



A QUARRY FARM WEEKEND SYMPOSIUM OCTOBER 5-7, 2018





"AMERICAN LITERARY HISTORY AND ECONOMICS IN THE NEW GILDED AGE"

A Quarry Farm Weekend Symposium Friday, October 5 to Sunday, October 7, 2018

Symposium Co-Chairs

Lawrence Howe, Roosevelt University

Matt Seybold, Elmira College

Henry Wonham, University of Oregon

Keynote Speaker **David Sloan Wilson**, Binghamton University

Michael Anesko, Pennsylvania State University
Mary McAleer Balkun, Seton Hall University
Nathaniel Cadle, Florida International University
Ranjit Dighe, SUNY Oswego
Sean X. Goudie, Pennsylvania State University
Sheri-Marie Harrison, University of Missouri
Lawrence Howe, Roosevelt University
Christian Kloeckner, University of Bonn and Barnard College
Andrew Kopec, Purdue University - Fort Wayne
Ann Ryan, Le Moyne College
Henry Wonham, University of Oregon

Cover Image: "Photograph of Samuel L. Clemens and Henry Huttleston Rogers in Bermuda (PH 01972)" Courtesy of the Mark Twain Project, The Bancroft Library University of California, Berkeley

SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE

Friday, October 5 - Meier Hall on the Elmira College Campus

6:00 p.m. **Opening Reception**

Enjoy hors d'oeuvres, an assortment of drinks, and conversation with old and new friends

7:00 p.m. **Opening Dinner**

Elmira College Welcome Charles Lindsay, President of Elmira College

Dinner

Keynote IntroductionMatt SeyboldKeynote AddressDavid Sloan Wilson

Mark Twain, Cultural Multilevel Selection, and the New Gilded Age

Why does American history seem to swing like a pendulum between eras of relative equality and eras of extreme inequality? Can we recover from the second Gilded Age? New answers to these questions are coming from an unexpected source -- Darwin's theory of evolution, which has recently been extended to account for cultural change in addition to genetic change. David Sloan Wilson will provide an overview of these new developments and show how historians and literary scholars can play a central role in the study of human cultural evolution.

David Sloan Wilson is SUNY Distinguished Professor of Biology & Anthropology at Binghamton University, as well as co-founder and President of the Evolution Institute, co-founder of Evonomics.com, and editor-in-chief of *This View of Life* magazine. His books, many of which include interdisciplinary engagement with economic history and theory, include *Darwin's Cathedral* (U. Chicago, 2002), *Evolution for Everyone* (Delacorte, 2007), *The Neighborhood Project* (Little Brown & Co., 2011), and *Does Altruism Exist?* (Yale, 2015). He is also coeditor of *The Literary Animal* (Northwestern, 2005) with Jonathan Gottschall and *Pathological Altruism* (Oxford, 2011).



"Mark Twain's 70th Birthday: Souvenir of Its Celebration," Supplement to *Harper's Weekly* December 23, 1905, p. 1895.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6 - QUARRY FARM

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. Breakfast Buffet

9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. Session One: What's In Your Wallet? Cultural Merit and Marginal Utility

- Moderator: Matt Seybold
- Mary McAleer Balkun, "Getting What We Deserve in The (New) Gilded Age"
- Henry Wonham, "The Marginal Revolution in American Literature"

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m. Session Two: Expanding Markets, Constricted Selves

- Moderator: Lawrence Howe
- Michael Anesko, The Man of Business as a Man of Letters: William Dean Howells and the Paradox of Monopoly"
- Sean X. Goudie, "An Archipelagic Gilded Age: Turn-of-the-Century Caribbean Literature, US Empire, and the 'New' Protectionism"
- Sheri-Marie Harrison, "Russell Banks' Global Gilded Age"

1:15p.m. - 2:45 p.m. **Session Three: Old Habits: The Economics of Slavery, Homeownership, and Probate**

- Moderator: Joseph Lemak
- Andrew Kopec, "Twain's Habits: Pudd'nhead Wilson and Institutional Economics"
- Ann Ryan, "Mark Twain and the Price of a Haunted House"
- Lawrence Howe, "Mark Twain and Estate Planning"

3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m. Session Four: Was Capitalism Ever Not Gilded? Will It Always Be?

