in the Library of Congress's photos, prints, and photographs division. I used this picture for my website.

*Battle of Midway: Army Air Forces*. Naval History and Heritage Command, [www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/b/battle-of-midway-army-air-forces.html](http://www.history.navy.mil/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/b/battle-of-midway-army-air-forces.html).

This research article was about Admiral Yamamoto's plan to attack Midway and Admiral Nimitz's operational tactic. I used an image of the Kido Butai under attack from this website for my website.

Captain Kleiss (USN, Ret.). Photograph.

This is a photo of the late Captain Norman Jack "Dusty" Kleiss, given to me by his daughter, Jill Kleiss. I used this image in my website.

Chen, C. Peter. *Joseph Rochefort*. World War II Database, [ww2db.com/person\\_bio.php?person\\_id=726](http://ww2db.com/person_bio.php?person_id=726).

This webpage was about the life and timeline of events of Joseph Rochefort. I displayed Rochefort's photograph from this page on my website.

fdrlibrary. *Midway – The Battle That Changed the War in the Pacific*. Forward with Roosevelt, 5 November 2019, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, [/fdr.blogs.archives.gov/2019/11/05/midway/](https://fdr.blogs.archives.gov/2019/11/05/midway/).

From this website, I used three images: an image warning of the attack on Midway, a report on how the battle played out, and an image of Midway Atoll.

*June 8, 1942, newspaper headlines declare "Midway battle ends in great U.S. victory.* The Boston Globe, Boston, Massachusetts, 07 June 1942, Monday. Newspapers.com, [www.newspapers.com/clip/27604330/june\\_8\\_1942\\_newspaper\\_headlines/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/27604330/june_8_1942_newspaper_headlines/).

I found this newspaper headline that declared "Midway battle ends in great U.S. victory." It was displayed on my website.

Layton, Rear Admiral Edwin T. *"AND I WAS THERE:" Pearl Harbor and Midway - Breaking the Secrets*. New York, William Morrow and Company, INC. 1985.

I used an image of notes taken by cryptanalysts regarding an attack on target "AF" on my website.

Pacelli, Robert. Arming Wire. Photograph.

This is a photo of Lt. Kleiss's arming wire folded into wings by his ordinance men, courtesy of Jill Kleiss and photographed by Robert Pacelli. I used this image on the page where I discussed his perspective of the battle.

Parshall, Jonathan. *Grading Midway's Commanders*. Naval History Magazine, Volume 31, Number 3, June 2017, [www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2017/june/grading-midways-commanders](http://www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2017/june/grading-midways-commanders).

From this article, I used two images: a map of the U.S. Plan and an image of Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, and posted on my website.

*Path to Midway: The Dungeon (Part 1)*. Cryptology Information Warfare, StationHYPO, [stationhypo.com/2019/11/08/path-to-midway-the-dungeon-2/](http://stationhypo.com/2019/11/08/path-to-midway-the-dungeon-2/).

This article explained how Station HYPO was structured and operated. I used one of the images from this article for my website.

Pearl Harbor Attack: Overview. Military.com Network, [www.military.com/navy/pearl-harbor-overview.html](http://www.military.com/navy/pearl-harbor-overview.html).

This article was an overview of the Pearl Harbor attack. I used an image of The battleship USS Arizona sinking after being hit by Japanese air attack on Dec. 7, 1941 for my website.

Photo 3: Bombing of U.S. carrier Yorktown, 1942. National Park Service, [www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/90midway/90visual2.htm](http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/90midway/90visual2.htm).

There was a photograph of the bombing of the U.S. carrier Yorktown found on this web page. I displayed this photograph on my website.

USAF-57576. *Japanese aircraft carrier Akagi and a destroyer maneuvering below thin clouds while under high-level bombing attack by USAAF B-17 bombers, shortly after 8AM, 4 June 1942*, Naval History and Heritage Command, [www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/wars-and-events/world-war-ii/midway/USAF-57576.html](http://www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/wars-and-events/world-war-ii/midway/USAF-57576.html).

