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BLUEGRASS, BLUEPRINTS, AND *BILDUNG*: *THE LITTLE SHEPHERD OF KINGDOM*
COME AS AN APPALACHIAN BILDUNGSROMAN

by

LEONA MARTINE SHOEMAKER
B.A. Alice Lloyd College, 2005

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ABSTRACT

The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come takes as its backdrop the American Civil War, as the author, John Fox, Jr., champions Kentucky's social development during the Progressive Era. Although often criticized for capitalizing on his propagation of regional stereotypes, I argue that the structure of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is much more problematic than that. Recognizing the *Bildungsroman* as a vehicle for cultural and social critique in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century writing, this project offers an in-depth literary analysis of John Fox, Jr.'s novel, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, in which I contend the story itself is, in fact, an impassioned account of human progress that juxtaposes civilized Bluegrass society and the degraded culture of the southern mountaineer. Indicative of the Progressive Era scientific attitude toward social and cultural evolution, Fox creates a narrative that advances his theory of southern evolution in which southern mountaineers are directed away from their own culturally inferior notions of development and towards a sense of duty to adapt to the civility of Bluegrass culture.

This study focuses briefly on defining the *Bildungsroman* as a genre, from its eighteenth-century German origins to its influence on the American literary tradition. Beginning with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, the *Bildungsroman*, in its most traditional form, narrates the development of the protagonist's mind and character from childhood to adulthood. Focus will be placed on how the *Bildungsroman* engages with literature's ability to facilitate the relationship between an individual and social development, as well as how easily the *Bildungsroman* lends itself to being appropriated and reconfigured. This study will then demonstrate how *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, Fox's local-color narrative, in its focus on the growth of the protagonist, Chad, as an allegory of the development of an Appalachian identity during the Progressive Era, might usefully be understood as

an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*. While Chad, ultimately acquires the polished savoir faire of a skilled Bluegrass gentleman, the tensions between the southern mountaineers and the Bluegrass bourgeois makes his socialization into any one culture impossible, a situation illustrative of the disparity between Appalachia and the rest of America during the Progressive Era. By adapting the *Bildungsroman* to represent this historical situation, Fox's novel demonstrates the kind of conflict that furthered Appalachian difference as point of contention for the problematic ideals of social and cultural evolution, thus, indicating the need for reconciling Appalachia's marginal position.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is by virtue of my own *Bildung*, a partial record of which is detailed in the unseen sweat and tears staining the following pages, that I can confidently declare this thesis as my second greatest journey to date (the first being my very intentional attempts to influence the process of *Bildung* of two very beautiful and worthy children). Therefore, immeasurable appreciation and deepest gratitude are extended to several persons who, in one way or another, have contributed to the process of making this study a reality. Foremost, I want to offer this endeavor to the Lord God Almighty for bestowing upon me an abundant life in Jesus Christ, for the patience and physical competence to write, for listening to me stumble over draft after draft, and for carrying me when the challenge seemed like too much. For the completion of this thesis I find myself indebted to a lovely woman, whom I have never met and will never meet, by the name of Mrs. McIntosh. As my father's eight grade teacher, she read to him the story of Chad, and, sixty-three years later, thanks to the sentiment instilled in him for an orphan and his dog, he has not stopped telling people about the little shepherd boy from Kingdom Come, Kentucky, and the little girl who fell in love with him. Fortunately, I listened. Every. Single. Time. Hence, I find myself most grateful to the man who never stopped encouraging me to read about the audacity of the southern mountaineer, and whom I lovingly call "Daddy." I must also acknowledge my husband, Justin, whose unwavering devotion to me and our children, Corban and Séamus, enabled the hours of reading and research, the thin film transistor liquid crystal display staring and meditation, and the writing and rewriting necessary to for the completion of this study. Finally, appreciation for the completion of this thesis also goes to the inspiring Dr. Kevin Meehan, who was the first person to utter the word "*Bildungsroman*" in my presence, and has been the only person to answer that ever-plaguing question, "What should I be when I grow up?"

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INTRODUCTION

This study began as an attempt to bring pertinence to an otherwise virtually forgotten piece of literature: over time, my interest in the novel's significance deepened, and as my exploration of its relevance to twenty-first century literature continued I began asking different questions, discovering pioneering scholars, uncovering innovative evidence—and, ultimately, unveiling a new concentration. At last, what emerged is a multi-sectional literary analysis culminating in the articulation of the extent to which the romantic *Bildungsroman* hero, or *Bildungsheld*, can successfully negotiate social expectations, class relations, and cultural norms while facing what has been deemed the Appalachian “problem.” This study has essentially two aims: to elucidate how the *Bildungsroman* genre manifests within the novel to convey the coming-of-age experience of a southern Appalachian protagonist, Chad, and to demonstrate how Fox ultimately restructures the *Bildungsroman* as sympathetic critical commentary on the parallel between the dichotomies of Kentucky during the Civil War and the disparity between Appalachia and America during the Progressive Era, consequently establishing the Appalachian *Bildungsroman* as a successful narrative model of social development.

Up until now John Fox, Jr.'s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* (1903) has not been considered as anything other than a historical romance. I argue that it should be read as a *Bildungsroman*. Thanks to traditional critical stance and its focus on Fox's sentimentality and personal interests, his work has very nearly faded into obscurity. I believe Fox deserves deeper, more critical analyses for what he represents in the Appalachian situation. Cultural critics who focus primarily on Fox's romantic sensibility, specifically his imagining of Appalachia as a static culture, isolated and primitively other as compared to the rest of Progressive Era America, limit their arguments by using

Appalachian sociocultural frames of reference, which includes a focus on the significance of dialect and stereotyping. This study suggests that the application of a foreign paradigm like the *Bildungsroman* is useful in evaluating Fox's portrayal of the mountaineer and Appalachian culture in general because the genre is explicitly concerned with legitimizing identity, a position aggressively sought after when it came to Appalachia during the Progressive Era. Considering what emerges as the stakes of this study, I hope to establish distance from the focus on Fox's romantic sensibility, and elicit a renewed interest in the novel from scholars. My hope is that these critics will find such a unique theoretical approach to the novel thought-provoking and inspire them to consider new conversations on the cultural and social implications of the novel. If I can convince at least one skeptical scholar that the *Bildungsroman*, with its questions of identity and self-cultivation, is even slightly relevant to *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* and how Fox uses it to engage the Progressive Era reader, then that will be sufficiently interesting and successful enough, for it means that I have made a valuable contribution to Appalachian scholarship.

The interest of this study centers on one of the titans of Appalachian literature, John Fox, Jr. (1862): Kentucky-born author whose fictional and nonfictional accounts of southern mountain life received widespread recognition during the local-color movement, and who, according to Appalachian scholar Henry D. Shapiro helped secure "the otherness of the mountain region...as fact in American consciousness."¹ My primary goal is to describe how Fox uses Appalachian otherness as a literary device, employing the underlying structure of the local-color narrative to successfully negotiate American ideals of modernization as they were presented to the Appalachian

¹ Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*, (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 1978) 18.

sociocultural space. More specifically, I want to illustrate how Fox's reworking of the *Bildungsroman*² genre permits readers to experience the protagonist's socialization and awakening to a consciousness of self, to demonstrate how the novel makes Appalachia available as an example of social progress for its American neighbors, and, finally, to suggest how Fox's narrative celebrates the potential for adaptation in both individuals and societies and encourages the possibility of cultural reconciliation between Appalachia and America during the early twentieth-century. To better appreciate how Fox engages the genre to explore questions of selfhood during a time when efforts were being made to promote a distinctly American identity it is essential to have an understanding of Chad's story, beginning with the text's cultural and historical background.

Only a year after the publication of *Bluegrass and Rhododendron: Outdoors in Old Kentucky* (1901), a collection of essays on mountain life, Fox set to work on *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, and in 1903, after being serialized in *Scribner's Magazine*, it was published in book form. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is considered to be one of Fox's greatest works both overall and within Appalachian fiction, due to its emphasis on the disparity between the insular culture of Southern Appalachia and the more modern Bluegrass plains. The genesis for *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* was a combination of Fox's preoccupation with the mountain culture, his love for the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky, and his sympathy for the Southern tradition. As a practitioner of local-color fiction, Fox situated into the emergent national consciousness of the early twentieth-century an exposé of life within the Appalachian Mountains by painting a reasonably consistent portrait of pre-Civil War life in the mountains of southeastern Kentucky, characterized by illiteracy, isolation, poverty, and

² The choice to capitalize the word *Bildungsroman* is a personal one; one made out of respect and based on my desire to emphasize its importance as an umbrella term encompassing the depiction of various types of growth and development under various circumstances.

interconnectedness with nature. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* tells the story of Chadwick Buford, his development from a young mountain waif of uncertain parentage, through the Bluegrass agricultural aristocracy, to a Civil War hero. As one critic explains:

Chad has the accent and training of the mountaineer, with the courage, sense of honor, and chivalry of the cavalier family from which he sprang. This unconscious heritage of tradition and propensity shows its power when he early wanders down into the blue-grass country and find a home with Major Buford, an unknown kinsman. Then follow in rapid succession his education at the blue-grass college, his acquaintance with and consequent love for Margaret Dean, the war and his enlistment on the northern side in spite of his kinsman's wishes, and the final overturning that the outcome of the struggle between the states brought about in old Kentucky.³

The pastoral image that the Appalachian Mountains occupied in the American imagination, along with the urbane image of the Bluegrass Region, were suitable sites to introduce the multifaceted delineations of "servile" and "cavalier" societies and meditate on the changes that swept Kentucky in the 1860s. The novel is often classified as a love story set against the backdrop of the Civil War, emphasizing chivalric notions of the quest, gallantry, and honor. One reviewer described it as, "A good story of love and adventure excellently written, with much of idyllic charm and simple-hearted sweetness."⁴ As a romance, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* provides a concise statement of perceived regional values of the Appalachian and Bluegrass regions while simultaneously depicting its hero as the embodiment of reconciliation and the national spirit. Nevertheless, approaching *The*

³ "The Books of the Week." *Public Opinion*. Vol. XXXV. (Waverly Place: Public Opinion, 1903) 345.

⁴ J. Stewart Doubleday, "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come." *The Reader* 2nd ser. 2 July (1903) 517.

Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come as strictly a love story relegates the narrative to a mere novel of sentimental romance, consequently, undermining its effectiveness as historical-fiction. A distance of more than a hundred years has provided critics with even more valuable insights into the novel.

A successful interpretation of the novel requires a combination of a genre-based approach and historical approach, which in turn exposes *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* as an American historical romance engaging the *Bildungsroman* tradition. Ultimately, romance and history coincide in the narrative to enhance the mixture between fiction and reality, thus, giving credibility to Fox's interpretation of the *Bildungsroman* genre in the presentation of distinct ways of knowing the world and the self. Analyzing the novel according to the significance of setting, plausibility of plot, and relevance of themes reveals that *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is a multi-layered construct designed to chronicle Kentucky's Civil War experience, establish Kentucky's Unionist identity, and depict Chad's quest for selfhood and progressive reconciliation with Kentucky's social order. Moreover, an assessment of the novel against the social, cultural and political reform of the Progressive Era reveals that *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* fosters the myth of Appalachian otherness while also demonstrating Appalachia's quest for self-identity within the socio-cultural norms of American civilization.

I have chosen to focus my attention on *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* for three main reasons. First, it was among the *New York Times'* top ten best-selling novels for 1903 and 1904, selling more than a million copies, no doubt helping to place the Appalachian region in the forefront of the American imagination. The novel's best-selling status helped to launch Fox into a prominent position within the local-color movement, and establish him as an authority on mountain culture despite recent criticism that his works only served to perpetuate Appalachian otherness. Second, the novel's preoccupation with quintessential manhood, racial distinctiveness, and class

consciousness from within the Appalachian regional literary tradition makes it the ideal instrument for examining Progressive Era notions of masculinity, identity, and modernization. Just like its setting, of which Fox writes, “Kentucky convictions are with the Union; her kinship and sympathies are with the South,”⁵ and its protagonist, whom Fox describes as “the embodiment of pure Americanism,”⁶ the novel is a doubly-layered exercise in the investigation of the intricate relationship between “other” and “self” in identity formation processes and nationalism. Finally, one of the novel’s strengths lies in its very structure as a reimagining of the *Bildungsroman*, a tradition associated with the ability to successfully transverse the gap between individuality and society’s expectations. Undoubtedly, other novels from the Era written by Fox—*The Kentuckians* (1898) and *A Mountain Europa* (1899), and lesser-known works like *Crittenden* (1900) and *A Knight of the Cumberland* (1906)—bear some consideration by this study, especially Fox’s other best-selling novel, *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1908), with its overarching themes of industrialization and development. Nevertheless, complete focus is on *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* as an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*, engaging the *Bildung* structure to celebrate the capacity for both individuals and society to adapt and succeed under rapidly changing social conditions.

Implicit in my argument is the idea that Appalachia, during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is a place apart—unchanged by time or circumstance. Scarred by the aftermath of the Civil War, Appalachia became a place of cultural and geographic isolation—stubbornly maintaining its distinctiveness in the face of rampant social change and a rapidly homogenizing America. Regional writers in southern Appalachia at the turn-of-the-century worked to serve the interest of a national community by making Appalachia better fit the American consciousness.

⁵ John Fox, Jr., *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come of Kingdom Come*, (Lexington, Kentucky: UP of Kentucky, 1987), 174.

⁶ Fox 192.

Author Nancy Glazener tells readers that regional writing was a “means of imaginative national unification,” used by writers and readers alike in their attempts “to form a vessel for national consciousness and a truly national culture.”⁷ By evaluating and analyzing *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* as an Appalachian *Bildungsroman* I hope to establish a more nuanced understanding of how Appalachian regional literature can not only be used to establish the region’s reputation as separate; more than this it can also be used as a vehicle to critically examine the challenges, possibilities, and strategies associated with the sociocultural assimilation of southern Appalachia into mainstream American society.

Appalachian local-color fiction, like other colonial and post-colonial literature, has generated a reassessment of identity and belonging, which is not unlike the culture of literary *Bildung* that has been central to the exploration, acquisition, and retention of a national self-identity for other marginalized people and places. The notion of *Bildung* involves an intimate knowledge of otherness and fosters a connection between self and society. James Hardin observes two historical definitions of the word *Bildung* and stresses their importance: “first, *Bildung* as a developmental process and, second, as a collective name for the cultural and spiritual values of a specific people or social stratum in a given historical epoch.”⁸ The *Bildung* of the Appalachian identity can be considered the result of the continuous negotiation of otherness by local-colors writers as they influenced Appalachia’s position in the mental geography of America, thus, calling attention to the seemingly evident link between the local-color novel and the nation. In light of the embrace of *Bildung* by these writers,

⁷ Nancy Glazener, *Reading for Realism: The History of a U.S. Literary Institution, 1850-1910*, (Durham: Duke UP, 1997), 190-191.

⁸ James Hardin, “An Introduction,” in *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), xi-xii. Hardin constructs his definition based upon the works of Jürgen Jacobs and Mark Krause.

chapter one of this study is intended primarily and predominantly as examination of the diverse theoretical perspectives on the aesthetic and philosophical notion of *Bildung*.

As an overview of *Bildung*, chapter one seeks to address the key principles associated with the ideal: “understanding, knowledge, reflection, aesthetic consciousness and competence in social judgement and political action.”⁹ Chapter one also underscores, if only briefly, *Bildung’s* connection to “issues of liberation and emancipation in both individual and social perspectives,” not to mention the concept’s vast array of pedagogical, philosophical, psychological, political and cultural connotations and dimensions.¹⁰ This will provide the framework in which to examine how the Appalachian local-color phenomenon shaped the American consciousness while engaging in *Bildung* to highlight the national processes that were transforming Appalachia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Chapter two of this study presents a broad historical overview of the European *Bildungsroman*, the ideal of *Bildung* as translated into fiction. Numerous scholars have studied the genre in terms of its national ideological function and have argued that the political and social progresses of the *Bildungsroman* are preoccupied with the modernization of the subject. They tend to recognize the *Bildungsroman* narrative form as a conduit for critique on the transformation of primitive social orders to modern, industrial societies. In order to establish a brief overview of the traditional characteristics of the European *Bildungsroman* and examine recent trends in *Bildungsroman* criticism, this study shall be concerned with using a general, more open-ended theoretical framework. Thus, indebted to the works of scholars like Franco Moretti, Mikhail Bakhtin, Jerome Buckley, James Hardin and Thomas L. Jeffers, this chapter will lay the groundwork for subsequent

⁹ Matthias Hurst, *Bildung: Education and Formation*. 2014. Bard College Berlin. Adobe Reader.

¹⁰ Hurst 2.

arguments regarding *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* as a *Bildungsroman*. More specifically, to achieve the aim of this study, it will begin with an examination of Georg Lukács' description of the *Bildungsroman* as an "adventure of interiority...the story of the soul that goes to find itself, that seeks adventures in order to be proved and tested by them, and, by providing itself, to find its own essence."¹¹ This study will also take into consideration Moretti's analysis of the genre as a "symbolic form of modernity," where the *Bildungsroman* has as its task the gradual and meaningful unfolding of the protagonist's self, and where mobility and interiority are central to the youthful protagonist's participation in the whole.¹² In his work, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, he argues that the *Bildungsroman* conveys "youthful attributes of mobility and inner restlessness."¹³ Bakhtin provides another definition of the *Bildungsroman* in his essay *The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism*. He defines the *Bildungsroman* as a "novel of emergence," where the "changes in the hero himself acquire plot significance..."¹⁴ Bakhtin suggests the *Bildungsroman* illustrates "the image of a man in the process of becoming"¹⁵ and elucidates that the protagonist's becoming portrays the duality between the self and the nation: "He emerges along with the world and he reflects the historical emergence of the world itself."¹⁶ According to Jeffers, *Bildungsromane* illuminate the physical, psychological, and moral transformation of a "hero [that] is no longer 'ready made,'" but is instead, as Bakhtin posits, "in the process of becoming."¹⁷ Hardin, editor of *Reflection*

¹¹ Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T., 1971), 89.

¹² Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, (London: Verso, 1987), 5.

¹³ Moretti 5.

¹⁴ M. M. Bakhtin, "The Bildungsroman and its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Typology of the Novel), trans. Vern W. McGee, in Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (eds.) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 21.

¹⁵ Bakhtin 19.

¹⁶ Bakhtin 23.

¹⁷ Thomas L. Jeffers, "Prologue", *Apprenticeships the Bildungsroman from Goethe to Santayana*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.

and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman, argues that *Bildungsromane* were “principally concerned with the spiritual and psychological development of the young protagonist.”¹⁸ Like Moretti, Buckley highlights the importance of the parallel relationship between youth and modernity in his definition of the *Bildungsroman* where he describes the focus of the novel as “a process of movement and adjustment from childhood to early maturity” and “a growing up and gradual self-discovery in the school-without-walls that is experience.”¹⁹ Buckley goes beyond just defining the *Bildungsroman* to offer a recapitulation of the basic components of the genre that prescriptively outline this “process of becoming:” “childhood, the conflict of generations, provinciality, the larger society, alienation, ordeal by love, and the search for a vocation and a working philosophy.”²⁰ More specifically, Buckley argues that the sensible, gifted child of the country, due to conflict with the family—particularly the father, leaves his provincial home setting for the larger city where his “real ‘education’ begins,” experiences periods of variance between individuation and socialization, endures crises and love affairs, then at last returns home to demonstrate epiphanic recognition and acceptance of their role in society.²¹ As Buckley’s *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding* is the most frequently cited as the seminal work on the subject, and is the place where the most literal translation of the German term *Bildungsroman* can be found, this study will use Buckley’s interpretation of the genre as a “novel of formation,” as well his mapping of the *Bildungsroman*, as a guiding source for its analysis, culminating in an overview of the most salient features of the genre.²²

¹⁸ Hardin ix.

¹⁹ Jerome Buckley, *Seasons of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), viii.

²⁰ Buckley 18.

²¹ Buckley 17-18.

²² It is important to note that Buckley offers an extensive overview of the *Bildungsroman* as it is seen within English critical discourse.

Furthermore, I demonstrate how this particularly poignant and powerful genre is inextricably linked to the concepts of culture, education, identity, and nationhood. The purpose of this detailed analysis of the *Bildungsroman* is to highlight the evolutionary nature of the genre and to illustrate the universal and lasting influence it has on reading and writing narratives of development. Moreover, the theoretical outline of the *Bildungsroman* genre found in this study is specifically concerned with illustrating how the local-color novel can easily be organized by the idea of *Bildung*. Such an approach allows for the creation of a meaningful context in which to better analyze *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* within the *Bildungsroman* framework. I argue that such a novel belongs to a distinct type of *Bildungsroman* that can be seen delineating Appalachian cultural life as it is defined by its marginal position within American culture—the Appalachian *Bildungsroman*. I maintain that *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* reveals both an individual and national *Bildung* campaign whose realization lies in the dynamic exchanges of ideas and experiences within local-color as it fosters the invention of a region to suit the values and philosophies underpinning the notion of an ideal American identity during the Progressive Era.

Progressive Era reformers consciously espoused a reconfiguration of social space in which a new ethic of individualism, a new conception of self-identity, a new discourse on masculinity, and a new politics of nationalism all appear to bring economic, cultural, and political stability to a country awash with unsettling change. Chapter two will further demonstrate the profound influence that such a diverse reform movement had on how Appalachian and other Americans came to think of America at the turn-of-the-century by analyzing how Appalachia was evoked and used by early twentieth-century regional writers to narrate mountain life and bring the romanticized southern mountaineer into the American mainstream. While not a comprehensive history of Progressivism, this portion of this study will provide a transitory examination of the Progressive Era (1890-1920),

the purpose of which is to illuminate how certain American ideologies that enlivened the Progressive Era—masculinity, identity, individualism, and modernization—are coupled with America’s understanding of Appalachia as an enclave of regression and otherness.

Much of chapter two’s examination of otherness and marginalization as a quality among the southern mountaineers is indebted to scholars like Henry D. Shapiro and Allen Batteau, whose works on Appalachian culture illuminated the dilemma posed by Appalachia’s existence. Before discussing how America’s culturally competent Progressive-Era perspective reinforced the otherness and marginalization of the southern mountaineer, it will be necessary to discuss the process by which Appalachia acquired its marginal status. In chapter three, I revisit these authors’ analyses on the textual invention and social construction of Appalachia. I argue that the emergence of Appalachia as “other” had very little to do with the realities of Appalachian distinctiveness but, in fact, was the result of a new concern for uplifting the southern mountaineer out of degradation and despair. Toward the end of the chapter I expound on Shapiro’s notion that certain regional writers who “discovered” Appalachia and perpetuated the myth of the southern mountaineer “had to insist on the reality of Appalachian otherness lest their work lose its validity and its appeal.”²³ The primary goal of this chapter is to elucidate the intrinsic link between this dissemination of otherness and the circumstances informing America’s need to reconcile the otherness of Appalachia during the turn-of-the-century.

Finally, chapter three is an examination of Fox’s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* as a reworking of the traditional *Bildungsroman*. Combining elements from the *Bildungsroman* genre with culturally-specific subject matter, specifically the binary oppositions between the lowland Bluegrass

²³ Shapiro 61.

region and mountains of Eastern Kentucky, Fox creates a narrative of growth that not only centers on the protagonist becoming a part of the Bluegrass bourgeoisie, but also perpetuates the myth of Appalachian otherness. In the first chapter of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, Fox introduces Chad as a lonely young mountain waif who, in the wake of the death of his foster parents, has the early realization that he may only be a boy but now he must start acting like a man. It is important to note the significance of the second paragraph of the novel, where Fox mentions the death of Chad's foster parents. This early illustration of bereavement is suggestive of just how affected Chad's life was by such a loss, and how forced independence will shape the remainder of the novel. I will explore how Fox employs and adapts the *Bildungsroman* to convey the complex coming-of-age story of Chad, as he is torn between two opposing cultures. I argue that Fox modifies several aspects of the *Bildungsroman* tradition; by stressing communalism over individualism, employing an invented rather than geographically defined setting, exploiting otherness as a means of highlighting the protagonist's integration into regional and national social structures, and emphasizing the protagonist's departure toward civilization rather than concentrating on his return to society Fox advances his notions on social evolution and development within Appalachia and presents a counteraction to America's hegemonic response to Appalachia during the Progressive Era. Within this adaptation of the early paradigm *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* exemplifies what I term to be an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*. The novel's exploration of the conceptions of selfhood through depictions of Chad's progressive reconciliation with social order gives narrative form to America's mission to uplift impoverished Appalachia during the early part of the twentieth-century.

Historically, Appalachia has been idealized by writers as isolated from mainstream America, untouched by modernization, and unchanged by time. Notwithstanding, it also appears that the region has largely been ignored by scholars—its cultural traditions, its environmental uniqueness, its

language, its literary merit, its marginal significance. It is not that scholars have overlooked or neglected Appalachia or Appalachian literature altogether; the past fifteen to twenty years has brought a significant increase in scholarship on and interest in Appalachia's history, culture, and literary heritage. In fact, the presented study would not be possible without the work of pioneers like Allen Batteau, Dwight B. Billings, James C. Klotter, Henry D. Shapiro, Cratis D. Williams, Darlene Wilson, and other Appalachian scholars. Nevertheless, I do not think that the world of academia has begun to fully exploit the scholastic possibilities that Appalachia offers. By way of a close reading of John Fox, Jr.'s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, this study aims to contribute to Appalachian scholarship by investigating the author's critical but complex engagement with local color inside the *Bildungsroman* tradition. By means of the close reading, this study will employ the *Bildungsroman* motif as a basis for generating an examination of how one Appalachia writer creates a narrative of physical and psychological maturation to foster a wider perspective of the Appalachian identity, and uses this construct to underscore and assess the social institutions of his time. To get a better sense of the educational, affective, and narrative roles the *Bildungsroman* tradition played in the construction of identity in Appalachia, it is best to begin with a consideration of discourse on the idea of *Bildung* as a process of self-cultivation in contemporary society.

CHAPTER ONE: IN THEORY: THE TRADITIONAL IDEA OF *BILDUNG*

[Man] seeks to grasp as much world as possible and bind it as tightly as he can to himself. ...It is the ultimate task of our existence to achieve as much substance as possible for the concept of humanity in our person, both during the span of our life and beyond it, through the traces we leave by means of our vital activity.

—Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Theory of Bildung*

To undergo *Bildung* is to identify with humanity: a humanity that is itself an ongoing process of self-realization or becoming.

—Marc Redfield, *The Bildungsroman*

The term *Bildung* can be considered a basic concept of German pedagogy, meaning education in the sense of cultivation or personal self-development. The original concept of *Bildung* belongs to the shaping of identity. More specifically, *Bildung* is defined as a process of development and maturation where the objective is self-determination by means of cultivation and successful integration into society. Traditionally, *Bildung* has concentrated on the individual's relationship to society as a means of underscoring their membership in humanity. The goal of *Bildung* is to achieve an internalized competence projected outward into the workings of social relations, where the individual is a microcosm of humanity.

