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Lafcadio Hearn and Walter Dening

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Though Hearn's first contact with Walter Dening took place while Hearn was living in Kumamoto, the story of their friendship really begins in Matsue. In Matsue Hearn had depended greatly on his head-teacher and best friend, Nishida Sentaro, who worked constantly to smooth Hearn's path in every aspect of life that he could— linguistic, pedagogic, and even domestic. It is no wonder then that when Hearn began to teach at the Fifth Higher School in Kumamoto, he deeply felt Nishida's absence. Despite the sporadic kindness of certain colleagues, it seemed there was no one like Nishida who could, or would, take the time and trouble to make the new foreign member of staff comfortable with the ways of the school or Kumamoto City. Though Hearn was initially delighted at being the only foreign teacher, he soon began to feel isolated and lonely for contact with like-minded foreigners. Evidence of his need for such contact is the substantial increase in personal correspondence during the Kumamoto years (1891-1894) — not only in the number and length of his letters, but in the variety of addressees as well. To Basil Hall Chamberlain, his first foreign friend in Japan and faithful advisor from the Matsue days, Hearn added Nishida and then Chamberlain's close friend, W. B. Mason, as regular correspondents.

Soon after Mason, however, Hearn added to his list of epistolary acquaintances one more foreign resident of Japan —Walter Dening, a prominent writer, translator, and Japanologist who had been living in Japan on and off since 1873. Unfortunately, the number of letters they exchanged, the contents of the letters, how long the correspondence lasted, or even the circumstances under which they began to correspond may never be known, since nothing of their correspondence remains. Indeed, Dening himself is strangely absent. There is no mention of him whatsoever in any of the Hearn biographies; nor in any published Hearn studies that I have seen, recent or old; nor even in the encyclopedic *Lafcadio Hearn Dictionary* (*Koizumi Yagumo Jiten*). Yet Walter Dening, a British teacher of English in Japan, was not only a well-known contemporary of Hearn, he was, during Hearn's Kumamoto years, a good friend and valued correspondent. To understand more about Hearn in Kumamoto, I should like to try to shed some light on the nature of this brief but important relationship with Walter Dening. Who was Dening? Why did Hearn befriend him? And what was the nature of their relationship?

Key words : Lafcadio Hearn, Walter Dening, Meiji-era Japanologists, Kumamoto

Part I: Who was Dening?

Walter Dening was born in Devonshire, England in 1846, four years before Hearn. After attending British schools in Exeter and Torquay, he entered the Church Missionary Society's Islington College (Seikokai Senkyo Kyokai Daigaku) in London to train to become a missionary of the Anglican church.[1] In 1870 he married and went as a missionary to Madagascar. In 1873 he left Madagascar to take up missionary duties in Nagasaki where he began intensive study of the Japanese language under a Mr. Kazukatsu Futagawa, a devout Christian.

In 1873, Dening and Mr. Futagawa went to Hakodate, Hokkaido to preach the gospel. They rented a house and opened the first Christian mission there. However, the two strong-willed men argued, Futagawa left, and Dening remained alone, gathering followers and baptizing them as priests. In fact, the first Japanese priest in Hokkaido, Ogawa Jun, was baptized by Dening in 1875. The next year (1876) he traveled to Muro-ran, then to Hidaka where he studied the Ainu language. From there he went to Sapporo to sell bibles and preach, and in the same year he opened the Sapporo Missionary Society.

In 1877, leaving his duties in the hands of John Batchelor, a missionary devoted to preaching to the Ainu, Dening took a leave of absence and returned to England. In the spring of 1878 he returned to Hakodate and built a church, but

a fire destroyed it in 1879. Strong-willed and dedicated, Dening persevered, and the church was rebuilt the very next year.

As Dening's knowledge of the Japanese people and language deepened, he began to gain confidence in voicing his own thoughts about the proper role of Christianity and the missionary effort in Japan. In 1880 he wrote *Shindoh Sohron*, followed a year later by *Kiristo-kyo Kiseki-ron*. In 1882, feeling increasingly confident about the validity of his ideas, he asked the Christian Missionary Society to approve and authorize his own version of teaching church dogma in Japan. Their reply: Return to England at once. He did, and they fired him. He could no longer act as one of their missionaries.