I used this image of Japanese aircraft carrier Akagi on my website.

80-G-17062 *Battle of Midway, June 1942*. Naval History and Heritage Command, [www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/wars-and-events/world-war-ii/midway/80-G-17062.html](http://www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/wars-and-events/world-war-ii/midway/80-G-17062.html).

This is a photograph taken of the listing USS Yorktown prior to the ship's abandonment. I used this picture on my website.

*The demise of imperial Japan - World War II and early successes*. Encyclopedia Britannica, [www.britannica.com/place/Empire-of-Japan/The-demise-of-imperial-Japan](http://www.britannica.com/place/Empire-of-Japan/The-demise-of-imperial-Japan).

A map of Japan expansion in World War II from this website was used on my website.

*The USS Arizona seen burning after the attack by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the morning of December 7, 1941. It was 1 p.m. in Washington*. National Archives, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, NLR-PHOCO-A-8150(29), [www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html](http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html)

This page revealed how Franklin Roosevelt made changes to his first draft of “Day of Infamy” Speech after Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japanese. I used a photograph of the USS Arizona burned by the attack of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor in my website.

## Secondary Sources

### Interviews

Frakes, Robert. 15 Jan. 2020. Personal Interview.

Robert Frakes is a professor of military history at California State University of Bakersfield. In my interview with him, he stated that the Americans broke **barriers** through their efficiency in forces and strategy. He stated that the US naval force was significantly smaller, but nevertheless, they achieved victory. Professor Frakes mentioned that the US would have still won the Pacific War even if they lost at Midway due to the fact that they were superior to Japan industrially, though it would have taken longer.

Kliess, Jill. 21 February, 2020. Telephone Interview.

Jill Kleiss is the daughter of the late Captain Norman Jack Kleiss, the pilot who landed the most amount of hits at the Battle of Midway. She shared the stories that her father gave of his missions at Midway. She said that upon returning to the carrier *Enterprise*, her father was given a pair of makeshift "wings" by his maintenance crew made from the metal of his bomb's arming wire. Kleiss stated that the Battle of Midway was successful for the Americans due to the unity that all the men had and said that society today could learn from the unity that the Americans had at the time, to not be divided. She sent me a package containing more information and references to people I could possibly contact.

Orr, Laura. Telephone Interview, Mar. 17, 2020.

Laura Orr is a Hampton Roads Naval Museum deputy education director and a co-author of the book *Never Call Me a Hero* by Norman Jack Kleiss, a dive-bomber pilot on the USS *Enterprise* during the Battle of Midway. She spent about five years working with Kleiss on his book before he passed away in 2016. During a telephone interview with her, she gave me insight on Kleiss's experience in the Battle of Midway. Orr stated that he was very close to his torpedo bomber friend, Tom Eversole, who was killed in action and that Kleiss was in question of why the torpedo bombers were sent out even though everyone knew they were defective. She stated that Kleiss ultimately was devastated by his friend's death and would never forget the battle.

Orr, Timothy. Telephone Interview, Mar. 17, 2020.

Tim Orr is an author, a historian, a specialist on the Civil War and American military history, and an associate History professor at the Old Dominion University. In my interview with him, he stated that the Battle of Midway had an effect on three different levels: the Pacific Theater, naval warfare, and geopolitics at the time. Orr said that the Battle of Midway ultimately was a hard-fought effort, in that the Americans won because of coordination throughout all of their forces and that Japan's defeat was due to a lack of communication.

Symonds, Craig L. 13 January. 2020. Email Interview.

Professor Symonds is a historian and professor of maritime history at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island and is the author of a book titled *The Battle of Midway*. He stated that Midway Island was significant in terms of its value of dominance of the Pacific and regarding possible negotiations, thus the Japanese strove to capture it, and the Americans toiled to defend it. Professor Symonds mentioned that despite conflicts of naval intelligence, the naval codebreakers, through hard work, managed to decipher enough of the Japanese code to find out that Target AF was Midway. He stated that ultimately, the American victory was not due to military but rather culture, as the US was more flexible versus the strict protocol of the Japanese military.