- Moderator: Henry Wonham
- Nathaniel Cadle, "Imagining Equality: Edward Bellamy in the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries"
- Christian Kloeckner, "The (New) Golden Ages: Forms and Functions of Economic Nostalgia"
- Ranjit Dighe, "Gilded Ages Then and Now: Continuity and Change"

4:45 p.m - 5:30 p.m. **Summary and Response**

- Overview of the day's papers and further thoughts by Matt Seybold
- Followed by a roundtable discussion for all presenters and audience members

7:00 p.m. Closing Reception

The gathering will begin on the Porch at Quarry Farm where people can discuss the day's events, take in the view of the Chemung River Valley, and enjoy an assortment of refreshments.

7:45 p.m. **Closing Remarks and Toast** by Lawrence Howe and Henry Wonham, followed by **Dinner**

Sunday, October 7 - Quarry Farm

8:00 a.m. Farewell Breakfast Buffet



"AMERICAN LITERARY HISTORY AND ECONOMICS IN THE NEW GILDED AGE"

A Quarry Farm Weekend Symposium

ABSTRACTS

(in alphabetical order by last name)

Michael Anesko, *Pennsylvania State University* mwa2@psu.edu

"The Man of Business as a Man of Letters: William Dean Howells and the Paradox of Monopoly"

Most participants in this seminar will recognize that I have inverted the terms of one of Howells's most enduring social essays, "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business," first published in 1893—because I intend to come at some of the issues it raises from the other way round: to look at Howells's professional career less in terms of his artistry than in terms of his income. And, more specifically, in terms of his attitude toward (and anxieties about) money. With a rightful claim to be a son of the frontier (like Twain), Howells had every reason to maintain at least some faith in the individualistic American creed of the self-made-man. Yet, over the span of his career, he felt increasing pressure to incorporate himself into the new systems of large-scale organization that were transforming the literary marketplace of the late nineteenth century. This paper will examine the material underpinnings of that transformation, as they are reflected in Howells's literary situation.

Michael Anesko is Professor of English & American Studies at Pennsylvania State University. He has published extensively on Anglo-American literary culture, including five books that have established critical benchmarks in their respective fields: "Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship (Oxford, 1986); Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells (Oxford, 1997); The French Face of Nathaniel Hawthorne: Monsieur de l'Aubépine and His Second Empire Critics (Ohio State, 2011); Monopolizing the Master: Henry James and the Politics of Modern Literary Scholarship (Stanford, 2012); and, most recently, Generous Mistakes: Incidents of Error in Henry James (Oxford, 2017). He is a General Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Complete Fiction of Henry James and has prepared a new authoritative text of The Portrait of a Lady (2016) for that series. He is also now Co-General Editor of The Complete Letters of Henry James, published by the University of Nebraska Press.

Mary McAleer Balkun, Seton Hall University Mary.Balkun@shu.edu

"Getting What We Deserve in The (New) Gilded Age"

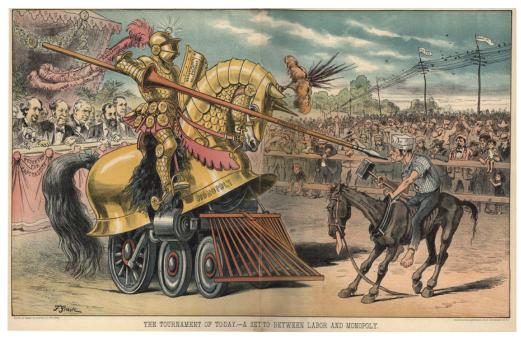
In the early pages of The Gilded Age, we learn that Silas Hawkins, otherwise known as "Squire" Hawkins, has earned his title, not because he has any particular right to it, even by virtue of being the postmaster, "but because in those regions the chief citizens always must have titles of some sort." When he presents his wife with his plan to move the family to Missouri, her response also invokes the sense of what her husband should be getting as opposed to what he has actually earned, especially given that every scheme in which he has invested has failed miserably: "You are out of your place, here, among



