BOMBER BOYS AND THEIR "GIRLS":

INTIMATE BONDS FORMED BETWEEN EIGHTH AIR FORCE AIRMEN AND BOMBER AIRCRAFT DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AS REFLECTED IN NOSE ART

by

SARAH M. ANDERSON

(Under the Direction of Akela Reason)

ABSTRACT

A golden age of "nose art" emerged during the Second World War. While admired by historians and aviation enthusiasts alike, there has been limited exploration into the inspiration and symbolism behind these culturally significant works of art. This work will combine first-person accounts with visual analysis of nose art photographic collections to delve deeper into airmen's purpose for creating nose art. The airmen assigned to the Eighth Air Force participated in a particularly deadly branch of the military as high-level officials pushed to achieve Air Force autonomy through strategic bombing missions. The act of personalizing bomber aircraft provided an outlet for the complex emotions young airmen struggled to process during their unrelenting war experience. The images, symbols, and names chosen by airmen to construct their aircraft's artwork and personality displayed the intimate bond formed between man and machine during the act of war.

INDEX WORDS: Nose Art, Second World War, Bomber Aircraft, B-17, Eighth Air Force

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my grandfather, John H. Anderson, a B-17 radio operator in the 388th bomb group, 561st bomb squadron during the Second World War. His war stories and prisoner of war experience captivated my mind as a child, inspired my academic interests, and motivated my professional trajectory. He is truly missed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2012, during the wake of a rape scandal, the United States Air Force (USAF) undertook drastic measures to combat future possible offenses - measures that jeopardized irreplaceable works of art. In November 2012, Air Force Chief of Staff, General Mark Welsh III, ordered commanders to search work areas for all pornographic or offensive materials that sexually objectified men or women. “Pictures of scantily clad women in calendars, posters or in briefing slides have no place in a professional workplace,” asserted General Welsh.[1] Air Force officials touted this extensive search, encompassing ninety-seven active duty installations and offices worldwide, as affirmation of a no tolerance policy against sexual assault. The contraband materials fell into three categories: pornography, unprofessional materials, and inappropriate or offensive material. The “inappropriate or offensive material” category was especially wide-ranging in scope containing 27,598 items and including “sexually suggestive posters in public areas, obscene cartoons, and more than 200 images of aircraft nose art, some dating to World War II.”[2]

Artwork identified in the Air Force's sweep belonged to the National Museum of the United States Air Force located at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. The museum contains expertly restored and original World War II era pieces of art painted on the

[1] Barrie Barber, “Air Force Hunts for Obscene Material at WPAFB,” *Dayton Daily News,* December 6, 2012, https://www.daytondailynews.com/news/air-force-hunts-for-obscene-material-wpafb/A3b9zBQX1poEgu48e0WHbO/.

[2] Chris Carroll, “Air Force Finds Thousands of Inappropriate Items, Including Pornography,” *Stars and Stripes,* January 18, 2013, https://www.stripes.com/air-force-finds-thousands-of-inappropriate-items-including-pornography-1.204422.

front portion of an aircraft's fuselage or "nose." While nose art themes varied, this collection included sexually suggestive depictions of women and popular pin-up images. The Air Force's official report determined the pin-up images to be obscene and eligible for destruction. Museum officials responded noting that "some aircraft and artifacts contain historical art, which the museum is professionally obligated to accurately represent as part of Air Force history." In the *Dayton Daily News*, the National Museum of the USAF emphasized the long standing tradition of personalizing aircraft through artwork as "not simply limited to the image but the text and symbology behind it."[3] At first glance these images appear to be purely titillating, but the USAF failed to look beyond their sexually suggestive nature and disregarded the role this art played in the lives of airmen in combat during the Second World War. Once touted by the Air Force for boosting the morale of men, this artwork officially became viewed as obscene pornography.

To prevent future destruction of these culturally significant images the symbolic meanings of nose art must be examined to understand the intimate relationship formed between a man and a machine during the act of war. Artwork on aircraft provided an outlet for young men as they struggled to emotionally process their wartime experience. Combat is a heighted experience, one often compared to sexual arousal. In the act of war, the aircraft became the airman's female counterpart both controlling and controlled by the airman. The physicality and co-dependence of the connection between airmen and their aircraft, similar to that of the ship and her Captain, defined this partnership and often informed the choice of artwork. Patriotism and freedom motivated men to fight, but such abstract concepts are hard if not impossible to conceptualize during the act of warfare. Instead, men represented these notions through idealized versions of the women they left back home – a physical representation of their own reasons for

[3] Barrie Barber, "Pin-ups Won't Be Removed from Historical Planes," *Dayton Daily News,* December 7, 2012. https://www.daytondailynews.com/news/pin-ups-won-removed-from-historical-planes/Gvu7GvdvD7apikFijPiz8O/.

going off to war. Personalizing aircraft in such a form provided a touch of individual identity in a military institution where new recruits easily became a nameless number.

Setting these works of art in their wartime context provides deeper understanding of the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) airmen's personal motivations in visually representing bonds formed with their aircraft. During the Second World War, society witnessed the institution of full-scale bomber warfare establishing the air as a third battlefront in Hitler's determination for Nazi domination. Fresh-faced recruits raised in the golden era of aircraft eagerly volunteered to fight for their country and experience the thrill of flight. Due to the newness of aerial warfare, the European theatre became a proving ground for innovative military theories and experimental weapons. "Modern warfare" displayed itself as a brutal affair with the path to progress bloodied by the deaths of thousands of USAAF airmen. For each mission airmen boarded their aircraft, placing trust in its ability to carry them back safely to the base.

Aircraft are more than metal machines and military technology; they are unique spaces in which airmen performed the act of combat. Unlike ships and tanks whose crewmen expected eventual enemy onboarding, airmen held no expectation of emerging from their weapon to engage in hand-to-hand combat. Instead, airmen fought and died beside their brothers in arms within the contained interior of the aircraft. The metal womb of the machine could save or kill a man. It protected and separated men from the enemy, but just as easily the aircraft could betray its crew with flack puncture or other damage. Damage beyond repair resulted in tailspins or crashlandings and evacuating airmen desperately relying on their thin canvas parachutes to guard against the Luftwaffe's machine guns.

In these circumstances, images of cartoons and scantily clad women splashed across the fuselage of war machines were seemingly unfitting to the sanctity and seriousness of war,

especially if viewed by civilians. Airmen's diaries, scrapbooks, and memoirs, however, emphasize the importance of this artwork for both morale and identification purposes. The name and artwork placed on an aircraft held great importance and significance in the life of the airmen and the crew. Airmen collected photographs of this artwork providing the basis of the photographic collections available today as many individual works of art were destroyed upon the aircraft's return to the home front with images deemed too explicit outside of the context of war.

Previous work on the subject of World War II aircraft personalization and artwork has been scattered, leaving holes for continued exploration. In the seventy-five years since Victory in Europe Day, many accomplished historians crafted wonderfully detailed histories on the USAAF. Building complex narratives filled with human realities, wartime horrors, and naive idealism, scholars demonstrate the sentiments embraced by American airmen and the brutal bloody conditions under which they fought and died. The works crafted by Donald L. Miller, Gerald Astor, Roger Freeman and many others provide a basis for understanding both the institutional structure and establishment of the USAAF as well as the airmen's daily tasks, interactions, and assignments.[4] Details such as these are vital to understanding the artwork created in this unique wartime setting, and provide insight into the fear, loss, and sexual awakening experienced by many young recruits.

[4] This work will focus on the Eighth Air Force and the history of aerial warfare associated with this division. A few of the histories that inform this work include: Donald L. Miller, *Masters of the Air: America's Bomber Boys Who Fought the Air War Against Nazi Germany,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Gerald Astor, *The Mighty Eighth: The Air War in Europe As Told By The Men Who Fought It* (New York: Random House Inc., 1997); Roger A. Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth: A History of the Unites, Men and Machines of the US 8th Air Force* (London: Cassell, 2007); Martin Bowman, *Castles in the Air: The Story of the B-17 Flying Fortress Crews of the US 8th Air Force,* (Wellingborough: P. Stephens, 1984).

Each military division crafted their own unique culture influenced by their location, connection to the home front, interaction with the local community, and the background of their members. Throughout the Second World War, the Air Force tended to be the most educated branch of the military, and high pay incentivized men to volunteer for this branch. This work will focus specifically on the Eighth Air Force, often referred to as the "Mighty Eighth," the main American combat air force unit in the European Theater stationed on the British Isles. This division maintained a vast array of documents including diaries, letters, photographs, official documents and objects airmen sent home from easily accessible mail rooms on their British bases. As native English speakers, the airmen had an added layer of comfort and they felt a kinship to their British partners in war.

On a smaller scale, aviation enthusiasts, restoration experts, and aircraft historians detail artwork and acts of aircraft personalization. Presenting close-up images in beautiful coffee-table compendiums, books on nose art display all manners of aircraft artwork. The works of Gary Valant, John and Donna Campbell, Jeffery Ethell, and Clarence Simonsen carefully describe the progression of nose art from its inception pre-World War I to the present day. These authors identify aircraft in once long-forgotten images and connect them to individual units and squadrons.[5] Yet such works are limited and focused on taxonomic differences, identification of artwork, and the art's mechanical or official purposes.

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[5] The works mentioned here tend to be the most influential works forming the bases of the nose art compendium, however they are not the only works that provide important information and further depth to the nose art progression. John M. Campbell and Donna Campbell, *War Paint: Fighter Nose Art from WWII to Korea* (Osceola, Wisconsin: Motorbooks International Publishers & Wholesalers, 1990); Jeffrey L. Ethell and Clarence Simonsen, *The History of Aircraft Nose Art: WWI to Today* (Osceola, Wisconsin: Motorbooks International, 1991); Gary M. Valant, *Vintage Aircraft Nose Art* (Osceola, Wisconsin: MBI Publishing Company, 1987); Nicholas A. Veronico, Jim Dunn, and Ron Strong, *Boneyard Nose Art: U.S. Military Aircraft Markings and Artwork* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2013).

