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History of Economic Thought VIII. The Marginal Revolution

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UNIVERSITÄT **VIII.** The Marginal Revolution

1. Introduction

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- 2. William Stanley Jevons
- 3. Léon Walras
- 4. Carl Menger



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Introduction

- Problems
- Differences
- Sociology
- Precursors



UNIVERSITÄT Introduction

The Situation Before the "Revolution"

- Problems in explaining actual prices in classical terms
 - Labour theory of value
- Problems in exactly showing the interrelations of social and economic phenomena
 - Class conflict or social harmony
- The British and German subjective utility theorists had made important advances
- Classical economics reigned supreme (JS Mill)



Walras and Jevons

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- The quest for mathematical economics
 - Walras with his equations describing general equilibrium
 - Jevons by making utility tractable through differential calculus
- Jevons and Walras closer to the British utilitarian tradition
- Positivist attitude to science

Menger and the Austrians

- Economics can only establish qualitative laws
- Closer to the German and general continental tradition
- Classic / Aristotelian understanding of science



UNIVERSITÄT The Sociology of Economics

Economics as Profession

- In general, the period saw the "professionalisation" of economics – everyone treated here university professors (eventually)
- Economics becomes an academic discipline the gifted amateur and the man of affairs no longer make theoretical contributions

A few Precursors Passed Over in Silence

- Mathematical economists Daniel Bernoulli, Auguste Cournot, Jules Dupuit
- German economists Hermann Heinrich Gossen and Johann • Heinrich von Thünen
- Of varying importance will be passed over in silence



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2. William Stanley Jevons (1835-82)

The Man

- From Unitarian background, went to University College, London 1850, studied chemistry, math
- Assayer at the Australian mint in Sydney 1854-59, began studying social questions while there. Decided to make the "study of man" his vocation
- Returned to University College, London 1860, graduated 1862

His Works

- Published work on value of gold 1863, became famous with his Coal Question 1865
- Professor of logic, moral and mental philosophy at Owens College, Manchester 1866, professor of political economy at University College, London, 1876, resigned 1880 to devote all his time to research
- Key writings: Theory of Political Economy 1871, Principles of Science 1874, Money and the Mechanism of Exchange 1875



UNIVERSITÄT The Jevonian Revolution



Subjectivism

- Value is subjective
- Methodological individualism •
- Benthamite utilitarianism re-interpreted and applied

Search for Scientific Rigour

- Application of mathematics to economics
- Economics is like natural science: there are necessary quantitative laws
- Numbers can express everything

Method/Procedure

- Invent hypotheses, compare deductions from • these to experience
- Jevons did not aim at an "axiomatic" economics - what mattered was the realism of a theory, not its logical construction



UNIVERSITÄT Jevons and Utilitarianism

Building on Bentham

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- Jevons founded his theory on utilitarian ideas
- Use value or utility one-dimensional and quantitative •
- Felicific calculus reduced to two factors: intensity and duration •
- The quantity of pleasure determined by their product •
- Time and intensity continuous variables, hence so is utility •

Application

- Utility is always a relationship between a person and an object •
- An object can have different utility to different persons
- What matters is the *increment in utility* when the quantity of the object increases the *final degree of* utility
- Each individual signals this magnitude to him by his readiness to pay for a given commodity
- We can compare different persons' evaluation of the same object •
- But we cannot construct a social felicific calculus (or social utility function), since people may • attribute different degrees of utility to the same amount of money



UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG Rational Choice

Opposition to Classical Economics (and Benthamism)

- Jevons wanted to reduce economics to the theory of rational choice
- Economics only concerned with "needs of the lowest order"
- Each person assumed perfectly rational when calculating his utility function
- But it is impossible to make interpersonal comparisons of utility, so there is no consequentialist ethics

Utility and Prices

- The exchange value of a good is equal to its marginal utility
- And to the marginal disutility of labour necessary to obtain it
- The quantity of a good produced and consumed is determined simultaneously with its exchange value
 - Notion of indifference a necessary implication



UNIVERSITÄT Capital and Rent

Capital

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- Is "the aggregate of those commodities which are required for sustaining labourers of any kind or class engaged in work" and "simply allows us to expend labour in advance"
- Distinction between amount of capital invested, and the amount of investment of capital ٠
 - Former simply quantity of capital
 - Latter has two dimensions, quantity of capital and duration
 - * "Average time of investment of the whole amount" the ratio between first and second
 - Foreshadows Böhm-Bawerk's average period of production, lot of ink spilled here
 - > Jevons is the first to give graphical presentation of capital structure in the form of a triangle – foreshadows Hayek

