Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte 2022 Band 63 Heft 2

Abhandlungen

Hans-Michael Trautwein: International Lending of Last Resort in Historical and Theoretical Perspectives: Introduction / Internationale Kreditvergabe der letzten Instanz in historischen und theoretischen Perspektiven: Einleitung

Abstract: This paper provides an introduction to the special issue on international lending of last resort. Starting from debates about rescue operations and unconventional policies of major central banks in the contexts of the Global Financial Crisis and the European Debt Crisis, it draws attention to recurring controversies about trade-offs between averting critical contagion in financial markets and avoiding moral hazard. The need for international lending of last resort in strongly interconnected financial systems is more than ever evident, but there is no clear consensus on how to manage it. The contributions to this special issue put relevant issues in historical and theoretical perspectives.

JEL-Codes: B 13, B 27, E 42, E 58, F 33, F 45, G 01

Keywords: financial crises, lending of last resort, monetary union, gold standard, central bank cooperation, Finanzkrisen, Kreditvergabe der letzten Instanz, Währungsunion, Goldstandard, Zentralbankkooperation

Hans-Michael Trautwein

is Professor of International Economics at the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg in Germany. His research interests comprise studies of international integration and transnational governance, and the evolution of macroeconomic thinking. Trautwein has published widely in international journals and collected volumes; he is co-editor of the European Journal of the History of Economic Thought.

Hans-Michael Trautwein (Prof. Dr.), Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, FK II – VWL, D-26111 Oldenburg, E-mail: michael.trautwein@uol.de

Emmanuel Carré and Laurent Le Maux: Financial Instability and International-Lender-of-Last-Resort Theory from the Gold Standard to the Dollar System / Theorien der finanziellen Instabilität und Kreditvergabe der letzten Hand vom Goldstandard zum Dollarsystem

Abstract: We identify two approaches to financial crises in the history of political economy, namely, the exogenous approach whereby financial crises are sudden events, and the endogenous approach whereby they arise from a long process. In focusing on the endogenous approach, we study the contributions by Thomas Tooke, Ralph Hawtrey, Hyman Minsky and Charles Kindleberger to the lender-of-last-resort theory, especially in international contexts, under the gold standard and the dollar system. The function of the lender of last resort broadens institutionally (depending on the type of securities and on the institutions issuing or holding them) and internationally (depending on jurisdiction and on the type of institutions ultimately requiring international liquidity).

JEL-Codes: B 26, E 58, F 33, G 01

Keywords: International lender of last resort, gold standard, dollar system, financial instability, Goldstandard, Dollarsystem, finanzielle Instabilität

Emmanuel Carré

is currently associate professor of economics at the South Brittany University. His research interests are in central banking, monetary macroeconomics and financial stability. He recently co-authored with Laurent Le Maux an article on "The Federal Reserve's dollar swap lines and the European Central Bank during the global financial crisis of 2007-09" published in the Cambridge Journal of Economics (2020).

Laurent Le Maux

is currently professor of economics at the University of the Western Brittany and research professor in history of monetary theory at the University of Paris Panthéon La Sorbonne. His research interests are in money and central banking in theory and history. He recently published an article entitled "The Classical Monetary Theory on Bank Liquidity and Finance" in the Oxford Economic Papers (2020).

Emmanuel Carré (Dr.), Université de Bretagne Sud, UFR DSEG Campus de Tohannic, Rue André Lwoff, CS 60573, F-56 017 Vannes Cedex, E-mail: carre.emnl@gmail.com

Laurent Le Maux (Prof.), 10, Avenue du Maine, F-75015 Paris, E-mail: lemaux.laurent@gmail.com

Dieter Ziegler: A Private Bank as Lender of Last Resort Under the Classical Gold Standard. The Business of the Bank of England, 1844–1913 / Ein privatwirtschaftlicher *Lender of Last Resort* unter dem klassischen Goldstandard. Die Geschäftspolitik der Bank of England 1844–1913

Abstract: The author argues that the idea, that the Bank of England accepted Walter Bagehot's recommendations from around the 1870s onwards and adopted the role of lender of last resort for the British financial markets, is a misconception. The published balance sheets give this impression, but a closer analysis of the balance sheet shows that the Bank of England never lost sight of the profit motive and had tied its own hands through the composition of its asset portfolio in order to be able to intervene effectively in the case of crisis. Even the only serious threat to financial market stability in the period under review, the Baring crisis of 1890, could only be mastered thanks to a broad rescue operation, coordinated solely by the Bank of England. This experience obviously did not contribute to a lasting change in the orientation of the Bank's business policy until the First World War.

