

Menger and his Library*

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1. Unsettled problems and the library.

Carl Menger, the founder of the Austrian school, developed his ideas in two works, his *Principles* and his *Methodology*.¹⁾ In laborious unwieldy sentences he covered each point of his theories. The later interpreters of Menger, however, were not satisfied with his printed words. They asked more and more questions for which the published books did not give answers.

Where the printed word does not give sufficient evidence there is ample room for construction. Strange rumors about Menger's work were spread by serious scholars. Pantaleoni and Weinberger wrote that Menger has copied a whole series of older writers, especially Gossen and Mangoldt.²⁾ Others said that Menger was disappointed by the work done by his followers. Less sensational and more serious were the questions which dealt with the significance of his forerunners, the true meaning of his value theory, and the philosophical background of his methodology.

These and other questions can now be answered with the help of unpublished material in the Menger library of the Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tokyo. Menger, the avid reader and great collector

of books, used his library as a depository for new thoughts. The margins and other white spaces of printed pages are covered with ideas in the state of development, and with critical remarks which are not always gentle. Often he expressed approval and disapproval in vigorous underlinings, in marginal strokes, in question marks, and in exclamation points. The Hitotsubashi library has published a two-volume catalogue, but a critical edition of Menger's notes does not exist.³⁾ As a preliminary attempt the following pages deal with the relation of the material in the library to these questions. The books which contain the Menger remarks essential for our purpose are Aristotle's *Nicomachean ethics*, Kudler's textbook, Gossen's system, John Stuart Mill's *Principles* in the German translation, Überweg's *History of Philosophy*, and Oskar Kraus' penetrating analysis of the Aristotelian elements in Menger's value theory.⁴⁾ Many other books also contain Menger's remarks as marginal notes.

Menger's author's copy is a curiosity. The au-

*) The author thanks the faculty and the library staff of Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tokyo, Japan for their kind interest and their very generous help.

1) Carl Menger, *Grundsätze Der Volkswirtschaftslehre*. Wien. Wilhelm Braumüller. 1871. Same author, *Untersuchungen über die Methode der Socialwissenschaften und der Politischen Oekonomie insbesondere*. Leipzig. Duncker & Humblot. 1883.

2) Maffeo Pantaleoni, *Principii di Economia Pura*. Florence, G. Barbera, 1889. P. 121. "Carl Menger, who has perpetrated the most impudent plagiarism on Cournot, Gossen, Jennings, and Jevons. Not even Bastiat has dared to exploit Carey in such a manner." (My translation). Ottone Weinberger, "Economia matematica". *Atti, Societa Reale di Napoli*, vol. LIX, 1938.

3) *Katalog der Carl Menger-Bibliothek in der Hitotsubashi Universität*. vol. I. 1929; Vol. II. 1955

4) *Nikomachische Ethik*, übersetzt von Dr. I. Rieckher. Stuttgart. I. B. Metzler. 1856. (M. L. The abbreviation M. L. means that the book belongs to the Menger library.) Dr. Joseph Kudler, *Die Grundlehren der Volkswirtschaft*, Erster oder theoretischer Theil. Wien Braumüller und Seidel. 1846. (M. L.) Hermann Heinrich Gossen, *Entwicklung der Gesetze des menschlichen Verkehrs, und der daraus fließenden Regeln für menschliches Handeln*. Braunschweig. Vieweg. 1854. (First edition) (M. L.) John Stuart Mill, *Grundsätze der politischen Oekonomie*. Adolf Soetbeer translation. Hamburg Perthes-Besser und Mauke 1864. (M. L.) Friedrich Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie der Neuzeit*. Berlin. Mittler. 1872. (M. L.) Oscar Kraus, "Die Aristotelische Werttheorie in Ihren Beziehungen zu den Lehren der Modernen Psychologenschule." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*. Tübingen 1905. Reprint sent by the author to Menger. (M. L.)

thor's copy consists of Menger's own principles with one or several blank pages bound between two printed pages.⁵⁾ The blank pages as well as the printed part contain corrections of style and grammar as well as references. This book does not, however, bridge the gap between the first and the second edition of Menger's *Principles*. Only infrequent indications of future trends can be found. The actual manuscripts of the second edition as well as an unfinished paper on Wundt, mentioned by Karl Menger junior, are not in the library. Whether and where these papers exist, is unknown. Their discovery could shed some light on the intellectual attitude of the old man.

