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Reading the Fairytales of Hans Christian Andersen and Horatio Alger Novels as Proto- Entrepreneurial Narrative

or

A true story of two boys who grew up to write stories which shaped the entrepreneurial attitude of their nations!

by Robert Smith and Helle Neergaard



Once upon a time, long ago, in the slums of Odense in the State of Denmark there lived a poor boy whose ambition it was to write stories. His name was Hans Christian Andersen, a Cobblers son. As a boy, Hans was noticeably different from other boys, being gentle and taller than others. He lived in a world of his own imaginative making. He was indeed different, being dyslexic in an age before the condition was appreciated. His poor, but industrious father Hans Sr doted on him and read him stories every afternoon. The young Hans was a bright boy and helped his father around the shop as he dreamed his dreams. Hans Sr introduced his son to literature and to the theatre – but his greatest gift was to encourage him to write his own fairytales. Hans Christian Andersen's mother Anne Marie being of peasant stock was a natural storyteller who entertained her children with the folktales of ordinary people. Life was good until tragedy struck the Andersen household when Hans' father passed away. From that day onwards poverty beset them. Hans helped his mother make ends meet where he could by working long hard hours. It was a time when social inequalities stalked the ancient Kingdom of Denmark causing many of its sons and daughters to brave the passage to the distant shores of America. The spectre of poverty haunted him all his days but it lit a flame deep within that has not yet been extinguished.

At the age of fourteen years, when still a boy, Hans like many before him set out to seek his fortune in Copenhagen. Like the intrepid Dick Whittington in childhood stories, he went in search of a better life. Although the fair streets of Copenhagen were not paved with gold, young Hans applied himself, again working long hard hours first as a weaver and then as an actor and singer before graduating from the University of Copenhagen. Hans kept the Lutheran faith and by dint of personal application and hard work eventually prospered. He toiled all day and wrote long into the night. He read the stories of the Grimm Brothers and other writers of fable. In time, he achieved his wildest dreams and became a published writer of novels and dark brooding fairytales which brought tears to eyes of even the hardest of men. He travelled far and wide, in search of inspiration for his tales and wrote prodigiously into his old age. Happiness eluded him—his mother died an alcoholic and he was to suffer twice from unrequited love. Although he only visited America his stories made the passage and settled there bringing him literary fame. His stories were popular with children and parents alike for in the fables were sound advice for a country folk not to dream a dream too far. In this respect, they were in keeping with the spirit of austerity which prevailed in Denmark at the time where fairytales with a darkness to the plot were common.



"Once upon a time, in America, in well-to-do New England there lived a well off boy, a Preacher's son Horatio Alger Junior. Horatio was a quite, studious boy who read and read and read, and also dreamed his dreams of being a poet. As often was the way in those times Horatio sensibly followed in his father's footsteps and went to Harvard College before entering the ministry where he worked for many years tending to his congregation. The restless Horatio travelled to Paris, France and lived there for a while before returning to again take up his ministrations in New York. There his work took him regularly to the slums of the city. In such places as The Five Points he came into contact with abject poverty and the wretched poor who lived without hope. Touched by the spectre of poverty his experiences touched his heart and he swore to do something about it—because after all America was renowned as being the land of opportunity. He vowed to give them hope and did this by the the most powerful weapon at his disposal—the pen. By day he carried out his duties as a Minister. But by night Horatio embarked upon a prodigious writing career in which he penned hundreds of Dime Novels about poor boys who made their own way in the world. He set out to spread the gospel of enterprise and taught that with luck and pluck a poor boy could escape from poverty to make his way in the world as a bold entrepreneur. In the process he gave a nation hope and direction which epitomises the American Dream.

Thus in America, the sons of Danish émigrés [and indeed all migrants] were encouraged to read Alger's novels which were in their own right fairytales with a social purpose. Indeed, many sons of Denmark followed this dream and lived the fairytale that became the American Dream. He encouraged poor-boys to reach for the stars and grasp all that life had to offer by dint of hard work and perseverance. This was sound advice in a land where determination was needed to haul one'self up the social ladder. In this respect, they were in keeping with the spirit of abundant opportunity which prevailed in America at the time where stories of hope were appreciated by all.

