

# The Rise and Fall of Global Currencies Over Two Centuries

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<sup>1</sup>The opinions expressed are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Bank of England and its committees.

# A Turning Point in Monetary History?

## Markets

The Big Take

Subscriber Only

## How the Russia-Ukraine War Threatens the Dollar's Dominance

Credit Suisse strategist tells Bloomberg's Odd Lots podcast that the U.S. dollar has reached a critical inflection point.

Renminbi

+ Add to myFT

### How the Ukraine war could boost China's global finance ambitions

Sanctions on Russia highlight Beijing's efforts to internationalise the renminbi

AT+

## Biden's Russian roulette may kill dollar dominance

Biden administration's move to block Russia's access to its dollar reserves means the post-war financial system will never

# Overview

- This is a measurement paper, providing an historical perspective on current global dollar dominance and the future of the international monetary system.
- Follows a growing literature of long-run historical data contributions to international finance (Reinhart and Rogoff, NBER 2008; Jordà-Schularick-Taylor Dataset...).
- First product of a an extensive effort of foreign-exchange historical data collection at the weekly frequency since the 19th century.

# Motivation

- Renewed interest in dollar dominance
  - Longstanding debate: Triffin Dilemma, exorbitant privilege.
  - New: DCP, Global Financial Cycle...
  - Newer: USD weaponisation, sanctions...
- What a transition out of dollar dominance would look like?
  - Winner takes-all vs. Multipolarity.
  - Euro, renminbi, private and/or multilateral digital currency.
- Is a multipolar IMS sustainable and/or desirable?
  - Outside the US, multipolarity seems desirable from a policy perspective.
  - Farhi and Maggiori (QJE 2018).
- Hard to get an empirical perspectives on these questions without looking at long run historical data...

# Contribution

- ➊ Largest historical dataset of FX at weekly frequency (London market since 1846).
- ➋ A continuous measure - based on FX co-movements - of the relative dominance of global currencies, comparable over time, since 1825.
- ➌ A systematic documentation of previous episodes of global currency competition, filling coverage gaps in the existing historical literature.
- ➍ A quantification of the overall competition structure of the international monetary system over two centuries.

# Summary of Results

- **Dollar dominance is an historical anomaly**, from a two centuries perspective.
  - Size and persistence of its lead vs. competing global currencies.
- The previous pound sterling hegemon dominance was frequently challenged by close competitors.
  - Rise of the franc in 1850s and 1930s, fall of the dollar end of 1920s...
- Interwar period is the sample global maximum of measured multi-polarity.
  - Classical gold standard competition levels are significantly lower.
- Positive correlation between levels of IMS competition and prevalence of financial crises, in line with Farhi and Maggiori (QJE, 2018).
  - This is however mostly driven by 1918-1939 and 1950-1973 sub-periods.

# Outline

- ① Literature Review
- ② Data
- ③ Empirical Strategy
- ④ Results
  - Rise and Falls of Global Currencies
  - Overall IMS Architecture
- ⑤ Conclusion

# Related Literature (1/2)

## Two Views of the International Monetary System:

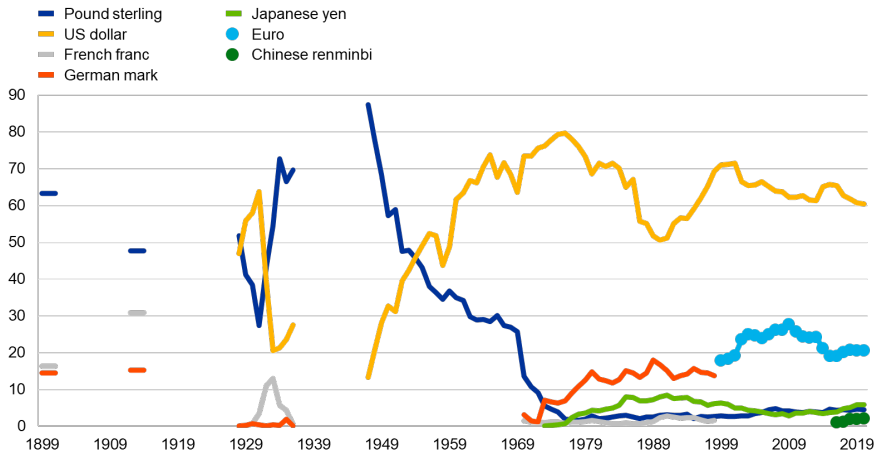
- ① Farhi and Maggiori (QJE 2018), Gopinath and Stein (QJE 2021), Gopinath and Itskhoki (NBER 2021).
  - Strong IMS network externalities, winner-take all equilibrium, empirical evidence from USD hegemony.
  - IMS multipolarity unlikely to be stable, self-fulfilling run on competing safe assets.
- ② Eichengreen et al. (2017), Carney (2019).
  - The IMS has historically been multipolar.
  - IMS stability conditional on policy coordination.
  - A more multipolar IMS is desirable given financial spillovers, scarcity of safe assets.

## Related Literature (2/2)

- ① Iltzetzki et al. (QJE 2019)
  - 1945-2020, monthly data.
  - Classification algorithm focused on correctly describing countries' exchange rate arrangements, based on narrative and quantitative data.
  - Winner takes all view of global currencies.
- ② Ito and McCauley (JIMF 2020)
  - 1970-2020, monthly data.
  - Classification algorithm focused on relative influence of global currencies, based on currency co-movements.
  - Fuzzy view of global currencies (one country can be apportioned into several currency blocs).

This paper: weekly (monthly 1825-1846) data 1825-2020, algorithm based on currency co-movements, fuzzy view of global currencies.

# Global Reserves Shares from Eichengreen-Mehl-Chitu



# New Foreign-Exchange Data

Extensive work (hundreds of hours...) of manual digitisation of London FX market prices from original printed sources.

## 1 1825-1914:

- Monthly: Global Financial Data or own digitization of selected currencies, until available at weekly frequency.
- Weekly: Own data digitised from The Economist magazine or the Bank of England Weekly Accounts. Global Financial Data otherwise.

► 19th Century Sample

## 2 1918-1939

- Own data digitised from The Economist magazine or The Bankers' Almanac.