The notes in his book collection were, with few exceptions, written before 1900. They cover the time in which he prepared his two standard works (1860(?)—1883) and the later period (1883—1900) in which he watched the impact of his ideas on friends and opponents. Most of our questions refer to the time before 1900.

2. The Aristotelian background.

A study of Menger's notes confirms the opinion of Oskar Kraus, shared by this writer, that the father of the Austrian school was a late follower of Aristotle.⁶⁾ His value theory is an application of the Nicomachean ethics, and his philosophy of social sciences is based on categories taken from Aristotle's metaphysics.

In his library Menger's philosophical convictions are not as well documented as his value theory. Karl Menger, the son, kept the bulk of his father's philosophical library. With the scanty material available, the case for Aristotelian elements in Menger's meth-

odology cannot be buttressed as well as Menger's opposition to the great opponent of Aristotle—Kant. Although eminent scholars do not agree with me, I claim that the Kantian influence can easily be overrated.⁷⁾

It was as a student of Aristotle and not as a Kantian or Neo-Kantian, that Menger wrote his epistemology.⁸⁾ His attitude towards Kant is clarified by his remarks in Überweg, *History of Modern Philosophy*. Überweg's book was a standard text in the last third of the nineteenth century. Menger was a conscientious reader of this work before he wrote his "Untersuchungen".⁹⁾ He was thoroughly acquainted

7) In the following papers the Kantian influence on Menger has been emphasized: W. Stark, *The History of Economics*. New York 1944. P. 3. J. Dobretsberger "Zur Methodenlehre C. Mengers und der Österreichischen Schule". *Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie*, Heft 2—4, 1949, also in: *Neue Beiträge zur Wirtschaftstheorie*. Hans Mayer Festschrift, p. 78 et seq., p. 81, 87.

Kozo Sugimura, "Inquiry into Menger's Methodology of Social Sciences". *Shogakukenkkyu*, 1926. Same author, "Wirtschaftlichkeit (Some Problems of Philosophy of Economic Thinking)". 1935. Yuzo Yamada, "Carl Menger". (*The Formation of Modern Economics* edited by the author, 1955)

I owe the knowledge of the Japanese literature to the kind services of Professor Yuzo Yamada, Hitotsubashi University, Kunitachi, Tokyo, Japan. The Japanese interpretation is based on two lengthy Kant quotations in Menger's author copy (blank pages after p. VI and VII.) The quotations are from the first and the second edition of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. (Ernst Cassirer's Kant edition. Vol. III. Berlin 1922. p. 6, p. 13)

The significance of both quotations can be easily overrated. Kant warns here against inconsistency, and Menger uses these remarks to mount an attack against the eclectic economists. Menger knows Kant but is not a follower of Kant.

For the opposition to Kant in Austria during the nineteenth century, see R. Mühlherr, "Ontologie und Monadologie in der österreichischen Literatur des XIX Jahrhunderts". *Festschrift der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Wien. 1948.

8) Emil Kauder, "Philosophical and Political Roots..."

9) The assumption that Menger read this book

5) This procedure is very common with Austrian and German publishing houses. Menger changed in the author's copy the title of his book to "Allgemeine Theoretisch Wirtschaftslehre." The period in which he worked mainly with this copy lies before 1892, because the finder's reward for bringing the book when lost is expressed in Austrian guilders, a currency which was replaced by crowns in 1892.

