ANIMALS OF WAR: VISUAL AND TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GRAPHIC MAGAZINES OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905)

Irina HOLCA[1]

Abstract
Graphic magazines published during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) incorporated a growing number of contributions from special correspondents, some of them soldiers in active duty, who were encouraged to submit rough sketches of their immediate reality. These sketches include a variety of animal representations and are a rich resource for understanding the daily life on the battlefront: from the bond between humans and their non-human companions (horses, dogs), to the food culture behind the lines (hunting wild boars, growing chicken), to the incessant fight against pests (rats, flies, bedbugs).
This paper looks at text-and-image sets that feature animals, shedding light on how they work to expose a less well-known side of war.

Keywords*:* Russo-Japanese War, graphic magazines, animals, text and image, realism
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1. Introduction

Animal symbolism is often used when representing countries at war: either one of the sides is animalized while the other keeps its humanity, or both are rendered as beasts in an antagonistic relationship. When the animals involved are wild or associated with aggressiveness, such as those in Figure 1, their representation points in a non-equivocal way to the violence of battle. On the other hand, representing a certain territory as a bull might have the double connotation of violence as well as capital, while in the case of a pig, such as in the example in Figure 2, the symbolism of the image points more clearly towards economic gain, also connoting gluttony and greed.

[1] Irina Holca, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, irinaholca@tufs.ac.jp

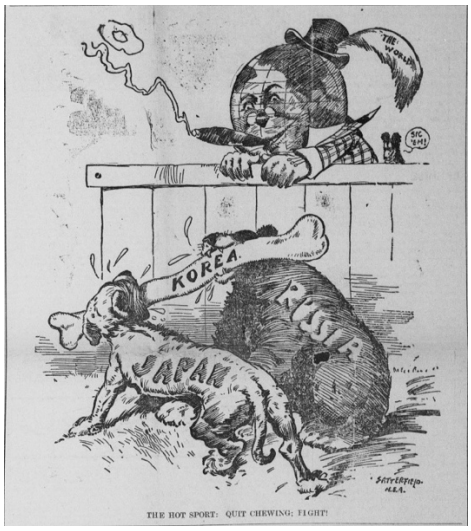

Figure 1. Caricature by Bob Satterfield
The Tacoma Times, January 27, 1904[2]

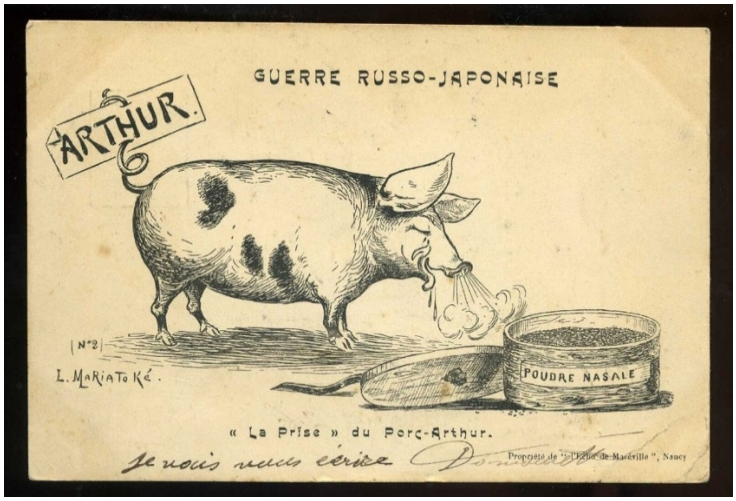

Figure 2. French postcard by L. Mariatoké
Caption reads: "La prise du Porc-Arthur" (The Siece of Porc-Arthur)
Originally published *in L'Echo de Maréville*, January 1904[3]

This type of imagery often travelled in various forms among individuals; for instance, the postcard above contains a handwritten message and was likely posted; and the Russian propaganda postcards called *lubok* were distributed among soldiers at the battlefront. It also travelled between countries, with examples of foreign illustrations copied and reproduced in Japanese media, such as the one in Figure 3.

[2] Image quoted from the public domain.
[3] Image quoted from the public domain.

Figure 3. Caricature from *Senji Gahō,* May 10, 1904
Caption reads: "Caricature of the Russo-Japanese War as seen in the foreign press."[4]

The next images are well-known representations of the main two countries engaged in the Russo-Japanese War[5]. In Figure 4, Russia is rendered as an octopus taking over the entire world. This early 20th century Japanese rendition by Ōhara and Nakamura follows the tradition established in the late 19th century by western comic cartographies, such as those of J.J. van Brederode or Fred Rose, in which Russia is represented as a black octopus or Kraken. On the other hand, in Figure 5 it is Japan's military power that takes the form of an octopus destroying ships in the East Asian seas, showing a reversal/ internalisation of the monstruous symbolism.

[4] Image quoted with permission from the Bunsei Online 復刻『近時画報』『戦時画報』 (2023). The same applies for all other images from *Senji Gahō.*
[5] For a discussion of how the Russo-Japanese War was represented in art in general, see Sharf et al, 2005.

Figure 4. "A Humorous Diplomatic Atlas of Europe and Asia"
By Ōhara Kisaburō and Nakamura Shingo, 1904[6]

Figure 5. "The Legs of the Octopus," *nishiki-e* by Kobayashi Kiyochika
In *Japan Banzai: 100 Selections 100 Laughs*, 1904-05[7]

[6] Image quoted from the Cornell University PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography.
[7] Image quoted from the public domain.

The active borrowing, adaptation, and circulation of such images during wartime shows that indeed, animal symbolism was considered a powerful tool in shaping the dynamics of the international conflict. On the other hand, though, as Aaron Skabelund notes, "[w]e cannot just view animals as mirrors or metaphors. To leave the matter there allows the symbolic significance of their existence to overshadow their tangible interactions with people" (2011, 17). With this in mind, in my paper I will analyze the visual and textual discourse surrounding "real" animals in the graphic magazines of the Meiji period during the Russo-Japanese War in order to shed light on what their representations tell us about human conflict, but also about the human-non-human relationships that underpin it.