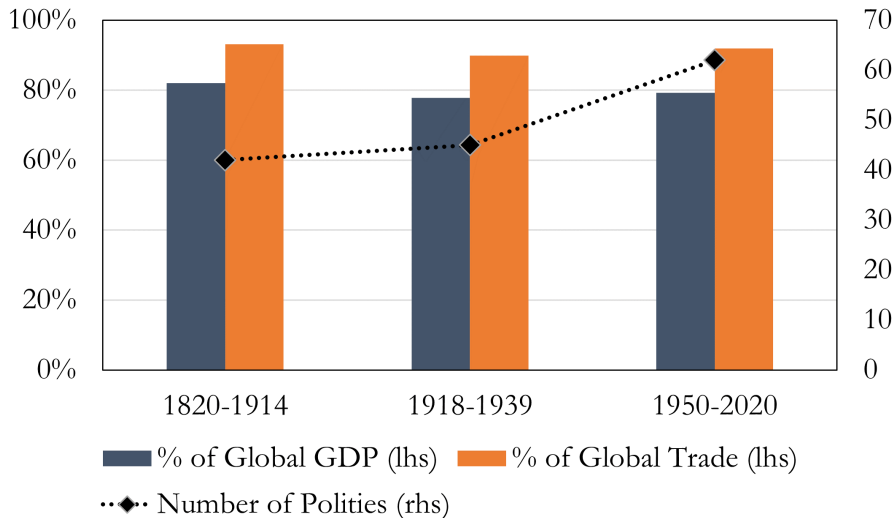
► Interwar Sample

## 3 1950-2020

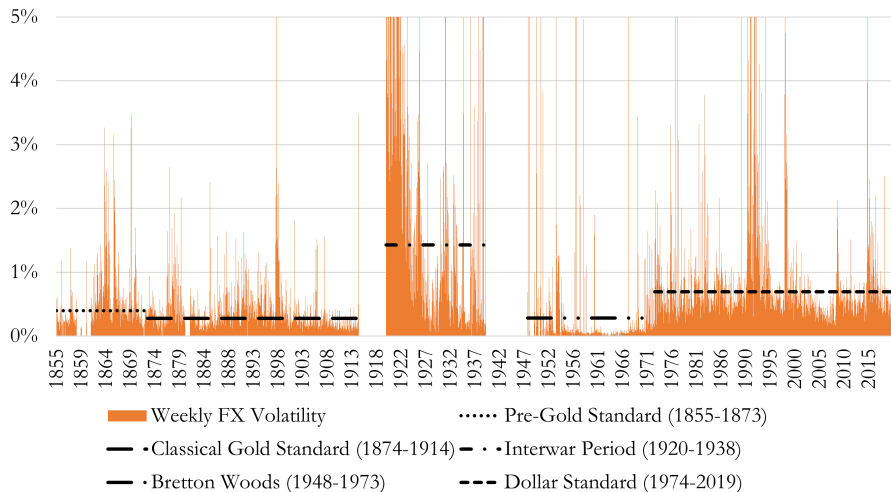
- Global Financial Data until series is available from BIS.

► Post-WW2 Sample

# Sample Coverage



# G10 FX Volatility Over Two Centuries



# FX Factor Model

- Factor models of FX-returns introduced by Haldane and Hall (EJ 1991) and Frankel-Wei (NBER 1997).
- Recent work in the context of the global currency literature by Ito and McCauley (JIMF 2020) and Fratzscher and Mehl (EJ 2014).

$$\Delta \ln \frac{X_{i,t}}{\text{Numéraire}_t} = \alpha + \sum_h \beta_h \Delta \ln \frac{\text{GlobalCurrency}_{h,t}}{\text{Numéraire}_t} + \epsilon_t \quad (1)$$

- Clean "horse race" between potential factors, yields intuitive monetary dominance factors that can be given a "weight" interpretation.
- I then apportionate each country to global currency zones according to a bottom-up algorithm based on estimated  $\widehat{\beta}_{ht}$ .

# Summary

- High frequency rolling FX co-movements models:

## 1 Numéraire

- Baseline model: Silver Ounce quoted in London.
- Robustness: NLG (1825-1914); HKD (1918-1939); CHF (1950-2020).

## 2 Global Currency Factors

- 1825-1914: GBP, FRF, DEM (Hamburg Banco before 1873).
- 1918-1939: GBP, FRF, USD.
- 1950-2020: GBP, DEM (EUR), USD, JPY (From 1968).

## 3 Additional factors

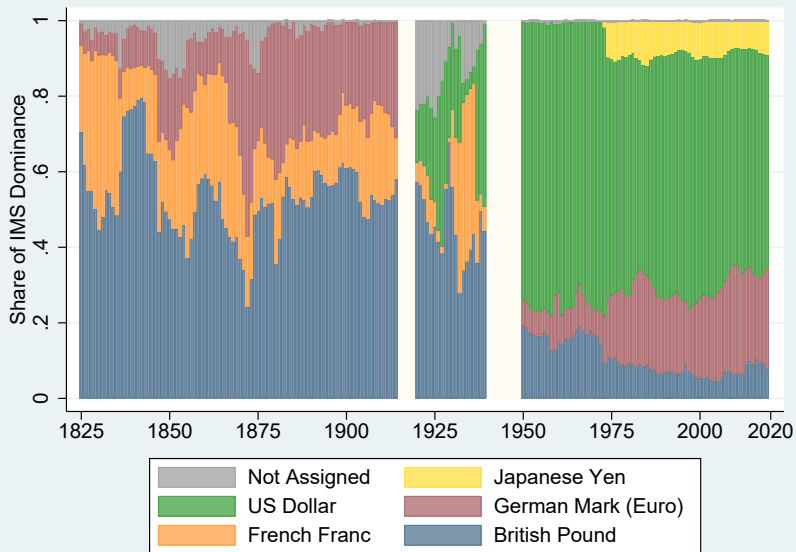
- Commodity prices, liquidity, volatility, gold.
- Bottom-up algorithm, 1) apportioning of shares of each country in the sample to global currencies, 2) compute yearly global currency scores.

# Yearly Global Currency Weights Algorithm

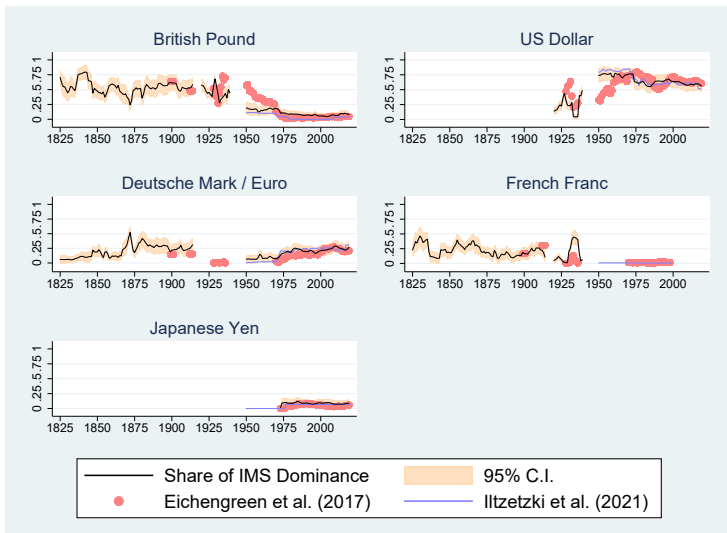
Bottom-up approach (McCauley and Ito, JIMF 2020), run the factor model for each polity and then aggregate up following three steps.

- 1 **Weekly coefficient:** Factor-models estimated in rolling windows for each polity at the highest frequency available: yields for each global currency factor  $h$  and each polity  $i$  a  $\widehat{\beta}_{it}^h$  that varies at the weekly (monthly) frequency.
- 2 **Annual polity score:**  $\widehat{\beta}_{it}^h$  coefficients are inverse-variance weighted over each year and polity, excluding negative values, and normalised so that  $\sum_{h=1}^H \widehat{\beta}_{iht} \leq 1$ . Splicing when change of frequency.
- 3 **Annual global score:** For each global currency factor, the yearly world-level average weight is computed as the average of polity-level yearly scores, weighted by the polity share of global GDP or trade.