Introduction

We believe that these two very different fairytales are a fitting introduction to the first part of this two part exploration by the authors into Danish and Danish-American Enterprise Culture. This is because they capture the spirit of their respective nations as it stood in 19th Century Denmark and America. The idea for the article flourished from an email conversation, between the authors Helle Neergaard and Robert Smith in late December 2005. The basis of the conversation was that with the year 2005 being the 200th anniversary of the birth of Denmark's favourite son Hans Christian Andersen it would be fitting to commemorate his works in some way. This article grew out of this conversation. As such this article marks the entrepreneurial achievements of Hans Christian Anderson as a talented writer and indeed literary entrepreneur. It also marks the achievements of another famous writer Horatio Alger Jr. Both writers as boys were products of their cultures. In keeping with the title of the article both boys did indeed grow up to write literature which we believe shaped the entrepreneurial orientation of their respective nations. Hans Christian Andersen wrote darkly brooding fairytales which captured the imagination of the world; and Horatio Alger wrote his corpus of fictional novels, now known as 'Horatio Alger Myths' in which the poor-boy-makes-good. These stories are credited with inspiring generations of Americans to follow their entrepreneurial dreams. We argue that this body of Americanized-folklore is in its own right closely related to the genre of fairytale. We further argue that the Fairytales of Hans Christian Andersen can be read as proto-entrepreneurial tales. Indeed, consideration of folklore and fairytale as proto-entrepreneurial narrative is not a new idea. For example Folklorists such as J Zipes¹ have suggested that the Fairytales of the Brothers Grimm were

prototypical forms of the German Capitalist Dream and indeed a form of enterprise discourse. To date we are not aware of anyone who has suggested that the works of Hans Christian Andersen were a prototype for the spirit of Danish enterprise. We find this significant.

The Denmark of Hans Christian Andersen

The life story of Hans Christian Andersen as read in biographies is that of a Danish fairytale in keeping with the reality of the Denmark of his time. The auto-biographies and biographies consulted for this article include those of Hans Christian Andersen, Robert Nisbet-Bain and Constance B. Burnett.ⁱⁱ Collectively, they narrate a sad tale of a shoemaker's son who made the world a brighter place to live for those Danes who remained behind in the old world.

Hans Christian Andersen was born into relative poverty on the 2nd of April, 1805, the son of a provincial shoemaker Hans Andersen Sr. According to his auto-biography, the early life of Hans Christian Andersen was full of sadness. However, what the family lacked the fiscal terms was more than made up for in terms of quality of life. According to Burnett, Hans Sr. believed he was the son of an aristocrat. He was a self-educated man who taught himself to read and write. Hans Sr. appears to be a man as if thwarted by fate. The shoemaker took his fatherly duties seriously and read his son Hans a story every day. This storied quality time would pay long term dividends. One can only conjecture that the stories told to the young Hans were imbued with the traditional moral message. Hans Andersen senior also took his son to the theatre and encouraged him to write his own fairytales. Hans Christian Andersen's mother, Anne Marie, who was of peasant stock, and by all accounts a gifted storyteller complemented his literary education by entertaining and enchanting her children with Danish folktales of the people. Interestingly, this idyllic picture places Hans Christian Andersen firmly in a creative petty bourgeoisie family.

However, tragedy struck the Andersen family when young Hans was aged only 11 years old. His father died and a cloud of sadness descended upon the young Hans. But young hearts are resilient. Initially, Hans helped out by working to make ends meet. At the age of 14 the intrepid Hans ran away to Copenhagen to seek his fortune. Thankfully, fortunes are not merely measured in terms of kroner but in terms of literary success because Hans grew up to be Denmark's most famous author, writing over 350 fairytales, as well as poems, sketches, fantasies, novels and his autobiography. Evidence that Hans Christian Andersen was not of the proverbial poor can be gleaned from an examination of his early life in Copenhagen. He gained employment as a weaver and then tailor, before becoming a singer and actor. He secured sponsorship from a patron to finance himself through University. These are not the actions of a working class pauper, but of a privileged middle class boy. This is not to say that his pain, sadness and experiences of poverty were not genuine heartfelt experiences, for these are evident in his writings, but it is a world away from the experiences of those raised in a ghetto environment in a far off America pursuing a dream which was not possible in 19th Century Denmark with its parochialism and class division. In his lifetime Hans Christian Andersen became part of the socio-political elite against which many poor Danes so passionately rebelled.