Recent analysis of World War II aircraft artwork begins to question the intention and inspiration behind certain images, identifying the individuals who participated in the act of crafting the image. Andretta Schellinger's *Aircraft Nose Art*, analyzes nose art through the lens of civilian home front culture attributing changing styles to the interconnectedness of civilian and military life.[6] Gail Downey's documentary film, *Nose Art & Pin Ups: How Pin Ups and Paintings raised the Morale of the Mighty Eighth in World War II,* interviews octogenarian airmen and original artists on their inspiration in designing nose art.[7] Tony Holmes's, *Nose Art: An Illustrated History from World War I to the Present,* begins by compiling some of the psychological analysis behind gendering and personalizing aircraft.[8] Holmes admits that despite the detailed scrutiny and, analysis of nose art itself, "little has appeared in print on the views held on the subject by those that either applied the artwork itself or flew the aircraft into combat."[9] While many of these works cite reasons for the creation of erotic or cartoon based nose art, few works ever explore the act of artistic creation from the emotional perspective of the airmen. Why were certain pieces chosen? What did the names and images mean to the men in the aircraft?

Without a clear understanding of the art's creation and meaning, critics focus on the overt sexuality of pin-up style art and classify the painter as a bawdy, lusty man overly excited by war. The few works that do combine critical analysis of aircraft artwork with the lived experiences of air and ground crews do so through the lens of a singular aircraft such as the Memphis Belle, the most famous bomber aircraft of the Second World War. To combat this stereotype, this work

[6] Andretta Schellinger, *Aircraft Nose Art: American, French and British Imagery and Its Influences from World War I through the Vietnam War* (Jefferson, North Carolina: Mcfarland & Company Inc., 2016).
[7] *Nose Art & Pin Ups: How Pin Ups and Paintings raised the Morale of the Mighty Eighth in WW2,* Directed by Gail Downey (Whirlwhind Productions, 2012) DVD.
[8] Tony Holmes, *Nose Art: An Illustrated History from World War I to the Present,* (New York: Chartwell Books, 2017)
[9] Holmes, *Nose Art,* 8.

will combine an analysis of artwork with first person accounts and demonstrate the intimate relationship formed between airmen and their aircraft.

Airmen regularly mention the name of their aircraft and chosen artwork when retelling wartime stories. In memoirs, the aircraft often becomes its own character. Nose art allowed a machine to embody unique personalities, playing vital roles in the memory and lived experiences of USAAF airmen. For the purposes of this work the term "Nose Art" includes any form of physical personalization or artwork added to the body of the aircraft. While often limited to the "nose" or front fuselage section of the aircraft this could extend throughout the body and include both official and unofficial drawings, paintings, designs, graffiti, and script.

Nose art physically represented the human-like characteristics and responsibilities airmen attributed to their aircraft. Both fighter and bomber units utilized nose art throughout the war. Fighter pilots maintained the luxury of full control when naming their aircraft, while the creation of bomber nose art involved consulting or convincing an entire crew and sometimes the ground crew of the importance behind a name or specific image. This work will focus on the identities crafted for bomber aircraft and the crews that manned these aircraft, however further research should be completed in a similar manner on the crafted identities for fighter aircraft.

When deciding and designing aircraft artwork, bomber planes became much more than a machine with which to fight a war. Instead B-17s and B-24s became *Virgin's Delight, Memphis Belle, Shoo Shoo Shoo Baby*, and *Sleepy Time Gal* – they become agents in their own rights. The aircraft played protector, warrior, and partner as airmen engaged in a new style of warfare replete with untested military theories and horrendously high casualty rates. In order to understand the confusion and displaced emotions that necessitated such artwork, as well as the purpose behind airmen's intimate connections with their aircraft, first we must explore the newness of aerial

warfare, the evolving culture of nose art, and the dangerous flying conditions that existed during the Second World War.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY AERIAL WARFARE

Nose art follows in the tradition of personalizing and decorating implements of war dating back to prehistoric weaponry including Egyptian chariots, Roman standards, Viking long boats, Crusader's shields, and European custom engraved guns. These cultures utilized symbols of protection, aggression, and specific colors or symbols to identify and decorate their weapons. There has never truly been a separation between the creation and personalization of combat aircraft. Italy first used combat aircraft in 1912 and by 1913 squadrons painted their own unique markings on the canvas sides. The first reported use of art on an aircraft was a 1913 Italian plane with a large sea monster painted along its fuselage.

During the First World War, other nations began marking their aircraft with national colors for identification purposes. The French red, white, and blue rudders and cockades; the British blue, white, and red roundel; and the German black "iron" cross on a white field enabled quick identification between friend and foe during aerial warfare.[10] The First World War boasted such flying aces as former American race car driver Eddie Rickenbacker, Britain's most beloved fighter pilot Albert Ball, and the German-born "Red Baron" Manfred von Richthofen who led the "Flying Circus." The Red Baron painted his aircraft bright red and his "Flying Circus" followed suit adorning their aircraft with a multitude of colors. The sight of the Red Baron and his brightly colored Flying Circus struck fear into all that opposed him.

[10] Holmes, *Nose Art,* 10.

Prior to the America's entry in World War I, the Germans had the brightest, most individualized color schemes on their aircraft. Upon American entrance, U.S. squadrons marked their aircraft with personalized squadron insignia. Nose art tended to be mainly nationalistic with elements of personalization on these smaller aircraft. America lacked competitive air service prior to World War I and the infrastructure to build aircraft, necessitating aircraft procurement, from France, England, and Italy. Nonetheless, World War I aircraft replaced parts of the cavalry, provided "eyes in the sky" for reconnaissance purposes and attacked both aerial and land targets with mounted guns. These basic aircraft were manned by a one or two-man crew and had open-air cockpits constructed out of wood and doped fabric.

Aerial warfare service of the United States belonged under the temporary Aviation Section, Signal Corps (1914-1918) during World War I. As the United States acknowledged the importance of aircraft in combat President Woodrow Wilson established the temporary United States Army Air Service (1918-1926) as a component of the United States Army, and then the more permanent United States Army Air Corps (1926-1941). On July 20, 1941, the Army Air Corps transitioned into the United States Army Air Forces (1942-1947), a true division of the United States Army with greater autonomy. During the interwar period, aircraft became much more advanced, capable of traveling long distances and transporting a much larger load and crew. As aircraft became more advanced, artwork painted on the aircraft became more personalized. During the Spanish Civil War, the military increasingly used camouflage on aircraft and airmen-designed nose art became more symbolic, including good luck charms, animals, and pin-up girls.

The commanders of the USAAF continued to push for full autonomy from the Army throughout World War II. Under Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, Commanding General of the USAAF,

General Ira C. Eaker rapidly grew the Eighth Air Force, stationed throughout England, from just a few troops in 1941 to what historian Donald Miller would describe as "one of the greatest machines of war ever assembled."[11] Organized in Savannah, Georgia on January 28, 1942, the 97th Bomb Group of the Eighth Air Force would be the first unit to touch down on British soil in July of that same year.[12] The Eighth Air Force would grow to eventually include forty-eight bomber groups, twenty-one fighter groups, and three photo reconnaissance groups.[13] Arnold and Eaker utilized this developing division to test strategic bomber theory formulated on American soil prior to entering into the war. In order to achieve Air Force autonomy, Arnold and Eaker pushed to prove the effectiveness of strategic bombing with minimal resources.

The United States and England developed a plan for around the clock bombing. The USAAF pursued precision daylight bombing aided by the newly developed Norden bombsight and the Royal Air Force (RAF) continued their nighttime raids. While the RAF pressed for control over the United States bombing effort, Arnold and Eaker insisted on the viability of independent bomber combat, separating the USAAF effort from the RAF effort. Prior to the war, military strategists theorized that armed bombers would be enough to combat the German Luftwaffe without assistance from fighter plane escorts. The USAAF equipped bomber aircraft, including B-17 Flying Fortresses and B-24 Liberators, with up to thirteen fifty caliber machine guns. When bomber aircraft flew in close formation their combined defensive firepower had immense capabilities.[14] However, the Eighth Air Force continued to sustain high levels of casualties. Of the 350,000 men serving in the Eighth Air Force during the war, 26,000 or 7.42

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[11] Miller, *Masters of the Air*, 245.
[12] Miller, *Masters of the Air*, 24, 59.
[13] Jamil S. Zinaldin, "Mighty Eighth Air Force Museum," in *New Georgia Encyclopedia,* last modified March 1, 2019, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/governmentpolitics/mighty-eighth-Air-force-museum.
[14] Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, *Air Gunners - Get That Fighter,* NAVAER 00-805-32, OPNAV 33-12, Army Air Forces, February, 1944, http://ww2awartobewon.com/wwii-archives/air-gunners-fighter/.

percent died in combat. The Air Corps sustained the heaviest losses of the war with more casualties than the entire Marine Corps despite having significantly smaller numbers.[15]

On January 6, 1944, Lieutenant General James H. Doolittle took over command of the Eighth Air Force from Gen. Eaker. Doolittle served as a flying cadet in the Army Signal Corps during World War I. Returning as a pilot during the Second World War, Doolittle served in both the Pacific theater and with the Fifteenth Air Force stationed in North Africa prior to being asked by Commanding General of the Army, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to lead the Eighth Air Force. In this role, Doolittle instituted more aggressive use of fighters. "I thought our forces should intercept the enemy fighters before they reach the bombers," he claimed.[16] Losses were further reduced in early 1944 with the development of the P-51 Mustang, the Eighth Air Force's most commonly used long-range fighter. However, for the first few years of the war, bomber aircraft formed the basis of aerial warfare against Nazi Germany.

The importance and independence of bomber aircraft and crews as well as the dangerous nature of missions and high death rates of airmen, influenced the artwork applied to aircraft. The Second World War became the "golden age" of aircraft nose art with increasingly more personalized, symbolic, and explicit artwork. While not officially sanctioned, officers rarely chastised crew members for this art. In August of 1944, the Army Air Force released Regulation 35-22 authorizing, per the Secretary of War, custom decorations of military equipment with "individual characteristic design," stating that this form of decoration was "encouraged as a means of increasing morale."[17] Reactive instead of proactive, Regulation 35-22, demonstrated

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[15] Astor, *The Mighty Eighth*, 486.
[16] James Doolittle, *I Could Never Be So Lucky Again: An Autobiography* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military/Aviation History), 357.
[17] Jeffrey L. Ethell and Clarence Simonsen, *Aircraft Nose Art: From World War I to Today.* (St. Paul, MN: Motorbooks International, an imprint of MBI Publishing Company, 2003), 25.

the vital aspect of nose art to airmen in fulfilling their desire for individualization in an impersonal military institution and the roll this art played in emotional release.