6) Emil Kauder, "Intellectual and Political Roots of the Older Austrian School". *Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie*, Vienna, Austria. 1958. Vol. XVII, 4. P. 411 et seq.

with Kant before the Philosophy of Social Sciences was published.¹⁰⁾ He objected to Kant's subjective idealism, i. e. to Kant's main idea that the logical concepts (a priori categories) are necessary forms of our mind and have no bearing on the independent existence of reality (das Ding an sich).

Kant, so Menger remarks, does not see pure reason operating in the theoretical economy.¹¹⁾ More revealing is Menger's remark to a footnote of Überweg. Überweg claimed that the mathematical principles of a circle or a triangle are valid not only for the constructions of our mind but also for real triangles and circles. Mathematical principles are not relations which exist only in our minds, but they exist also in nature, outside of our minds. Menger wrote on the margin "Very important for my doctrine."¹²⁾ Überweg's remarks were so important for Menger because he sought, as a student of his Greek mentor, the necessary relations in social reality. He was not concerned, as were the Kantians, with the necessary relations which exist between the phenomena of our mind. Unlike his great successor Max Weber he did not see the possibilities which a modern interpretation of Kant may have for the philosophy of social sciences. Max Weber correctly characterized Carl Menger's marginal utility theory as a rational scheme for covering human needs. (rationales Schema der Bedarfsdeckung)¹³⁾. In spite of his Kantian back-

ground, the great sociologist interpreted the Aristotelian Carl Menger quite adequately.

before he published his study on methods is based on three facts: First, Menger marked thoroughly, as he always did when he prepared a new manuscript. Second, Überweg's Francis Bacon analysis has a strong influence on Menger's presentation of Bacon. Überweg, pp. 37—42, Menger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 41. Third, Menger seeks in Überweg's work, arguments for his own thinking.

10) Überweg's Kant explanation, pp. 172—173, is well marked up. Menger had also read Kant. Menger's Kant reference, Überweg, p. 149, the page reference (Kant, p. 172) could not be found. Till now I had assumed that Menger read Kant after the Methodology was finished. This assumption is wrong.

11) Überweg, p. 172. Menger's remark: "Er (Kant E. K.) sieht in der theor[etischen] Natok [Nationalökonomie] keine reine Vernunft."

12) Überweg, p. 150. fn. Menger's remark: "Sehr wichtig für meine Lehre!!"

The impact of the Nicomachean ethics on the Austrian economist can be understood better from his library notes than from his printed works. In his *Principles*, Menger describes the consumer's planning. Buying for the household may be swayed by whims and fancies, but overall guidance is provided by a general framework which results from the interweaving of two groups of purposes, i. e., the kind of wants and their importance for human welfare. The classes of wants are, e. g., food, clothing, housing, etc. For which group of needs the next good will be purchased is contingent on the scale of welfare purposes, which Menger ranks as follows: conservation of life, preservation of health, materialization of comfort and amusement. Better than Menger, who used Arabic and Roman numerals, James Bonar illustrated the interplay of needs and welfare goals in the following table:¹⁴⁾

Degrees	I. Food	II. Clothing	III. Lodging	IV. Smoking
First	Necessary for life			
Second	Necessary for health	First suit necessary		
Third	Agreeable	Second suit, convenient	1 room	
Fourth	Less keenly agreeable	Third suit desirable	2 rooms	4 pipes a day
Fifth	Still less keenly agreeable	Fourth suit not unacceptable	3 rooms	8 pipes a day
Sixth	Satiety	Fifth suit, satiety	4 rooms	Satiety

The origin of this welfare scale is in the Nicomachean ethics, as Oskar Kraus has proven. Aristotle's secondary virtues—the virtues of the body, health, force, wealth, etc.—are parts of Menger's scale. This is not a conjecture.¹⁵⁾ Menger knew about this ori-

13) See the excellent essay by Yuzo Deguchi, "The Economic Theory Conceived by Max Weber". *Economic Review*. Kyoto University. Vol. XXVII. No. 1. April 1957, p. 1 et seq.