2. Graphic Magazines, Wars, and Horses

Graphic magazines or *gahō-shi* flourished in Japan especially around the Russo-Japanese War, in step with advances in print technologies and the increased appetite for war news of an ever-growing number of readers who had loved ones on the battlefront and wanted easy access to information about them. The main feature of a graphic magazine is its wealth of visual elements, especially in the first half (画報), which usually contained page-sized painting reproductions and photographs; some, like *Senji Gahō*[8], also used various types of images (sketches, decorative art, maps, ship designs, etc) in the second half (読物), which was more text-heavy.

Before discussing the mature form of the *gahō-shi*, which crystallized around the turn of the 20th century, i.e., during the Russo-Japanese War, let me consider an earlier example, the *Nisshin Sentō Gahō*, which appeared during the Sino-Japanese War (1884-85). A total of eleven volumes were published between 1884 and 1885, from Okura Shoten, with illustrations by various artists, among which the most well-known is Kubota Beisen. Beisen went to the battlefront with his two sons, Beisai and Kinsen, and produced numerous visual reports and sketches (Ōtaki 2015). The image-based first half of the magazine is made up of many two-page spreads depicting battle scenes produced by the Kubotas (Figure 6), but less dynamic depictions, such of those of soldiers resting, can also be found (Figure 7).

[8] The precursor of *Senji Gahō* was *Kinji Gahō* (lit. The Contemporary Graphic), which earlier had carried the name *Tōyō Gahō* (The Oriental Graphic). *Tōyō Gahō* first appeared in March 1903; the name was changed to *Kinji Gahō* in September of the same year. At the start of the Russo-Japanese War, the publisher, Kinji Gahō-sha, decided to change the magazine's name once again to *Senji Gahō* (lit. Wartime Graphic; official English title was *The Japanese Graphic*). 68 volumes (approx. three/ month) were published between February 1904 and October 1905. One of the main editors at *Kinji/ Senji Gahō* was the famous man of letters Kunikida Doppo. For more details on his role as a journalist there, see Kuroiwa 2007.

The only animals featured in these images are horses, mostly as "war props;" in other words, the images do not focus on the horse as an independent entity but represent it as what novelist Furukawa Hideo (2011) calls "rideable livestock" (2011, 89). The style used by Kubota Beisen is that of *nihonga*; explanations appear in cursive writing inside the images, which are also accompanied by English captions outside the frame, in an interesting combination of old and new. On the other hand, likely due to the limitations of printing technologies available at the time, the text-heavy second half of *Nisshin Sentō Gahō* does not include any images.

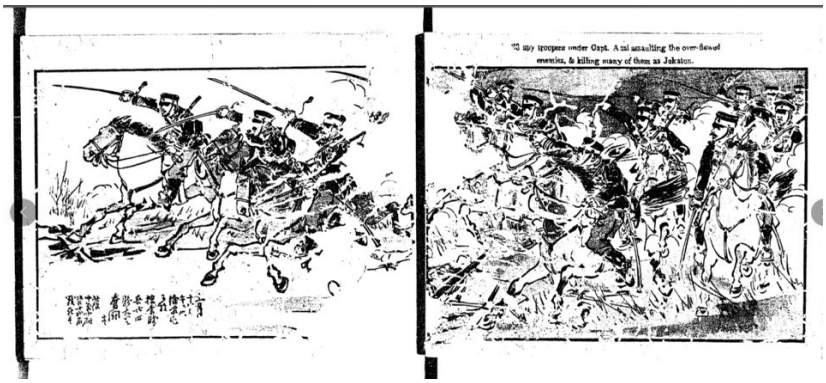

Figure 6. Illustration from *Nisshin Sentō Gahō,* Vol. 6
January 29, 1885[9]

Figure 7. Illustration from *Nisshin Sentō Gahō,* Vol. 2
November 8, 1884

Regarding the relationship between war and horses, novelist Furukawa Hideo further writes: "horses have also served as an engine of world history. (…) And war, too: horses changed the structure of war, both ethnic conflict and state-waged war. (…) There were groups and nations that understood horses, that made use of horses, and these "horse-advanced nations" appear in the historical records as victorious in battle"

[9] Quoted from the National Diet Library Digital Collections. The same applies to all other images from this magazine.

(2011, 89). Horses were, indeed, a game changer as far as warfare is concerned; as such, their iconology is central to any discourse about wars, modern or not. Classical war iconography often features military leaders on horseback, charging into battle or parading in celebration of a victory. One famous example is David's painting "Napoleon Crossing the Alps," also reproduced in the Japanese graphic magazine *Gunkoku Gahō*[10] (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Jacques-Louis David's painting "Napoleon Crossing the Alps" (1801)
Reproduced in *Gunkoku Gahō*, Year 2, Issue 5, April 1905[11]

David's work is one of many similar images that adorn the pages of illustrated magazines covering the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars. These paintings tend to prioritise the aesthetic, replicating a clichéd and idealised image of war in the description of both their human and non-human subjects, which results in the latter's representation being limited to horses. We may thus say that, along with the actual two million horses (Manabe 2015, Ōtaki 2016), a wide array of horse imagery, from reproductions of western classical war paintings to original paintings of horses inspired by both ancient and contemporary Japanese ancient history, was mobilised in the Russo-Japanese War.

[10] *Gunkoku Gahō* (lit. Warring Country Graphic) was published by Fuzanbō between April 1904 and October 1905 (20 volumes) and had the official English title *The Illustrated Monthly War Magazine.* For the way in which this magazine, as well as *Nichiro Sensō Jikki* (lit. True Reports of the Russo-Japanese War) engaged with reporting the "truth" of the war in their "Literature and Arts Column," see Ikeuchi 2009.

[11] Image from the author's personal collection. The same applies to all images quoted from *Gunkoku Gahō.*

All the graphic magazines surveyed for this paper make extensive use of horse imagery in their representations of the battles of the Russo-Japanese War, and the composition is often reminiscent of their European counterparts. As opposed to photos, which for technical reasons were usually static, or of battles far away, such paintings appear to be closer to the action and more dynamic; they often include soldiers on horseback fighting or marching towards battle. They also contain detailed depictions of uniforms and weapons, as well an emphasis on facial expressions (both human and equine), such as the examples given in Figures 9 and 10 below.