JEL-Codes: G 01, G 11, G 18, N 13, N 23

Keywords: Bank of England, Lender of last resort, gold standard, Walter Bagehot, Goldstandard

Dieter Ziegler

Geboren 1956, seit 2003 Professor für Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensgeschichte an der Ruhr- Universität Bochum. Promotion am Europäischen Hochschulinstitut in Florenz (1988), Habilitation an der Universität Bielefeld (1995). Zahlreiche Publikationen zur Unternehmensund Bankengeschichte sowie zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des "Dritten Reichs".

Dieter Ziegler (Prof. Dr.), Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Fakultät für Geschichtswissenschaft, Lehrstuhl für Wirtschafts- und Unternehmensgeschichte, D-44780 Bochum, E-mail: dieterziegler@web.de

Frank Decker: The Monetary Union of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom – Its Operation, Fragmentation and Break-up / Die Währungsunion zwischen Australien, Neuseeland und dem Vereinigten Königreich – Arbeitsweise, Zersplitterung und Zerfall

Abstract: This article examines the monetary arrangements between Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom from the 1820s to the 1930s. It is argued that the three countries formed a monetary union for most of this period. A new analysis of inland and London exchange rates demonstrates that the union achieved a high degree of uniformity and stability, and that an international branch network of competing, private banks could successfully integrate vastly different geographic and economic areas. It is shown that the union's breakup in the 1930s was the result of a political decision to create separate and devalued Australian and New Zealand currencies in order to mitigate some of the impacts of the Great Depression. International lending of last resort only played a limited role and helped to fix exchanges between the newly separated currencies after 1932.

JEL-Codes: E 42, E 58, F 31, F 33, F 36, N 20

Keywords: monetary unions, sterling area, sterling exchange standard, Australian pound, New Zealand pound, Währungsunion, Sterlingunion, Wechselkurssysteme, australisches Pfund, neuseeländisches Pfund

Frank Decker

is a monetary economist and economic historian. He holds a PhD in economics (Dr. rer. pol. University of Bremen), a Master of Applied Finance (MAppFin, Macquarie University, Sydney) and a PhD in physics (Dr. rer. nat. Free University of Berlin). He is a research affiliate at the University of Sydney Law School and a founding member of the World Interdisciplinary Network for Institutional Research (WINIR). Publications in economic history include a new monetary history of early New South Wales, a legal history of the Line on Wool and Stock Mortgage Act 1843 (NSW) and a history of the legislative frameworks underpinning Australian and New Zealand central banking (with Sheelagh McCracken). His contributions in monetary economics include an edited English translation of *Heinsohn and Steiger's Eigentumsökonomik* (Ownership Economics), several publications on ownership economics and recent work on Wilhelm Lautenbach's credit mechanics (with Charles Goodhart).

Frank Decker (Dr.), The University of Sydney Law School, Camperdown Campus, Law School Building (F10), Eastern Avenue, Sydney New South Wales 2006, Australia, E-mail: frank.decker@sydney.edu.au

Nicolas Barbaroux: The Latin Monetary Union Experience (1865–1926): French Views on Monetary Union and Lending of Last Resort in Retrospect / Die Erfahrungen mit der Lateinischen Währungsunion (1865–1926): Französische Ansichten zur Währungsunion und zu Lending of Last Resort im Rückblick

Abstract: The Latin Monetary Union (hereafter LMU) was established in 1865 between France, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland. The agreement provided for the adoption of a common monetary base consisting of specie, and the adoption of the free circulation of gold and silver coins among them, whatever the issuing country. Despite its original goal, the minting of silver coins was subject to numerous restrictions (especially between 1874 and 1876) before being fully suspended by article nine of the convention of November 5th 1878. The necessity for a lender of last resort quickly appeared in practice, even though the 1865 convention, and its numerous amendments, did not mention it in theory. The present article looks at how the idea of the lender of last resort was discussed in the context of the Latin Monetary Union. Specifically, it focuses on two opposing views on the LMU and its problems, as adopted by French economists at the time. The article concludes that the Banque de France played a crucial role in safeguarding the LMU. Referring to Bordo's 1990 typology

of lenders of last resort, we also add a fifth type, that of *converter of last resort*, to characterise the specific role played by the Banque de France.