Whitehead, James. 15 January. 2020. Telephone Interview.

Jim Whitehead is a retired Major General who is also a coordinator of the Minter Field Air Museum. His area of expertise is in Asian World War 2 History. In my interview with him, I learned of the importance of the Battle of Midway itself and how it was a turning point in the Pacific War. Mr. Whitehead also referred me to other sources.

## Books

Budiansky, Stephen. *Battle of Wits: the Complete Story of Codebreaking in World War II*. Simon & Schuster, 2002.

This source gave information regarding the status of American codebreaking during World War 2 and the failure to prevent the attack on Pearl Harbor. It stated that at the time, the Japanese general code was already broken, but the additives, which the Japanese updated frequently, had not been touched since mid-1939. The book said that at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Station Hypo, run by Joseph Rochefort, was working on the Japanese admiral's code and was later authorized to work on the general code. By late May of 1942, the codebreakers, working in a cold basement they called "The Dungeon", were able to decode the additives, predicting that there would be a Japanese assault on Midway Atoll.

Carlson, Elliot. *Joe Rochefort's War: The Odyssey of the Codebreaker Who Outwitted Yamamoto at Midway*. Annapolis, Naval Institute Press, 2011.

In this book, author Elliot Carlson detailed **barriers** Joe Rochefort faced with OP-20-G in breaking the Imperial Japanese Navy's code. His intelligence group was able to discover that the Japanese targeted "AF", which was Midway, for an attack and revealed the exact date of the attack on Midway as June 4th, 1942 and June 3rd for the air strike on Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians. However, OP-20-G insisted there was nothing to Midway.

Parshall, Jonathan and Tully, Anthony. *Shattered Sword: The Untold Story of the Battle of Midway*. Dulles, Potomac Books, 2005.

Different from most historians who told things from the American point of view, this book was written based on thorough research from the Japanese side of the Battle of Midway. The authors mentioned myths and mythmakers of Midway and clarified actual facts of these myths. From this book, I was able to see the Japanese point of view.

Symonds, Craig L. *The Battle of Midway*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

This book analyzed the Battle of Midway and the events leading up to it. It gave a thorough overview of the Japanese and American forces and went over their circumstances, including significant people involved. The book stated how after Pearl Harbor, the US Navy was devastated, and that it was partially due to the code breaking Station Hypo, led by Joseph Rochefort, that Admiral Nimitz, the Pacific commander, had success early on in the war. It also analyzed the Japanese successes in Asia. Furthermore, it gave information on the battles before Midway, primarily the Battle of Coral Sea. It stated how the battle was a success for the Japanese tactically, but also one for the Americans strategically, giving the US a firmer grip that would prove to be invaluable at Midway and later on; it gave the significance of the battle and how the Japanese had lost their advantage in the Pacific Theater.

## **Magazine**

*Midway Remembered*. The Daybook. Volume 15 Issue 4, Hampton Roads Naval Museum.

This publication published by the US Naval History and Heritage Command went into the details and stories of the Battle of Midway. It put the readers in the perspective of not only the pilots, but also the naval servicemen and code breakers. The Daybook detailed all of the key events and pulled up what would seem as minor events. These minor things further contributed to the importance of the Battle of Midway and showed how crucial the encounter was. The publication highlighted and reviewed many books, ones that I was able to eventually read because of this source.

## **Internet Online Access**

Baker, Benjamin David. *What If Japan Had Won The Battle of Midway? The Diplomat*, 8 January 2016, [thediplomat.com/2016/01/what-if-japan-had-won-the-battle-of-midway/](http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/what-if-japan-had-won-the-battle-of-midway/).