Figure 9. "The Brave Fight of a Standard Bearer"
Illustration from *Gunkoku Gahō*, Year 1, Issue 4, July 1904

Figure 10. "Flight of the Enemy"
Illustration from *Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō*[12], Issue 8, October 1904[13]

[12] The magazine was published between April 1904 and December 1905 by Hakubunkan. 40 volumes appeared. For an analysis of the way in which this magazine reported on the Russo-Japanese War, see Mitani 2001.

[13] Image from the author's personal collection. The same applies to all images quoted from *Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō.*

On the other hand, as Kōgō Eriko notes (2013), such war paintings that showed in an idealised way the bravery in battle of Japanese soldiers, were criticised as "imaginary/ conceptual" (想像画); they were indeed often based on second-hand accounts and not the painter's direct experience of the events represented. This type of criticism, emerging from the readers' need for factual information, led to a gradual shift from beautiful descriptions to truthful descriptions. The latter were based on the real experiences of war correspondents and soldiers, who were encouraged to send in their amateur drafts, no matter how crude or lacking in skill. Below are two quotes from announcements published in the graphic magazines of the time:

There are many contributions which depict in detail every little thing the eye sees. This is what we welcome the most in our magazine. It doesn't matter if these sketches are not skillful; do not be discouraged and keep sending them our way." (*Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō,* Issue 3)

Send us your drafts, no matter how crude— we have specialists who can turn them into real paintings. Any amateur sketch, any kind of rough doodle that can hardly be called a drawing is fine. (...) as our magazine places special emphasis on realism, make sure to write the date and place on your sketches. (*Senji Gahō,* Issue 9)

As we can see here, emphasis was placed on extreme realism, on "depicting in great detail every little thing the eye sees," and not on skill or aesthetic value. The readers too were repeatedly made aware of the directness of the battlefront experiences through the captions accompanying the images, which used words such as 写生 (sketching after life/ nature), 写実 (realism), 実写画 (real(istic) painting/ drawing), 実景 (real landscape), 目撃 (seeing with one's own eyes), etc.

Among the "real drawings" graphic magazines were calling for there are numerous examples that depict animals. As mentioned above, the main animal appearing in war iconography is the horse, and the new type of realistic representation also favours its representation but chooses different contexts (Figures 11, 12, 13).

Figure 11. "Wounded Soldiers Sent Back on a Moonlight Night"
Illustration from *Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō,* Issue 11, December 1904
Caption reads: "This is a real drawing (実写画) by Mr. Morikawa Komin, wounded in the battle for Port Arthur. (…) You must distinguish it from the usual made-up scenes (想像画).

Figure 12. "A Cruel Death of a Chinese Coolie"
Illustration from *Gunkoku Gahō*, Vol. 1, Issue 9, December 1904
Caption reads: "This painting shows a horrible scene witnessed by Mr. Shiga Shinsen[14] and sketched by Mr. Yamazaki Yōsai[15]. A Chinese coolie was blown to pieces by a bomb, together with his two horses. There is a pool of blood, and pieces of bone and flesh are scattered all around (…)."

[14] Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Japanese intellectual and editor of the magazine *Nihonjin*.
[15] Yamazaki Yōsai, or Yōya (1861-1916), Japanese military doctor and politician.

Figure 13. "Transport Auxiliaries Barefoot in the Hot Weather"
Illustration from *Senji Gahō,* Issue 19, August 20, 1904
Caption reads (original English): "This is a sketch of what our special correspondent Mr. Kosugi Misei saw with his own eyes on August 1, near Jinzhou. According to him, it was extremely hot (more than 90 F), and the ground was like fire, yet our soldiers persevered in their duties, some even barefoot."

Using words such as "real drawing" or "sketch," the captions of the illustrations above place great emphasis on the fact that the images are based on direct experience and distinguish them clearly from the "made-up scenes" invading the media at the time. They also usually mention that the authors of the drawings are soldiers themselves, or present in some capacity on the battlefront, to further point out the value of witnessing "with one's own eyes." "Real drawings," in contradistinction with the paintings shown in Figures 9 and 10, would rarely describe active battles— for the simple reason that their creators would have been too busy fighting to paint them. As a result, images "sketching from nature" are not as dynamic as the "imagined" battle paintings; instead, with their focus on the everyday life of the soldiers and local populations before and after battle, they are more varied in topic, as well as more realistic.

It is important to point out here the role played by the captions accompanying the illustrations in *gahō-shi*, which usually explicate and expand the visual content. For instance, the caption of Figure 11 draws attention to the moonlight and implies that the scene— a couple of wagons and several individual litters and stretchers— was sketched by one of the wounded soldiers, thus emphasizing both the urgency of the movement of troupes (during the night) and the immediacy of its representation (by a direct participant). Figure 12 is another interesting example: illustrating the horrors of war, it uses bright shades of blood red while barely sketching the contours of the horses and people— which in effect represents them realistically, since they had been

"blown to pieces by a bomb," as the caption tells us. As the complementarity of text and image is a characteristic of the graphic magazines, in this paper I will analyse both elements as well as their relationship, to point out what kind of scene they depict when viewed side by side.

The "real paintings" in Figures 11, 12, and 13 are quoted from the image-heavy first half of the graphic magazines; as such, they are bigger, use colour and are quite elaborate, likely the result of many hours of work, as well as touch-ups by the editorial team. On the other hand, as immediacy and extreme realism were becoming increasingly desirable, a larger number of "rough, crude" sketches were produced and sent to the graphic magazines. Due to their size and simplicity, they were easier to include in the reading part of the *gahō-shi*; here, they occasionally acted as illustrations for the texts but were more likely separate representations of the battlefront realities, sometimes alone, sometimes in sets that told a story or described a certain location in manga fashion. Figures 14 and 15 below are examples of sketches that feature horses: not in battle, not even marching towards the battlefield, but nevertheless participating in the war effort. Their captions focus on the human actors, but the images clearly represent the non-human ones, too. Particularly in Figure 15, the diagonal lines of the rain add dynamism to the depiction and, by cutting through both humans and horse alike, indicate their shared struggle against the elements.