The prodigious writings of Hans Christian Andersen made him a household name across the globe. Few people growing up during the past two centuries can fail to have heard a rendition of "*The Ugly Duckling*", "*The Emperor's New Clothes*", or "*The Little Mermaid*" from a doting parent or family member. Few who have heard his fairytales can have been left unmoved by his poignant writings which can bring a tear to the eye of grown men. Andersen's fairy stories are templates which illuminate moral behaviour. Many are also thinly veiled reflections of his personal life experiences. What is apparent is that Andersen wrote his stories not only as moral reminder, but wrote with a desire to spread humour, joy and laughter, both of which are great antidotes to sadness. In this respect his sense of humour

bordered upon the sly. Hans Christian Andersen was intensely (almost darkly) religious. He remained a bachelor for the duration of his lifetime—a fact which gives rise to rumours of his sexual orientation. This may also have fuelled some of his blacker stories. Andersen's writings are definitely imbued with a paradoxical juxtaposition of beauty and ugliness, darkness and light. It was as if Andersen was preparing the ordinary Dane not to expect much from life. Although there is scant evidence of an entrepreneurial message in Andersen's writings, they nevertheless speak volumes for the historical Danish psyche trapped in a world of limited opportunity. This factor is perhaps contributory to why Denmark and the Danes did not develop a healthy enterprise culture.

THE AMERICA OF HORATIO ALGER JUNIOR

The America into which the sons of the Danish immigrants were born was one of almost unbridled opportunity. As such, the life story of Horatio Alger is that of an American fairytale which mirrors the reality of its time. It is the story of a preacher's son who gave hope to the poor. Much has been written about Horatio Alger and much of what has been written, such as the works of Stefan Kanfer, Jeffrey L. Decker, Celeste MacLeod, Charles Orson Cook, Carol Nackenoff, Ralph D. Gardner, Gary Scharnhorst and Jack Bales, and Richard Weiss is eulogistic and on the whole positive.ⁱⁱⁱ Horatio Alger was born in Revere, Massachusetts in 1832 into a middle class family. Young Horatio was raised a devout Calvinist and his father placed emphasis on education and adherence to religion. The young Horatio followed in his father's footsteps and graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1852. As a youth, Horatio had aspirations of becoming a poet but instead followed these paths of sensibility path into the Ministry. However, Horatio appears to have had wanderlust because he moved to Paris, France, returning in 1867. On his return Horatio took up a social work position in New York. Here he was exposed to abject poverty of New York's immigrant under-classes. He was touched by the hand of poverty and decided (like Charles Dickens in London) that the biggest contribution he could make to the poor was to write about their plight. Thus began a prodigious writing career in which he penned 134 novels.

These "Dime Novels" captured the imagination of a whole new generation of Americans. Horatio's stories became theirs. The main, inspiring themes were of onward and upward rags-to-riches tales, patterning his hero "*Ragged Dick*" upon the homeless newsboys and bootblacks of urban America. His heroes (Horatio Alger's boys) almost always had the same qualities—moral, brave, generous, kind, diligent, industrious, and persevering. His ideology promised that everyone, no matter how poor, orphaned or powerless, if they persevered they would succeed by hard work and the right action. This doctrine espoused the values of self-reliance, self-discipline, decency, and honesty. His books inspired a generation and found their way into almost every home, school, and church library in America capturing the spirit of a nation, selling 250 million copies world-wide. These books included such evangelical titles as "*Ben the Luggage Boy*", "*Bound to Rise*", "*Brave and Bold*", "*Facing the World*", "*Fame & Fortune*", "*Tattered Tom*", "*Forging Ahead*", "*In a New World*", "*Mark the Match Boy*", "*Risen from the Ranks*", "*Rough and Ready*", "*Rufus and Rose*", "*Strive and Succeed*", "*Strong and Steady*", and "*Struggling Upward*". These titles resonate with the sprit of action and movement.