CHAPTER 3

RECEIVING THE AIRCRAFT

Fighter squadrons remained important components of aerial warfare, especially once these small one-manned aircraft were used to escort and protect the bombers, but bomber aircraft formed the basis of the Eighth Air Force. When the Eighth first arrived in England, the unit used bomber aircraft independently. Fighter escorts did not have the fuel capacity to reach the bomber's marks and safely return. Initially, this division solely used the B-17 "Flying Fortress," but later introduced the B-24 "Liberator" and B-26 "Marauder." Scholars and enthusiasts debate which aircraft airmen favored most: the B-24 or the B-17. No matter the aircraft assigned, crews developed close bonds with what they identified as their 'personal aircraft.

As the most commonly and longest used bomber aircraft in the European Theater, we will consider the B-17. While the B-17 and B-24 differed in many ways – bomb load, maneuverability, and exterior elements – the interior of these craft had a similar composition overall. Unlike the image of uniformity that the military strives to promote and portray to civilians, B-17s were not all alike. Designed and built by Boeing during the interwar period, manufacturers continued to adapt and adjust the aircraft based on wartime feedback. The USAAF used model B-17F most often early in the war, but once adapted, the B-17G quickly became favored by airmen. Airmen did not have a choice in their aircraft, nor did crews always fly in the same aircraft each mission, a situation that occurred more regularly toward the end of the war. Regular maintenance along with individual adjustments and quick repairs made the feel and flying of each craft unique and personal. The lives of airmen revolved around this machine,

as daily routines and missions were determined by the condition and capabilities of their assigned aircraft. The machine served as a constant reminder of the excitement of combat and the far-off battlefield for which all men departed and many never returned. Airmen first gained access to their B-17 manual and the aircraft during flight training school in the United States. Here they were introduced to their imperfect and often battered trainer aircraft before being provided a new aircraft to fly across seas, replenishing those destroyed in combat.

A formidable aircraft, B-17s measured approximately seventy-four feet nine inches long by nineteen feet one inch tall with a wingspan of one-hundred-three feet nine inches.[18] A full grown adult can stand under the nose of the aircraft without grazing its metal underbelly.[19] Boeing designed this four-engine mid-wing monoplane out of sheets of semi-monocoque aluminum.[20] Unlike aircraft today, B-17s lacked pressurization and temperature controls. Airmen placed their trust in these thin sheets of aluminum as the only shield between them, the elements, and enemy attack. The aircraft included electrically operated landing gear, tail gear, wing flaps, bomb bay doors, and hydraulically operated breaks and cowl.[21] Four seven-hundred-fifty horsepower Pratt and Whitney Hornet engines equipped with four Hamilton Standard three-bladed constant-speed propellers powered the Flying Fortress. In later models the aircraft housed four twelve-hundred horsepower Wright Cyclone engines, capable of longer distances.[22] The

[18] United States Army Air Forces, *Pilot's Manual for Boeing B-17 Flying Fortress*, Aircorps Library Collection, https://aircorpslibrary.com/aircraft/b-17-boeing-flying-fortress, 1.

[19] While few B-17s maintain their flight capabilities, several are held in museum collections. For those interested in seeing a B-17 several can be found throughout the nation including: *Shoo Shoo Shoo Baby* at the National Air and Space Museum in Chantilly, VA; *Memphis Belle* at the National Museum of the United States Air Force in Dayton, OH; *City of Savannah* at the National Museum of the Mighty Eighth Air Force in Savannah, GA; *Texas Raiders* at the Commemorative Air Force Museum in Houston, Texas; *My Gal Sal* at the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, LA.

[20] Roger A. Freeman, *Mighty Eighth War Manual* (London: Jane's Publishing Company Limited, 1984), 146.

[21] United States Army Air Forces, *Pilot's Manual,*1.

[22] Army Air Forces, *Pilot Training Manual for the Flying Fortress B-17,* (Winston Salem, North Carolina: Headquarters AAF, Office of Flying Safety, Safety Education Division, May 1, 1945), 28.

B-17 maintained a maximum bomb load of thirteen-thousand-six-hundred pounds but averaged a tactical bomb load of four thousand pounds in its internal bomb bays tucked away "to eliminate air resistance."[23] Designed as a war machine, areas of the B-17 were protected with armor plating mounted on rubber cushions.[24] The bomber included seven to twelve fifty caliber Browning machine guns used to protect the length of the aircraft from any angle. This physical structure became the canvas upon which artists, both amateur and professional, designed their nose art.

Influenced by popular pin-up art, cartoons, military imagery and nationalistic tropes, the naming and placement of art reflected the personality of the crew, the aircraft, and the combined experiences of man and machine. The aircraft and crew acted upon each other creating a bond described by French philosopher, Bruno Latour, as an Actor Network.[25] In an Actor Network both humans and inanimate objects work together and influence one another to create meaning and experience with both the humans acting upon the object and the object in turn equally acting upon the human. Latour's theory of an Actor Network builds off of Martin Heidegger's concept of "being," in which Heidegger posited that objects are only meaningful when in relation to other objects and persons. Therefore, the physical relationship between man and object during use creates meaning.

In the context of aerial warfare, the aircrew units, individual airmen, and the aircraft itself all act upon one another to craft a unique meaning and experience present throughout the act of war. During bomber warfare in the Second World War, this interaction allowed aircrews to

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[23] Army Air Forces, *Pilot Training Manual for the Flying Fortress B-17,* 5.
[24] Army Air Forces, *Pilot Training Manual for the Flying Fortress B-17,* 37.
[25] Martin Heidegger et al., *Being and Time,* SUNY Series in Contemporary Continental Philosophy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010). Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

give the aircraft agency prompting the crews to imbue the machine with human-like characteristics and purpose thus establishing an intimate relationship between man and machine. This agency was then reflected in the names and artwork designed for the machine. Since the agency was given during the act of war, it can only be understood through the lens of the airmen at war. Viewing nose art in a civilian context can cheapen its symbolism removing the intimate bond and interaction between man and machine.

CHAPTER 4

MANNING THE AIRCRAFT

Both the B-17 and B-24 housed a crew of ten airmen. These young men, often between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, came from a variety of different personal backgrounds and professional experiences. While a crew often trained together and remained together throughout their service, new recruits or draftees replaced fallen men. Noah Thompson, a pilot in the 388th BG / 560th BS, discussed the creation of his crew: “Years later I learned that considerable effort went into matching crew members. It was based on personalities, background and other characteristics that supposedly would meld a compatible crew. It must have worked well for us for we had a great crew. We did work well together, spent most of our time together on and off duty hours. Except for a few minor flare-ups there were no problems and from my standpoint we had an ideal, dedicated and capable crew.”[26] Like most crews, each man played a specific role during combat and was housed in a unique location along the body of the aircraft. These aircraft, while larger than previous combat aircraft, were tightly enclosed with limited space for sizable machinery, large bomb loads, and so many people.[27]

The full crew included the bombardier, navigator, pilot, co-pilot, flight engineer, radio operator, ball turret gunner, two waist gunners and a tail gunner. Interior set-ups of the B-17 and B-24 bore little difference. While equipment may have differed, in particular the flight panels,

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[26] Noah C. Thompson. *A Pilot’s Story: Flying in the 1940’s,* Academy Books, 1995), 32.

[27] The reader can receive further context on B-17 interiors through the images of *Shoo Shoo Shoo Baby*’s interior taken by the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum. These detailed images provide the opportunity to explore the interior of a B-17 vacant of human activity. The Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, *In the Cockpit II: Inside History-Making Aircraft of World War II* (Collins Design, Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, 2010).

and the B-24 flew faster, higher, and farther than the B-17, crew composition and relative position inside the aircraft proved to be similar. Tight quarters, a lack of pressurization and an absence of climate control remained constant in both bombers. Many airmen felt a sense of pride in their station within the aircraft and their positions often became a part of the man's military identity.

This ten-man crew could spend anywhere from four to eight hours inside a B-17 or B-24 bonded together as the7 pursued the same trajectory and shared the same ultimate fate. Devoid of basic comforts and with only minimal access to toilet facilities, men were exposed to the severe cold and deafening noise of the thin aircraft flying at high altitudes. Survival and success depended on each man knowing how to effectively and efficiently complete his highly technical job with minimal training or experience while being jostled about thousands of feet above the earth. Dangerous missions led to violent mishaps with inexperienced bombardiers depending on equally inexperienced navigators and a crew propelled forward by sheer will and hope for survival. Today, Second World War aerial warfare can be admired through flight simulators or organizations that allow you to fly in period aircraft, such as the Collings Foundation. These experiences lack a crucial element, the un-comfortability and brutality of warfare.

Aerial warfare involves long periods of inaction as the crew navigates to a mission site preparing to drop bombs. Inaction does not equate to relaxation as the crew maintained a close eye on surrounding Allied aircraft in order to avoid collision while flying in formation, as well as constantly checked the airspace for enemy aircraft. The crew remained in their cramped combat positions for long periods of time with little relief. During this time airmen added to the odors and physical space of the aircraft both their blood in combat and other human byproducts. Howard Snyder, pilot of B-17G *Susan Ruth* (42-31499) 306th BG, described the interior of his

aircraft as smelling "of sweat, grease, cordite, cigarette smoke, and often urine and dried blood."[28] Long hours inside the aircraft and frequent attacks led airmen to urinate in place so as not to disturb their mission. Jack Novey, a waist-gunner aboard B-17F *Black Hawk* (42-30180) 96th BG / 337th BS explained, "You were supposed to make your way across this narrow catwalk with bombs hanging on both sides, unzip yourself in this extreme cold, aim into the funnel and urinate."[29] For their necessities men had two options, a tin can between the waist compartment and tail whose frozen metal often stuck to the skin or the relief tube located in the bomb bay, a funnel attached to a simple rubber hose that led outside the aircraft. The relief tube often became clogged or frozen over so instead crew members simply urinated on the floor.

