

Chronicles of a Deflation Unforetold

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Motivation

Lucas's 1995 Nobel lecture begins with Hume (1752):

- ▶ neutrality of money “evident”
 - ▶ “If we consider any one kingdom by itself, it is evident that the greater or lesser plenty of money is of no consequence; since prices of commodities are always proportion'd to the plenty of money”
- ▶ experience shows otherwise
 - ▶ “tho' the high price of commodities be a necessary consequence of the increase of gold and silver, yet it follows not immediately upon that increase, but some time is requir'd before the money circulate thro' the whole state, and make its effects be felt on all ranks of people”



Motivation (2)

- ▶ How the quantity of money changes matters
- ▶ Hume's thought experiment "magical"
 - ▶ "suppose that, by miracle, every man in Britain shou'd have five pounds slipt into his pocket in one night"

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... or was it?

Hume was in fact referring to an actual experiment.

This paper

A magical experiment:

- ▶ from August 1723 to September 1724 the French government reduced the nominal supply by 45%
- ▶ it did so in a series of four unforetold reductions in the face value of money
- ▶ from 1723 to 1726 prices and wages fell slowly, and by less than 45%
- ▶ at the same time, (industrial) output contracted sharply
- ▶ in 1726 the policy was reversed; prices moved up quickly and output rebounded
- ▶ I document all of the above



Introduction

Institutional background

Policy in the 1720s: a narrative

The qualitative evidence

Quantitative evidence

Conclusion

Institutional background

- ▶ absolute monarchy
- ▶ cabinet: principal ministers (secret meetings, no minutes)
- ▶ finance minister: oversees public finance, economic regulation
- ▶ *intendants*: central government's agents in the provinces
- ▶ council of trade: finance ministry bureaucrats + businessmen
- ▶ inspectors of manufactures

coins and francs

the system consists of

- ▶ coins (physical objects, made of gold, silver)
- ▶ units of account (*livre* or *franc*)

Coins are produced by the mint on demand at a fixed nominal price (MP)

The relation between coins and francs is set by government:

- ▶ *legal tender*: a coin worth X gives the right to cancel a debt worth X

It can change over time:

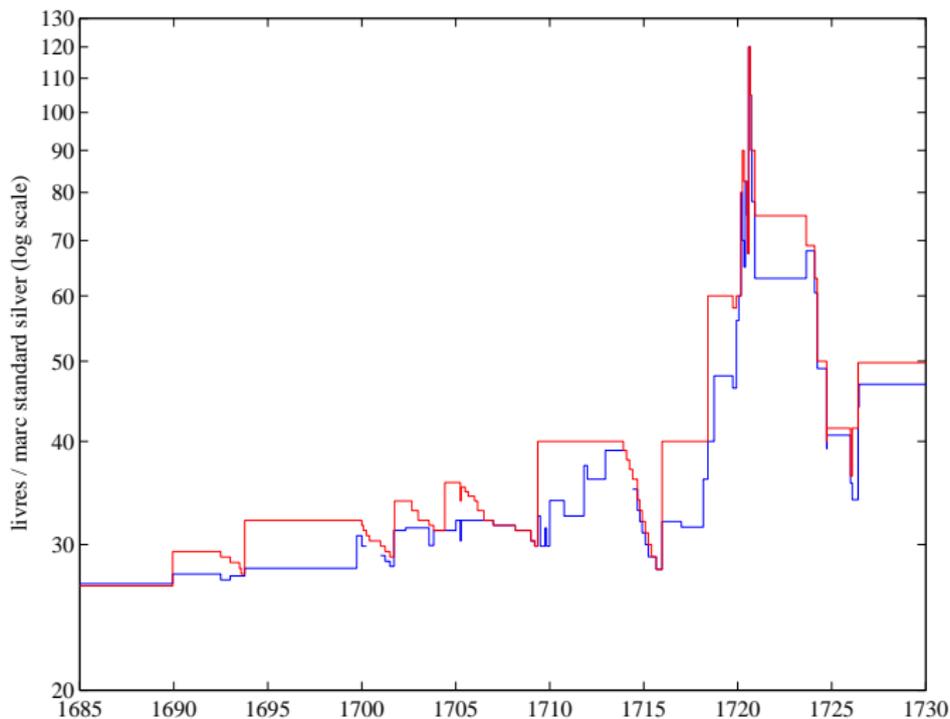
- ▶ stable from 1641 to 1690
- ▶ changed many times between 1690 and 1726 (to raise seigniorage)

It can be tracked by two indices:

- ▶ mint equivalent (ME): francs/weight of silver assigned to coins
- ▶ mint price (MP): price paid by the mint for silver (in units of account)



ME and MP in France, 1685–1730



Monetary policy (1)

▶ diminutions

date	écu's value	diminution	cumulative diminution
	7.5		
Aug 1723	6.9	-8.0%	-8.0%
Feb 1724	6.3	-8.7%	-16.0%
Apr 1724	5	-20.6%	-33.3%
Sep 1724	4	-20.0%	-46.7%
recoinage			-44.7%

- ▶ attempts to “talk down” prices and wages
- ▶ importance of expectations: diminution of Sep 1724 to be “the last”



Monetary policy (2)

- ▶ harvest crisis of 1725
- ▶ looming European war: new taxes, another monetary reform
 - ▶ recoinage and augmentations

date	écu	dim.	cum. dim.	ME
Jan 1726	3.5	-8.0%	-12.5%	36.3
recoinage				
Feb 1726	5	-8.7%	+14.3%	41.5
May 1726	6	-20.6%	+20.0%	49.8