Udo J. Keppler "Next!" in *Puck*, v.56, no.1436 (1904 September 7), Originally depicting Standard Oil. Modified, 2017. Illustration from *On The Media*, Cartoon from the Library of Congress

these groping dumb creatures. We will find a higher place, where you can walk with your own kind, and be understood when you speak." In what becomes a consistent theme throughout the novel, Twain and Warner's *The Gilded Age* anticipates an aspect of free-market capitalism that has become ubiquitous in the latter 20th and early 21st centuries, especially in advertising: the emphasis on what the consumer deserves as opposed to what s/he has earned. Whether it's the McDonald's slogan, "You deserve a break today," L'Oreal's "Because you're worth it," or the recent Santander Bank campaign, "Get the respect you deserve," the emphasis on individual worth and personal attainment has become a staple selling point of the free market economy. What is less obvious, however—and what Twain and Warner also anticipated—is the hidden implication of the "you deserve" mentality: that others are somehow not as deserving. In the novel, as well as today, it is those in the know who are somehow meritorious. The impact of this attitude—both in *The Gilded Age* and today—is potentially destructive, both for those who believe it and those affected by it.

Mary McAleer Balkun is Professor & Chair of English at Seton Hall University. She is author of *The American Counterfeit: Authenticity and Identity in American Literature and Culture* (U. Alabama, 2016), as well as articles on Phillis Wheatley, Sarah Kemble Knight, Walt Whitman, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and William Faulkner. She contributed the "Print Revolution & Paper Money" chapter to the *Routledge Companion to Literature & Economics*. She is also associate editor of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Poets and Poetry* (2005). Her interests include material culture, gender studies, women's travel narratives, and identity construction. She is currently working on a study of the grotesque in early American Literature.



Friedrich Graetz, "The Tournament of Today: A Set-To Between Labor and Monopoly" in *Puck* v.13, no.334 (1883 August 1), Image from the Library of Congress

Nathaniel Cadle, Florida International University ncadle@fiu.edu

"Imagining Equality: Edward Bellamy in the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries"

This essay repositions Edward Bellamy's utopian fiction within the long tradition of critique of economic inequality. More specifically, it examines *Equality* (1897), Bellamy's relatively understudied sequel to his own phenomenally popular *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888), within the dual contexts of other writings about the Gilded Age economy, such as Henry George's and Louis Brandeis', as well as of twenty-first-century critiques of resurgent income inequality, such as those of Thomas Piketty and Bernie Sanders. Although presented formally as a sequel, *Equality* extends Bellamy's socialist vision of the future in genuinely radical new directions, and that radicalism, I contend, results directly from Bellamy's adoption of the rhetoric of critique. In Equality, Bellamy exposes the economic causes of the contradictions of U.S. society, particularly what Bellamy describes as Americans' "equal chance to make themselves unequal" (p. 5). As Piketty, Sanders, and other recent critics of economic inequality demonstrate, these contradictions have continued into the twenty-first century, and I argue that Bellamy's utopian fiction remains relevant not only in helping readers to imagine alternative models of social formation that might ensure true equality, but also in disabusing them of the nostalgic notion that capitalism ever really worked in the interests of democracy.

Nathaniel Cadle is Associate professor of English at Florida International University. He is the author of *The Mediating Nation: Late American Realism, Globalization, and the Progressive State* (UNC, 2014), winner of the 2015 SAMLA Studies Book Award. His current book project, tentatively entitled *Realism, the Romantic Revival, and the Rise of Modernism*, examines the popular revival of historical, utopian, and other forms of romantic fiction at the turn of the twentieth century and its impact on the transition from literary realism to modernism. The research for this project has been supported by grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Cadle's most recent work is forthcoming in *The Oxford Handbook of American Literary Realism* (2019).

Ranjit Dighe, SUNY Oswego ranjit.dighe@oswego.edu

"Gilded Ages Then and Now: Continuity and Change"

The term "gilded age," coined by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in their 1873 novel, originally referred to mid-nineteenth-century speculation and corruption but has also come to refer to extreme economic inequality. Political strategist Kevin Phillips used the term Second Gilded Age to describe the Reagan Eighties, and numerous others have attached the term to the technology- and finance-based capitalism of the twenty-first century, with its bubbles, busts, and billionaires. By some yardsticks, income and wealth inequality are now at their highest levels since the First Gilded Age, making the term Second Gilded Age a natural fit. This paper argues, however, that speculation, corruption, and inequality are too common in American economic history to be neatly confined to two eras a century apart. The paper highlights various instances and episodes of those phenomena from the nineteenth century to the present, with particular attention to the Roaring Twenties. In addition to providing historical context, the paper looks briefly at the responses to them from Twain and various members of the commentariat, notably H.L. Mencken.