When he returned to Hakodate, Dening found that in his absence the church he had established there had split into two factions, his and Ogawa's. Unwilling to put up with this affront, in one swift stroke he left his church, the city of Hakodate, and his calling as a missionary. In the *Japan Weekly Mail* of April 7, 1883, in the "To the Editor" column, Dening publicly announced his retirement from preaching and all missionary work. He was now a resident of Tokyo.

By 1884 (Meiji 17) Dening had begun to teach English at the Tokyo Koutoushihan Gakko, Gakushu-in, and Keio Gijuku, and he opened a small, private English learning circle for local Japanese. Also in that year Maruzen published his book *Sei-Shi-Ron* (*Concerning Life and Death*) written in Japanese. With this publication, his career as a writer shifted into high gear. He retired from full-time teaching the next year to work at the Mombusho, compiling and editing their new English textbook series called *English Readers: The High School Series* in six volumes. He worked on this from 1885 to 1888, while continuing to write *Japan in Days of Yore*, which appeared during the years 1887-88.

It was most likely those same *English Readers* that Hearn had in mind when he wrote to Nishida somewhat critically about certain government-approved English language reading books. Hearn found the books to be excellent for the insights they provided him about the Japanese, but as language-learning textbooks he faulted them on two counts—the content and the writing itself:

> One thing is certain, that Readers for Japanese students ought to be edited in Japan, and edited in a particular manner, with especial reference to national character and feeling. I prize the Mombusho Readers, because I learn so much from them; but as textbooks they are not well-written, and they do not appeal to the student's natural love of novelty. It is hopeless to interest boys in stories they know already by heart in their own language.[2]

Hearn's objection that students cannot be interested in English versions of traditional stories from their own culture is certainly open to debate; indeed, modern pedagogy would have us believe that the very familiarity with the contents helps to motivate student interest. As for them being "not well-written," it is necessary to remember that Hearn here is not criticizing Dening as a writer *per se*, but simply as a textbook writer. His own idea of a good textbook was none at all.

During this period Dening seems to have devoted himself largely to reading and writing about Japan, for between 1888 and 1890 he published no less than five volumes of research called *The Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*. Though published in English, the amount of research necessarily involving original material and accounts written in Japanese leaves no doubt as to the formidability of Dening's linguistic capacities. As a scholar and adept of the Japanese language, he was far nearer the level of the legendary Basil Hall Chamberlain than he was to Hearn, who never did achieve anything like Dening's mastery of either written or spoken Japanese.

After a year as a Reader at Gakushu-in (where children of the Imperial family often went for higher education), Dening, like Hearn, took up journalism, becoming Chief Editor at *The Japan Gazette*. Soon, however, he quarreled with the owner and was fired. Apparently he had been thought too prudent and overly meticulous about what was printed, sometimes changing the contents to suit his more serious nature. In 1891, just as Hearn was settling down to a new life in Japan, Dening was preparing to leave it. He remarried, to a British woman named Lydia Norman, and in 1892 they and their two boys moved to Australia to take up, of all things, farming and cattle raising. Hearn was certainly surprised, if not disappointed, by the news: "Walter Dening has left Japan, and gone back to Australia to *become* a farmer and stockraiser," he wrote from Kumamoto to Nishida on October 23, 1892.[3]

With Dening's departure from Japan, not only did Hearn feel that he had lost a good personal friend, he also felt that Japan had lost a valuable spokesman and supporter. In a letter to Mason, Hearn lamented the departure of a man whom he once would have openly despised as a missionary: " — So Dening has gone! The ranks of the liberals have lost a good soldier, and foolish Japan has lost a scholar she had not intelligence enough to utilize." By "liberals" Hearn

meant those people like himself, Mason, and Chamberlain, who deeply desired to understand Japan and who valued the culture for itself, not as a something in need of being Westernized or Christianized.