Few could doubt that Alger's writings shaped the minds of a generation of American youths and their boys' own ethos became incorporated into the dominant collective notions of masculinity, and entrepreneurship manifested as independence of spirit and mind. The American author, James Catano refers to them as being morally uplifting stories enacting a successful struggle to overcome less than spectacular origins and reap justly deserved economic and personal rewards. Catano classifies these stories as "*proto entrepreneurial tales*" in which "*poverty's child*", moved into respectability via a patron capable of recognizing their heroic characteristics.^{iv} They are stereotypical endorsements of the entrepreneurial myth and late nineteenth century broad middle class stories of masculine self making. Alger's books are

a classic example of social constructionism in action. Moreover, Horatio Alger's books demonstrate how one man can construct a fictional genre, which influences a nation's entrepreneurial propensity and thus libido.

As a novelist, Horatio Alger wrote of courage, faith, and hard, honest work, capturing the imagination of generations of young Americans providing them with a model of hope and promise in the face of real hardships. In his private life Horatio Alger like Hans Christian Andersen had to overcome problems^v

Both writers were hugely prodigious in their writing outputs and immensely creative. This inner driving force fascinates us as scholars of Entrepreneurship and human behaviors. It is testament to our moralistic Presbyterian and Lutheran upbringings that we had to struggle long and hard with our conscience as to whether to include such details or simply re-write them from consciousness. It is Horatio Alger and Hans Christian Andersen as creative writers that matters, not their alleged miss-comings that matter.

Elements of this fabulous myth into which Horatio Alger tapped are discernable in empirical research carried out by Bernard Sarachek who examined the biographies of 187 Nineteenth Century American entrepreneurs.^{vi} Sarachek emphasises the deeply psycho-social nature of the father-son relationship and the effects of poverty, death and deprivation on their desire to become self-made men. This research connected outcome (Entrepreneurial Status) to causal factors (social hardships) which when internalised as deep inner drives helped the individuals overcome adversity. Sarachek documented their formulaic nature as variations on rags-to-riches theme replete with heroes from humble origins raised in poverty by poor but honest parents and mentored by well intentioned benefactors. Sarachek's work resonates with the work of Suzanne Keller who carried out similar research into the social origins of three generations of American business leaders, finding that a significant number emerged from the ranks of those with humble beginnings.^{vii}

For Robert B. Reich these stories gave America a noble ideal^{viii} and Orvis F. Collins and David G. Moore found evidence of their accuracy with respondents having experienced childhood poverty and disrupted family lives.^{ix} Stefan Kanfer notes how the classic Alger plot seldom varied; a youth of humble origins makes his way in the city by virtue of grit and toil. Luck usually plays its part, but fortune was something to be enticed and manipulated. In Alger's view, square dealing and independence formed the basis of the American Dream. Kanfer comments on the cultural underpinnings of this individualism arguing that the novels instilled the idea behind those phrases into America's children as homespun stories encapsulating the American way of self-reliance in a moral framework. Robert Arnot marvels at their popularity.^x Yet, Reich asserts that it is an obsolete, gilded myth of stories of respectability, hard work, fortunate accidents, and of denial which no longer holds true in America. Nevertheless, the American Dream became a fairytale par-excellence which metamorphosed into the Horatio Alger myth of poor boys making good. However, this myth continues to shape our understanding of entrepreneurial narrative despite protestations that such myths serve no purpose in the modern world of business. It could be argued that the fairytale of entrepreneurial success became one of America's most influential exports back to the old world. It could equally be argued that the fatalistic writings of native born Danish authors such as Hans Christian Andersen may have had an adverse effect upon the development of an entrepreneurial Culture.

Assessing the influence of these writings

The insight gained from the above sections on Hans Christian Andersen and Horatio Alger are helpful in providing an insight into how far the existing Danish Enterprise Culture requires to change to align itself with the American Dream. The purpose of this section is to consider the contribution made to the collective Entrepreneurial Dream by the writings of Andersen and Alger. So much has been written about Horatio Alger that there is no need to