This article went over what would have happened if Japan had won the Battle of Midway. It stated that if not for the American victory, Australia and other nations in the south Pacific would have either been invaded or isolated. It furthermore stated that Japan could have begun an island hopping campaign of its own, with Hawaii as the final destination. However, the article said that the US would have still had a chance of winning the Pacific War, despite taking longer in order to recover from their defeat at Midway. This emphasized the importance of the codebreakers who were able to intercept the Japanese

message of the attack on Midway. According to the article, it was because of this seemingly small job that the entire course of the war was changed.

*Battle of Midway Begins.* History.com, A&E Television Networks, 24 Nov. 2009, [www.history.com/this-day-in-history/battle-of-midway-begins](http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/battle-of-midway-begins).

This article explained how the Battle of Midway marked the turning point in the Pacific theater of World War II. This four days sea-and-air Battle, which was known as one of the most decisive U.S. victories against Japan during World War II, began on June 4, 1942. In this Battle, Japan had lost four carriers, a cruiser and 292 aircraft, and suffered approximately 2,500 casualties while the U.S. lost the Yorktown, the destroyer USS Hammann, 145 aircraft and suffered approximately 300 casualties.

Beard, Jonathan. *Joe Rochefort's War: The Odyssey of the Codebreaker Who Outwitted Yamamoto at Midway.* Michigan War Studies Review - Book Reviews, Literature Surveys, Original Essays, and Commentary in the Field of Military Studies, May 2012, 16, [www.miwsr.com/2012-029.aspx](http://www.miwsr.com/2012-029.aspx).

This review of Elliot Carlson's book talks of the decline in Joseph Rochefort's career. It begins by mentioning his successes in being vital for the American victory at Midway Island. It states that his work in breaking the Japanese code set the basis for the US to send its forces. However, following Midway, he was left without much of a job, and was also the target of the Redman brothers at OP-20-G, the center of Naval Intelligence. Due to conflicts, Eventually, the Redman brothers removed Rochefort from Station Hypo and were the main reason he was not able to receive his well-deserved Distinguished Service Medal until ten years following his death.

Chen, C. Peter. *Joseph Rochefort.* WW2DB, [m.ww2db.com/person\\_bio.php?person\\_id=726](http://m.ww2db.com/person_bio.php?person_id=726).

In this source, Joseph Rochefort's, the person behind cracking the Japanese code during World War 2, life was explained. It stated that he was a high school dropout and described his work in the intelligence field. The source details the significant events of his life, including when he was removed from Station Hypo in Pearl Harbor because of his political enemies. John Rochefort would however later received the Naval Distinguished Service Medal in 1986, posthumously.

*Dear Admiral Halsey.* Naval History Magazine, Volume 30, Number 2, *U.S. Naval Institute*, April 2016, [www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2016/april/dear-admiral-halsey](http://www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2016/april/dear-admiral-halsey).

Admiral Halsey was known as the nation's initial war hero. This article listed his achievements between 1941-1945. He was also present in Japan in September 1945, when he commanded the victorious collection of warships that proudly steamed into Tokyo Bay for the surrender ceremonies. I quoted him on my website.

History.com Editors. *Battle of Midway*. History, A&E Television Networks, 29 Oct. 2009, [history.com/topics/world-war-ii/battle-of-midway](http://history.com/topics/world-war-ii/battle-of-midway).

This article detailed the battle and how at first, US attempts at attacking the Japanese carriers were unsuccessful. It stated that later on though, reinforcements from the US carriers *Hornet* and *Enterprise*, along with the carrier *Yorktown* that they had assumed was put out of action after the Battle of Coral Sea, arrived and wreaked havoc. In the end, four Japanese carriers were sunk, roughly 300 planes, and most of their experienced pilots were lost, while the US only lost *Yorktown* and another destroyer, about half the amount of planes as the Japanese lost, and about 360 servicemen. The Battle of Midway served as a turning point in the Pacific War, and was when Japan began going on the defense rather than invading more land.