Fritz Ringer, referencing a standard encyclopedia definition of the term from the Weimar period (1919-1933), explains *Bildung* as:

The fundamental concept of pedagogy since Pestalozzi, *Bildung* means forming the soul by means of the cultural environment. *Bildung* requires: (a) an individuality

which, as the unique starting point, is to be developed into a formed or value-saturated personality: (b) a certain universality, meaning richness of mind and person, which is attained through the understanding and experiencing (*Verstehen und Erleben*) of the objective cultural values: (c) totality, meaning inner unity and firmness of character.²⁴

Reinhart Koselleck further elaborates on the structure of the *Bildung*, arguing that “secular piety, openness to all political and social challenges, as well as work” are all essential features of the concept.²⁵ *Bildung* is essentially an ethic of self-formation and education, where the focus is primarily self-reflection, and where the goal is perpetual self-enrichment. In effect, it entails a transformative process of coming to understand what was understood differently.²⁶ *Bildung* is a quintessentially internal phenomenon and represents both progress and civilization. The concept itself is embodied by the product that emerges when the individual successfully creates meaning out of the social worlds in which they participate.

Historical Development

The idea of *Bildung* as self-cultivation was embraced “by devotees of one prevalent form of Protestantism, pietism; by the authors and the readers of the vastly popular genre of the *Bildungsroman*; by philosophers such as Humboldt, Schleiermacher, and Nietzsche and the countless people they have influenced; and by poets such as Schiller and Hölderlin,” and became a defining

²⁴ Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 86.

²⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner, (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2002), 202.

²⁶ Nicholas Davey, *Unquiet Understanding: Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutics*, (Albany, NY: State U of New York, 2006), 107.

feature of late-eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German culture.²⁷ Granting *Bildung* comprises a largely reactionary response to modernity, it is also a politically revolutionary project based on humanist ends²⁸ and pragmatic means. During a 1923 lecture in Munich, in front of an audience comprised of republican students, German novelist and essayist Thomas Mann reflected on the trouble with German politics and, perhaps more notably, illuminated the idea of self-cultivation. He presented the following summary, in which he edifies the “inwardness” of the “typical German,” essentially highlighting the German population’s reverence for *Bildung*:

The finest characteristic of the typical German, the best-known and also the most flattering to his self-esteem, is his inwardness. It is no accident that it was the Germans who gave to the world the intellectually stimulating and very humane literary form, which we call the novel of personal cultivation (*Bildung*) and development. Western Europe has its novel of science criticism, to which the Germans regard this other type as their own special counterpart; it is at the same time an autobiography, a confession. The inwardness, the culture (*Bildung*) of a German implies introspectiveness (*Versenkung*); an individualistic cultural conscience; consideration for the careful tending, the shaping, deepening and perfecting of one’s own personality or, in religious terms, for the salvation and justification of one’s own life; subjectivism in the things of the mind, therefore, a type of culture that might be called pietistic, given to autobiographical confession and deeply personal, one in which the world of the *objective*, the political world, is felt to be profane and is thrust

²⁷ John Kekes, *The Art of Life*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2002), 33.

²⁸ M. Hikmet Lüleci, "The Birth of Tragedy' in the Life of a Protagonist 'At the Night' of His Bildung in a Bildungsroman: Hans Castorp's Brief Sojourn in the Magic Mountain," Thesis, (Tallinn University, 2013), 73.

aside with indifference, “because” as Luther says, “this external order is of no consequence (an dieser äußerlichen Ordnung nichts gelegen ist).” What I mean by all this is that the idea of a republic meets with resistance in Germany chiefly because the ordinary middle class man here, if he ever thought about culture (*Bildung*), never considered politics to be part of it, and still does not do so today. To ask him to transfer his allegiance from inwardness to the objective, to politics, to what the peoples of Europe call *freedom*, would seem to him to amount to a demand (*Aufforderung*) that he should do violence to his own nature, and in fact give up his sense of national identity.²⁹

Mann suggests that the perceived value of self-realization has a substantial influence on German culture because German identity at the time was increasingly contingent upon the achievement of *Bildung*.

Bildung is a far more cultivated language construct than the equivalent notional English terms; consequently, making it necessary to actually adopt the term *Bildung* itself into the English language so as to include the primary sense of the word, become more sensitive to its various connotations, and better analyze its implications. No two languages have perfect equivalent terms or equivalent forms of speech; therefore, *Bildung*, a multifaceted notion peculiar to German culture, cannot be easily rendered into English. Koselleck emphasizes that “*Bildung* is one of these specifically German concepts whose content and scope of meaning is not matched by Western concepts.”³⁰ Nevertheless, one attempt by Wolfgang Klafki to define *Bildung* claims it to be a

²⁹ From a lecture Mann gave in 1923; see Walter Horace Bruford, *The German Tradition of Self-cultivation: Bildung from Humboldt to Thomas Mann*, (Cambridge: Cambridge U, 2009), vii.

³⁰ Koselleck 175.

combination of: “self-determination, freedom, emancipation, autonomy, responsibility, reason, and independence.”³¹ Other possible interpretations of the term *Bildung* include: constitution, culture, cultivation, development, edification, education, formation, foundation, growth, learning, maturation, physiognomy, refinement, schooling, structure, training, and upbringing. Koselleck suggests that “[s]elf-formation, a word coined by the Earl of Shaftesbury in the eighteenth century that influenced the German concept of *Bildung*, is preferable.”³² Though several of these terms and approaches come near enough for a broad generalization of the term *Bildung*, even these translations fail to convey the richness and depth of *Bildung*.

For Henrik Bohlin the central notion of *Bildung* is articulated in numerous ways, yet “the internal relations of which are far from clear,” making the most notable things about the concept of *Bildung* its inherent vagueness and ambiguity. He goes on to explain how *Bildung* has often been equated with wisdom and virtue, arguing that:

[T]he task being “to transform scattered knowledge and action into a closed system, mere scholarship into scholarly *Bildung*, merely restless endeavor into judicious activity”... *Bildung* [is] “the linking of the self to the world to achieve the most general, most animated, and most unrestrained interplay”...“the interplay between [man’s] receptivity and his self-activity,” “the heightening of [man’s] powers and elevation of his personality,” and “the changes that any intellectual activity gradually acquires as it proceeds, [and] the changes that the human character undergoes in

³¹ Klafki Wolfgang, The Significance of Classical Theories of Bildung for a Contemporary Concept of Allgemeinbildung." *Teaching as a Reflective Practice: The German Didaktik Tradition*, Ed. Ian Westbury, Stefan Hopmann, and Kurt Riquarts, (Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates, 2000), 87.

³² Koselleck 173.

particular nations and periods, as well as in general, through the occupations it takes up.”³³

In his speech *Begriff der Bildung*, German Jewish philosopher and sociologist, Max Horkheimer, clarifies the elusive nature of *Bildung*:

Don't expect me to define it (*Bildung*). There are areas in which clear and simple definitions are more than to the purpose, and the role of definitions in knowledge should not be underestimated in any way. If one, nonetheless, seeks to grasp that which is relevant and substantive, which expresses itself in an idea, one must attempt to gain entry to an idea's internal life, its tensions and ambiguities, and surrender to the risk of colliding with contradictions in such a manner that one is even guilty oneself of contradiction. Suspect the need for intellectual purity of an exaggerated type that always requires in a discussion precise advance knowledge of what an idea means before it can be used at all. The process of clarifying and defining ideas is not something that precedes knowledge. That process is realized only by applying ideas to objects and by presenting content-related judgments about those objects. This applies also to the idea of *Bildung*.³⁴

For Horkheimer, the concept of *Bildung*, despite continued discourse, remains impervious to absolute causal analysis and is validated only with empirical measurement. Indeed, it is possible to connect *Bildung* processes as explicated within *Bildung* theory to empirical research, starting with the

³³ Henrick Bohlin, "Bildung and Moral Self-Cultivation in Higher Education: What Does It Mean and How Can It Be Achieved?" (*Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Tables* Summer, 2008), 2.

³⁴ From a speech Horkheimer gave in 1953; see Pauli Siljander and Ari Sutinen, Introduction, *Theories of Bildung and Growth: Connections and Controversies Between Continental Educational Thinking and American Pragmatism*, Ed. Pauli Siljander, Ari Kivelä, and Ari Sutinen, (Rotterdam: Sense, 2012), 3.

notion's temporal layers of meaning, thereby revealing an intrinsic etymological ambiguity, as well as complex semantic structure and history.

The semantics of the *Bildung* phenomenon is deeply engrained in German intellectual tradition, finding its etymological origins in the pedagogical thought of the Middle Ages, ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, where it signified “both the external form, or appearance of an individual (*Gestalt*)” and “the process of giving form (*Gestaltung*).”³⁵ Alfred Langewand suggests that the morphological amalgamation of the idea of *Bildung* is derived from the concept and theological doctrine of the *imago Dei* (God’s image), and highlights *Bild* (image), the root of the word, along with other derivative forms of the word: *Bilden* (to form, to create), *Bildnis* (a picture), and *Vorbild* (the model), as means of promoting *Bildung* as a creative new formation of the Christian soul.³⁶ As the word *Bildung* is constructed out of the term *Bild*, referring to both “that of a plastic activity on the sensory level and means giving shape, producing a certain object abiding to the rules which preside over the Art,” as well as to “the relationship of likeness or imitation between the original image (*Bild* of *Urblid*) and its resembling reproduction (*Abbild*),” the etymological origins of the world does become somewhat “curious.”³⁷ For Paola Giacomoni this drives *Bilden* “well beyond the pure and simple formation of an object and gives rise to the complex relationship between model and copy, original and reproduction.”³⁸

In the Pietist tradition, the *Bildung* referred to “God’s active transformation of the passive Christian.”³⁹ The book of Genesis states, “God created man in His own image; in the divine image

³⁵ Todd Curtis Kontje. *The German Bildungsroman: History of a National Genre*, (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993) 1.

³⁶ Pauli Siljander and Ari Sutinen, Introduction, *Theories of Bildung and Growth: Connections and Controversies Between Continental Educational Thinking and American Pragmatism*, Ed. Pauli Siljander, Ari Kivela, and Ari Sutinen, (Rotterdam: Sense, 2012), 3.

³⁷ See Asgeir Johannesson’s *Role of Bildung in McDowell’s Moral Philosophy*, 2.

³⁸ Asgeir 2.

³⁹ Kontje 2.

He created him; male and female He created them.”⁴⁰ It is written in 2 Corinthians 3:18 that those who reflect the glory of the Lord are transformed into His likeness. The early Christian mystic Meister Eckhardt was the first to suggest that human beings should actively undertake *Bildung*, arguing that mankind is estranged from God and should strive to achieve the image, or *Bild*, of Christ so their soul would reflect divinity. Within this nuance of pietistic thought mankind would, through ascetic religiosity, public morality, and chaste obedience, endeavor to live a life practiced in imitation of Christ since the Fall from grace no longer qualified them to live as the true image of God. For Hans-Georg Gadamer, author of *Truth and Method*, *Bild* is intimately related to man’s relationship to God: “man carries in his soul the image of God, after whom he is fashioned, and which man must cultivate in himself.”⁴¹ In this medieval theological context, *Bildung* is the expression of a sincere effort to comply with Biblical mandates of God’s intention for individuals. Wilfried Lippitz argues:

[T]he ethical and moral relationship between God and the individual cannot be influenced by anyone else. Not only is this relationship exempt from external influence, but in some senses, it is beyond even the internal influence of the individual him or herself. For “*Bildung*” in this sense is a “gift” from God, an act of grace on the part of personal morality and conscience, this gift is a particular kind of external determination, which “calls” the self in its true selfhood.⁴²

Accordingly, it is evident that since its inception, the concept of *Bildung*, as an operative principle, was conceived as an aesthetic phenomenon aligned between ontological, teleological, and

⁴⁰ Genesis 1:27.

⁴¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (New York: Seabury, 1975), 10.

⁴² Wilfried Lippitz, "Foreignness and Otherness in Pedagogical Contexts." (*Phenomenology & Practice* 1, 2007), 87.

pedagogical perspectives intended to ambition a totalizing form that is distinguished by the virtue of an overarching identity.

Over time various *Bildung* ideals—ideals declaring *Bildung* as a true act of “formation”—became much more complex and convoluted, and a historically dynamic and ambiguous semantics of identity began to form. Giacomoni suggests that with *Bildung* there exists “the possibility of moving from an unattainable moral perfection and from the Godly image, to a secular image of perfection which is in some way calculable, edifiable or at least definable in human terms and therefore broadly speaking, reproducible.”⁴³ In fact, it was around the second half of the eighteenth-century that the meaning and scope of *Bildung* became removed from its inherent secular objectives. German Scholar Walter Bauer writes:

The idea of human cultivation of the soul (*cultura animi*), found in ancient philosophy, and the concept of imago-dei, of the godlikeness of man, found in Christian theology and mysticism, were adapted and reformulated into terms compatible with enlightenment philosophy... The specific content of the term referred increasingly to the inner cultivation of the self which is both a “formative” process a “transformative” occurrence.⁴⁴

It was during this time, when European society was fully immersed in the Enlightenment, a period of cultural and idealistic transformation characterized by intellectual liberalism, progressive modernization, and rationalist secularization, that the pedagogical conceptualization of *Bildung* really gained footing. According to Fritz Martini *Bildung* encompasses “a harmony of aesthetic, moral,

⁴³ Paola Giacomoni, “Paideia as *Bildung* in Germany in the Age of Enlightenment,” in *The Paideia Project: Proceedings*, ed. D.M. Steiner (presented at the 20th World Congress of Philosophy, Boston, 1998) <https://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Mode/ModeGiac.htm>.

⁴⁴ Walter Bauer, "Introduction." (*Educational Philosophy and Theory* 35.2 2003), 133.

rational and scientific education” that “had long been common property of Enlightenment thought.”⁴⁵ Throughout this period of philosophical discourse the concept itself began to absorb and be absorbed by Enlightenment thinking, thus, causing a shift in the meaning of *Bildung* from the realization of God’s intended design for man to a medium of individual human experience and for the potential edification of humanity. Todd Kontje, in his book *The German Bildungsroman: History of a National Genre*, confirms *Bildung*’s eventual shift away from its theological moorings, and toward more of a secular humanistic concept where the focus is on individual assertion of free will. Kontje writes:

Instead of being passive recipients of a preexistent form, individuals now gradually develop their own innate potential through interaction with their environment. Organic imagery of natural growth replaces the model of divine intervention. Transformation into the perfect unity of God turns into the development of one’s unique self.⁴⁶

Of the new pedagogical possibilities of *Bildung*, Giacomoni further evidences:

[I]f the convergence of the specifically German tradition of *Bildung* with the rebirth of classical studies, allows for the definite exit of the concept from the religious sphere and its repositioning at the centre of secular discussions upon the possibilities and models or the shaping of a new individual, it also brought about the flowering of the question of form and moves it all the way towards an idea of Form as Order, as the necessity of a redirection towards a fundamental role.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Martini Fritz, “Bildungsroman—Term and Theory,” *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 5.

⁴⁶ Kontje 2.

⁴⁷ Giacomoni, <https://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Mode/ModeGiac.htm>.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the concept of *Bildung* had disengaged with its Pietistic connotations and began to espouse and reflect the educational and social ideals of the German Enlightenment.

Although neo-humanists like Johann Gottfried von Herder, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich von Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Gadamer are known for the initial scholarship determining the insight of the classical German tradition of *Bildung*, perhaps the most influential member of the tradition was Wilhelm von Humboldt, who, around the year 1800, first positioned *Bildung* at the core of humanist philosophy. While together these theoreticians defined the general boundaries for the popular humanistic phenomenon that reflected the relationship between self-formation and society, it was primarily Humboldt's early conception on the function of *Bildung* as the objective for all humankind that dominated Enlightenment thinking. His central position in the development and canonization of *Bildung*, made evident in his book *On the Limits of State Action*, inaugurated the values and assumptions concomitant with the tradition, including its intrinsic connection to individualism, idealism, humanism, and education. He specifically characterizes *Bildung* as an organic process that is "at once higher and more inward (than civilization), namely, the disposition which harmoniously imparts itself to feelings and character and which stems from insight into and feeling for man's whole spiritual and moral striving."⁴⁸ While the richness of Humboldt's definition evokes the importance of self-cultivation to achieve the formation of a spiritually rich and deeply moral individual, he also envisages an engagement with the world that is beyond the self and more toward

⁴⁸ Wilhelm Humboldt, *On the Limits of State Action*, Trans. J. W. Burrow, (London: Cambridge U.P., 1969), 266.

the furtherance of humanity. Thus, in keeping with the neo-humanist tradition, Humboldt sees the individual, not as a separate entity interacting with their environment, but as an inseparable part of it.

The early Enlightenment formulations of *Bildung*—that is, the German neo-humanist vision of self-education and self-edification—offered an alternative congruence between person, culture, and nation. Consequently, it not only becomes impossible to separate the actualization of *Bildung* from the *gestalt* of its social environment, it also becomes impossible to separate *Bildung* history from the greater socio-political history. Koselleck writes:

Bildung is a peculiar, self-inducing pattern of behavior and form of knowledge that remains reliant on economic presuppositions and political conditions in order to flourish; but this does not mean that *Bildung* can be causally and sufficiently derived from these conditions. If causal determinations are brought into play, it could be maintained with the same plausibility that *Bildung*... had a great influence on economic and political history.⁴⁹

Moreover, Slaughter suggests that “[t]he eighteenth-century philosophical effort to reconcile the subjective condition of the human being with the objective social world gave *Bildung* its bourgeois humanist valence as a studious effort to live life as an art—an effort of individuals to ‘develop their own innate potential through interaction with their environment.’”⁵⁰ Additionally, for Gadamer, “*Bildung*” is intimately associated with the idea of culture and designates primarily the properly human way of developing one’s natural talents and capacities.”⁵¹ Viewed in this way, the origin of *Bildung* depends on the individual and culture, the former being responsible for attributing meaning

⁴⁹ Koselleck 173.

⁵⁰ Joseph R. Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.: The World Novel, Narrative Form, and International Law*, (New York: Fordham UP, 2007), 111-112.

⁵¹ Gadamer 10-11.

to experience and the latter contributing to the conception of the individual. Accordingly, one without the other is insufficient to achieve *Bildung*, particularly when it comes to their own relational interdependence, as they are both constructors of meaning and products of meaning-making. Furthermore, two other important historical considerations of the concept of *Bildung*, as mentioned earlier, are those presented by genre theorist James Hardin, who defines *Bildung* as both “a developmental process and... as a collective name for the cultural and spiritual values of a specific people of social stratum in a given historical epoch and by extension the achievement of learning about the same body of knowledge and acceptance of the value system it implies.”⁵² Hence, the term *Bildung* should also be understood as both a practical and theoretical model of an organic tradition derived from a German philosophy that cannot be limited to the individual but must encompass the collective scope of the cultural, political, and societal experience. Consequently, it becomes easier to recognize the acceptance of the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie and the onset of a political revolutionary mentality as tokens of the *Bildung* movement.

The German bourgeoisie of the late eighteenth-century, made up of the intellectual elite and civil servants, considered themselves as a more cultivated class of the population and began to see *Bildung* as an ideological weapon to negotiate social class structure. These bourgeoisie started to question the feudal traditions that limited social advancement, specifically the aristocratic right to rule. Recognizing *Bildung* for its various social and discursive ends, the bourgeoisie adopted the concept as an intellectual means of strengthening their identity against the legitimacy of the aristocracy and establish a new classification of social status. Their adoption gave the notion substance; the notion gave them a sense of self-identity.

⁵² Hardin xi-xii.

American Germanist Jeffrey L. Sammons says that “[t]he concept of *Bildung* is intensely bourgeois; it carries with it many assumptions about the autonomy and relative integrity of the self, its potential self-creative energies, its relative integrity of the self, its potential self-creative energies, its relative range of options within material, social, even psychological determinants.”⁵³ *Bildung* allowed individuals to focus on the kind of self-cultivation that permitted them to live autonomously, free from direct control of the state and political subordination. As Slaughter suggests, “the historical social work” of *Bildung* “was to patriate the once politically marginal bourgeois subject as national citizen. As such, [it] articulated nationalizing projects intended to consolidate and legitimate the emergent bourgeois nation-state and its institutions of citizenship.”⁵⁴ Cauleen Suzanne Gary adds, “*Bildung*, in eighteenth-century philosophical discourse, coincides with rationality and adds momentum to the notion that human beings could think consciously and independently; the ability to do so would not only lessen the feudal influence of the state upon the individual citizen, but also separate the intellectual elite from the “irrational” (or “uncivilized”) masses.”⁵⁵ The changes in class structure of the German bourgeoisie made *Bildung* a project of pure active self-observation and ethical self-cultivation; thus, engendering the practice of informing an individual’s life with a degree of meaning and purpose, a hallmark of a critical and productive member of society.

This brief overview of the origin, nature, and progression of *Bildung*, reveals a crucial dimension of the eighteenth-century German preoccupation with self and its relationship to change. Koselleck argues that “*Bildung* is not a pre-given form waiting to be fulfilled but rather a processual

⁵³ Jeffrey L. Sammons, “The Bildungsroman for Nonspecialists: An Attempt at a Classification” in *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 44.

⁵⁴ Slaughter 114.

⁵⁵ Cauleen Suzanne Gary, *Cultural Studies Analysis of Texts by Women Writers*, Diss, (U of Maryland, 2008, Ann Arbor, 2008), 29.

state that constantly and actively changes through reflexivity. *Bildung* is both the process of producing as well as the result of having been produced.”⁵⁶ According to Gadamer:

The transition is especially clear here because the result of *Bildung* is not achieved in the manner of a technical construction, but grows out of an inner process of formation and cultivation, and therefore constantly remains in a state of continual *Bildung*.... Like nature, *Bildung* has no goals outside of itself. ... In having no goals outside itself, the concept of *Bildung* transcends that of the mere cultivation of given talents, from which the concept is derived. The cultivation of a talent is the development of something that is given, so that practicing and cultivating it is a mere means to an end. Thus the educational content of a grammar book is simply a means and not itself an end. Assimilating it simply improves one’s linguistic ability. In *Bildung*, by contrast, that by which and through one is formed becomes completely one’s own.⁵⁷

By the same token, *Bildung* for Joseph Slaughter “is the name of a trope” that signifies “both a process of image-making and the resultant image.”⁵⁸ This more progressive conceptualization of *Bildung* reveals a process of self-cultivation that was both a response to and a derivation of the eighteenth-century German Enlightenment ideals of knowledge, individualism, and nation building. Accordingly, the ideal of *Bildung* remains true to its flexible, discursive nature by transcending its original religious limitations and generating a robust educational tradition of intellectual autonomy and cognitive independence. Still, according to Ralf Roth:

⁵⁶ Koselleck 175-176.

⁵⁷ Gadamer 10-11.

⁵⁸ Slaughter 111.

[*Bildung*] cannot be reduced either to the ideals of neohumanist political reformers nor to the idea of the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. In its original sense, it concerned the development of the individual personality... [T]he experienced and educated citizen, defined by achievement and by spiritual cultivation—should replace the incompetent aristocracies and patriciates.⁵⁹

If there is to be an understanding of the complex nature of *Bildung*, and its indisputable influence on humanity, then there must be a general inquiry into the array of human aspects that have manifested as the phenomenon's basic structural framework: individuality and self-determination; freedom and autonomy; harmony and perfection; unity and aesthetics. In so doing, the concept of *Bildung* as a process of self-cultivation becomes more well-defined, the notion of *Bildung* as a basis of unity for humanity stands firm, and the influence of *Bildung* becomes more and more evident, all through the depiction of society as “harmonious self-determining whole that exhibits in its daily functioning a spontaneous auto-causality akin to that of transcendental and moral freedom.”⁶⁰

Individuality and Self-determination

The individual, as Gadamer demonstrates through a connection to *Bildung's* etymological origins, must resign themselves to experience change and cultivate their humanity through the dynamic development of their innate “talents and capacities,”⁶¹ which initially begins with individual self-affirmation through the other, then advances to self-alienation where the individual distances

⁵⁹ Rath Roth, "Burger and Workers: Liberalism and the Labor Movement in Germany, 1848-1914." *Between Reform and Revolution: German Socialism and Communism from 1840 to 1990*. Ed. David E. Barclay and Eric D. Weitz, 113-140, (Berghahn, 1998), 118.

⁶⁰ Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*, (New York: Columbia UP, 2003), 45.

⁶¹ Gadamer 10.

themselves from their development so as to recognize that growth has transpired, and subsequently culminates in an objective return to an enriched and empowered self.⁶² Gadamer explicitly writes, “To recognize one’s own in the alien, to become home in it, is the basic movement of spirit, whose being consists only in returning to itself from what is other.... Thus what constitutes the essence of *Bildung* is clearly not alienation as such, but the return to oneself—which presupposes alienation, to be sure.”⁶³ In other words, *Bildung* demands movement beyond an individual’s boundaries where engagement with otherness is appropriated by the self. As Lippitz explains it, “*Bildung* happens through learning, unlearning and relearning; it is occasioned through negative but formative experiences. Through such experiences, I alienate myself, in that I deal with things unfamiliar and unknown --for example, a foreign culture or language-- which demands significant effort and assimilative labor.”⁶⁴ For Gadamer, this sort of sensibility for the other allows the individual the necessary scope to mediate the process of self-cultivation: “[T]hat by which and through which one is formed becomes completely one’s own. To some extent everything that is received is absorbed, but in *Bildung* what is absorbed is not like a means that has lost its function. Rather in acquired *Bildung* nothing disappears, but everything is preserved.”⁶⁵ Thus, the dynamic quality of *Bildung* as espoused by German neo-humanist theoreticians, provides *Bildung* with a double meaning as both a process and product of this objective. As a process, *Bildung* is a seemingly endless engagement with intellectual and personal growth. Understood as a product, *Bildung* is the result of the engagement with the notion that human beings are endowed with an inherent, limitless capacity for autonomous agency and self-perfection. The end result is that *Bildung*, as an ideal to be realized, functions as a

⁶² Gadamer 14.

⁶³ Gadamer 13.

⁶⁴ Lippitz 83.

⁶⁵ Gadamer 11.

kind of mental formation, both by virtue of its function as a method and through its function as an outcome of the practice of self-cultivation.

An important aspect of the duality between process and product of the *Bildung* movement, as derived from the neo-humanist tradition, is that of *Bildung* as an autonomous educational experience occurring as the individual self engages and transforms the possibilities and contours of altruistic social action and virtuous self-cultivation. This aspect of *Bildung* is the concept of self-determination, where the individual enjoys the responsibilities associated with their own organic development without selfishness or self-indulgence. German sociologist Niklas Luhmann contends: [N]eo-humanist thinkers up to and including Hegel and Marx could not be satisfied with the statement that everyone is an individual: but they began with and therefore had to confront the question of how this merely quantitative universality, the mere aggregation, can be filled with content. The important question then became how the individual realizes itself within the universal, humanity, the world. For Humboldt and even for Hegel, this was a matter of *Bildung*.⁶⁶

Humboldt and his contemporaries identified *Bildung* as the primary directive of humanity as they believed man's true purpose in life is to realize their potential and cultivate their capabilities both freely and harmoniously. The neo-humanist thinkers often spoke of *Bildung* as though it is an organic, that is to say, a living form, likening the process of *Bildung* to the organic process of plant growth where the human, like a seed, blossoms and fruits based on inherent capacities which are realized only when provided a cultivation environment that promotes the growth of the individual

⁶⁶ Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1995), 259.

and their innate faculties.⁶⁷ Although for Humboldt, development and growth of the human being is a far more substantial experience:

[I]n man, the blossom fades away, it is only to give place to another still more exquisitely beautiful; and the charm of the last and loveliest is only hidden from our view in the endlessly receding vistas of an inscrutable eternity. Now, whatever man receives externally, is only as the grain of seed. It is his own active energy alone that can convert the germ of the fairest growth, into a full and precious blessing for himself. It leads to beneficial issues only when it is full of vital power and essentially individual. The highest ideal, therefore, of the co-existence of human beings, seems to me to consist in a union in which each strives to develop himself from his own inmost nature, and for his own sake.⁶⁸

In this sense, any inclination for passivity of the individual contrasts sharply with the understanding of *Bildung* as an active engagement of the individual with the world around them: “It is not sufficient for the individual merely to ingest the standards of society the ‘free citizen’ must consciously and affirmatively recognize the standards of the world as his own.”⁶⁹ As the German neo-humanists focused on self-determination and embraced the self’s engagement with the people and objects around them, appointing man’s organic constitution and temperament as the source of his distinct needs, wants, instincts, skills and abilities, the Enlightenment came to know a preponderance of individual self-interest. This preoccupation of self, at least in the neo-humanist

⁶⁷ J. Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe Since the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 347.

