Spending a Windfall: American Precious Metals and Euro-Asian Trade, 1492-1815

Nuno Palma

(European University Institute and University of Groningen)

André C. Silva (Nova SBE)

American Economic Association Congress, San Francisco CA, 2016

Facts

► The current account surplus of China today is not an historical novelty

Facts

- ► The current account surplus of China today is not an historical novelty
 - From 1500 to 1800, silver comprised 90% of China's imports from Europe and European colonies (Pomeranz 2001, p.273)

Facts

- ► The current account surplus of China today is not an historical novelty
 - From 1500 to 1800, silver comprised 90% of China's imports from Europe and European colonies (Pomeranz 2001, p.273)
- China had scarcity of precious metals and difficulties in setting a monetary standard

What we do

■ "[T]he rise of European trade with the east should be seen primarily as a consequence not of trade routes to the east but of the discovery of America [because of the discovery of precious metals]" (Harley 2004, p.179)

What we do

- "[T]he rise of European trade with the east should be seen primarily as a consequence not of trade routes to the east but of the discovery of America [because of the discovery of precious metals]" (Harley 2004, p.179)
- ► We test this hypothesis using a structural model which can simulate the counterfactual

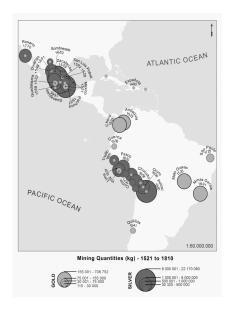
What we do

- "[T]he rise of European trade with the east should be seen primarily as a consequence not of trade routes to the east but of the discovery of America [because of the discovery of precious metals]" (Harley 2004, p.179)
- ▶ We test this hypothesis using a structural model which can simulate the counterfactual
- Using a dynamic general equilibrium model, we construct a quantiative counterfactual in which a new route to Asia is found, without the discovery of precious metals

Llamas carrying precious metals in America



Motivation



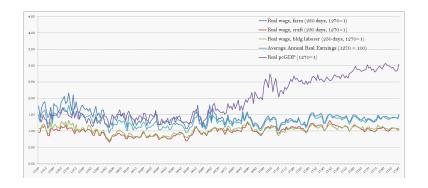
 Precious metals contributed to the rise of Western Europe (Pomeranz 2001)

- ► Precious metals contributed to the rise of Western Europe (Pomeranz 2001)
- Causal importance of new exotic goods to estimulate an industrious revolution (de Vries 2008, Voth 2008, Hersh and Voth 2009)

- Precious metals contributed to the rise of Western Europe (Pomeranz 2001)
- Causal importance of new exotic goods to estimulate an industrious revolution (de Vries 2008, Voth 2008, Hersh and Voth 2009)
- Importance of Asian luxuries in promoting Europe's industrial development (Berg 2004, 2007)

- Precious metals contributed to the rise of Western Europe (Pomeranz 2001)
- Causal importance of new exotic goods to estimulate an industrious revolution (de Vries 2008, Voth 2008, Hersh and Voth 2009)
- Importance of Asian luxuries in promoting Europe's industrial development (Berg 2004, 2007)
 - Porcelain, tea, silk (the iphones of the time)





Source: Broadberry et al (2015)

Preview of results

► Even with the new sea routes to Asia, without American precious metals early modern Euro-Asian trade would have been negligible

Preview of results

- Even with the new sea routes to Asia, without American precious metals early modern Euro-Asian trade would have been negligible
- Simulated dynamic general equilibrium model with calibrated transaction costs suggests that under the monetary injection European purchases of Asian goods are up to 4.5 times those of the unshocked baseline scenario

Preview of results

- Even with the new sea routes to Asia, without American precious metals early modern Euro-Asian trade would have been negligible
- Simulated dynamic general equilibrium model with calibrated transaction costs suggests that under the monetary injection European purchases of Asian goods are up to 4.5 times those of the unshocked baseline scenario
- Most of the observed increase in Euro-Asian trade is explained by the monetary injections, as opposed to a fall in transportation costs

American treasure: arrivals to Europe

	Fine silver, tones	Gold, tones
Initial stock, Europe (1492)	3 600	297
Imports to Europe		
1500-1600	7 500	150
1601-1700	26 168	158
1701-1800	39 157	1 400
Total imports	72 825	1 708