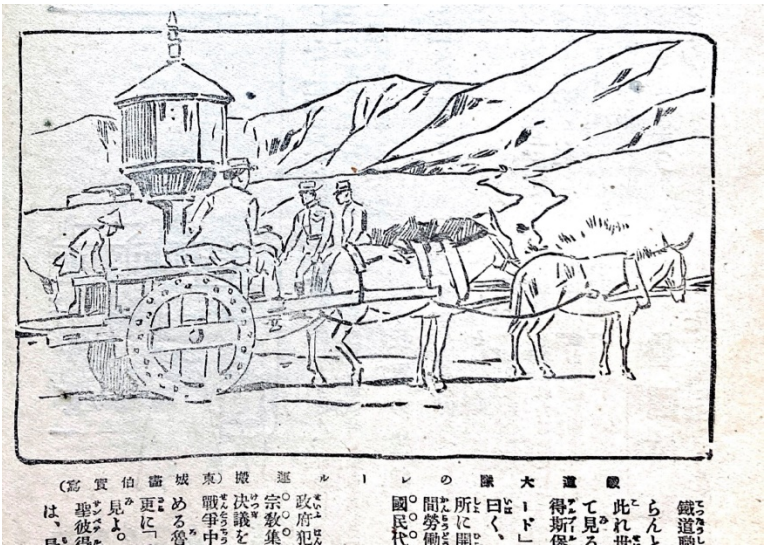

Figure 14. Illustration from *Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō,* Issue 15, February 1905
Caption reads: "The railway battalion transporting the rails
(sketch by our painter, Mr. Tōjō [Shōtarō][16])."

[16] Tōjō Shōtarō (1865-1929), Japanese *yōga* painter.

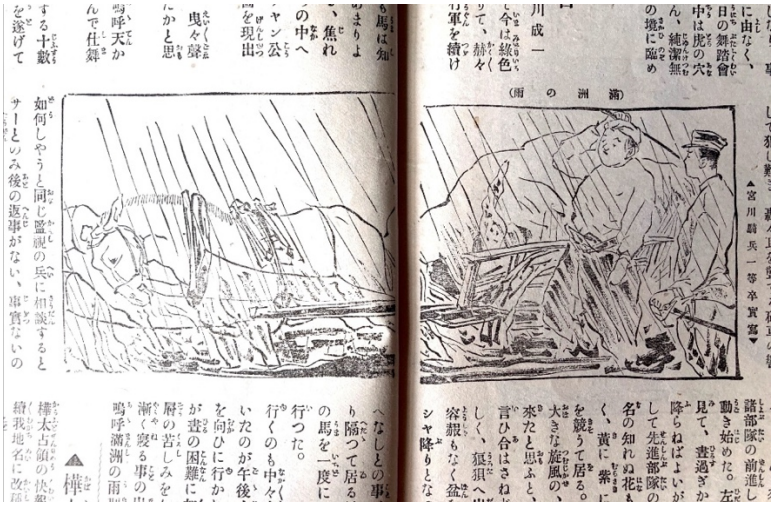

Figure 15. Illustration from *Gunkoku Gahō*, Vol. 2, Issue 9, August 1905
Caption reads: "The rains of Manchuria (sketch by first-class cavalryman, Mr. Miyakawa)"

Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō and *Gunkoku Gahō,* from which I have quoted above, tend to include both photographs and war paintings in the first (image-heavy) half, but not so many sketches in the second (text-heavy) half. The animals featured in both paintings and sketches are usually horses, and tend to be stylised, "imagined," and not the topic of the painting themselves, but rather a stereotypical part of war imagery. The sketches above, which appeal to the reader in a simple and direct way, are in fact exceptions to this rule.

3. *Senji Gahō*'s Army of Animals

On the other hand, *Senji Gahō* contains a great number of sketches drawn by special correspondents or soldiers in its reading section, which are a rich resource of snapshots of daily experiences, usually behind the lines: the "backstage" of war, exposing the small but real details and struggles on the battlefront. As mentioned previously, with extremely few exceptions, horses are the only animals featured in the "imagined" war paintings reproduced in the first (image-heavy) half of the graphic magazines. On the other hand, the sketches drawing from real life in the text-heavy second half picture both realistic horses such as the ones above, and a wide array of other non-human beings that are less likely to be engaged in anything heroic, but equally present at the battlefront. These include, but are not limited to: dogs, donkeys, cattle, chickens, pigs, pigeons; wolves, boars, wild ducks, whales, fish; rats, bedbugs, flies, mosquitoes, lice, scorpions, etc.

In this section I will group the animals in four distinct categories— companion animals, threatening animals, animals as sustenance, and pests— and analyse how they are represented visually as well as textually in *Senji Gahō*.

3.1 Companion Animals

As a wartime graphic, *Senji Gahō* unsurprisingly carries a great number of images representing horses.

The sketch below, comparing Japanese and Korean horses, symbolically points towards Japan's superiority, as expressed through the superiority of its animals— a type of propagandistic discourse expected at the time. Interestingly, this depiction would later be contradicted, as the Russo-Japanese War ended up exposing the fact that Japanese horses were not fit for battle, and was the impetus behind the so-called 馬政計画, a strategy to improve Japanese breeds that was initiated in 1906 (Ōtaki 2016).

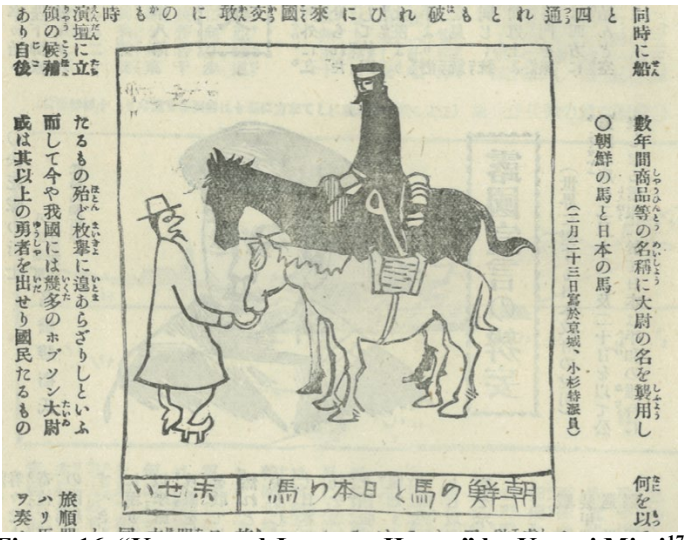

Figure 16. "Korean and Japanese Horses" by Kosugi Misei[17]
Senji Gahō, Issue 3, March 10, 1904

On the other hand, the illustrations below show instances with little to no symbolic potential, in which the relationship between horses and humans is captured in a straightforward manner by the drawing and the title accompanying it.