- ▶ June 1726: government dismissed
- ▶ unit of account remains (roughly) constant until 1914



Monetary policy: motivation

reasons:

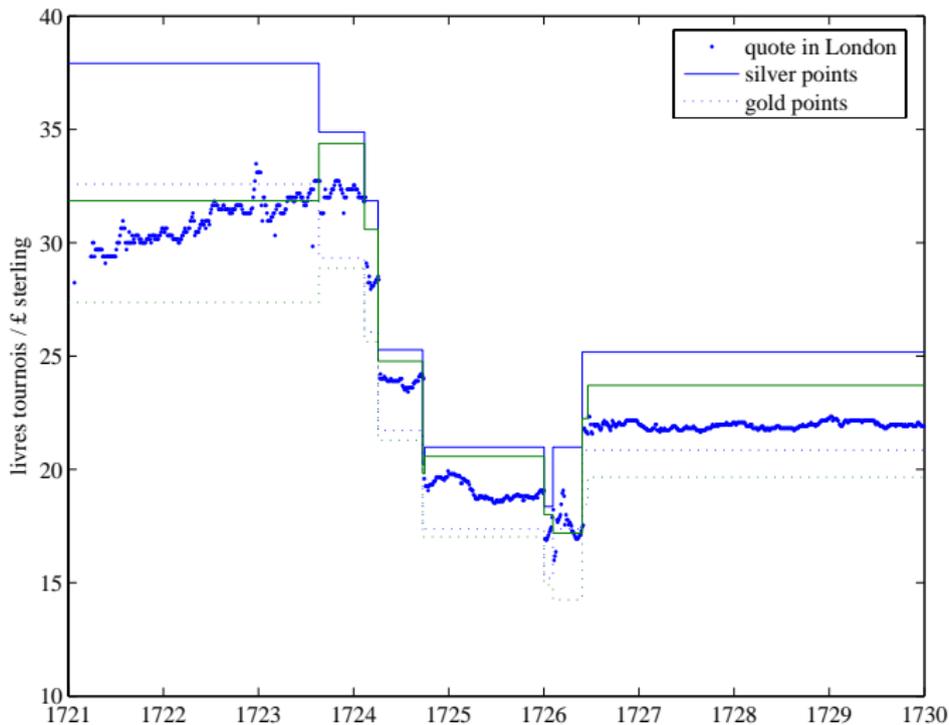
- ▶ prices and wages “too high”
- ▶ increase real value of government debt
- ▶ mis-aligned exchange rates?

Qualitative evidence

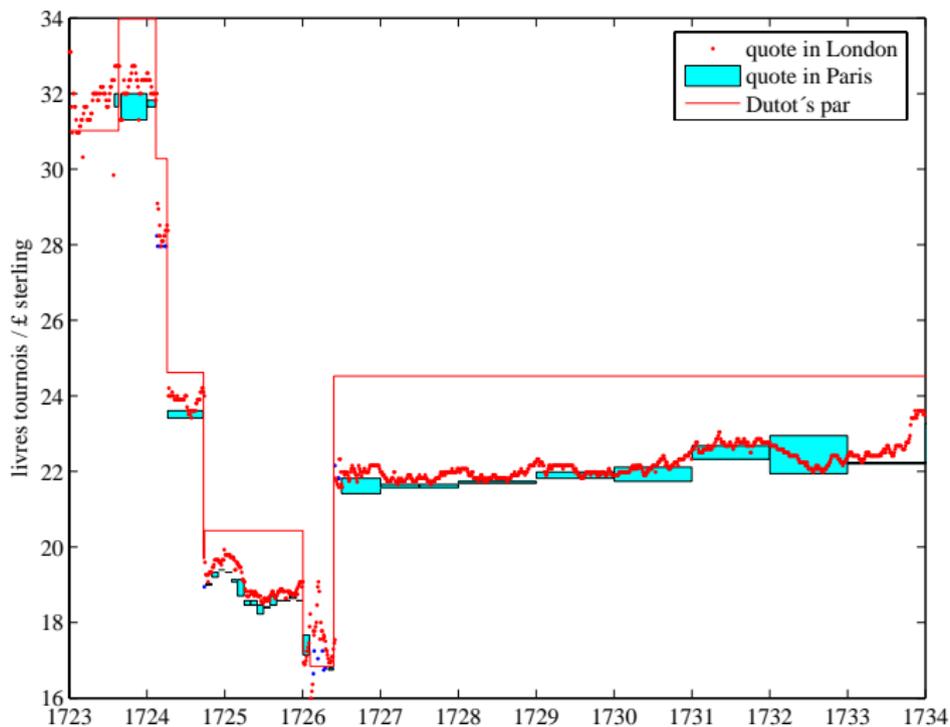
- ▶ Data collection
- ▶ Reports from the fairs and provinces
 - ▶ booming economy to mid-1723
 - ▶ from 1724: falling sales, sellers reluctant to reduce prices, production cutbacks
 - ▶ 1724–25: “credit crunch” (rising interest rates, “lack of coin”)
 - ▶ reduced foreign demand
 - ▶ role of expectations: buyers drive up prices to avoid capital loss on money holdings
 - ▶ Sept 1724: govt recognizes lack of transparency
- ▶ Government attempts at enforcing deflation
 - ▶ jawboning (producers, merchants, retailers)
 - ▶ jailing (workers)
 - ▶ no price controls (deemed too dangerous)