Regularly under attack, airmen watched their crewmates die beside them in the aircraft. German flak or anti-aircraft fire perforated the thin aluminum siding finding a home in the heads, torsos, and limbs of this ten-man crew. To calm their nerves airmen turned to cigarettes, the smell of smoke mixed with the primal sweat brought forth due to excessive adrenaline. The odor of human byproducts combined with the scents of oil and grease, consequences of a working aircraft, formed the base of airmen's daily atmosphere a true infusion of both man and machine.

Not only did aircraft reek, they lacked heat and pressurization, causing low levels of oxygen when flying at high level altitudes and placing the crew in danger of hypoxia. Bill Flemming, a waist gunner in the 303rd BG described his regular flight attire:

> "Our planes were open so the temperatures at 30,000 to 32,000 feet were forty to seventy degrees below zero. We had to dress very heavily. I wore long underwear, and a uniform shirt and pants, an electric suit over that, plus a fur-lined flying suit on top of it. On my feet I wore silk stockings, wool stockings, electric shoes and

[28] Steve Snyder, *Shot Down: The True Story of Pilot Howard Snyder and the Crew of the B-17 Susan Ruth* (Seal Beach, California: Sea Breeze Publishing LLC, 2017), 93.
[29] Miller, *Masters of the Air*, 239.

> fur-lined flying boots. My hands had silk gloves, wool gloves, electric gloves, and then the fur-lined flying mitts."[30]

Without all of these different layers including the electric suits, an airman could easily succumb to the extreme cold. Novey described the danger of high-altitude temperatures, "The air temperature is anywhere from thirty-five to fifty degrees below zero-not counting the chill of the wind, which whistles through our waist windows at one-hundred fifty miles per hour and more. Freezing to death is a constant hazard at these altitudes." He goes on further to discuss the electric suits, "Sometimes the air temperature was sixty or seventy degrees below zero Fahrenheit. Our primitive electric suits and all the heavy clothing we could put on just barely kept us from freezing to death. The cold hurt: it penetrated with an intensity that was the same as pain."[31] George E. Moffat, a ball turret gunner in the 482nd BG, actualized the fear that Novey expressed when a tremendous explosion of flak punctured his electric flight suit. "The pain was maddening and almost unbearable. Tears streamed down my face over my oxygen mask and froze…"[32]

Airmen also wore oxygen masks linked to the ship by oxygen hose lines. The importance of oxygen lines cannot be overemphasized as they were designed to prevent anoxia, oxygen deprivation, at high altitudes. Without oxygen at such a high altitude, airmen could lose consciousness within thirty seconds and die within two minutes.[33] The oxygen hose line and cord to the electrical suit created an umbilical-like tether between the fragile airman and the aircraft. Properly functioning electric suits and oxygen masks, directly powered by the aircraft, produced

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[30] Astor, *The Mighty Eighth*, 93.
[31] Jack Novey, The Cold Blue Sky: A B-17 Gunner in World War Two, (Charlottesville, Virginia: Howell Press, 1997), 130-131.
[32] Marshall J. Thixton et al., *Bombs Away by Pathfinders of the Eighth Air Force,* (United States: FNP Military Division, 1998), 74-77.
[33] Miller, *Masters of the Air*, 93.

life-sustaining resources for airmen throughout the flight. The necessity of this connection further enmeshed the bond between airmen and their aircraft intrinsically linking the survival of man and machine.

CHAPTER 5

AIRCRAFT PERSONALIZATION

High altitude aerial combat subjected airmen to new emotional and physical stresses, those which had never been seen on such a large scale prior to the Second World War. Daily, young men transitioned from safe English air bases into war zones as their aircraft lumbered into the sky. Immediately after completing dangerous missions, airmen returned to their bases, to warm beds, full meals, and pretty women available in every English town. Airmen often did not have the chance of clearing their fallen brothers from the battlefield after crash landings. Each night as airmen laid down to sleep, empty beds served as a stark reminder of fallen friends. To process the unique circumstances experienced in aerial combat as well as the personal connection formed between man and machine during combat, airmen used aircraft nose art. An already established form of expression in the Air Force, airmen personalized their aircraft through graffiti artwork, aircraft names, and large-scale artistic expressions.

Graffiti Artwork

Graffiti art along the fuselage of many B-17s and B-24s served as physical reminders of an individual airmen amongst his crew members. This artwork lasted throughout the use of the bomber aircraft, often memorializing fallen airmen. B-17, *the Piccadilly Commando* (42-5729), part of the 306th Bombardment Group (BG) and 369th Bomb Squadron (BS), boasts the name of one of the craft's bombardiers, Lieutenant M. Zinkovich (Figure 5.1). The positioning of Lt. Zinkovich's name corresponds to his position inside the aircraft. Unfortunately, the photographer

did not capture the navigator's full name, which was also added onto this aircraft. A photo taken by John A. Cloninger, a member of the ground crew for the 93rd Bomb Group stationed in Alconbury, England, clearly depicts the nose art graffiti of 1st Lt. C.R. Taylor just under the aircraft's name *Hell's-a-Poppin II* (Figure 5.2). The members of the Zodiac unit, 486th BG / 834th BS, composed of B-24's adorned with zodiac themed nose art often requested their names added to the aircraft. On the aircraft *Leo*, artist Phillip Brinkman added pilot Bill Hilsinger's name just below the pilot's window (Figure 5.3). Other forms of graffiti nose art include the names of a crew member's girlfriend or wife on the fuselage exterior corresponding with the airmen's interior position or small etched cartoons that often faded over time.

Added to the craft's fuselage either etched into the official olive-drab paint scheme or painted onto the aircraft, Airmen's names were diminutive forms of artistic personalization. This graffiti nose art provided the crew a sense of ownership over the machine ferrying them into war. Airmen asserted their authority over the aircraft rebelling against military sanctions. They gave greater authority to their individual identification than the concept of crew unity when adding individual personalized graffiti to their aircraft. Similar to schoolboys etching their names into a classroom desk, faceless young men inside an aluminum sided war-bird plastered their names on the side of the aircraft screaming you will not forget me - I was here.

Naming the Aircraft

Airmen viewed naming their aircraft as a source of pride. Snyder recalled, "few if any crew members would talk about the aircraft #247613 or #3456 but many tales would be told about the crews and their planes with names such as the *Farmer's Daughter, Hard to Get, Virgin*

on the Verge, Naughty Nancy, Impatient Virgin, and Anytime Annie."[34] For bombers, naming the aircraft was a team activity. Committing to a name as well as artwork required serious consideration; these were enormous images intended to be long lasting and were often used to identify an aircraft or crew. William C. Wroe, bombardier for the *Miss 'N Moan,* a B-24 in the 446th BG / 705th BS, revealed his excitement for naming his first aircraft. "In July 1944, when our crew was formed at Westover field, Massachusetts, we all knew that combat planes were given names. In wartime movies and newsreels, we had seen the artwork on the noses of planes of the Army Air Corps. Everyone who would fly in a bomber or fighter plane looked forward to seeing the name of their choice painted on the nose to identify it as their own."[35] Wroe's crew maintained a sense of pride in aircraft 42 - 51256 which they eventually named *Miss 'N Moan.*

Airmen took their time when designing and voting on an image. When a crew received an aircraft available for naming and artwork, each man excitedly went about the task of convincing the others that their idea should be fulfilled. Wroe did not particularly like the name *Miss 'N Moan,* as it alluded to missing his target, a task of singular importance in his role as bombardier. Still, it "soon became evident the decision would have to be made by majority rule."[36] Unfortunately for Wroe, he was overruled. Robert Morgan, pilot of the *Memphis Belle*, a B-17F assigned to the 91st BG / 324th BS, described his crews' experience when picking a name (Figure 5.4). Morgan wanted to name the aircraft after his girlfriend Margaret Polk but knew that his crewmates would never agree. Instead, he chose the name *Memphis Belle* after a crew excursion to see the movie *Lady of the Night*. One member at a time and one beer at a time,

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[34] Steve Snyder, *Shot Down*, 40.

[35] William C. Wroe, *The Crew of the Miss 'N' Moan.* Edgewater, Maryland, 1993, Manuscript, National Museum of the Mighty Eighth Air Force, accessed March 10, 2020.

[36] Wroe, Miss 'N' Moan.

Morgan convinced the crew of this name's superiority.[37] Both personal to Morgan, as his girlfriend lived in Tennessee, and culturally relevant to the crew, his name choice stuck.

Not every crew received a new or unnamed aircraft. Early in the war, crews might receive a new aircraft in the United States for them to fly over to England, either replacing fallen aircraft or simply growing the air force. These men were able to name the aircraft pursuant to their ideas and desires. Later, replacement crews came to England, replacing either broken crews, where enough men died in combat necessitating the combination of multiple crews, or replacing crews who completed their assigned number of missions. The crew of the Memphis Belle famously completed twenty-five missions, the stated number to end a crew's tour. However, the number of missions needed for a man to be discharged fluctuated throughout the war leaving some uncertainty as to when a man's tour truly ended. The replacement crews still felt pride in the name of the aircraft they received, in particular aircraft that had a certain history or success record. Airmen who knew their aircraft to be successful during missions felt more confident in entrusting their lives to this machine.

Airmen drew different inspiration for their aircraft's name. Names could be personal to the crew such as nicknames of loved ones, home states or crew nicknames. They could be humorous using the names of cartoon characters or making sexual innuendos. The aircraft name could even be personal to the craft itself, referring to a specific mission or the fact that the aircraft was often damaged but always returned home. Some names were directly tied to the fuselage artwork, both painted at the same time or with the same inspiration. Other names were added completely separate from the artwork and while both art and name were in close proximity on the aircraft, they had no relation to one another. This often happened when the name and art

[37] Robert Morgan and Ron Powers, *The Man Who Flew the Memphis Belle: Memoir of a WWII Bomber Pilot*, (New York: Dutton, 2001), 99.

were added or modified by different crews. Either way, both pieces constitute nose art whether acting separate or in tandem to create meaning.