Ranjit Dighe is Professor of Economics at SUNY Oswego, where he specializes in U.S. economic history, macroeconomics, and sports economics. He is author of *The Historian's Huck Finn: Reading Mark Twain's Masterpiece as Social & Economic History* (Praeger, 2016) and *The Historian's Wizard of Oz: Reading L. Frank Baum's Classic as a Political & Monetary Allegory* (Praeger, 2002). He has also published several papers on wages, prohibition, and Keynesianism during the Great Depression.

Sean X, Goudie, *Pennsylvania State University* sxgoudie@psu.edu

"An Archipelagic Gilded Age: Turn-of-the-Century Caribbean Literature, US Empire, and the 'New' Protectionism"

It should not surprise us to learn that Cuban poet, patriot, and journalist Jose Martí was responsible for exposing Caribbean and Latin American audiences to the writings of Mark Twain through his appreciative reviews published in the 1880s and 90s. In claiming Twain for the wider Americas, Martí recognized a kindred spirit who also sought to strike through the era's decadent trappings and expose underlying economic injustice and hypocrisy. This talk employs Martí as a touchstone for relocating the so-called "American" literary imagination's active engagement with the Gilded Age's political economies to Martí's native Caribbean. It does so by focusing on how "Creole" and "brown" Caribbean literature authored by Martí but also by figures less well known to us today engages US empire and corporate expansionism according to what I identify as a layered "aesthetics of protection" in order to speculate about alternately annexationist, proto-nationalist, or federated Caribbean futures. By approaching the Gilded Age—or what Martí himself coined "La Edad de Oro" ("The Golden Age")—from an archipelagic vantage point, we might broaden the horizons of our understanding of the interdynamics between economics and literary-cultural production during the era.

Sean X. Goudie is Associate Professor of English & Director of the Center for American Literary Studies at The Pennsylvania State University. He is author of *Creole America: The West Indies & The Formation of Literature & Culture in the New Republic* (U. Penn, 2006), which won the MLA Prize for a First Book. Under his

directorship, CALS has undertaken many important initiatives, including the founding of C19: the Society of Nineteenth-Century Americanists and the First Book Institute. His current book project, entitled *The Banana Republic*, examines a range of cultural responses produced both in the Caribbean and in North America to the expansion of several US corporations into the Caribbean and the Caribbean Basin during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sheri-Marie Harrison, *University of Missouri* harrisonsl@missouri.edu

"Russell Banks' Global Gilded Age"

In his 2015 essay "White Boy (American Hunger) and the Angel of History: Russell Banks's Identity Knowledge," Evan Carton argues that Banks's novels provide an illuminating window onto the question of identity construction in that they repeatedly narrate a white identity that is "necessarily incomplete, relational, and creolized"—that seeks to acknowledge and understand white privilege but in the process often ends up recreating the historical violences that underpin it. We might, in this respect, understand Banks's protagonists as descendants of Huck Finn, who simultaneously relates to the slave Jim as a human being but also participates in Jim's degradation at the hands of Tom Sawyer and others.

In this presentation, however, I want to ask what happens if we see Banks as a student not of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* but of Twain's novel with Charles Dudley Warner *The Gilded Age* (1873). In particular, I want to argue that Banks takes up and extends Twain and Warner's exploration of two key features of the Gilded Age, corruption and the privatization of infrastructure. But crucially—as attested by the fact that his racial dramas generally take place between white Americans and blacks from the Caribbean or Africa – Banks goes beyond Twain and Warner in seeing our current Gilded Age as not national but global.

Sheri-Marie Harrison is Associate Professor of English at the University of Missouri where she researches and teaches Caribbean literary and cultural studies, Contemporary global Anglophone literature, and mass culture of the African Diaspora. Her first book *Difficult Subjects: Negotiating Sovereignty in Postcolonial Jamaican Literature* was published by the Ohio State University Press in 2014, and her research has been published in various venues including *Modern Fiction Studies*, *Small Axe*, *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia* and *Los Angeles Review of Books*. She currently serves as a member of University of Missouri Press advisory board, an elected member of the Postcolonial Studies forum of the Modern Languages Association, and the motherboard of the Association for the Study of the Arts of the Present. She has a forthcoming chapter in the multi-volume edited collection *Caribbean Literature in Transition* and is also currently working on a manuscript tentatively titled *After the Beginning Ends: Contemporary Fiction and Iconoclasm*.