Sources: Costa, Rocha and Sousa (2010), Hamilton (1970), Morineau (1985), Braudel and Spooner (1967), Velde and Weber (2000)

▶ Dynamic general equilibrium model

- Dynamic general equilibrium model
- ► European representative agent

- Dynamic general equilibrium model
- ► European representative agent
- Asian representative agent

- Dynamic general equilibrium model
- European representative agent
- Asian representative agent
- ► The **only** difference is that only the European economy receives a monetary windfall

- Dynamic general equilibrium model
- European representative agent
- Asian representative agent
- ► The **only** difference is that only the European economy receives a monetary windfall
- 2 agents, 2 consumption goods, and money

$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

European representative agent problem

$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

$$\text{s.t.} \quad p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}\left(1+b\right) + m_{e,t} \leq p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t.$$

c_{eet}: consumption in Europe of European goods



$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

- c_{eet}: consumption in Europe of European goods
- $ightharpoonup c_{eat}$: consumption in Europe of Asian goods

$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

- c_{eet}: consumption in Europe of European goods
- $ightharpoonup c_{eat}$: consumption in Europe of Asian goods
- $ightharpoonup m_{e,t}$: precious metals

$$\max_{c_{ee},c_{ea},m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet},c_{eat},m_{e,t}
ight)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

- $ightharpoonup c_{eet}$: consumption in Europe of European goods
- $ightharpoonup c_{eat}$: consumption in Europe of Asian goods
- $ightharpoonup m_{e,t}$: precious metals
- b: iceberg cost

$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

- c_{eet}: consumption in Europe of European goods
- $ightharpoonup c_{eat}$: consumption in Europe of Asian goods
- $ightharpoonup m_{e,t}$: precious metals
- b: iceberg cost
- $ightharpoonup A_e$: production in Europe

$$\max_{c_{ee}, c_{ea}, m_{et}} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u\left(c_{eet}, c_{eat}, m_{e,t}\right)$$

s.t.
$$p_{1t}c_{eet} + p_{2t}c_{eat}(1+b) + m_{e,t} \le p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t$$
.

- c_{eet}: consumption in Europe of European goods
- $ightharpoonup c_{eat}$: consumption in Europe of Asian goods
- m_{e,t}: precious metals
- b: iceberg cost
- ► *A*_e: production in Europe
- $ightharpoonup d_t$: discoveries of precious metals

▶ Analogous problem for the Asian representative agent

- Analogous problem for the Asian representative agent
- Market clearing conditions

$$\begin{array}{rcl} L_{e}c_{eet} + L_{a}c_{aet}\left(1+b\right) & = & L_{e}A_{e} \\ L_{e}c_{eat}\left(1+b\right) + L_{a}c_{aat} & = & L_{a}A_{a} \\ L_{e}m_{e,t} + L_{a}m_{a,t} & = & L_{e}m_{e,t-1} + L_{e}d_{t} + L_{a}m_{a,t-1} \end{array}$$

- Analogous problem for the Asian representative agent
- Market clearing conditions

$$\begin{array}{rcl} L_{e}c_{eet} + L_{a}c_{aet} \left(1 + b \right) & = & L_{e}A_{e} \\ L_{e}c_{eat} \left(1 + b \right) + L_{a}c_{aat} & = & L_{a}A_{a} \\ L_{e}m_{e,t} + L_{a}m_{a,t} & = & L_{e}m_{e,t-1} + L_{e}d_{t} + L_{a}m_{a,t-1} \end{array}$$

 $ightharpoonup L_e$: population in Europe

- Analogous problem for the Asian representative agent
- Market clearing conditions

$$\begin{array}{rcl} L_{e}c_{eet} + L_{a}c_{aet}\left(1+b\right) & = & L_{e}A_{e} \\ L_{e}c_{eat}\left(1+b\right) + L_{a}c_{aat} & = & L_{a}A_{a} \\ L_{e}m_{e,t} + L_{a}m_{a,t} & = & L_{e}m_{e,t-1} + L_{e}d_{t} + L_{a}m_{a,t-1} \end{array}$$