[17] Kosugi Misei (1891-1964) was a student at Koyama Shōtarō's painting school Fudōsha (in the style known as *yōga*). He contributed the greatest numbers of sketches and photographs, both in the graphic and in the textual parts of *Senji Gahō.* For more information on his activities during the war, see Yamada, 2003 and Gotō 2007.

Figure 17. "I'm Counting on You!" by Kosugi Misei
Senji Gahō, Issue 4, March 20, 1904

Figure 18. "Horse Receiving Medical Care" by Ashihara Hiroshi[18]
Senji Gahō, Issue 37, February 1, 1905

Figure 17 shows a soldier petting his horse's head affectionately, with the title pointing out their strong bond, while Figure 18 shows two soldiers on both sides of a horse, as well as several tools and medicine containers prepared to give the animal medical attention. In both images the horses are the actual subject of the sketch, and the mutual dependence between the human and non-human actors is brought to the fore.

[18] Ashihara Hiroshi (1875-?) too was a student at Koyama Shōtarō's painting school Fudōsha. His contribution to *Senji Gahō* was the second most extensive after Kosugi. For more information on his activities during the war, see Yamada, 2003.

Among companion animals present at the battlefront dogs are also featured frequently in textual and visual representations. As Skabelund (2011) notes, Japanese regulations regarding dogs had changed after the Meiji Restoration under the western influence. Tag-wearing was introduced around the 1870s, and stray dogs were systematically eradicated starting around the same time. This encouraged people to "civilize" dogs, i.e., to turn them into pets by adhering to Western-style dog keeping practices.

Dogs were kept as pets during the war, too. In Figure 19, a dog is trustingly curled up behind the soldier standing guard; the sentry seems to be stopping the hot sand blown by the wind with his body, as the dotted lines representing it do not reach the dog. Figure 20 shows a small dog in front of a seated soldier, who is perhaps preparing to pet him; the caption lets the readers know that the dog "Kame" is born in Chemulpo and has been adopted by the Japanese officers stationed in Tsi-Yuen.

Figure 19. Illustration by Kosugi Misei, in *Senji Gahō,* Issue 16, July 20, 1904
Caption reads: "In the scorching heat, while the south wind blows the hot sand, the sentry keeps watch, covered in sweat and dust."

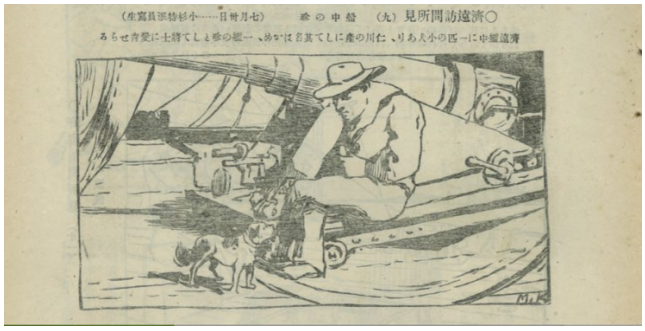

Figure 20. Illustration by Kosugi Misei, in *Senji Gahō,* Issue 20, September 1, 1904
Caption reads: "In Tsi-Yuen there is a small dog, born in Chemulpo and called 'Kame.' A rare sight, he is nurtured by the officers."

Furthermore, issue 40 of *Senji Gahō*, whose cover features two soldiers and a dog in the cold Manchurian winter, includes an interesting episode recounted by Yano Ryūkei[19] in his series *Detarame no ki* (Random Notes), according to which a female dog "as big as a lion's cub," left behind after the defeat of the Russians in the Battle of Shaho, is taken in by a Japanese captain along with her three pups, and given the name Rosu-jo (Russian Girl); the pups are then adopted by other Japanese soldiers, but Rosu-jo stays with the battalion "proudly leading the way whenever they are on the move, as if guiding them." Another illustration, Figure 21 below, focuses on a similar episode.

Figure 21. Illustration by Kosugi Misei, in *Senji Gahō,* Issue 16, July 20, 1904
Caption reads: "At the Battle of Chemulpo Bay, a dog named Valiak ran away from the Russian ship; it is as big as a calf. The Japanese children feed it."

As in the case of the puppy Kame, born in Chemulpo and adopted by Japanese officers, the episodes about Rosu-jo, who had been left behind by the Russians in Shaho, and Valiak, who ran away from a Russian ship, hint at the paradoxical situation through which animals are assigned to a certain nation during wartime. It is in this very context that the painter-cum-soldier Kosugi suggests that dogs sometimes switch sides and implies that they are treated better by the Japanese than by the Russians. It can also be argued that the size of the dogs ("as big as a lion's cub"/ "as big as a calf") is emphasized in order to metonymically refer to their former Russian owners, too, and suggest that their stature makes the victories of the Japanese soldiers even more impressive.

Regarding animals mobilized by a certain nation for the war effort, it should also be pointed out that the dogs used by the Russians on the battlefield to scout out the

[19] Yano Ryūkei (1851-1931) was a government official and journalist who worked as advisor for Kinji Gahō-sha, the company behind the publication of *Kinji Gahō* (Contemporary Graphic), renamed *Senji Gahō* (Wartime Graphic) during the war.

position of the enemy or to find the wounded garnered the attention of the Japanese media, as the full page of photographs covering the types of Red Cross Dogs included in *Senji Gahō*'s Issue 17 and Yokoi's illustration in Figure 22 show.

Figure 22. Illustration by Yokoi Shunzō [20]in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 41, March 1, 1905
Caption reads: "At the Battle of Sandepu, the Russians sent Red Cross dogs to scout out our positions."