Once a bomber received her name, airmen felt a level of possession over the aircraft. James H. Farmer, the former associate editor of the *American Aviation Historical Society Journal,* articulated this sense of possession stating, "we find that many expressions found on impersonal pieces of equipment reveal an effort to personalize or humanize that equipment and particularly that machine upon which their lives may depend. Thereby it may be an unconscious attempt to gain master of it."[38] The aircraft is at once controlled by the airmen and controlling the fate of the airmen. Giving the aircraft a name provides a sense of ownership, control, and articulates the bond between the airmen and aircraft.

Wroe and his crewmates arrived mid-war when airmen were switched amongst aircraft in order to continue missions despite casualties or damaged aircraft. Wroe and his crew felt uncomfortable when they learned that they might not be the only team assigned to man "their" aircraft. "We didn't care for the idea that numerous others would even temporarily be the crew of the *Miss 'N' Moan.* We preferred not to think of the fact that, while in their hands, our plane could possibly be damaged, maybe even lost."[39] Wroe's crew felt a sense of duty to protect their aircraft at all time due to the bond formed through the act of naming.

Both the name and artwork designed by airmen tend to have feminine connotations. Men often gender their modes of transportation. Aircraft follow ships and automobiles in this tradition commonly referred to as "she" or "her"[40] The official B-17 Pilot Training Manual quotes an unnamed veteran describing his B-17, "She'll not only get you to the target and do the job, but

[38] Holmes, *Nose Art,* 7.
[39] Wroe, Miss 'N' Moan.
[40] Tracy Bilsing, "Mors Ab Alto: The Dangerous Power of Women's Images in WWII Nose Art," *Texas Review* 35, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2014): 88–104.

she'll fight her way out, take terrific punishment and get you safely home."[41] Even this official documentation assigned the aircraft a female pronoun. Sergeant Donald A. Becker, a tail gunner in the 100th BG / 350th BS, remembers receiving his first aircraft:

> "In the afternoon we signed for our ship - our first ship (sounds good doesn't it?) A brand new beautiful shining lady numbered 339180 - it was quite a thrill to walk out on the ramp and see her sitting there - quite serene and to know she's OURS - This is the baby we'll drop bombs all over Hitler's Heaven from - and God willing all come back - We spent a couple of hours looking her over and checking the equipment and then spent another night drinking and having a time at the NCO Club."[42]

Becker constantly referred to the B-17 throughout his diary with feminine pronouns and terms of endearment. 2nd Lt. Emmet E. Cook, bombardier for the 301st BG / 352nd BS, stated his crew referred to their aircraft in a similar manner. "The crews always referred to her as SHE. Although shot full of holes and with feathered props she always returned with her crews."[43] The experiences mentioned by Becker and Cook, align with many other airmen who flew in the Eighth Air Force. Stylized depictions of women helped to further gender the aircraft giving a face to the "she." While the name or image were not always female, the aircraft would always be referred to as female.

T.G. Ward suggested that gendering of machines could have a sexual component. The similarities between the satisfaction of man and machine moving in harmony during flight and the pairing of man and woman in bed contributed to this understanding, as well as the correlation between pleasure derived from flying and sexual pleasure. This pleasure places the machine in

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[41] Army Air Forces, *Pilot Training Manual for the Flying Fortress B-17,* 10.
[42] Donald A. Becker, *Personal Diary ASN 15400756 350th Bombing Squadron, 100th Bomb Group,* Manuscript, National Museum of the Might Eighth Air Force, accessed March 10, 2020.
[43] *Holey Joe B-17F 41-24352 (Alias –'El Malga Roja')*, Manuscript, National Museum of the Mighty Eighth Air Force, accessed March 10, 2020.

the feminine role and the pilot and crew in an opposing masculine role.[44] The men are both "inside" the aircraft and a part of her at once forming both a sexual and womb-like connection. While airmen are in control of the aircraft and participate in the physical and adrenaline filled act of flying, they still confront a lack of control in what may occur in the surrounding airspace, necessitating a reliance on the aircraft itself. This co-dependent relationship manifests in several different forms revealed by aircraft artwork with airmen personifying the aircraft herself in the role of protector, warrior partner, and comic relief.

[44] T.H.G Ward, "The Psychological Relationship Between Man and Aircraft," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* 24, no. 4 (1951): 288.

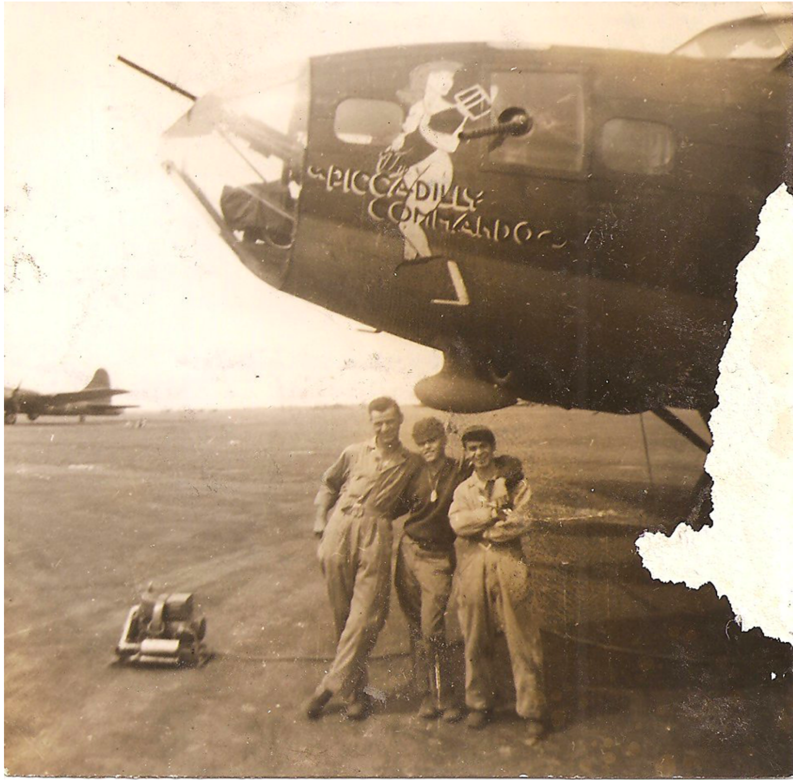

Figure 5.1: *Piccadilly Commando*, B-17, Serial # 42-5729, 306th BG

Figure 5.2: *Hell's-a-Poppin II*, B-24, Serial # 42-52166, 449th BG

Figure 5.3: *Leo*, B-24, Serial # 41-29605, 486th BG

Figure 5.4: *Memphis Belle,* B-17, Serial # 41-24485, 91st BG

CHAPTER 6

ANTHROPOMORPHIZING THE AIRCRAFT

Nose art reflected the intimate bonds formed between airmen and their bomber aircraft. Artwork influenced by personal experience and home front pop culture placed on display both the young age of airmen and the crew's intense desire for individuality and recognition amongst the overwhelmingly uniform Army. Personalization and the act of creating anthropomorphic aircraft imagery aided airmen as they pursued the dangerous and daunting task of flying into war. Nose art, recalled Robert Morgan, was "a way of holding on to our individuality, or sense of humor, in a war that was overwhelmingly vast, mechanized, and brutal."[45] Instead of flying in a tin can towards enemy fire, crafts such as *Shoo Shoo Shoo Baby, Able Mabel,* and *Liberty Belle* along with their associated images of soft fleshy women, accompanied the airmen. To the airmen who created this artwork, the images emphasized youthfulness, humor, and vitality, in the face of almost certain death.

Pin-up images on aircraft when analyzed on a surface level are gratuitous forms intended to titillate and distract from the dangerous nature of flying. However, these images provide clues as to how airmen related to their aircraft and best connote both the physical and intimate male/female relationship between the crew and craft. While not all nose art included images of women, the designs that included cartoon males, animals, and patriotic themes also held a symbolic meaning or grew to develop a deeper meaning to the men who used the artwork and name for identification purposes. Despite the choice of image, the vast size of nose art remained

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[45] Miller, *Masters of the Air,* 117.

a constant in aircraft personalization. Artists intended for this work to be visible from land when the aircraft flew back onto the base, so the works were often life-size if not larger. Intended as an identifying feature of the aircraft, airmen used anthropomorphic imagery to collect displaced emotions and provide support in the form of protector, warrior partner, and comic relief.

Partner Aircraft: A Symbol of Protection, Desire, and Homesickness

Members of aircrews, particularly drafted members, were often young men fresh out of high school, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-one. Participating in the war provided a lot of firsts – their first time away from their parents and sweethearts or the first time outside of their state or country. Pin-up images portray the infusion of sexuality into airmen's daily lives and their desire to truly live life to the fullest. Pilot Samuel Hynes expressed the newness of his freedom and the desire attached to this freedom when young men were sent to war. "I was no more ready for women than I was ready for war. Sex was another military skill that I hadn't yet acquired."[46] Desperate to become men before they died, airmen of the Eight Air Force pursued British women that lived near their base and visited brothels. However, many men found these encounters unsatisfying due to their temporary nature and pined for the American women they left behind. Constantly searching for reasons and motivations for risking their lives in war, airmen reminded themselves of the women waiting for them back home.

During the War, airmen received calendars, matchbooks, and girlie magazines rife with pin-up images. The artists creating these images intended to represent an idealized version of the American woman. Artists including Alberto Vargas, Gillette "Gil" Elvgren, and George Petty, helped to create what is now understood to be the quintessential American pin-up. In the early

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[46] Samuel Hynes, *Flights of Passage: Recollections of a World War II Aviator* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 23.