JEL-Codes: E 42, N 43, B 12

Keywords: monetary union, lender of last resort, bimetallism, French liberal school, Währungsunion, Bimetallismus

Dr. Nicolas Barbaroux

is Associate Professor in Economics at the St Etienne School of Economics. He did his PhD at Oldenburg University (Germany) and at the University of St Etienne (France) on "The Concept of Monetary Policy Rule: Lessons from Interwar Practices and Theories in France and Sweden", published by Routledge in 2013 and 2015. His research topics are monetary and banking history of economic thought and French monetary policy with a specific focus on the interwar period and cryptocurrencies.

Nicolas Barbaroux (Dr.), (GATE L-SE UMR 5824), Université Jean Monnet Saint Etienne, École d'Économie, 10, rue Tréfilerie, F-42023 St. Etienne, E-mail: Nicolas.Barbaroux@univst-etienne.fr

Anders Ögren and Hans-Michael Trautwein: Central Bank Cooperation and Lending of Last Resort in the Scandinavian Monetary Union / Zusammenarbeit der Zentralbanken und Lending of Last Resort in der Skandinavischen Währungsunion

Abstract: The functioning of multi-nation monetary unions with several central banks is conditioned by many factors and considerations, such as the capacity to deal with crises, the political will and operational skill to foster financial integration and to develop a mix of rules and discretion in the cooperation between the central banks. The Scandinavian monetary union (SMU) between 1873 and 1931 is a case in point for illustrating the importance of these factors and considerations. We examine the policies implemented in the Scandinavian countries to deal with asymmetries of payments flows and with financial crises at three levels: in an account of major crises that required lending of last resort, in a study of the clearing and settlement mechanism established in the union, and in a survey of contemporary economists' views on lending of last resort and cooperation in the SMU.

JEL-Codes: B 13, E 58, F 45, G 01

Keywords: monetary union, central bank cooperation, banking crises, lending of last resort, Scandinavia, Währungsunion, Zentralbankkooperation, Bankkrisen, Skandinavien

Anders Ögren

is Professor of Economic History at the Department of Economic History and Director of Uppsala Centre for Business History at Uppsala University (Sweden). His main fields of research are Business History, Financial and Monetary History and the History of Economic Thought. His most recent publication is "Discipline or International Balance: The Choice of Monetary Systems in Europe" (with Jonas Ljungberg), in: The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought 29/2, 2022, pp. 218-245 (Open Access, https://doi.org/ 10.1080/09672567.2021.1946121)

Hans-Michael Trautwein

is Professor of International Economics at the Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg in Germany. His research interests comprise studies of international integration and transnational governance, and the evolution of macroeconomic thinking. Trautwein has published widely in international journals and collected volumes; he is co-editor of the European Journal of the History of Economic Thought.

Anders Ögren (Prof.), Uppsala Universitet, Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Box 513, 75120 Uppsala, Sweden, E-mail: anders.ogren@ekhist.uu.se

Hans-Michael Trautwein (Prof. Dr.), Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, FK II – VWL, D-26111 Oldenburg, E-mail: michael.trautwein@uol.de

Dominique Torre and Nikolay Nenovsky: Debates, Plans and Interventions to Overcome the 1931 Banking Crisis in Romania and Bulgaria / Debatten, Pläne und Interventionen zur Überwindung der Bankenkrise von 1931 in Rumänien und Bulgarien

Abstract: In the summer of 1931, the Austro-German banking crisis spread to Romania and Bulgaria. In the Romanian case, the management of the crisis confronted three types of protagonists – politicians, bankers and central bankers – and positions about the relevant attitude to adopt, in particular to avoid or not the Marmorosch Blank Bank bankruptcy. In Bulgaria, the management of the crisis was more consensual. The intervention of the Bulgarian National Bank allowed the refunding of the more important banks, while a further 34 were declared bankrupt and smaller ones silently disappeared. One of the largest banks in Bulgaria, Credit Bank, was rescued. Archive documents, reports of participants and comments from contemporaries, all emphasize the different conceptions of the function of lender of last resort as held by the different protagonists facing this systemic crisis.