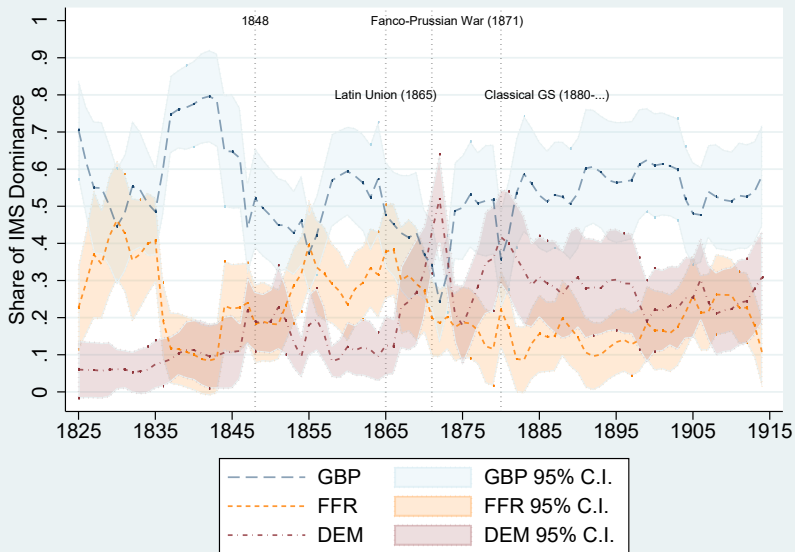
# The Rise and Fall of Global Currencies over Two Centuries



# Global Currency Weights and Actual Global Reserve Share

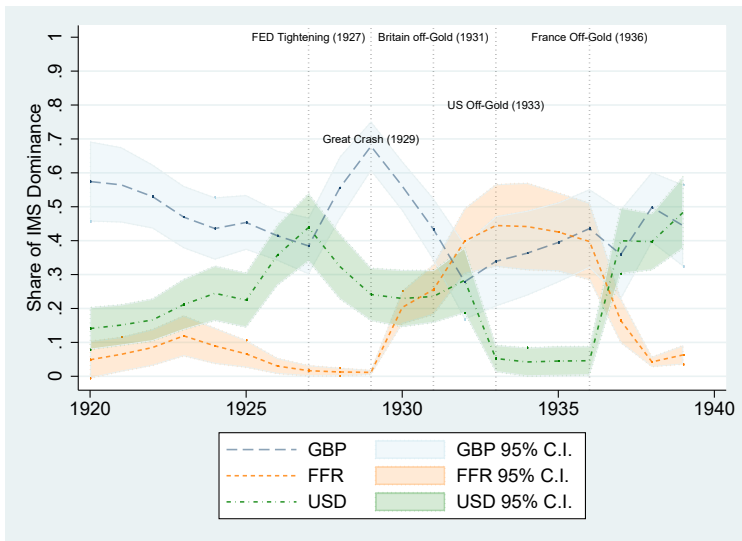


# 1825-1914: A Challenged British Hegemony

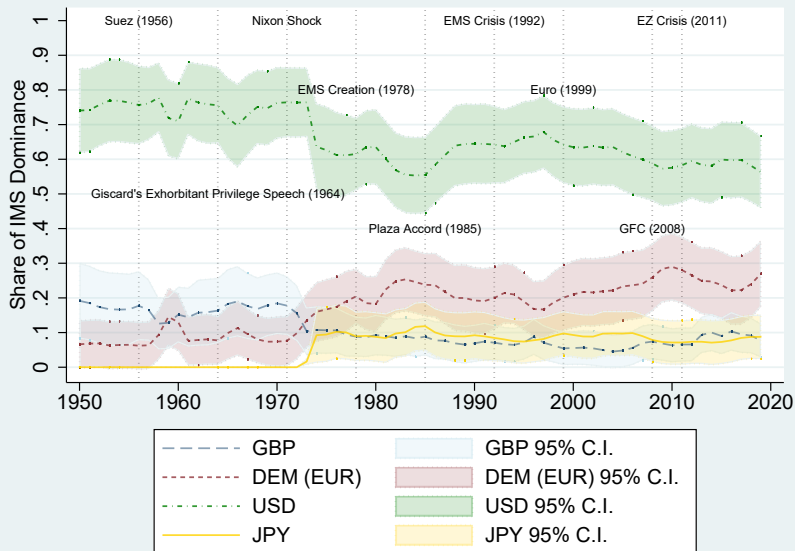
[Maps](#)


# 1918-1939: Global Currency Collapses and Fortune Reversals











Maps



# 1950-2020: Dollar Dominance

[Maps](#)


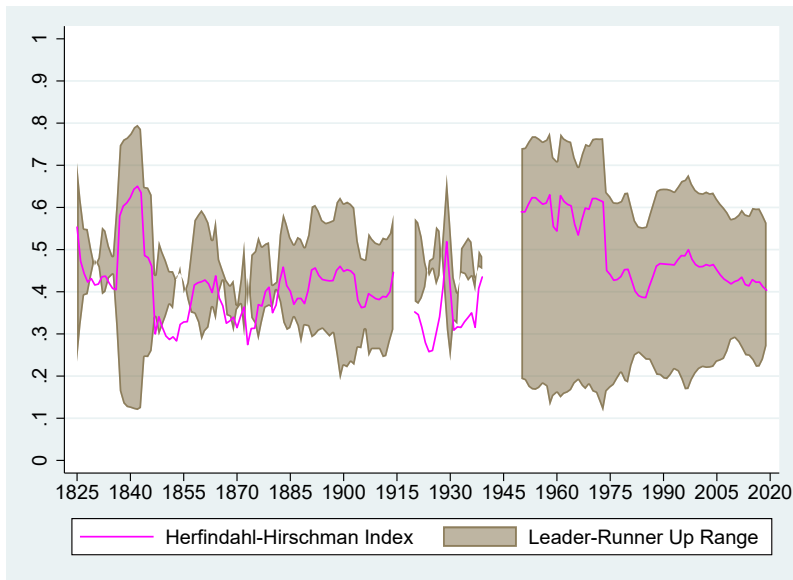
# Robustness Checks and Further Results

- Regional View 
- Pooled Regressions 
- Alternative Numéraire and Weights
  - GBP 
  - FFR 
  - DEM 
  - USD 
  - JPY 
- Individual Polity Maps
  - 1825-1914 
  - 1918-1939 
  - 1950-2020 

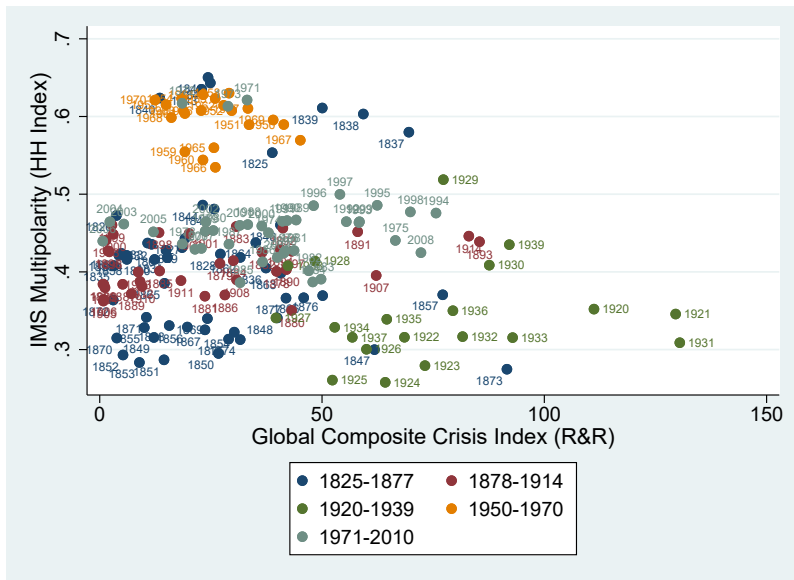
# The Overall IMS Architecture over Two Centuries

- Competition Structure
  - **Herfindahl-Hirschman Index** of competition intensity computed from the yearly world GDP-weighted average weight for each global currency.
  - **Leader-“runner up” distance**, computed as the difference between the highest and the second highest global currency weight in any given year.
- Relationship between competition structure and the intensity of IMS competition relying on Reinhart and Rogoff (NBER 2008) Index of Composite Crises since 1825.