History.com Editors. *Battle of Midway Ends*. History, A&E Television Networks, 21 July 2010, [www.history.com/this-day-in-history/battle-of-midway-ends](http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/battle-of-midway-ends).

This article explained the Japanese triumph in lands throughout the Pacific before the Battle of Midway ended. As Yamamoto sought to destroy the U.S. Pacific Fleet, his plan was to attack Alaska followed by an invasion of Midway by a Japanese strike force. I used quotes from this website.

Mahar, Paula. *Joseph Rochefort - The Forgotten Hero of the Battle of Midway*. Argunners, 3 September, 2019. 10 November, 2019, [www.argunners.com/joseph-rochefort-forgotten-hero-battle-midway/](http://www.argunners.com/joseph-rochefort-forgotten-hero-battle-midway/).

This magazine article is about Joseph Rochefort, a forgotten hero whose decoding of the Japanese codebook led to the American victory at the Battle of Midway. From this article, I learned that Rochefort was the enemy of not only the Japanese Empire, but also of OP-20-G. Although his feats at cryptanalysis were phenomenal, he was not universally appreciated, especially by the codebreakers in Washington D.C. There was a turf war between Rochefort and Washington, D.C. for the reason that OP-20-G, located in there, had given Rochefort the assignment and overseeing the network of the code-intercepting stations as they wanted central control over all of the radio intelligence units, while Rochefort believed that he answered only to Admiral Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet.

McLean, John. *History of Western Civilization II*. The Battle of Midway | History of Western Civilization II, [courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-hccc-worldhistory2/chapter/the-battle-of-midway/](http://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-hccc-worldhistory2/chapter/the-battle-of-midway/).

This article states the significance behind the Battle of Midway. It describes the role that naval intelligence played and statistics for the battle. The article states how the Japanese planned to surprise the Americans, but the reverse happened instead, severely reducing the power of the Japanese navy, and turning the tide of the war.

Michal. *The Battle of Midway*. The National WWII Museum, New Orleans, 22 June 2017, [www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/battle-midway](http://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/battle-midway).

This article was a brief overview of the Battle of Midway. It gave information regarding how codebreakers were able to crack the Japanese code and overall, achieve victory at Midway. The article mentioned the casualties suffered on both sides of the war and went over how the battle played out.

Munson, Mark. *The Battle of Midway: The Complete Intelligence Story*. War on the Rocks, 3 June 2016, [warontherocks.com/2016/06/the-battle-of-midway-the-complete-intelligence-story/](http://warontherocks.com/2016/06/the-battle-of-midway-the-complete-intelligence-story/).

Naval Intelligence Officer Lieutenant Commander Mark Munson expressed his views in this article. He stated that among many important reasons to memorialize the Battle of Midway, one was that it was an inexhaustible source of still-relevant lessons on how to successfully apply intelligence at all levels of war. I quoted his statement on my website.

Nagorski, Tom. *A Stealth Attack on Enemy Secrets*. The Wall Street Journal, Dow Jones & Company, 24 Dec. 2011, [www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204358004577032083535906146](http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204358004577032083535906146).

The Wall Street Journal wrote about Joseph Rochefort's naval career in World War 2, writing about how he felt ashamed that he failed to predict the attack on Pearl Harbor. With this failure, Rochefort was determined to not let this happen again, and was confident in his findings about the Japanese attack on target "AF", which he proved to be Midway Atoll. I'm doing this, he proved the naval intelligence at Washington wrong, which gained Rochefort enemies; thus, the initial recommendations for his receiving of the Distinguished Service Medal met much resistance. It was believed by many that he was viewed negatively by Washington solely for his correct assumption regarding Midway.

Orr, Timothy and Laura Lawfer Orr.. *Battle of Midway dive bomber pilot with direct hits on two Japanese carriers: 'Never call me a hero.'* Fox News. 07 June, 2017. 30 January, 2020. <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/battle-of-midway-dive-bomber-pilot-with-direct-hits-on-two-japanese-carriers-never-call-me-a-hero>.