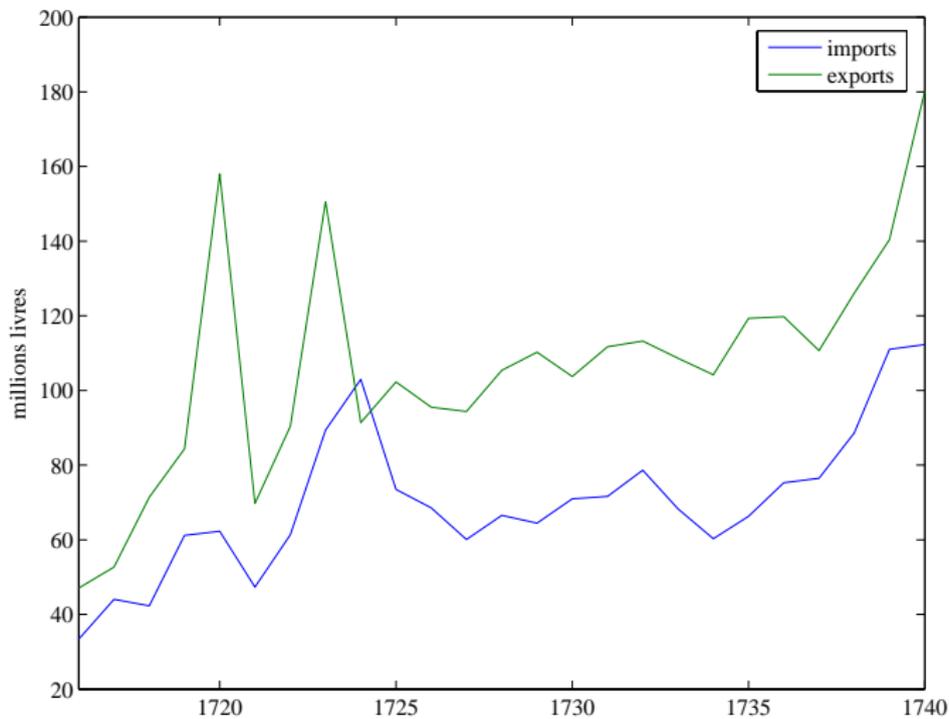
Exchange rates on Paris in London, 1721–29.



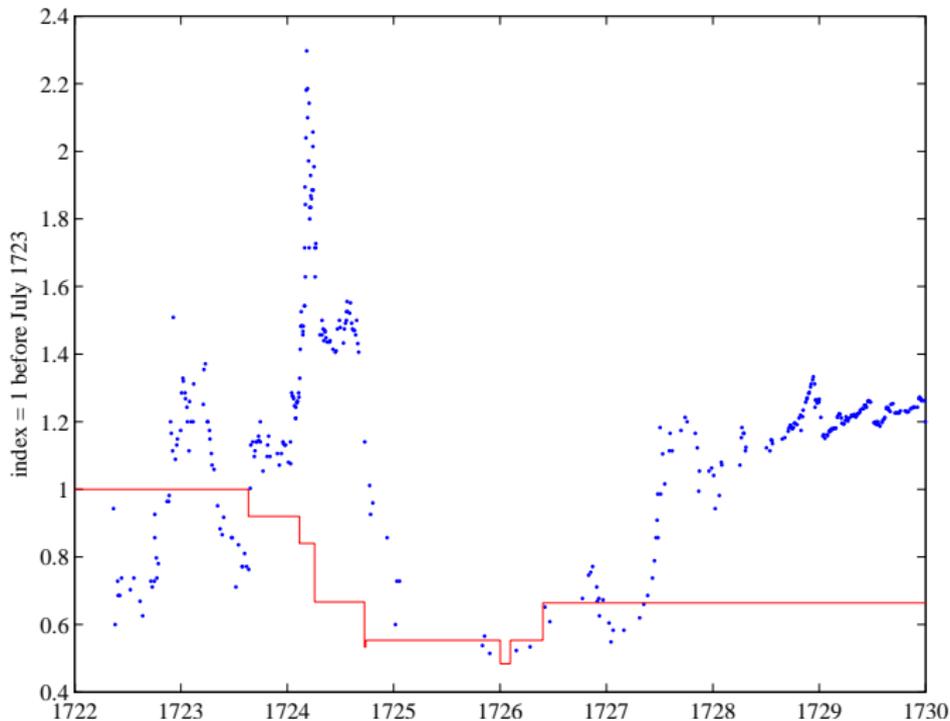
Exchange rate on London in Paris, 1723–34