⁶⁸ See Humboldt’s *On the Limits of State Action*, Thomas, Pfau, Thomas. "Bildungsroman." *The Encyclopedia of Romantic Literature: A - G.*, Ed. Frederick Burwick. Vol. 1, (Blackwell, 2012), 126.

⁶⁹ Christa Zom, "Vernon Lee." *Vernon Lee: Aesthetics, History, and the Victorian Female Intellectual*, (Athens: Ohio UP, 2003, *Google Books*), 121.

sense, was an attempt to further *Bildung* and impose the notion of the individual as the primary organizing principle of society.

Freedom and Autonomy

The idea of unprecedented social change found at the center of neo-humanist tradition is considered to only happen through an enduring and balanced negotiation between the individual and social reality. The consideration of such social change, as generated by individual formation, necessitates attention be given to the internal intricacies and idiosyncrasies of human behavior and just what means are required to achieve *Bildung*. According to Humboldt, the necessary conditions for this kind of successful narrative of *Bildung* include liberty and a variety of life situations:

The true purpose of man—not that which changing inclinations prescribe but that which the eternally unchanging reason enjoins—is the highest and most harmonious *Bildung* of his powers to a whole. Freedom is the first and essential condition for this *Bildung*. Besides freedom the development of human powers requires one other thing, which is closely associated with freedom, a great manifoldness of situations. Even a free and highly independent person, when restricted to monotonous situations, cannot develop fully.⁷⁰

In other words, it is only through the freedom to change and the actual transformations taking place within the individual that harmonious social transformation can be promoted and achieved.

More needs to be said for *Bildung's* coercive success of individual objective freedom, forasmuch as it is evident enough that *Bildung* cultivates a framework for freedom, it establishes freedom and

⁷⁰ Humboldt 64.

autonomy as cornerstones of neo-humanist *Bildung* theory. Reiteration of the idea that the individual stands for the principle of order; their involvement in social progress comprised of endeavoring to achieve spiritual unity and harmony, is set forth by Goethe who stressed that self-determination, or internal harmony, is associated the most with individual necessity for freedom. Humboldt ardently articulated his ideal of personal autonomy based on the *Bildung* understanding of liberation, in which the formation of human cognitive and emotional capacities is the fundamental condition for individual freedom. In order for foregoing values of freedom and autonomy to be actualized the individual subject must not only fully engage the self, but must also assume responsibility for cultivating the self from its human potentialities and its causal environment. This process of cultivation, or *Bildung*, occurs when the concepts of freedom and autonomy, which are subjectively initiated by the individual, are understood as a single vehicle through which the attainment of a unified self-motivated form is primarily possible.

While he does not use the term *Bildung* in his description of self-formation, John August Comenius in his work *Didactica Magna* does say, “A human must self-form in order to become a human being... Don’t think that anyone can become a real human being... if he or she has not received an education of the type that makes him or her a person.”⁷¹ Therefore, as *Bildung* endeavors for freedom, it must acknowledge the fundamental human agency involved in the end product: the formation of an autonomous subject, an individual capable of self-cultivation and self-determination. Of the “rich” and “controversial” notion of self-determination, David Bakhurst argues, “[I]t governs not only free action, but the exercise of thought. And in the latter is included not just the play of the imagination, but all exercises of the intellect, including judgement about what

⁷¹ See John August Comenius, Siljander and Sutinen, *Theories of Bildung and Growth*, 4.

is the case.”⁷² In short, the freedom which is a necessary condition for *Bildung*, is the same freedom that must be worked at through *Bildung*, thereby, making the notion of freedom the primary principle and significant indicator of *Bildung*.

Harmony and Perfection

Slaughter calls *Bildung*, as conceptualized by Humboldt, “a philosophy for bridging the gap between concept and substance—between the spiritual universe and the concrete social world.”⁷³ He goes on to explain that *Bildung* “imagines a humanist process of transubstantiation by which the individual concretizes its abstract species image and realizes the intellectual enabling fiction of a harmonious, natural human personality through self-contemplation and self-cultivation of a ‘universal sense’—a transcendental sense of identification with humanity in general.”⁷⁴ In this sense, harmony becomes an essential participant in a larger organic unity composed of the various manifestations of self-determination, and the individual becomes the very facilitator of social harmony. Therefore, in assessing the neo-humanist design for man, it is important to note that Humboldt’s idea of organic self-cultivation of the individual rested not only on freedom, but first of all, also on the understanding of *Bildung*’s primary goal as inward harmony, meaning the simultaneous synthesizing of the psychological, spiritual, and social constituents of the individual. Humboldt argued that “the education of the individual requires his incorporation into society and involved his links with society at large,”⁷⁵ meaning the success of *Bildung* also demands the

⁷² David Bakhurst, "Freedom, Reflection, and the Sources of Normativity," *The Formation of Reason*, (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

⁷³ Slaughter 111.

⁷⁴ Slaughter 111.

⁷⁵ See Humboldt’s Theory of Human Education, p. 155: "Wilhelm Von Humboldt." *Wilhelm Von Humboldt*. World Heritage Encyclopedia.

harmonious integration of individuals within the social collective. Secondly, for Humboldt the success of *Bildung* also rested on the outward expression of inward harmony, meaning a unified humanity can only be realized through the ushering of a model harmonious society by the harmony of the individual as it is practiced as a harmony between individuals.

Humboldt, like other German neo-humanist thinkers, associated *Bildung*'s promotion of inward harmony with the uniqueness of each and every individual in terms of their innate qualities and how they interact with and are influenced by their environments. They believed that the individual possesses unique capabilities: capabilities proven valuable in facilitating self-determination and that need to be cultivated and shared with the whole of humanity. As Anthony J. La Vopa evinces, neo-humanism claimed that "Every person embodied a unique ideal of 'humanity,' and in the very process of approaching realization of that ideal in and through self-cultivation, he offered something invaluable to the collectivity."⁷⁶ One scholar explains:

Rather than depict the individual as at odds with his society, German neo-humanism champions a harmony of the individual with his society through the development of his uniqueness and an acceptance of his social responsibility as the avenue toward self-development.... Satisfaction is not found in a romantic transcendence of social bonds, but in the activities of concrete social life.⁷⁷

More specifically, *Bildung*, for neo-humanists is a project of self-formation and cultivation that harmoniously synthesizes an individual's aesthetic, civic, cognitive, emotional, ethical, intellectual, and spiritual development, which together articulate a fundamental expression of concrete humanity.

⁷⁶ J. La Vopa Anthony, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-century Germany*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), 274.

⁷⁷ "The German Bildung Tradition," *The German Bildung Tradition*, <<http://www.philosophy.uncc.edu/mleldrid/SAAP/USC/pbt1.html>>.

Humboldt's idea of *Bildung* as harmonic development is inherently linked to the underlying spiritual premise that the individual is responsible for actively engaging in the pursuit of knowledge in order to cultivate their own existence and enrich humanity. He argued that the individual must "absorb the great mass of material offered to him by the world around him and by his inner existence, using all the possibilities of his receptiveness; he must then reshape that material with all the energies of his own activity and appropriate it to himself so as to create an interaction between his own personality and nature in a most general, active and harmonious form."⁷⁸ Similarly, Burckhardt, as cited by John R. Hinde, believed, "The pursuit of inner knowledge and self-exists cultivation as a spiritual calling, as a means of personal salvation in a time of crisis.... Devotion to this ideal empowers and liberates the subject."⁷⁹ As such, the pursuit itself is not only intended as a means of gauging an individual's capacity for self-determination, but is also the means by which an individual can achieve "emancipation from determination by others,"⁸⁰ and cultivate the inward harmony and perfection necessary for *Bildung*.

Humboldt recognized this self-motivated intellectual exploit as not a demonstration of an individual's innate giftedness (*Begabung*) or expression of their hidden capacities (*AusBildung*); more than that, he saw it as a "spiritual attitude."⁸¹ It is within this spiritual capacity that the notion of individual development intersects with the liberal Enlightenment ideal of the potential and perfectibility of man. According to Hans Rosenberg, the German neo-humanist theoreticians considered *Bildung* as:

⁷⁸ Joanna Williams, "Students Within a Changing University." *Consuming Higher Education: Why Learning Can't Be Bought*, Vol. 2, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 21.

⁷⁹ John Roderick Hinde, *Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2000), 135.

⁸⁰ Klafki, 87.

⁸¹ Jeffrey Sims, "Seeking a Mnemonic Turn: Interior Reflections in Gadamer's Post-Platonic Thought," (*Human Affairs* 18.2, 2008), 232.

[M]uch more than advanced school training, general and vocational. *Bildung*, no doubt, called for trained minds and for more and better knowledge, but no less for character and personality development. *Bildung* implied supreme emphasis on inwardness and tenderness of the heart. It invited man to seek happiness within himself by orienting his total life toward the harmonious blending of spiritual elevation, emotional refinement, and individualized mental and moral perfection.⁸²

In other words, the task of *Bildung*, as rooted in Enlightenment notions of rationality, individual self-development, and social structure, is to cultivate complete harmonious human perfection which can be achieved personally by each individual when “the elements absorbed from the supra-personal sphere appear to be developing within the psyche, as if through a predetermined harmony, that which already exists in it as its inmost drive and as an inner prefiguration of its subjective perfection.”⁸³ The established harmony among an individual’s attributes and innate abilities indicates that the cultivated individual as the means, must be separated from the end effect, so as to support this “unfolding”—“this movement toward perfection that becomes fully coherent only when perfection has been reached, and when the soul’s preexistent tendency can indeed be identified as a ‘prefiguration.’”⁸⁴

Intimately coupled with the relationship of the individual to society, *Bildung*, as conceived by neo-humanists like Humboldt, “represent[ed] the image of universal perfection which is definable on the basis of precise rules, and it is not a question of personal taste”⁸⁵ and provided the intellectual

⁸² H. Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience 1660-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 182.

⁸³ Georg Simmel, *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, Ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone, (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 57.

⁸⁴ Fritz K. Ringer, *Toward a Social History of Knowledge: Collected Essays*, (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 194

⁸⁵ Giacomoni <https://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Mode/ModeGiac.htm>.

underpinning that prepared the way for a social and political movement aimed at ascertaining an individual's cultural identity. In fact, the imperfection of human nature that restrains the individual must be acknowledged before the individual can overcome the incompleteness of their natural disposition and achieve a cultural identity. Lippitz explains that "[t]he path of *Bildung* starts in imperfection and in a dearth of self-consciousness. But it ultimately leads to consummate self-knowledge and self-awareness..."⁸⁶ *Bildung* is intended to characterize this transformative process, where the individual experiences "negative occurrences and alienation"⁸⁷ which lead to a "significant change in the way of sensing the world and relating to internal representations, change that precludes a return to previous mental models and that leads to large alterations in external behavior."⁸⁸

Unity and Aesthetics

While the neo-humanists conception of *Bildung* respired a spirit of human harmony and encouraged an intellectual and moral maturity in people, it also emphasized an organic unity, linking individuals with not only the society they inhabit, but with the whole of humanity. They strictly postulated that this organic unity comes from a constant state of intentional, self-directed learning, where growth in knowledge, skills and experience is geared toward the capacity development of the individual, including the full realization by the individual of their place in and as humanity. Therefore, the notion of *Bildung* is essentially the theoretical premise on which neo-humanist theoreticians view and relate the entire human experience, explaining that humanity, as the ultimate,

⁸⁶ Lippitz 84.

⁸⁷ Lippitz 83.

⁸⁸ Paul R. Scheele, *Researching Critical Incidents of Transformation*, Diss., (Antioch U, 2013, Dissertations & Theses), 15.

concrete unity of individuals and peoples, is the context in which the awakening of human faculties will begin to transform society into a perfected form. As Friedrich von Schlegel elaborates:

If the *entire* composite human drive is not simply the motive but also the *guiding principle of culturation* [*Bildung*], if the culturation [*Bildung*] is *natural* and not artificial, if the original disposition is the most felicitous, and if the external sustenance is perfect: then all components of the striving force of a humanity that is forming itself evolve, grow, and come *uniformly* to completion until evolution has reached the point when no more fullness can be achieved without dividing and destroying the *harmony of the whole*.⁸⁹

Hence, *Bildung* positions the individual as the most powerful representation of humanity; consequently, the enlightened individual becomes the singular agent for a responsible politics for unity and progressive social transformation. From this perspective, *Bildung* suggests the formation of an individual whose self-recognition and enlightenment not only push the limitations of what the human body and creative mind can achieve, but more than that, transcend traditional human diversities and geographic boundaries by means of conforming to human conduct and harmony—indicative of a greater unity between the individual and society. Indeed, tracing *Bildung's* ascent through the productive discourse of neo-humanism throws into sharp relief the tradition's function as a measure and visual testament of unification, political progress, and social change.

Equally important for the success of *Bildung* and its corresponding vision of society as a harmonious entity is the underscoring of how the individual perceives and experiences themselves as a fundamental unity. Citing Hegel, Robert M. Wallace explains that “[t]his process of generating a

⁸⁹ Friedrich Von Schlegel, *On the Study of Greek Poetry*, Trans. Stuart Barnett, (Albany: State U of New York, 2001), 55.

unity (a “self”) by generating new motivations is the other side of the coin of the process of *finding* a unity (one’s “self”) in one’s immediately given motivation by “purifying” them, letting them “become the rational system of will-determination” which is a “whole of satisfaction” and thus reflects one’s unifying selfhood.”⁹⁰ In this self-perception, the individual is expected to reflect on their responsibilities and capabilities, and their potentials and limitations in order to navigate the complex ontological interdependence between *Bildung*’s proposal of a non-stratified society and the celebration of the peculiarities of its members. According to Reinhart Koselleck, one of the characteristics of *Bildung* is that “it relates common cultural achievements, to which it also naturally refers, back to a personal, internal reflection, without which a social culture might not be possible.”⁹¹ In this regard, those aspects of *Bildung* centered on unity become inextricably linked with notions of cultural capital and personal value (both of which affect the way people perceive and react to their environment); thus, demonstrating the importance in extracting a solid recognition of self.

Bildung must allow the individual freedom and encourage them to develop and command their own unique talents and capacities, not only to achieve a recognition of self, but also to institute a universal human cognitive disposition toward unity. The unity conferred by *Bildung* demonstrates an event of freedom where the individual has sufficient autonomy to select their own developmental trajectory, meaning the individual selects which skills they wish to hone and cultivate. This predilection of the individual toward specific attributes and abilities thus empowers a unity of thought and selfhood, which is an instrumental mediator of *Bildung*. In this way, the individual is responsible for independently pursuing their own interests, all the while laboring under the awareness that these interests should, if consistent with rational idea of *Bildung*, be considered as

⁹⁰ Robert M. Wallace, “How Hegel Reconciles Private Freedom with Citizenship,” (*Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1999), 5.

⁹¹ Koselleck 174.

inseparable from those of society. This outlines the strategic scaffolding of *Bildung*, “[s]tarting with the individual subject,” and culminating in “the reconciliation of the individual and the particular with the general and the universal.”⁹² Indeed, the perfect unity of individual self and the world, an ideal which gives rise to the universal subject, is a core dimension of *Bildung*.

Furthermore, for German neo-humanists like Goethe, Schiller, and Humboldt, the idea of *Bildung* engages with an aesthetic and ethical self-forming of identity. They insist that *Bildung*'s foundation rests on the aesthetic contemplation of beauty and individual moral self-cultivation.

Silvan S. Schweber explains:

The aesthetic was linked to the intellectual faculty, and both activated the moral imperative that resided in man. The beautiful as the essence of aesthetic education was not romanticized but understood through reason....The beautiful...was conceived as harmonious and well proportioned, without any excess or false note which might upset its quiet greatness. Beauty was supposed to aid in controlling the passions, not in unleashing them, emphasizing that self-control which the bourgeois prized so highly.... For Humboldt, as for Goethe and Schiller, [beauty] symbolized the ideal of a shared humanity towards which *Bildung* must strive. This beauty was a moral beauty through its strictness and harmony of form; for Schiller it was supposed to keep humanity from going astray in cruelty, slackness, and perversity. *Bildung* was not chaotic or experimental but disciplined and self-controlled.⁹³

⁹² Lippitz 83.

⁹³ S.S. Schweber, *In the Shadow of the Bomb: Bethe, Oppenheimer, and the Moral Responsibility of the Scientist*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2000), 80.

Tony Fry asserts, “[Bildung] placed culture (as an aesthetically defined quality of humanity) between nature (as chaos and animality in being) and reason (as rule and being mechanistic). In doing so, *Bildung* sought to form a moral being capable of critical historical reflection and moral decision in an increasingly secular society.”⁹⁴ *Bildung*’s intention for humanity can thus be ascribed to the reconciliation of morality and reason into an aesthetic harmonious whole for the autonomous self within an embedded social context. In other words, *Bildung* is aesthetic, and by the virtue of this characteristic, has the task of conveying the overall experience of harmony and wholeness of the individual, while operating on the ideal of relative human perfection.

As an aesthetic, *Bildung* facilitates recognition of the affinity between self-formation and experience, which should mean the development of the individual’s distinctiveness capacities to the fullest extent, yet it is a fair assessment to say that the means and methods used are limited by the nature of the mind and body.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, it is *Bildung* that brings positive change and attributes absolute freedom to the individual to navigate “the constraints which he possesses in his physical and mental existence.”⁹⁶ Accordingly, *Bildung*, which demands self-realization, increasingly emphasizes the aesthetic creativity of the individual in the promotion of cultural capital and personal value, and further insists that therein lies a beauty and a harmony determined by the organization of the self. Fritz Martini articulates how this aesthetic implication can serve the individual:

Instead of directly confronting the great powers of social life, it [aesthetic education] creates a new realm of existence in which those abstract and deforming forces penetrate less violently and can be reconstituted in syntony with the individual

⁹⁴ Tony Fry, *Design as Politics*. New York: Berg, 2011. Bloomsbury. Web.

⁹⁵ M. Hikmet Lüleci, “‘The Birth of Tragedy’ in the Life of a Protagonist ‘At the Night’ of His *Bildung* in a *Bildungsroman*: Hans Castorp’s Brief Sojourn in the Magic Mountain,” Thesis, (Tallinn University, 2013), 69.

⁹⁶ Lüleci 69.

aspiration toward harmony. This realm is organized according to the dictates of “beauty” and “play”; it is pervaded with the “happiness” of the individual; and the *Bildungsroman* is its narrative explication.⁹⁷

In this regard, it is not unusual to see advocates of the *Bildung* ideal encourage the equation of a life dedicated to *Bildung* to that of a work of art:⁹⁸

The freedom in this confined state fully unveils itself from the perspective of the creative insight of *Bildung*, since the individual generates a unique self from himself in spite of his handicapped faculties. This creativity is comparable to the creative process of a poet, a composer or a painter. All of these artists are limited by the structure of their particular field of art. One of them is constrained by words, the next by notes, and the last by colours. Even in addition to these basic limitations, all artists are constrained by the horizon of their vision. In the face of all of these limitations, however, they possess an abundant opportunity to create unique works of art whenever they endeavor to bring their unique touches to life.⁹⁹

By the same token, Israel Bar-Yehuda Idalvichi argues that it is beauty that creates “a unity and wholeness beyond any separation that may arise in us as a result of the struggle between morality and desire. Achieving the ideal of the perfect human being would be a work of art—namely, the harmonious realization of an aesthetic ideal, followed by education as a source of grace”; according to Idalvichi, “The idea of aesthetic wholeness is something different and higher than the achievement of morality, because it has an independent goal, its own *telos* of goodness and

⁹⁷ Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, (London: Verso, 1987), 32.

⁹⁸ Richard Franklin Sigurdson, *Jacob Burckhardt's Social and Political Thought*, (Toronto: U of Toronto, 2004), 167.

⁹⁹ Lülecĭ 69.

satisfaction, and it engages us in a way morality cannot.” *Bildung* thus involves more than the moralization of individual behavior; through an organic model of aesthetic goodness, beauty, and harmony, it addresses the unity of a work of art as an ideological construct fostered by and equivalent to the unity of the self. Furthermore, *Bildung* as so conceived, “moralizes self-development through its decisive contribution to humanity, and its notion of goodness derives its roots from the individual’s inherent capacity to actualize the harmony of humanity in the unity of society.”¹⁰⁰ It can therefore be discerned that the notion of *Bildung* conceives of the cultivation of human capacities not only in terms aesthetic creativity, but also in terms of moral responsibility. In other words, what *Bildung* demands for the individual regarding their development and self-cultivation is a moral responsibility that requires aesthetic awareness. In effect, *Bildung* represents a relationship between beauty and morality, that is, *Bildung* as a work of art encompasses an aesthetic and moral consciousness that engenders the harmonious exercise of the individual’s innate capacities which establishes a foundation of goodness for humanity. To this extent, *Bildung* is not an arbitrary aesthetic ideal; but, when it is fully realized, demonstrates the integration of morality and establishes the unity of freedom so that individuals are able to yield the harmonic whole of an aestheticized society, a form comparable to that of a work of art.

¹⁰⁰ Lülecĭ 74-75.

CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPMENTAL BLUEPRINTS: THE *BILDUNGSROMAN* GENRE AS A LITERARY GENRE

[W]e may call it the *Bildungsroman*, first, and primarily, on account of its content, because it represents the *Bildung* of the hero in its beginning and progress to a certain stage of completion; but also second, because just this depiction promotes the *Bildung* of the reader more than any other sort of novel.

--Karl Morgenstern, *On the Nature of the Bildungsroman*

He emerges along with the world and he reflects the historical emergence of the world itself.... This transition is accomplished in him and through him. He is forced to become a new, unprecedented form of human being. The organizing force of the future is therefore extremely great here.... It is as though the very foundations of the world are changing, and man must change along with them. Understandably... problems of reality and man's potential, problems of freedom and necessity, and the problem of creative initiative rise to their full height.

--Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Bildungsroman*

The term *Bildungsroman* is regarded as a distinctive German national expression. Derived from the terms *Bildung* (development) and *Roman* (novel), it is often used interchangeably with *Erziehungsroman*, meaning an "upbringing" or "pedagogical novel."¹⁰¹ Commonly used by German neo-humanists starting in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century, the *Bildungsroman*, or as it is often anglicized, the apprenticeship novel, was the prevailing narrative form of the European literary discourse of the time, essentially providing a window into the collective mentality of the

¹⁰¹ J.A. Cuddon, "Bildungsroman." *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, Ed. Claire Preston, (London: Penguin, 1999), 81-82.

dominant society. Martin Swales positions the birth of the genre “within the *Humanitätsideal* of the late eighteenth-century Germany” and understands it as a form driven by a preoccupation “for the whole man unfolding organically in all his complexity and richness.”¹⁰² According to Christa Zom, “With the rise of the middle class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ideology of the individual came to imply increasingly the aspect of agency in the self-defined human subject, which is reflected in the *Bildungsroman*.”¹⁰³ Roy Pascal interprets the *Bildungsroman* as “the representation of an arduous journey out of inwardness into social activity, out of subjectivity into objectivity,” and argues that it “is peculiarly German, too, in that it deals essentially only with the weaning of the heroes from their inwardness, with their spiritual preparation for social life, and stops or falters when they actually enter upon it.”¹⁰⁴ Historically, the term *Bildungsroman* denotes a coming-of-age novel that focuses on the growth and development of a male individual toward a normative ideal. It offers an engaging account of the processes by which maturity and awareness are achieved as the youthful protagonist moves from innocence to experience.

The earliest example of the *Bildungsroman* is usually thought to be Christoph Martin Wieland’s *Die Geschichte des Agathon* (*The Story of Agathon* 1766-1767). J.G. Robertson highlights the implications Wieland’s novel: “Wieland first gave German fiction that predominately psychological character which it has never since lost... Here lies the importance of *Agathon* for the development of German fiction; it is the first deliberately psychological novel, and in this respect is the forerunner of Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*.”¹⁰⁵ Interestingly though, while the term *Bildungsroman* was used to describe a number of German novels written between 1795-1825, the most paradigmatic and discussed

¹⁰² Martin Swales, *The German Bildungsroman from Wieland to Hesse*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1978), 14.

¹⁰³ Zom 121.

¹⁰⁴ Roy Pascal, *The German Novel*, (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester UP, 1956), 299.

¹⁰⁵ John George Robertson, *A History of German Literature*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1970), 245.

example of the *Bildungsroman* is Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters*, specifically the first volume *Wilhelm Meisters Lebrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*; 1795-1796), introduced to British readers by Thomas Carlyle who translated the work in 1824.¹⁰⁶ Robertson argues that *Wilhelm Meisters Lebrjahre*:

[O]ccupies a central position in the development of the German novel. On the one hand, it is the culmination of the novel of the eighteenth century which began under the influence of Richardson; on the other, it is the basis for the modern Romantic School, and the direct forerunner of the autobiographical novels of later times. It is thus the keystone of the arch of German fiction, the representative German novel.¹⁰⁷

Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen*, Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*, Freytag's *Soll und Haben*, Stifter's *Der Nachsommer*, and Raabe's *Der Hungerpastor* are among several other notable German examples of the genre.¹⁰⁸ Twentieth century counterparts include Mann's *Königliche Hoheit*, *Der Zauberberg* and *Joseph und seine Brüder*.¹⁰⁹ Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale*, a novel about the Revolution of 1848, is a useful French example.¹¹⁰ According to Jeffers, "*Copperfield* is clearly the irreplaceable English example of the *Bildungsroman*, the one we have to read before we proceed to any others."¹¹¹ Other English *Bildungsromane* examples include: Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Jane Austen's *Emma*, Dickens' *Great Expectations*, Meredith's *The Adventures of Henry Richmond*, Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*,¹¹² and Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* are two examples of American novels that adopted the *Bildungsroman* as a form of literary expression.

¹⁰⁶ Cuddon 82.

¹⁰⁷ Robertson 303-304.

¹⁰⁸ Cuddon 82.

¹⁰⁹ Cuddon 82.

¹¹⁰ Cuddon 82.

¹¹¹ Jeffers 55.

¹¹² Cuddon 82.