Known as "Dusty" to his friends, Lieutenant Norman Jack Kleiss was a dive bomber pilot attached to USS Enterprise's Scouting Squadron Six (VS-6). He participated in every air operation launched by his carrier and helped sink two aircraft carriers and one cruiser during Japanese Navy attack at the Battle of Midway. He did not want to be called a hero, but he wanted Americans to remember the service rendered by his squadron and the other dive bomber pilots who fought during those dark days in early 1942.

Parker, Frederick D. *A Priceless Advantage: U.S. Navy Communications Intelligence and the Battles of Coral Sea, Midway, and the Aleutians*. United States Cryptologic History, series IV: World War II | Volume 5 | 2017, [www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/about/cryptologic-heritage/historical-figures-publications/publications/wwii/priceless\\_advantage.pdf](http://www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/about/cryptologic-heritage/historical-figures-publications/publications/wwii/priceless_advantage.pdf).

This document discussed the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Battles for Midway and the Aleutians as well as Japanese strategies and preparations for the battles. I learned that the Japanese Combined Fleet's operational plans to attack Midway and the Aleutians' involved a massive force consisting of warships, transports, auxiliaries, and air strength, which required the Combined Fleet to supply over 200 ships, including 8 carriers, 11 battleships, 22 cruisers, 65 destroyers, 21 submarines, and approximately 700 aircraft.

*The 'Codebreaker' Who Made Midway Victory Possible*. NPR, 7 Dec. 2011, [www.npr.org/2011/12/07/143287370/the-codebreaker-who-made-midway-victory-possible](http://www.npr.org/2011/12/07/143287370/the-codebreaker-who-made-midway-victory-possible).

This article explained how the victory at the Battle of Midway could not have been possible without the Japanese code having been broken. The codebreaking effort was widely contributed by Joseph Rochefort and others at Station Hypo at Pearl Harbor. However, codebreakers in Washington D.C. stated that it was in fact D.C. that discovered the location of the Japanese attack, not Hypo, even though they had the wrong location and time. Due to this, Rochefort was denied the Distinguished Service Medal and was only awarded it 10 years after his death.

*The Tide Turns: Battle of Midway Symposium*. Virginia WWI and WWII Commemoration Commission, [www.viriniawwiandwwii.org/midway](http://www.viriniawwiandwwii.org/midway).

Anthony Tully, historian and co-author of the book *Shattered Sword*, gave a full analysis of the Japanese side of the Battle of Midway. He stated Japan possessed a much larger navy than the U.S. but due to a failure of planning, had it spread out very thin. He also said that the Japanese lost due to their inability to take into account that the U.S. fleet would be present at the time of the Battle of Midway. Tully also mentioned how Admiral Yamamoto was at sea on his flagship at the time of the Battle of Midway, versus Admiral Nimitz, who felt that he did not need to be present. This difference in leadership was ultimately what led to the defeat of the Japanese at the Battle of Midway.

Weadon, Patrick. *The Battle of Midway: How Cryptology Enabled the United States to Turn the Tide in the Pacific War*. NSA, [www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/about/cryptologic-heritage/historical-figures-publications/publications/wwii/battle-midway.pdf](http://www.nsa.gov/Portals/70/documents/about/cryptologic-heritage/historical-figures-publications/publications/wwii/battle-midway.pdf).

This source explained the daunting task of breaking the Japanese code, despite the fact that part of it had already been cracked. The source gave insight on US cryptology and on Station Hypo, which was the station that would end up cracking the Japanese code, giving the US a win. It also provided background information on the events leading up to the Japanese and American encounter. It states how Station Hypo was able to prove that Target "AF", which the Japanese were after, was Midway, and how this success, with the

combination of good coordination, leadership, and determination, made the Japanese's worst fears a reality.

