On the trail of *The Last Samurai* (III): Himeji and Kagoshima

Philip Seaton

**Abstract:** This research note is part three of a three-part series documenting fieldwork at sites related to the 2003 film *The Last Samurai*. It contrasts the two major sites in Japan that experienced increased tourism levels as a result of the film: the shooting locations in Himeji and heritage sites in Kagoshima related to the ‘real last samurai’, Saigō Takamori. Despite the film being only very loosely based on Saigō’s life, the tourism impacts were greatest in Kagoshima, in other words the place where contents tourism relating to the actual history of ‘the last samurai’ (Saigō) occurred, and not in Himeji, where film tourism relating to *The Last Samurai* (the film) occurred. Comparison with the levels of tourism at shooting locations in New Zealand (in part I and part II of the article series) demonstrates a similar pattern: the tourism impacts were greatest in the country depicted in the film rather than the country where the film was made.

**Keywords:** film location tourism, contents tourism, heritage tourism, Saigō Takamori, *The Last Samurai*
Introduction

This research note explores the connections between media-induced tourism and heritage tourism with reference to sites related to the famous Japanese military leader Saigō Takamori. Saigō was a leading figure in the Meiji Restoration of 1868. He died in 1877 during the Satsuma Rebellion, which was launched by former samurai disgruntled with the reforms introduced after the Restoration. In Japan, Saigō is a widely-revered national hero and his life has been featured in many historical dramas and films. Outside of Japan he is probably best known as the inspiration for Watanabe Ken’s character in The Last Samurai (Ravina 2004).

The tourism induced by such popular culture forms straddles media-induced tourism and heritage tourism. Saigō was an actual historical figure and many sites related to him existed long before what we would recognize today as media-induced tourism came into existence. In his hometown of Kagoshima in southern Japan there has been a process whereby local sites of commemoration for a local hero have developed over time into a set of prime heritage tourism assets central to municipal and prefectural destination branding. Media have been crucial in developing these tourism assets because Saigō’s enduring popularity is built on a constant stream of positive representations of his life and deeds in various media forms, from television dramas to manga.

I will discuss contents tourism related to Saigō Takamori and The Last Samurai focusing on two locations. The first is Himeji in central Honshu, which is where significant sections of The Last Samurai were filmed. The second is Kagoshima city in Kyushu, where Saigō was born, where he died during the Satsuma Rebellion, and where the majority of sites related to him are to be found. The Himeji case study is an archetypal film-induced tourism case study, while the Kagoshima case study illuminates the potential of a contents tourism approach. The differing scales and natures of the tourism effects at shooting locations and heritage sites within Japan mirror the differing scales and natures of the tourism effects in New Zealand and Japan. The results conform to the conclusions of Frost (2006, p. 251; see Seaton 2019a, pp. 13-14) that tourists on the trail of historical films tend to visit the associated historical sites rather than shooting locations.

The fieldwork was undertaken in 2012 and 2016 (Kagoshima) and 2014 (Himeji). For both case studies, the position of heritage tourism and/or media-induced tourism within the broader tourism...
industry is contextualized by means of content analysis of two widely available travel magazines: Mapple (published by Shōbunsha) and Rurubu (published by JTB, one of Japan’s leading travel agencies). Then, the empirical evidence of changes in tourist behaviour is presented through the publicly available tourism statistics.

The Last Samurai and film-induced tourism in Himeji

Hyogo prefecture is in central Japan. The prefectural capital Kobe is known as a cosmopolitan port city and for being devastated by the Hanshin Earthquake in 1995. The Kansai region in Western Japan, of which Hyogo is one of seven prefectures, is known as the cradle of Japanese traditional culture and contains the old capitals of Kyoto and Nara, the kofun tombs of Japan’s ancient kings near Osaka, and Ise Shrine, one of Shinto’s holiest sites. Hyogo is also rich in history. The sites in Hyogo related to heritage tourism and/or film tourism, as contained in the Mapple and Rurubu guidebooks, are clustered in three main locations:

1. Kobe: The buildings and foreign residences dating from the Meiji Period (1868-1912) when Kobe was an important international port city during Japan’s early period of modernization.
2. Himeji: Himeji Castle is Japan’s finest surviving castle and a UNESCO World Heritage site. There is also the Engyō-ji Temple complex on Mt Shosha. In 2014, sites related to the military strategist Kuroda Kanbee (such as Hiromine Shrine, with which the Kuroda family had long association) featured prominently because he was the hero of NHK’s Taiga Drama on air that year. Himeji’s status as the prefectural centre of heritage tourism is confirmed by the location of the prefectural history museum just behind the castle.
3. Akō: The home of the 47 ronin (masterless samurai) who avenged their master’s death in arguably the best-known samurai tale.

There are a number of other heritage sites particularly the castles in Takeda and Tatsuno.

The existence of these prime historical sites has made Hyogo prefecture, and Himeji city in particular, an important location for historical dramas. The Himeji Film Commission assists film production companies with filming in the city and major films shot in Himeji include the James Bond film You Only Live Twice, Akira Kurosawa’s Kagemusha and Ran, and The Last Samurai. In recent times the city has also featured in the NHK Taiga Dramas Musashi (2003) and Gunshi Kanbee (2014). But, the prime example of film location tourism in Himeji is The Last Samurai. It had many of the important prerequisites of a film-induced tourism boom: a big budget production with a huge international star, a plot based loosely on the life story of one of Japan’s greatest heroes, a top Japanese actor in a leading role, and significant box office success: it earned 13.7 billion yen at the box office ahead of Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban, Finding Nemo, and Lord of the Rings: Return of the King, and only the Studio Ghibli anime Howl’s Moving Castle earned more in that year (Motion Picture Producers Association of Japan n.d.).

According to an investigative report by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2008, pp. 63-4) into the potential of inviting foreign production companies to film on location in Japan, The Last Samurai had a considerable local economic impact. On top of a 150 million yen direct impact in 2002 generated by a crew of 250 staying five nights as filming took place in Himeji (a figure which does not include the income generated by 800 onlookers on the first day rising to 6,000 people by the last day of shooting), the Mt Shosha cable car saw a thirty per cent rise in customers for the year after the release of the film. Whereas Engyō-ji Temple is famous as a pilgrimage site, the increase in young and foreign visitors pointed to the impact of the film on visitor numbers, according to the report. In addition to such direct impacts, the Yomiuri Shinbun newspaper’s English
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Edition quoted the head of the Himeji municipal government’s tourism and exchange department as saying, ‘If [inviting film production companies to film in Himeji] means that more people will recognize the name of the city, we think it’s a good thing’ (Japan News 2006). Film locations are an important component of Himeji’s destination branding and over a decade after the film was released, Engyōji Temple and Himeji city still mention that the Temple was a location for The Last Samurai on their websites.

Figure 2: The main temple complex at Engyōji Temple, location for The Last Samurai

I had visited Engyōji Temple in the mid-1990s when I was living near Himeji, but I revisited the site in April 2014. I asked at the ticket gate just beyond the cable car station whether there were any signs or maps related to The Last Samurai. There were none, but obviously used to such inquiries the lady at the ticket booth took out a photograph of the crew during filming and pointed out Tom Cruise. However, Engyōji Temple is first and foremost a holy place. It welcomes film crews to use its facilities, but once they have gone there are no permanent displays of their stay. The filming helps support financially the religious mission of the temple and to increase its name recognition, but the temple’s identity is rooted in over a thousand years of Buddhist faith. Pilgrims rather than film tourists remain its most important visitors.