repeat it here. It would be surprising if the moralistic fairytales of Hans Christian Andersen had not touched the lives of as many Americans as did the novels of Horatio Alger. It is not stretching the truth, or spinning a yarn to humbly suggest that Andersen was a spiritual contemporary of the American author and evangelist of enterprise. Although Andersen did not physically migrate to the shores of America, his writings did and he visited the Country. Thus Andersen's writings appeared in print at the same time as Horatio Alger's now famous Dime novels. Many of Andersen's original masterpieces are housed in the "*Making of America*" collection in Cornell University Library. In reading Andersen's life-story it is apparent that his early life reads like a proto-typical entrepreneur story. Had circumstances been different Hans Andersen could have been one of Horatio Alger's boys had he migrated to the new world, instead of remaining at home. Hans Andersen was dyslexic like many fabled entrepreneurs and had to overcome intense poverty and suffering in his childhood. Although Andersen was not an entrepreneur, as we understand, it his life-story and profile could nevertheless fit the template of an entrepreneur story as we know it. Many of Andersen's stories are about hardship, and how those who are different struggle to get through life, let alone achieve. Consequentially many of his stories have desperately sad endings – for example "*11 swans*", "*The story of a mother*" and "*The Little Mermaid*". The overarching moral of these is 'do not wish for what is not in your fate to achieve'. In this respect it is contrary to the American Dream so ably articulated by Horatio Alger.

Moreover, Andersen's stories are very sad and strike an aesthetic chord within us. Most of his stories invoke emotions such as sadness and even real tears. Such is their power. They cover such a wide gamut of life scenarios and only some of his stories can be related to scenarios we have come to associate with entrepreneurship. They instil basic morals. The stories of Andersen perhaps help make the boy a man, whilst the stories of Alger make the man an entrepreneur. With the benefit of hindsight the stories perpetuated by Andersen prepared those who remained in Denmark to accept their fate. Such stories do indeed tell a very different fairytale than those told by Alger. It is important to remember that Andersen's fairytales are childhood stories and as such they set the basis of future moralities and possible outcomes. They are generic to human behavior—and not scenarios dealing specifically with entrepreneurship. Andersen's stories perhaps shaped the boys who read them and in turn helped influence their personal *doxa* of masculinity. Furthermore, it is possible to view the stories written by Andersen as being proto-entrepreneurial in that as stories they took a moral message between countries which shared a Western mindset. This is an exciting viewpoint because it makes the story the entrepreneur, and not the person, taking between cultures. One could also be forgiven for stating the obvious, in that the early life of Hans Christian Anderson reads like that of one of Horatio Alger's boys.

Consideration of the moral message embedded within Hans Christian Andersen's stories is helpful in explaining why (as a general rule) Danes are not very entrepreneurial. The basic message of Andersen's stories was in many cases that you shouldn't try to be something you were not. Indeed very few of his stories have happy endings because he focused on the pain of the ordinary person but (unlike Alger) did not provide any relief – beyond that of trusting in God! For example, The "*Little Mermaid*" ends up becoming the froth on the waves; the mother realizes that it may be best that her child is dead, although she has given up her eyes and hair to get it back; in the "*11 Swans*" the favorite brother is the only one who does not get totally rescued and will always have a swan wing for his left arm etc, etc. Thus Andersen narrates a totally opposite message to that of Horatio Alger – whose message really was where there's a will, there's a way! In positioning Andersen's works alongside those of Alger's we hear a different tale. Contrasting the differing moralities of Horatio Alger and Hans Christian Andersen enables a very different reading of entrepreneurship to emerge from a Danish perspective. It could even be argued that Hans Christian Andersen (like

Horatio Alger) could even be classified as an entrepreneur in his own right because he was a purveyor of a cultural product and mindset.

It is apparent that that the fairytales of Andersen and Alger differ tremendously in purpose and in content. Yet for Danes, finding their version of the American Dream need not merely necessitate mimicking America. An overarching theme of poverty links all the elements of this paper. Hans Christian Andersen was a poor-boy at heart with a wandering soul who in his lifetime experienced real hardship. This moved him to enrich the lives of others by writing stories which exemplified moral lessons appropriate for the old world values, in which he was raised. The cruel hand of poverty thus touched him but did not blight his life. Horatio Alger, although not a poor-boy himself, had a wandering soul in search of a true vocation. In stumbling across the ghetto poor of New York he found his vocation in writing stories to inspire them out of poverty. Being an outsider he was able to romanticise their plight and in the process turn it into a literary art form. We believe these two very different stories do offer an insight into the differing attitudes to entrepreneurship held by the Danes and the Americans. We conclude that it is possible to read the fairytales of Hans Christian Andersen as proto-entrepreneurial narratives in the same light as those of Horatio Alger.