Hearn's take is that it was not so much that Australia had beckoned Dening; it was more that "foolish Japan," which could not recognize his worth, had let him go. As Hearn was gradually coming to believe, to Japanese officials and educators, no one foreigner was indispensable; all were simply "pawns," as he called them. Official Japan seemed to think that foreigners could never truly understand Japan anyway, no matter how many books or articles they wrote about it. Hearn, however, quickly recognized Dening's worth both as a true friend of Japan and as a scholar, a Japanologist. Hearn even made efforts to get a post for Dening, either as his co-worker or as his replacement, at the Fifth Higher School in Kumamoto, but was rebuffed, as this letter to Mason shows:

> (What follows is between ourselves.)I tried for him here, and was told he "was not earnest in his work." The same thing was said of Eastlake. Exactly the same words were used about Dixon. This stereotyped criticism convinced me it was no use,—because the statement was vague and evidently untrue. There are other reasons; but the Japanese are never frank. What a pretext the same phrase would be to get rid of any man: "He is not earnest about his work; — he thinks only of the salary(!)" I expect the same thing will be said of me the very moment my services can be dispensed with. And people go to the foreign hireling for counsel, adopt his suggestions, enforce his reforms, advertise the improvements as their own imagining, and thereafter ignore the adviser. Ah, bah![4]

To Hearn, these foreign residents were all men of significant accomplishment and sincerity, of an intellectual and moral caliber that clearly deserved the respect, if not the admiration, of Japanese and Westerners alike. All of them had put in years of service working and teaching in Japan, and some of them had written highly regarded works about Japan in both English and in Japanese. How could the government, especially the part concerned with education, whose wisdom Hearn had praised so highly in Matsue, fail so completely to acknowledge the worth of these men? The only reason Hearn could come up with was both perplexing and disturbing. Again, he confided his misgivings to Mason:

> Another thing which has been puzzling me lately very much is the feeling of the Japanese toward men like Dening, Eastlake, Dixon, and others long in their employ. There may be individual reasons; and I do not know personally any of the parties mentioned; but so far as I can see, the Japanese seem to regard many men who have passed their best days in Government service, as tools merely to work with,—to be thrown away when the edge wears off. Did not that wonderful Nakamura, who wanted all foreigners discharged as soon as their "freshness" had faded out, really express a national sentiment about foreigners ?
> —Well, they have no reason to love us en masse.[5]

Except for the last sentence, the entire passage quoted above was omitted from the published letters by the editor, Mrs. Elisabeth Bisland Wetmore. The reason seems fairly clear: she felt that Hearn's criticism of the Japanese here was too strong, tantamount to calling them xenophobic, if not racist. Surely, she must have thought, the Japanese could not really be, as Hearn seemed to be implying, categorically prejudiced against all non-Japanese employees. Hearn must have been exaggerating, jumping to conclusions, over-generalizing, as he sometimes did. The image of Japan and the Japanese that *she* knew — countless lovely images in Hearn's works, gentle Setsu, so many kind Japanese well-wishers—surely convinced her that Hearn's true feelings were otherwise and that this passage had been written in a fit of pique. The truth, however, was that Hearn was becoming increasingly disillusioned, at least with government officials. Their attitude toward foreign employees, especially toward educators, was becoming bitterly clear to him, and the feelings that he expressed here were to remain with him until he died.

By the time Dening had returned to Japan in August of 1895, Hearn had again become a journalist in Kobe and had just finished *Kokoro*, his third book on Japan. In September, Dening took up the position of Gaikokujin Kyoshi in the English department at the Second High School (Dai-Ni Go-Ko) in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture, a post he held until his death in 1913. Almost following Dening's career path, a year later, in the fall of 1896, Hearn took up a similar post at Tokyo University.

While teaching in Sendai, Dening continued writing numerous articles for various newspapers, often under the pen name "Historicus" and for the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, of which he was an active member. In 1899 he received the title of "Kotokan, Go-to" (High Official of the Fifth Order) from the Japanese government. In 1901-02 he published four volumes of *Anglo-Japanese Readers* and two volumes of *Short Japanese and Chinese Stories*. It is interesting to speculate that the publication of Dening's volume of stories spurred Hearn to get to work on his own collection, *Kwaidan*. Though *Kwaidan* appeared in 1904, Hearn was writing much of it in 1902.[6] In 1903, Dening received the award of Kun, Go-to (Fifth Order of the Sacred Treasure) by the Emperor of Japan. Whether or not Hearn knew or cared about these honors is not known. So far as we know, after Dening moved to Australia he was never mentioned by Hearn in his writings again.