An analysis of the unfolding of *Bildung* within these novels reveals that the ideal “is both an informal, social and an institutional, individual process, involving personal formation, socialization and development in the broadest senses of these terms. *Bildung* thus designates a comprehensive process through which one becomes both an individual (on the one hand), and also a part of society (on the other)...”¹¹³ In fact, Kontje contends that the hero of the *Bildungsroman* “engages in the double task of self-integration and integration into society. Under ideal conditions, the first implies the second: the mature hero becomes a useful and satisfied citizen.”¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, there has been acute questioning of the definitions of the *Bildungsroman*, and its structure as it is evoked in specific historical, political, and cultural contexts. “As soon as one takes a serious look at the notion of the *Bildungsroman*,” notes Marc Redfield, “it begins to unfold such extravagant aesthetic promises that few if any novels can be said to achieve the right to be so defined.”¹¹⁵ Consequently, defining and locating the *Bildungsroman* genre within an extended discourse has long been philosophically problematic but with tremendous pragmatic value: “at least three factors combine to produce the history of the *Bildungsroman* over time: the changing reception of the old literature, the production of the new, and the effort to situate the new literature in the context of the growing literary tradition.”¹¹⁶ For Ellen McWilliams, it is important to take these elements into consideration when approaching a discussion of *Bildungsroman*. Williams elucidates that any consideration of the *Bildungsroman* “entails a delicate balancing act of keeping a keen revisionist eye on the works of literature that constitute the early canon of the genre, while simultaneously focusing on the anxious

¹¹³ Lippitz 80.

¹¹⁴ Todd Kontje, *Private Lives in the Public Sphere: The German Bildungsroman as Metafiction*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1992), 12.

¹¹⁵ Marc Redfield, *Phantom Formations: Aesthetic Ideology and the Bildungsroman*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1996), 40.

¹¹⁶ Kontje 13.

relationship between more recent *Bildungsromane* and the prototype.”¹¹⁷ While this study will demonstrate an appreciation for this approach, it should be understood that its interest is not in a comprehensive and “chronological survey of the genre and related critical approaches.”¹¹⁸ Any need to manage the “conceptual indistinctiveness” of the term is the result of the “critical distance” caused by twentieth- and twenty-first-century readers employing a nineteenth century theoretical lens to analyze an eighteenth century literary genre.¹¹⁹

This study will seek to narrow this distance by basing its examination on a broad definition of the term as well as a broad conceptual overview of the tradition. Specifically, this study will concentrate its discussion based on the practical consideration of various definitions of the genre, including the canonical definition of the *Bildungsroman* as provided by Georg Lukács’ seminal 1947 work *Goethe und Sein*, where he explains the novel’s structure: “The inner form of the novel has been understood as the process of the problematic individual’s journeying towards himself, the road from dull captivity within a merely present reality... toward clear self-recognition”; as stated by Lukács, “the content of the novel is the story of the soul that goes to find itself, that seeks adventures in order to be proved and tested by them, and, by providing itself, to find its own essence.”¹²⁰ Furthermore, this study will also explore the origin and development of the genre, as well as review its thematic and conceptual determinants as discussed in the works of such scholars as Moretti, Bakhtin, and Buckley. It should also be understood that this study is not interested in the controversy over the theoretical concerns that have plagued *Bildungsroman* criticism for centuries; it is even less concerned with the historical semantics surrounding the term *Bildungsroman*. In fact, this

¹¹⁷ Ellen McWilliams, *Margaret Atwood and the Female Bildungsroman*, (Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2009), 5-6.

¹¹⁸ McWilliams 5-6.

¹¹⁹ "The European Bildungsroman." *The European Bildungsroman*. Columbia University, <<http://english.columbia.edu/european-Bildungsroman>>.

¹²⁰ Lukács 80, 89.

study is only indirectly concerned with the modernist literary interpretations of the genre insofar as they help further establish the enduring versatility of the *Bildungsroman* as it transgresses boundaries and moves from one national space to another. This study will desist in addressing the uncertainties and contradictions comprising the complex history of the *Bildungsroman* genre in order to maximize the utility of the salient features of the genre. While some scholars claim that “the broad inclusivity and flexibility of the term dissatisfy and frustrate literary critics whose interests are directly related to establishing a generic definition of the genre in its own terms,”¹²¹ this study will use the inclusivity and flexibility of the *Bildungsroman* to offer a framework where the pliant nature *Bildung*, and by default the *Bildungsroman*, will reflect the pliable nature of society. A simple combinational approach and refusal to focus on the debates and disputes surrounding the *Bildungsroman* will allow for the comparative analyses and contextual references of *Bildungsromane* from the eighteenth-century into the twenty-first, which are so essential and strategic in any effort to offer a revision of the nineteenth-century idea of the genre.

Bildung and the *Bildungsroman*

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, *Bildung* began its own maturation “with the literary adaptation of the idea” within the *Bildungsroman* genre.¹²² It is within the context of the term *Bildungsroman* that the meaning of the word *Bildung* may more readily be demonstrated and understood. Hardin, noting the *Bildungsroman* as the narrative explication of *Bildung*, argues that the genre depicts “the intellectual and social development of a

¹²¹ Sonjeong Cho, *An Ethics of Becoming: Configurations of Feminine Subjectivity in Jane Austen, Charlotte Bronte, and George Eliot*, (New York: Routledge, 2006) *Google Books*. Web.

¹²² Lübeck 77.

central figure who, after going out into the world and experiencing both defeats and triumphs, comes to a better understanding of self and to a generally affirmative view of the world.”¹²³ He further argues that “[r]eflectiveness, preoccupation with matters of the development of mind and soul, are obviously key elements of the genre.... But action is also important.”¹²⁴ As *Bildung* takes literary form, it becomes evident that this humanist sociological theory is more comprehensive and more complex than just individualistic urges and social conditioning; it represents an active individual undertaking to synthesize the fragmentation of disparate rational and social elements within themselves.

In recent years, *Bildung* and the *Bildungsroman* have enjoyed a resurgence in popularity among scholars, attracting a substantial amount of attention from modernist and post-colonial theorists whose ambition is seemingly to recuperate these traditions from their problematic historical origins as a response to continued change. According to Boes, this idea of *Bildung* and the *Bildungsroman* as responses to changing times is not new as both “can be interpreted as twin responses to the rise of historicism: both are essentially strategies of emplotment, the one philosophical, the other narrative in nature.”¹²⁵ Still, critical understandings of the complex and intrinsic relationship between *Bildung* and the *Bildungsroman* differ, and there even exists disconnect over the discourse through which text and tradition construct meaning. Kontje, in his study of the tradition, found “*Bildungsroman* research a rapidly expanding literature of bewildering diversity, and it becomes increasingly difficult to hear the voice of reason above the din of conflicting opinion.”¹²⁶ Be that as it may, according to Martin

¹²³ See Jacobs and Krause, Hardin, xiii.

¹²⁴ Hardin xiii.

¹²⁵ Tobias Boes, *Formative Fictions: Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Bildungsroman*, (New York, NY: Cornell UP, 2012), 6.

¹²⁶ Kontje 109.

Swales, *Bildung* constitutes “the self-realization of the individual in his wholeness,”¹²⁷ and the *Bildungsroman* is “a novel form that is animated by a concern for the whole man unfolding organically in all his complexity and richness...a total growth process.”¹²⁸

Bildungsromane have, indeed, attracted highly contentious criticism from scholars who often debate their epistemological origins, theoretical delineation, and formal possibilities. Yet despite these arguments, the criteria applied to define them suggest a relatively notable unanimity among the variant forms of the genre. These criteria provide a basic outline of the distinctive characteristics that typify the genre’s fundamental subject matter and plot structure. As for the subject matter, it typically involves “the development of a young, usually orphaned, hero who also narrates the text from a pseudo-autobiographical point of view.” *Bildungsroman* plots consists “of events that happen to the hero on his way to the full actualization of his development. These often include formal education, leaving home, becoming ‘his own man,’ soul-searching in the face of conflict, and discovering self-knowledge before arriving at maturation.”¹²⁹ These unanimous features so spectacularly exemplify *Bildung*’s compulsions of individualism and socialization, the *Bildungsroman* becomes an unforgettable model of erudition. In other words, the structures of the *Bildungsroman* reflect *Bildung*’s investment in a socio-aesthetic model of development and integration for the individual, while instantaneously advancing the genre’s own interest in *Bildung*’s influence on the individual experience. Thus, the *Bildungsroman*, as the literary notion of *Bildung*, becomes a valuable fictional expression of the individual process of self-cultivation for the purpose of transforming society. By placing *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* within the context of *Bildung*, this study aims to

¹²⁷ Swales 14.

¹²⁸ Swales 15.

¹²⁹ See Nguyen, Jennifer Lee Heinert, *Narrative Conventions and Race in the Novels of Toni Morrison*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), Google eBooks. Web.

show that the novel keeps formal aspects of the traditional *Bildungsroman*, but subverts its social and historical foundations and challenges its fixed meaning as a literary genre.

Wilhelm Meister and the Early Definitions

Before looking in detail at how *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* engages the *Bildungsroman*, this study will first be concerned with a clearer comprehension of the *Bildungsroman* tradition. Originating during the latter half of the eighteenth-century, the *Bildungsroman*, generally translated as “novel of education,” is the German Enlightenment’s quintessential novelistic genre. The genre was conditioned by the historical circumstances, emerging out of the literary and scientific advancements of the time, and especially the social and political concerns that dominated German Enlightenment philosophy. Thomas Jeffers argues that it was the *Bildungsroman*’s influence during the Reformation and the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth-century that helped to overturn centuries of feudal tradition by liberating the German people from their “‘feudally’ prescribed” roles.¹³⁰ The genre’s emergence during this Era of change and cultural uprising can, therefore, be seen as the aggregation of a divergence and convergence of individual and collective thought. Moreover, Sammons traces the development of the *Bildungsroman* over three brief periods in German history: “[T]he German Bildungsroman emerges in the late eighteenth century, flourishes briefly in the age of Goethe and Romanticism, goes largely underground in the nineteenth century except for a handful of scattered examples... and then re-emerges in the modernist neo-Romantic revival in our own century.”¹³¹

¹³⁰ Jeffers 51.

¹³¹ Sammons 24.

Thus, the *Bildungsroman* developed within the German cultural space as not only “a symbolic form of modernity,”¹³² but, considering its coterminous growth, also developed as a symbol in and of itself.

The novel itself charts the psychological and social development of the *Bildungsheld*'s passage from childhood to adulthood as he¹³³ reaches an awareness of himself, while simultaneously finding his place in society. Broadly defined as the coming-of-age novel, the *Bildungsroman* is often used as a collective term for an assortment of other genres that embrace various nuances of the “quest” element: the *Entwicklungsroman* or “development novel,” chronicles a character’s gradual socialization and maturation over the course of a lifetime; the *Erziehungsroman* or “pedagogical novel,” places emphasis on the youth’s training and formal education, and the *Künstlerroman* or “artist novel” depicts the formative years of the artist through to the mastery of their artistic craft.¹³⁴

It has been proposed that Friedrich von Blanckenburg first suggested the term *Bildungsroman* in his foundational text, “Essay on the Novel.” The expression became a part of critical terminology when it was introduced by German critic and literary historian Karl von Morgenstern in his 1819 lecture, “*Ueber das Wesen des Bildungsroman*” (“On the Nature of the *Bildungsroman*). Morgenstern, in keeping with classic pedagogical ideas of *Bildung*, conceptualized a paradigmatic example of the term in Goethe’s novel *Wilhelm Meister’s Lejrjahre*. *The Oxford Companion* says:

Wilhelm provides the model of the innocent, inexperienced, well meaning, but often foolish and erring, young man who sets out in life with either no aim in mind or the wrong one. By a series of false starts and mistakes and with help from well-disposed

¹³² Moretti 5.

¹³³ This study will only consider the patently male quest pattern of the tradition *Bildungsroman* and use applicable male pronouns when appropriate.

¹³⁴ Buckley 13.

friends he makes in the course of his experiences, he finally reaches maturity and finds proper profession.¹³⁵

The prestige associated with *Wilhelm Meister's Lejrjahre* is particularly significant to the development of the genre as vehicle for *Bildung*, as the novel is understood as the interaction between the enlightened individual and the world. It is also vital to Morgenstern's assessment, which identifies the *Bildungsroman* "first and foremost on account of its content," arguing that its two main attributes are "the development of the hero in its beginning and progress to a certain stage of completion," and the emphasis on "the development of the reader to a greater extent than any other kind of novel."¹³⁶ In other words, Morgenstern saw the *Bildungsroman* as a genre with a dual focus, characterized by the interaction between the *Bildungsheld's* inward reflection and the outward experience of the audience.

Morgenstern identifies *Wilhelm Meister's Lejrjahre* as the paradigmatic *Bildungsroman* based on ideas and intentions of *Bildung* similar to that of Goethe and his *Bildungsheld*. For Goethe, *Bildung* "implies a shaping of singular existence by the acceptance of outside influences, family relationships, art and especially the theater, Pietistic religious trends, and certain social milieus, especially the nobility."¹³⁷ Goethe's *Bildungsheld* describes *Bildung* as a long-standing desire: "Let me tell you: ever since I was a boy, my wish and intention has been to educate myself completely as I am."¹³⁸ For Morgenstern, Goethe's novel was emblematic of the *Bildungsroman*, because the novel, as a genre, is more suitable "than any other genre to show the inner aspect of the human soul and to reveal its

¹³⁵ Margaret Drabble, ed., *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, fifth ed., (Oxford University Press, 1995), 102.

¹³⁶ Karl Morgenstern, "On the Nature of the Bildungsroman," trans. Tobias Boes. *Modern Language Association of America* 124:2, (2009): 647-59. Web. 29 March. 2014, 654-655.

¹³⁷ "Bildung." *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*. Ed. Barbara Cassin, Steven Rendall, and Emily S. Apter, (Princeton University Press, Oxfordshire, 2014), 166-167.

¹³⁸ Cassin 166-167.

intimations, endeavors, battles, defeats, and victories.”¹³⁹ In his lecture, he goes on to explain that *Wilhelm Meister’s Lebjahre* epitomizes the *Bildungsroman* because it “presents to us German life, German thought, and the morals of our time through its hero, its scenery and environment.”¹⁴⁰ Morgenstern expounds upon these notions and remarks that the purpose of the novel is to “depict a human being who develops toward his true nature by means of a collaboration of his inner dispositions with outer circumstances.”¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Morgenstern seemingly applies Humboldt’s pedagogical theory of *Bildung* to structure his assessment of the novel: “The goal of this development is a perfect equilibrium, combining harmony with freedom. The nourishment that our minds derive from this presentation varies in proportion to the inner disposition toward development of the person depicted and to the formative power in the world that surrounds him.”¹⁴² Viewed in this way, *Wilhelm Meister’s Lebjahre* is the perfectly appropriate exemplar for a society characterized by rationality, secularism, and individual autonomy.

While Morgenstern may have coined the term *Bildungsroman*, the person most often associated with the reprisal of the concept is German philosopher and sociologist Wilhelm Dilthey, who, in his 1868 biography of Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Das Leben Schleiermachers (The Life of Schleiermacher)* imposed and popularized the term in academic discourse by proposing “to call those novels which make up the school of *Wilhelm Meister*... *Bildungsromane*.”¹⁴³ Referencing the basic narrative framework and innate characteristics of Goethe’s novel, Dilthey description of the *Bildungsroman* not only led to the wide currency of the term; more than this, it established a clear definition of the genre and its secure connection to the ideal of *Bildung*. He explains that in a

¹³⁹ Morgenstern 651.

¹⁴⁰ Morgenstern 655.

¹⁴¹ Morgenstern 656.

¹⁴² Morgenstern 656.

¹⁴³ See Dilthey, Redfield, 1996, 40.

Bildungsroman the “lawlike development” of the life of a *Bildungsbeld* is distinguished by certain stages, each with its own “intrinsic value,” and each representing “the basis for a higher level.” Dilthey continues to explain these developmental stages, applying the implications of individuality and the universality of human nature to generate a more elaborate definition of the *Bildungsroman*: “Life’s dissonances and conflicts appear as necessary transitions to be withstood by the individual on his way towards maturity and harmony. The ‘greatest happiness of earth’s children’ is ‘personality,’ as a unified and permanent form of human existence.”¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, Dilthey can be credited with defining the *Bildungsroman* genre nearly seventy-five years after the first example of the tradition was written.

The novels Dilthey examines in his study “all portray a young man of their time: how he enters life in a happy state of naïveté seeking kindred souls, finds friendship and love, how he comes into conflict with the hard realities of the world, how he grows to maturity through various life experiences, finds himself and attains certainty about his purpose in the world.”¹⁴⁵ Inherent in Dilthey’s analysis is the understanding of the *Bildungsroman* as a male-centered form narrating both a linear and upward progression of development. As Kontje elaborates in his *Private Lives in the Public Sphere: The German Bildungsroman as Metafiction*:

In such works as Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and Hölderlin’s *Hyperion*, writes Dilthey, we see ‘how he [the youth] enters life in a blissful daze, searches for kindred souls, encounters friendship and love, but then how he comes into conflict with the hard realities of the world and thus matures in the course of manifold life-

¹⁴⁴ Wilhelm Dilthey, *Poetry and Experience*, Ed. Rudolf A. Makkreel and Frithjof Rodi, Vol. 5, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1985), 336.

¹⁴⁵ Dilthey 335.

experiences, finds himself, and becomes certain of his task in the world.’ The hero of the classical *Bildungsroman*, as Dilthey defines it, engages in the double task of self-integration and integration into society. Under ideal conditions, the first implies the second: the mature hero becomes a useful and satisfied citizen. Viewed in this way, the *Bildungsroman* is a fundamentally affirmative, conservative genre, confident in the validity of the society it depicts, and anxious to lead both hero and reader toward a productive place within that world.”¹⁴⁶

Hence, *Bildung*, for Dilthey is the ultimate goal for mankind and the *Bildungsroman* is just the vehicle to advance goals of self-cultivation and harmony because it “intentionally and artistically depicts that which is universally human.”¹⁴⁷

Dilthey furthers this notion of perfect harmonization between the individual and society by recounting the genre’s strong political commitment and indicating the cultural and political factors contributing to the arrival of the *Bildungsroman*. Dilthey proposes that the success of the genre has much to do with the German preoccupation with self:

[T]hese *Bildungsromane* gave expression to the individualism of a culture whose sphere of interest was limited to private life. The governmental authority of the civil service and the military in the small and middle-size German states confronted the young generation of writers as alien. But these young people were delighted and enraptured by what poets had discovered about the world of the individual and his self-development. Today’s reader of Jean Paul’s *Flegeljahre...* or *Titan* in which everything about the contemporary German *Bildungsroman* is epitomized, will find the aura of a

¹⁴⁶ Kontje 12.

¹⁴⁷ Dilthey 335.

past world, the transfiguration of existence in the dawn of life, an infinite investment of feeling in a restricted existence, the obscure, wistful, power of ideals of German youths eager to declare war on an antiquated world in all its life forms and yet incapable of surviving such a war.¹⁴⁸

By this characterization, Dilthey's description of the emergence of the *Bildungsroman* is in line with Morgenstern's critical analysis of the *Bildungsroman* as an echo of German life; both men demonstrate how the *Bildungsroman* engages not only the protagonist in a unique way, but also promotes the development of the reader through involvement with the text. Perhaps more importantly, it is evident that Dilthey's definition of the *Bildungsroman* is clearly indebted to the German neo-humanist rhetoric of *Bildung*, which has at its source a shared understanding of unity and harmony.

Following Dilthey, other theorists, like Hans Heinrich Borchardt, Fritz Martini, Hartmut Steinecke, and Martin Swales, took up defining and analyzing the German *Bildungsroman*.¹⁴⁹ Herman Hesse and Mann are two other German writers that proposed their own interpretations of the genre. While more recent analyses of the *Bildungsroman* describe it as "the most important subgenre of the novel in Germany,"¹⁵⁰ arguing "that well into the twentieth century the greatest German novels are *Bildungsromane*,"¹⁵¹ other scholars designate it as simply European, rather than strictly German.¹⁵² In her study, *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development*, Susan Fraiman asks the question of when these analytical stylings begin to be applied outside of the German cultural space. She asks, "How was [the *Bildungsroman*'s] transposition from one national literature to

¹⁴⁸ Dilthey 335.

¹⁴⁹ Susan Fraiman, *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development*, (New York: Columbia UP, 1993), 3.

¹⁵⁰ Hardin ix.

¹⁵¹ Hardin ix.

¹⁵² See Marianne Hirsch, Michael Minden, Michael. *The German Bildungsroman: Incest and Inheritance*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), i.

another accomplished and with what ideological consequences?"¹⁵³ Fraiman explains that the "explicit nomination of English family of texts seen to descend from *Wilhelm Meister*, did not happen for another hundred years."¹⁵⁴ In fact, the term did not appear in English criticism until around the 1930s, when Susanne Howe published *Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen: Apprentices to Life*. Fraiman claims that "[t]he term *Bildungsroman* would still not appear in English-language dictionaries or literary handbooks until the 1950s..."¹⁵⁵ Indeed, one scholar dates the acceptance of the *Bildungsroman* to "as late as [Jerome] Buckley's *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*."¹⁵⁶

Mapping the *Bildungsroman*

G.B. Tennyson's summation of Dilthey's five main components of the *Bildungsroman* accentuates the genre's most developed signifiers:

- (1) the idea of *Bildung*, or formation, cultivation, education, shaping of a single main character, normally a young man;
- (2) individualism, especially the emphasis on the uniqueness of the protagonist and the primacy of his private life and thoughts....;
- (3) the biographical element....;
- (4) the connection with psychology, especially the then-new psychology of development; and
- (5) the ideal of humanity of the full realization of all human potential as the goal of life.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Fraiman 3.

¹⁵⁴ Fraiman 4.

¹⁵⁵ Fraiman 4.

¹⁵⁶ Elinor S. Shaffer, "Shaping Victorian Biography: From Anecdote to Bildungsroman," *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography*. Ed. Peter France and William St. Clair, (Oxford: Oxford UP for the British Academy, 2002), 117.

¹⁵⁷ See Roberta Trites, "Growth, Cognitive Linguistics, and Embodied Metaphors," *Literary Conceptualizations of Growth: Metaphors and Cognition in Adolescent Literature*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 23.

In addition to this five-point standard for the *Bildungsroman*, Dilthey further defines the genre as any work that chronicles the formative years of a young man “who enters into life in a blissful state of ignorance, seeks related souls, experiences friendship and love, struggles with the hard realities of the world and thus armed with a variety of experiences, matures and finds himself and his mission in the world.”¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, Hardin objects to the “imprecise use of the word to categorize virtually any work that describes, even in the most far-fetched way, a protagonist’s formative years”; according to Hardin, “this looseness has created an ambiguity that continues to surround the genre’s definition and function within literary studies.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, for Hardin, the *Bildungsroman* constitutes “a type of novel more talked about than understood.”¹⁶⁰ In an effort to establish an understanding of the genre, Hardin, citing agreement with Jeffery L. Sammons¹⁶¹, argues that for “the term *Bildungsroman* to mean anything... should have something to do with *Bildung*, ‘that is, with the early bourgeois, humanistic concept of the shaping of the individual self from its innate potentialities through acculturation and social experience.’”¹⁶² Although much ambiguity still lies within the concept, together, Dilthey and Hardin’s analysis of the *Bildungsroman* “project a teleological, linear narrative through which a modern bourgeois individual—unquestionably Euro- and andro-centric—develops from an innocent, restless youth to a civilized, mature adult...[T]he conventional *Bildungsroman*, thus, could be understood as a bourgeois version of quest narrative similar to the epic; more to the point, the newly emerged genre is predicated on a certain narrative trajectory still governed by the

¹⁵⁸ See James Hardin, “An Introduction,” in *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), xi-xii.

¹⁵⁹ Hardin x.

¹⁶⁰ Hardin x.

¹⁶¹ Sammons specifically suggests, “A novel designated as a *Bildungsroman* should, it seems to me, be in some degree in contact with [*Bildung*]. It does not much matter whether the process of *Bildung* succeeds or fails, whether the protagonist achieves an accommodation with life and society or not” (41). Jeffrey L. Sammons, “The Bildungsroman for Nonspecialists: An Attempt at a Classification” in *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, ed. James Hardin, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

¹⁶² Sammons 41.

belief in the organic cohesiveness *in*, if not between, society and self.”¹⁶³ The fact that most scholars accept such a broad interpretation of the *Bildungsroman* as a narrative of the true self awaiting discovery by the developing protagonist is enough to establish the validity of such a definition. Still, other scholars welcome a more explicit delineation of the term, wherein inclusions and exclusions are easily negotiated by authors. The latter understanding is employed in this study, specifically Buckley’s “formal attempt to codify”¹⁶⁴ the genre.

As a critical examination of the *Bildungsroman* genre, Buckley’s *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding*, has undoubtedly become one of the most influential studies of the novel of formation. In his work, Buckley analyzes, in depth, sixteen novels, all written between 1849 and 1959, ranging from Charles Dickens’ *David Copperfield* to William Golding’s *Free Fall*. Buckley, citing Susan Howe’s earlier description of the genre, defines the *Bildungsroman* in its English guise as a “‘novel of all around development or self-culture’ that ‘presupposes a more or less conscious attempt on the part of the hero to integrate his powers, to cultivate himself by experience.’” Buckley furthermore observes that the typical *Bildungsroman* is not only generally one of the first novels of the author, but also “is strongly autobiographical and therefore subject at any time to intrusions from areas of the author’s experience beyond the dramatic limits of the fiction.”¹⁶⁵ To illustrate his point he references W. Somerset Maugham’s description of his 1915 coming-of-age novel, *Bildungsroman of Human Bondage*: “It is not an autobiography, but an autobiographical novel; fact and fiction are inextricably mingled; the emotions are my own, but not all the incidents are related as they happened and some of them are transferred to my hero not from my own life but

¹⁶³ Ji Young Yoon, "Contesting Americanness in the Contemporary Asian American Bildungsroman," Diss, (University of Oregon, 2014), 17-18.

¹⁶⁴ Fraiman 4.

¹⁶⁵ Buckley 23-24.

from that of persons with whom I was intimate”¹⁶⁶ The connection between the *Bildungsroman* and autobiography is consistent with the *Bildungsroman*’s inherent individualistic approach, and can be somewhat attributed to the genre’s preoccupation with modern notions of the pursuit of self-interest and self-development.

From his study’s findings Buckley is able to articulate this emphasis on the self by explicating “the broad outlines of a typical *Bildungsroman* plot.”¹⁶⁷ Buckley outlines the structure of the typical *Bildungsroman* according to a specific sequence of development for the protagonist, which is not unlike that of a Cinderella story: the sensible, gifted child, often abandoned or orphaned, escapes the constraints and “repressive atmosphere” of his provincial home setting “to make his way independently in the city;” in the city he receives an education and vocation, endures both a debasing love affair and one of exaltation, then at last returns home to demonstrate recognition and acceptance of his role in society.¹⁶⁸ The child responds to these “experiences that might alter the entire direction of his growing mind and eventually influence for better or for worse his whole maturity.”¹⁶⁹ After providing the general framework for the *Bildungsroman* plot, Buckley does concede that that “[n]o single novel, of course, precisely follows this pattern,”¹⁷⁰ though he does add that an authentic novel of formation would not disregard “more than two or three of [these] principal elements.”¹⁷¹

The steady recurrence of the motifs within the *Bildungsroman* genre, as explicated by Buckley, strengthens the narrative’s intention to disclose the youthful protagonist’s objective to “cultivate an

¹⁶⁶ Buckley 24.