3.2 Threatening Animals

Aside from the mascot dogs of the Japanese army and the Red Cross gogs used by the Russians, the texts and images sent by war correspondents regularly focus on local dogs, which are painted in a very different light. The Manchurian dogs are often seen as reflecting the characteristics of their owners, as colonel Inokuma Ken'ichirō notes: "[a]s might be expected, the filth and complacency of Chinese dogs is just like their masters'" (quoted in Skabelund, 2011, 85).

The Manchurian dogs feature in Ashihara's sketches and diary several times; he writes at some length about how he was attacked by the fearless beasts, who would not run away even when he threw rocks at them and tried to hit them with a stick, so he had to run for his life and shoot at them (see Figure 23 below). A similar surprise attack, on an unmoving night sentinel, who the dogs might have taken for dead, is described in a piece titled "Fighting the Strays," included in Issue 30 of *Senji Gahō* (December 1904). The writer— a soldier by the name of Akimoto Shigeyoshi, wounded in the battle of Port Arthur— concludes: "[i]f one goes to war and is not

[20] Yokoi Shunzō (?-?) was also a *yōga* student at Fudōsha. He started sending in his contributions to *Senji Gahō* from Issue 27 onward. For more information on his activities during the war, see Yamada, 2003.

killed by the enemy but by a dog, that really isn't an honourable death, that's a pointless one." Here, Akimoto uses the expression 犬死, which can mean both "dying like a dog," i.e., in vain, and literally "dying because of a dog/ dogs."

Figure 23. Illustration by Ashihara Hiroshi, included in his series 「絵画日誌 (drawing diary)」
Senji Gahō, Issue 32, December 20, 1904

Thus, the discourse surrounding dogs often seems to reflect the distinction between the modern dogs, kept according to western-style practices (Russian and Japanese, pets as well as military) and the pre-modern (uncivilized) Manchurian dogs, who often live as strays, feed on corpses, and attack people regardless of their nationality— the expression 敵味方 "friend and foe alike," is repeated several times in captions accompanying the illustrations and in articles on the topic.

The descriptions of the packs of Manchurian dogs are similar to those of their undomesticated brothers, the wolves. The illustrations often depict them being fought off by the humans they attack. On example is Figure 24 below.

Figure 24. "The Second Army, Fighting off Wolves," in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 20, September 1, 1904

English caption reads: "At a village near Port Arthur, *Japanese invading troops* (italics mine, I.H.) hunted wolves, which had caused much loss and alarm to the villagers."
Japanese caption reads: "…while on a break, our soldiers heard the Chinese screaming 'run, run!' (…) they chased the wolf, swinging their swords…"

Here, soldiers are shown sharing with the locals the common goal of fighting off the dangerous animals; in Figure 24, killing the wolf "that had caused much harm to the villagers" is described as another sign of the Japanese soldiers' bravery— all while the less than perfect English translation[21] of the caption exposes the reality that the Japanese troops were, as a matter of fact, "invading" the same territory themselves.

Boar hunting is also frequently reported; in the caption of the sketch shown in Figure 25 below, the boars are compared with the Russians chased around by the Japanese, but another image, shown as Figure 26, refers to the Japanese and Russians hunting

[21] The reason for this is not clear, but many graphic magazines had English captions, at least for some of their content. One possibility is that they imitated the style of earlier satirical magazines such as *Japan Punch* (1862-1887, published by English painter and cartoonist Charles Wirgman)— itself an imitation of the English *Punch.* Later satirical magazines (*The Puck, The Tokyo Puck,* etc) also often carried English captions. In the case of *Senji Gahō,* another reason might be that Senji Gahō-sha's advisor Yano Ryūkei had an English language education and had been influenced by his extensive travels to Europe and the US.

the boars together, in this case the danger seemingly blurring national boundaries and instead reinforcing the animal-human divide[22].

Figure 25. Illustration from *Senji Gahō*, Issue 30, December 1, 1904
Caption reads: "We chased the boars. (…) [T]hinking this is how our troops chase around the Ruskies, we went after them ever harder!"
(sketch by our correspondent, Mr. Mizushima)"

Figure 26. "Friends and Enemies Hunting Boars," by Kosugi Misei
Senji Gahō, Issue 31, December 15, 1904

[22] In my analysis I focus on *Senji Gahō*, but it should be mentioned that sketches by correspondents documenting wild animal attacks are present in other graphic magazines of the time, e.g., *Gunkoku Gahō*, indicating that such attacks were a regular occurrence.

Another important but less talked about aspect of war represented in the sketches from *Senji Gahō* is the ways in which animals were used as sustenance by the troops. Such images and their captions provide hints into what appear to be mundane details about life on the battlefront, at the same time shedding light on the difficulties encountered inasmuch as appropriate nutrition was concerned.[23]

Figure 27. Illustration by Ashihara Hiroshi in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 20, September 1, 1904
Caption reads: "… we were unexpectedly able to buy some chicken, after a long time. Eating it at the front— I can still remember that taste! At 10 *sen*, it was a bargain, too— something you can't find back home. (based on a story by wounded private Yamada)"

[23] Research has pointed out that the soldiers' diet during the Russo-Japanese War was not appropriate, relying too heavily on white rice. Vitamin B deficiency often caused them to develop beriberi, a disease that could sometimes be fatal (see Hawk 2006). This was likely not the only deficiency soldiers suffered from, though, and the sketches in the graphic magazines often show them hunting for boars or other wild animals and birds as well as fishing, not to protect themselves, but to supplement their diet.

Figure 28. Illustration by Ashihara Hiroshi in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 29, November 20, 1904

Caption reads: "The stationed soldiers join the coolies in butchering the cow. 'The meat is for eating, the hide can be dried and used for military clothes.'"

As the caption for Figure 27 states, chicken was a rare feast for the soldiers, and particularly coveted by the convalescing ones. Figure 28 and its caption focus on the fact that the locals' support was often necessary to ensure the smooth running— and particularly, feeding— of the Japanese army. In the caption of another image, from Issue 57, the local man hired by one battalion to look after the poultry is the subject of high praise from the troops; similarly, in Issue 37, a local teenager who manages to herd 30 cows by himself attracts Ashihara's attention, who notices that "the locals are much better than we are at taking care of animals." Also, in his caption for one of the sketches included in Issue 40, the same Ashihara notes that the Chinese methods of replacing horseshoes, with the animal on its side, the legs tied together, are better than the Japanese equivalent, and so on. The conclusions that can be drawn from these illustrations and their accompanying comments is rather surprising: more often than not, Ashihara acknowledges the expertise of the locals, a fact that would presumably go against the official ideology of "cultivating" the backward country.