# The Structure of IMS Competition Over Two Centuries



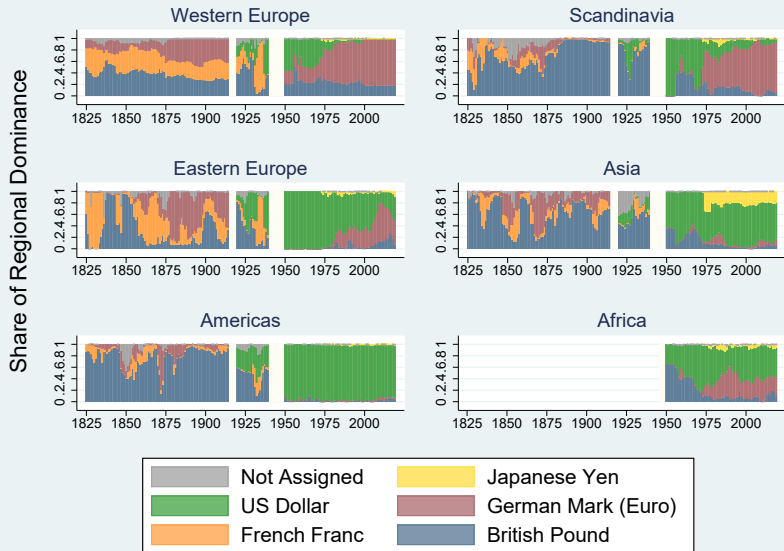
# IMS Competition and Financial Stability



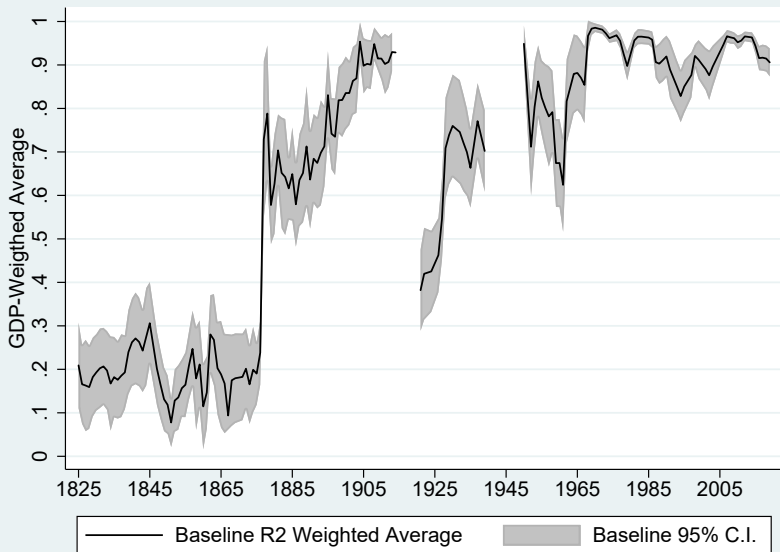
# Conclusion

- Current levels of one-currency leadership are an historical anomaly, in terms of persistence and magnitude of USD lead:
  - A benign interpretation: structural shift consistent with DCP paradigm, high USD vs. EUR distance is evidence of stable outlook looking at the model by Farhi and Maggiori (QJE 2018).
  - A more pessimistic take: given unprecedented levels of hegemony, an incoming discontinuity might be even more destabilising than in the past (Farhi et al., 2011).
- Positive relationship between levels of IMS competition and financial instability.
  - Classical Gold standard stable but not particularly multi-polar.
  - The relationship is driven by interwar period instability and Bretton Woods stability.
- Next steps: 1) Correlates/determinants of global currency status 2) A closer look at discontinuity episodes.

# A Regional View over Two Centuries



# Global GDP-Weighted Aggregation of Explained Variance



# Tentative Summary of Major Discontinuities (1/2)

## • Rises...

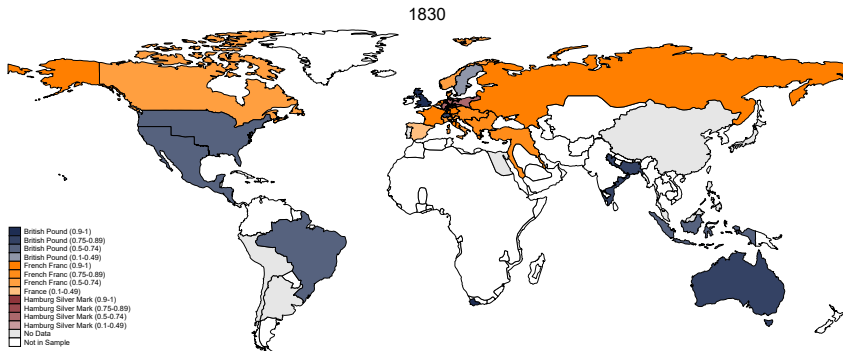
- GBP, 1830s, banking crisis in France, BoE Effective LOR.
- FFR, 1850s-1860s, rising external surplus, regional integration, proactive internationalisation policy.
- DEM, 1870s, military victory against France, regional integration (unification), rising external surplus.
- USD, 1920s, WW1, rising external surplus.
- FFR, 1930-1936, GBP devaluation, rising external surplus, proactive internationalisation policy.
- GBP, 1933, USD devaluation.
- USD, 1936, 1939-1950, FFR devaluation, WW2.
- DEM/EUR, 1970-..., USD devaluation, regional integration, stable monetary policy, rising external surplus.
- USD, 1985, geopolitical strength, stable monetary policy.

# Tentative Summary of Major Discontinuities (2/2)

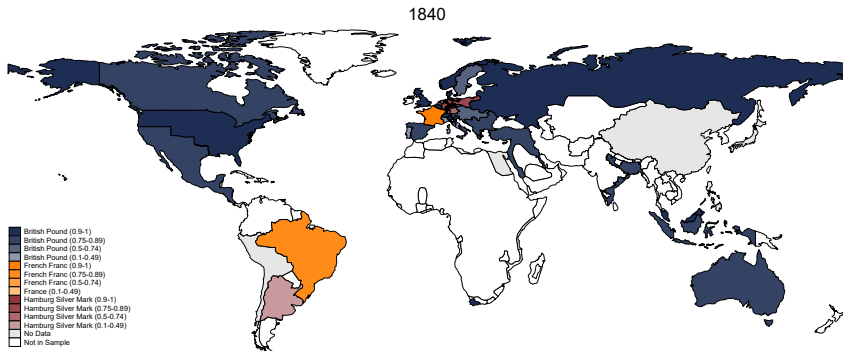
- ...and Falls

- FFR, 1836, banking crisis.
- GBP, 1866, banking crisis.
- DEM, 1873, banking crisis.
- USD, 1928, monetary policy tightening (?).
- GBP, 1929-1931, BoP crisis., banking crisis, devaluation.
- USD, 1933, banking crisis, devaluation.
- FFR, 1936, political polarisation, devaluation.
- GBP, 1956, geopolitical tensions, BoP crisis.
- GBP, 1967, BoP crisis, devaluation, political polarisation.
- USD, 1970-73, BoP crisis., devaluation.
- EUR, 2010, political polarisation, banking crisis.