Rent

- Jevons follows Ricardo on rent, natural resources nothing new here
- Jevons soon overshadowed by Alfred Marshall "all the good in Jevons is incorporated in Marshall" so there's no need to read him (allegedly)



"Jevons's Only Disciple"

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- Unitarian minister, classical scholar
- Wicksteed was initially a Georgist before encountering Jevons •

Subjective Value Theory

- Wicksteed took the theory to its natural conclusion, applied it to all fields of human activity
- Subjective value connected to opportunity cost
 - The cost of production is simply "the marginal significance of something else"
 - > The supply curve for any commodity is simply the reverse demand curve for the set of all other commodities (shades of Say's Law)

An Essay on the Co-Ordination of the Laws of Distribution (1894)

- One of the first works illustrating marginalist theory of wages, profits and rents •
- Income distribution is not arbitrary or simply down to class conflict
- Income is based on the marginal productivity of the factors of production •



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3. Marie Esprit Léon Walras (1834-1910) The Man

- Trained at the *Ecole des mines*, failed entrance exam at the *Ecole polytechnique*
- Gave up engineering for journalism, worked at the *Journal des économistes*, as clerk at the railways, as bank director
- Gained teaching position at the Academy (later university) of Lausanne 1870, nominated to chair of political economy next year, retired 1892

His Works

• *Elements d'économie pure* 1874, fourth edition 1900, "definitive" French edition 1926. First of three planned volumes



UNIVERSITÄT Walras's Inspirations

Key Inspirations

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- French mathematical economics
- Developments in mechanics, physics

Walras the Elder

- Walras's father Antoine (1801-66) an important economist
- Concept of numéraire
- Distinction between capital goods and their services
- Capitalists and entrepreneurs





UNIVERSITÄT Walras's Vision

The Plan of Work

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- Three volumes dealing with A) pure economics; B) applied economics; C) social economics
 - A) Deals with the laws of exchange, similar to the natural laws of physics, but dealing with facts of humanity, not natural facts
 - B) The subject here is the production of wealth, the division of labour, industrial organisation
 - C) Social economics deal with problems of distribution, including ethical issues

The Vision Behind

- (A) closely connected to natural sciences and their method, (B) to social sciences, and (C) to philosophy
- The core of economics thus deal with exact, quantitative laws
 - Applied and social issues are less certain
 - * The method of (A) applied to (B) and (C)



UNIVERSITÄT **General Equilibrium**

The Freely Competitive Market

- An analytical assumption and an ethical ideal •
- Paris Bourse of his day the archetype: the auctioneer calls out a price, adjust the call as . demand is higher or lower than supply
 - Exchanges only take place once equilibrium reached
- Basis for Walras's tâtonnement process: initial price set at random (crié au hasard), then • adjusted in process of trial and error

Pure Exchange Economy

- The data of the problem consist of •
 - The number of commodities and economic agents
 - Their preferences and the endowments of each commodity for each agent
- Preferences are expressed by individual demand function for different goods •
 - Derived from utility functions
 - Utility is a measurable quantity



UNIVERSITÄT Pure General Equilibrium

Equilibrium Definition

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- The solution to a system of equations, illustrated by the *tâtonnement* process
- In pure exchange, there are for each individual as many demand functions as there are commodities
 - Each function express demand as a function of the price of the commodity (expressed in the numéraire commodity), all other prices, and the initial endowments
- Demand functions for each commodity added up to give aggregate demand functions
- Individual budget constraints are reflected in a system of equations expressing aggregate equilibrium • conditions (supply = demand)

Resulting Equations

- Two groups of equations: demand functions and conditions of equilibrium
- The number of equations in each group equal to number of commodities ٠
 - > If *n* commodities, then 2n-1 equations
- Number of equations equal to number of unknowns: n-1 relative prices in terms of numeraire ٠ commodity, *n* number of commodities
- Once prices are determined, the quantities bought and sold follow from demand functions •
- Result: the prices of the various commodities proportional to their *raretés*, their marginal utility •



Equilibrium – Production and Exchange

Further Assumptions

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- To examine production, we now assume that each individual has an endowment of capital goods
 - * Land, capital goods in the real sense (machines etc.) and personal capital goods (skills)
- Production functions are known
- Constant returns to scale
- Capital goods owners hire out services to entrepreneurs, latter organise production and sell products
 - Profits limited by competition to wages of direction

New Sets of Equations

- Production functions ensure equality between costs of production and value of each consumption good
- New group of demand functions: for services of capital goods, equal to their number
- New group of equations expressing equilibrium conditions for capital goods markets
- The new equations correspond to number of additional unknowns
 - Prices of capital goods service in terms of numeraire
 - Quantities demanded of each service
 - Y Quantities produced of different consumption goods
- Tâtonnement process much more complex in capital markets