14) Carl Menger, *Grundsätze*, pp. 85—91. James Bonar, "The Austrian Economists and Their View of Value". *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Oct. 1888. P. 7. (M. L.). The reprint is dedicated to Menger; apparently Menger did not read it.

15) A thorough knowledge of Aristotle is not so remarkable in Old Austria. High school students

gin !! He studied, blue pencilled, and annotated the German translation of the Aristotelian ethics. Thirty-six years after he had published the *Principles* he read Oskar Kraus and, to judge from the markings, agreed with the Prague philosopher.

Aristotelianism and hedonism do not dovetail. That Menger opposed the pleasure-pain calculation of Bentham and Gossen is much stronger emphasized in the notes of the library than in his printed words. Gossen, so Menger remarks, stresses enjoyment too much. He does not pay sufficient attention to the preservation of life.¹⁶⁾

3. Forerunners, followers, and foes.

The Nicomachean ethics is not the only root of Menger's value theory. Observation and the study of past and present economists are the other sources. As a young man, while working on price statistics, Menger became interested in the value problem.¹⁷⁾ He also waded through a considerable amount of German, French, and Italian literature.¹⁸⁾

Two great footnotes read like a history of the value in use concept. The printed footnotes do not mention Kudler; and yet, according to the library, he is an important forerunner of Menger! Not Carl Menger, but Joseph Ritter von Kudler (1786—1853), from 1821 professor of political science and law at the University of Vienna, started the value discussion at the University of Vienna.¹⁹⁾ The young Menger read and reread Kudler's book till the copy owned by the future economist was well thumbed and dilapidated. Menger was especially interested

in Kudler's theory of relative value (Der verglichene Wert).²⁰⁾ Kudler taught that man compares the different purposes for which commodities can be used. The greater the intensity and urgency of a specific goal, the higher the rank of the good. Kudler's theory foreshadowed Menger's estimation of goods according to their welfare purposes.

It may be a slip of the mind that Menger, so accurate otherwise, forgot to include Kudler in his published list of forerunners. The exhaustive list of names and theories referring to value in the *Principles* shows that Menger did not intentionally gloss over the merits of his forerunners. But Pantaleoni and Weinberger claim that Menger conveniently forgot to mention two of his most important predecessors—Gossen and Mangoldt.

In the Hitotsubashi library, new facts have been discovered which make it unlikely that Menger had copied either author. Menger, indeed, had studied Julius (Gyula) Kautz, who is the earliest author who mentions Gossen (1858).²¹⁾ Menger underlined the two Gossen quotations.²²⁾ But it is still very doubtful that Menger had read Gossen before he finished his "*Grundsätze*". Menger had bought his copy of Gossen on May 8th, 1886.²³⁾ The pages are marked in many places. Menger always did this when he studied an author for the first time. Menger did not approve of Gossen. Menger rejects Gossen's purely hedonistic approach, his emphasis on labor, and the application of mathematics in the realm of psychology.²⁴⁾ It is not very probable, to say the least, that

had to read Aristotle in the original Greek. Aristotle is quoted several times in the *Grundsätze*. Quotations in the original edition. Pp. 2, 108, 153, 173, 277. (These are footnotes.) Menger added quotations from Aristotle in his author's copy blank pages after p. 164, 170, 178, 271, 277, 279.

16) Menger's remark in his Gossen copy, p. 38. See also author's copy blank page before the table of contents: "Das Leben ist nicht höchstes Ziel für alle..."

17) Interview of the writer with Richard Schüller. See also C. Menger, *Grundsätze*, *op. cit.* p. 59, 60 fn.

18) *Grundsätze*. Fn. p. 78—80, pp. 108—113.

19) W. Lustkandl, *Sonnenfels und Kudler*. Wien 1891. (M. L.)