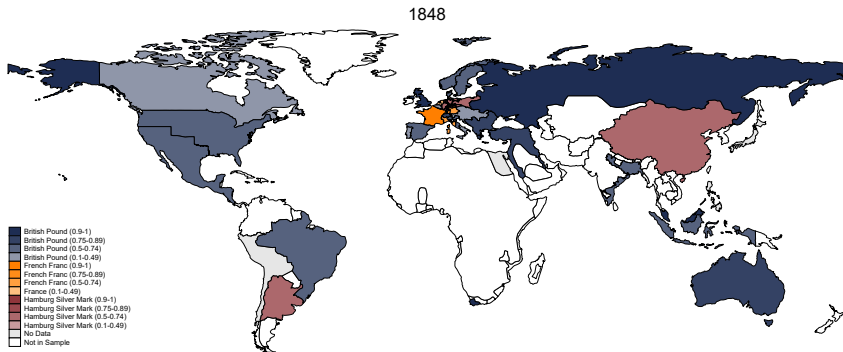
# 1830: A Bipolar System post-Vienna Congress



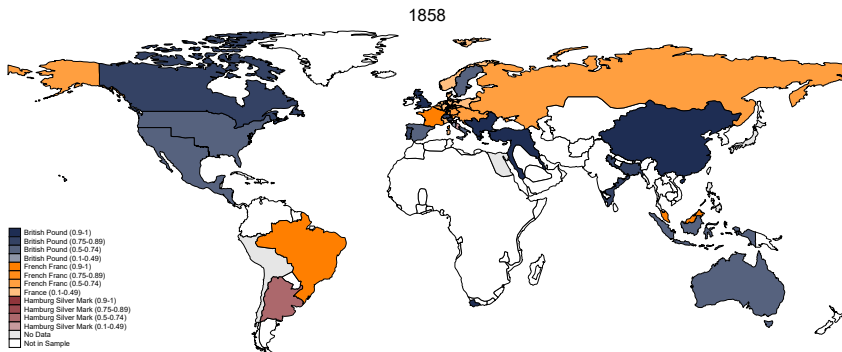
# 1840: Large GBP Gains in Dominance in the 1830s



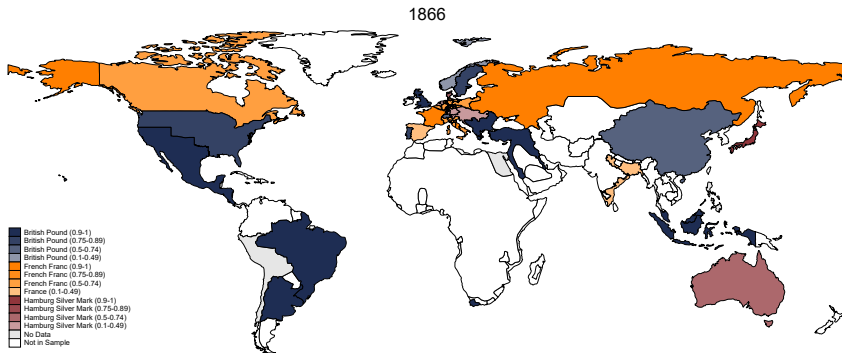
# 1848: GBP Dominance Unscathed by the People's Spring



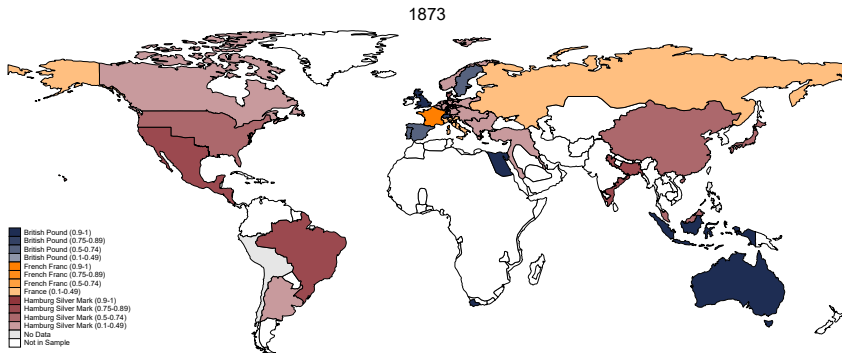
# 1858: Rise in FFR Dominance with the Second Empire



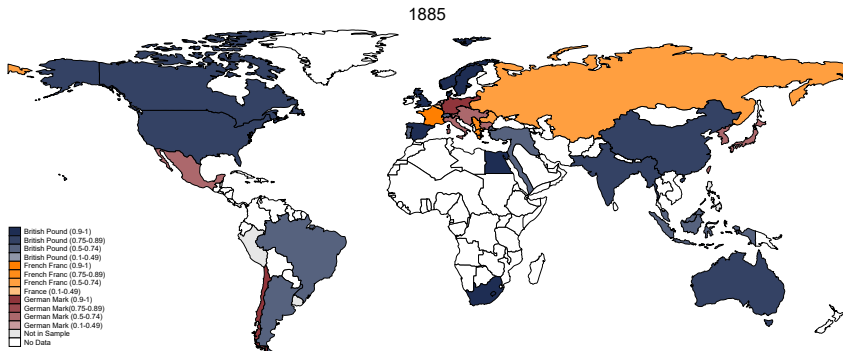
# 1866: Peak of FFR Dominance as Paris Hosts the 1st International Monetary Conference



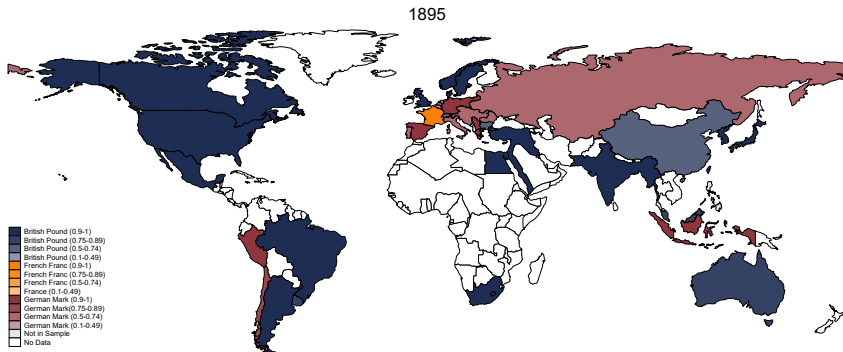
# 1873: Major International Monetary System Discontinuity with the German Unification



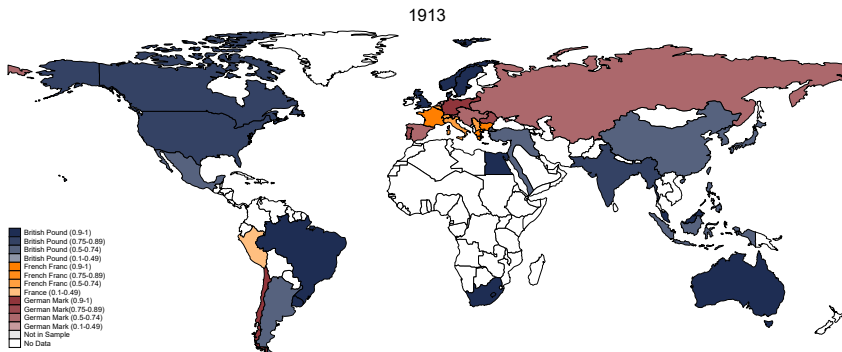
# 1885: A Tripolar Classical Gold Standard (I)



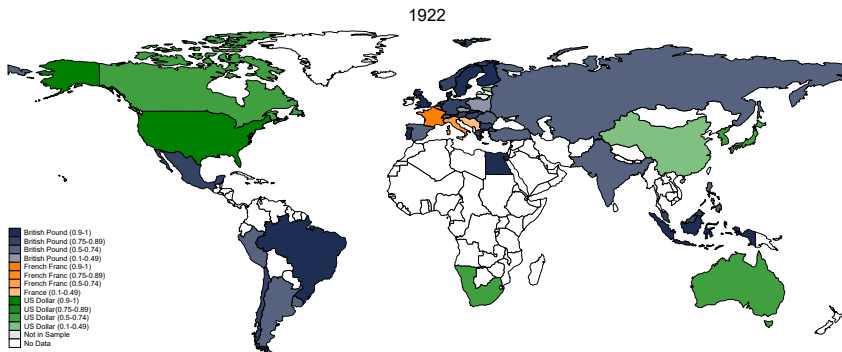
# 1895: A Tripolar Classical Gold Standard (II)