The essence of the temple’s approach to film tourism was clear to see on my visit. The 2014 taiga drama Gunshi Kanbee also used Engyōji Temple as a location. In contrast to The Last Samurai, which simply used the temple as a suitable backdrop to a semi-fictional story, Mt Shosha was the site of an important incident during Kanbee’s life when it was occupied in 1578 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (one of the three unifiers of Japan in the late sixteenth century who Kanbee served as a military strategist). Engyōji Temple, therefore, was used as an authentic location to reconstruct a scene that happened in the same place over four centuries previously. Despite the significance of the location, the temple had just placed three photos of the filming on display with some commentary on panels. These displays, like all the signposts pointing tourists in the direction of places related to Kanbee, were on temporary stands that could be picked up and moved by a single person. They disappeared after the taiga drama tourism boom abated.
Engyōji Temple is an interesting case study because it has elements of both film-induced tourism and contents tourism. As a location for The Last Samurai, it better fits the film location tourism mould. But, in its more recent role as a location for Gunshi Kanbee, the discussion verges towards contents tourism. Local government had been lobbying NHK for a number of years to get this particular story dramatized (Suzuki 2011, p. 305). Taiga dramas offer an unrivalled opportunity to develop a set of local contents: the narrative and character of Kanbee and a set of sites linked to him. Local authorities know not to invest too much money in new, permanent tourist sites because the attention of the historical-drama-watching public quickly moves on after the drama has finished. The standard practice, therefore, is to have a display related to the drama in a temporary site just while the drama is being aired (the Gunshi Kanbee Pavilion was in a temporary structure on a lawn near Himeji Castle). Nevertheless, the drama has created tour itineraries and public consciousness of these contents that can be drawn on if Kanbee’s life features in other popular culture forms that induce tourism in the future.
Local authorities in Himeji value film tourism, therefore, but treat it as only part of a more complex tourism strategy. Urakami Masahiro of the Himeji Convention & Visitors Bureau told me that no attempt is made to track film tourists within local government statistics and that in recent years other events and promotions have generated far larger boosts to local tourism (Urakami 2014). This is evident in the publicly available tourism statistics.

![Figure 5: Visitor Numbers to Himeji, Himeji Castle and Mt Shosha, 2002-2011 (Himeji City 2012)](image)

There is very little visual evidence in Figure 5 of any decisive effect of *The Last Samurai* or any other film on the overall tourism sector. The years 2003-2004 were actually labeled the ‘Miyamoto Musashi Campaign’ in Himeji city’s report, in other words more effort was put into attracting tourists interested in the 2003 taiga drama *Musashi* (also partly filmed in Himeji) than *The Last Samurai*. The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2008, pp. 63-4) had stated there was a thirty per cent rise in visitors to Mt Shosha in the year following release of the film (2003-2004), but this barely registers in the graph. The much larger effects coincide with the municipal mergers that increased the size of Himeji city in 2005, two food festivals in 2008 and 2011, and the major drop in visitors to Himeji Castle (and therefore Himeji as a whole) in 2010. Immediately after a peak for its four hundredth anniversary in 2009 (the present castle was completed in 1609), the main keep was off-limits to the public as it began a five-year renovation in 2010. With *The Last Samurai* boom in 2003-2004 barely visible in data for the Mt Shosha cable car, let alone the city as a whole (although a rise might have been more visible if the data for 2001 was publicly available), we must conclude that the major evidence for the boom is anecdotal.

Despite the lack of convincing evidence for a major film tourism impact and the temple’s low-key approach to welcoming film tourists, the Engyōji case study is interesting on theoretical grounds. In one site there is an instance of film location tourism for a fictional film that nevertheless generated some additional heritage tourism, and also a case of contents tourism in which an authentic site has featured in an historical reconstruction for film as part of a city-led initiative to turn a set of contents (the Kuroda Kanbee story) into a major tourism asset for the city.
Contents Tourism in Kagoshima

The second case study related to Saigō Takamori is Kagoshima in Kyushu. This is where Saigō was from, where he died in 1877, and where all the prime heritage tourism assets related to Saigō may be found. Content analysis of the travel magazines Mapple and Rurubu reveal that history is very important to destination image and branding in Kagoshima. Both of the magazines have the statue of Saigō (see Figure 1) on their front covers in a montage of pictures from the other sites in Kagoshima (such as the active volcano Mt Sakurajima). Heritage and media-induced tourism sites listed in the magazines can be grouped into five categories:

1. Sites related to Saigō Takamori: battle sites on Mt Shiroyama where he died during the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion, a bronze statue, his grave, the Nanshū Shrine where he is commemorated, the Saigō Memorial Hall, and the Saigōdon yu (Saigō hot spring) in Kokubu city where he is reputed to have bathed.