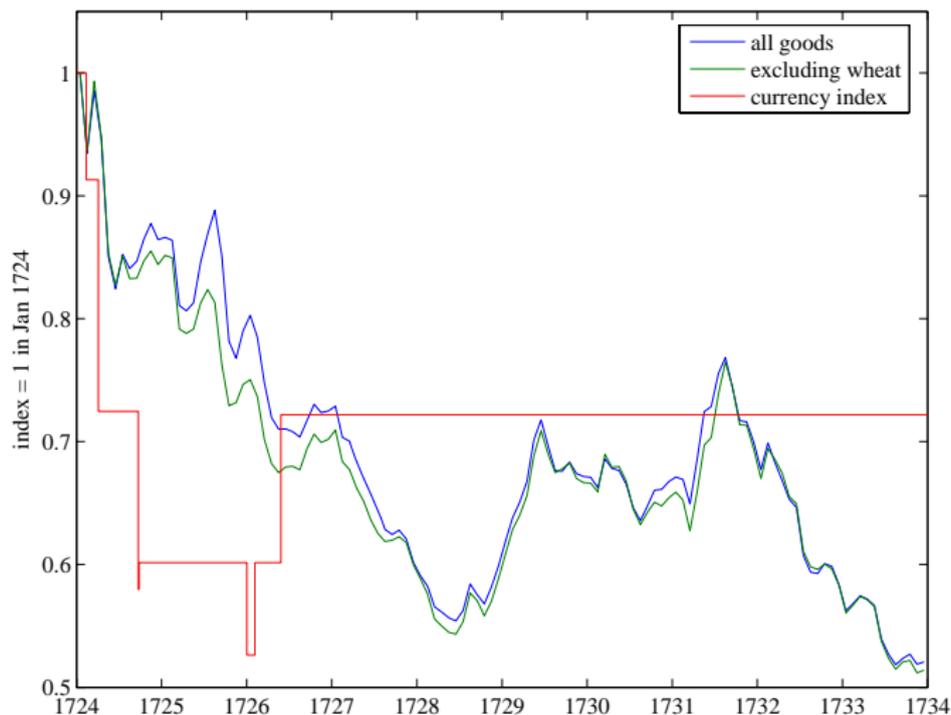
trade balance



Price of shares in the Compagnie des Indes, 1722–29



Foodstuffs: the Halles, monthly, 1724–33



Markets day by day

		wheat			bread		eggs	pork	candles	butter	
		high	low	mode	high	low	avg	avg	avg	avg	
Feb 1724	1	25.5			3.75		52.5	6.75	14.5	95	
	5	25.5			3.75		52	7.75	14.5	75	
	9	25			3.5		57.5	7.75	14.5	80	
	*	12	24.25		3.5		65	7.75	14.5	85	
		16	24.5		3.5		70	6.75	14.5	85	
Apr 1724	1	27.5			3.25				14.5	85	
	*	5	23.5		3.25				14.5	85	
		8	25		3.25				14.5	92	
		12	24.5		3.25				14.5	90	
Sep 1724	6	25			3		29	6.75	10.5	60	
	9	25.25			3		29.5	6.75	10.5	63	
	13	26.5			3.25		30	6.75	10.5	60	
	16	27.25			3.25		34	6.75	10.5	72	
	20	26.75			3.25		34	6.75	10.5	66	
	*	23	25		3.25		35	6.75	10.5	65	
		27	25.75		3.25		32	6.75	10.5	63	
		30	26		3.25		36.5	6.75	10.5	65	
May-Jun 1726	15	24.5	12	20	2.75	2.5	24	5.75	9.75	46	
	18	24	12.5	18.25	2.75	2.5	23	5.75	9.75	46	
	22	24	12	19	2.75	2.5	25	5.75	9.75	46	
	25	23.25	12	18.5	2.75	2.5	23.5	5.75	9.75	46	
	*	29	23.25	12	20.5	2.75	2.5	23.5	5.75	9	43
		1	23.25	12.5	19.9	2.75	2.5	23.5	6	9	42
		5	23.25	13	21	2.75	2.5	25	6.25	9	
		8	23.25	13	22	2.75	2.5	24.5	7.25	9	42
		12	23	13	21	2.75	2.5	23.5	6.75	9	40



sources

- ▶ woolen industry regulated: quality standards set and enforced
- ▶ regional inspectors certify each bolt
- ▶ from 1714, they are asked to produce a census
- ▶ semi-annual reports listing:
 - ▶ location, type of cloth (name, width, length), wool prices, cloth price, looms working, looms idle, producers, pieces produced
 - ▶ many reports are missing
- ▶ some reports on regional fairs (quantities brought, sold, prices)

18th c. spreadsheets

Departement de Toulouse ESTAT des Manufactures de Drapettes & autres Etoffes de Laine.

Ville pour les six premiers mois de l'année - 1774 -

LIBEUX de Fabrique.	NOMS des Etoffes.	MATIERES qui s'emploient dans la Fabrique des Etoffes.	PRIX courans des Matieres.	LONGUEUR des Etoffes.	LARGEUR des Etoffes.	PRIX des Etoffes.	MESTIERS baux en charge espee d'Etoffes.	MESTIERS sans travail.	NOMBRE des Fabriquans.	PIECES d'Etoffes fabriquées.
<i>Uby</i>	<i>Denny caniva</i>	<i>Refo de laine d'estourge</i>	1.15 ^v	36 aul	1/2 aul	2.15 ^y				370.
	<i>Raya</i>	<i>laine de laine</i>	même prix	60 aul	3/8 aul	même prix	50	32.	20	
	<i>Bayetta</i>	<i>laine de pain commune</i>	1. ^o	33 a 34 aul	3/8 aul	2. ^o				
<i>Gaillac</i>	<i>Burata</i>	<i>laine de pain</i>	1.15 ^y	45 aul	1/2 aul	2. ^o				60.
	<i>Caria</i>	même laine	même prix	même long ^o	même larg ^o	2.15 ^y	10	4	4	
	<i>Raya</i>	même laine	même prix	même long ^o	même larg ^o	même prix				
<i>Aste</i>	<i>Caria</i>	même laine	1.15 ^y	45 aul	1/2 aul	2. ^o				120.
	<i>Castelata</i>	<i>laine commune de pain</i>	1. ^o	même long ^o	même larg ^o	2. ^o	12	2	3	
	<i>l'argues l'argues</i>	<i>laine de pain commune</i>	même prix	38 aul	3/8 aul	1.16 ^y aul				
<i>Rabastou</i>	<i>l'argues l'argues</i>	même matiere	même prix	même long ^o	1/2 aul	1. ^o 6 ^y aul				50.
	<i>l'argues l'argues</i>	même matiere	même prix	même long ^o	même long ^o	même prix	8	16	2	
	<i>l'argues l'argues</i>	même matiere	même prix	même long ^o	même long ^o	même prix				
							80	54	31	600.