¹⁶⁷ Buckley 17.

¹⁶⁸ Buckley 17-18.

¹⁶⁹ Buckley 19.

¹⁷⁰ Buckley 18.

¹⁷¹ Buckley 18.

informed sensibility, self-consciously following a path of self-fulfillment, often via academic discussion and study.”¹⁷² Nevertheless, Buckley’s examination does present a narrow application of the term, signifying only a male developmental trajectory, yet it still manages to articulate a detailed overview of the *Bildungsheld*’s experiences: “privileged moments of insight, epiphanies, spots of time, when the reality of things breaks through the fog of delusion.”¹⁷³ Buckley goes on to explain that the protagonist “feels a responsibility to change conduct. For each is what we should now call ‘inner-directed’; each is guided by a sense perhaps incalculated or sharpened by parents and childhood conditioning, and perhaps never freely admitted, but nonetheless remaining latent and strong through all the rebellion of adolescence.”¹⁷⁴ In other words, the *Bildungsheld*’s trajectory towards maturation coincides with those exceptional moments of learning that allow him to shift or deepen his thoughts on the ways things could be and his purpose in life.

The general characterization of the traditional *Bildungsroman* manifests many interpretations, and simply identifying a few distinctive features and ascertaining the basic structure of the *Bildungsroman* genre as enumerated by one scholar does not provide a thorough examination of the tradition, nor does it establish a definitive definition of the term. Yet, providing an absolute analysis of the *Bildungsroman* is not the focus of this study. Nevertheless, this study is interested in establishing a solid theoretical foundation on which to construct its argument, and this can only be with a consideration of the extensive body of scholarly work on the *Bildungsroman*. For instance, there is Jeffers to consider who thinks Buckley’s study is “adequate as far as it goes,” but “would supplement it with a list of initiatory tests that every inwardly developing *Bildungsheld* must at least try

¹⁷² Steven Moore, *The Novel: An Alternative History, 1600-1800*, (N.p.: Bloomsbury, 2013), 106.

¹⁷³ Buckley 22.

¹⁷⁴ Buckley 22.

to pass, and that constitute the rite-of-passage properties of Buckley's archetypal plot."¹⁷⁵ Jeffers presents three such tests, including what he calls a "sexual test," where the *Bildungsheld* is trusted to move beyond parental love, and find romantic love; a "vocational test," where the *Bildungsheld* is responsible for securing a profession that makes movement beyond the self and toward the universal possible; and, finally, a third test which involves "that business of ruminating, but specifically about the *connections* between art, ethics, and metaphysic, the practical stress falling on the middle term." Then there is Moretti to consider who, in his *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, provides his own interpretation of the predominate features of the traditional *Bildungsroman*: "narration of the itinerary of an initially alienated character, a stability or harmony established through a compromise both with the subject himself and the society, a fresh vista gained along with a more complete self that is called mature."¹⁷⁶

Hence, the *Bildungsroman*, as Buckley, Jeffers, Moretti and the other referenced theoreticians have defined it, brings into focus the genre's close connection to the development of bourgeois male subjectivity, meaning it is made evident that the plot development of the novel is analogous to the self-development of the individual protagonist, the hero of the story. In a youthful protagonist-centered novel like the *Bildungsroman* readers encounter a plot structure encompassing that narration of "a critical period fraught with promise and peril—a time of passage in which biological, emotional, and social factors converge to forecast the future of young adults."¹⁷⁷ This critical period of adolescence provides a map to this process of development of the hero as he navigates his way

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Jeffers, *Apprenticeships the Bildungsroman from Goethe to Santayana*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 52.

¹⁷⁶ Ali İlya, Ali, *Quest for Identity in the Contemporary American Bildungsroman: Sue Monk Kidd's The Secret Life of Bees, Alice Sebold's the Lovely Bones, and Jonathan Safran Foer's Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close*, Thesis, (Hacettape University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2014), 8.

¹⁷⁷ Jennifer Ann Ho, *Consumption and Identity in Asian American Coming-of-age Novels*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 6.

through and toward an understanding of self and society. Thus, the *Bildungsroman* is given the privileged power position for legitimizing the hero as a substance and subject. In his *Aesthetics*, Hegel, commenting on “the novelistic quality” that is “born when knightly existence is again taken seriously, is filled out with real substance,” observes how the “knightly character of those heroes whose deeds fill [*Bildungsromane*] is transformed”:

They stand as individuals with their subjective goals of love, honor, ambition or with their ideals of improving the world, over against the existing order and prose of reality which from all sides places obstacles in their path. ... Especially young men are these new knights who have to make their way, and who regard it as a misfortune that there are in any shape or form such things as family, bourgeois society. ... It is their aim to punch a hole in this order of things, to change the world. ... These struggles are, however, in the modern world nothing but the apprenticeship, the education of the individual at the hands of the given reality. ... For the conclusion of such an apprenticeship usually amounts to the hero getting the corners knocked off him. ... In the last analysis he usually gets his girl and some kind of job, marries and becomes a philistine just like the others.¹⁷⁸

Martin Swales further postulates the unfolding of the hero “in all his complexity and elusiveness” by articulating how the *Bildungsroman*, “[i]n its portrayal of the hero’s psychology...operates with a tension between a concern for the sheer, a recognition that practical reality—marriage, family, a career—is a necessary dimension of the hero’s self-realization, albeit one that by definition implies a limitation, indeed constriction, of the self.”¹⁷⁹ It is obvious here that, for both Hegel and Swales, the

¹⁷⁸ Swales 20.

¹⁷⁹ Swales 28-29.

Bildungsroman hero is expected to engage in self-formation, enabling personal growth and the maturational process, notwithstanding the disillusionment and compromise he might experience based on his exercise of personal choice.

It is noteworthy that Bakhtin, beyond just outlining the predominate features of the *Bildungsroman*, points out the genre's "specific temporal and spatial characteristics."¹⁸⁰ In his work, *The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism*, Bakhtin cautions that "no specific subcategory upholds any given principle in pure form,"¹⁸¹ yet goes on to express a the classification of "the diverse subcategories of the genre...according to how the image of the main hero is constructed: the travel novel, the novel of ordeal, the biographical (autobiographical) novel, the *Bildungsroman*."¹⁸² He goes on to suggest that the image of the hero is "related to the particular type of plot, to the particular conception of the world, and to a particular composition of a given novel."¹⁸³ According to Bakhtin, the *Bildungsroman* "provides an image of man in the process of becoming":

As opposed to static unity, here one finds a dynamic unity in the hero's image. The hero himself, his character, becomes a variable in the formula of this type of novel. Changes in the hero himself acquire *plot* significance, and thus the entire plot of the novel is reinterpreted and reconstructed. Time is introduced into man, enters into his very image, changing in a fundamental way the significance of all aspects of his

¹⁸⁰ Fiona Schouten, "The *Bildungsroman* Genre as a Stereotype," *A Diffuse Murmur of History: Literary Memory Narratives of Civil War and Dictatorship in Spanish Novels After 1990*, (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2010), 68.

¹⁸¹ M. M. Bakhtin, "The Bildungsroman and its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Typology of the Novel), trans. Vern W. McGee, in Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (eds.) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 10.

¹⁸² Bakhtin 10.

¹⁸³ Bakhtin 10.

destiny and life. This type can be designated in the most general sense as the novel of human *emergence*.¹⁸⁴

For Bakhtin, the *Bildungsroman* embodies the way the hero “emerges along with the world and... reflects the historical emergence of the world itself.”¹⁸⁵ Consequently, Bakhtin designates this emergence of man within the novel into five different categories, where it:

[M]ay take the form of an idyllic-cyclical development of human nature and views as man moves “from childhood through youth and maturity to old age”; it may become “a typically repeated path of man’s emergence from youthful idealism and fantasies to mature sobriety and practicality” marked by various “degrees of skepticism and resignation”; it may pass “through unrepeatable, individual stages” of a biography (or an autobiography), when it “is a result of the entire totality of changing life circumstances and events, activity and work”; it may be “based on a specific pedagogical ideal...[depicting] the pedagogical process of education in the strict sense of the word.”¹⁸⁶

In his description of *Bildungsromane* belonging to the fifth category, what he labels as “the most significant [type of novel],” Bakhtin turns to a more specific historical classification of the genre, arguing that “man’s individual emergence is inseparably linked to historical emergence. Man’s emergence is accomplished in real historical time, with all of its necessity, its fullness, its future, and its profoundly chronotopic nature.”¹⁸⁷ He distinguishes this type from the other by stating that in the four preceding types of *Bildungsroman*:

¹⁸⁴ Bakhtin 21.

¹⁸⁵ Bakhtin 23.

¹⁸⁶ See Justyna Kociatkiewicz, *Towards the AntiBildungsroman: Saul Bellow and the Problem of the Genre*, (Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 10-11.

¹⁸⁷ Bakhtin 23.

[M]an's emergence proceeded against the immobile background of the world, ready-made and basically quite stable. If changes did take place in this world, they were peripheral, in no way affecting its foundations. Man emerged, developed, and changed within one epoch. The world, existing and stable in its existence, required that man adapt to it, that he recognize and submit to the existing laws of life. Man emerged, but the world itself did not. On the contrary, the world was an immobile orientation point for developing man. Man's emergence was his private affair, as it were, and the results of this emergence were also private and biographical in nature. And everything in the world itself remained in its place. In and of itself the conception of the world as an experience, a school, was very productive in the *Bildungsroman*: it presented a different side of the world to man, a side that had previously been foreign to the novel. It led to a radical reinterpretation of the elements of the novel's plot and opened up for the novel new and realistically productive points for viewing the world. But the world, as an experience and as a school, remained the same, fundamentally immobile and ready-made, given. It changed for the one studying in it only during the process of study (in most cases the world turned out to be more impoverished and drier than it had seemed in the beginning).¹⁸⁸

In contrast, the fifth type, as Bakhtin observes, links the biographical experience of the individual to a historical process of change: "Understandably, in such a novel of emergence, problems of reality and man's potential, problems of freedom and necessity, and the problem of creative initiative rise

¹⁸⁸ Bakhtin 23.

to their full height. The image of the emerging man begins to surmount its private nature...and enters into a completely new, spacial sphere of historical existence.”¹⁸⁹ In essence, as Bakhtin’s most privileged type, this form of the *Bildungsroman* not only raises concerns of potential, freedom, creativity, but also captures the historical agency of human beings to effect social change. In fact, according to one scholar, Bakhtin’s discussion of the novel of emergence “suggests a new approximation to social change and social critique in fiction.”¹⁹⁰

When a novel takes on the form and conventions of a typical *Bildungsroman* plot as enumerated by both Bakhtin and Buckley—in which the individual attempts to transform and transcend social conditions and achieve a realization of self—the novel becomes a site for analyzing the author’s commitment to social critique, because the conventions of the plot themselves signify a relationship between experience, subjectivity, and social and political structures. The *Bildungsroman* can often be seen exploiting the relationship between the hero and his genealogy, the hero and the nature of society, the hero and love, and, perhaps even more importantly, the hero and his epoch. In this sense, the *Bildungsroman* assumes the narration of the cultural, economic, political, and social conventions that influence the individuation and self-development of the hero, which constitutes the very underpinning of the *Bildungsroman* genre. Thus, the nature of the *Bildungsroman* is not only overwhelmingly connected to the acknowledgement and bold critique of social and political norms, but is also inextricably coupled with assumptions about class psychology and cultural consciousness. Therefore, applying the expectations of the *Bildungsroman* motif is useful when analyzing the local-color novels, specifically those concerning Appalachia during the aftermath of the Civil War and the

¹⁸⁹ Bakhtin 24.

¹⁹⁰ Lisa Sánchez-González, *Boricua Literature: A Literary History of the Puerto Rican Diaspora*, (New York: New York UP, 2001), 106.

rise of Progressivism. The blending of these two, as, for example in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, which, in the most very basic of terms, joins together social and political commentary to a male coming-of-age story, is in reality an expression of the aesthetic, economic, individualist, political, and social concerns that have persistently plagued Appalachia and secured its position on the periphery of national culture.

Toward an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*

The Appalachian studies movement, which emerged as a separate interdisciplinary academic discipline during the second half of the twentieth century, is devoted to understanding Appalachian distinctiveness and increasing awareness of the rich and varied traditions of and the cultural and environmental influences on the region. The field is distinguished by an ameliorative orientation to social, political, and cultural issues and thus can be considered a space to analyze, criticize, and problematize the categorization and status of Appalachia within the United States. Much of the movement focuses on the richness and complexity of Appalachian literature, and has even become preoccupied with the pioneering role local-color writers have played in using this space to both perpetuate and dispel the myth of Appalachian otherness. Scholarship on these regional authors and their works has circumscribed itself to sociological inquiry or cultural description.

Scholars attribute the discovery of Appalachian culture to such writers with very little exploration of the Appalachian region within a global context. These same scholars trace the invention of Appalachian identity as written by local-color writers, seldom delving into the hidden depths of the authors' national commitment. Although it stands to reason that the local-color genre, a genre that extols native customs and problematizes regional deviancy, would emerge as the literature of the neglected during a period of identity crisis, such as the one hastened by

reconstruction and post-Civil War reconciliation, scholarly discussion of the genre's historical commitment to the textual construction of Appalachia has limited itself to a very specific Appalachian ideological framework. In order to position Appalachian literature within a more global context it is important to demonstrate that it can inhabit literary spaces far outside the structural and categorical confines of the local-color tradition.

The term *Bildungsroman* is not commonly used to identify Appalachian literature. Although scholars have frequently remarked on the relocation of the European model and the literary revisions of the genre in the industrialized West, very few have traced the continuous negotiations of the *Bildungsroman* appearing in Appalachian literature--with notable exceptions, such as Harriette Arnow's *The Dollmaker* and Wilma Dykeman's *Return the Innocent Earth*--despite the fact that a considerable amount of Appalachian fiction is situated within the *Bildungsroman* tradition. Discussions on Western literature have traditionally centered on such texts as Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* and J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, and recent critiques have come to include explorations of the narrative possibilities of the female, ethnic, and postcolonial versions of the *Bildungsroman*. Todd Kontje tells us that the latest *Bildungsroman* criticism fits within the realm of the "postmodern critique of modernity," because "it is feminist, international, and questions distinctions between elite and popular fiction in an effort to rehabilitate forgotten works by viewing literature as part of a larger social network."¹⁹¹ Among these criticisms is the notion that the *Bildungsroman* has been appropriated by marginalized groups to advance their socio-political agenda. Dedicated to the emerging trends and transformations of the *Bildungsroman* genre, these recent assessments can

¹⁹¹ Kontje 111.

usefully be extended to *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, which has not yet received any critical attention as a participant in the *Bildungsroman* genre.

In her article, *Bildung in Ethnic Women Writers*, Bonnie Hoover Braedlin posits that the “new *Bildungsroman*” is where identity is defined “by outsiders themselves or by their own cultures, not by the patriarchal Anglo-American power structure; it evinces a revaluation, a transvaluation, of traditional *Bildung* by new standards and perspectives.”¹⁹² This revaluation of the *Bildungsroman* is particularly evident in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, which substitutes the ideology of the traditional paradigm with Appalachian values. The novel offers literal and allegorical accounts of the socio-cultural factors that have conditioned the development of a politically motivated Appalachian identity. Martin Japtok reiterates a similar practice in his studies of the ethnic *Bildungsroman*. He states that ethnic revisions of the *Bildungsroman* genre include “a development away from the more exclusively personality-oriented plot of the traditional *Bildungsroman* and towards a more political and social vision.”¹⁹³ Japtok’s critique can easily be applied to Fox’s local-color engagement with the *Bildungsroman*. Local-color writing is commonly seen as a representation of conservative nativism, but writers such as Fox cannot be separated from nationalism or politics.

Local-color fiction created a locality in which marginal groups could promote regional interests as well as disseminate notions of cultural nationalism. In addition, Fox’s ethnic revision of the *Bildungsroman* serves a similar function by releasing *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* from the limitations of the European tradition, and allowing Fox to promote culturally-specific subject matter that the European *Bildungsroman* otherwise has no reason to observe. In the novel, Fox privileges communalism over individualism and allows for Chad to enact his own agency to negotiate and

¹⁹² Braedlin 75.

¹⁹³ Japtok 27.

transform Appalachia's place within the national identity. Furthermore, unlike the European *Bildungsroman*, in Fox's narrative, identity is influenced by matters of community and family. Chad's social responsibilities are centered on the wellbeing of Kentucky as a whole rather than his own personal growth. In an interview for *The New York Times* Fox posits:

The sociological scheme of the story was to take a boy in the Pioneer State and lift him through the grades of that civilization that our National life has passed through and leave him to carry that civilization westward—to illustrate our social development in the life of one individual. (“Why Write a Novel?”)

Fox focuses equally on both Chad's internal struggles and his external conflicts during his maturation and, in effect, Chad is endowed with agency and regional identity, essentially becoming the embodiment of the Appalachian *Bildungsroman* protagonist.

Shapiro explains that Appalachia “stood as a contradiction to dominant notions concerning essential unity and homogeneity of American civilization.”¹⁹⁴ *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, marked by Fox's privileged positions both as a native of central Kentucky and interpreter of Southern mountain culture, further problematizes the facilitation of culturally hegemonic ideologies over an entire geography. Fox achieves this through the juxtaposition of significant binary oppositions between the lowland Bluegrass Region and mountains of Eastern Kentucky. He portrays a Bluegrass where “there were the proudest families, the stateliest homes, the broadest culture, the most gracious hospitality, the gentlest courtesies, the finest chivalry, that the State has ever known.”¹⁹⁵ He depicts an Appalachia characterized by poverty and underdevelopment, and negative terms such as “backward,” describing the mountaineers as “poor white trash--worthless descendants of the servile

¹⁹⁴ Shapiro 121.

¹⁹⁵ Fox 170.

and sometimes criminal class who might have traced their origins back to the slums of London--hand-to-mouth tenants of the valley aristocrat.”¹⁹⁶ He constructs these binary oppositions to suit the demand for an explanation of Appalachian otherness. By promulgating the emergence of Appalachian otherness, and in view of the fact that this model echoes Fox’s own deeply informed perspective, Appalachian *Bildungsroman* is a perfectly appropriate classification for Fox’s novel. In the case of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, the genre helps mediate Progressive Era ideologies about Appalachia, as well as the separate but related topic of Appalachian Otherness.

Progressivism

As progressive views became more embraced by economic and political elites, Progressivism was seemingly becoming the dominant ideology during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, becoming both a social movement and a political product. The Progressive movement, more than a simple story of American progress, denotes a critical time period in terms of serious economic, cultural, political, and social transitions for both southern Appalachian and the nation as a whole. It was marked by an increase in social activism and explosive political reform, leading to massive, unprecedented modernization and urbanization. The movement originated, in part, as a reactionary attempt to address the social problems that developed as a result of rapid industrialization subsequent to the Civil War. Historians have defined the Progressive movement as “an attempt to develop the moral will, the intellectual insight and the political and administrative agencies to remedy the accumulated negligences of a period of ... growth.”¹⁹⁷ Pursuing reformist impulses, Progressives worked to enlarge the scope of the national

¹⁹⁶ Fox 35.

¹⁹⁷ Hofstadter, Richard, ed., *The Progressive Movement*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 4.

interests in response to the economic and social disorder produced by the lethargic political arena of the Gilded Age. They believed that the problems faced by society could be remedied by providing efficient working conditions, a quality education, and a safe environment.

Traditionally, Progressivism in America, as a political orientation, has stood against the uncertainties of human behavior and has worked to prevail against the limitations of society—class warfare, greed, poverty, racism, and violence. In Appalachian history, the Progressive Era is widely associated with the realization of the failure of Reconstruction, rapid industrialization, and the recognition of Appalachian otherness as an attempt to reconcile mountaineers with the dominant American culture. For Progressive reformers Appalachia was a distinctive environment, plagued by abject poverty and hopelessness. In fact, the truth permeating the American consciousness at the time, defined by a development toward a unity of national traditions, was that Appalachia was “American’s opposite...a discrete entity, in but not of America” and “appeared no longer as the exception which proved but as the exception which challenged the rule of progress and of national unity and homogeneity.”¹⁹⁸

After the Civil War, reformers, entrepreneurs, missionaries, and writers spent their time meticulously and painstakingly drawing the attention of the American public to the life of the Southern Appalachian mountaineer, exposing cultural issues, advocating social reform, and espousing Americanness. In fact, the Appalachian region became an enduring cultural presence in America since its “discovery” in post-Civil War literature, its literary conception during the local-color movement securing its position as a source of myth and exploitation. Considering the pejorative and patronizing nature of most of the literature on Appalachia, for the majority,

¹⁹⁸ Shapiro 65.

Appalachia comprised an anomaly of American society, “a strange land and peculiar people,” limited by extreme poverty and ignorance. Consequently, the Progressive years were rife with romantic notions of the isolated, primitive mountaineer and the perceived “need to uplift potentially redeemable mountain whites for the sake of the nation.”¹⁹⁹

Progressivism, with its efforts of professionalized reform, influenced American understanding of practically every facet of Appalachian cultural distinctiveness, from gender expectations to notions of identity and agency, from rugged individualism and self-reliance to traditionalism and fatalism. In his book, *Appalachian All: East Tennesseans and the Elusive History of an American Region*, Mark Banker describes the early perceptions of Appalachian life:

Practically every observer pointed to the absence of public schools. Other common themes were the mountaineers’ laziness and lack of ambition and public responsibility. A few observers pointed to thin mountain soils, the mountain farmer’s distance from markets, and his poor methods of cultivation. Few personal defects went unnoticed. One report attributed regional ills to “the disgusting snuff-dipping practices of the mountain women.”²⁰⁰

The Progressive movement consisted of a myriad of initiatives conceived by progressive elitists and specifically designed to address and correct the ostensible social and economic ills attributed to the region. Furthermore, rather than promoting an explicitly ethnic identity, reformers combined nationalistic sentiment with class consciousness in order to establish Americanness as a distinctive

¹⁹⁹ Emily Satterwhite, "Dear Appalachia: Readers, Identity, and Popular Fiction Since 1878." *Google Books*. The University Press of Kentucky, 2011. Web. 10 Aug. 2015.
https://books.google.com/books?id=_N4kREK3hpUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

²⁰⁰ Mark Banker, *Appalachian All: East Tennesseans and the Elusive History of an American Region*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2010, 139.

construct. Reformers believed that such national fulfillment could be anticipated only by combining the eloquence of individualism, which invests distinct influence and prized attributes in society, with the integrity and value of the narrative of self-identity, while addressing the complex interplay between masculinity and modernism. With a series of policy shifts and compromises that defined the political agenda of America at the time, Progressivism became a national narrative, epitomizing the American identity and imbuing national character; consequently, establishing its own coherence and solidifying its long-lasting influence on Appalachian culture.

During the turn-of-the-century, Appalachian local color writers like John Fox, Jr. expounded upon ideas emerging from what can be considered the nation's initial attempt to address the consequences of modernism; thus, situating his texts within the broader intellectual and strategic spheres of the Progressive movement. Organized around the connections between concerted social action and literary expression, his ideas helped to expose the cultural and political implications of the nation's dramatic return to real prosperity. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, as it works through these ideas, can usefully be labelled as a *Bildungsroman*, as it points to a refined confidence in literature's capacity to mediate between the individual and the collective. Through *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* readers see the convergence of two important cultural movements for Appalachian cultural life, both of which served to inform Fox's revision of the *Bildungsroman*: one identified with the reconciliation of the post-Civil War tensions between the North and South, and the other with Progressive Era values and reform. Fox sought to reconcile social stability with the conception of Appalachia as a cultural phenomenon, markedly other from the rest of Progressive America, while promoting cultural pluralism as an important collective value in the larger scheme of nation-building.

Appalachian Otherness

Scholars generally agree that Appalachia, as it has been immortalized by intellectuals, is an imagined place, a literary as well as political construction. Appalachian historian Henry Shapiro in his book, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountaineers and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*, argues that such attention was an endeavor to understand Appalachia. He explains:

The work of earlier commentators on the mountain region had pointed to the distance which separated Appalachia and America, sought to explain this distance and its meaning and to design techniques for integrating Appalachian into American life... All began with the assumption that America was, or ought to be, or was in the process of becoming a unified and homogenous national entity, and that the process of modern history itself inevitably yielded nationalism, political centralization, and social complexity. In this context, all saw that the existence of the strange land and peculiar people of Appalachia posed a problem, and directed their efforts at understanding the dimensions of the problem and at solving it, both abstractly and practically.²⁰¹

While the isolated and rural nature of the region meant that it was distinct from the rest of America in many ways, the same cultural and ideological agenda informing the national reform movement, which promoted nationalism, citizenship, and social cohesion, manifested and propelled Progressive Era reform initiatives and programs in Appalachia. Seemingly, Appalachia was characterized by pluralism and change, yet was still considered by the majority as a homogeneous culture and society.

²⁰¹ Shapiro 258.

Such reports only served to further perpetuate the myth of Appalachian deviance, depicting the region as poverty-stricken, socially deprived, unscrupulous, and hopelessly peripheral. In effect, Appalachian local-color fiction as a literary genre during the post-Reconstruction Era carried with it the responsibility of constructing a distinctive Appalachian identity that appealed both to Northern curiosity and Southern nostalgia. In the face of existing, and often contradictory, ideas of what it means to be an American, these earliest constructions of a distinctive Appalachian identity engaged in the esoteric notion of *Bildung*. As an ideal of continual self-improvement through self-reflection, *Bildung* acts as a vehicle of social integration for the mythologized culture and allows for a national existence of the southern mountaineer.

Bildung emerges in local-color fiction as a manifestation of a historically determined system of social production that engenders the spirit of the mountaineer and his capacity for continuous self-cultivation and social integration into the larger society. Focusing on the culture, dialect, and landscape of the region, local-color writers “invented” a homogenously white, economically underdeveloped, fundamentally uncivilized, and primitively Other Appalachia, which stands in stark contrast to, yet is the foundation for, the *Bildung* model of social integration. Using Appalachian otherness as a literary device, local-color writers disseminated stereotypes that influenced both internal and external perceptions of the region, thus supplying endless variations on the themes of marginality and backwardness of Appalachia. This estrangement, according to the demands of *Bildung*, necessitated the reconciliation of the mountaineer with the realities of American life. The local-color movement was rife with this reconciliation of the Appalachian Other with mainstream culture and aimed to resolve the dilemma posed by the existence of a pioneer culture within the boundaries of an industrialized modern nation. Through character sketches, vivid tableaux, and rich

narratives, local-color authors facilitated uplift for the marginalized and impoverished southern mountaineer.