20) A special economic curriculum did not exist in Old-Austria, but each law student was also required to study economics.

21) Julius Kautz, *Die Nationalökonomie als Wissenschaft*. Wien. Gerold. 1858. (M. L.) Same author, *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Nationalökonomie*. Wien. Gerold. 1860. (M. L.)

22) Kautz, *Die Nationalökonomie*. P. 9. *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung*. P. 704.

23) Note on the title page of Menger's copy of Gossen.

24) Here is Menger's remark from the inside front cover of his copy of Gossen. Where I completed words, completion is indicated by square brackets. Some words are illegible.

"Gossen fehlt: Für ihn hat Arbeit (technische)

a writer copies another author whose methods and findings he does not consider acceptable.

There is also reason to believe that Menger was unaware of Mangoldt's condensed version of the marginal utility theory. He read Mangoldt so far Weinberger is correct. In Menger's copy of Mangoldt, pages 1—8 are rather heavily marked. No remark or pencil stroke can be found in the chapter of Mangoldt which deals with marginal utility. Mangoldt's value theory is hidden away in his mathematical section. Apparently, Menger disliked to read mathematical economics. He owned the works of Cournot, Jevons, and Walras, but most of the pages are not even cut. He read Auspitz' and Lieben's mathematical price theory, but with great misgivings.²⁵⁾ He did not approve of the method on which mathematical economics is based.

4. Menger and the economics of his age.

The reason why Menger disliked mathematics is not a lack of training in this field. In Austrian high schools, mathematics was taught very thoroughly. He opposed mathematical economics because he did not think that the assumptions of mathematical treatment can be applied to economics. Stronger than in his published books, and even in his letters to Walras, this opposition is expressed in his handwritten notes in Auspitz' and Lieben's book, and in the German translation of John Stuart Mill.

Most mathematical theories are based on the equilibrium concept, which does not fit into Menger's system. Menger, in his comments to Auspitz and Lieben, accepts neither the *ceteris paribus* clause nor the equality of marginal costs and marginal utility under equilibrium conditions.²⁶⁾ Equilibrium and

eine ganz exceptionelle Stellung. Alle Mängel der mathem[atischen] Methode in psychol[ogischen] Dingen. Nur Genuss-nicht Wichtigkeit für Leben und Wohlfahrt (Höchster Genuss des ganzen Lebens) Arbeit und Genuss ähnlich wie bei Bastiat (?) [the last two words cannot be deciphered.] See also Menger's remarks to Gossen, p. 38. "Gossen schreibt dem Genuss zu hohe Bed[eutung] zu Wichtigk[eit] für Erhaltung des Lebens etc. übersieht er."

25) Auspitz und Lieben, *Zur Theorie des Preises*. Leipzig. Dunker & Humblot. 1887. (M. L.)

26) Auspitz & Lieben, *op. cit.* P. 2, 5.

functional logic contradict Menger's monistic concept of causality.

Menger assumes that the chain of cause and effect starts with the rational choice of the consumer. He criticizes John Stuart Mill who begins the causal sequence with the costs, and ends it with the demand. Menger asks how can the value of these elements be determined?²⁷⁾ He also rejects Mill's equilibrium theory. Mill claims that in the long run, the market price is identical with the natural price. Mill compares the market price with the waves of the ocean and the natural price with the smooth surface of the sea, which can be observed in the long run. Menger remarks that Mill gives the reason neither for the smooth surface nor for the natural price: in the first case, Menger remarks, it is the attraction caused by the centre of the earth; in the second case, it is the consumer's valuation.²⁸⁾

Menger's comments to Auspitz & Lieben and Mill clarify his opposition to late classicism and mathematical economy. The *ceteris paribus* clause, functionalism, and equilibrium created a rift between him and his colleagues in Switzerland and England. On February 2, 1887, Menger wrote to Walras: "Between us a conformity does not exist; there is an analogy of concepts in a few points but not in the decisive question."²⁹⁾ These words, written to one of

27) John Stuart Mill, *op. cit.* p. 322, book III ch. III no 2. Menger's remarks: "Den Wert der Dinge nach dem Wert der Elemente zu bestimmen, ist ganz schön, woher nehmen aber dann die Elemente den Wert?"