On a recensé par le dernier Etat des Manufactures d'Etoffes de ce Departement qu'il y avoit 70 Meters baux, & qu'il a été fabriqué 770 Pieces d'Etoffes. Le present Etat fait voir qu'il y a actuellement 80 Meters baux, & qu'il a été fabriqué 800 Pieces d'Etoffes. Par conséquent le present Sursis est de 10 Meters baux, & de 30 Pieces d'Etoffes. Le present Etat fait voir que le nombre des Fabriquans est de 31.



missing data

	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740		
Alençon	x										x	x	x	x				x	x	x									
Amiens			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o														x	x		x	x
Auch			A										x																
Auvergne											x	x	x	x	x														
Aurmale	x	x	x	x	x						x	x	x	x	x			o	x	o	o	x		x	o				
Beauvais			x	x							x	x	x																
Bourges			x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x															
Bretagne (basse)									A																				
Bretagne (haute)			A	A			x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x													
Caen	x	x	x	x	x	x									x	x										x	x	x	x
Carcassonne				A	x					A	A	x	x	x	o			o	x	o	o	o							
Castres, St-Pons			x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Champagne							A	A		A																			
Dreux			A		x							x	x	x											x				
Foix			A								x	x	x																
Granvillers	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x	x																
Limousin											x	x																	
Montauban			A									x	x																
Montpellier			x								x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x											
Moulins			A																										
Nîmes											x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x								
Oriens			A		x							x										x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Poitiers				x	x					x																			
Reims						x	x				x	x																	
Rouen		x										x	x	x	x														
Saintonge			A								x	x	A																
Sedan					A	x	A				A	x	A	A	x														
Sologne			x	x	x	x					x																		
Toulouse			A		x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Troyes				A				A	A		A																		

statistical model

- ▶ Data is log-normalized:

$$y_{it} = \frac{\log(Y_{it}) - \bar{y}_i}{\bar{\sigma}_{yi}}$$

.

- ▶ The model is:

$$y_{it} = \lambda_i \mu_t + g_t + \epsilon_{it},$$

$$g_t = - \sum_{i=1}^{s-1} g_{t-i} + \omega_t,$$

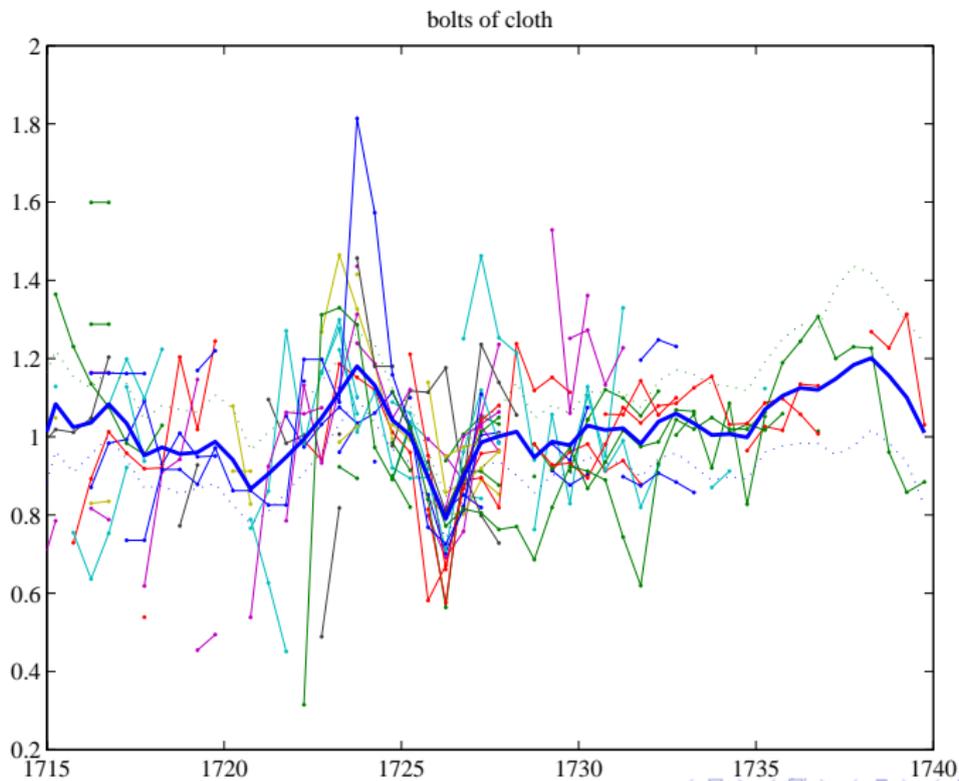
$$\mu_t = \mu_{t-1} + \nu_t + \xi_t,$$

$$\nu_t = \nu_{t-1} + \zeta_t$$

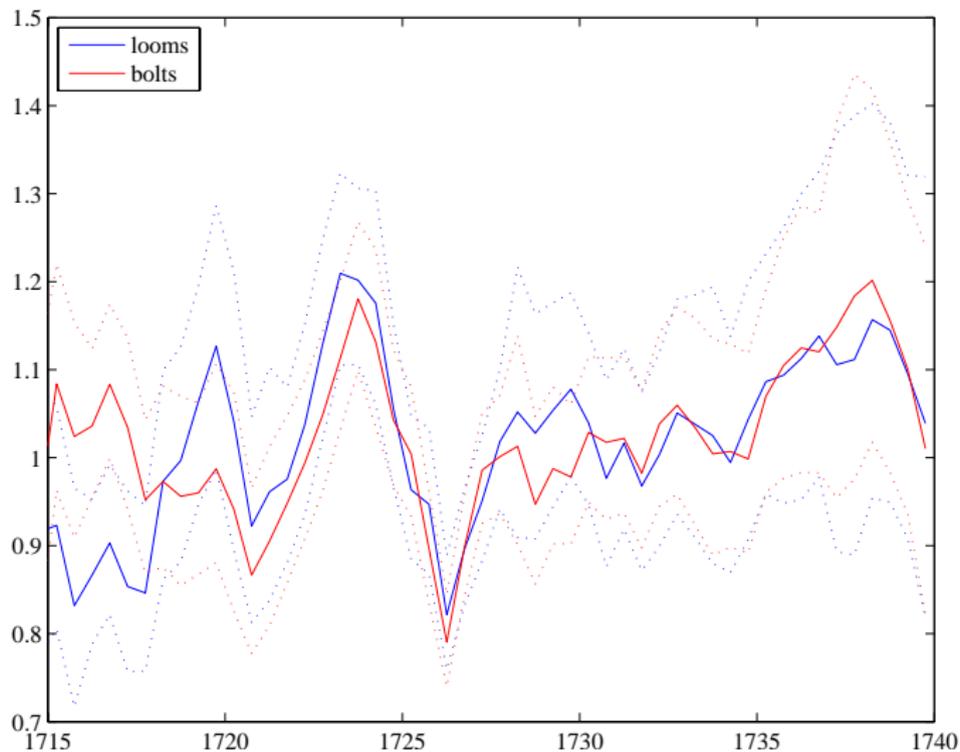
$$\epsilon_{it} \sim (0, \sigma_\epsilon^2), \omega_t \sim (0, \sigma_\omega^2), \xi_t \sim (0, \sigma_\xi^2), \zeta_t \sim (0, \sigma_\zeta^2), \sigma_\zeta^2 \equiv 1, \\ \lambda_i = 1.$$