- L_e: population in Europe
- ► *L_a*: population in Asia

Functional forms

$$egin{array}{ll} u\left(c_{et},\mathit{m}_{et}
ight) &=& \dfrac{\left[\mathit{ac}_{et}^{\eta}+\left(1-\mathit{a}
ight)\mathit{m}_{et}^{\eta}
ight]^{rac{1-\sigma}{\eta}}-1}{1-\sigma} \ & ext{where } c_{et} &\equiv& \left[\omega^{rac{1}{\gamma}}c_{eet}^{rac{\gamma-1}{\gamma}}+\left(1-\omega
ight)^{rac{1}{\gamma}}c_{eat}^{rac{\gamma-1}{\gamma}}
ight]^{rac{\gamma}{\gamma-1}} \end{array}$$

Equilibrium

$$\begin{aligned} p_{1t}A_e + m_{e,t-1} + d_t - p_{1t}c_{eet} - p_{2t}c_{eat}\left(1+b\right) - m_{e,t} &= 0 \\ \\ \frac{c_{eet}}{c_{eat}} &= \frac{\omega}{1-\omega}\left(\frac{p_{2t}\left(1+b\right)}{p_{1t}}\right)^{\gamma} \\ \\ \left(1-a\right)m_{et}^{\eta-1} &= ac_{et}^{\eta-1}\frac{\partial c_{et}}{\partial c_{eet}}\frac{1}{p_{1t}} - \frac{1}{2c_{et}} \\ \end{aligned}$$

 $-\beta \left\lceil \frac{\mathit{ac}_{et+1}^{\eta} + (1-\mathit{a})\mathit{m}_{et+1}^{\eta}}{\mathit{ac}_{et}^{\eta} + (1-\mathit{a})\mathit{m}_{et}^{\eta}} \right\rceil^{\frac{1-\upsilon-\eta}{\eta}} \mathit{ac}_{et+1}^{\eta-1} \frac{\partial c_{et+1}}{\partial c_{eet+1}} \frac{1}{p_{1t+1}}$

Calibration

	Parameter	Value
Calibrated structural parameters		
Discount factor	β	0.98
Elasticity of Substitution Parameter	σ	2
Elasticity of Substitution Parameter	η	-0.32
Elasticity of Substitution	γ	2
Home bias	ω	0.86
Consumption weight	a _e	0.75
Population, Europe (millions)	L ^E	74
Population, Asia (millions)	L ^A	360
European Income	A_e	826.1
Asian Income	A _a	985.0
Estimated structural parameters		
Euro-Asian trade transct. cost (bf. the new rout)	b ⁱ	10
Euro-Asian trade transct. cost (aft. the Discoveries)	b^f	8

1. Find initial steady state

- 1. Find initial steady state
 - ▶ Use data on per capita precious metals in Europe

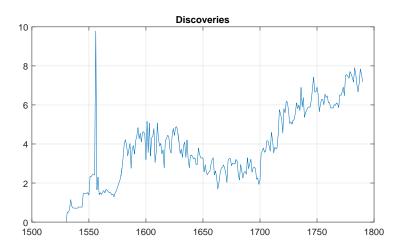
- 1. Find initial steady state
 - ▶ Use data on per capita precious metals in Europe
- 2. Find final steady state

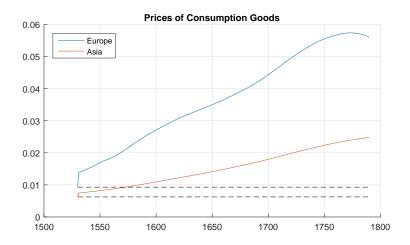
- 1. Find initial steady state
 - Use data on per capita precious metals in Europe
- 2. Find final steady state
 - Use data on accumulated discoveries of precious metals

- 1. Find initial steady state
 - Use data on per capita precious metals in Europe
- 2. Find final steady state
 - ▶ Use data on accumulated discoveries of precious metals
- 3. Calculate the transition with data on the discoveries from 1531 to 1790

- 1. Find initial steady state
 - Use data on per capita precious metals in Europe
- 2. Find final steady state
 - Use data on accumulated discoveries of precious metals
- 3. Calculate the transition with data on the discoveries from 1531 to 1790
 - Decrease iceberg cost to simulate the discovery of the new route to Asia