After Hearn died in 1904, Dening continued teaching and writing, especially articles on "Japanese Modern Literature." Around 1912, his rheumatism worsened, and he required aid in walking. Still he kept on teaching. In 1913, for his long devotion to Japanese education, he was awarded the Kun, Yon-to (Fourth Order of the Sacred Treasure). One month later he died of a heart attack, the same disease that had killed Hearn. He was 68 years old, his last 18 years having been spent teaching in Sendai. The account of Dening's funeral in the *Supplement to The Japan Weekly Mail* of December 20, 1913 reveals that he desired not to have any religious ritual at his funeral. An old friend, Pere C. Jacquet, a Catholic priest, said a few words at the grave. (It is rumored that none of the Protestant missionaries would perform the service.) Like Hearn, Dening repudiated a Christian burial and requested a humble burial place near his home in his adopted country, Japan. Like Hearn, Dening wished to have a purely Japanese funeral ceremony, very simple, without pomp or displays of sadness. He even requested that there be no flowers or the wearing of mourning clothes. Unlike Hearn, however, Dening refused the performance of any religious rituals; Hearn's last rites were performed in the Buddhist tradition. Soon after his death, numerous obituaries appeared in the local papers praising his skill in the Japanese language, his many significant writings and translations, and his great contribution to Japanese education.

Part II: Why did Hearn befriend him?

Hearn's first mention of Walter Dening appears in a letter to Chamberlain written around three months after arriving in Kumamoto. Apparently, Hearn had not yet met Dening, even through letters, but he had read some of Dening's writings and respected him as a creative writer:

> My next Japanese volume (No.2) must consist, if possible, of story-matter, or sketches constructively resembling stories. But I am in despair about conversational work. In a story, the foreign idiom, however queer, must remain the foreign idiom in English; otherwise, one simply makes Japanese talk and think English. Even Mr. Dening, who ought to know artistically better, does this.[7]

It is uncertain which of Dening's works Hearn has in mind here, but he is probably referring either to Dening's translation of Japanese fairy tales in *Japan in Days of Yore* (1886) or perhaps to the series of English language textbooks he had written and compiled for the Tokyo University Department of Education, called *English Readers: The High School Series, I-VI* (1887-88). These were the works most likely to contain Dening's attempts to create English-language versions of Japanese speech, attempts which Hearn felt had failed to convey the exotic foreign flavor of the original language. In addition to these, Hearn certainly had had ample chance to read Dening's numerous articles in Japan's several English-language newspapers such as *The Japan Weekly Mail, The Japan Chronicle,* and the *Japan Gazette* to which Dening often contributed editorials.

The details of how Hearn and Dening became pen friends are also uncertain. It may have been Chamberlain who suggested that one of them write to the other, but there is no clear evidence of this in either Chamberlain's or Hearn's extant letters.[8] Had they read each other's books? Though both Hearn and Dening had already published sizeable books —Dening in Japan, Hearn in the United States — it is unlikely that they had read each other's longer works yet: Hearn's were not yet available in Japan, and Dening's massive work, *The Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 5 Volumes*, had just recently

been completed in1890. At any rate, Hearn never mentions having read them, whether in his published essays or in his private correspondence. A more likely explanation of their first contact is that one of them had read some essays written by the other in one of the English-language newspapers in Japan, liked them, and wrote favorably to the author.

Dening was actually the second of Hearn's newly found pen friends. The first was W. B. Mason, introduced to Hearn by Chamberlain and arguably Chamberlain's best friend. Working for the Japanese Postal Ministry, Mason was, like Hearn, a modest civil servant with a love of Japan, a Japanese wife, and a talent for literary work. Through letters they became close friends, and even before they had actually met, Hearn felt that he had known Mason for "thousands of years." When Hearn visited Yokohama in the summer of 1894, the two spent many hours in each other's company, traveling in Japan and at Mason's home. As their friendship deepened, we find numerous references to Mason in Hearn's letters and in the main biographies by Stevenson and Kennard.