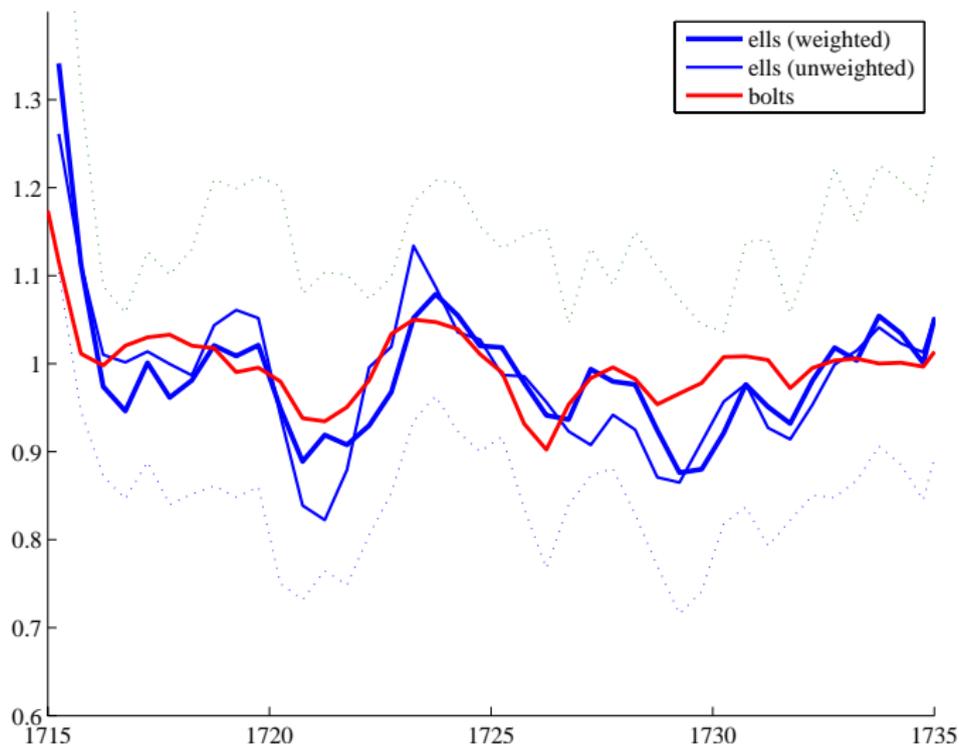
Bolts produced



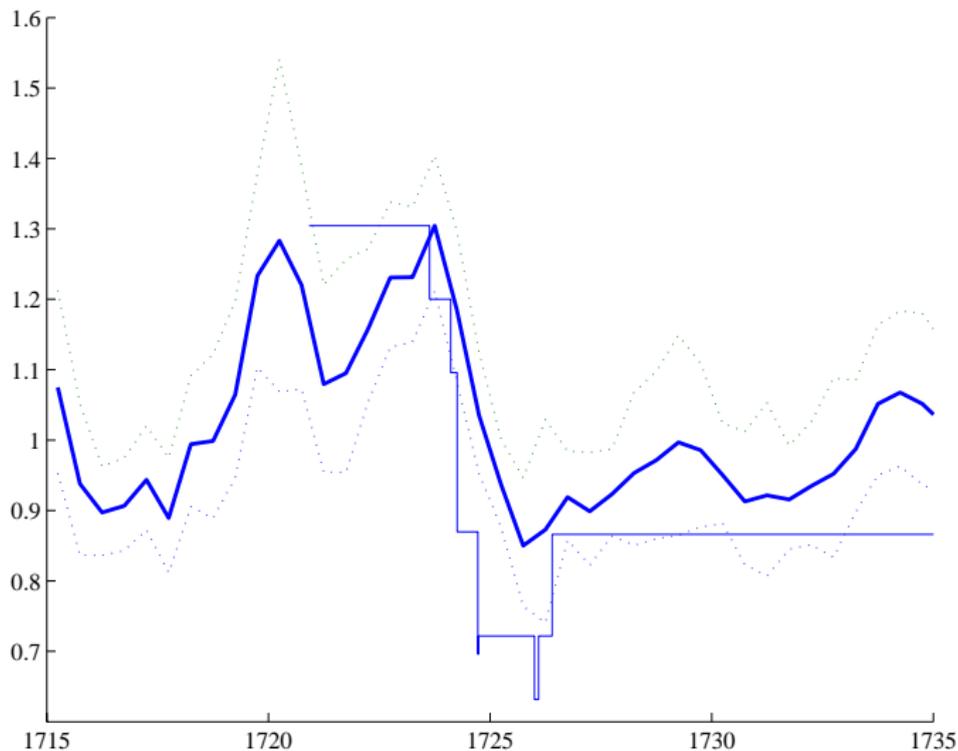
Indices of bolts and looms



Comparison of weighted and unweighted quantities



Weighted price index of bolts

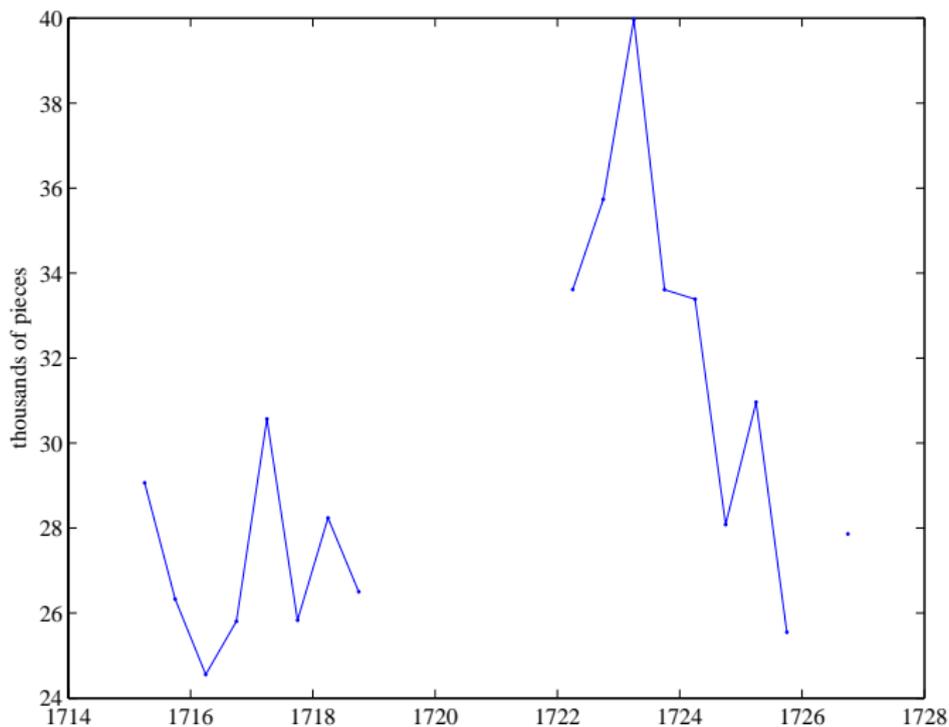


Wages in the Carcassonne district

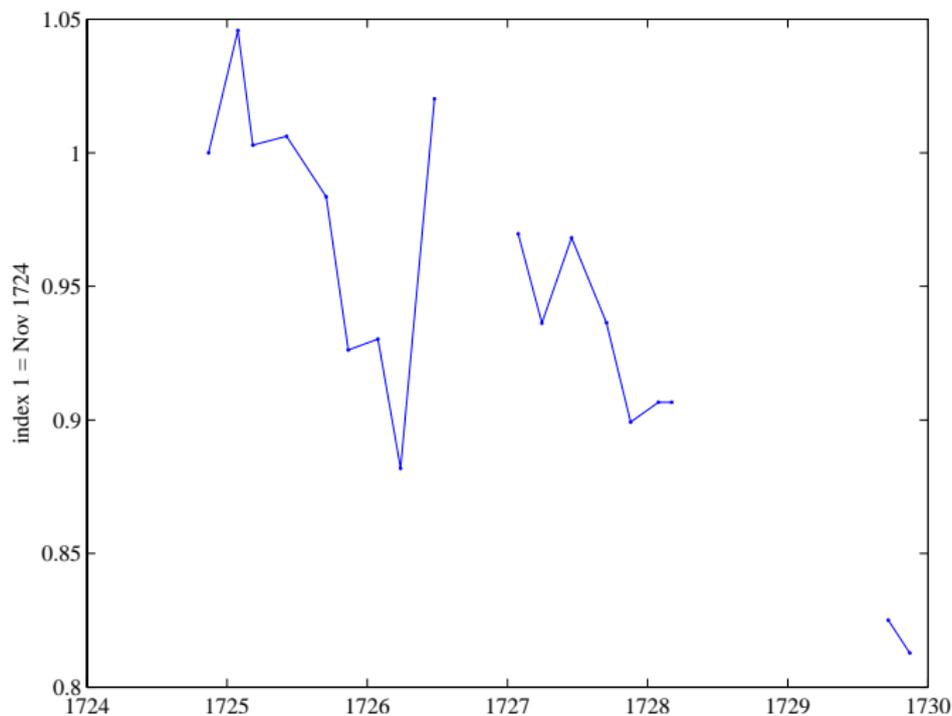
	1712	1716	1719	1723	July 1724	Dec 1724	1726:s1	1726:s2
wages								
Carcassonne	1.00	0.91	1.25	1.27	1.26	0.82	0.78	0.88
Montagne	1.00	0.86	1.03	1.23	1.24	0.91		
Mazamet	1.00	1.02	1.03	1.48	1.49	1.04		
Dourgne	1.00	1.05	1.08	2.07	1.79	1.43		
all	1.00	0.89	1.12	1.27	1.26	0.88		
output prices								
Carcassonne	1.00	0.87	1.94	1.53	1.31	0.91	0.84	1.10
w/p	1.00	1.04	0.64	0.83	0.96	0.91	0.94	0.80
ME	1.00	1.00	1.50	1.88	1.25	1.04	1.04	1.24