1930s, George Petty began a series of color cartoons for *Esquire*. This work evolved into a unique style known as the Petty Girl, aptly described by historian Max Allan Collins as having, "oversize heads, impossibly tilting breasts, defined musculature, heavy legs, and archly positioned hands and feet."[47] Peruvian-born Vargas replaced Petty in the early 1940s, creating a more realistic figure with a hint of fantasy in her wide-eyes and extremely thin waist. Gil Elvgren designed pin-up calendars for the two largest American publishing companies during the war, Louis F. Dow beginning in 1937 and Brown & Bigelow beginning in 1944. Elvgren's pin-ups also tended to be more realistic, with a Norman Rockwell quality and depicted women in ordinary activities. All three of these men used their wives and family members for inspiration in their drawings.[48]

Airmen crafted concepts for nose art directly from these magazines and calendars, sometimes copying the images directly or adding a few alterations for more individualization. A particularly popular Vargas pin-up image often used by airmen, Miss August Bathing Suit Girl, designed for *Esquire* magazine's annual calendar, plastered the sides of many aircraft. The nose art on *Shirley Jean* #42-107040, an aircraft part of the 91st BG, is an exact replica of the Vargas image (Figure 6.1). This imagery directly anthropomorphizes the aircraft displaying her female nature. Young recruits, poised somewhere between manhood and boyhood, idealized the aircraft as both a sexual and mother-like figure. Airmen morphed this image turning the pin-up into an aircraft herself by attaching propellers to her breasts. Other examples include B-24 *Double Trouble* (Figure 6.2), B-17 *Buzz Blonde* of the 303rd BG (Figure 6.3), and *Belle of the Blue* of the 306th BG (Figure 6.4). The female aircraft embodies a sort of protected, womb-like space, a

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[47] Max Allan Collins. For the Boys: The Racy Pin-Ups of World War II. (Portland, Oregon: Collectors Press, Inc., 2000), 8.
[48] Schellinger, Aircraft Nose Art, 100.

site of preservation while providing life-giving oxygen and heat through hose-like attachments. She preserved the men encased in her fuselage from both the elements and enemy fire.

Other Vargas, Petty, and Elvgren inspired nose art used pin-up imagery as a direct connection between airmen and the women back home providing a face for the amorphous concept of America. Robert Morgan reached out to George Petty to design the nose art on the *Memphis Belle.* While the craft was named for Morgan's girlfriend, the artwork depicts Betty Grable in a blue dress on the left side of the aircraft and in a red dress on the right side of the aircraft. To Morgan the *Memphis Belle* became "a little touch of Margaret Polk in all the darkness."[49] Several other pin-up images were based upon famous actresses, most often Betty Grable and Rita Hayworth. These beautiful women who the airmen watched in movies on their bases inspired the men to daydream about their return home. Perhaps Betty Grable would welcome him into her open arms upon return to the home front after his heroic actions in battle.

This artwork connected to real women; the women airmen were directly protecting back home. Adding these women to the aircraft portrays the incentive for airmen's continued fight and the crew's desire to protect the plane and to protect themselves. Airmen relied on their aircraft for safe return. Artwork helped transform the aircraft from a machine into a partner in battle. Airmen would use images of their wives and girlfriends asking artists to add their faces to pin-up images or add a simple portrait to the aircraft. Crews named their aircraft after the women in their lives, including female children. Howard Snyder named his aircraft *Susan Ruth* after his new-born daughter.[50] Sergeant Art Stockdale, of the 95th BG / 336th BS, named *Cuddle Cat* after his wife. While the artwork may not directly depict the image of the woman for which the aircraft is

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[49] Morgan and Powers, *The Man Who Flew the Memphis Belle,* 97.
[50] Steve Snyder, *Shot Down*, 93.

named, it is a representation of the women or the aircrew's desire for the love and physical touch of an American woman, a scarcity in combat.

Homesickness and a desire for purpose ran deep through the Eighth Air Force. Crews used pin-up artwork to represent their homesickness. Airmen named aircraft after home states and used visual symbols to display pride in their hometowns. B-17s and B-24s named after home states included *Bama Bound / Lovely Libba* (Figure 6.5), *Tennessee Belle* (Figure 6.6), *Oklahoma Gal* (Figure 6.7), and *Georgia Peach* (Figure 6.8). A state name could also be used to directly represent a particular woman as in the case of the *Memphis Belle.*

Some airmen chose to literally represent their homesickness using images and names directly related to their desire for a safe return to base and ultimately home. *Hiking for Home* (Figure 6.9), a B-17 used by the 91st BG, depicts a pin-up girl attempting to hitchhike her way to the home states of the crew: California, New York, Michigan, Florida, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and New Jersey. This aircraft has the name of a woman close to a crew member's heart, Clarice, most likely connected to the navigator or bombardier, as the placement of the name is over their designated space inside the aircraft. Robert Scott Milligan, a pilot with the 385th BG, leans on his B-17, *Homesick Angel* (Figure 6.10). Milligan's crew chose artwork directly displaying their desire to return home, guided by a guardian angel, a stylized Vargas inspired pin-up girl with wings instead of arms.

Airmen intentionally created female anthropomorphic aircraft imagery that portrayed the aircraft as a partner in battle. The pin-up girls served to morph the aircraft herself into a woman, reminding men of the women they were protecting back home, to guide men home, and to subsume a crew's homesickness. Almost a talisman, the artwork on partner aircraft gave the men a sense of protection, strengthening the thought process that death may occur to others, but not to

me. I am protected by love and I have a home, a woman, a family, and a purpose to which I must return.

Warrior Aircraft: A Symbol of Power, Guidance, and Strength

Artistic decorations of aircraft follow in a long tradition of adorning implements of war including Egyptian chariots, Viking long boats, and European custom engraved guns. Many cultures utilized war paint in order to bolster courage and strength creating a battle-ready mindset and persona for the warrior. Similarly, wooden warships of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries carved images into their figureheads. Bare-breasted women adorned merchant and military ships as a symbol of protection as they were believed to calm storms at sea. Nose art aligns with this tradition, and many crews chose art specifically for protection, and to design a warrior persona for their aircraft. The most popular warrior style artwork included shark or tiger faces originally made famous in 1941 by the First American Volunteer Group serving in the Second Sino-Japanese War. The "Flying Tigers," who added a mouth full of sharply pointed teeth under the noses of their P-40 Warhawks.[51] Throughout World War II, this type of expression extended into other theaters of the war as well as many other motifs. Milligan's B-17, *Homesick Angel,* includes shark's teeth as part of its personalization (Figure 6.11).

In pin-up nose art, airmen began to portray women as attacking and facing forward into battle. While many included elements of pin-up flair, the women were often portrayed as battle-ready, looking the viewer, or enemy aircraft, directly in the eye or facing towards the nose of the aircraft, propelling it forward. This image of *The Village Flirt* displays the size and forward motion of the artwork during battle (Figure 6.12). The steadfast battle-ready warrior women

[51] Nicholas A. Veronico et al., *Boneyard Nose Art: U.S. Military Aircraft Markings and Artwork*, (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2013), viii.

resided on the fuselage alongside the pilots they flew into battle. These images were so close that often prior to flight, notoriously superstitious pilots could reach out their window and tap the image for good luck.

A range of mythology exists surrounding dangerous warrior women dating back to the Greek goddess Athena, goddess of war and wisdom. This includes many female warriors portrayed fighting naked such as the Amazons in classical Greek art, bare-chested female Viking warriors, and the bare-breasted French symbol for liberty, Marianne. Aircrews developed their own version, depicting women actively attacking the enemy, holding bombs, riding bombs, holding spears, and shooting guns. Of course, desire also plays a part in the empowered female warrior due to the intrinsic link between sexual excitement and warfare.

The 44th Bomb Group known as “the Flying Eight Balls,” was the first division of the Eighth Air Force to receive B-24 Liberators. At least two of their B-24s included images of fighting women. B-24 #42-50539 or *Sultry Sue* of the 44th BG holds a Browning fifty caliber machine gun pointed at enemy aircraft (Figure 6.12). B-24 #42-94892 or *Battlin' Baby,* portrays a woman with boxing gloves facing the enemy (Figure 6.13). *She Devil*, B-24 #44-40123, part of the 491st BG, portrays a horned woman actively throwing a spear forward at the enemy (Figure 6.14). B -17 #42-29477 or *Joan of Arc* of the 360th BG, portrays an image of an actual historical warrior woman in full body armor, propelling the aircraft forward with her arm thrust onward and upward (Figure 6.15). And *Hellcat Agnes,* B-17 #42-102974 part of both the 96th and 379th BGs, depicts a busty female pilot holding the decapitated head of Hitler (Figure 6.16).When referred to by name, as was common with most aircraft, the machine embodies the acts of the women they are portraying. These images convey female power and strength, portraying the aircraft itself as a partner in arms leading her crew into battle.

B-17s and B-24s have an abundance of nose art depicting women holding bombs, riding bombs, dropping bombs, and watching bombs fall. These images continue the anthropomorphizing of bomber aircraft as female. B-17, *Piccadilly Commando,* holds a bomb as she looks directly at the pilot and waiting for the right time to release (Figure 5.1). *The Urgin' Virgin,* B-24 #42-41004 part of the 93rd BG shows a naked female figure riding a falling bomb, holding a flame with a determined look across her face. She boldly faces the enemy guiding the bomb to its final destination (Figure 6.17). T*he Wicked WAAC,* B-17 #42-30199 part of the 306th BG, portrays a scantily clad member of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, riding a bomb down towards enemy territory (Figure 6.18). The majority of bomber aircraft contained a variety of general purpose and incendiary bombs within her belly, with the purpose of releasing these bombs on the correct target each mission. These works of nose art as well as others portray a woman fulfilling the task of dropping a bomb, thus giving power and the responsibility of mass destruction and death to the female in the artwork and the aircraft itself.

Identifying the aircraft as a warrior assists in distancing the airmen from the act of warfare. The female aircraft then transitions into the individual responsible for the death and destruction that occurred from dropping bombs on an incorrect or well populated target. The aircraft served not only as a protector and partner in battle but as an emotional protection and scapegoat for the atrocities committed by airmen during combat.

Comic Relief Aircraft: A Reminder that Happy Days will Come

The absurdity of a pin-up image flanking the sides of aircraft was not lost on airmen. Andy Rooney, a journalist for *Stars and Stripes* Magazine, discussed the comic nature of these images. "Grim-faced Luftwaffe pilots proud of the guts that take them within the suicide circle of

a Fortress formation, determined to do or die for the Fatherland, must wonder what the hell kind of an Air Force they are up against. They come driving in, teeth clenched, hell bent for Hitler, and along with a hail of lead they are greeted by the stupid grin of some absurd comic book character, or the nude form of a Petty girl painted on the nose of the bomber they are attacking."[52] Airmen intended for these images to be an extension of themselves, and their fighting power including the ability to surprise the enemy.