Data





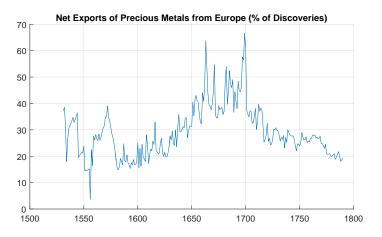
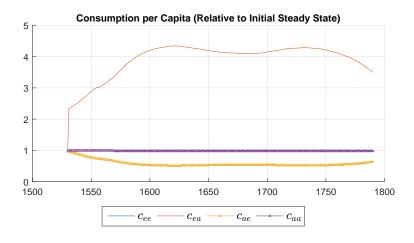
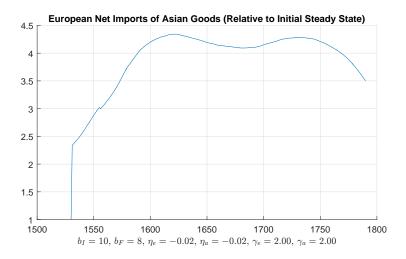
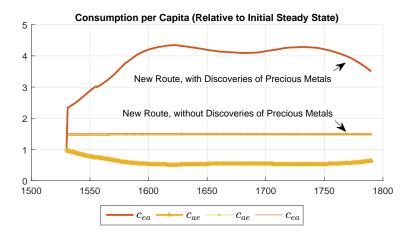


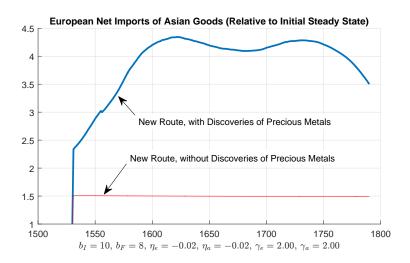
Figure: "China was the main and ultimate destination—directly or through intermediaries—of Spanish American silver since the sixteenth century" (Irigoin 2009)











▶ Intercontinental trade is only a small fraction of total output

- ▶ Intercontinental trade is only a small fraction of total output
- ► Imports of Asian goods in Europe are higher than imports of European goods in Asia

- Intercontinental trade is only a small fraction of total output
- Imports of Asian goods in Europe are higher than imports of European goods in Asia
- European agents have higher equilibrium consumption levels, but not much higher

- Intercontinental trade is only a small fraction of total output
- ► Imports of Asian goods in Europe are higher than imports of European goods in Asia
- European agents have higher equilibrium consumption levels, but not much higher
- ► Equilibrium nominal price is higher in Europe

- Intercontinental trade is only a small fraction of total output
- Imports of Asian goods in Europe are higher than imports of European goods in Asia
- European agents have higher equilibrium consumption levels, but not much higher
- ► Equilibrium nominal price is higher in Europe
 - We hence explain the "standards of living debate" puzzle of early modern economic history which asks why were both nominal wages and prices higher in Europe (Allen 2005)

► Historians' traditional explanations have relied on cultural factors:

- Historians' traditional explanations have relied on cultural factors:
 - "For some inexplicable reason Orientals have always had a penchant for hoarding treasure" (Hamilton 1929, p. 347)

- Historians' traditional explanations have relied on cultural factors:
 - "For some inexplicable reason Orientals have always had a penchant for hoarding treasure" (Hamilton 1929, p. 347)
 - "Spanish plunder was mainly in the form of precious metals. These were very important in financing European trade with Asians, who were not very interested in buying European products" Maddison (2007, p.312)

- Historians' traditional explanations have relied on cultural factors:
 - "For some inexplicable reason Orientals have always had a penchant for hoarding treasure" (Hamilton 1929, p. 347)
 - "Spanish plunder was mainly in the form of precious metals. These were very important in financing European trade with Asians, who were not very interested in buying European products" Maddison (2007, p.312)
- Instead, our explanation emerges as a consequence of rational agents taking decisions in a dynamic, GE context

► American precious metals were the major driving impulse behind early modern Euro-Asian trade

- ► American precious metals were the major driving impulse behind early modern Euro-Asian trade
- Contribution to the great divergence debate

- ► American precious metals were the major driving impulse behind early modern Euro-Asian trade
- Contribution to the great divergence debate
- Contribution to the early modern standards of living debate

- ► American precious metals were the major driving impulse behind early modern Euro-Asian trade
- Contribution to the great divergence debate
- Contribution to the early modern standards of living debate
- ► Contribution to the European industrious revolution literature