JEL-Codes: N 24, G 33, E 58

Keywords: 1931, lender of last resort, Balkan economic history, banking crisis, twin crises, Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Balkans, Bankenkrise, Zwillingskrise

Dominique Torre

studied economics at Université Côte d'Azur where he held various academic positions in the Department of Economics, including his current position as Emeritus Professor. He is also a member of the GREDEG laboratory (CNRS). His research interests include digital economics, financial economics, tourism economics, monetary history, and history of monetary thought. He has held positions of responsibility at his university and at the national level (member of CNRS National Committee in Economics and Management).

Nikolay Nenovsky

is Professor of monetary and international economics at the University of Picardie, France, and associated researcher at the National Research University Higher School of Economics and RUDN University in Moscow, Russia. He has published widely in the areas of currency boards and central banking, especially of post-communist countries. He has broad, practical experience as a researcher and later as a member of the Governing Council of the Bulgarian Central Bank and different EU institutions.

Dominique Torre (Prof.), Université Côte d'Azur – GREDEG – CNRS, Campus Azur, 250, rue Albert Einstein, CS 10269, F-06905 SOPHIA ANTIPOLIS CEDEX, E-mail: dominique.torre@gredeg.cnrs.fr

Nikolay Nenovsky, 37, rue Jacques Prevert, F-80090 Amiens, E-mail: nenovsky@gmail.com

Hugh Rockoff: O.M.W. Sprague (the Man Who "Wrote the Book" on Financial Crises) meets the Great Depression / O.M.W. Sprague: der Mann, der "das Buch" über Finanzkrisen verfasst hatte, aber die Weltwirtschaftskrise nicht erkannte

Abstract: When the Great Depression struck the United States, O.M.W. Sprague was America's foremost expert on financial crises. His *History of Crises under the National Banking System* is a frequently cited classic. Had he diagnosed a banking panic and called for

an aggressive response by the Federal Reserve, it might have made a difference; but he did neither. Sprague's misdiagnosis had, I argue, two causes. First, the crisis lacked the symptoms of a panic, such as high interest rates in the New York money market, which Sprague had identified from his studies of previous crises. Second, Sprague's macro-economic ideas led him to conclude that increasing the stock of money would be of little help once a depression was underway. Sprague's main concern was that abandoning the gold standard would intensify the crisis, a concern that led him to resign his position as advisor to the U.S. Treasury to protest Roosevelt's gold policy.

JEL-Codes: B 31, G 01, E 44, E 58

Keywords: O.M.W. Sprague, Great Depression, banking panic, financial crises, Federal Reserve, Weltwirtschaftskrise, Bankenpanik, Finanzkrisen, Geldpolitik

Hugh Rockoff

is a Distinguished Professor of Economics at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. He received his A.B. from Earlham College in 1967 and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1972. His scholarly work has focused on financial history and wartime economic controls. He was an inaugural fellow of the Cliometrics Society and in 2021, he served as president of the Economic History Association. His recent working papers can be found at www.nber.org.

Hugh Rockoff (Prof.), Department of Economics, Rutgers University, 75 Hamilton Street, New Brunswick NJ 08901; E-mail: Rockoff@economics.rutgers.edu

Perry Mehrling: "Where's my swap line?" A Money View of International Lender of Last Resort / "Wo ist meine *Swap-Line*?" Ein internationaler *Lender of Last Resort* aus Sicht der *Money View*

Abstract: The past two decades have seen the construction of a tiered system of international liquidity provision, the first tier including those whose credit is sufficient for a swap line with the Fed, the second tier including those who can offer acceptable collateral to the Fed, and the third tier including everyone else. It is a global dollar system, with the Fed operating de facto as the global central bank providing international lender of last resort support to the system. It is a system created not so much by conscious design, but rather as a pragmatic response to crisis, bit by bit over time.