2. Other Kagoshima historical sites: the Museum of the Meiji Restoration, sites related to the Shimazu clan (feudal lords of the Satsuma domain during the Edo period, 1600-1867) such as the clan’s country residence at the Meishō Senganen garden, and the birthplace of Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-78, a contemporary of Saigō and one of the founding fathers of the Meiji state).

3. Sites connected to Princess Atsu (Atsuhime), who was featured in the hit taiga drama Atsuhime (2008). Princess Atsu (1836-83) was a native of Kagoshima who married Shogun Tokugawa Iesada in 1856. These include various sites in the town of Ibusuki where she grew up.

4. Apart from Kagoshima’s pivotal role in the Meiji Restoration, the prefecture is also famous for being the place from where many kamikaze attack missions took off at the end of World War II. Many kamikaze films have been located and/or shot in the town of Chiran. Some of these films feature in the Chiran Peace Museum or the Hotarukan (literally “Fireflies Hall”) about a lady who used to cook pilots their last meals.

5. The hot spring resort of Kirishima is famous as the place where Sakamoto Ryōma, a prominent figure in the pro-Restoration camp and one of Japan’s most popular national heroes, spent a month in 1866 with his new wife Oryo. This is dubbed the first honeymoon in Japan.

There are not only a lot of heritage tourism sites, they are a driving force in the overall health of the Kagoshima tourism industry. This is clear in tourism data for Kagoshima city. Unlike Himeji, where the impact of film location or contents tourism was not obvious in general statistics, in Kagoshima the impact registers clearly in macro tourism data.
The two instances of major contents tourism booms are 1990 and 2008. In 1990 Saigō was the main character of NHK’s taiga drama *Tobu ga gotoku* and in 2008 the heroine was Princess Atsu. The boom related to the drama about Saigō’s life in 1990 and the following two years is unmistakable. The business magazine Diamond online (2010) reported that in the year *Tobu ga gotoku* was broadcast, the number of overnight visitors to Kagoshima from outside the prefecture increased by 1.53 million to 9.31 million (20 per cent) and generated additional expenditure of 62.1 billion yen. While there are various methodological issues about putting such precise figures on the tourism booms precipitated by taiga dramas, this sort of impact has been seen following a number of other dramas and is of the magnitude where it starts registering as a small percentage of prefectural GDP (Seaton 2015). The *Atsuhime* boom in 2008 was also very lucrative for Kagoshima. The Bank of Japan forecast for the economic effect was 36.4 billion yen, making it one of the more sizable taiga drama booms of recent times (Bank of Japan 2011). There is possibly also a third mini-boom partly due to *The Last Samurai* in 2004. The number of tourists jumped by over 500,000 that year. The only other marked rise (that in 2011) is attributed to the 11 March 2011 earthquake when holidaymakers ‘headed West’ for their vacations in order to distance themselves from potential radiation exposure in the vicinity of the Fukushima nuclear power station.

The clear impact of these dramas on the overall tourism sector in Kagoshima is mirrored in individual sites. The Museum of the Meiji Restoration is the main historical museum related to the period when Saigō was alive and he features prominently in the exhibits (including a larger than life-size, moving, talking mannequin as part of an audiovisual show). The museum was opened in 1994, so was unable to benefit from the tourism boom precipitated by *Tobu ga gotoku* (conversely, the interest in Saigō demonstrated by that drama probably influenced the decision to establish a permanent heritage tourism site about the period). However, so entwined are the lives of Kagoshima’s historical figures and the media telling their stories that the museum contains exhibits about not only Saigō and Kagoshima’s other heroes of the period (such as Ōkubo Toshimichi and
the Satsuma students who visited Britain in the 1860s) but also the dramas *Tobu ga gotoku* and *Atsuhime*.

*Figure 7:* Displays about *Tobu ga gotoku* in the Museum of the Meiji Restoration. On the left is the screenwriter, famous historical novelist Shiba Ryōtarō, on the right is the cast, and scenes from the drama play on the television.