Humorous aircraft names accompanied these images displaying the youthful nature and tender age of many airmen. Airmen in the 303rd BG, 453rd BG, and 491st BG used puns and sexual innuendos to instill humor into their aircraft *Iza Vailable Too* (42-97254), *Never Mrs.* (42-95167), and *Heavenly Body* (42-110155) respectively (Figure 6.19, Figure 6.20, Figure 6.21). Just barely adults, these young men left their high-school days filled with comic books, cartoons and puppy love to actively fight a war from which many would never return. The jarring nature of becoming an airman overwhelmed many young men who put on display their youth and desire to return to easier and happier days through art on their aircraft.

Images of Bugs Bunny, Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and other Disney and Warner Brothers creations traipsed across Europe on the nose of aircraft. During the Second World War, Disney produced war training films, movie trailer shorts, and poster campaigns in support of the war. Due to the proximity of Disney studios to the Lockheed Vega plant, Disney even hired a full-time staff devoted to creating insignia for the war department which were transferred onto the noses and fuselages of various planes that came off of the Lockheed assembly line including several Boeing B-17 bombers.[53]

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[52] Andrew A. Rooney. "Nudes, Names and Numbers." *The Stars and Stripes* August 5, 1943.
[53] Gary Velasco, *Fighting Colors: The Creation of Military Aircraft Nose Art,* (Paducah, Kentucky: Turner Publishing Company, 2004), 158.

Airmen took this inspiration and reproduced some of their favorite characters adding their own stylistic flair. B-17 *What's Cooking Doc* (41-24525), part of the 384th BG, portrays Bugs Bunny riding a bomb down to earth, in a similar way that many pin-up images portray women riding or guiding bombs (Figure 6.22). B-24 *Big Noise II* (42-94969), an aircraft in the 93rd BG, displays an image of Donald Duck staring straight out at the enemy looking both determined and a little shaken, a similar feeling to most airmen in battle (Figure 6.23). B-24 *Bird Dog* (42-95084), part of the 466th BG, integrates both pin-ups and cartoon characters displaying Pluto the dog, part of the Mickey Mouse gang, sniffing a naked woman or "bird" (Figure 6.24). Airmen used the cartoons similar to pin-ups to serve once again as surrogates for courage and scapegoats for the action of bombing.

Female comic strip characters also served as popular forms of inspiration. Al Capp's scantily-clad Dogpatch characters from the comic strip Li'l Abner included Daisy Mae, a popular nose art figure. Beginning in 1934, this Sunday paper comic strip satirically displayed the American South, with blonde bombshell Daisy Mae fawning over the main character Abner. This cartoon displayed the desirous lust that all heterosexual men hope beautiful women hold for them. B-24 *The Wolf Patrol* (45-50882) of the 446th BG, portrays Daisy Mae in her signature polka-dot blouse and black cut-offs (Figure 6.25).

Milton Caniff produced two popular comic strips from which airmen drew inspiration. Caniff's action adventure comic strip, *Terry and the Pirates,* ran from 1934 to 1973 and inspired many works of nose art based on the sultry characters of Normandie Drake, Burma, and Dragon Lady. Rife with twisted love triangles, magnetic and powerful femme fatales, and loose morals, this comic highlighted the fantasy of war when Terry joined the United States Army Air Forces.

B-24 *Our Burma* (42-50740) of the 458th BG displays a direct copy of Caniff's character, Burma (Figure 6.26).

During the war Caniff also created the daily strip *Male Call* for the U.S. Department of War's Camp Newspaper Service. In this strip, Caniff introduced the infamous character *Miss Lace*. Caniff stated that he didn't base Miss Lace on any individual but that "She was the visualization of an idea...a wish fulfillment for the readers. She was always there, always available and yet not available…". Caniff wanted his cartoon to be relatable, a "two minute furlough back home," inspired by what the guys were really thinking about: the girls they left behind.[54] Miss Lace, inspired by these women on the home front, graced the sides of many aircraft with crews naming multiple B-17s and B-24s after her character.[55] B-24 *Rosalyn* (44-10601) of the 467th BG, proudly displays the full figure of Miss Lace in all her minimally covered glory (Figure 6.27).

The proliferation of cartoon and comic strip characters adds a sense of humor to the aircraft but also a closeness to home. Airmen related cartoon characters to simpler times, growing up with their families, watching Saturday morning cartoons with their siblings, or reading Sunday morning comics at the family breakfast table. In the war, the men gained access to intentionally crafted sexualized cartoons designed for the purpose of inspiring the airmen. Female comic characters served to anthropomorphize the aircraft in a similar fashion to pin-ups. Their images were a sense of comfort. Humorous names lifted the seriousness of the airmen's mission as best it could while familiar characters provided a sense of security, a connection to home, and a reminder of why the airmen continued their fight.

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[54] Collins, For the Boys, 11. & Ethell and Simonsen, *Aircraft Nose Art*, 72.

[55] In the Eighth Air Force alone there is a bomber named Miss Lace in multiple bomber groups including the 303rd, 379th, 388th, 390th, and 389th.