One other animal that Ashihara draws frequently is the pig— below, several of them are depicted with their legs tied, in transport:

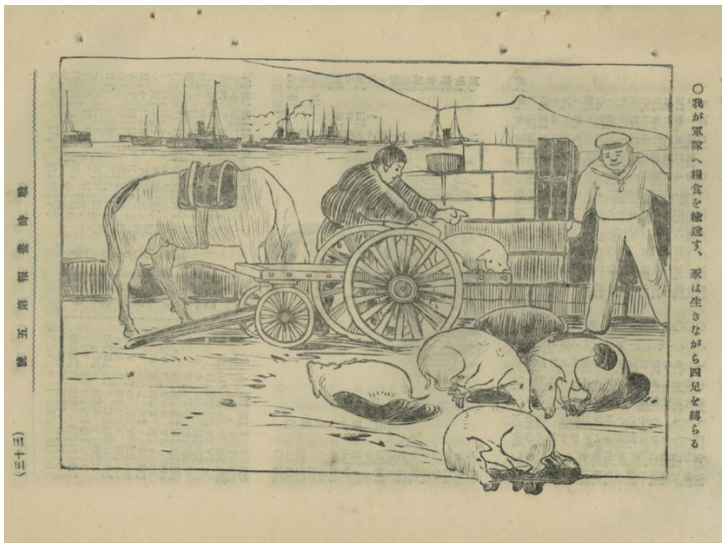

Figure 29. Illustration by Ashihara Hiroshi in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 5, April 1, 1904
Caption reads: "Food being delivered to our troops. Pigs are transported alive, with their feet tied."

While confessing in one of the texts accompanying his sketches in Issue 38 that he does not like pigs, Ashihara does draw them again and again: as animals on their way to becoming food (such as the ones above, or a pig frozen in the Manchurian winter in Issue 42, which is cut for cooking), but also as non-human beings that still deserve respect— in Issue 38, Ashihara's caption states that he was reprimanded by a soldier for kicking a pig and acknowledges the author's guilt.

In sum, domestic animals (cattle, poultry, etc.) are usually depicted as much needed sustenance for the soldiers, but they also serve as a contact point between the Japanese and the Chinese/ Korean/ Manchurian people. As the animals are usually cared for and provided to the troops by the local population, this gives the former the opportunity to observe different methods and skills used in animal farming and handling under different weather and terrain conditions, laying the foundations of a unique cultural exchange during war.

3.4 Pests

One other topic that is often tackled in the sketches and diaries of war correspondents and soldiers are the various pests they come up against as part of their daily life at war. In Figure 30, the ubiquitous rats infesting the ships are depicted, alongside the notice that offers a bounty for their capture— an image hinting at how desperate, but ultimately ineffective the human efforts to reduce the rat population were. Here, too, the special focus on rats— both through the life-like, life-size depiction in the illustration and through the caption rendered in English translation, too— seems to

run counter to the propagandistic image of a "heroic war," superseded by the drive for realism dominating the socio-cultural discourse of the time.

Figure 30. "A Bounty Notice for Rats aboard the Mikasa, by Mr. Mizuno"
Illustration in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 18, August 10, 1904
English caption reads: "Our ships being infested with rats, the following notice is posted up: 'A reward of five *sen* paid for every rat caught.'"

While rats were indeed a nuisance, consuming soldiers' rationed food and potentially carrying diseases, it is obvious that insects were the bane of any soldier's life, based on the sheer number of sketches they appear in. The images below are a selection of those depicting the relentless attacks of the "Bug Army," which expose a less well-known side of war, showing that the fight was as difficult behind the lines as it was on the battlefront. Some of the challenges encountered by the soldiers were exotic, like scorpions, *nanking* bedbugs (Figure 31), or *bairin* sandflies (Figure 32), while others were familiar for the readers on the home front, too, such as the mosquitoes, flies, or lice (Figures 33 and 34).

Figure 31. "The Insects' Envelopment Attack"
Illustration by Tanouchi Chiaki[24], in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 17, August 1, 1904
Caption reads: "A line from an officer's letter: there was nothing we could do about the *nanking* bedbugs, we were powerless…"

Figure 32. "*Bairin* Fly"
Illustration by Kosugi Misei, in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 22, September 20, 1904
Caption reads: "Soldiers, horses, and war correspondents, all look pitiful when attacked by these poisonous insects."

It should be noted here that it was common for the image captions to refer to the insects plaguing the soldiers using military vocabulary, such as "troops" or "armies" that launch "envelopment attacks" that are hard, if not impossible to fight back. This type of discourse is at its most obvious in the extensive captions quoted below:

[24] Tanouchi Chiaki (1862-1930) was another Fudōsha painter employed by *Senji Gahō* as a war correspondent. He is mentioned in Kuroiwa, 2007.

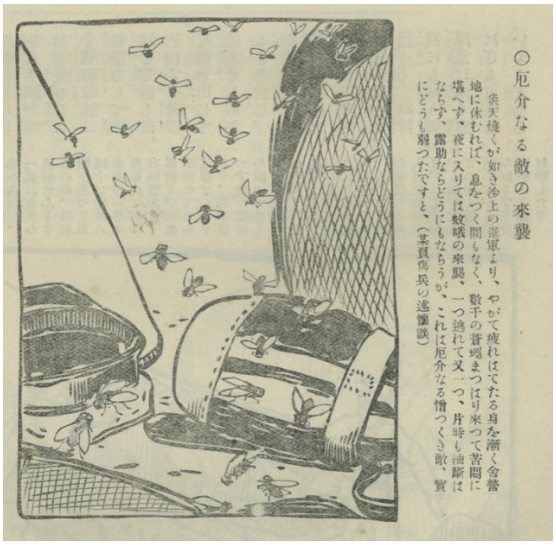

Figure 33. "A Tricky Enemy's Attack"
Illustration by Kosugi Misei in in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 20, September 1, 1904
Caption reads: "'…As soon as I laid my tired body down to rest in the barracks, thousands of flies started giving me a hard time. At night, the mosquitoes and the moths attack; even if you escape one, the other will find you. We really can't catch a break! Had it been the Russians, we might have defeated them, but these are troublesome, hateful enemies, and there is nothing we can do about them.' From the reminiscences of a wounded soldier."