In contrast to Mason, there is not a single mention made in any Hearn biography of his second epistolary friend, Walter Dening. Whether they ever met face to face is not known, but at least in the beginning of their relationship, Hearn considered Dening to be, like Mason, a wonderfully sympathetic soul whose personal acquaintance he valued highly as psychological solace: "Dear Mason — . . . Since we began to correspond I have also made the epistolary acquaintance of Friend Dening, which is another relief to the utter isolation of the Japanese exile."[9]

It is interesting to note that Hearn now refers to him as "Friend" Dening, instead of "Mr." Dening. Obviously, he was expressing a deeper sense of comradeship with Dening by referring to him in this way, but why did Hearn capitalize the "f" here? It may have been purely random, accidental. Or was Hearn perhaps hinting that he found Dening's religious views, so often expressed in his newspaper articles, in some respects akin to those of the Quakers? Known also as the Society of Friends, Quakers commonly refer to one another as "Friend" so-and-so. The most likely explanation is that Hearn simply wanted Mason to know that he found Dening's attitudes toward Christianity and Japan compatible with their own, signifying by use of the title Friend that he accepted Dening as a member of the informal "society" of those who thought like Hearn and Mason and Chamberlain. Either way, Hearn found corresponding with Dening both informative and delightful, a welcome respite from the lonesomeness he had been feeling in Kumamoto.

This same letter to Mason goes on to reveal that in Hearn's correspondence with both men, he had brought up the topic of his literary hero, Rudyard Kipling, and was puzzled by their apparent lack of interest in his favorite writer's personality:

> A fact that impressed me strongly is that neither of you, in writing, seems to have much to say about the personality of the man [Kipling]— though Dening's analysis of his work, as an ethical influence and otherwise, was very interesting.

How people felt about Kipling (and Herbert Spencer) was for Hearn a kind of litmus test, and a similar degree of enthusiasm would have branded Dening a true soul-mate. Here he seems to be registering his mild disappointment at both friends' lack of excitement over the man Hearn virtually worshipped as a literary genius. Hearn calls Dening's analysis of Kipling "interesting," an indication that he felt Dening's views were not quite at one with his own.

Part III: The nature of their relationship

So if Hearn was not so delighted with Dening's taste in literature, what was it about Dening that attracted him? Hearn was clearly impressed with Dening's intellectual acumen and his knowledge of Japan, both the culture and the language. Dening was, like Chamberlain, extremely gifted as a linguist, one of the few Westerners highly skilled in the Japanese language — not only in oral communication but in reading and writing as well. He also translated frequently and was a regular contributor to *The Japan Mail* of translations of Japanese essays and news items.

How much Hearn valued Dening's opinion is clear in the following reference to Dening in one of Hearn's letters to Nishida. It seems that Dening had been asked by Hearn to play a part in the hiring of a new English teacher at Hearn's

former school in Matsue. Nishida had apparently asked Hearn's opinion about the new post, and Hearn had turned to Dening for advice. Dening then wrote a letter to Hearn containing his recommendation of someone to fill the post. Although a Mr. Ukai, who had learned English in the United States, had already been hired, Hearn still wished Nishida to know Dening's choice, which was also Hearn's choice, in case Mr. Ukai went back to America.

> I enclose a letter—just received from Walter Dening. I think Mr. Ukai ought to be a splendid teacher; for he speaks English very nicely indeed. However, in the case of his returning to America, Mr. Dening's suggestion might be of use. I made the suggestion before I left, to Kimura, but I doubt if it was considered.[10]

By enclosing Dening's letter, Hearn may have been trying to show Nishida that his own original suggestion, ignored by Mr. Kimura, also had the backing of one so respectable as Walter Dening, author of several volumes on Japan and the compiler of a Ministry-of-Education-endorsed series of English language textbooks.