Museum visitor numbers over the period since 2003 tell a story consistent with the tourist numbers for Kagoshima city as a whole. There is a little rise in 2004, which can probably be attributed in part to *The Last Samurai*. The more significant rises, however, are in 2008 and 2011 (*Atsuhime* and the ‘travel West’ tendency following the nuclear accident in Fukushima).

*Figure 8:* Visitors to the Museum of the Meiji Restoration, 2003-2012 (Kagoshima City 2013).
In Kagoshima, therefore, we see an example of a successful heritage tourism sector that may equally be described as a contents tourism sector. The historical figures who came from the Satsuma domain in the mid-nineteenth century were instrumental in shaping the modernization of Japan following the Meiji Restoration. Their lives and stories have generated a set of heritage tourist sites that collectively are a pillar of the local tourism industry. The travel magazines advertise one-day or two-day model courses so that visitors can take in all the historical sites, in which Saigō and his life story is the main attraction. But the data clearly show that this heritage tourism is inextricably linked to the representations of history within film, although the type of tourism witnessed in Kagoshima goes beyond simply film-induced tourism that can be traced to a particular film. It is a cumulative process in which a constant stream of media representations in multiple formats recycles a popular set of historical contents, and the sites in Kagoshima are where interest in those contents may be turned into touristic behaviour.

This contents/heritage tourism sector in Kagoshima is arguably the ideal contents/heritage tourism model to which other localities aspire, along with perhaps Kochi city, home of the other hero of the Bakumatsu (1853-68) period, Sakamoto Ryōma. But, developing such a heritage/contents tourism sector is a long process that spans decades. It also requires a powerful set of contents of enduring and national/international appeal, something which few localities possess. However, the ability of NHK’s taiga dramas to sow the seed of, or perhaps water the growing shoots of, a set of historical contents has been demonstrated in a number of regions. It is for this reason that localities lobby so hard to get the next taiga drama set in their locality and featuring one of their local heroes.

Conclusions

The first and second research notes in this three-part series about tourism relating to The Last Samurai focused on the tourism effects in New Zealand, where much of the film was shot (Seaton 2019a; 2019b). The common assumption in the English-speaking world about Last Samurai tourism was that the tourists (including Japanese) would visit New Zealand. When they did not do so in significant numbers the case study seemed to indicate a failure or missed opportunity. However, this research note has shown that there were considerable tourism effects in Japan, particularly in Saigō Takamori’s hometown, even though Saigō was not depicted in the film, and Kagoshima was neither a filming location nor an actual site depicted in the Last Samurai’s heavily-fictionalized retelling of the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion. These results support the findings of Frost (2006) that historical films tend to induce people to visit sites associated with the actual history or period being depicted.

At the same time, fieldwork at various sites related to The Last Samurai indicate the importance of distinguishing the various approaches to media-induced tourism. A film tourism approach focusing solely on The Last Samurai encourages people to see the effects of a specific narrative in a specific work. However, a contents tourism approach broadens the scope to other mediatized works of popular culture and sites that are related to the narrative world. The tourism effects of The Last Samurai are best understood by seeing this film not as a Hollywood blockbuster starring one of its biggest celebrities, but as one work among many that have depicted and contributed to the evolving legend of one of Japan’s most popular heroes and his times.
Notes

1 This research note is an abridged and slightly modified/updated/reformatted version of the conference proceedings paper ‘Contents Tourism and the (Hi)story of “The Last Samurai”’ (Seaton 2014). New conclusions have been added to link the findings of this earlier research to the later research presented in parts I and II of this article series, ‘On the trail of The Last Samurai’ (Seaton 2019a; 2019b).


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Philip Seaton is a professor in the Institute of Japan Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He is the author of numerous books and articles relating to war history, memory, media and tourism, including: *Japan’s Contested War Memories* (Routledge 2007), *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border* (Routledge, 2015, co-edited with Svetlana Paichadze), *Local History and War Memories in Hokkaido* (Routledge 2016), and *Contents Tourism in Japan* (Cambria Press, 2017, co-authored with Takayoshi Yamamura, Akiko Sugawa-Shimada, and Kyungjae Jang). His website is www.philipseaton.net.

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