Bolts brought to the Paris cloth-hall



Prices of cloths at the Pézenas and Montagnac fairs

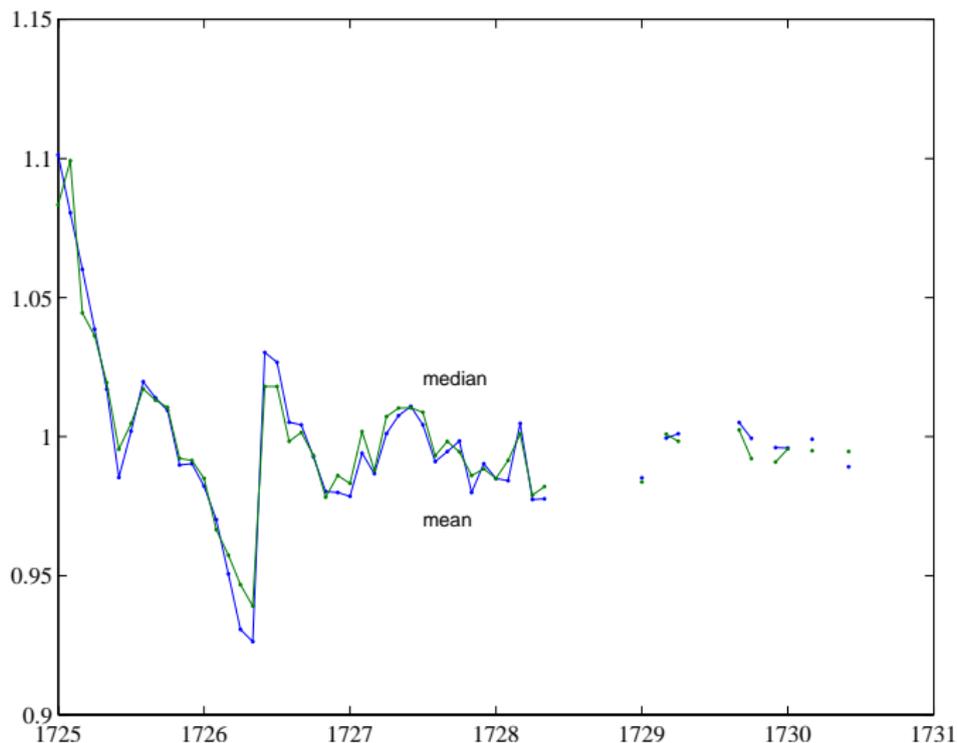


Price changes (%)

	ME	Prices		
		mean	median	std dev
factory prices for 16 cloths				
1716–17 to Jan 1724	+72	+70	+67	11.7
Jan 1724 to Apr 1724	-27	-13	-14	5.3
Apr 1724 to Oct 1724	-17	-14	-13	6.4
prices at the Amiens cloth-hall for 107 cloths				
Jan 1724 to Oct 1724	-40	-25	-25	6.5
prices in Lyon for 11 silks				
Dec 1723 to May 1724	-26	-32	-43	5.7
prices in Lyon for 44 silks				
before Sep 1724 to Nov 1724	-20	-16	-16	6.5
prices at the Clermont fair for 42 cloths				
May 1724 to Aug 1724	0	7	5	6.7
prices at the St. Germain fair for 22 cloths				
Feb 1724 to Feb 1725	-40	-33	-33	6.0
prices in Rouen for 36 goods				
Sep 1724 to Oct 1724	-17	-12	-12	6.1
prices in Orlans for 34 goods				
Sep 1724 to Nov 1724	-17	-12	-10	13.6
Sep 1724 to Dec 1724	-17	-23	-18	19.8
Sep 1724 to Jan 1725	-17	-23	-18	19.6
Sep 1724 to Feb 1725	-17	-26	-21	19.8
Sep 1724 to Mar 1725	-17	-27	-24	19.7
Sep 1724 to Apr 1725	-17	-28	-24	19.1



Prices of cloths at the Rouen cloth-hall



Conclusion

- ▶ massive failure of the quantity theory
- ▶ experiment not as clean as one would like (prior history of monetary policy, second-guessing of government)
- ▶ price “rigidities” documented even in market contexts (foodstuffs, wages)
- ▶ only one market reacts fully and immediately (foreign exchange)
- ▶ output reaction: coincidence or causation?