Among those local-color novelists with intimate knowledge of Appalachian otherness and credited with the invention of Appalachia, the most prominent nationally was John Fox, Jr. According to Appalachian scholar Dwight Billings, “No literary figure more widely influenced national perceptions” of the Appalachian region than did Fox, whose fictional accounts “set into play many of the most enduring and pejorative images of the Appalachian mountaineer.”²⁰² Fox recognized that the southern mountaineer lives apart from the rest of the world and that for mountain dwellers “[t]he present is the past when it reaches him; and though past, is yet too far in the future to have any bearing on his established order of things.” Although his works are often criticized for perpetuating rather than dispelling the myth of Appalachian otherness, Fox, nevertheless, challenges notions of a culturally homogeneous Appalachia and advances the notion of *Bildung* as life-shaping foundation of Appalachian culture. Fox, whose engagement with *Bildung* serves the practical purpose of rescuing his underprivileged kinsmen into history, situates Appalachian cultural distinctiveness as a part of a larger discourse about nationalism and identity. He explained, “Once imprisoned, a civilization, with its dress, speech, religion, customs, ideas, may be caught like the shapes of lower life in stone, and may tell the human story of a century as the rocks tell the story of an age.”²⁰³ While Fox argues that there is no incentive for the southern mountaineer to change his backwoods way, his works suggest that if allowed a place in Bluegrass culture, southern mountaineers would eventually assimilate to that way of living and, perhaps even

²⁰² Dwight B. Billings, Gurney Norman, and Katherine Ledford, eds. *Back Talk from Appalachia: Confronting Stereotypes*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2001), 14.

²⁰³ John Fox, Jr., *Bluegrass and Rhododendron: Outdoors in Old Kentucky*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 4.

more specifically, his works demonstrate that if given the opportunity Appalachia could ultimately reconcile its marginal relationship to early twentieth-century mainstream American society.

Historian Henry D. Shapiro and anthropologist Alan Batteau, in their studies of Appalachia, explore the social conditions by which Appalachia was invented as a distinct region functioning as the “other” in the South and how Americans have interpreted this concept of “otherness.” Both scholars argue that Appalachia is a product of the literary imagination, shaped by the fiction of local-color writers and the work of abolitionists, entrepreneurs, missionaries, and social workers. Shapiro asserts that the discovery of Appalachia “rested on perception of otherness of mountain life,” and “it was through literature that the otherness of the southern mountain region was introduced as a fact in the American consciousness.”²⁰⁴ Batteau reiterates and expands Shapiro’s notions claiming that Appalachia is “a creature of the urban imagination” and that “the making of Appalachia was a literary and political invention rather than a geographical study.”²⁰⁵

Shapiro further indicates that Appalachia functions as both “a symptom and a symbol” of American civilization and progress and explains that to Americans the mountaineers were “conservators of the essential culture of America” and “Appalachia seemed to provide a benchmark against which to measure how far the nation had come from its essential self.”²⁰⁶ He claims that Americans, in an attempt to “understand the nature and meaning of their civilization,”²⁰⁷ ascribed certain meanings to mountaineers, thus perpetuating the myth of Appalachia. He indicates that the perception of Appalachian otherness was made problematic because “conventional modes of resolving the dilemma posed by the perception of ‘deviance’ from the American norm...could not be

²⁰⁴ Shapiro 4, 18.

²⁰⁵ Batteau 1.

²⁰⁶ Shapiro 246, 260-261.

²⁰⁷ Shapiro ix.

utilized to explain the ‘deviance’ of white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, native-born Americans.”²⁰⁸ Fox supplies a provisional answer to this problem in his emphasis on the contrast between the aristocratic Bluegrass and the more primitive mountain people. This strategy reinforces the notion that Kentucky should not always be considered as a culturally homogenous, when in fact its citizens are often from entirely different cultures.

Batteau reaffirms Shapiro’s notion saying that “Appalachia is no longer an anodyne for the discontents of civilization; instead it is an embarrassment...”²⁰⁹ For Batteau, writers like Fox constructed a region that stood in contrast to the larger society. He describes this kind of othering as a “political creation,” explaining that such boundaries exist as an attempt “to gain advantage for the members of one category over another either through the consolidation of the one or the exclusion of the other.”²¹⁰ Fox participates in this “political reality” through the use of metaphor, creating a parallel between the dichotomies of Kentucky during the Civil War and the state of affairs between America and Appalachia during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. According to Batteau, “Facing the South, Appalachia supplied an indictment of the plutocracy and the decadent economy it constructed; facing the nation, it set a critique of contemporary conditions in the context of some important national symbols.”²¹¹

Fox’s decision to set the book in the years during the war, when Appalachia found itself subject to the strong and pervasive impulse of nationalism, is symbolic of not only internal conflicts and rebellions, but also the political and economic forces that characterize the disruptive nature of modernization. Batteau argues that for Fox, Appalachia is a “representation of the chaos and

²⁰⁸ Batteau x.

²⁰⁹ Batteau 86-87.

²¹⁰ Batteau 33.

²¹¹ Batteau 37.

disorder on the periphery of commercial and industrial expansion.”²¹² Fox deploys the Civil War setting as a signifier of Appalachia’s transformation under the influences of modernism and nationalism. Batteau contends that Fox successfully promotes Appalachia as a “suitable field for missionary and pioneering enterprises.”²¹³ Fox depicts the start of the war as being “like a sword that, with one stroke, slashed the State in twain, shearing through the strongest bonds that link one man to another.”²¹⁴ Kentucky’s geographical position as a border state during the Civil War corresponds with Chad’s personal confrontation with the moral and patriotic dilemma of whether to fight for the “Blue” or the “Grey.” Fox, furthermore, illuminates the extent to which Kentucky, as a state with divided loyalties, embodied the larger national crisis: “Nowhere in the Union was the National drama so played to the bitter end in the confines of a single state.” He writes, “As the nation was rent apart, so was the commonwealth; as the State, so was the country; as the county, the neighborhood, the family; and as the family, so brother and brother, father and son.”²¹⁵

Building upon the premises established by Shapiro and Batteau, Appalachian scholar, Darlene Wilson, in her study of John Fox, Jr., considers the realization of Appalachia to be an intellectual construct born of a “combination of incident and psychology.” Her research on the Fox family archives reveals that due to Fox’s personal interest in exploiting the region’s resources, his deployment of Appalachian otherness was entirely self-serving. Wilson claims that Fox assigns mountaineers primary blame for the “decline in status for southern (and Kentucky) manhood,” and that he “chose his subject material out of a more gendered ambition to rescue the degraded national reputation of southern white manhood.”²¹⁶ She describes Fox as a “major mythmaker who

²¹² Batteau 72.

²¹³ Batteau 84.

²¹⁴ Fox 188.

²¹⁵ Fox 188.

²¹⁶ Wilson, “A Judicious Combination,” 102.

reinforced the ‘idea’ of an Appalachian ‘other’ and encouraged several waves of reformers to descend upon the mountains with schemes for cultural uplift and nationalistic mainstreaming.”²¹⁷

Yet, for all the mythmaking, distortion, and negative stereotyping, Fox’s narratives themselves offer possibilities of assimilation for the marginalized mountaineer by suggesting that physical environment inevitably determines psychological character and cultural identity.

Batteau enumerates the historical developments affecting Appalachia’s relationship with American society at the turn of the century as: the coming of coal mining to the eastern Kentucky, the transformation of Nature into a commodity, and the rationalization of natural and social forces.²¹⁸ Fox’s metaphor pursues an analysis of these changes by evoking the socio-political vocation of the *Bildungsroman*. “... [T]he legitimacy of a ruling class and through it of an entire social order: whatever its domain,” Franco Moretti stresses, “this is always the distinctive framework of the *Bildungsroman*.”²¹⁹ Accordingly, Fox creates an allegorical comparison between the emergence of adulthood and nationhood that figuratively elaborates his theory of social progress in Appalachia and functions as critique on the region’s acceptance of American values—masculinity, identity, and modernization—during the Progressive Era. In the midst of the socio-political and historical consciousness of the Progressive Era, and in light of America’s perception of Appalachia as an enclave of regression and otherness, the *Bildungsroman* provides the textual parameters in which Fox employs Appalachian otherness to challenge the disparity between Appalachian and America.

²¹⁷ Wilson, “The Felicitous Convergence,” xxi.

²¹⁸ Batteau 86-87.

²¹⁹ Moretti 208.

CHAPTER THREE: CREATING AMERICANNES: THE APPALACHIAN *BILDUNGSROMAN* AND A DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORY FOR THE APPALACHIAN BILDUNGSHELD

The worst of them still have good traits, strong characters, something responsive to decent treatment—they are simply the unstarted.”

--Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (1913)

It was only a little while ago that the materialists declared that humanity was the product of heredity and environment; that history lies not *near* but *in* Nature; and that, in consequence, man must take his head from the clouds and study himself with his feet where they belong, to the earth. Since then, mountains have taken on a new importance for the part they have played in the destiny of the race, for the reason that mountains have damned the streams of humanity, have let them settle in the valleys and spread out over plains; or have sent them on long detours around. When some unusual pressure has forced a current through some mountain-pass, the hills have held it so stagnant, that, to change the figure, mountains may be said to have kept the records of human history somewhat as fossils hold the history of the earth.

-John Fox, Jr. *Bluegrass and Rhododendron: Outdoors of Old Kentucky* (1901)

Though varied in subject matter, in terms of narrative structure Fox’s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* belongs to the same *Bildungsroman* tradition as Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* demonstrates the plot of the *Bildungsroman* genre by offering a rethinking of the cultivation and development of the inborn possibilities belonging to the

Appalachian people and utilizing such features as that of a courtly milieu, and the familiar motif of quests to be undertaken by the *Bildungsheld*. More precisely, like *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* does not simply recount the formative years of the protagonist; it is a novel illustrating the outward experiences of the protagonist as it relates to his social refinement, intellectual growth, and moral sensibility. Although, the text in question is not usually thought of as a *Bildungsroman*, as in the past scholars have focused more on the novel's romance and engagement with local-color. Nevertheless, John Fox, Jr.'s *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is noticeably, yet perhaps unintentionally, a *Bildungsroman* chronicling Chadwick Buford's development from childhood to adult maturity, as well as from ignorance and naivety to knowledge and awareness. To be more specific, the novel traces the formation of a Kentucky mountain boy's maturity by following his moral, cognitive, and social development in the nineteenth-century pre-Civil war South. Furthermore, the *Bildungsroman* form and its formal links to the local-color genre, as it is presented in connection to Fox's novel, shape a *Bildung* plot with a powerful capacity for social and cultural critique, and provides a locality in which to demonstrate the core values that came to be associated with Americanness during the Progressive Era. This is evidenced quite early on in the novel with the intimation that the objective behind outlining Chad's development is to see him "ack like a man" and find his true identity. In other words, as the novel questions constructions of identity and nation-building, dominant themes of Progressivism, the purpose of Chad's *Bildung* becomes quite clear—the purpose of Chad's *Bildung* is to not only develop his own unique talents and abilities, but to promote Progressive Era reforms that advocated a virile model of masculinity that coalesced around the ideas of identity, not to mention individualism and modernism.

Set amidst Kentucky's own compelling Civil War story, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is, more specifically, an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*, insofar as it highlights Kentucky's unenviable

position as a state divided by political ideologies, the consequences of which would have still been felt at the time of its publication. The novel confronts Kentucky's fractured position by narrating Chad's development through a world complicated by dual origins and fierce conflicting loyalties. In this respect, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* works to improve Appalachia's position as an internal periphery within America, bringing to the Progressive Era a *Bildungsheld* who "emerges along with the world and...reflects the historical emergence of the world."²²⁰ In fact, although not an exact literary imitation, young Chad's *Bildung* follows a comparable course of development to that of Goethe's *Bildungsheld*—organic and ontological in its nature, individualistic and universal in scope, and predicated upon freedom and autonomy. In essence, Fox's Appalachian *Bildungsroman* provides American literary history with an ethnic adaptation of the European model.

Plot Summary: *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*

Beginning in the decades before the American Civil War and ending just after the defeat of the Southern forces, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* chronicles the making of a gentleman as it explores issues of race relations, identity, and social status. The first portion of the novel is concerned with his childhood years in the Appalachian mountains of Kentucky where tradition, loyalty, and pride thrive, and narrates his journey of self-discovery and maturation until he is a university student contemplating his military service during outbreak of the Civil War. The second half of the novel, set in the Bluegrass plains characterized by grandeur, chivalry, and landed gentry, chronicles the war between the North and the South. It illustrates the agonies of a divided

²²⁰ M. M. Bakhtin, "The Bildungsroman and its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Typology of the Novel), trans. Vern W. McGee, in Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (eds.) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 23.

Kentucky as it follows the protagonist's journey into the furor of the Civil War. Kentucky changes completely during the intervening years, and *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* illustrates the struggles of the Kentuckians who lived through the era.

The novel follows the educational and psychological development of Chad, the “poor white trash” waif that readers meet at the beginning of the novel, who finds himself suddenly left homeless by the death of the kindly mountain family who had given him shelter and raised him for a time. After their death from the cholera epidemic, Chad, along with his dog, Jack, start out up the mountain to escape from a cruel neighbor who, claiming he was owed money by Chad's father, intended to have Chad bound to him for seven years. Along the way Chad and Jack meet the Dillons and the Turners, finding welcome and shelter with the latter at the settlement of Kingdom Come. The Turners' adopted daughter, Melissa, forms a warm attachment to Chad. They attend school together where the schoolmaster, Caleb Hazel, takes a special interest in Chad's education.

When spring arrives in the Cumberlands the Turners and Hazel take Chad along on a logging trip down the Kentucky River to the capital, Frankfort. Chad misses the train to Lexington and, separated from the Turners, resolves to walk back to Kingdom Come. Along the way, Chad meets Major Calvin Buford from the “settlemints” of the Bluegrass who, recognizing Chad as a distant relative, convinces Chad to live with him and go to school in Lexington. There Chad is introduced to the grandeur of Bluegrass society and befriends the Dean children: Harry, Daniel, and Margaret. He falls in love with Margaret, but, spurned by her family for his unknown pedigree, Chad leaves the Major's house to return to Kingdom Come.

Eventually Chad is proven to be a relative of the Major's, and he returns to Lexington where he attends college and assumes his rightful position as “Chadwick Buford, Gentleman.” Once Chad is settled back into the Bluegrass he begins his courtship of Margaret and, now that the blot upon

his birth has been removed, they become engaged. Nevertheless, with the outbreak of the Civil War, Chad estranges himself from the Major, Margaret, and the Turners, who favor the Confederacy, by fighting for the Union army. After having distinguished himself as a soldier, Chad returns to Kingdom Come only to find that Melissa has died from exposure after an attempt to warn him of a threat on his life by guerilla forces. At war's end, he returns to the Bluegrass, where he reunites with Margaret before heading to the Western territories for the next part of his journey.

Chad's *Bildung*

Chad is an archetypal eager and idealistic *Bildungsheld*, with his desire to leave the mountains, illusions of “God’s country,” and great expectations for his education. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is ultimately, therefore, the story of Chad’s *Bildung*, his development from a boy into a man, as well as from a young shepherd into a loyal soldier. It is also, as Fox demonstrates, a process of Chad’s discovering who he is as a man and a member of society, and what he is in the minds of others. The novel invites readers to observe Chad’s *Bildung* through the threefold structure that outlines his entry into adulthood—departure, transition, and assimilation. In Chad, Fox invents a true *Bildungsroman* hero, whose life is complicated in childhood and disrupted by war, and who, in the end, ultimately reconciles his identity with the social structures of the time. In this regard, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* can be considered as much of a *Bildungsroman* as is *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn*, *Great Expectations*, or even *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.

To better understand how *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* helps fits within the larger context of the *Bildungsroman*, it is necessary to see how Chad’s journey fits within previous *Bildung* work engendering social felicity. According to Jerome Buckley’s useful description of *Bildungsroman*, the genre has quite an involved plot pattern. Following the Goethean model, and applying his own

criteria to a specific sequence of development for the protagonist, Buckley sketches an especially thorough depiction, if not the most prescriptive outline, of the structure of the typical *Bildungsroman*. While Buckley's template may not be absolute for all novels considered *Bildungsromane*, it is undeniably true of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*. By interpolating Chad's trajectory into Buckley's conceptual framework it is easy to see how Fox's narrative resembles the structure of the *Bildungsroman* as described in *Seasons of Youth*:

A child of some sensibility grows up in a country or in a provincial town, where he finds constraints, social and intellectual, placed upon the imagination. [Chad grew up guarding cattle and driving sheep in the mountains of Kentucky, and eventually became aware of the confines of his provincial surroundings as he encountered restraints on his capacity to imagine life outside of the region]. His family, especially his father, proves doggedly hostile to his creative instincts of flights of fancy, antagonistic to his ambitions, and quite impervious to the new ideas he has gained from unprescribed reading. [Upon the death of the poor mountain family that had taken him in, Chad was to be bound to the service of Nathan Cherry, a neighbor who claimed that the dead father owed him money, and whom Chad hated]. His first schooling, even if not totally inadequate, may be frustrating insofar as it may suggest opinions not available to him in his present setting. [Chad's first encounter with formal education, as it exposes him to the outside world, leads him to become dissatisfied with his life in the mountains]. He therefore, sometimes at quite an early age, leaves the repressive atmosphere of home (and also the relative innocence), to make his way independently in the city (in the English novels, usually London). [Chad leaves his isolated mountain home to live in the aristocratic Bluegrass region]. There his real

education begins, not only his preparation for career but also—and often more importantly—his direct experience of urban life. [Major Buford’s invitation for Chad to live with him marks Chad’s entry into the Bluegrass aristocracy and, thus, his “real education” as a gentleman]. The latter involves at least two love affairs or sexual encounters, one debasing [Melissa, although from the mountains, continues to pursue a romantic relationship with Chad, which would be unbefitting the gentleman he has become], one exalting [Margaret], and demands that in this respect and others the hero reappraise his values [Chad is forced to reevaluate his own stance when both Melissa and Margaret stand by the Confederacy and its ideals of sectionalism]. By the time, he has decided, after painful soul-searching, the sort of accommodation to the modern world he can honestly make, he has left his adolescence behind and entered upon his maturity. [Guided by a noble sense of patriotism, Chad joins the Union Army and becomes a hero of the war]. His initiation complete, he may then visit his old home, to demonstrate by his presence the degree of his success of the wisdom of his choice. [At novel’s end, Chad returns home a celebrated soldier who is equipped to adjust to the changing society around him].²²¹

It is obvious, even from an abbreviated summary of Fox’s novel, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* shares with *Wilhelm Meister* an exclusive focus on indifference for home environment, the protagonist’s education, a repudiation of class struggle and political community, and the acceptance of the dominant ethics of society. Chad’s *Bildung*, therefore, becomes an organic responsibility to

²²¹ Buckley 17-18.

become a self-realized human being whose cultivation occurs within the social collectivity, as readers see in his eventual acquisition of social status—gentleman soldier.

In Buckley's words, a *Bildungsroman* will neglect no more than "than two or three of its principal elements—childhood, the conflict of generations, provinciality, the larger society, self-education, alienation, ordeal by love, the search for vocation and a working philosophy."²²² Among the specifics associated with these narrative elements, this study is particularly interested in expanding upon Chad's orphanhood, his physical and embodied journey from provinciality to "the big city," his informal and formal education, his estrangement from those who took him in, his romantic relationships, and his inevitable unification with society. The purpose of which is to establish Chad as cultural hero who, representing two different, but related peoples, discovers a deeper, self-affirming identity as a man and soldier. He is now able to integrate into society. My task is to prove how, given its teleological structure and deeply affecting examination of the human spirit, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* succeeds in fulfilling the requirements of the paradigm of a classic *Bildungsroman* plot as outlined by Buckley; thus, enlisting Chad's story into the larger context of the *Bildungsroman* tradition.

Masculinity as Means

Defining masculinity, desiring it, and achieving it remains one of the most salient elements of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*. Fox writes that the Great Mother, meaning nature, taught the Saxon race, later, known as Kentuckians:

²²² Buckley 16-17.

...[T]o stand together as she taught each man of the race to stand alone, protect his women, mind his own business, and meddle not at all; to think his own thoughts and die for them if need be, though he divided his own house against itself; taught the man to cleave to one woman, with the penalty of death if he strayed elsewhere; to keep her—and even himself—in dark ignorance of the sins against Herself for which she has slain other nations...²²³

Fox penned this description during a period when successful masculinity, a virtue increasingly informed by the Progressive Era's prescriptive literature, was seen as a result of physical prowess and performance, best realized and demonstrated by selflessness, service, and sacrifice, all in the name of protecting and nurturing. Like other American boy fiction of the turn-of-the-century, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* fosters and encourages the American paradigm of masculinity, a critical component of *Bildung* in the novel. Fox's work embodies an optimism about Chad's subsumption of a masculine version of *Bildung*, which is linked to a series of masculine acts performed by Chad himself, and exemplify the liberal philosophies and communal ethos of the Progressive Era. By engaging the *Bildungsroman* to highlight Chad's pursuit of masculine virtues, Fox virtually mimics Mark Twain's literary achievement in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which not only conveys notions of self-realization and identity, but also accentuates the protagonist's development into moral manhood. Both Fox and Twain's work are suffused with masculine images most valuable to their respective contemporary cultures, and through these images they explore the implications of masculine identification with nationalism.

²²³ Fox 103.

As Progressive Era reformers emphasized masculinity as the foundation for citizenship, they worked to establish the rugged cowboy-soldier as a staple image of the paradigmatic ideal American man. In fact, Theodore Roosevelt and his contemporaries used “manly,” chivalric rhetoric to champion a model of heroic-frontier masculinity characterized by the physical prowess, courage, and moral integrity of the Anglo-Saxon male. Sarah Watts, author of *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*, writes:

Enter a new type of charismatic male personality after 1870, a cowboy-soldier operating in the new venue of the American West on sheer strength of will and physicality. Eastern readers instantly recognized him as more masculine precisely because he met the psychological desires in their imagination, making them into masters of their own fate, propelling them into violent adventure and comradeship, believing them at home in nature, not in the hothouse interiors of office buildings or middle-class homes.²²⁴

Progressive Era men were socialized to accept the cowboy as the epitome of a masculine icon. Thus, the cowboy became an enduring symbol of Progressivism—emblematic of a brave, committed, courteous, fearless, gentle, honorable, and loyal masculinity. Additionally, Progressive manhood, according to some scholars, “was most characterized by chest-thumping virility, vigorous outdoor athleticism, and fears of feminization.”²²⁵ In Nina Silber’s work, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, she states, “In this age of the ‘strenuous life,’ when war and adventure and sports were the pinnacle of manly activity, every facet of American culture had to be

²²⁴ Sarah Lyons Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*. (Chicago: U of Chicago, 2003), 124.

²²⁵ Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), 6-7.

measured on a scale of vigor and virility.”²²⁶ Ultimately, the Progressive Era’s dominant articulations of the established masculine qualities of the time emphasized male self-control and the superior humanity of the American Anglo-Saxon man. Silber posits, “While the turn-of-the century celebration of Appalachia stressed the racial purity and patriotic, pioneer spirit of the mountain people, mountain culture also garnered praise for its supposedly manly and virile qualities.”²²⁷ *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* seeks to recapitulate these manly virtues with the celebration of Chad’s youth, competence, strength, astuteness, and adventures.

Employing the *Bildungsroman* as a means to explore the dilemmas concerning tradition, loyalty, and duty as they relate to late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century American society and notions of warfare, Fox’s narrative, ultimately, celebrates the Appalachian ability to cultivate an idealized notion of American masculinity. In fact, according to Silber, “Fox was himself on friendly terms with that most ardent advocate of masculinity, Theodore Roosevelt, and he gave his fictional hero some of the virility of the age.”²²⁸ For example, Fox describes Chad as “the swiftest runner on the football field; he had the quickest brain in mathematics...He would fight at the drop of a hat, and he always won; and by-and-by the boy began to take a fierce joy in battling his way upward against a block that would have crushed a weaker soul.”²²⁹ Fox, furthermore, uses the battlefield of the Civil War as a testing ground for Chad’s prowess, which serves as an indicator of Chad’s strength and military capabilities.

Fox portrays Chad as one of “the shrewdest and most daring scouts in the Federal service.” He goes on to say, “Every Morgan’s man came to know the name Chad Buford.”²³⁰ Chad possesses

²²⁶ Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900*, (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 1993), 150.

²²⁷ Silber 149.

²²⁸ Silber 150.

²²⁹ Fox 165.

²³⁰ Fox 229.

a mind for strategy as well as bravery in physical combat. For Mary Beth Swetnam Mathews, author of *Rethinking Zion: How the Print Media Placed Fundamentalism in the South*, while Chad is “not...entirely a Christ-like figure, notwithstanding the title of the book,” he does possess the “qualities that any Christian of the day would recognize as centered in the popular interpretation of Jesus’ teachings--humility, courage, honesty, and loyalty.”²³¹ The depictions of Chad’s virility and valor, along with the illustrations of his daring resolve, devotion, and scruples, evokes the cowboy rhetoric of the Progressives. Thus, Appalachia becomes a significant site for the social construction and interrogation of dominant notions of masculinity.

According to Melissa McFarland Pennel, Fox refers to “mountain life as the last sanctuary of male dominion, the last frontier for masculine escape from an increasingly feminized society.”²³² Fox essentially uses his novel and Chad’s adventures to further demonstrate and influence what boyhood and masculinity should look like for the typical American male. More specifically, through Chad, Fox is able to address the movement’s concerns regarding education and social progress. This explains, in part, America’s fascination with Chad. Chad exemplifies these Progressive issues because he appeals to the reformist desire to educate and elevate the American citizenry, and he remains able and willing to conform to society’s expectations. Therefore, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, in its account of one boy’s advancement from simple mountain life through to the Bluegrass aristocracy, becomes an appropriate literary vehicle through which to explore the Progressive Era notions of masculinity.

²³¹ Mary Beth Swetnam Mathews, *Rethinking Zion: How the Print Media Placed Fundamentalism in the South*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2006), 35.

²³² Melissa McFarland Pennel, "Between Hell Fer Sartain and Kingdom Come: John Fox, Jr.'s Preservation of the Masculine Ethos." *Kentucky Folklore Record* 32.3 (1986), 130.

While living with the Turners, Chad forms a valuable relationship with Caleb Hazel, the local schoolmaster. Hazel tells Chad awe-inspiring stories of the Bluegrass and reads to him from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, as well as from the Bible. Chad's interest in chivalry and manly virtues stems from the school master's readings of *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*. In fact, Chad's quest to cultivate his masculinity was born as a result of these chivalric romances. Chad finds himself enamored of the tales of gallant knights and dashing deeds in love and war. Fox declares that "the boy drank in the tales until he was drunk with them and learned the conscious scorn of a lie, the conscious love of truth and pride and courage, and the conscious reverence for women that make the essence of chivalry as distinguished from the unthinking code of brave, simple people."²³³ Chad aspires to find such chivalry in his own world so he watches the school-master closely and begins to emulate his gentlemanly gestures which he likens to be the gesticulations of a knight.

In an attempt to introduce chivalry to Appalachia Chad even "tried some high-sounding phrases on Melissa, and Melissa told him he must be crazy. Once, even, he tried to kiss her hand gallantly and she slapped his face."²³⁴ Nevertheless, Chad remains continually encouraged by the stories of chivalry and bravery, going as far as imitating knights in tournaments: "...he made a lance of white ash, threaded some loose yarn into Melissa's colors, as he told himself, sneaked into the barn, where Beelzebub was tied, got on the sheep's back and, as the old ram sprang forward, couched his lance at the trough and shattered it."²³⁵ Confident in his knightly prowess and impressed by his accomplishments in his first tournament Chad plans another tournament:

²³³ Fox 46.