Another aspect of Dening that strongly impressed Hearn was that Dening had been mentioned by name in the works of Herbert Spencer. In the chapter "Revenge" in *The Inductions of Ethics*, Spencer introduced examples of various societies throughout the world that have glorified revenge as a moral duty. Japan was among them:

> In his *Japan in Days of Yore*, Mr. Dening translates the life of Musashi, published by the Momtusho [sic] (Education Department), narrating a prolonged vendetta full of combats and murders; and, in partial sympathy with the Japanese educationists, remarks that his hero's acts of undying revenge, displayed "so many of the nobler aspects of human nature" and are "calculated to inspire confidence in humanity."[11]

Though Spencer was being openly critical of Dening for espousing such a "primitive" concept of moral and social behavior, he had at least read him and had chosen to refer to him in a major philosophical work. To Hearn, who virtually worshipped Spencer as the most intelligent man alive, even a mention was an honor. In Hearn's mind, Dening's stock soared. He quickly pointed it out to Mason:

> I don't know if you observed that Herbert Spencer in his recent "Inductions of Ethics: Individual Life"... gives "particular hell" to Friend Dening and the Mombusho. However, it is rather a compliment even to get a little hell from Spencer. Moreover, Dening stands on the same plane with Gladstone, who is savagely criticized for his Hellenic tendencies in the same volume. What consoles one for these severities [by Spencer] is the delightful assertion that in order to find the virtues which we imagine to be Christian, we must go to countries which are *not* Christian, and among people who are *not* highly civilized. And this statement is gloriously capped by the declaration that the only hope for future morality is that Western civilization will be able to arise at last to the moral level now occupied by various nations of naked savages! Whoop! Hurrah!![12]

Not only was Hearn impressed by the mere reference to Dening in Spencer's work, he was also impressed by the company in which Spencer had placed him. Gladstone, probably William E. Gladstone, eminent British statesman and author, was another whose intellect Hearn admired, so Dening's inclusion in Gladstone's company placed him squarely in the big leagues of modern Western thinking.

It may seem strange that Hearn, who blatantly despised Christian missionaries, especially those in Japan, should befriend a man like Dening, who had been trained as a Christian missionary and had zealously proselytized for over nine years, lastly in Hokkaido. It was no doubt Dening's emphatic renouncement, through his resignation, of all that the Christian mission stood for that impressed Hearn. Dening was one who, by his own Japanization, had come to believe, as Hearn did, that the inherent moral goodness of the people was not to be improved, but rather harmed, by the imposition of Christian values. He was, like Hearn, a liberal thinker who loved Japanese ways and wanted to protect them from all forms of Western contamination.

Dening seems to have shared not only Hearn's distrust of the West, but also Hearn's distaste for Japanese officialdom and its undesirable influence on education. Lamenting that influence in a letter to Chamberlain, Hearn cites

the case of a college in Sapporo, which he claims was a far superior institution under its previous, non-Japanese management:

> What you say about the hope for a nation willing to sacrifice life for an idea is certainly the grand truth—that which stills the angriest hopelessness as oil smoothes the waves. There is, indeed, that hope—if the detestable officalism can be choked to death in another twenty-five years. The friend who has been lifting corners of the veil for me, showed me to-day the reports of the old Sapporo college under American management.
>
> Well, that was a school. But what is it now? And what are the middle schools changing into? Is it possible there may come at last a general failure of the whole system—as in Korea? The very zeal of the beginning gives one that fear.[13]

Dening's direct acquaintance with matters in remote and still undeveloped Hokkaido makes him the prime candidate for the "friend" Hearn mentions. If anyone could be "lifting corners of the veil" to reveal hidden aspects of Japanese society to the relative newcomer, Hearn, it would be him. After all, in addition to having actually lived in Hokkaido, he knew the Japanese language extremely well, and he even knew the Mombusho from his years of writing educational materials for them. Next to Chamberlain, he must have seemed to Hearn to be an extraordinarily informative and valuable friend to have.

What happened to such a promising friendship between two men of such like minds on so many issues and even like backgrounds and career paths is purely a matter of speculation, for once Dening had left Japan Hearn never mentioned him again in his writings. Though Dening had returned to Japan in 1895 and had become Foreign Lecturer at the Second Higher School, a post virtually identical, down to the 200-yen monthly salary, to the one Hearn had held in Kumamoto, their friendship did not seem to strengthen. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate any contact, direct or indirect, between these two British Japanophiles and one-time pen friends. And though Hearn had become chief editor of the *Kobe Chronicle*, a post virtually identical to the one Dening held on the *Japan Gazette* in 1890, posts that coincidentally both men soon left, their friendship apparently did not thrive.