Lawrence Howe, *Roosevelt University* LHowe@roosevelt.edu

"Mark Twain and Estate Planning"

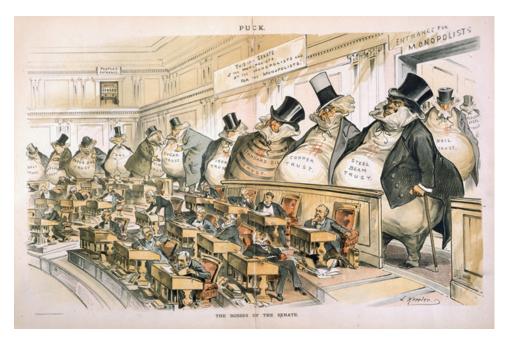
Through much of the early history of the United States, wealth was valued in forms of property—real, moveable, and chattel. A strain of philosophical thought, endorsed by Thomas Jefferson, held that land was a form of usufruct property, a valuable resource that one could profit from but which could not

really be owned in the ways that one owned the fruit of one's labor. Indeed, Jefferson challenged the notion that one could dispose of one's property after death, as did thinkers as diverse as Adam Smith and Thomas Paine.

Concepts of wealth began to change when the industrial revolution introduced technological innovations that increased material production. And the changes accelerated when the Gilded Age ushered in new kinds of economic activity yielding abstract forms of wealth derived from capital appreciation. Much of that wealth was concentrated in the hands of a relative few, prompting calls for the dispersal of estates either through Carnegie-styled philanthropy or taxation. Ideals of social equality and libertarianism have periodically contested the question of inheritance over the last century and a half.

Samuel Clemens's life straddles the two eras, one in which wealth was primarily measured in land and the other in capital. Although he set his sights on the accumulation of wealth rather than its distribution, when writing as Mark Twain he was far more equivocal about the vicissitudes of inheritance. In this paper, I will outline both the lines of his thinking on matters of wealth and ownership in his own estate planning and in two late texts: *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and "The \$30,000 Bequest." He shows remarkable insights about the conceptual power of inheritance and its vulnerability in probate, both in his writings and in his schemes to protect his own property during this fervid era of economic expansion. The biographical man Sam Clemens and the writer Mark Twain assume inheritance as a given, but they diverge on the merits or detriments of what he would sometimes call "the curse of prospective wealth." My analysis aims to correct the prevailing impressions of Sam Clemens as a financial fool and, more importantly, to show how his literary productions were engaged in serious economic and moral questions of the day.

Lawrence Howe is Professor of English at Roosevelt University, where he teaches courses in American literature, African-American literature, Canadian literature, and Film Studies. He is the author of *Mark Twain and the Novel* (Cambridge, 1998), *Refocusing Chaplin: A Screen Icon Through Critical Lenses* (Scarecrow, 2013), and co-editor with Henry Wonham of *Mark Twain & Money: Language, Capital, & Culture* (U. Alabama, 2017). He is President of the Mark Twain Circle and Editor of *Studies in American Humor*, published by Penn State University Press. In 2014-15, he was the Fulbright Distinguished Chair of American Studies at the University of Southern Denmark.



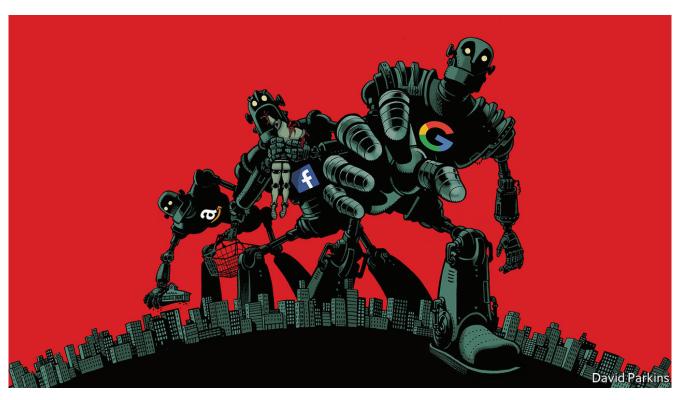
Joseph Keppler, "The Bosses of the Senate" in Puck (23 January 1889) U.S. Senate Collection

Christian Kloeckner, *University of Bonn and Barnard College* ckloeckn@barnard.edu.