Equilibrium – Accumulation and Credit

Credit

- Treated of in "real terms", i.e., in terms of the commodity chosen as numeraire
- New commodity introduced to model accumulation: *E* (for *épargne*), yields one unit of numeraire commodity per year in perpetuity
 - Price of E thus equal to inverse of interest rate
 - > Demand for E: from entrepreneurs wanting to invest in new capital goods
 - Supply of E: from savers (capitalists)

Accumulation and Capital Markets

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- Demand and supply of E therefore depends on preference for present consumption over future and on the return on investment of new capital goods
- One new equation, since one new unknown in form of price of E
- It is possible to define, for each capital good, a rate of return given by its net income divided by its price
 - Investment in different capital goods must yield rates of return equal to the interest rate equating demand and supply of E
 - In equilibrium, demand=supply for each capital good
 - If some good yields a higher rate of return, expansion of its production results, and conversely for a good with a lower rate of return



UNIVERSITÄT Equilibrium – Money

- In the final stage of analysis, Walras introduces money
- Money is a bridge by which economic agents can cross time intervals between outlays and takings
- Strict contradiction emerges:
 - Walras's insistence on static nature of equilibrium and full certainty
 - Notion of money as something more than the *numéraire*
 - Not clear what role of money is in Walras's theory
- Net demand for money depends on the rate of interest, this is the ۲ opportunity cost of money
- Overall problem for Walras and his followers: demonstrating the existence, uniqueness and stability of an overall equilibrium



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4. Carl Menger (1840-1921)

The Man

- Born in Neu-Sandec, Galicia to family of prosperous craftsmen, officials, army officers
- Studied in Vienna (1859-60) and Prague (1860-63), took doctor's degree in Krakow
- Worked as journalist in Lemberg and Vienna
- Reporting on the state of the markets for the *Wiener Zeitung* made Menger aware of the glaring contrast between traditional theories of value and what businessmen thought and did

His Works

- Wrote the Principles of Economics (1871) in "state of morbid excitement"
- Professor at Vienna Privatdozent 1872, extraordinary professor 1873
- Tutor to Crown Prince Rudolph 1876-78, called to new chair of political economy by the emperor 1879, retired 1903



UNIVERSITÄT Menger's Works



- Principles of Economics 1871
- Investigations into the Method of the Social Sciences 1883
- Other smaller works criticizing the historical school
- An important essay on capital theory
- Smaller works on money: e.g., the 1892 article on the origins of money



UNIVERSITÄT Menger's Goal

Price Theory

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- A uniform theory of price built from first principles
- Everything deduced from first principles
- Uniform causal explanation: individual human wants

Influence

- The German historical school
 - Roscher: Economics studies laws of development
- The German subjective utility theorists
 - * Theory of goods, connection to individual human wants
 - Focus on human action, activity of want-satisfaction



The Nature of Economics

- Clear, qualitative laws not quantitative
 - Menger: "All things are subject to the law of cause and effect"
- Mathematics not applicable as a method •
- Letter to Walras 1883: the Austrian school fundamentally different, ۲ mathematics is *in principle* not a method for advancing economics

Economic Method

- Research into economic phenomena has to proceed deductively from first causes
- The "analytic-compositive method"
- Methodological individualism
- Thoroughgoing subjectivism



UNIVERSITÄT The Theory of Value and Exchange

Explaining Exchanges

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- The inequality of subjective valuations the foundation for exchange
- A person always prefers what he gets to what he gives up
- Reverse valuations lead to exchange

Nature of Value and Goods

- Value cannot be measured: a thing has value if a person thinks it helps him achieve an end
- Valuable things are goods
- An object is only an *economic* good if its supply is limited, i.e., if there is not enough of it to fulfil all human wants
- Goods are valued according to the end the last unit serves



UNIVERSITÄT Marginal Utility

Example of Water

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- First litre used for drinking, second for cleaning, third for plants, then animals, then fountain
- Since units are interchangeable, its only the last satisfied want, lowest on the value scale that determines the value to the person

Marginal Utility and Exchange

- A person will only acquire one more unit of any good, if the end he can then fulfil is ranked above what he gives up
- Similarly, the value of the unit he gives up in exchange determined by the lowest-ranked end
- There is always inequality, always preferring and setting aside
- Opportunity costs are baked in from the beginning