28) John Stuart Mill, *ibid.* Menger's remark: "Was ist nun aber der Grund hievon. Anziehung des Erdmittelpunktes (So auch beim Wert)." See also Mill Book I ch. V no. 9. Menger's remark: "Der konsumtive Käufer am Schlusse ist die *conditio qua non* des Wertes des Elementes..." Element is used by Menger in the sense of factors of production. See also author's copy blank page between page 174 and 175: "Von dem Produktionskosten Gesetze (Menger's underlining) hat der Praktiker herzlich wenig. Er weiss daraus nicht, wie die Preise seiner Produkte sich gestalten werden, er weiss nur, dass wenn die Preise geringer sein werden als die Produktionskosten er davon sich mit seinem Capital zurückziehen kann, wenn das überhaupt möglich ist. Schöner Trost."

the greatest economists, sound rather haughty and impolite.

Often Menger attacked his opponents with even less consideration. The members of his inner circle got a somewhat better treatment; but he was, to a certain extent, critical of Böhm-Bawerk's earlier work. Menger put many question marks on the margin of Böhm's paper on value.³⁰⁾ He objected to Böhm's casuistry in general, and to his terminology of objective values. Böhm claimed that the different quantities of a commodity have a different value according to their usages. Wieser maintained that the value of the last particle determines the value of all the other pieces separately. Menger took Wieser's side.³¹⁾

Menger's criticism of his followers, however, can be easily overrated. For the rumor, so often repeated, that Menger was disappointed with the trend of his school, no evidence can be found in his library. Menger's criticism of Böhm's paper is that of a benevolent school teacher who corrects the first literary steps of his pupil. Yet sound and fury are often unleashed against those who did not accept his scientific method.

Menger's attacks on Schmoller are well known. He wrote in his author's copy of Lorenz von Stein, that he belongs to those writers, fortunately rare in Germany, whose inspirations, jotted down without qualms of conscience, create moral distaste for the expert reader.³²⁾ This same Menger wrote an obituary after Lorenz von Stein had died.³³⁾ For the sake of appearance Menger could very well hide his innermost thoughts. Unlike his brother, the socialist Anton Menger, the Austrian economist was very careful not to overemphasize ideas which could lead to tensions with the court and high society. Yet the

findings in the Menger library create some doubt as to whether Carl Menger was always in agreement with the political and religious ideas of the ruling powers.

4. Political trends and the man without prejudices.

It is quite understandable, from what has been said, that Menger emphasizes ethical neutrality in economics.³⁴⁾ But value judgments cannot be completely suppressed. A man who analyzes the welfare motive has some feeling for human welfare. Menger is not quite certain by which means the greatest welfare can be accomplished. He does not like the socialists of the chair (Kathedersozialisten,³⁵⁾ but he is not a defender of unrestricted competition. Mill's description of English landed property aroused Menger's wrath: "In England and in Ireland horrible situations must exist."³⁶⁾ In his author's copy he inserts reports on starvation and the murder of children.³⁷⁾ Like his brother, Anton Menger, he has a deep feeling for the misery of mankind. Of course, he is far from being a revolutionary; he is the high ranking Austrian civil servant who still believes in the ideas of the Josephinic enlightenment. Superstitions and prejudices must be destroyed, abuses have to be abolished. The glory of war is not the high point of man's achievement. He writes into one of Knies' books: "The prevailing historiography is not satisfactory. The historian teaches battles but not those factors which determine the progress of man."³⁸⁾

34) Carl Menger, *Untersuchungen*. Anhang. Ueber die sogenannte ethische Richtung der politischen Oekonomie. P. 288 et seq.

