management" (1981: 470). It's well known that J. Dupuit was a very strong supporter of free markets; nevertheless he was convinced that, as the transport network is a monopoly, the private monopolist could abuse of his position; for this reason Dupuit was in favour of public intervention: "L'exploitation par l'Etat d'une industrie quelconque - he writes - est un fait exceptionnel qui doit toujours être justifié par des circonstances exceptionnelles. Or ici [transport network, water distribution, lighting, heating] la circonstance est le monopole" (1852-53: 852)41. The same opinion was expressed by Walras (1875), who wanted the Government to intervene in the railways, either by directly controlling, or by regulating them⁴². The importance of nationalization for the railways is strongly expressed by Ely (1886 and 1889)⁴³, while Hadley finds the necessity for Government regulation in the very difficult aim of controlling "the abuses of monopolies without destroying the industries" (1886: 28), and H.C. Adams (1887) sees social harmony restored by extending the duties of the State in the "industries of increasing returns"44. It is to these American writers that Marshall refers when he says: "arguments are now used, especially in America (as for instance by Mr H. C. Adams), in support of the active participation of the State in industries which conform to the law of increasing return" (1890a: V.XIII. fn.129). On the contrary, Marshall suggests that "such undertakings, though always under public control, and sometimes even in public ownership, should whenever possible be worked and managed by private corporations" ([1890b] 1964: 106). The proposal of De Viti de Marco (1890) is very interesting: he writes that the Government can regulate entry in a natural monopoly through a system of competitive bidding; it can award a franchise to the most efficient firm and can refuse to renew it if the firm behaves as a monopolist. As is well known the same proposal was made by Chadwick in 1859, and by Demsetz in 1968⁴⁵.

7. An overview

Expression	Concrete	Scale economies	Incompatibility	Diagram	Government
	situations				intervention

⁴¹ There are many other occasions, like the monthly meetings of the Société d'économie politique between 1853 and 1864, in which Dupuit expressed his opinion in favor of public management of natural monopolies. See Mosca (1998: 265).

⁴² For a different analysis of Dupuit and Walras on railroads see Ekelund and Hébert (2003).

⁴³ See the criticisms of Ely's belief in government superiority for the regulation of natural monopolies by O'Driscoll, who thinks that: "he was in error in almost all his contentions" (1982: 197-199).

⁴⁴ On Adams' opinion of regulation see Sharkey (1982: 15-16).

⁴⁵ For the proto-history of franchise bidding see the very interesting article by Ekelund and Hébert (1981).

		Smith 1776			
		Division of labour			
<i>Malthus</i> 1815 Old sense					
Old Scrise		Senior 1836	Senior 1836		
		Scale economies	Only a relation		
		Cournot 1838	Cournot 1838		
			Based on		
		function	mathematics		
J.S. Mill 1848	J.S. Mill 1848	J.S. Mill 1848	J.S. Mill 1848		J.S. Mill 1848
New sense	Postal service	Large-scale =	Waste due to		Provision at
	Water and gas	saving in costs	competition		municipal level
	Dupuit 1852-53				Dupuit 1852-53
	Transport				Public
	networks				management
Walras 1875	Walras 1875	Walras 1875	Walras 1875		Walras 1875
More precision	Public utilities	Initial set-up costs	Duplication		Public direct
					control or
					regulation
Ely 1880s					Ely 1886
Consolidation			77 11 1000		Nationalization
			Hadley 1886		Hadley 1886
			Process of		Regulation
		4.1 4007	adjustment		4.1 4007
		Adams 1887			Adams 1887
		Three classes of			State duty
		returns to scale Pantaleoni 1889			
		Variations in costs			
	De Viti de Marco	De Viti de Marco	De Viti de Marco		De Viti de
	1890	1890	1890		Marco 1890
	Telephone	Cost features of			Franchise
	reiepriorie	natural monopoly	Tretti officeres		bidding
Marshall 1890		Marshall 1890	Marshall 1890		Marshall 1890
Indivisible		Internal	Criticisms to		Managed by
industries		economies	Cournot		private
					corporations
		Barone 1908	Barone 1908	Barone 1908	1
		Shape of the	Description with	Verbal	
		average cost curve	consideration of	description	
			market demand		
		Edgeworth 1913		Edgeworth	
		Average and		1913	
		marginal cost			
		functions with			
		diagram			
			Knight, Sraffa		
			1920s		
			Cost Controversy		
			Definitive		
		II 14020	statement		
		Harrod 1930 Viner 1931			
		Definitive			
		refinements			
		remiements			