UNIVERSITÄT **Price Formation**

Consumer Goods

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- Consumer goods are valued for their immediate contribution to wants satisfaction
- They are immediate means to the ends humans pursue
- They are what Menger terms first-order goods
- The value of consumer goods are determined directly by subjective utility

Producer Goods

- Producer goods are goods used to produce consumer goods
- Their value derive from the value of the consumer goods they ultimately ٠ contribute to producing
 - Second-order goods are valued for their ability to produce first-order goods
 - Third-order goods are valued for their ability to produce second-order goods
- Producer goods are ordered in a structure or hierarchy ٠



UNIVERSITÄT **Price Formation**

Marginal Valuations

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- The price of a thing is set between the valuations of the seller and the buyer
- Menger's example •
 - Person A values 40 units of wine up to 100 units of grain
 - Person B values 40 units of wine up to 80 units of grain
- The exchange will take place at a price between 81 and 99 units of grain
 - Indeterminate beyond that, set by bargaining

Marginal Pairs Analysis

- Extending the market narrows the zone of indeterminacy, but it does not ۲ eliminate it
- The full analysis worked out by Böhm-Bawerk 1889
- Note: the paradox of value is a non-issue to Menger and the marginalists



UNIVERSITÄT The Development of Money

Organic Institutions

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- In his polemics against the historicists, Menger worked out a theory of organic institutions
- Institutions developed over time as the "by-product" of purposeful human action •
- Money the prime example of such an institution •

The Development of Money

- Money emerged to overcome the problems of direct exchange
 - Coincidence of wants
 - Divisibility of goods
- Under these conditions, exchanges very costly •
- Individual self-interest lead people to seek indirect ways to achieve their ends •
- They exchange what they have for goods they think can more easily be sold •
- As indirect exchange develop, the precious metals were selected as most suitable •
 - > Due to their qualities: divisible, durable, valuable, etc.



Marketability

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- How easily a good can be sold for other goods
- Differences in marketability the precondition for indirect ۲ exchange to emerge

Functions of Money

- Money is simply and only the general medium of exchange
- Other functions are derivative
 - Unit of account
 - Store of value
 - Standard of deferred payments \triangleright



UNIVERSITÄT Menger on the development of money

As *each* economizing individual becomes increasingly more aware of his economic interest, he is led by this interest, without any agreement, without legislative compulsion, and even without regard to the public interest, to give his commodities in exchange for other, more saleable, commodities, even if he does not need them for any immediate consumption purpose.



UNIVERSITÄT Capital Theory

Menger's Capital Concept

- Critical of "real" capital concepts, as used in German and classical economics
- Capital means simply what merchants mean by it
 - > The money equivalent of the goods devoted to production
- For this reason very critical of Böhm-Bawerk's later theory

Entrepreneurs and Capital

- Entrepreneurs employ capital to produce goods
- They buy/hire services of higher-order goods
- Combine them to produce lower-order goods
- Then sell product to new set of entrepreneurs/to the consumers
- Capital goods do not earn interest, they are paid prices for their services
- But interest theory not really developed the one lacuna in Menger's theory



UNIVERSITÄT Friedrich von Wieser and Marginal Utility

Wieser (1851-1926) with Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk (1851-1914) central to developing Menger's Austrian school

Marginal Utility and Imputation

- First use of the term marginal utility (Grenznutz) in Wieser's 1884 Origin and • Fundamental Laws of Economic Value
- The value of the means of production determined through imputation

Opportunity Costs

- The costs of production interpreted as the sacrifice of utility which could have been realised through a different use of the means
- One key difference from Wicksteed
 - Wieser emphasises the subjective character of opportunity costs
 - Derived from entrepreneurs' evaluations, not technological data ≻



Distribution Theory Turned Around

- Distribution now clearly and closely tied to production
- Marginal productivity, contribution to the product, determines the prices of all factors of production
- In principle, all factors earn same kind of income no essential differences between e.g., land and labour income

Unsettled Questions

- What about interest, return on capital?
- What about the production and reproduction of capital goods, and the difference between gross and net profits?
- The principles of distribution still took some working out there are *some* differences between land and labour we need to take into account, after all



UNIVERSITÄT Different revolutions, but some common ground

A great deal of debate within and between the different schools down to the mid-twentieth century

Common Ground

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- Economic theory is real, applicable to reality
- Free markets still the basic conclusion of all ۲

Austrian Distinctiveness

- Caught up in debate with the theory-denying historicists until 1920s
- Distinction to mathematical economics clear beginning with Mises ۲
- Continued liberal, free market leaning ۰

Alfred Marshall and the Marshallians

- Moderate in their theoretical positions (stick the maths in the appendix)
- Moderate in their policy conclusions (progressively more interventionist)