35) Karl Knies, *Die politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkt der geschichtlichen Methode*. Braunschweig. 1853. (M. L.)

36) Mill. *op. cit.* Book II ch. II no. 6. Menger's remark. "Es müssen in England, zumal Irland heillose Zustände obwalten um solch eine Theorie (i. e. Mill demand for expropriation. E. K.) hervorzurufen".

37) Author's copy p. 19, p. 51 attached newspaper clipping.

38) Karl Knies. P. 11. Menger's remark: "Die Geschichtsforschung, (die herrschende) befriedigt nicht. Sie lehrt Schlachten etc; aber nicht die den Fortschritt der Menschen bestimmenden (dauernd nachwirkenden) Entwicklungen."

29) Etienne Antonelli, *L'Economie pure...*, p. 60.

30) Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, "Grundzüge des wirtschaftlichen Güterwerts". *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*. N. F. Vol. XIII Jena Gustav Fischer. 1886. (M. L.) P. 4—8, 42, 43, 44, 45 et passim.

31) Böhm, *op. cit.* P. 34—35.

32) Authors copy. Blank page after p. 112.

33) Menger "Lorenz von Stein". *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, N. Folge Bd. 1. (M. L.)

He collected books and pamphlets in which pacifism is propagated, the abolition of dueling is urged, the rampant antisemitism of Old-Austria is under heavy attack, and the prerogatives of the established Roman Catholic Church are criticized. The purchase of such literature reveals a tolerant and liberal mind.

Menger could not prevent his convictions from creating suspicion. The entourage of the emperor accused Menger of having indoctrinated the ill-fated Crown Prince Rudolf, his disciple, in atheism. Carl Menger was very careful not to utter such dangerous thoughts. Sometimes he lifted his mask. When Wilhelm Roscher, a pious Lutheran, praised the cameralist and poet Jung-Stilling for his explanation of life after death, Menger marked this sentence and added two exclamation points.³⁹⁾ The official announcement of Menger's death carries a cross, but not the declaration, customary in Catholic Austria, that the person had died after receiving the last sacraments. Was Menger against the church or against theism? The question cannot be answered. We can only deduct from all of this material that he wanted to be the man without prejudices (der Mann ohne Vorurteile).

The man without prejudices is the ideal created by the leader of Austrian enlightenment, Josef von Sonnenfels (1732—1817), economist, and adviser to the great reformer, Emperor Joseph II of Hapsburg. At the time of Menger's early manhood, these Jose-

39) Wilhelm Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Oekonomik in Deutschland*. München. R. Oldenbourg. 1874. P. 552.

phinic ideals were still influential. Menger combined Josephinism with Aristotelism, a philosophy which had occupied a key position in the intellectual life of Austria since the middle ages. His background was typical for the Austrian mentality of his time. In the beginning of Rossi's *COURS D'ECONOMIE POLITIQUE*⁴⁰⁾ Menger found and underlined the following sentence: "Even the genius does not overcome completely the general facts of his time."

Summary:

In the Menger library seven items essentially for the interpretation of Menger's work have been discovered:

1. Menger is opposed to Kant's scientific method.
2. He formulated consciously his scale of welfare purposes according to Aristotle's moral system.
3. The Austrian value discussion did not begin with Menger. He continued an older tradition.
4. It is most unlikely that Menger copied Gossen and Mangoldt.
5. Menger specified in his notes his criticism of the mathematical method. He raised objections against the usage of the ceteris paribus clause, functionalism, and the equilibration of marginal costs and marginal utility.
6. He did not reject the work of his followers.
7. His political convictions were deeply rooted in the Austrian enlightenment. Mankind, so Menger believed, will progress if feudal institutions, military ideals, and superstitions are abolished.

40) Tome I. Bruxelles 1852. (M. L.)