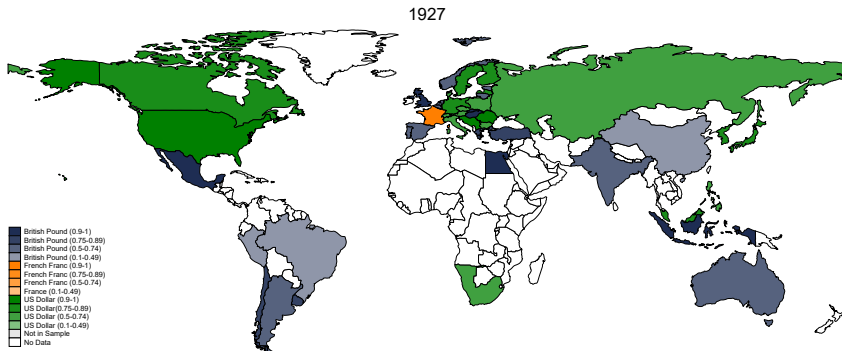
## 1913: A Tripolar Classical Gold Standard (III)



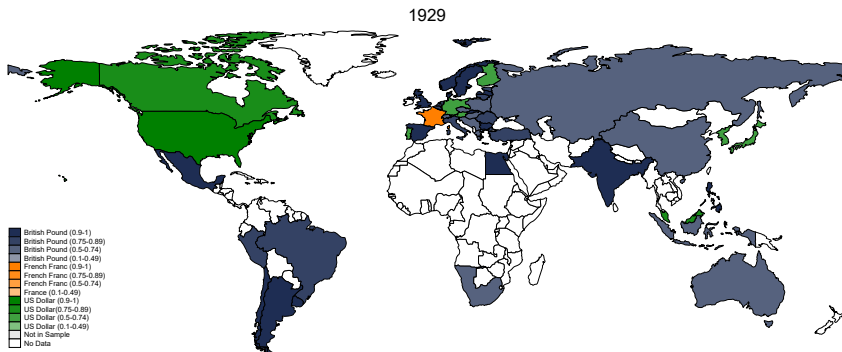
# 1922: Rise of the USD after WW1



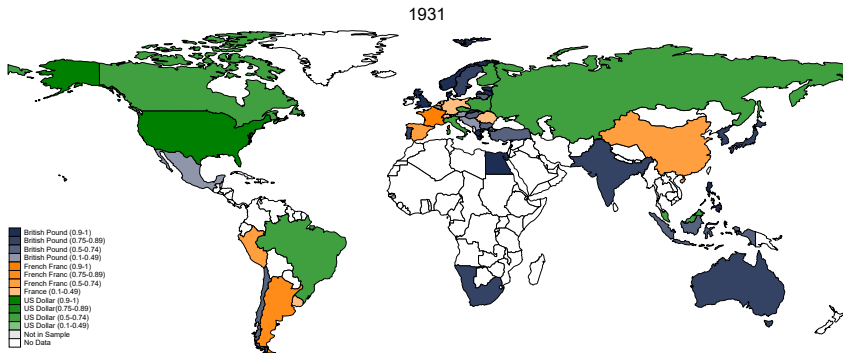
# 1927: Peak of USD Dominance in the Interwar



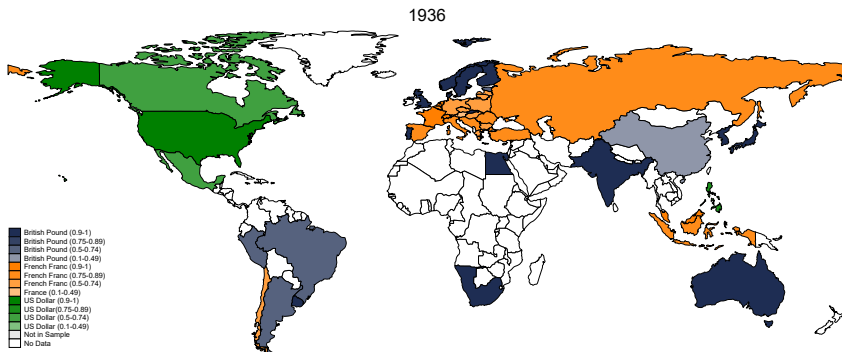
# 1929: A Shortlived Comeback of the GBP in 1929



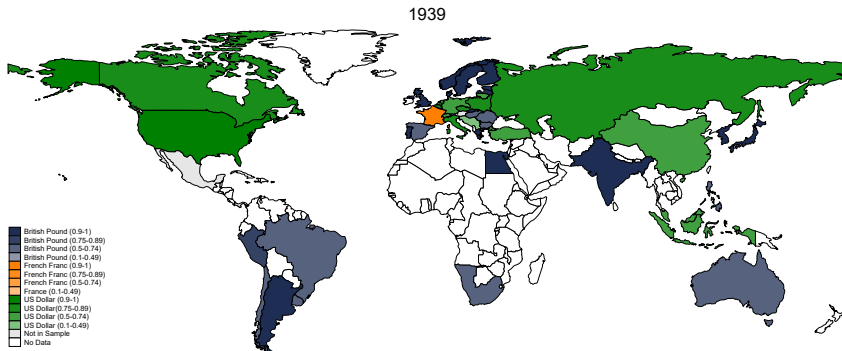
# 1931: The FFR Steps into the Instability of the GBP and the USD



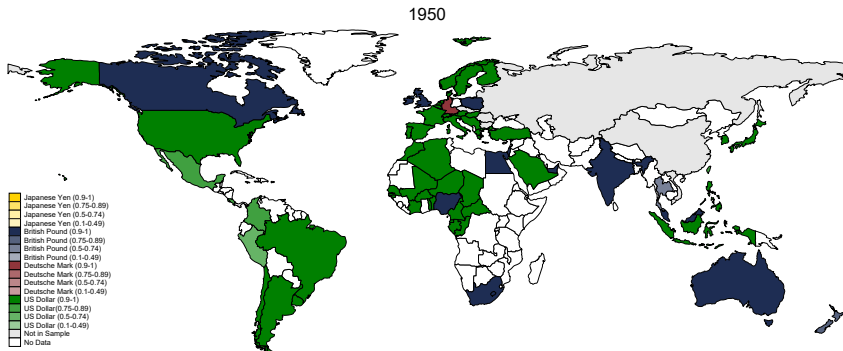
# 1936: FFR Dominance Before the 1936 French Election



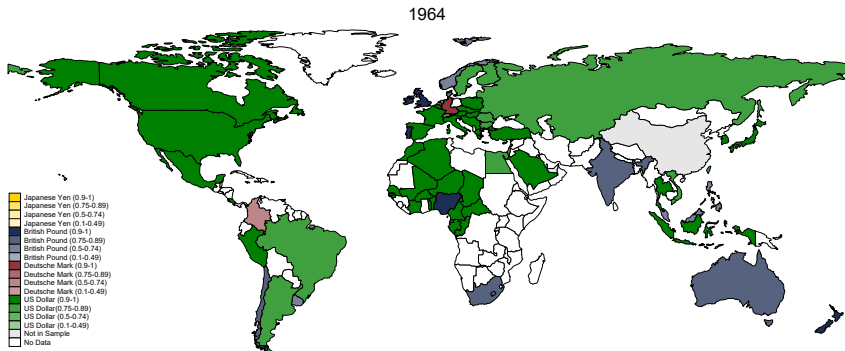
# 1939: GBP and USD Bipolarity at the Eve of WWII