¹ Jack Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979; Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forest to the Modern World* (New York and London: Routledge, 1988).

¹ Hans Christian Andersen. (1846) *"The True Story of My Life"*, Copenhagen.

Hans Christian Andersen. (1858) *"The Fairy Tale of My Life"*, Copenhagen.

Robert Nisbet Bain (2002) *"Hans Christian Andersen: A Biography"*, Dodd, Mead & Co, 1895).

Constance Buel Burnet, *"The Shoemakers Son"*, Kessinger Publishing (1941).

¹ Stefan Kanfer, (2000) *"Horatio Alger: The Moral of the Story,"* *Urbanites*, 10 4; www.cityjournal.org/html/10_4_urbanites-the_moral.html; Carol Nackenoff. *The Fictional Republic: Horatio Alger and American Political Discourse* (Oxford University Press, Inc, 1984); Ralph D. Gardner, *Horatio Alger: Or, the American Hero Era* (Mendota, Illinois: Wayside Press, 1964); Gary Scharnhorst and Jack Bales *Lost Life of Horatio Alger, Jr* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Richard Weiss, *American Myth of Success: From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale* (New York and London: Basic Books, 1969); Jeffrey Louis Decker, *Made in America: Self-styled Success from Horatio Alger to Oprah Winfrey* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Celeste MacLeod, *Horatio Alger, Farewell: The End of the American Dream* (New York: Seaview Books, 1980); Charles Orson Cook, *Horatio Alger - Gender and Success in the Gilded Age: Ragged Dick and Tattered Tom* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001)

¹ James. V. Catano. *Ragged Dicks: Masculinity, Steel, and the Rhetoric of the Self-Made Man* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001), p. 10.

¹ See Edwin Palmer Hoyt. (1976) *"Horatio's Boy's: The Life and Works of Horatio Alger Jr."*, *Nineteenth Century Fiction* Vol. 36, No. 4, 1976, pp. 564-565; Michael Moon, "'The Gentle Boy from the Dangerous Classes': Pederasty, Domesticity, and Capitalism in Horatio Alger." *Representations* 19 (Summer 1987); Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *"The darkside of Horatio Alger Jr."* <http://www.violetbooks.com/alger.html> accessed 27/06/2006.

¹ Bernard Sarachek, *"American Entrepreneurs and the Horatio Alger Myth,"* *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 1978): pp. 439-456.

¹ Suzanne Keller, *"The Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders"*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1953.

¹ Robert B. Reich *"Tales of a New America"*, (New York: Times Books, 1987).

¹ Orvis F. Collins and David G. Moore *"The enterprising man"* (East Lansing, Bureau of Business and Economics Research. Graduate School of Business Administration. Michigan State University,.1964).

¹ Robert Arnot. *The Biology of Success: How to have it all.* (Newleaf., 2000)

ⁱ Jack Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979; Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forest to the Modern World* (New York and London: Routledge, 1988).

ⁱⁱ Hans Christian Andersen. (1846) *"The True Story of My Life"*, Copenhagen.

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ⁱⁱⁱ Stefan Kanfer, (2000) *"Horatio Alger: The Moral of the Story,"* *Urbanites*, 10 4;

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^{iv} James. V. Catano. *Ragged Dicks: Masculinity, Steel, and the Rhetoric of the Self-Made Man* (Carbondale:

Southern Illinois University Press, 2001), p. 10.

^v See Edwin Palmer Hoyt. (1976) *"Horatio's Boy's: The Life and Works of Horatio Alger Jr."*, *Nineteenth*

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^{vi} Bernard Sarachek, *"American Entrepreneurs and the Horatio Alger Myth,"* *Journal of Economic*

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^{vii} Suzanne Keller, *"The Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders"*,

Unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1953.

^{viii} Robert B. Reich *"Tales of a New America"*, (New York: Times Books, 1987.

^{ix} Orvis F. Collins and David G. Moore *"The enterprising man"* (East Lansing, Bureau of Business and

Economics Research. Graduate School of Business Administration. Michigan State University,.1964).

^x Robert Arnot. *The Biology of Success: How to have it all.* (Newleaf., 2000)