Figure 34. "The Bug Army and Our Soldiers"
Illustration by Kosugi Misei in *Senji Gahō*, Issue 20, September 1, 1904
Caption reads: "Our country has another enemy, not only the Russians… They spread their wings over the fields of the Liaodong region, coming and going as they please, tormenting our soldiers. At noon, the fly battalion conquers our provisions; at night the detached forces of the mosquitoes and lice launch an impetuous attack on us; particularly efficient are the *nanking* bedbugs. Our soldiers are valiant indeed, but no sooner has one enemy retreated that another one looms even more threatening."

Thus, while official war reports would mention only the human enemy, i.e., the Russian Army, and perhaps occasionally feature images of Japanese officers on horseback, it was the role of the "real drawings" and "rough sketches" of the soldiers-cum-correspondents like Ashihara, Kosugi, et al, to show to the people on the home front what other, non-human enemies they had to face on a daily basis in the Manchurian plains: from insufficient animal products in the diet to too many wild animals that needed be chased away, and to small but annoying insects and other pests, these were sometimes "an enemy more redoubtable than the Russians.

4. Conclusions

My survey of three wartime graphic magazines published during the Russo-Japanese War (*Gunkoku Gahō, Nichiro Sensō Shashin Gahō*, and *Senji Gahō*) has revealed that horses continued to be the most frequently represented "animals of war," regularly appearing in paintings featured on the covers or in the first, image-heavy half of the *gahō-shi*. Here, their representation tends to replicate the patterns of traditional war painting: the horses are shown engaging in battle or in glorified postures, idealised and half-imaginary. They are not usually the topic of the painting itself— their human rider is. On the other hand, the new focus on realism and the call for "drawing from life (写生)" and "real paintings (実写画)" meant that graphic magazines started to include numerous images of very immediate experiences, particularly in their second, text-heavy half. These sketches and the captions that accompanied them were usually simple and focused on rendering snapshots of everyday episodes which, as a result, were able to dynamically depict diverse situations through diverse animals. Horses are the subject of many of these rough drawings, too, but we rarely see them in battle there: instead, they might be shown dying of starvation or already dead, their corpses devoured by wolves and crows; or receiving medical attention and sharing a quiet moment with their human, etc.

The representation of another companion animal, the dog, also becomes more diversified through the use of "sketching after life." The Army/ Red Cross dogs do get their moment in the limelight of the image-heavy first half of the magazines, but daily scenes of shared struggle (the extreme cold or heat of the Manchurian plains, the lack of food) are also depicted frequently. Dogs are sometimes used to metonymically stand in for their owners (the lion-like or calf-like size of the animals pointing to the stature of the Russians; or the small Korean dog being nurtured by the Japanese), and, as part of the same wartime, nationalistic logic, are also shown to belong to a certain nation and occasionally switch sides. On the other hand, both Russian and Japanese dogs are contrasted with the "uncivilized" packs of stray Manchurian dogs, who attack "friend and foe alike," just like wolves and wild boars do.

The focus on the war fought behind the lines also means numerous descriptions of animals used as sustenance: pigs, cows, chicken, etc. As they were usually cared for by the locals, such domestic animals provide an interesting perspective into native

farming practices, on which the painter-cum-war correspondents often report, satisfying the curiosity of their rural audiences on the home front. Representations of cattle or poultry, understandably, never make it to the cover or to the first half of the graphic magazines, and are relegated to the second half, where their abundance offers the reader a valuable glimpse into the life of soldiers.

One final type of non-human beings that feature in numerous "rough sketches," (but never in the "real paintings") are the various insects and other critters giving the soldiers a hard time behind the lines. Their actions are often described with military vocabulary, and humans are shown as powerless against their relentless attacks. Some of them, such as the scorpion, are likely unknown to the Japanese readers, so the illustrations describe their appearance and effects on the human body in detail; others are the more usual culprits: lice, flies, moths and the like, which are familiar to the audience and make the soldiers' predicament more relatable.

We may say that, through their emphasis on realistic description, both the simple sketches and the more elaborate "real paintings" focusing on animals succeed in drawing a complex and nuanced image of war, which combines the familiar with the unknown to allow readers on the home front to relate to the soldiers' experiences. Furthermore, animal representations sometimes reinforce national discourses (horses can be Japanese or Korean, dogs can switch sides, etc.)— but also often blur them, as a recurring theme is that wild boars threaten "friend and foe alike," stray dogs devour corpses regardless of their nationality, and the "Bug Army" renders all humans defenceless. Thus, the call of graphic magazines for "contributions which depict in detail every little thing the eye sees" succeeds in turning the painters' and the public's attention away from the big picture of the "heroic war"— often depicted with the thick strokes of propaganda and idealism, and towards the small, personal minutiae of human and non-human life on the battlefront, sketched simply and realistically.[25]

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[25] While the new style of sketching (and captioning) does bring to the fore one of the invisible realities of war, i.e., animals, the focus of these representations is still on the soldiers, as one of the reviewers of this paper has pointed out. Due to time and space constraints, I cannot fully address their comments here, but I thank them for their suggestions and promise to take them to heart, connecting my analysis with 1904-1905 propaganda and scholarship thereof in a future paper on this topic.

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The author

Irina Holca is associate professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. She specialises in modern and contemporary Japanese literature and is also interested in translation and media studies. Her main English-language publications include *Forms of the Body in Contemporary Japanese Society, Literature, and Culture* (Lexington Books, 2020; co-edited with Carmen Sapunaru-Tamas), *Japanese Literary Theories: An Anthology* (editor of the English language translation; Lexington Books, 2024) and *Literary and Artistic Japan Behind the Iron Curtain* (Routledge, pending publication; co-edited with George T. Sipos).