²³⁴ Fox 47.

²³⁵ Fox 47.

It was too good to give up that secret joust and he made another lance and essayed another tournament, but this time Beelzebub butted the door open and sprang with a loud ba-a-a into the yard and charged for the gate...Instinctively, Chad swung on in spite of the roar of laughter and astonishment that greeted him...the ram swerved and Chad shot off sidewise as from a catapult and dropped, a most unheroic little knight.²³⁶

At this point, Chad, having found his endeavors to become a noble knight frustrated by an environment that is seemingly disdainful of his aspirations, becomes dissatisfied with his life in the mountains. Nevertheless, the laughter that Chad receives fails to discourage his interest in chivalry. Instead, he finds his quest to discover chivalry and his identity as a knight just beginning and resolves that chivalry must only exist outside the mountains of Appalachia: “That ended Chad’s chivalry in the hills, for in the roars of laughter that greeted him, Chad recognized Caleb Hazel’s as the loudest. If he laughed, chivalry could never thrive there, and Chad gave it up; but the seeds were sown.”²³⁷

Later in the novel, when Chad is living in Lexington, he finds himself constantly trying to make sense of the world around him. His understanding of manly virtue is one such way he navigates his existence among the aristocratic Anglo-Saxons of the Bluegrass. Walking through town with Margaret one day, Chad notices a man tipping his hat when a lady passed. This caused Chad to recall asking the school-master what it meant when a knight doffed his plume, and the school-master told him that men took their hats off in the presence of ladies. Later the next day, while speaking to Margaret, he surprised her “by taking off his cap gravely when he spoke to her;

²³⁶ Fox 47-48.

²³⁷ Fox 48.

and the little lady was greatly pleased...All this must be chivalry, Chad thought..." Chad's discovery of chivalry in the Bluegrass reawakens his obsession with knight-errantry and he suddenly remembers his tournament with Beelzebub.

Chad suggests to Dan, Harry, and Margaret that they have their own tournament with two rams that the General had tied up in the stable. At first, Margaret is hesitant to participate in the festivities: "Margaret received the plan with disdain, until Dan, at Chad's suggestion, asked the General to read them the tournament scene in *Ivanhoe*, which excited the little lady a great deal; and when Chad said that she must be the 'Queen of Love and Beauty' she blushed prettily and thought, after all, that it would be great fun." Chad would be the "Knight of the Cumberland" and Dan would be the "Knight of the Bluegrass." They made lances of ash, wore helmets made of tin buckets, carried shields made of sheepskins, and sported sashes made for them by Margaret. Written during a time when partisan feelings toward the Civil War still remained strong, Fox's description of the tournament affords readers with an increasing consciousness of past and present realities:

Each knight stepped forth from his tent, as his charger was dragged--ba-a-ing and butting--toward it, and, grasping his spear and shield and setting his helmet on ore firmly, got astride gravely--each squire and vassal solemn, for the King had given command that no varlet must show unseemly mirth...The King waved his hand just then and his black trumpeter tooted the charge...each knight brandished his spear and dug with his spurred heels...Dan, nearly, unseated, had dropped his lance to catch hold of his charger's wool, and Chad had gallantly lowered the point of his, because his antagonist was unarmed. But the temper of rams and not of knight was

in that fight now, and they came together with a shock that banged the two knights into each other and hurled violently to the ground.²³⁸

Fox utilizes legends from the past in order to adequately explore and convey the central themes of the novel--the quest for identity and the celebration of masculinity, specifically the Bluegrass gentleman.

Throughout the novel, Chad struggles to preserve his manhood, his understanding of which parallels his understanding of courage. For example, his entreaty to God as he sets out on his own is more of a declaration of masculinity than a prayer: "I hain't nothing' but a boy, but I got to ack like a man now."²³⁹ Chad's understanding of courage relates more to tradition and romance than to any internal measure of bravery. At first, he relies heavily upon the traditional notions of which he read in Scott's novels, but later, with the discovery of manly virtue, Chad distinguishes himself from an aspiring gallant knight to a brave soldier. Harry, Margaret's brother, explains of Chad: "In a skirmish one day we were fighting hand to hand. I saw one man with his pistol leveled at me and another with his sabre lifted on Chad. He saw them both. My pistol was empty, and so you know what he did? He shot the man who was about to shoot me instead of his own assailant."²⁴⁰ Chad's display of selflessness marks the gallantry and courage associated with manly virtue. As Chad encounters the exclusive relations of a soldier in battle, he unknowingly becomes a knight-errant of the Northern forces. By the novel's end, Chad learns that the measure of one's manhood lies more in the complex ways in which one negotiates between tradition, loyalty, honor, and responsibilities.

²³⁸ Fox 114-115.

²³⁹ Fox 9.

²⁴⁰ Fox 318.

Honor demands responsibility from and accountability of a *Bildungsbeld*. A *Bildungsbeld*'s honor exists as an exhibition of his inner character. Chad's honor sets him apart as a gentleman and enables him to further develop his other manly virtues. According to Fox, "Chad had God's own gift--to win love from all but enemies and nothing but respect and fear from them."²⁴¹ Fox portrays Chad as an honorable man who could be trusted to uphold and follow the rules. Chad remains unfailingly straightforward and true to his word throughout the narrative. In addition, Chad never falters in remaining true to himself. This can easily be seen as he tells the Major he plans to fight for the North: "Don't, Major,' he pleaded. 'You don't know how I have fought against this. I tried to be on your side. I thought I was. I joined the Rifles. I found first that I couldn't fight with the South, and--then--I--found that I had to fight for the North.'"²⁴²

Chad struggles with his sense of loyalty but remains unwaveringly dedicated to considering the consequences of his actions. A *Bildungsbeld*'s loyalty reveals his inner strength and gives him a sense of purpose. Likewise, loyalty gives the *Bildungsbeld* an understanding of obligation. Chad desires to make the decisions that would benefit the whole. This is made evident in his internal struggle over whether to fight for the Blue or the Gray:

If the bed-rock of his character was not loyalty, it was nothing. In the mountains the Turners had taken him from the Wilderness. In the Bluegrass the old Major had taken him from the hills. His very life he owed to the simple, kindly mountaineers, and what he valued more than his life he owed to the simple gentleman who had picked him up from the roadside... The Turners, he knew, would fight for their slaves... For that Chad could not blame them. And the Major was going to fight, as

²⁴¹ Fox 45.

²⁴² Fox 199.

he believed, for his liberty, his State, his country, his property, his fireside. So in the eyes of both, Chad must be the sake who had warmed his frozen body on their hearthstones and bitten the kindly hands that had warmed him back to life.²⁴³

Chad never denies his sense of loyalty to those who had looked after him and had been a part of his growing up, but there remains a much larger entity for Chad to consider—his commitment to his own moral convictions as they benefit the welfare of society. Just as a typical *Bildungsbeld*'s primary loyalty belongs within the perfect compromise between his own individual aspirations and the demands of society,²⁴⁴ so does Chad's loyalty belong to his country and its ideals. Fox states, "The boy was practically raised in Revolutionary days, and that was why, like all mountaineers, Chad had little love of State and only love of country--was first, last and all the time, simply American."²⁴⁵

Especially important to Progressive Era articulations of masculinity was the notion of courtesy. Chad shows courtesy to all that surround him through his politeness and deference. His consideration of others and eventual development of gentlemanly manners make him a perfect addition to the aristocracy of the Bluegrass. Furthermore, just as cowboys acted within a sphere of courtesy that transcended the realm of cultural boundaries into the theatre of war, so did Chad's displays of courteousness. For example, it would have been considered ungentlemanly and cowardly for Chad to allow any harm to come to Dan, his enemy, even if they fought for the opposing forces. Chad contemplates the dilemma he faces:

²⁴³ Fox 192-193.

²⁴⁴ According to Moretti, "[I]t is clear that we seek to indicate with [the *Bildungsroman*] one of the most harmonious solutions ever offered to a dilemma conterminous with modern bourgeois civilization: the conflict between the ideal of *self-determination* and the equally imperious demands of *socialization*." *Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, (London: Verso, 1987), 15.

²⁴⁵ Fox 191.

And this was the misfortune of war--to be trotting, at the head of six men, on such a mission, along a road that, at every turn, on every little hill, and almost in every fence-corner, was stored with happy memories for him; to force entrance as an enemy under a roof that had showered courtesy and kindness down on him like rain, that in all the world was most sacred to him; to bring death to an old playmate, the brother of the woman whom he loved, or capture, which might mean a worse death in a loathsome prison.²⁴⁶

Chad responds to the transgressions of his enemies by exhibiting courtesy in the face of discourtesy. In the end, Chad rescues Dan from death, thus securing courteousness as an manly virtue.

Chad's cultivation of manly virtue, as coupled with the *Bildung* process, not only defines him as a heroic and autonomous individual, but also signifies his recognition of self-identity. Therefore, it is not surprising that Chad's recognition of selfhood within the Bluegrass society coincides with the acknowledgement of his own manly virtue: "Thus, Chadwick Buford, gentleman, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, came back to his own: and what that own, at that day and in that land, was!"²⁴⁷ In becoming a gentleman, Chad has learned a new set of manners, a new language, and lives among "the proudest families, the stateliest homes, the broadest culture, the most gracious hospitality, the gentlest courtesies, the finest chivalry that the State has ever known."²⁴⁸ Chad also comes to embody "the spirit of the old race that had laid dormant in the hills" of Appalachia, and also exemplify the spirit of the Bluegrass Kentuckian:

²⁴⁶ Fox 239.

²⁴⁷ Fox 170.

²⁴⁸ Fox 170.

...the upright sturdiness of the Scotch-Irishman, without his narrowness and bigotry; the grace and chivalry of the Cavalier without his Quixotic sentiment and his weakness; the jovial good-nature of the English squire and the leavening spirit of a simple yeomanry that bore itself with unconscious tenacity to traditions that seeped from the very earth.²⁴⁹

Fox's medieval motif acts as a code of conduct for gentlemanly behavior and intersects with the making of a gentleman, what Buckley refers to as "one of [the genre's] recurrent themes."²⁵⁰ Fox endeavors to highlight how the concept of *Bildung* lends itself to be easily exercised over even the most unremarkable members of even the most primitive of societies. Hence, Chad, with his problematic lineage, becomes a commonplace "gentleman" of aesthetic, moral, and rational courage. Thus, Chad's story is not only one of initiation into manhood, but is also one of a developing sensitivity to societal values, making Fox's narrative an illustration of Progressive society's more celebrated and honored values of masculinity.

The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come proves that the tenets of *Bildung*, where the protagonist progresses toward successful conventional masculinity, still live on within Progressive Era notions of gentlemanly conduct. Furthermore, definitions of masculinity during the Progressive Era suggest an intersection between constructions of manly virtue and American nationalism. For Fox, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* served as a conduit to diffuse Progressive Era notions of adventure and masculinity into the minds of the citizenry. More specifically, through Chad, Fox could affect how the people of the Progressive Era conceived of masculinity. Chad embodies the elements of the newly defined archetype, his adventures along his journey toward manhood helping to establish him

²⁴⁹ Fox 104.

²⁵⁰ Buckley 20.

as the ideal all-American male. He is athletic, intelligent, courageous, honorable, loyal, courteous, and, above all, moral. These qualities resonated within Progressive society, making Chad himself something worthy of American emulation. Readers would have interpreted Chad's reactions and decision making process as a means of understanding the rapid changes taking place within their own society. This interaction imbued Chad's journey of self-discovery with an explicit purpose, and *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* with a dynamic, specific agenda for the nation: to educate, acculturate, and elevate the American citizenry through specifically masculine values.

Employing the *Bildungsroman* to create a multifaceted narrative intended to illustrate Progressive ideologies, Fox reveals the timeless value and allure of the genre. Thus, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, as a *Bildungsroman*, constitutes a privileged literary site for the construction and observation of conventional motifs of modern masculinity identity. Therefore, by engaging the *Bildungsroman*, a genre historically concomitant with the rise of the autonomous bourgeois subject, and presupposing a bourgeois standard of living for Chad, Fox thus appeases the assertively masculine world of Progressive Era America. Fox presents late nineteenth-century and early-twentieth century concerns regarding tradition, loyalty, and duty to readers by giving them a hero who, in exemplifying chivalrous, masculine virtues, discovers his identity as a man and gentleman. The alignment of the Progressive Era standards of a modern masculine identity and citizenship with the interrelationship of *Bildung* and masculinity results in the reinforcement of the connection between masculinity and self-cultivation for the benefit of the universal. Together, Progressive Era ideals of manliness and *Bildung* notions of a manly virtue, cultivate a coherent and persuasive grouping of the proper cultivation and development of a masculine self and nation. Prowess, courage, honor, loyalty, and courtesy inevitably make Chad not only the knight-errant of *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, but the embodiment of the American national spirit.

The Separation of Childhood from Adulthood

As mentioned earlier, Buckley emphasizes that successful *Bildung* for the protagonist of the *Bildungsroman* requires him to leave his adolescence behind. In this regard, in its depiction of a boy's childhood, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* can be considered an archetypal *Bildungsroman*. As Buckley suggests in his study, for the authors of *Bildungsromane* the child at the center of the story "was an entity in himself" and it might be expected that the child's response to early life experiences will "alter the entire direction of [his] growing mind and eventually influence for better or for worse his whole maturity."²⁵¹ This focus on childhood was also one of the defining features of the Progressive movement. Author Andrew Hartman writes, "By the turn of the twentieth century, the separation of childhood from adulthood had, for years, been an American cultural obsession." He goes on to explain that childhood as a distinctive period of innocence "in an individual's life was invented in the American mind because, otherwise, the inner goodness of human beings would have been ruined by the evil influences of the outside world."²⁵² Buckley's adaptation as well as Progressive Era influence can be witnessed in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* through Fox's painstaking portrayal of Chad's early childhood and adolescent years in Kentucky, dealing in great detail with the various phases of Chad's educational and psychological development.

Fox's detailed attention to these stages of Chad's development can furthermore be attributed to the Progressive Era amalgamating of romantic notions of individual uplift and the improvement of society through education and the dissemination and application of new knowledge. Hartman argues that children were "mobilized as a way to regulate society. The child became a means

²⁵¹ Fox 19.

²⁵² Fox 8.

through which reform could be ratified, and education was central to all reform.”²⁵³ In the beginning of the novel, for instance, Fox knowingly constructs Chad as a dynamic representative of his social class, who, while his future remains uncertain, possesses several distinguishing qualities and characteristics valued by Progressive Era society. More specifically, Fox concomitantly emphasizes a childhood imbued with challenges and educational opportunities that form the very foundation of Chad’s path to self-realization and are the source for his competencies and abilities at the novel’s end.

Chad’s developmental process begins in a provincial setting, Lonesome Creek, with Aunt Jane and Uncle Jim, the matriarch and patriarch of the poor mountain family that had sheltered him when he was just a foundling. The novel evokes pity in the reader for the destitute conditions of Chad’s childhood; especially his ongoing plight as a wandering orphan. At the onset, readers see that Chad’s boyhood is a story of a youth marked by struggle, vulnerability, and loss, and watch as, through varied experiences, he learns the truth about his parentage and attempts to overcome estrangement. For example, from the very inception of Chad’s story he is witness to death and it is made clear that he is struggling with issues of self-identity because of it. The death of the mountaineer family that had taken him in early on in his life marked “the first time, perhaps, that Chad had ever thought very seriously about himself, or wondered who he was, or whence he had come.”²⁵⁴

Ostensibly, Chad’s self-identity is grounded in a childhood characterized by wandering and abandonment, which can be said to instill in him a life-long desire for independence and enthusiasm

²⁵³ Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 8.

²⁵⁴ Fox 6.

for adventure: “Digging back into his memory as far as he could, it seemed to him that what had just happened now had happened to him once before, and that he had simply wandered away. He could not recollect where he had started from first, but he could recall many of the places where he had lived...”²⁵⁵ Now facing the complexities of the adult world he determines, “I hain’t nothin’ but a boy, but I got to ack like a man now. I’m a-goin’ now.”²⁵⁶ Together with his faithful companion, a shepherd dog named Jack, Chad departs from his home on Lonesome Creek to live deeper in the Black Mountains. Speaking candidly to God, Chad, whose immediate impetus to run away is aptly preceded by years of abandonment and loss of self-identity, offers insight to his reasoning and resolve: “I don’t believe You keer much and seems like I bring ever’body bad luck: an’ I’m a-goin’ to live up hyeh on the mountain jes’ as long as I can. I don’t want you to think I’m a-complainin’—fer I ain’t. Only hit does seem sort o’ curious that You’d let me be down hyeh—with me a-keerin’ fer nobody now, an’ nobody a-keerin’ fer me.”²⁵⁷ Chad’s *Bildung* allows him more freedom than his society can give. Thus, he realizes that “now he was his own master,” and, at first, feels a “happy sense of freedom”, but soon he begins to contemplate the consequences of his actions and of his newly acquired independence: “At once, the first keen savor of freedom grew less sweet to his nostrils and, straightway, he began to feel the first pressure of the chain of duties that was to be forged for him out of his perfect liberty, link by link, and he lay vaguely wondering.”²⁵⁸ Fox presents these moments of self-doubt in an effort to illustrate how the loss of the mountaineer family that had taken him in symbolized Chad’s loss of conviction and his ardent determination to acquire a sense of purpose within society.

²⁵⁵ Fox 6.

²⁵⁶ Fox 9.

²⁵⁷ Fox 9.

²⁵⁸ Fox 11.

There is also an incident when Chad, just after setting out on his own, finds himself shrouded by darkness and lashed by a storm. Although the storm presages with outstanding truthfulness Chad's becoming the embodiment of the American national spirit, its implication would not be revealed to him immediately. Instead, it would be

[U]nrolled slowly as the years came on—more than the first great rebellion of the powers of darkness...more than the beginning thus of light—of life; more even than the first birth of a spirit in a living thing: for long afterward, he knew that it meant the dawn of a new consciousness to him—the birth of a new spirit within him, and the foreshadowed pain of its slow mastery over his passion-racked body and heart. Never was there a crisis, bodily or spiritual, on the battle-field or alone under the stars, that this storm did not come back to him. And, always, through all doubt, and indeed, in the end, when it came to him for the last time on his bed of death, the slow and sullen dispersion of wind and rain on the mountain that morning far, far back in his memory, and the quick coming of the Sun-king's victorious light over the glad hills and trees held out to him the promise of a final victory of the Sun-king's King over the darkness of all death and the final coming to his own brave spirit of peace and rest.²⁵⁹

Chad, mindful of the significance of change, sees the storm as an omen to his departure. It is not long after the storm that Chad resolves to continue his journey toward *Bildung* once more: "The comfort of childish self-pity that came with every thought of himself, wandering, a lost spirit along the mountain-tops, was gone like a dream and ready in his heart was the strong new purpose to strike into the world for himself."²⁶⁰ Chad's decision to undertake such a physical journey initiates

²⁵⁹ Fox 13-14.

²⁶⁰ Fox 15.

an increase in his self-awareness and cultural competence, both of which are intrinsic to identity development and self-fulfillment, as well as definitive qualities of the American consciousness during the Progressive Era.

Unlike other *Bildungsromane*, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* does not demonstrate a conflict of generations; on the contrary, the Turners who adopt Chad in the valley of Kingdom Come show him kindness and generosity by taking him in “when [he] was a ragged outcast.” Although poor and struggling, with a house already “full of children, Chad’s new family believed that ‘no word was necessary’” when it came to their informal adoption of Chad and Jack, for “[t]wo waifs who had so suffered and who could so fight could have a home under that roof if they pleased, forever.”²⁶¹ The Turners provide him with all of the advantages of a son by clothing him, feeding him, and educating him.²⁶² From Chad’s relationship with the Turners, Fox exposes another childhood truth: Chad’s charming innocence of heart.

In Chad, Fox presents a child of sensibility who is vulnerable, yet is confident and courageous and demonstrates an ability to progress beyond his limitations and acknowledge his possibilities. For example, introduced as an orphan of uncertain ancestry, “Chad grew to look the fact of his birth steadily in the face, and in his heart grew steadily a proud resolution to make his way in the world despite it.”²⁶³ As an extended portrait of the theme of childhood, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* strengthens the Progressive notion that childhood experiences can shape character. Furthermore, the rationale of the Chad’s *Bildung*, which focuses on his self-fulfillment as a catalyst

²⁶¹ Fox 26.

²⁶² Fox 213.

²⁶³ Fox 147.

for wider social change, parallels the logic of the Progressive Era, which primarily concentrated on socially-oriented policies.

James Marten, editor of *Children and Youth During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, writes that the “contagious spirit of concern for children, for child protection, and for enhancing the quality of childhood helped to define the times as Americans addressed the worst aspects of the problems associated with industrial and urban change.”²⁶⁴ Therefore, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, as a product of Progressive Era enthusiasm for social change, also reveals how *Bildungsroman* depictions of childhood temperament foreshadows future adaptations to societal demands. Additionally, each of Chad’s childhood encounters with new experiences becomes an opportunity for the cultivation of the self and concomitantly demonstrates an individual critically and actively engaged with society. In this sense, the novel further supports Progressive reformer’s emphasis on children’s plasticity and America’s nostalgic conception of childhood during the Progressive Era, which both played a significant role in social reform, and thus, establishing a set of shared values for both Appalachia and America, ultimately defined the character of the American people.

An Appalachian Scholar

Chad’s growth and maturity, as chronicled in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, are resulting phenomena of his educational experiences. In fact, Chad’s story is, more than anything else, a narrative of his education, both in the mountains and at university and, more generally, among Bluegrass society itself. In the mountains, Chad proves a capable student whose “schooling put forth leaves and bore fruit rapidly.”²⁶⁵ His “mind was as clear as his eye and, like a mountain-pool,

²⁶⁴ James Alan Marten, *Children and Youth During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, viii.

²⁶⁵ Fox 45.

gave back every image that passed before it. Not a word dropped from the master's lips that he failed to hear and couldn't repeat."²⁶⁶ In addition to being a competent student, Chad is also found to be an expert shepherd and hunter, and a skilled fighter, fisherman, and musician. Furthermore, it is Chad's aptitude toward learning and interest in the refined social etiquette of the Bluegrass that affords him the opportunity to experience life outside that of the mountains.

While Chad's literate career begins before he leaves the mountains, it is not until he arrives in the Bluegrass and attends the university that he is finally provided with a space in which he can cultivate his own sense of self and maturation through more formal academic learning, as well as explore the wonders of the elegant society of the Bluegrass aristocracy. At any rate, the structure of the university provides Chad with a relatively perfect setting to expand his intellectual depth and increase his knowledge. As the novel progresses, Fox more completely illuminates Chad's unique talents and the results of this learning:

He was the swiftest runner on the football field; he had the quickest brain in mathematics, he was elected to the Periclean Society, and astonished his fellow-members with a fiery denunciation of the men who banished Napoleon to St. Helen... He would fight at the drop of a hat, and he always won; and by-and-by the boy began to take a fierce joy in battling his way upward against a block that would have crushed a weaker soul.²⁶⁷

Chad's schoolboy adventures, whether attending sporting events or in his classroom conquests, become a part of both the informal and formal education process that help to turn a rough mountain waif into a respectable gentleman.

²⁶⁶ Fox 45.

²⁶⁷ Fox 165.

These features help to link *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* to the popular Progressive trend of placing collegiate life as the centerpiece of American academia. Influenced by Progressive ideals of education, Fox's portrayal of Chad's experiences at university allowed readers to see the inclusiveness of college life and the significant role that education plays in the cultivation of the self as a whole. These depictions not only accept education as a necessary tool in the civilization and improvement of Appalachia, but also assume that Progressive society could be improved and perfected through an accomplished education of the citizenry. Consequently, for Fox, the meaning behind Chad's attainment of a formal education is twofold: on the one hand, even a southern mountaineer could mature and grow according to society's expectations as long as he embraced the pageantry and academic side of college life; on the other hand, education has instrumental value in Progressive Era society as it develops and socializes the individual to the extent to which they can not only adjust to society, but improve it as well.

Progressing from a "blab school" on Kingdom Come to the university in Lexington, and establishing himself as a gentleman among the Bluegrass bourgeois, Chad demonstrates that his wit, charm and astute thinking are perhaps the most significant results of his education. According to Fox, "Chad had God's own gift—to win love from all but enemies and nothing but respect and fear from them."²⁶⁸ Chad's education and skills symbolize the Appalachian people's ability to learn, adapt, and excel in unfamiliar environments. Furthermore, Chad's academic achievements and distinctive talents not only illustrate the adjustment of the individual to American educational ideologies, but also the Progressive notion that education is the essential tool of assimilation and guide to successful nation-building. Consequently, Chad's education is emblematic of the

²⁶⁸ Fox 45.

preparation necessary for the formation of the modern, mature individual, ready to adjust to the demands of the nation.

Knowing the World

Another primary element of the *Bildungsroman* genre, as accentuated by Buckley, is that of setting out on a journey of discovery. In the words of one critic, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* “is a complete chain of adventure from beginning to end; there are absolutely no tame spots; and when finally we close the book, after bringing the hero from childhood on through the Civil War to his Margaret and happiness, we discover that our reading has been very rapid and intense.”²⁶⁹ The same relative intensity is what propels Chad away from home, and through modern experiences, toward an affirmation of individual improvement. Indeed, the fundamental motif in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is that of a journey, both Chad’s departure and return to the mountains and his journey towards self-realization on his quest for and attainment of manhood. This is reminiscent of another chief consideration of the genre, the significant role the social environment of the protagonist plays in his self-cultivation. According to Buckley, “the journey from home” for the hero of the classical *Bildungsroman* “is in some degree the flight from provinciality.”²⁷⁰ In Chad’s case, his journey out of the mountains and into the larger city is not only symbolic of his leaving his childhood behind, but also of the *Bildungsroman* narrative form as a conduit for critique on the transformation of primitive social orders to modern, industrial societies. To be precise, the political and social progresses of the *Bildungsroman*, as they relate to the genre’s national ideological functions,

²⁶⁹ Doubleday 517.

²⁷⁰ Buckley 38.

are preoccupied with the modernization of the subject. Fox advocates a measured application of modernization of Appalachia through Chad's journey of discovery.

Chad travels specifically from the tiny settlement of Kingdom Come to the bustling metropolis of Lexington, and, with the help of his benefactor, later becomes a gentleman, thereby, escaping a pastoral life in the mountains to embrace a more modern, aristocratic lifestyle in the city. Chad initially enters, much by accident, the larger city as a confused and naïve young shepherd boy in awe of his surroundings, "keenly alive to the new sights and sounds and smells of the new world."²⁷¹ He finds himself thrilled by the experience and delighted with Lexington, the "aristocratic heart of the State," as well as "engrossed...with the people...of the little village."²⁷² At home in the mountains Chad only knew an existence characterized by ambivalence and struggle, and could only dream of a more comfortable and successful life in the "settlements"—to live the life of "Chadwick Buford, Gentleman"; in Lexington, on the other hand, Chad's longing to experience the city is satisfied to the point of long-term commitment. In fact, Chad receives such an impression of life in the city that, upon meeting the Major, he tells him about "how he hoped to come back to the Bluegrass, and go to that big college himself."²⁷³ Compared to his life in the mountains, life in the Bluegrass for Chad represents the quintessence of change. Indeed, it is the geographical change from provinciality to the larger city that is an impetus for Chad's *Bildung*, his troubled childhood in the mountains being the direct factor that helps in preparing him for the catalytic effect his experiences in Lexington have on his process of self-cultivation.