"The (New) Golden Ages: Forms and Functions of Economic Nostalgia"

If the phrase "the Gilded Age" stands in a metonymic and arguably nostalgic relation to a mythical "golden age" of the past, as I will argue with respect to Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner's novel and the historical period alike, what does it mean to refer to our contemporary period as the "new" gilded age? While some economic indicators, e.g. levels of wealth inequality, certainly warrant such comparative or serialized framing, I'd like to point to the role of nostalgia in characterizations of the economic present, then and now. If corporate modernity, financial speculation and fraud in the late 19th century seemed to spell the demise of hard work, republican virtue, individual autonomy and the social bonds of local communities, much of current American literature is informed by a yearning for the paternalistic stability of Keynesian industrial capitalism. At stake in these recent writings are not only perennial problems of dealing with finance, e.g. real vs. fictitious value, substance vs. surface, timespace dissolution, but also whether nostalgia can open up a counterfuture of a (new) progressive era.

Christian Kloeckner is Lecturer in North American Studies at Universitat Bonn, as well as a Feodor Lynen Post-doctoral Research Fellow at Barnard College and Columbia University in 2017-2018. He has also received Fulbright American Studies grants for research at Harvard and New York University in 2013-2014. He is author of *The Writing of Terrorism: Contemporary American Fiction & Maurice Blanchot* (Peter Lang, 2017) and has contributed both essays and editorial work to numerous collections and special issues, notably *Beyond 9/11: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Twenty-First Century U.S. American Culture* (Peter Lang, 2013), *Knowledge Landscapes North America* (U. Heidelberg, 2016), and a forthcoming special issue of *Finance & Society* on "Financial Times." He current book project focuses on credit, debt, and nostalgia in American culture.



David Parkins, "How To Tame the Tech Giants" in *The Economist* (18 January 2018).

Andrew Kopec, *Purdue University - Fort Wayne* kopeca@pfw.edu

"Twain's Habits: Pudd'nhead Wilson and Institutional Economics"

During the Gilded Age, both Mark Twain's fiction and Thorstein Veblen's political economy explored why institutions endure. They explored, that is, the problem of habit—acquired but unconscious "propensities," in Veblen's words, that "seek realization and expression in an unfolding activity." Whereas Veblen examined the durability of institutions in general, though, Twain probed the durability of American slavery in particular. As I reveal in a close examination of the character Roxie's attempt to adapt the habits of chattel slavery not only for survival but for financial profit, the 1894 novel *Pudd'nhead Wilson* indeed revealed habits to mediate between individuals and institutions. In doing so, Twain exposed the racialized logic of Gilded Age capitalism. Racialized capitalism, from this perspective, thus figures as what the narrator terms a "fiction of law and custom": a fiction of habits that persist across the nineteenth century.

Andrew Kopec is Assistant Professor of English at Purdue University – Fort Wayne. His scholarship, exploring the relationship between early American literature and the market, has appeared in *Early American Literature*, *ELH*, *ESQ*, *PMLA*, and *The Eighteenth Century*. He authored the "Assymetric Information" chapter in *The Routledge Companion to Literature & Economics*. His book-in-progress, "The Pace of Panic: American Romanticism & The Business Cycle," contributes to a financial turn among Americanists by examining how romantic texts responded to, even exploited, the panics that punctuate life before the Civil War. In doing so, the book reveals the surprising resonances of texts typically dismissed as economically naïve.

Ann Ryan, *Le Moyne College* RyanAM@alumni.lemoyne.edu

"Mark Twain and the Price of a Haunted House"

In *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, Van Wyck Brooks argued, with impressive disdain, that Mark Twain was a sell out, that he "abdicated his independence as a creative spirit." While he places much of the blame on Twain himself, and on his own avarice and insecurity, Brooks also takes aim at Olivia Langdon, daughter of a "stagnant, fresh-water aristocracy," who, according to Brooks, "could not help applying the spur," if Twain failed to earn. Brooks equates Olivia--and all the cultural forces that both seduced and oppressed Twain--with "those august brick-and-stucco Mansard palaces of the Middle states." He imagines Twain's creativity as having been mortgaged to the homes Twain both admired and lived in. While Brooks' almost willful misreading of Olivia has long since been dismissed, his description of Twain as an "opulent householder" lingers. Whatever price Twain paid for the homes he lived in, it seems to have been too high. Every house he builds, rents, or creates in fiction soon becomes haunted by losses of varying degrees and kinds. In this paper, I'd like to explore what it cost for Twain to become a homeowner, and how Twain's home ownership participates in the shifting definitions of masculinity and success at the turn of the century.

