By placing accounts of financial markets in the context of the shift from Victorian liberalism to modern neo-liberalism, I explore the contradictions that appear in contemporary economic theories about the “efficient market”. I also explore the way that organic metaphors that Victorian writers used to describe the market were gradually displaced by another set of metaphors, which gradually came to function not as metaphors but as a model. As the metaphor that informs neo-liberalism began to be operationalized through tools that literally brought this figure to life, the model people used to stimulate the economy began to affect the way the financial market worked. This is one way to understand the crisis of 2008: because the model had taken on a life of its own - and because it had diverged so widely from what it claimed to represent - this model nearly pushed the world into financial ruin.