# Loans and Lenders

by Matthew Lowenstein (Hoover Inst.)

Comments by Hoyt Bleakley (U. Michigan and Hoover Inst.) March 2025

# Financial system in Northern China 19th-C+

## Conflicting visions and interpretations:

- Usury & exploitation & monopoly
- Credit & intermediation & competition

# Financial system in Northern China 19th-C+

# Contributions:

New database of lending

Analysis of interest rates

# Financial system in Northern China 19th-C+

#### Too much or too little?

# Rich set of institutional forms

## Lending contracts

- short and long
- within and across markets
- Retail and other trade credit

#### ROSCAs

Land and other collateral

"Originating a contract for a loan of silver to Xu Tingbin who is inconvenienced and short of funds. He is today borrowing from Xing Youyi pure silver in the amount of 10 taels exactly. It is clearly stated that this will accrue a monthly interest of 2%. In case the silver is not paid, the defaulting party has posted as collateral 2 mu [1/3 acre] of flat land at Yidaokou."

# Rich set of institutional forms

## Lending contracts

- short and long
- within and across markets
- Retail and other trade credit

#### ROSCAs

Land and other collateral

# ROSCAs

## Rotating savings and credit association



# Rich set of institutional forms

## Lending contracts

- short and long
- within and across markets
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#### ROSCAs

Land and other collateral

# Money versus in-kind (grain) loans

Seasonal cycle in prices.

Evidence of insurance

Cost of depreciation. Storage tech had high fixed cost?

Only for small numbers of people? No! c. 50% (similar to fraction holding monetary debts)

# Seasonal grain prices

Burke, Marshall, Lauren Falcao Bergquist, and Edward Miguel. 2020. "Sell Low and Buy High: Arbitrage and Local Price Effects in Kenyan Markets." The Quarterly Journal of Economics 134 (2): 785–842.



Monthly Average Maize Prices

# Seasonal grain prices

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# Rich set of institutional forms

Overlap & choice & substitution

### $\rightarrow$ limits on market power

 $\rightarrow$  market integration

# Market integration: what's the test?

### Flows

# Spatial correlation

#### Who?

# Levels or changes

# Wedges / Spreads

#### Lenders' market power

# Frictions in the capital market

# Intertemporal consumption problem

Ramsey model w/ capital market

exp(- ρ t) u( c<sub>t</sub>) f'(k) g=n=0 Discount rate p Rate of return { r, MPK }

Net borrowing b<sub>t</sub> Own capital stock k<sub>t</sub>

# Compare rate of return to discount rate

 $MPK < \rho$ 

Bring more consumption to the present  $\rightarrow$  borrow

Consumption falling: dc/dt < 0

 $MPK < \rho$ 

Bring more consumption to the present  $\rightarrow$  borrow

# $MPK > \rho$

Send more consumption to the future  $\rightarrow$  save

Consumption falling: dc/dt < 0 Consumption rising: dc/dt > 0

# Steady state:

# Discount rate equals rate of return

 $\rho = MPK$ 

or maybe

ρ = { MPK , r }

# Add heterogeneity in time preference

(after Banerjee & Moll, AEJ:Macro, 2010)

# ρ<sub>lo</sub> patient ρ<sub>hi</sub> impatient

 $\rho_{lo} < \rho_{hi}$ 

Case 1: no capital market for anyone

 $\rho_i = MPK_i$ 

r undefined



### Case 2: segmented capital market by type

# $\rho_i = MPK_i = r_i$



Case 3: integrated capital markets



Case 3: integrated capital markets

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Case 3: integrated capital markets

hi: borrowing lo: lending (forever)

Case 3: integrated capital markets

hi: consumption falling lo: consumption rising (forever)

Case 3: integrated capital markets

#### This case seems unsustainable in the long term.

# Case 4: integrated capital markets with cap on borrowing

 $r_t < \rho_{hi}$ 

starts off in 'Les Mis' direction 'hi' hits borrowing constraint 'lo' clears LR capital market

# Case 4: integrated capital markets with cap on borrowing

 $r_t < \rho_{hi}$ 



# Constraint: lower bound on consumption

- Borrowing cap Bankruptcy
- Transfers (UBI)

Inalienable...

- Human capital (free labor)
- Usufruct land rights (serfdom, ejidos)

New database on lending in 19th-C China Interest rates don't look 'usurious' on avg ... except in grain, b/c seasonal prices Flows and spat-corr suggest market integration Some insurance features

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