## Documentary

Long, Tony, director. *Battle 360: Vengeance at Midway*. 2008.

This documentary covered the many aspects of the Battle of Midway and how the US fleet worked to defeat the Japanese. It contained many specifics regarding the Japanese and US forces and accounts of veterans who were involved in the battle. I used this documentary on my website.

## Videos

*Battle of Midway Commemoration*. Defense Visual Information Distribution Service, [www.dvidshub.net/video/340805/battle-midway-commemoration](http://www.dvidshub.net/video/340805/battle-midway-commemoration).

This was a lecture by historian and author Jonathan Parshall given at the Naval War College for the Battle of Midway commemoration, which was on 3 June 2014. He talked about Japanese perspective of the Battle of Midway, which has been recognized as the “greatest maritime victory” in American history. I converted part of his speech from this video to an audio clip for my website.

*Battle of #Midway Hangout*. Naval History Blog, 5 June 2013, [www.navalhistory.org/2013/06/05/battle-of-midway-hangout](http://www.navalhistory.org/2013/06/05/battle-of-midway-hangout).

This video was a discussion of the significance of the Battle of Midway and how it proved to be so successful for the Americans. It was held at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and was hosted by the Naval History Heritage Command. It featured many historians and naval officers talking about the fact that Midway was won not only because of luck and the shortcomings of the Japanese, but also through hard work. I used portions of this video on my website.

Hatch, David. *The Cryptology Behind the Battle of Midway*. Lecture of Opportunity. US Naval War College. 03 June, 2015. 20 November, 2019, [www.revolvy.com/page/Lecture-of-Opportunity-%7C-David-Hatch:-The-Cryptology-Behind-the-Battle-of-Midway?stype=videos&cmd=list&sml=eLEWKwoJyfw](http://www.revolvy.com/page/Lecture-of-Opportunity-%7C-David-Hatch:-The-Cryptology-Behind-the-Battle-of-Midway?stype=videos&cmd=list&sml=eLEWKwoJyfw).

In this video, David Hatch explained that the United States was not interested in intelligence activities until 1941-42. He also stated that intelligence officers involved in the Battle of Midway were highly trained and had preparations on intelligence backgrounds. He laid out the complexity of the code system and the officers' abilities to break it.

*Panel on Hidden Heroes of World War II.* C-Span. 21 March, 2012. 24 December, 2019,  
[/www.c-span.org/video/?305158-3/panel-hidden-heroes-world-war-ii](http://www.c-span.org/video/?305158-3/panel-hidden-heroes-world-war-ii).

In this video, author Elliot Carlson talked about his book *Joe Rochefort's War: The Odyssey of the Codebreaker Who Outwitted Yamamoto at Midway*. Based at Station Hypo, Rochefort and his crew broke the main code of the Imperial Japanese Navy and surprised their armada, which led to one of the greatest naval victories of World War II. Although Admiral Nimitz credited Rochefort for breaking the code and recommended him for a distinguished medal, OP-20-G officers in Washington DC did not approve for the reason that he did not deserve the medal. From this video, I learned of the conflicts between OP-20-G and Station Hypo regarding the directing of intelligence. Admiral Nimitz's trust in Rochefort's intelligence in breaking codes had ultimately led to a success at the Battle of Midway despite the fact that OP-20-G did not believe that AF was Midway.

## Photographs

Donald M. Goldstein, Donald M. *Putting the Midway Miracle in Perspective*. Naval History Magazine, Volume 21, Number 3, June 2007, U.S. Naval Institute,  
[www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2007/june/putting-midway-miracle-perspective](http://www.usni.org/magazines/naval-history-magazine/2007/june/putting-midway-miracle-perspective).

This picture was a three in one image from the Naval Historical Center. The images were the burning aircraft carrier Kaga (top), U.S. Pacific Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz (left), and Japan's Combined Fleet Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto (right)." I used this on my website.