Ann Ryan, Professor is O'Connell Professor of the Humanities at Le Moyne College. She is co-editor with Joseph McCullough of *Cosmopolitan Twain* (U. Missouri, 2008) and frequent contributor to journals and collections, including *Mark Twain & Money* (U. Alabama, 2017). She is an emeritus editor of Mark Twain Annual and past president of the Mark Twain Circle of America. In 2013, she was recognized as the seventh Henry Nash Smith Fellow for her important service to the Center for Mark Twain Studies.

Henry Wonham, *University of Oregon* wonham@uoregon.edu

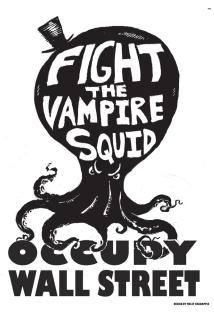
"The Marginal Revolution in American Literature"

Economic historians often deploy the curiously sensational imagery of "revolution" to describe the theoretical innovations that circulated in Europe—and later in England and the United States—beginning in the early 1870s. The so-called "Marginalist (or Neo-Classical) Revolution" challenged classical economic theory in a series of major works by William Stanley Jevons, Carl Menger, and Léon Walras, among others. The new economic thinking gained traction in the United States with the publication of two books by the Carleton College economics professor (and mentor of Thortein Veblen) John Bates Clark, who published The Philosophy of Wealth in 1885 and The Distribution of Wealth: A theory of wages, interest and profits in 1899. This paper attempts to identify the principal theoretical positions that characterize Clark's uniquely American version of marginalist economic understanding. It does so in order to address a fundamental question: to what extent does the "marginal revolution" in American economic thinking manifest itself in literary representations of the Gilded Age economic scene? My preliminary conclusion is that many of the aesthetic dispositions associated with American literary realism (as practiced by William Dean Howells, Theodore Dreiser, and Mark Twain, for example) map onto marginalist thinking about such things as value and social justice with surprising consistency. In effect, I will argue that an under-appreciated "Marginalist Revolution" is at work in late nineteenth century American fiction, and that a firmer understanding of the period's economic theory can shed light on aesthetic innovations that have rarely been approached in economic terms.

Henry Wonham is Professor of English at University of Oregon. He is co-editor with Larry Howe of *Mark Twain & Money* (U. Alabama, 2017) and editor of the new Norton Critical Edition of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (2018). Other publications include *Playing the Races: Ethnic Caricature and American Literary Realism* (Oxford, 2004) and *Mark Twain and the Art of the Tall Tale* (Oxford, 1993), as well as numerous essays and editorial work on Mark Twain, Henry James, Charles Chesnutt, and others. Prof. Wonham is also Associate Editor of *American Literary Realism* and a contributed the "Economics of American Literary Realism" chapter to the *Routledge Companion to Literature & Economics*.



"The Curse of California" *The Wasp* Vol.9, No.316 (19 August 1882) Image from the National Humanities Center.



"Fight the Vampire Squid" Design by Molly Crabapple (2011).



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- At least one month-long and two two-week fellowships will be reserved for graduate students, contingent faculty, and faculty three or fewer years removed from completion of their Ph.D.

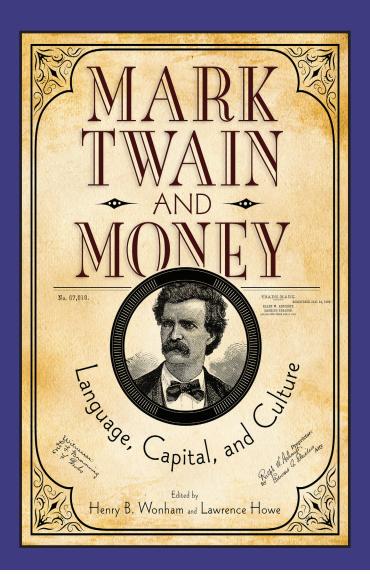


Applications are due: November 30, 2018 Visit: www.marktwainstudies.com for more information.





Edited by Matt Seybold and Michelle Chihara



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