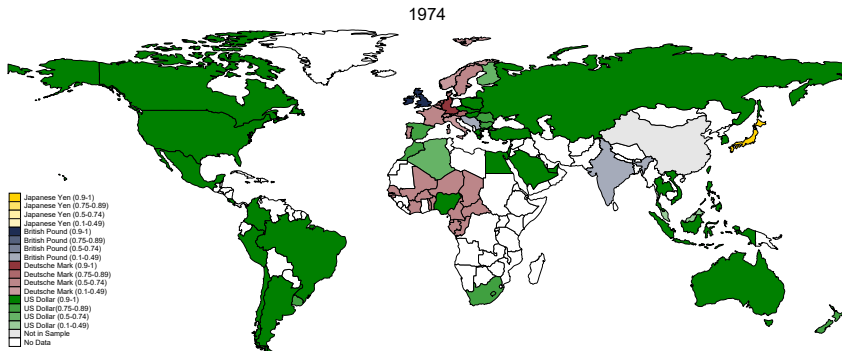
# 1950: USD Dominance after WWII



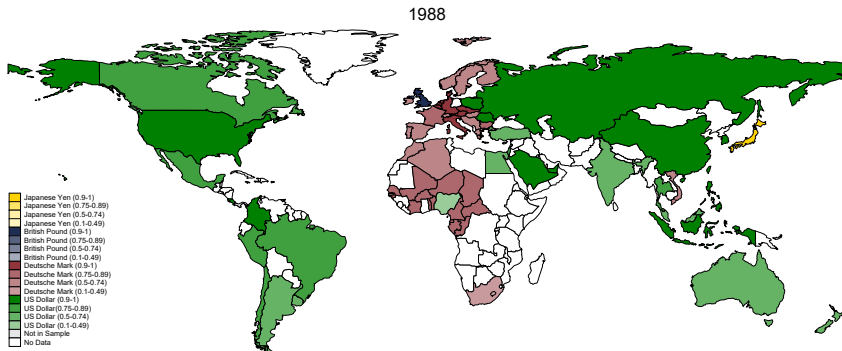
# 1964: "Privilège Exhorbitant"



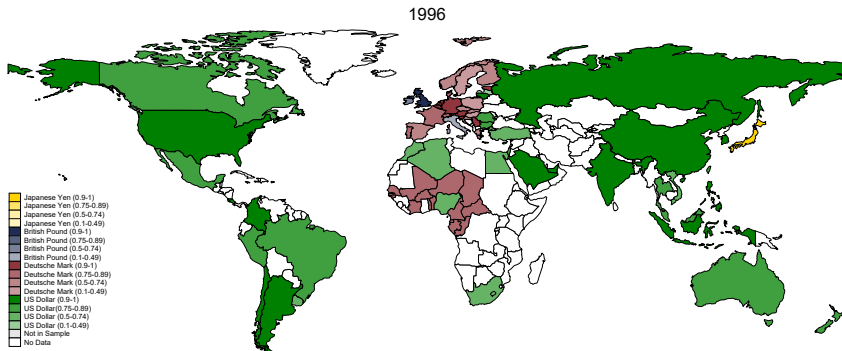
# 1974: The Beginnings of a DEM Zone



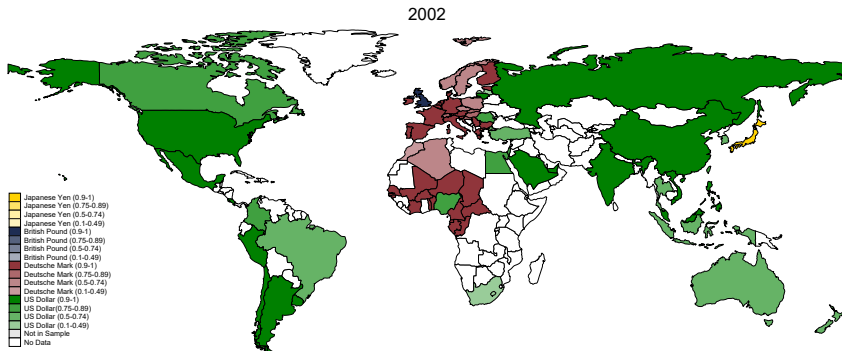
# 1988: "German Dominance Hypothesis"



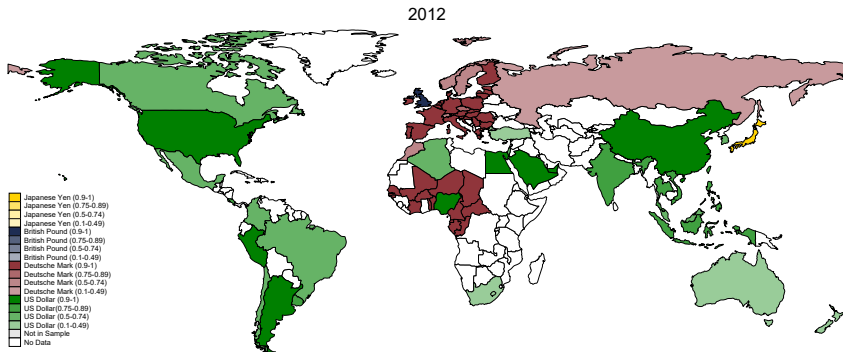
# 1996: Limited Fall of DEM Influence after the EMS Crisis



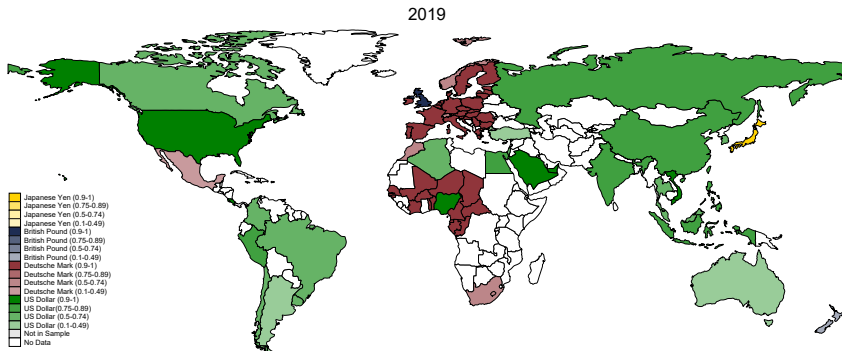
# 2002: The EUR Builds on the DEM Legacy



# 2012: EUR Influence Resists Despite the Crisis



# 2020: USD Dominance Persists



# Pooled Regressions - 1820-1914

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GBP	0.608*** (0.0623)	0.589*** (0.0609)	0.738*** (0.0815)	0.678*** (0.0382)	0.673*** (0.0384)	0.477*** (0.0570)
FFR	0.271*** (0.0620)	0.304*** (0.0631)	0.331*** (0.0884)	0.0573** (0.0257)	0.0604** (0.0269)	0.0208 (0.0341)
DEM	-0.0197 (0.0326)	-0.0325 (0.0331)	-0.0199 (0.0661)	0.213*** (0.0365)	0.214*** (0.0364)	0.278*** (0.0576)
Controls	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
Numéraire	XAG	XAG	NLG	XAG	XAG	NLG
Period	1820-1870	1820-1870	1820-1870	1871-1914	1871-1914	1871-1914
Obs.	13,646	13,646	14,678	36,887	36,887	39,862
R-squared	0.058	0.058	0.018	0.73	0.73	0.017

Robust standard errors reported in parenthesis. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 0.01, 0.05 and 0.1 levels respectively. Controls include first-differences of proxies for liquidity and risk-premium, as well as weekly log-changes of commodity prices. Pooled regression using Silver as *numéraire* exclude the Netherlands for comparability.