²⁷¹ Fox 66.

²⁷² Fox 63.

²⁷³ Fox 86.

Chad's initiation into the larger society, specifically the grandeur of Bluegrass, results from his friendship with Major Calvin Buford, who, sensing a kinship with the boy, takes him in as a ward. This is not surprising, since the classical *Bildungsheld* is generally "placed in a learning relationship with one or more characters...which will teach him about the nature of life, how best to live it, and also most importantly something about himself."²⁷⁴ Essentially, Major Buford is to Chad what Magwitch is to Pip and what Betsey Trotwood is to David Copperfield: a benefactor and mentor to guide him along his *Bildung* journey. The Major, a well-educated gentleman, is convinced that Chad is a potential relation: "[T]hat boy is the best boy I ever knew. I believe he is my own blood, he looks like that picture there"—pointing to the old portrait—"and if he is what I believe he is, by —, . . ., he gets this farm and all I have."²⁷⁵ Consequently, the Major offers Chad deliverance from his provincial mountain life and invites Chad to live with him in Lexington. Like the Turners, the Major cares for Chad with a certain passion and treats him as if he were his own son, providing for his upbringing and education.

Buckley argues that while the city has an abundance to offer the bemused and inexperienced protagonist, "all too often [it] brings a disenchantment more alarming and decisive than any dissatisfaction with the narrowness of provincial life."²⁷⁶ For Chad, this happens after his organization of the tournament with Dan Dean, when, quite by accident Dan is knocked unconscious as both boys are thrown to the ground. The Deans, infuriated by Chad's behavior, say they "cannot have [their] children associating with a waif,"²⁷⁷ and so the rumor of Chad's illegitimacy begins to spread:

²⁷⁴ Earl H. Rovit, *Ernest Hemingway*, (New York: Twayne, 1963), 95.

²⁷⁵ Fox 120.

²⁷⁶ Fox 20.

²⁷⁷ Fox 117.

Thereafter, the world changed for Chad, for is there any older and truer story than that Evil has wings, while Good goes a plodding way? Chad felt change... It reached the school, and...Georgie Forbes...brought out the terrible charge in the presence of a dozen school-children at noon-recess one day. It had been no insult in the mountains, but Chad, dazed though he was, knew it was meant for an insult, and his hard fist shot out promptly, landing in his enemy's chin and bringing him bawling to earth.

Afterward, Chad resolves to return to the Bluegrass, leaving a note for the Major:

I reckon you know what folks is a-sayin' about me. I tol' you myself. But I didn't know hit was any harm, and anyways hit ain't my fault, I reckon, an' I don't see how folks can blame me. But don' want nobody who don' want me. An' I'm leavin' 'cause I don't want to bother you. I never bring nothing but trouble nohow an' I'm goin' back to the mountains.²⁷⁸

For Chad, who had been elated by his rafting trip to the "God's country" and mesmerized by all that he saw in the Bluegrass, the disappointment he feels after his short time in Lexington is devastating for him. Rather than encouraging *Bildung*, Chad's experience in the larger city seemingly thwarts his conscious attempts at self-cultivation; yet, Fox continues to carefully unfold Chad's *Bildung*, structuring the novel to bring out the implication of this experience as it relates to Chad's eventual self-realization.

Eventually, the Major's instinct about Chad's pedigree is proven correct, and it is revealed that Chad is of noble birth: Nathan [Cherry] had sent for him to come to his death-bed and had

²⁷⁸ Fox 121.

told Chad that he was no foundling; that one of his farms belonged to the boy; that he had lied to the Major about Chad's mother, who was a lawful wife...²⁷⁹ Upon hearing the news of his legitimacy, Chad journeys “out of the wilderness” and into his final stage of maturity: “Then he started for the Bluegrass...He would come back every year of his life...but Chad knew he was bidding a last farewell to the life he had known in the mountains.”²⁸⁰ Once Chad finds his way back to Lexington, the Major tells him that he “was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone; that he would adopt him and make him live where he belonged, and break his damned pride.”²⁸¹ The truth of his birth not only legitimizes his station among the bourgeois Bluegrass, but it also serves his masculine interests. Chad could now be a chivalrous gentleman with “an untarnished name.”²⁸² Chad, now the Major’s legitimate heir, is in possession of “the self-poise of a man, and a pair of level, clear eyes, that looked the world in the face as proudly as ever, but with no defiance and no secret sense of shame.”²⁸³ The development and transformation of the little shepherd boy from Kingdom Come that was once threatened by his own innocence and inexperience is now secured through the truth of his lineage. Thus, readers continue following Chad’s *Bildung*, watching, as the veil of innocence is lifted from him and the responsibility of experience is given.

In returning to Lexington, Chad discovers even more about the larger society—how it operates, and how, through the various societal challenges he experience from his life in the city, it relates to his own sense of self-fulfillment. Buckley describes the city as duplicitous in nature, labelling it as “both the agent of liberation and a source of corruption.”²⁸⁴ *The Little Shepherd of*

²⁷⁹ Fox 169.

²⁸⁰ Fox 167.

²⁸¹ Fox 169-170.

²⁸² Fox 170.

²⁸³ Fox 169.

²⁸⁴ Buckley 240.

Kingdom Come illuminates this duplicity and illustrates the substantial influence of society on the individual by highlighting ambiguous effect the city has on Chad's *Bildung*. On the one hand, Chad's encounter with the Bluegrass Blue Bloods is inspirational, expanding his limited understanding of the culture, cultivating and igniting his innate talents, and refining his aesthetic sensibilities; on the other hand, it is influential, prompting him to participate in the morally-relaxed merriment of city life. According to Silber, "As a 'southern gentleman,' Chad Buford was a hardworking and patriotic man who also had to indulge, momentarily, his urge for drinking and card playing."²⁸⁵ Fox writes:

Chad took a little fling at his little world—a fling that was foolish, but harmful, chiefly in that it took his time and his mind and his energy from his work. He not only neglected his studies, but he fell in with the wild young bucks of the town, learned to play cards, took more wine than was good from him sometimes, was on the verge of several duels, and night after night raced home in his buggy against the coming dawn.²⁸⁶

Notwithstanding his negligent behavior, Chad's ability to integrate himself into Bluegrass society is not compromised, which is evident by Fox's nonchalant approach to Chad's recklessness: "Chad was sowing his wild oats—it was in the blood, and the mood would pass."²⁸⁷ For Silber, Chad's stint of deviant behavior "underscored Chad's progress on his successful journey to virile and vigorous manhood."²⁸⁸ Eventually, the mood does pass, and Chad returns to his studies, the more genteel ways of Bluegrass society, and, of course, the pursuit of Margaret Dean, all of which are indications of his continuous becoming. Chad's resolution to return to the straight and narrow paths of public

²⁸⁵ Silber 150.

²⁸⁶ Fox 181.

²⁸⁷ Fox 181.

²⁸⁸ Silber 150.

virtue centers partially on the *Bildungsroman* genre's educational aspect, and can be examined in terms of development as it is inevitably linked to the consequences that affect his progression of growth and maturity.

Romance and Heroism

Another common component of the classical *Bildungsroman* as discussed by Buckley is the motif of love, specifically what he refers to as an “ordeal by love.” Buckley argues that the *Bildungsheld* must have “at least two love affairs or sexual encounters, one debasing, one exalting” that acts as a vehicle for the continuing journey of *Bildung*.²⁸⁹ While this is an element of the *Bildungsroman* that, at first glance, is not obvious in *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, Chad's story does include vicissitudes and trials of love, if not a debasing relationship. More specifically, during the course of the novel Chad secures the love of two women—Melissa and Margaret, both of whom are hopelessly devoted to Chad. Melissa, from the mountains, is “the glow-worm that, when darkness came, would be a watch-fire at his feet,” and Margaret, from the Bluegrass, is “the star to which his eyes were lifted night and day.”²⁹⁰ With his pending transition into adulthood Chad is forced to negotiate between the two young girls, but in his decision to fight to save the Union he estranges himself from both Melissa and Margaret, whose sympathies lie with the Confederacy and its ideals of sectionalism.

Melissa is introduced to the story as a motionless figure “with a bare head, bare feet, a started face and wide eyes—but motionless only until the eyes met his: then there was a flash of bright hair and scarlet homespun, and,” as Fox writes, “the little feet, that had trod down the

²⁸⁹ Buckley 17.

²⁹⁰ Fox 145.

centuries to meet his, left the earth as though they had wings and Chad saw them, in swift flight, pass silently over the hill.”²⁹¹ Melissa, at first, is a shy, timid-like creature who remains in the shadows, never engaging the little stranger that has been brought into her home, but observing him in silence. Eventually, Melissa steps “out of the dark shadows behind and drew shyly closer and closer, until she was crouched in the chimney corner with her face shaded from the fire by one hand and a tangle of yellow hair, listening and watching him with her big, solemn eyes, quite fearlessly.”²⁹² In very little time, Melissa has fallen in love with Chad, which is evident the next morning when she stepped “forward, twisting her hands in front of her, and stood, rubbing one bare foot over the other, on the hearthstones. She turned her face with a blush when Chad suddenly looked at her.”²⁹³ From this moment on Melissa becomes Chad’s most ardent follower, dedicated solely to his well-being and happiness.

Essentially, Melissa is cast as his childhood playmate and devoted admirer, and Chad, likewise, is positioned as her guardian and protector. The two of them go to school together, fish together, play together; they are “inseparable.”²⁹⁴ When Chad is being taunted at school by Tad Dillon, a foe he had previously encountered on his way further into the mountains, he springs to his feet and tackles him. In return, Chad “got hurled to the ground, his head striking the earth violently, and making him so dizzy that the brave smile with which he took his fall looked rather sickly and pathetic.”²⁹⁵ In this instance, readers are privileged to Chad’s suffering, both the physical pain and the psychological cruelty he experiences during his tussle with Tad. It is Melissa who comes to his defense: “You wouldn’ dare tech him if one of my brothers was here, an’ don’t you dare tech him

²⁹¹ Fox 18.

²⁹² Fox 26.

²⁹³ Fox 28.

²⁹⁴ Fox 46.

²⁹⁵ Fox 37.

again, Tad Dillon.” Her expression “spoke with the fierce authority of the Turner clan, and its dominant power for half a century.”²⁹⁶ Afterward, when the two are leaving school for home, Chad finds himself unable to express his gratitude to Melissa and wishes “that a bear or wild-cat would spring into the road! He would fight it with teeth and naked hands to show her how he felt and to save her from harm.”²⁹⁷ As a demonstration of the conventional mode of childhood affection and friendship, the relationship Chad develops with Melissa initiates his progression from childhood to adulthood.

Never, at any point in the story, does Melissa’s devotion to Chad falter. When she hears that a rebel guerrilla unit is planning a surprise attack against Chad and his men, Melissa makes her way down the mountain, through a rain storm, to warn Chad that his life is in danger. Afterward, ill from her midnight journey, she still seeks out Margaret to clear Chad’s name of illegitimacy. Melissa tells Margaret what she has learned of Chad’s parentage and then chides her for her treatment of Chad: “An’ you oughtn’t to ’a’ keered what he was--and that’s why I hate you...fer worryin’ him an’ bein’ so high-heeled that you was willin’ to let him mighty nigh bust his heart about somethin’ that wasn’t his fault. I come fer him--you understand--fer *him*. I hate *you!*”²⁹⁸ When the war is over Chad goes to the mountains to find Melissa, only to learn that she has died from the illness she contracted the night she went to warn him of the guerrilla’s ambush. Chad learns that even in death Melissa’s devotion to him is unyielding, for he also is told that she died “with his name on her lips.”²⁹⁹

Melissa’s devotion is framed by the harsh reality of a society characterized by a division of loyalties. Through Melissa’s death, Fox intimates that Chad’s success in assuming a responsible role in society

²⁹⁶ Fox 37.

²⁹⁷ Fox 38.

²⁹⁸ Fox 304.

²⁹⁹ Fox 321.

is dependent not upon his acceptance by the mountain people, but by the approval of the Bluegrass aristocracy. Fox further implies that Appalachia's development does not depend on its loyalty to the American culture, but is contingent upon its overall acceptance by American society.

Despite at one point, having been disheartened by his initial experience in the larger city, resolving to stay in the mountains and marry Melissa and "go away where nobody knew him or her: or...right there in the mountains where nobody blamed him for what he was nor Melissa for what she was,"³⁰⁰ it is with the intoxicating and sophisticated belle, Margaret Dean, that Chad finds himself romantically interested. Fox writes, "Chad had eyes only for Margaret."³⁰¹ Chad's relationship with Margaret has its high and low points, and his first encounters with her become fundamental factors in his self-development. Their relationship slowly evolves over the course of the narrative, enduring and deepening until, in the last chapters, Fox alludes to a romantic future for the two, consummating the conclusion of Chad's ordeals by love.

From the moment of their introduction, Margaret conveys a disgust for Chad and openly shuns him. In their first meeting, Chad manages to insult and alienate Margaret after trying to give her a gift: "I didn't see no harm givin' the little gal a fish," said Chad. 'Little gal,' indeed! Chad lost the ground he might have gained. Margaret's eyes looked all at once like her father's. 'I'm a little girl, thank you.'³⁰² Readers later learn that Chad did not intend to insult her: "Chad started off on a trot and stopped suddenly, 'I wish you'd please tell that little gurl'--Chad pronounced the word with some difficulty--'that I didn't mean nothing' callin' her a little gal. Ever'body calls gurls gals where I come from.'³⁰³ Margaret's early treatment of Chad reflects her elevated position among the

³⁰⁰ Fox 145.

³⁰¹ Fox 165.

³⁰² Fox 97.

³⁰³ Fox 99.

bourgeois Bluegrass and leads the readers to believe a courtship between Margaret and Chad will never happen.

Chad walks with Margaret to school one day and stalks ahead of her. Offended by such rude behavior she turns to him:

‘You aren’t polite little boy. My mamma says a nice little boy always lets a girl go first.’ But Chad still walked ahead. He looked back presently and she had stopped again--whether angry or about to cry, he could not make out--so he waited for her, and as she came slowly near he stepped gravely from the path, and Margaret went on like a queen.³⁰⁴

In spite of Margaret’s open scorn of Chad, he continues to express his love for her. As any gentleman would do, Chad commits himself entirely to Margaret: “He began to love her with a pure reverence that he could never know at another age. Every Saturday night, when dusk fell, he was mounting the steps of her house. Every Sunday morning he was waiting to take her home from church. Every afternoon he looked for her, hoping to catch a sight of her on the streets...”³⁰⁵

Margaret’s affection for Chad grows but Chad’s questionable parentage makes it impossible for them to be anything more than “a friendly intimacy.”³⁰⁶ Therefore, in Chad’s love for Margaret he, once again, encounters the struggle over his identity, even as he takes very deliberate and positive strides to integrate into Bluegrass society.

A typical *Bildungsroman*, according to Joseph Allen Boone, “often merely uses the love-plot as a kind of narrative scaffolding upon which to hang the various independent concerns, the

³⁰⁴ Fox 108.

³⁰⁵ Fox 165-166.

³⁰⁶ Fox 166.

‘innumerable events,’ of the hero’s growth to adulthood and social integration.”³⁰⁷ Therefore, Chad and Margaret’s relationship becomes more like a playground where Fox can explore the traditions and struggles explicitly associated with the idea of *Bildung*, while also critiquing the larger reconciliation of the nation with Appalachia. For example, patterned on the elements of traditional romance and set in a Civil War milieu, Chad and Margaret’s relationship highlights his pursuit of manly virtue, as well as presents reason and rationale behind the internal conflict he experiences as a result. Chad, although raised by those whose allegiance is with the South, “had no slave sympathy to stir him to the depths, no stubborn, rebellious pride to prod him on.”³⁰⁸ Thus, when the Southern states secede from the Union, the internal conflict within Kentucky intensifies, and Chad is tasked with the uncomfortable decision to choose sides.

Fox’s characters embody the conflicting impulses of Kentucky. The Turners and Major Buford stand for the Southern way of living; nostalgic and unable to change, they suffer great losses throughout the war. Chad, on the other hand, loyal and realistic, feels a sense of duty toward the Union. As Chad contemplated his loyalties his thoughts turn to Margaret:

In her eyes, too, he would be rending the hearts that had been tenderest to him in all the world... If he lifted his hand against the South, he must strike at the heart of all he loved best, to which he owed most. If against the Union, at the heart of all that was best in himself. In him the pure spirit that gave birth to the nation was fighting for life.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ Joseph Allen Boone, *Tradition Counter Tradition: Love and the Form of Fiction*. Women in Culture and Society. Ed. Catherine R. Stimpson, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 74.

³⁰⁸ Fox 192.

³⁰⁹ Fox 193.

Here, Chad can be seen confronting the resolve of his situation with his own internal compass, thus fostering his self-development in accordance with his own convictions. In this description, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* offers an explanation of the tension between the individual and the collective, yielding insight into the processes of *Bildung* in the individual subject the effects that such conflict has on the development of self. Fox delineates Chad's conflicting loyalties during this time as a reminder, not of the debilitating facts of war, but of his struggles to acquire a sense of self-identity as a mountain waif among the Bluegrass bourgeoisie. By using the traditional romantic ideal, specifically of courtship leading to marriage, as a pattern for Chad and Margaret's relationship, Fox reveals the influence of the divided feelings of Kentucky without violating the current national sympathy.

An examination of Chad's internal conflicts reveals that Fox has created a character whose conscious embrace of hybridity reflects his own opinion of Kentucky's status as an agent of self-discovery in Progressive America. The most interesting manifestation of Chad's hybrid identity is embodied in the moments of self-torture brought on by the dilemma to fight for the North or the South:

[L]ike all mountaineers, Chad had little love of State and only love of country—was first, last and all the time, simply American. It was not reason—it was instinct. The heroes the schoolmaster had taught him to love and some day to emulate, had fought under one flag, and, like them, the mountaineers never dreamed there could be another. And so the boy was an unconscious reincarnation of that old spirit, uninfluenced by temporary apostasies in the outside world, untouched absolutely by sectional prejudice or the appeal of the slave. The mountaineer had no hatred of the

valley aristocrat, because he knew nothing of him, and envied no man what he was, what he had, or the life he led.³¹⁰

Although Chad has adjusted to the ideals and manners of the Bluegrass, his early life in the mountains instilled in him a sense of patriotism dating back to the Revolution. Emulating those heroes who had only love of country and “fought under one flag,”³¹¹ and resisting Confederate sympathies, Chad makes the unpopular decision to enlist in the Union Army. Thus guided by his patriotic compass, Chad simultaneously embraces sentiment and alienates Major Buford, Margaret, and the Turners.

Fox explicates, “[U]nionism was free from prejudice as nowhere else on the continent save elsewhere throughout the southern mountains. Those southern Yankees knew nothing about the valley aristocrat, nothing about his slaves, and cared as little as one as for the other.”³¹² Thus, Fox’s portrayal of Chad’s battlefield initiation into adulthood becomes overtly nationalistic. In the words of one author, “[Chad] was moved by the cause of nationalism itself...[he] rejected the extremism of the abolitionist and embraced the Union cause without condemning southern slavery...”³¹³ Chad’s career during the war is one of courage and chivalry, marked by several occasions where he risked his own life to save that of his enemy.³¹⁴ By way of these acts of compassion and gallantry Fox renders Chad “the embodiment of pure Americanism.”³¹⁵ Consequently, Fox reveals that the mountain people’s loyalty to principle, and their allegiance to the political ideals of the nation, are consistent with their own deep sentimental attachments to place and family.

³¹⁰ Fox 192.

³¹¹ Fox 192.

³¹² *Fox* 188-189.

³¹³ Silber 149.

³¹⁴ Notably Dan Dean.

³¹⁵ Fox 192.

The war is a significant marker along Chad's journey of self-discovery; with its end comes peace for the nation and absolution for Chad. Having learned of Chad's goodwill toward both of her brothers during battle, Margaret forgives Chad for his decision to fight for the Union. The Major dies before the end of the war, but Margaret tells Chad how the Major forgave him and how he brought the remains of Chad's mother down from the mountains to be buried in the family plot. Reflecting the spirit of the Progressive Era, Chad becomes the personification of growth and reform:

Once again he was starting his life over afresh, with his old capital, a strong body and a stout heart. In his breast still burned the spirit that had led his race to the land, had wrenched it from savage and king, had made it the high temple of Liberty for the worship of freemen--the Kingdom come for the oppressed of the earth--and, himself the unconscious Shepherd of that Spirit, he was going to help carry its ideals across a continent Westward to another sea and on--who knows--to the gates of the rising sun.³¹⁶

While Chad returns to his origins, Fox leaves his narrative open-ended, precluding any sense of finality for Chad's story. Nevertheless, rather than have Chad abandon his mountain heritage or his Bluegrass birthright, Fox's adaptation of the *Bildungsroman* genre demonstrates his development beyond both traditions:

After the way of men, Chad proudly marched the old Wilderness Road that led to a big, bright, beautiful world where one had but to do and dare to reach the stars. The men who had trod that road had made that big world beyond, and their life Chad

³¹⁶ Fox 322.

himself and lived so far. Only, where they had lived he had been born--in a log cabin....He was taking their path and, in the far West, beyond the Bluegrass world where he was going, he could, if he pleased, take up the same life at the point where they had left off. (148-149)³¹⁷

Combining the strengths of his Appalachian identity with his Bluegrass training, Chad overcomes what Fox suggests are the handicaps of his mountain heritage to demonstrate the potential of Appalachian people to integrate into the dominant culture.

³¹⁷ Fox 148-149.

CONCLUSION: A SUCCESSFUL NARRATIVE MODEL OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come portrays a dichotomous Kentucky—Appalachia, signified by a primitive and provincial people, versus the Bluegrass, recognized as the more civilized region of the state, while also revealing it as emblematic of Chad’s conflicting positions as mountain waif and Bluegrass nobleman. Fox follows Chad’s maturation from a valiant boy knight to actual chivalric Civil War hero by focusing on his efforts to discover chivalry and how he exemplifies manly virtues once he identifies it. Chad’s progress from shepherd boy to Bluegrass gentleman encapsulates the elitist view of social mobility that was a product of progressive reform initiatives working to uplift the Southern mountaineer in the face of rapid social change and industrialization. As part of the local-color movement of the Progressive Era, Fox’s use of Appalachian otherness emphasizes possibilities for enriching the spirit and culture of the mountaineer and is characterized by “wrenching ambivalence regarding the relative benefits of the supposedly savage mountain world versus the apparently refined but environmentally and emotionally costly industrial world.”³¹⁸

Fox’s narrative dismisses the notion of Appalachian otherness as strictly the result of geography, and introduces it as the product of a combination of heredity and environment. Batteau tells us that for Fox Appalachia symbolizes “one extreme of the systole and diastole of Western civilization--the development of a high culture, and its revitalization by repeated contact with Nature,” and that this “idea rests upon a view of human nature that identifies character with racial ancestry, and yet allows for the improvement or degeneration of character over a court of a lifetime.”³¹⁹ Chad’s discovery that he is a descendent of Bluegrass aristocracy demonstrates that

³¹⁸ Satterwhite Web.

³¹⁹ Fox 73.

mountain people are not necessarily genetically inferior, and that in sharing a similar ancestry as those living in the Bluegrass, mountain inhabitants possess the capabilities to improve their station. This reflects the societal improvement that marked the Progressive Era.

Chad's transformation from a poor shepherd boy to a gentleman demonstrates Fox's attempt to prove that, if afforded the occasion, citizens of the Appalachian region could successfully adopt the lifestyle and standards associated with mainstream American culture. Margaret Dean's confession to Chad on his becoming a gentleman echoes America's sentiments toward Appalachia's cultural integration. She states, "I'm so glad you are what you are, Chad; but had you been otherwise--that would have made no difference to me. You believe that, don't you, Chad? They might not have let me marry you, but I should have cared, just the same."³²⁰ Although Margaret still had feelings for Chad, her parents' acceptance of him was conditional. Similarly, while America valued Appalachia as an unspoiled region where traditional American values and ways of life were preserved, America's acceptance of Appalachia depended upon on the Appalachian region's assimilation into American society.

Fox's sympathetic commentary on the uncivil and underdeveloped mountain people manifests itself in the form of Chad's insight into the lack of gallantry in the mountains and resolve to go to "where the land was level and there were no mountains at all...where there were towns that had more people than a whole county in the mountains...the 'settlements of old Kaintuck'" (38). Fox intimates that the purpose of Chad's education is ultimately the discovery of manly virtue and that the ethics of manly virtue cannot be fully appreciated by the Appalachian people. He further suggests that manly virtue, an aristocratic ideal characterized by willpower and honor, is earned by

³²⁰ Fox 184.

the actions and decisions of individuals and the unwillingness of the Appalachian people to accept the chivalric code is a rejection of those values.

Chad serves as a conduit for Fox's own views on the struggle of Appalachia's upward struggle for respectability. Chad's passage from childhood into adulthood as the product of two cultures is a step towards homogeneity and Fox's way of propagating Appalachia's social development. Chad feels like an outsider in his community, yet his identity is intricately connected to his ability to disseminate his acquired knowledge among his fellow Kentuckians. This tension between individualism and communalism is symbolic of the struggle with nationalism and identity during the turn of the century. In order to reformulate its own identity, America was being forced to find a way to deal with the threat that Appalachia, as a region standing in opposition against American principles, posed on the national framework. *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*, as an Appalachian *Bildungsroman*, provides a means to explore these changing ideas about the "[r]ude, rough, semi-barbarous" mountain inhabitants and the "problem" they present to America.³²¹

Fox's ostensibly sympathetic discourse on the mountain people, the Bluegrass, and the Civil War provides critical commentary on the role of Kentucky as an agent of self-discovery. He employs the Appalachian *Bildungsroman* to demonstrate the cultural, economic, and social conditions contending to generate meaning and significance in an Appalachian identity. Fox's exploration of the conceptions of selfhood through depictions of Chad's progressive reconciliation with Kentucky's societal order encourages a social and emotional connection between the underdeveloped Appalachian mountain people and the rest of the nation. Fox asserts, "...in his own short life, [Chad] already epitomized the social development of the nation, from its birth in the

³²¹ Fox 42.

log cabin to its swift maturity behind the columns of a Greek portico.”³²² Through the depiction of Chad’s assimilation efforts and his success in adapting to life among the Bluegrass bourgeoisie, Fox constructs a regional image of Appalachia based on the cultural reconciliation between the mountaineers and the Bluegrass bourgeois. The delineation of Chad’s moral, psychological, social, and intellectual development from youth to maturity, not only reflects Fox’s desire to secure cultural legitimacy for the marginalized people of Kentucky, but also communicates his sympathetic views on the civilizing project in Appalachia. Moreover, Fox exploits Chad’s journey toward selfhood through the discovery of both his regional and national identities as an allegory for the possibility of cultural reconciliation between Appalachia and America. As such, *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* should not only be considered a record of Kentucky’s history, but also as evidence of Appalachia’s progress during the early twentieth-century.

³²² Fox 171.

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