Part of the reason may lie in Dening's apparent support of the Anti Treaty Reform. It is suggested in the article on Dening in the *Encyclopedia of Westerners in Japan* that because of his stance on this issue he lost the trust of the Japanese people and thus left abruptly for Australia, but this is unconvincing: Hearn clearly lamented his leaving, and we know for a fact that upon his return to Japan he was hired by the Japanese government to an important teaching post and subsequently decorated with several high official honors for his contributions to the nation. If the Japanese government found no disloyalty, why would Hearn? Rather, much of the blame for the cessation of their correspondence probably lies with Hearn's own increasingly finicky personality. Since he felt his time for producing literature was growing ever shorter, he simply stopped social intercourse with anyone who took away from that time, even friends. As is well known, he began to withdraw not only from social events but also from invitations to speak or to write articles. Even his relationship with Chamberlain, to whom he was now physically closer than ever, in Tokyo, grew more distant and finally completely ceased. Perhaps the same thing had happened with Dening, only much sooner. At any rate, though their time of correspondence was short, these two similar yet different Japanophiles, seem to have influenced each other, enhancing their respective contributions to the understanding of Japan.

Notes

[1] A fairly comprehensive account of Dening's life is that compiled by the team of Sakamoto Yugoro, Fuse Akiko, Kamijo Ai, Nakata Chiyako, and Ota Saburo in the *Kindai Bungaku Kenkyu Soh Sho*, Showa Joshi Daigaku, Vol. 14, 1959, pp.364-418.

[2] Letter to Sentaro Nishida, January 30, 1893, (slipcase 47 in the Barrett Collection); also in Bisland, Vol.2, 1906, pp.104-06.

[3] Letter to Sentaro Nishida, October 23, 1892, in Ichikawa Sanki, ed., *Some New Letters and Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*(Tokyo: Kenkyusha) 1925, p.54.

[4] Letter to Mason, October 7, 1892. *A Facsimile Collection of Lafcadio Hearn's Unpublished Letters, Vol.2* (Yakumo-kai,

Yushudo) 1991, p. 57 (Ms. 20).

[5] Letter to Mason, August 6, 1892. C. Waller Barrett Collection, Item 54. Omitted by Bisland.

[6] According to Hasegawa Yoji, "All the stories and articles written during the year [1902] were for *Kwaidan* which would be published in 1904." *A Walk in Kumamoto: The Life and Times of Setsu Koizumi, Lafcadio Hearn's Japanese Wife* (Folkstone, Kent: Global Oriental,1997) p.333.

[7] Letter to Basil Hall Chamberlain, February 19, 1892. *Writings* XV, 342-43.

[8] Chamberlain's only mention of Dening in a letter to Hearn is when Hearn was in Kobe (March 7, 1895). Hearn is considering the job offer at Tokyo University, and Chamberlain provides him with some inside information: "I gather incidentally that the Department is in a queer state,—the ghost of its former self,—decreased salaries, ... decreased interest in the whole matter, and loss of all the ardent ideals of the Mori and pre-Mori age. I remember the time when everyone was so much agog about everything that a Mr. Nose and friend Dening were actually set to the work of compiling a new system of ethics for use in the schools! *Folies de jeuness*,—yet it is not ten years ago." *Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn*, compiled by Kazuo Koizumi (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1936) p.124. Also, in the Preface to the 1907 edition of *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, Chamberlain acknowledges "the kind offices of Mr. Walter Dening, the well-known author of *Specimens of Translation* [1903]and other useful works, for the English versions of 'Mr. Fukuzawa's English Studies' and 'A Debate in the Diet'...." When they first became acquainted, however, is unclear.

[9] Letter to Mason, May 28, 1892. *Writings* XVI, 303.

[10] Letter to Nishida, February 2, 1893. *A Facsimile Collection of Lafcadio Hearn's Unpublished Letters, Vol.2* (Yakumo-kai, Yushudo, 1991), p.82 (Ms 26).

[11] Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, (New York: D.Appleton and Co.,1892) p.363.

[12] *Writings* XVI, 308, undated.

[13] Letter to Basil Hall Chamberlain, undated. *Writings* XVI, 63-64.