# Pooled Regressions - 1918-1939

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GBP	0.685*** (0.0275)	0.685*** (0.0276)	0.637*** (0.0293)	0.499*** (0.0226)	0.498*** (0.0226)	0.479*** (0.0232)
FFR	0.0467*** (0.00752)	0.0471*** (0.00757)	0.0492*** (0.00745)	0.269*** (0.0163)	0.266*** (0.0164)	0.320*** (0.0179)
USD	0.139*** (0.0263)	0.142*** (0.0265)	0.144*** (0.0281)	0.161*** (0.0171)	0.168*** (0.0173)	0.114*** (0.0139)
Controls	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
Numéraire	XAG	XAG	HKD	XAG	XAG	HKD
Period	1918-1930	1918-1930	1918-1930	1931-1939	1931-1939	1931-1939
Obs.	19,712	19,712	20,695	15,624	15,624	15,390
R-squared	0.404	0.404	0.367	0.708	0.708	0.672

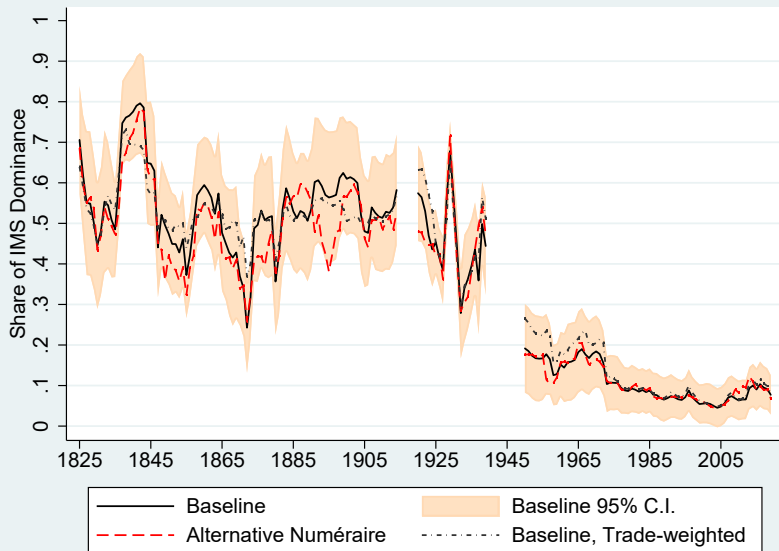
Robust standard errors reported in parenthesis. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 0.01, 0.05 and 0.1 levels respectively. Controls include first-differences of proxies for liquidity and risk-premium, as well as weekly log-changes of commodity prices. Pooled regressions using Silver as *numéraire* exclude Hong Kong for comparability.

# Pooled Regressions - 1950-2020

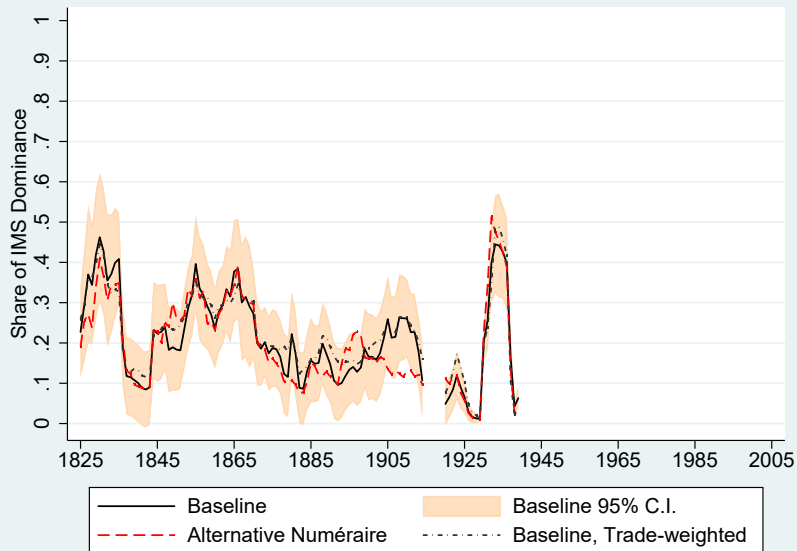
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GBP	0.327*** (0.0150)	0.329*** (0.0150)	0.333*** (0.0160)	0.0556*** (0.00423)	0.0517*** (0.00424)	0.0684*** (0.00418)
DEM	-0.00276 (0.00690)	-0.00304 (0.00695)	-0.000934 (0.00834)	0.404*** (0.00445)	0.401*** (0.00444)	0.411*** (0.00728)
USD	0.669*** (0.0165)	0.668*** (0.0165)	0.626*** (0.0212)	0.553*** (0.00486)	0.551*** (0.00485)	0.497*** (0.00414)
JPY	-	-	-	-0.00647** (0.00324)	-0.0100*** (0.00343)	-0.00580* (0.00341)
Controls	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
Numéraire	XAG	XAG	CHF	XAG	XAG	CHF
Period	1948-1973	1948-1973	1948-1973	1974-2020	1974-2020	1974-2020
Obs.	57,799	57,799	56,241	110,326	110,152	101,182
R-squared	0.833	0.833	0.04	0.859	0.859	0.341

Robust standard errors reported in parenthesis. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 0.01, 0.05 and 0.1 levels respectively. Controls include first-differences of proxies for liquidity and risk-premium, as well as weekly log-changes of commodity prices. Pooled regressions using Silver as *numéraire* exclude Switzerland for comparability.

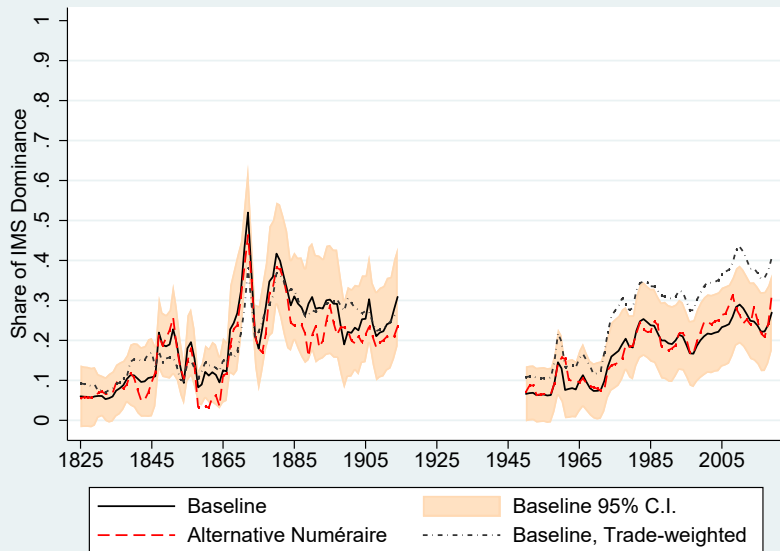
# GBP - Baseline and Alternative Weights



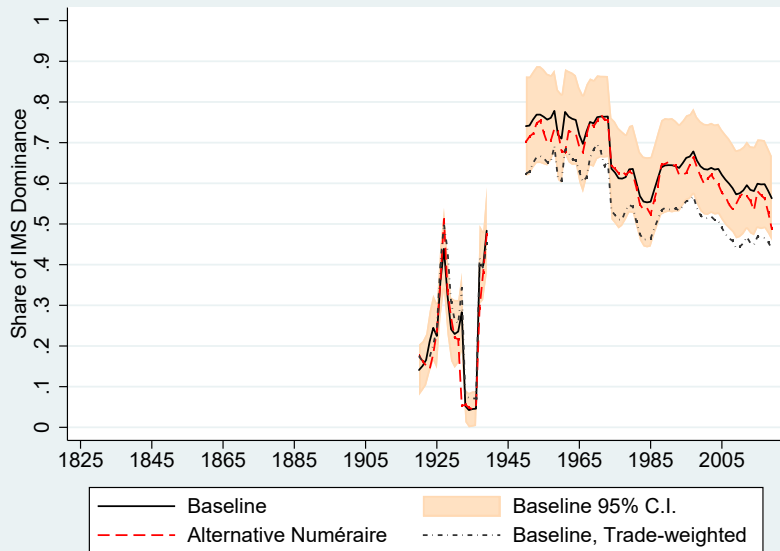
# FFR - Baseline and Alternative Weights



# DEM - Baseline and Alternative Weights



# USD - Baseline and Alternative Weights



# JPY - Baseline and Alternative Weights