Figure 6.1: *Shirley Jean,* B-17, Serial # 42-107040, 91stBG

Figure 6.2: *Double Trouble*, B-24

Figure 6.3: *Buzz Blonde*, B-17, Serial # 42-39875, 303rd BG

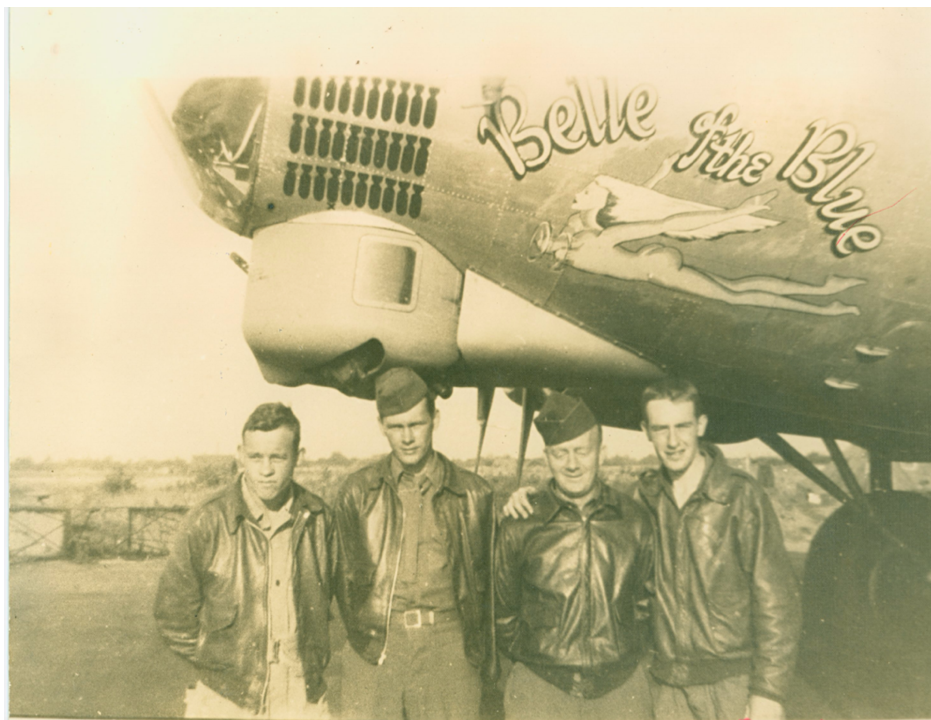

Figure 6.4: *Belle of the Blue*, B-17, Serial # 42-102503, 306th BG

Figure 6.5: *Bama Bound / Lovely Libba*, B-24, Serial # 42-50622

Figure 6.6: *Tennessee Belle,* B-24, Serial # 42-109807, 308th BG

Figure 6.7: *Oklahoma Gal,* B-24, Serial # 42-50567, 446th BG

Figure 6.8: B-24, Serial # 42-40985, 93rd BG

Figure 6.9: *Hikin' for Home*, B-17, Serial # 42-107027, 91st BG

Figure 6.10: *Homesick Angel*, B-17, Serial # 42-107135, 385th BG

Figure 6.11: *The Village Flirt,* B-17, Serial $ 42-29739, 91st BG

Figure 6.12: *Sultry Sue,* B-24, Serial # 42-50539, 44th BG

Figure 6.13: *Battlin' Baby,* B-24, Serial # 42-94892, 44th BG

Figure 6.14: *She Devil,* B-24, Serial # 44-40123, 491st BG

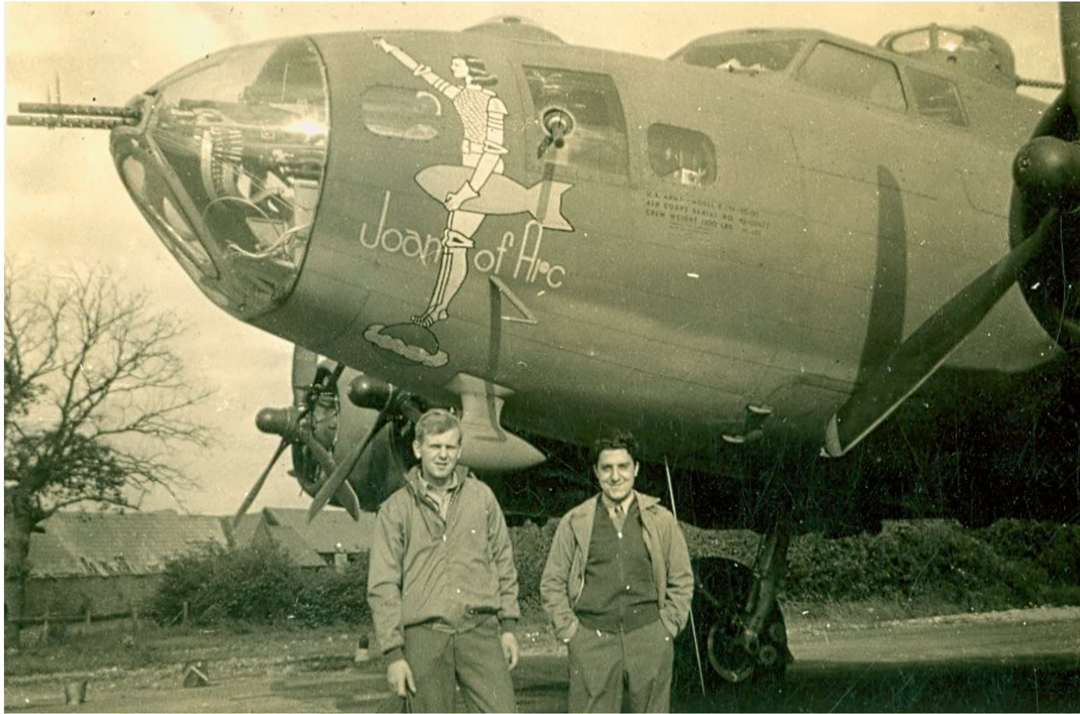

Figure 6.15: *Joan of Arc,* B-17, Serial # 42-29477, 360th BG

Figure 6.16: *Hellcat Agnes,* B-17, Serial # 42-102974, 96th and 379th BGs

Figure 6.17: *Urgin' Virgin*, B-24, Serial # 42-41004, 93rd BG

Figure 6.18: *The Wicked WAAC,* B-17, #42-30199, 306th BG

Figure 6.19: *Iza Vailable Too*, B-17, Serial # 42-97254, 303rd BG

Figure 6.20: *Never Mrs*., B-24, Serial # 42-95167, 453rd BG

Figure 6.21: *Heavenly Body,* B-24, Serial # 42-110155, 491st BG

Figure 6.22: *What's Cooking Doc*, B-17, Serial # 41-24525, 384th BG

Figure 6.23: 2009.0250.0047 – *Big Noise II,* B-24, Serial # 42-94969, 93rd BG

Figure 6.24: *Bird Dog,* B-24, Serial # 42-95084, 466th BG

Figure 6.25: *Wolf Patrol*, B-24, Serial # 45-50882, 446th BG

Figure 6.26: *Our Burma*, B-24, Serial # 42-50740, 458th BG

Figure 6.27: *Rosalyn,* B-24, Serial # 44-10601, 467th BG

CHAPTER 7

GROUND CREWS AND NOSE ART

Nose art was important not only to the air crew but also to the ground crew who maintained the aircraft. Many designers and painters of nose art lie within the ranks of the ground crew. For the majority of the war, nose art was not officially sanctioned so there was no single member assigned to creating such work. Due to its unofficial nature, very little information remains about the men who created the artwork. While the art and the process of deciding and requesting the art is often remembered, few veterans recalled the artists.

Of the identified artists, many were associated with art in some capacity prior to enlistment, either personally or professionally. Several bases had self-proclaimed residential artists who the fighter pilot or the bomber crew paid to complete nose art in their spare time on the base. Sometimes this would be the squadron painter on base, assigned to paint the official numbers and logos onto the aircraft as well as around the base, since he had access to paint. Whoever the artist might be, it is important that their story and the intent behind their art is not lost in the overall conversation surrounding the works themselves.

Many artists relied on house paint, or official Air Force paint, to complete their pieces, limiting coloration to red, yellow, blue, black, and white. Corporal Anthony "Tony" Starcer, recalled the process of creating artwork saying "The attachment between the men and the planes was so great the men called the planes by name, never by their call letters or serial numbers. It was a machine they fell in love with. Coming up with the names was no spur of the moment thing. All the airplane's crewmen would gather together to consider a name and design. I'd meet

with them and sketch something out and ask them if what I had sketched was what they had in mind."[56] Starcer displays his comprehension of the personal connection the crews formed with their aircraft and imbued his artwork with this understanding. Starcer painted the nose art for the *Memphis Belle* and on many other aircraft in his role as a line mechanic for the 91st BG.

Sergeant Samuel P. Rodman of the 303rd BG stationed in Molesworth, England was assigned to be the squadron painter to the 360th bomb squadron. While little is known of Rodman, several of his crewmates took photographs while he completed the artwork on their aircraft, portraying a sense of respect and reverence reserved for the men who made the aircrew's dreams come alive. The crew would eagerly await their completed artwork while Rodman worked on these larger than life images either on top of a ladder or sitting on a form of scaffolding (Figure 7.1).

Lawrence "Tiny" Eighner, a propeller specialist on B-17 maintenance in the 493rd BG, 862nd bomb squadron, became the resident nose artist for his base in Debach, England. Eighner documented his passion for aircraft and nose art in a personal scrapbook filled with newspaper clippings and photographs of his and other's art. Eighner completed art for *Cuddle Cat, The Snake Charmer, The Holy Terror, Jeannine, Yankee Queen,* and *The Devil's Daughter* (Figure 7.2). Eighner not only took multiple images of his art, he captioned these images with crew members names. He intended to remember not only his contribution to the aircraft but the men for whom he designed the artwork In a clipping from the *Baltimore Sun*, Eighner describes why he painted this style of art: "I figure that my female paintings on the B-17s are making a big contribution." Eighner goes on to "explain that the sylph-like figures are intended to distract the German fighters, spoil their aim, and make them just so many clay pigeons for the straight-

[56] Holmes, *Nose Art*, 139.

shooting boys in the bombers." Eighner felt that this art aided the airmen in battle, giving the ground crew a sense of ownership in the fighting and pride amidst a repetitive work routine.

One of the most familiar nose artists, Don Allen, who has been written about and interviewed numerous times for his artistic contributions, aided in establishing an understanding as to how nose art was completed. The ground crew chief for the 4th Fighter Group, 334th Fighter Squadron stationed in Debden, England, he was the primary nose artist for the fighter aircraft on his base. Airmen and crews paid for their artwork and Allen remembers "somewhere along the way I established eight pounds Sterling as the price for a paint job on a plane, five pounds if just lettering."[57] Allen was justified in his pricing as prior to the war he had studied art at the Cleveland School of Art. Allen pulled many of his designs out of his head and while inspired by Vargas and Petty he never copied them. He believed that girls were a favorite subject since there were so few in the area. As opposed to other artists, he attempted to keep his girls both sexy and covered, refusing to paint a complete nude.[58] Allen describes the importance of this artwork to both the ground crew and the pilots perfectly.

> "You don't remember serial numbers on airplanes. You don't remember even sometimes the call letters QBJ or QBB. But you have something pictorial that the eye can remember, and you see that take off time and again and you see a plane without anything on it and it's just another Thunderbolt taking off. But as you see those things taxiing by or taking off, they've got a little individuality and the pilot, I think it did something for their attitude. You know this was the toughest job in the world getting in that cockpit day after day knowing that a good possibility this is the last time I'll get in this airplane. You know, they always think it was going to be the other guy that got it, but sometimes it wasn't Sometimes they didn't come back."[59]

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[57] Jeffrey L. Ethell, *World War II Nose Art in Color*, (Osceola, WI: Motorbooks International Publishers & Wholesalers, 1993), 41.
[58] Ethell and Simonsen. *Aircraft Nose Art*, 87-92.
[59] Gail Downey, Nose Art & Pin-Ups, 1:34:00.

Nose art identified aircraft to the ground crews who waited for airmen to return after battle. Ground crews dealt with repairing and cleaning the aircraft experiencing second hand the horror that air crews experienced in battle. They were intimately connected with the aircraft and the men who flew. The artwork crafted by ground crews tied both the air and ground crews together, emphasizing the importance of a functioning warbird for protection. The ability to see an individual plane from a long distance with identifiable nose art allowed for the ground crew to know it was their plane returning home, their man had made it through the fight! This ownership and individuality made the nose art so much more than just an image to the ground crews, transforming the art into a symbol of assurance and information of who had survived the battle and who had not.

Figure 7.1: Sergeant Samuel P. Rodman, Squadron Painter, 303rd BG / 360th BS

Figure 7.2: Lawrence "Tiny" Eighner, B-17 Propeller Specialist, 862nd BS / 493rd BG

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In the midst of warfare, aircraft artwork on the sides of aircraft can seem unimportant – images intended simply to titillate and amuse bored airmen. Once investigated further, nose art provides insight into the hopes, fears, and desires of the many young men going to battle in a new frontier. Airmen of the Eighth Air Force risked their lives fighting for air superiority and testing unproven battle theories. Donning electric heating suits and oxygen masks, airmen climbed into their thin-walled bombers alongside crewmates uncertain that they would return home. Nose Art, while cloaked in humor, patriotism, or scantily clad figures displays airmen's desperate desire to survive and return home.

Instead of flying into battle alone, men transformed their aircraft into partners, warriors, and symbols for comic relief using anthropomorphic imagery. Emphasizing the male-female connection formed during the action of flight between bomber aircraft and crews, airmen identified their war machine as a place of protection using images of women as a reminder of their reasons for fighting. Transforming the aircraft into her own character, airmen distanced themselves from the horrors of war instead crafting a source of humor and a reminder of better and brighter days. Airmen used this personal artwork to convey feelings for which they had no other outlet. Should bomber boys of the Eighth Air Force not complete their required number of missions and return home, they at least had the privileged of falling in battle with a girl beside them.

When bomber aircraft returned back to America, the symbolic imagery and meaning did not translate to the home front. To civilians, images of erotically posed women positioned against the hard, cold metal of the aircraft incited questions of the airmen's morality. Officers often required many crews to add painted clothing onto the previously nude women. Yet images of the original artwork remain. Official crew photos, taken in front of the aircraft show that 'she' – the metal machine – was an important, vital, and humanized member of the crew.

At the conclusion of the war, the majority of nose art was either scrapped with the entire aircraft or painted over in order to continue the aircraft's use. Still, the stories of airmen's connection with aircraft are preserved in their diaries, memoires, interviews, and photographic collections. Popular films including the 1962 film, *The War Lover,* and the 1990 film, *Memphis Belle,* highlight nose art, the extreme experience of aerial combat and the close connection between man and aircraft. The remaining collections of nose art, often shorn off pieces of metal saved from the scrap piles, or recreated images from photographs, must be preserved. These collections will continue to display the importance of art, not only as culturally significant symbols to airmen during the Second World War, but as an outlet for suppressed emotions and a coping mechanism during combat.

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