JEL-Codes: E 58, F 33

Keywords: liquidity, lender of last resort, international banking, US Federal Reserve, Liquidität, internationales Bankwesen, US-Federal Reserve

Perry Mehrling

is the author of four books: "The Money Interest and the Public Interest" (Harvard 1997), "Fischer Black and the Revolutionary Idea of Finance" (Wiley 2005), "The New Lombard Street, How the Fed became the Dealer of Last Resort" (Princeton 2011), and "Money and Empire: Charles P. Kindleberger and the Dollar System" (Cambridge 2022). His flagship course "Economics of Money and Banking", taught originally to undergraduates at Barnard and Columbia Colleges in New York, has been a top-rated MOOC on Coursera since 2013. Since 2018, he is Professor of International Political Economy at the Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University.

Perry Mehrling (Prof.), Pardee School of Global Studies, 154 Bay State Road, Boston MA 02215, USA, E-mail: pmehrlin@bu.edu

Forschungs- und Literaturberichte

Tao Chen and Jan Zofka: The Economy of the Sino-Soviet Alliance. Trade and Transfers Between Eastern Europe and China During the Early Cold War / Die Ökonomie der sino-sowjetischen Allianz. Handel und Transfers zwischen Osteuropa und China während des frühen Kalten Kriegs

Abstract: This article examines the research literature on the economic aspects of the "Sino-Soviet Alliance", which lasted from the end of the Chinese Civil war until the Sino-Soviet split (1949-1960/63). The Soviet and Eastern European contribution to China's industrialization, called the "largest technology transfer in human history" by some, still awaits detailed examination. This article aims to structure the field as well as inspire future research. The included studies range from on-the-ground microstudies of engineers at specific industrial construction projects to macro-perspectives on economic exchange, trade and governmental negotiations. In contrast to classical Cold War perspectives, which assume a primacy of (geo-)politics, the paper builds on more recent studies, arguing that economic rationales mattered in both the split and the forging of the alliance. The literature review suggests that the room for manoeuvre of actors beyond the Kremlin and party leaderships has to be measured anew, and that the impact of the alliance on Eastern Europe awaits further research. Finally, the influence of the *West* with its technologies and world markets becomes visible when these apparently exclusive East-East relations are examined more closely.

JEL-Codes: N 40, N 44, N 45, N 10, N 14, N 15, N 60, N 64, N 65

Keywords: Sino-Soviet alliance, Cold War economy, Socialist foreign economic policy, East-South relations, Socialist globalization, Sino-sowjetische Allianz, Ökonomie des Kalten Krieges, Außenwirtschaftspolitik sozialistischer Staaten, Ost-Süd-Beziehungen, Sozialistische Globalisierung

Tao Chen

is Associate Professor of German Studies at Tongji University, Shanghai. He has published widely on Sino-German relations during the Cold War, including "Learning from the Chinese People's Liberation Army: The Mass line in the German Democratic Republic's National People's Army", in *Schaufelbuehl et al.*, Europe and China in the Cold War, 2018, "East German Pragmatism, China's Policy of Differentiation and Soviet Miscalculation: Hermann Matern's 1961 trip to China revisited", Cold War History 2019/1, and "Weathering the Storms: East German Engineers in Zhengzhou, 1954-1966", The China Review, 2019/3. His current research focuses on Sino-German/European relations since 1945.

Jan Zofka

is a Historian of Eastern Europe and Researcher at the Leibniz-Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO) in Leipzig. His recent research focuses on transnational dimensions of socialist industrialization processes during the 1950s. He currently works in a project on technology transfer between Eastern Europe and China during the Cold War. He is the author of "Technokratischer Internationalismus. Kohle Experten der DDR der 1950er-Jahre in globalgeschichtlicher Perspektive", Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 2021/2; "Chairman Cotton: Socialist Bulgaria's cotton trade with African countries during the early Cold War (1946-70)", Journal of Global History, 2021/online; "China as a role model? The 'Economic Leap' campaign in Bulgaria (1958-1960)", Cold War History, 2018/3, and co-editor of "Beyond East and South: Spaces of Interaction in the Globalizing Economy of the Cold War", Berlin 2019 and the special issue "Beyond the Kremlin's Reach? Eastern Europe and China in the Cold War History, 2018/3.

Tao Chen (Prof.), Institute for German Studies, Tongji University, 1239 Siping Road, 200092 Shanghai, PR China,E-mail: chris189900@gmail.com

Jan Zofka (Dr.), Leibniz-Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), Reichsstr. 4-6, D-04109 Leipzig, E-mail: jan.zofka@leibniz-gwzo.de